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In memory of *Vitaly Bezrogov* (1959-2019),
Historian of education and dear friend.

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Students in action during the «long 60s»

edited by

Andrés Payà Rico, José Luis Hernández Huerta

Student movements of the «long 1960s». Steps towards the cultural revolution, social change and political transformation

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ABSTRACT: This work examines a corpus of ten articles on the global student movements which took place throughout the 1960s. The impact of the students' agitation in Argentina, Brazil, Greece, Israel, Slovakia, Spain and the USA, amongst others, is examined from the perspective of history of education, with a view to understanding how the movements arose and developed. The different historical investigations presented herein look at the successes, failures, power relations and actions which, both in education and in politics, aimed to transform the world the protestors saw.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Student movements; University; May 68; Social change; Europe; XXth Century.

2018 saw the fiftieth anniversary of the hugely influential (and sometimes legendary) *May '68* movement which began in France; the celebrations took place around the world, and their impact was felt no less widely. The reflection and comprehensive interpretative analysis offered by historical science allowed researchers to approach the events in France from a much more holistic, less reductionist standpoint than previous analyses. The fact is that, as shown by the numerous publications, exhibitions and studies on that historic anniversary, not all the relevant social, political and educational events occurred either within the same geographic arena (i.e. France) or in the same year (1968). Rather, the student movements were a global phenomenon, taking place throughout

the so-called 'long 60s', with their impact continuing to be felt for a long time afterwards, in both national and global scenarios.

Yet, despite numerous academic and institutional initiatives dealing with these events from (amongst others) a historic, political, sociological or economic standpoint, there have, to date, been few studies which have attempted to examine the movements' origin, development and impact in the context of the history of education. To further our historical/educational understanding of this phenomenon, drawing upon numerous studies and interdisciplinary discussions, the international symposium *The Times They Are A-Changin. Globalizing the student rebellion in the long '68* was held at the University of Valencia in October 2018. The primary focus of this event was to look at the student movements as a meaningful expression of the expansive wave of nascent social movements, and a true manifestation of a new social and cultural phenomenon: young people in action. This academic cooperation between a hundred researchers in history of education, educational policy and comparative education (hailing from the US, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Brazil, France, Greece, Slovakia, Hungary, Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and Israel) was possible thanks, amongst other reasons, to the establishment of the Department of Comparative Education and History of Education at the University of Valencia, the journal «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación» and the Connecting History of Education Working Group.

The below monographic edition of the journal «History of Education and Children's Literature» consists of a dozen studies presented at the symposium in Valencia that have been expanded, revised and assessed for publication¹. In our view, they constitute a rich, varied and mutually complementary selection of works looking at the global student movements in the 1960s. The impact of student agitation in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, Slovakia, USA, Greece and Israel, as well as elsewhere, is analysed from the perspective of history of education with a view to better understanding the origins and development of the movements. The different historical studies presented herein reflect on the successes, failures, power relations and actions that sought, through education and politics, to mould the world the activists wanted to see. As we shall see below, although the students are the constant in all these movements, other actors (the church, families, trade unions, international organisations, women, etc.) and scenarios are also key in creating a more complete, transnational and less mythologised study of the 1960s from a history-of-education perspective.

The role of the church, along with that of the students' family members (especially their mothers), is a focal point in the work: *Other social actors*

¹ The following publications, released in the wake of the Symposium, may also be of interest: A. Payà, J.L. Hernández, A. Cagnolati, S. González, S. Valero (edd.), *Globalizing the student rebellion in the long '68*, Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2018 and the special issue A. Cagnolati, J.L. Hernández, A. Payà Rico (edd.), *The Sixties Reloaded. Exploring social movements, student protests and youth rebellion*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 1-159.

involved in Brazil's «Long '68» in the midst of the violence. Public-sphere representations of the Catholic Church's discourse and actions in solidarity with student agitators by José Luis Hernández (University of Valladolid, Spain) and Andrés Payà (University of Valencia, Spain). As in the previous article, the Church is shown to be one of the main social influences in this analysis of youth and student activities in the late 1960s – in Brazil, in this case. This work analyses the media's depictions of the Catholic Church's public discourse and actions in solidarity with the Brazilian students, in the face of the violence deployed by the military government during 1968. To this end, four main aspects are addressed: the physical and symbolic violence perpetrated against the students; the times and spaces where public social interaction between students and religious figures occurred; the Catholic Church's public discourse concerning the government's violence, expressed through the mouthpiece of the daily press; the depiction of that violence given to ordinary Brazilian citizens through the press. The authors draw upon various documentary sources (news reports, columns, photos, editorials and opinion pieces from the main daily newspapers) to elucidate the role played by those social actors who, though outsiders from the world of university, are nevertheless crucial to understanding the interwoven political, social and educational threads of 1960s Brazil.

Then there is the Blanka Kudlacova's (Trnava University, Slovakia) article: *Illegal confessional education of university students in the secret church in Slovakia in the 1960s*. The study begins with the communists seizing power in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and enforcing Marxist-Leninist ideology in the unified State education system (Law No. 95/1948). In this context, the church was viewed as an enemy of the State, working from within, which needed to be closely monitored and carefully controlled. Consequently, religious education was hit hard under the communist regime, as it was considered an 'anti-State' activity. However, the Prague Spring of 1968 saw the restoration of political freedom, and the attitude towards religious education softened. Under the new regime, the Church's educational and formative role was restored, in university syllabi and among the student body. Professor Kudlacova draws three main conclusions: 1) Work with students was one of the widespread activities of the Secret Czechoslovakian Church through the so-called apostolic lay movement, which included working with students, families, children and young people. 2) The work with students was a deliberate, organised activity that appears to have begun in 1966, with firm personal commitment from the leaders of individual communities and a structure based on personal relationships. 3) The activity was based on the system of small working communities, having regular contact and offering specific activities (hiking and skiing trips, etc.). 4) The approach to students was complex, involving not only religious education but also shaping of the persona, in its physical, social, psychological and spiritual aspects. The work with students continued until 1989, when it became an official duty of pastoral centres at various Slovakian universities.

The third article originates from the same country and examines the same era; however, Kelly Ludkiewicz Alves (Federal University of Bahia, Brazil) focuses on the movements in Argentina's basic education. Thus, in the work *From popular culture to social transformation: student youth, peasants and the Base Education Movement (MEB) in the 1960s* she sets out to answer the question of how popular culture was used as a political tool by students involved in the *Ação Popular* [AP – Popular Action] at the start of the decade. The two main historic sources used to reveal these social and pedagogical relationships cover: 1) the influence of the work *Viver è lutar* [Live and Fight], 1963, written by military men who worked on the *Movimento de Educação de Base* [Basic Education Movement], built by Brazilian students concerned with the literacy of the rural population; and 2) The particular historical and cultural context of its production, and specifically, the epistolary exchange of letters and poems written by the rural population as part of the literacy initiatives, based on rare personal testimonies typical of these first-hand sources. The pedagogical practices described in this article show that, though not revolutionary, they were transformative and creative in giving visibility to rural popular culture that combined elements of oral and written culture. With regard to these cultural changes and transformations, the author points out that, tragically, at the time of the military coup in 1964, the political situation in Brazil was such that sectors of the middle and popular classes were embroiled in a revolutionary programme of reform. This social reform, had it met with success, would have redistributed wealth on a scale never seen before in Brazil. According to the author, the movement was born and flourished for the benefit of a country that, historically, has denied the rights of literacy, land, health and work to a very broad section of the population.

The next of the investigations also originates from South America – in this case, Argentina. Sandra Carli (Buenos Aires University, Argentina), in *La experiencia estudiantil universitaria en los largos 60s y el estallido del 69 argentino. Emergencia juvenil y biografías femeninas*, explores the crisis experienced by Argentinian students between the 1950s and 1970s. This historic period was marked by the outlawing of Peronism (the political movement inspired by Juan Domingo Perón), alternation between civil and military governments, and the rise of the urban middle classes. Firstly, the article analyses the student movement in the wake of the University Reform enacted in Córdoba in 1918, and the similarities and differences with May 1968 in Paris. This was a historic moment known as the «Argentinian 69», hinging on the working-class struggles. Secondly, the historical circumstances experienced by Argentinian students in the «long 1960s» are reconstructed by looking at their role in institutions and the political sphere in general. Finally, the article looks through the lens of the life stories of a number of female students, in terms of their student experiences and their actions as recent graduates, to gain a deeper understanding of an epoch characterised by political

intensity and radicalisation. The biographies of academic women studied in this work reveal that their experiences as students and graduates led them to take part in numerous academic and intellectual activities in universities, public organisations, the media and publishing, all across Latin America. Their actions were intended to bring about social transformation of the state, higher education and public policies, had a lasting influence on their subsequent paths and would transcend the university, becoming political and pedagogical as well.

The role of students in '68 is the focus in Carmen Sanchidrián's article (University of Málaga, Spain), here in the context of Spain and with a decidedly different purpose from that of Argentina. Thus, in *Women should remain very womanly: Female university students and work in Spain in 1968* the author describes a situation in Spain that was anachronistic and very different to the previous studies, because of the Francoist dictatorship. These differences are all the more evident when we look at the situation of women in general, and/or female students in particular. Professor Sanchidrián analyses the sociological studies conducted, and working guidelines produced, in Spanish universities in the 1960s and 1970s, with regard to job prospects for women. There were two extreme sets of views – one backward-looking and anachronistic; one forward-thinking and innovative – but there was an intermediate view, held by a majority of people, that women, even while working, should remain «very feminine», and that a career and family were not compatible. Throughout the article, several characteristic elements of Franco's «feminine education» are studied in detail, addressing different aspects such as those stating that a 'domestic goddess' should attend university, the change from housework to remunerated professional work, the need to provide women with education but on the proviso that they then return to the home, or the study of university courses or skills specifically for women (teaching, nursing, paediatrics, commerce, fashion, etc.). Readers are shown clearly that, despite the changes and transformations of which the country barely dared to dream, the situation at Spanish universities in 1968 was very different from that in other countries. For the Francoist dictatorship, even in its final years, women were to remain «very feminine».

The sixth article also looks at Spanish universities in 1968, though its approach and aim are different. In their work, *On May '68 in Spain: student youth and the autonomous universities*, Paulí Dávila, Luis María Naya and Joana Miguelena (University of the Basque Country, Spain) analyse how May '68 served as a starter pistol for young students in Spain during the twilight of the Franco regime. These final years of the turbulent decade saw the collision of several factors that drove Spanish universities to boiling point: demonstrations in university classrooms, political conflicts, and the obsolete state of the Spanish university system forced the government to set up Autonomous Universities in Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao. In order to fully analyse this situation, the authors apply historic methods, as well as methods of sociological analysis

and content from various discussions about youth. Additionally, the sources consulted are diverse: from civil government reports from different Spanish provinces to sociological studies about the circumstances faced by young people during this period, and the construction projects in the autonomous universities. All this rich and varied material yields a series of conclusions, the following being of particular note: 1) The story of May '68 has been consolidated over the past 50 years, meaning we are now able to take a canonical view of this period; 2) the concept of youth in social sciences has similarly become better defined, despite its heterogeneity; 3) May '68 had an undeniable impact on the student movement in Spain; 4) the universities were experiencing widespread growth, and the Ministry of Education elected to relieve the pressure by setting up autonomous universities.

Spanish universities are also the topic of interest in the next of the articles, by Óscar José Martín (Complutense University of Madrid, Spain), this time from the perspective of the academic, political and propagandistic work of the US. In «*They are the force for change in today's world and they will lead tomorrow's*». *The United States and Spanish students in the context of global '68*, the US foreign policy toward Spanish students is studied in relation to the worldwide agitation of 1968. This paper aims to shed light on the US response to the challenge posed by the student unrest in Spain during the 60s. To this end, Martín first analyses the efforts made by the US to attract Spanish student leaders through various cultural, educational and informative programmes: educational exchange schemes such as the Fulbright scholarships; lecture series at colleges and universities; library services and the distribution of books, journals and other publications among student leaders and teachers; American culture weeks (exhibitions, screenings, musical and theatrical performances, lectures) on university campuses; English language courses and American studies; activities for young people in the binational cultural centres of Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia; and radio programmes. Secondly, he explores the students' response to these examples of public diplomacy from the US. Thirdly, the article examines the support the US gave to the General Education Act (LGE, 1970) as part of the overhaul and modernisation of the Spanish education system, adapted to align with the new economic and political direction that began to emerge in the second half of the 1970s. However, the author concludes that the US ambition (along with other international institutions) to modernise Spain's education system ultimately failed, due to a range of political, economic and cultural circumstances, although it did go some way towards neutralising the growing anti-American sentiment among Spanish students – the fruit of military intervention and international political interference.

Student protests and activism on university campuses in Israel are the object of study in *Student protest and the «Legitimation Crisis» in Israel, 1965-1977* by Doron Timor (Tel Aviv University, Israel). These protests included fierce criticism of the government, which was not considered a legitimate leader of

the state. Student activism was an important part of the radical changes in the way Israeli students perceived their public role: the patriotism and conformity of students during Israel's first two decades of existence were ousted by critical social views, characterised by political and social discontent. The students' outcry focused on the major problems in the public arena, like government corruption and the central place of religion in daily life. Therefore, this historical-sociological investigation deals with the «crisis of legitimation» in Israeli society. The research combines three main theoretical perspectives, in order to understand the important role of students in Israeli politics and culture. The first is the global perspective of change in modern capitalist states, focusing on the influences from the successful welfare state projects in Western countries. The second is a more local outlook, aiming to understand the political and social problems in Israeli society that, in the late 1960s, morphed into the «first Zionist programme». Finally, the third part of the study centres on student activism and the role of students in modern society.

Taking an epistemological, methodical and content-based approach to the history of the school curriculum, Dimitrios Foteinos (University of Athens, Greece) contributes his study on *The formation of resistance culture in Greece and the history null curriculum: a preliminary account* in which he examines the repercussions of the past in the present through key Greek historical events, like the Civil War (1946-1949) or the student uprising against the military dictatorship in 1973. The author highlights how, in recent Greek history, the past has been used as an example to follow, especially in reference to the calls for civil disobedience and resistance against the State. In this context, he questions the use of history and how it is perceived as a way of constructing identities. To do this, he tackles the concept of a «culture of resistance» that arises through the use of history in the school curriculum, and the role that diverse historic narratives can play in the process of historical consciousness. Thus, it is argued that the «culture of resistance» is an effective means of political domination. Despite the origins, causes and consequences of this culture of resistance, the author proposes we reconsider national narratives beyond their carefully cultivated myths and misused narration of history. Thus, history could be understood as a way of shaping the present and future, rather than simply a product by which the past is consumed.

The last of the works explores the complex philosophical reaction to the events of May '68, with particular emphasis on the internal criticism of the left. Jones Irwin (Dublin City University, Ireland), in «*Et Après?*» - *The 1970s philosophical fallout from May '68 and its contemporary significance* refers to the theories of Lyotard and Debord, which can be viewed as prophetic and were certainly influential throughout the movements of the 1960s and in the riots of 1968. In contrast, the author points out that it is only after 1968 that self-criticism of leftist thinking emerged in Rancière's work. He also points to the work of Žižek, a scholar of both Marx and Lacan, and the way he too

takes a more idiosyncratic view of the socio-political issues relating to these movements. Professor Irwin concludes with reflections on the continuous intra-left discussion about the future potential of the events and vision of May '68. He raises open questions about: the self-criticism of Freire and the debate over critical pedagogy; Rancière's statements under the tutelage of Althusser and the misinterpretation of the process of social change; the lesson that the left need to learn – that global and unique «meta-narratives» do not work in real life, nor in history, however much they appeal to idealised reasoning. These reflections are left completely open so, as the author explains, in such a complex arena of interpretation and political praxis the «long '68» will doubtless continue to surprise us with its new iterations and metamorphoses.

Finally, to conclude this short introduction to the monograph, we wish to highlight the importance of these studies in giving us a better knowledge and understanding, from the perspective of the history of education, of the events of 1968 from the point of view of the main protagonists: the students. The students of the 1960s, together with other social factors, were essential in pressing for social change, and in leading a cultural revolution and political transformation that, with its successes and failures, resulted in very different social worldviews, political actions and pedagogical shifts.

Other social actors involved in Brazil's «Long '68» in the midst of the violence. Public-sphere representations of the Catholic Church's discourse and actions in solidarity with student agitators*

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ABSTRACT: The worldwide student mobilisation in 1968 managed to attract solidarity, and sometimes, direct participation from other social actors, outside of universities and informal youth contexts, including churches, civil movements, trade unions, politicians, artists, intellectuals and journalists. This article sets out to analyse the public representations of the Catholic Church's discourse and actions in support of Brazil's university students, in the face of the violence deployed by the military dictatorship in 1968. The focus is on four main aspects: 1) the physical and symbolic violence perpetrated against the students; 2) the times and spaces where public social interaction between students and religious figures occurred; (3) the Catholic Church's public discourse concerning the government's violence, expressed through the mouthpiece of the daily press; (4) the depiction of that violence given to ordinary Brazilian citizens through the press. The documentary sources consulted for this study include the news items, columns, photos, editorials and opinion pieces published in Brazil's main daily newspapers, whose *leitmotiv* matches our subject.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Brazil; University students; Catholic Church; Social consciousness; Public sphere; Daily press; 1968; Brazil.

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Introduction

The «long 1960s» saw profound changes in all areas of life. Of particular note amongst these changes was the emergence of young people, around the world, as a social, political, cultural and economic group which, though it was not clearly defined, was something new, something set apart, independent and plainly different from other age-based groupings (small children and adults). The young people's interests, possibilities, motives, aspirations and roles, both for their present and their future, were entirely separate from those held by the previous generation, and which the elders intended for the coming generations as well. Gradually, they became a politically relevant force, due in part to the general lowering of the legal voting age. In addition, in light of their increased purchasing power, they became one of the age groups on which it was most important to focus in industry, the markets and the different forms of advertising and propaganda, with an increasingly broad (and accessible) range of consumer options. The music industry, and particularly rock music (all variants), along with blue jeans, became a *bona fide* identity symbol, and one of the main channels of worldwide dissemination of the new youth culture, which spread readily thanks to the musical and graphic media, the growing impact of fashion in society and personal contact made possible by the rise in international tourism by young people, and the enhanced communication capacity between universities in different corners of the world. In parallel, the period also saw the circulation of new ways of existing in the world, some deriving from the raised awareness of the transitory nature of their condition and situation, the inexorable finitude of their own youth, which gave rise to expressions such as «live fast, die young», with a powerful symbolic content, but also a real, tangible impact; others deriving from the quest for other ways of seeing the world, to awaken new levels of self-awareness and awareness of their peers, or processes of ideologisation and political radicalisation¹.

Significant portions of that population sector stand out for their participation in the wave of new social movements or alternative movements, in which young people played a leading role – sometimes leading them and revitalising them, imbuing them with direction and purpose, and making them into something unique. Amongst other things, these movements, where the common denominator was a vague, tenuous idea of a better world – a freer,

Convocatoria 2018, both from the University of Valladolid (Spain). It is also part of a broader project, whose aim is to analyse the processes whereby social views on education were shaped by the daily press in time of political and social change in Mediterranean Europe and Latin America, conducted by the research group at the University of Valladolid *Agora de Educación* (www.agoradeeducacion.com); the authors of this article belong to that working group.

¹ E. Hobsbawm, *Historia del siglo XX*, Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 1999; A. Marwick, *The Cultural Revolution of the Long Sixties: Voices of Reaction, Protest, and Permeation*, «The International History Review», vol. 27, n. 4, 2005, pp. 780-806.

fairer world with greater solidarity – expanded the range of human interests which it is worth mobilising for, which merit organising protests or launch various types of dissidence, resistance or direct action to change reality, and the arenas of action and the physical and symbolic repertoires employed, beyond the traditional proletarian, civil or suffragist issues – and the manner of protesting – which, with various shifts, continued to be active. On the one hand, the alternative movements introduced ideological elements into their discourse which were critical of the prevailing ideas and practices of modernity, progress and development. This led, for example, to the development and road-testing of other – sometimes new – collective identities; attention being paid to non-human aspects that are crucial – and desirable – for humanity; and, especially, the revivification of broad sections of the world population who, up until that point, had existed on phantasmagorical planes, in the social, political and anthropological class of *nonpersons*. In addition, the movements completely redefined the ways of organising and of relating to one another, favouring decentralisation, direct participation, interpersonal solidarity, collective decision-making, redistribution of social assets and communication practices that were more fluid, more horizontal and informal, capable of reaching and drawing in other social actors – some of whom, on occasion, were members of other movements or activist groups. This involved creating and occupying spaces to operate that were more appropriate, in keeping with these new styles of living: spaces for non-institutional politics, pinched between the public and private arenas².

The student mobilisations that took place during 1968 were a «global moment» – «[...] events which were viewed in a wide variety of different ways (sometimes even in conflicting ways), but even so, were appropriated as global points of reference, and worked as such»³ – perhaps the pivotal «decade of student agitation *par excellence*»⁴. These movements can be considered a significant example of the forms taken by new social movements, and a radical example of young people in action, characterised by «their pure courage, an astonishing desire for action and a no-less-surprising confidence in the possibility of effecting change», capable of hearing the ‘tick-tock’ of the advancing future, who stood up against the older generation, those who «do not know, who are ignorant of the facts, or refuse to face up to them». Thus, they were a reflection of the increasingly acute tension between a) the pressure applied by the establishment in its efforts to depluralise communities

² J.M. Jasper, *Protesto*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 2016; I. Ofer, T. Groves, *Performing Citizenship. Social Movements across the Globe*, New York, Routledge, 2016; C. Offe, *New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics*, «Social Research», vol. 52, n. 4, 1985, pp. 817-868.

³ S. Conrad, *Historia Global. Una nueva visión para el mundo actual*, Barcelona, Editorial Planeta, 2017.

⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *Historia del siglo XX*, Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 1999.

to make it possible to live together, and b) the younger generation's efforts to foment the inevitable and necessary pluralism that facilitates freedom and gives meaning to democracy, which manifested in their rebellious nature – «singular individuals who refuse to be silenced by majority decision»⁵. The possibility of a future that was more attractive, freer, fairer, more peaceful and with greater solidarity, which the demonstrators could envisage, and which seemed to be within reach, was ultimately the utopian aim that united the extraordinarily disparate youth movements, including those in the USA, France, Italy, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Japan. Beyond this, they took on a huge number of nuances and peculiarities, depending on the cultural characteristics, political systems, alignments in the Cold War, socio-economic backgrounds and idiosyncrasies inherent in the geopolitical regions where they occurred. Even within each region, they differed from one university to the next, depending on the academic cultures, municipal traditions and the balance of social forces. Thus, there were arguments of general social interest, which appealed to all of humanity, such as the recasting of the senses, meanings and styles of democracies where they existed; reclamation of the rights, freedoms and securities that democracy offered, where they had been suspended, or condemnation of the Vietnam War; and there were also concrete areas of demands, such as the conditions of university education, the quality and quantity of additional services provided by universities, the organisation of curricula and the relative weight of student representation on the governing bodies⁶.

Irrespective of the specific motives and specific objectives, all student movements during this time period made use of an extensive repertoire of protest strategies, dissidence and resistance. These ranged from graffiti, posters, placards, slogans, gestures, expressions, fashions, aesthetic styles, and small but significant performative acts, to impromptu public assemblies, occupying installations, demonstrations, gatherings and other forms of direct action. Much like other essentially nonviolent protest groups which develop during the long 1960s, University students work conscious of the fact that, in order to exist socially, «an event needed to attract media attention», and that «Violence and violent rhetoric were the surest ways of gaining media coverage»⁷. Indeed, during 1968, young people and their actions occupied a significant portion of space in the daily press and other professional news media, shaping public opinion.

⁵ H. Arendt, *Sobre la violencia*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2006.

⁶ M. Boato, *Il lungo '68 in Italia e nel mondo*, Brescia, Editrice Morcelliana, 2018; E. Carey, *Protests in the Streets: 1968 Across the Globe*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing, 2016; T. Chaplin, J.E. Pieper Mooney, *The Global 1960s. Convention, contest and counterculture*, London, Routledge, 2017; R. González Férriz, 1968. *El nacimiento de un mundo nuevo*, Barcelona, Penguin Random House, 2018; M. Klimke, J. Scharloth, *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008; M. Kurlansky, 1968. *El año que conmocionó al mundo*, Barcelona, Destino, 2004.

⁷ M. Kurlansky, 1968. *El año que conmocionó al mundo*, Barcelona, Destino, 2004.

These reports highlighted the frenzy of the clashes between the students and the forces of law and order, the disproportionate and unrestrained violence that the authorities employed in their attempts to contain the students' demonstrations, break up their assemblies or evict them from university buildings. The reports also focused on the destruction of and damage to material property caused by the students' actions. Often, the style and tone of the media reports, which listed tactical detail and commented on the destructive potential of the clashing forces, were reminiscent of war journalism. A number of specially frenetic events, such as the Tlatelolco Massacre (in Mexico) and the barricades in France (*mai soixante-huit*), amongst others, attracted worldwide media coverage, with the international press devoting extensive reports to them, which set those events in stone, ensuring they would become significant points of reference for the realities and myths about the long '68, firmly fixed in society's collective mind.

The social experience of the different ways in which violence arose helped protest groups to find a place in the public sphere – where «tolerance is only extended to things that are considered appropriate, worthy of being seen or heard»⁸ – and thus often aided their continued existence. It also generated solidarity amongst individuals, protest groups and population sectors not involved in the mobilisation⁹. Such was the case with students. The force deployed and violence employed by the police or the army (depending on the case) to contain the university students helped them to establish alliances – not always clear cut, but sometimes ephemeral and often shifting – with other social actors, aside from workers' unions, such as intellectuals, artists, politicians, representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the nuclei, families and ordinary citizens who were drawn in by the events.

In Brazil, where a military dictatorship had been installed in 1964, the student movements are particularly noteworthy because of their frequency, intensity, magnitude, significance and social, political and media impact. Young Brazilians – university students in particular – soon became the vanguard of resistance, and proved to be one of the most active groups in the university community, most firmly committed to modernising the university system. Day in, day out, during 1968, there were occupations of installations and centres of education, experiments with self-management and radical democracy, assemblies, gatherings and demonstrations, as well as fierce clashes between the students and the forces of law and order. These conflicts sometimes ended with deaths, hundreds of injuries, thousands of arrests and all kinds of material damage. The result of this was that numerous cultural, social and political actors, such as the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement, the recognised

⁸ Arendt, *Sobre la violencia*, cit.

⁹ From this perspective, Frantz Fanon and Hannah Arendt's contributions may be of interest: H. Arendt, *Sobre la violencia*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2006; F. Fanon, *Los condenados de la tierra*, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1963.

opposition party), the Catholic Church, students' mothers, journalists, intellectuals, artists and workers' groups, felt themselves in solidarity with the students' activity, and publicly expressed that sentiment. The media reflected all of the above – especially the daily press, which gave ample coverage to the student protests. However, these activities ended in December of the same year, with *Ato Institucional* no. 5 (AI-5, Institutional Act No. 5), which marked the beginning of a new phase in the dictatorship, led by the *hard line*, which was characterised by, amongst other things, the intensification of repressive policies. Under this hardline regime, there was almost no room for organised action by students or any other resistance group.

In this article, we examine the public representations of the Catholic Church's discourse and action in solidarity with Brazil's university students, in the face of the military regime's violence in 1968. The primary areas of focus are (1) the physical and symbolic violence perpetrated against the students, (2) the times and spaces of public social interaction between students and clergy, (3) the public discourse of the Catholic Church on the subject of the government's violence, filtered through the daily press, and (4) the image of the Church conveyed by the press to ordinary Brazilian citizens. Though, from the outset, the Catholic Church voiced discourse and carried out actions in solidarity with the *youth in action*, and decried the violence employed by the military government, our analysis here focuses on two events which were particularly significant in response to AI-5, having an impact in the media at national level, becoming part of the symbology of student resistance to the dictatorship and of young people's collective frame of reference, memory and mind: the events at *Calabouço* restaurant (Rio de Janeiro, 28 March to 4 April) and the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* (March of the One Hundred Thousand, Rio de Janeiro, 26 June). The documentary sources consulted for this study are news items, columns, photos, editorials and opinion pieces from Brazil's main newspapers, whose *leitmotiv* matches our subject¹⁰. The articles were consulted at the following archives in Porto Alegre (Brazil): the *Arquivo Histórico de Porto Alegre Moysés Vellinho*, the *Museu da Comunicação Hipólito José da Costa* and the *Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul*¹¹.

Before proceeding, there are two important points that need to be made regarding the analytical perspective. Firstly, what is of interest to us here is not the scientific, philosophical, historical or political facts, but rather, the version

¹⁰ The following newspapers have been used as sources: «Correio do Povo», «Zero Hora», «Diário de Notícias», «Última Hora», «Tribuna da Imprensa», «Correio da Manhã», «Jornal do Comercio», «Jornal do Brasil», «Jornal dos Sports», «O Jornal», «Fôlha de São Paulo», «Diário de São Paulo», «O Globo», «O Estado de São Paulo» and «O Paiz». To avoid overburdening the text with notes and references, such citations are only given for documentary sources where verbatim quotations are made.

¹¹ We are eternally grateful for the assistance and facilities provided by Carlos Roberto Saraiva da Costa Leite and Patrícia Elisiane da Rocha Coser.

of events which was *presented* as fact – «what people similar to ourselves perceived»¹² – and which, therefore, became part of the substance of reality from which ordinary citizens wove the tapestry of «collective memories»¹³ – recollections shared between groups of people, viewed through the lens of each individual's experiences and aspirations – and «social minds» – the way in which the people «conceive of their social existence, and view the type of relationships they have with one another, the type of things that happen between them, the expectations they usually meet, and the normative images and ideas underlying those expectations [...] which facilitates the common practices and a broadly shared feeling of legitimacy»¹⁴ – at least, amongst the members of that particular «imagined community»¹⁵ formed of newspaper readers and, indirectly, those people falling within the circle of influence of the aforementioned readers¹⁶.

Secondly, partly from the perspective of the totalitarian language employed, we turn our attention to a critical and ideological analysis of the discourse – both verbal and actions – of solidarity, protest and day-to-day resistance on the part of the Catholic Church which, having been filtered and modulated by the so-called *Fourth Estate* (the media), reached ordinary citizens¹⁷.

1. Representations of student mobilisation and institutional repression in Brazil's daily press during 1968

During the long 1960s, Latin America was one of the strategic geopolitical regions in the Cold War, especially in the wake of the successful Cuban revolution and the resulting shock waves, which saw US presence ramped up in the region, with America redoubling its efforts in terms of economic, social and

¹² H. Arendt, *La condición humana*, Barcelona, Paidós, 1993.

¹³ M. Halbwachs, *La memoria colectiva*, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2004.

¹⁴ C. Taylor, *Imaginario sociales modernos*, Barcelona, Paidós, 2006.

¹⁵ B. Anderson, *Comunidades imaginadas*, Mexico, D. F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993.

¹⁶ These ideas are discussed in greater detail in: J.L. Hernández Huerta, *Metáforas de la prensa diaria para la historia de la educación. Del 'largo '68' al fin de la 'tercera ola' en la Europa mediterránea e Iberoamérica*, «História da Educação», vol. 22, n. 54, 2018, pp. 19-28. On the question of truth and lies in the public sphere – politics in particular – the following may be of interest: H. Arendt, *Verdad y mentira en la política*, Madrid, Página indómita, 2017; A. Koyre, *La función política de la mentira moderna*, Madrid, Pasos Perdidos, 2015; J. Swift, *El arte de la mentira política*, Madrid, Sequitur, 2009.

¹⁷ Our analysis is founded on the ideas and concepts discussed in: V. Klemperer, *La lengua del Tercer Reich*, Barcelona, Minúscula, 2001; M. Rosúa, *El archipiélago Orwell*, Madrid, Grupo Unisón Producciones, 2001; J.C. Scott, *Everyday Forms of Resistance*, «Copenhagen Papers», vol. 1, n. 4, 1989, pp. 33-62; J.C. Scott, *Los dominados y el arte de la resistencia*, Mexico, D.F., Ediciones Era, 2000; T.A. Van Dijk, *Análisis del discurso ideológico*, «Versión», vol. 6, 1996, pp. 15-43; T.A. Van Dijk, *El análisis crítico del discurso*, «Anthropos», vol. 186, 1999, pp. 23-36.

cultural development end, in a number of cases, interfering in national policy, by promoting or supporting authoritarian governments. In addition, Latin America was where the cultural transformations and new social movements took on a number of nuances. Both were marked by increasing secularisation and pluralisation of society, the influence of the second Vatican Council and the different ways in which the nascent theology of liberation could be understood and could manifest itself. This was partly due to the emergence of the indigenous issue, influenced by the decolonisation movements in Africa and the Caribbean, and the then groundbreaking post-colonial ideas of Frantz Fanon. Also influential was the second wave of feminism, which began changing the way in which the two genders related to one another, dismantling the patriarchy, increasing the number of positions in society which women could hold (including at university), intensifying the process of women's politicisation and imbuing them with new ideas, self-awareness and awareness of their own relationship with the wider world. One final influencing factor was the leading role played by the arts – music in particular – which took on unique and varied modes, becoming the medium and message of protest against national dictatorships and colour more broadly, against imperialism, and «conveyed a participatory educational message of action, and through television, popular culture reflected new ways of expressing the self»¹⁸. All of the above helped to awaken a sense of justice and liberation which went beyond the usual objectives of revolution.

University students, who were immersed in a burgeoning process of politicization which brought them into contact with progressive, radical and/or Marxist/socialist ideas – in the broadest sense – were especially moved by anti-imperialist ideas and sentiments, and the violent and intense repression exercised by the military juntas, but also by the effect of mass university education, the quality and quantity of services provided by higher education institutions, the authoritarian nature and outdatedness of those institutions. In Brazil, from the early 1960s onwards, students came together, emerging as a political and social force with initiative and the capacity to mobilise, and as an academic group committed to democratisation, modernisation and extension of the university as an institution. This resulted in situations such as that of the so-called 'excedentes' (surplus) – students who, though they had fulfilled the requirements and been accepted to university, could not take up their studies due to a lack of actual available spaces on the course – and protest actions, such as the *greve do 1/3* in 1963 – a strike which called for one third of positions on university representative bodies to be held by students¹⁹.

¹⁸ R. Bruno-Jofré, *The 'Long 1960s' in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-defining Assumptions of Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice, and Questioning Education*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 5-27.

¹⁹ K.M.Z. Braghini, *A história dos estudantes 'excedentes' nos anos 1960: a superlotação das universidades e um 'torvelinho de situações improvisadas'*, «Educar em Revista», n. 51, 2014, pp. 123-144; L.A. Groppo, *As novas esquerdas e o movimento estudantil no Brasil: 1961-1967*, in

The student rebellions of 1968 affected practically every country in the region, but especially Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay, where the mobilisation attracted vast numbers and involved other social actors, and where the use of institutional violence to contain the movements reached astonishing levels of intensity. In the latter three cases, under «very different political regimes, the mainly student-populated protests of 1968 resulted in an exponential increase in the respective Governments' capacity to exercise control»²⁰ and, as a consequence, the proliferation of armed revolutionary groups – sometimes with terrorist ideologies. In Argentina, on the other hand, the most significant student-led events happened in 1969, in the well-known Rosariazo and Cordobazo events, which ultimately brought down Juan Carlos Onganía's dictatorship²¹.

Indeed, Brazil was one of the most salient focal points of student activity. There, from the earliest days of the military dictatorship in April 1964, university students were embroiled in national security policies, treated as a population sector of interest with priority, due to their perceived closeness and permeability to the so-called «communist infiltration»²² – a totalitarian expression denoting an abstract danger as well as a broad, diffuse and polyvalent category of enemy, both within and without, covering all ideas and practices which were outside the orbit of the principles and styles of the 'revolution of 64'. Thus, *Operação Limpeza*, the aim of which was to purify the administration and other political, social and cultural spheres of Brazil's community, had a considerable impact on the university system, where hundreds of professors and thousands of students suffered repression. For the first 24 hours of the military regime, the central headquarters of the *União Nacional dos Estudantes* (UNE) – the country's main student union – in Rio de Janeiro, was occupied, and later

M.I.M. Nascimento, J. Claudinei Lombardi, D. Saviani, *20 anos de HISTEDBR*, Campinas, SP, HISTEDBR, 2006, pp. s/p; R.P.S. Motta, *As Universidades e o Regime Militar. Cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 2014.

²⁰ V. Markarian, *Uruguay, 1968. Some Lines of an Analysis based on the Survey of the Student Protest in a Peripheral Country*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 129-143.

²¹ R. Bruno-Jofré, *The 'Long 1960s' in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-defining Assumptions of Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice, and Questioning Education*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 5-27.

²² According to Motta, from the early 1960s onward, in keeping with the global wave, university students in Brazil found themselves immersed in a burgeoning process of politicisation, increasingly leaning toward progressive, radical and Marxist/socialist ideas; they were in sympathy, and were attracted by an undefined type of socialism, based on social justice and equity – not necessarily the Soviet model of socialism, which attracted only a minority of subscribers; the propositions and capital development model – especially the plans drawn up for Latin America by the USA – garnered little enthusiasm and precious little sympathy in the students' ranks, leading them to lend their allegiance to anti-imperialist discourse. Slowly, they developed an acute social awareness of the condition and situation of workers and peasants. As a result, the students staged bigger demonstrations of their dissatisfaction, indignation and concern than did the peasants themselves, in relation to the problems of the north-east of the country (Motta, *As Universidades e o Regime Militar. Cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*, cit.).

razed to the ground, the foremost leaders were neutralised and the organisation was officially dismantled and forced underground. Soon afterwards, the first students were expelled from the universities, and prohibited from pursuing their studies, and others were detained, subjected to a military trial, tortured or simply «disappeared»; the number of such unfortunate victims rose steadily throughout the dictatorship's time in power. In addition to these strategies to dismantle student dissidence and control their institutional, political and social participation, administrative measures were also employed, such as the *Lei Suplicy* (1964) which replaced the UNE with the *Diretório Nacional dos Estudantes* (DNE), *Operação Rondon* (1967) and a range of partial university reforms, the purpose of which was to allow a 'silent majority' to democratically conquer sectors deemed radical, combat part of the most critical political and cultural discourse, and appease sectors who simply wanted Brazil's university system to be modernised. Yet these measures failed to satisfy the students, and the physical, administrative and symbolic violence deployed by the government merely fanned the flames, intensifying the politicisation process and, once the initial shock of the *Operação* had passed, the cycles of youth protests, which were in turn repressed harshly (sometimes extremely harshly) by the forces of law and order. One particularly tragic example is the so-called *Praia Vermelha* Massacre (Rio de Janeiro, 1966)²³.

1967 had seen the students win a few small victories: the repeal of the *Lei Suplicy* (November 1967) and the launch of the *Comissão Especial Meira Mattos* (December 1967) – the commission charged with a general reform of the university system. Emboldened by these successes, they redoubled the intensity of their protests in 1968, particularly between March and October, with actions taking place across all university centres. These public actions included assemblies, snap elections, strikes, demonstrations and campus occupations; also, within these movements, they experimented with self-management and genuine democracy. Of particular note was the development of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of São Paulo, known as '*paritárias*', as well as various student houses, such as the *Casa do Estudante Universitário Aparicio Cora de Almeida* (Porto Alegre) which became a forum for independent youth, the social construction of democracy and, above all, resistance to the dictatorship. The students' motives in deploying such a repertoire of protest actions were

²³ C. Dunn, *Desbunde and its Discontents: Counterculture and Authoritarian Modernization in Brazil, 1968–1974*, «The Americas», vol. 70, n. 3, 2015, pp. 429-458; L.a.V. Fernandes, *A repressão contra os professores nas universidades latino-americanas durante a ditadura: os casos da UFMG (1964-1969) e da UTE (1973-1981)*, «Cuadernos Chilenos de Historia de la Educación», vol. 2, n. 2, 2015, pp. 86-120; Motta, *As Universidades e o Regime Militar. Cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*, cit.; J.C. Rothen, *La reforma universitaria brasileña de 1968*, «Revista de la Educación Superior», vol. 35, n. 1, 2006, pp. 43-61; J.L. Sanfelice, *A UNE na resistência ao golpe de 1964 e à ditadura civil-militar*, in J. Marco, H. Gordim da Silveira, J. Valim Mansan, *Violência e Sociedade em Ditaduras Ibero-Americanas no Século XX: Argentina, Brasil, Espanha e Portugal*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2015, pp. 61-78.

diverse, covering a broad spectrum of issues: the extension and improvement of primary and secondary education, the Vietnam War, anti-imperialism, the reclamation of democracy, judicial guarantees and respect of rights, an amnesty law, agreements between the Ministry of Education (MEC) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the rescinding of the Acto Institucional, the various aspects of university reform (over-enrolment, aid, quotas of representation, conversion of universities into foundations, etc.), the violent reactions to public forms of protest and repression – persecution, incarceration, torture, disappearance of students – carried out by the Military Police (PM), the army and the Federal Police (PF)²⁴.

Youth issues – student issues in particular – were closely monitored by the press, which granted them wide coverage and considerable media space, with related news items almost every day, and frequently occupying the front pages. Editorials, opinion pieces, reports, columns and news items, much like the student mobilisation, took place in a professional environment steeped in violence, which came in many different forms. There were occupations of news headquarters, persecutions, abuses and disappearances of journalists. A complex system of censorship was established that encompassed self-censorship of the journalists (adopted for preventive purposes by the journalists themselves) and the censorship exercised by the government through cuts to funding, national security policies and the passing of a press law that curtailed the principles of honest, free and objective news upon which the profession was, purportedly, built²⁵. The repressive environment also had an impact on the language, style and content of publications – at least those linked to the student issue.

The representation of the student rebellion given to the Brazilian public by the press was complex, at times contradictory, and fairly fluid²⁶. Yet violence,

²⁴ K.M.Z. Braghini, *'Imagined Communities': Student and Revolutionary Movements in the Headlines of Mass Media Newspapers and Magazines During the Brazilian Dictatorship*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 41-62; M.V.C. Da Conceição, *Reflexões sobre o movimento estudantil e o Maio de 1968*, in N. Viana, *O Movimento Estudantil em foco*, Goiânia, Edições Redelp, 2016, pp. 75-98; S. De Moraes Freire, *Movimento estudantil no Brasil: lutas passadas, desafios presentes*, «Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana», n. 11, 2008, pp. 131-146; M.L. Hinterholz, *Gringos versus Communists: a look at the Civil-Military Dictatorship in Brazil from the Casa do Estudante Universitário Aparício Cora de Almeida (1963-1981)*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 139-157; Motta, *As Universidades e o Regime Militar. Cultura política brasileira e modernização autoritária*, cit.; M.L.D.M. Vieira, 68: *Os estudantes mineiros e o desejo de um novo mundo*, in J.R. Martins Filho, *1968 faz 30 anos*, Campinas, SP, Mercado de Letras, 1998, pp. 77-93.

²⁵ M. Barbosa, *História cultural da imprensa. Brasil, 1900-2000*, Rio de Janeiro, Mauad X, 2007; Á. Larangeira, C.F. Musse, J.M. Da Silva, *1968 de maio a dezembro. Jornalismo, imaginário e memória*, Porto Alegre, Editora Sulina, 2018; R. Romancini, C. Lago, *História do jornalismo no Brasil*, Florianópolis, Insular, 2007.

²⁶ A deeper analysis of these issues can be found in: J.L. Hernández Huerta, *El '68 más allá de las primaveras boreales: representaciones en la esfera pública de los estudiantes universitarios brasileños en acción*, «Education Policy Analysis Archives», vol. 26, n. 66, 2018, pp. 1-30; J.L. Hernández Huerta, *Representações dos movimentos estudantis brasileiros na imprensa diária*

whether physical or symbolic, became one of the principal threads of the narratives constructed by the media, manifesting itself in the picture painted of the students, in the words used, the style of argument and weaving together of news items, and also in the content – both in its selection and in the space given to it. The image of the students that was most consistently projected, and therefore the image that seeped into Brazilians' collective consciousness, was of a purely revolutionary group: well organised, violent, unwilling to engage in dialogue, allied with the exiled opposition, managed by cells run by foreign international communists, responsible for chaos, material destruction, violence, the suffering of everyday citizens and trying to destabilise the order, peace and progress fostered by the «Revolution of 64».

Symbolic violence is also to be found in some totalitarian traits that the media took on, in the language they used and the argumentative strategies. The theory of «communist infiltration» and the «silent majority» developed by the government and constantly reinforced by the press, are two clear examples. The first of these, which is most evident at the height of the student movements, was an implication that, rather than operating legitimately and of their own free will, they were being manipulated by foreign forces, by international communism, which was viewed as the main enemy, both within Brazil and internationally. Consequently, when the protests ceased to be an exclusively student issue, becoming one of national security, any tactics deployed by the government to contain them, including violence, would be viewed as reasonable to some degree, and even necessary. This theory had two clear effects on public opinion: firstly, it robbed the student movements of much of their specificity, autonomy and legitimacy; and secondly, it helped create a broader, more diffuse and multifaceted type of public enemy. The theory of the «silent majority» complemented this, representing a totalitarian example of double standards, and the strategies of conceptual, ideological and material eviction/occupation of the expression «democratic life». This theory holds that there were two categories of students: the authentic – the majority, who had legitimate aspirations – and the false – a minority that sought to disrupt the order, peace and freedom enjoyed by ordinary citizens.

Although the press generally reinforced the official discourse, there were areas, such as columns, informative reviews, and news items where, given their supposed dispassion, objectivity, impartiality and accuracy, with little room for interpretation, ordinary citizens could be informed of the government's violent repression of the students. In other sections of the papers, the students' true motives were revealed, belying the official story which, largely, portrayed them as rioting over the issue of university funding. Some details about the students' attitudes also leaked through, indicating that they were willing to negotiate

and conduct dialogue with the government. Similarly, the public were given an idea of the broader range of the students' demands, touching on the Vietnam War, the crisis of over-enrolment, the improvement of material conditions, the modernisation and democratisation of universities, and especially, the dictatorial and repressive nature of the federal government. Details about the extent and intensity of the violence deployed against the students also filtered through, thanks to style of journalism – akin to war journalism – adopted by the newspapers. Streets and squares were depicted as war zones; the clashes between students and the police were reported as if they were battles; and tactical details were given – e.g. the destructive force used, and the number of wounded, dead and detained. The events of *Calabouço* (Rio de Janeiro, 28 March to 4 April) and the events surrounding the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* (Rio de Janeiro, 26 June) offer two representative examples.

In March 1968 a group of students peacefully protesting outside *Calabouço*, the university restaurant (Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro), because of the halting of the remodelling and sanitation work at the restaurant, was forcibly broken up by the Military Police, using truncheons, tear gas and firearms, including high-calibre machine guns. Seventy-two students were arrested, several wounded, two with serious gunshot wounds, and one death: Nelson Luiz Lima Souto, aged 17, who was shot in the head. The press, in keeping with the line spun by the government, indicated that the students were congregating to protest against the Vietnam War, that they were belligerent, and that the student demonstration had been infiltrated by external elements.

These events unleashed a wave of student protests across the country condemning the institutional violence, which continued until 4 April: the date of the Seventh-Day Mass for Nelson. The movements in Rio de Janeiro were particularly intense. There, on 30 March 30, the clashes between students and the combined force of the *Department of Political and Social Order* (DOPS) and the army resulted in two deaths, 60 students and 39 police wounded, 321 people arrested, and two police vehicles put out of service – one burnt out, and the other destroyed. The young protesters were depicted as violent, tactical and guerrilla-like – some armed with pistols – and the area was described as a battlefield. In addition, on the day of the Mass, celebrated on 4 April at the *Igreja da Candelária* (Rio de Janeiro), the thousands of attendees – most of them students – were met by a heavy security force, including several helicopters and armoured cars, in addition to the usual contingent of PM, DOPS and cavalry units, who were posted around the church and at strategic points in the area. After the Mass, the cavalry charged at the congregation (including journalists covering the event), with no prior warning. The resulting clash lasted over two hours, leaving many wounded and more than 240 students in custody.

The arrest of the student leader Jean Marc von der Weid, on 18 June 1968, sparked a series of events that culminated in the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* – the single largest movement in Brazil's history – which took place on 26 June in

Rio de Janeiro. On the 19th, several thousand students who were peacefully protesting in front of the Ministry of Education asking for the release of federal aid, were dispersed by over 4,000 law-enforcement officers, armed with riot equipment of the kind used in Paris the previous month, a helicopter, several military vehicles and cavalry units. Over 20 students and 30 soldiers were wounded, dozens of students arrested, a military vehicle pelted with stones, and a great deal of material damage was caused in the area. The following day, the MP and DOPS surrounded the campus of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) to prevent students from going out on the streets again. On the 21st, with the intention of arranging an audience with the Minister for Education, more than a thousand students demonstrated in the streets of Rio. According to reports, the *Passeata* took place without altercation until a group of young people decided to throw stones at the US Embassy. Then, the MP, DOPS, five helicopters, various military vehicles and cavalry units entered into the action, using firearms, truncheons and tear gas. Once again, the accounts would not have been out of place in a time of war. The clashes lasted more than ten hours and extended across different areas of the city. The violence reached such magnitudes (affecting the reporters, among others) that local residents decided, in human solidarity, to give the students shelter in their homes. They called the military murderers, and threw stones, paperweights and other items at them from the windows. The clashes resulted in two deaths, dozens of gunshot victims, several hundred injured by blunt weapons or gas, over a thousand detainees, five military vehicles destroyed and enormous material damage to the streets and local shops.

These events, in which disproportionate institutional violence was evident, motivated the students in Rio to call a new demonstration for 26 June; this time, from the outset, the event would have the support – and, later, participation – of other social, cultural and political actors, with specific sway in the community. Thanks to the pressure exerted by these groups and the press, whose scrutiny forced the government to abandon its repression tactics, the *Passeata* was able to take place despite the high tension. The march involved over 100,000 people, mostly students, in solidarity protesting against the dictatorship, and occurred without incident, though under the watchful eye of more than 10,000 troops of the MP and DOPS, with several helicopters also deployed. The event marked a turning point in the public attention paid to the student issue:

Para observadores políticos, a crise desencadeada nos últimos dias nas ruas das principais cidades do País, sob o comando estudantil, adquiriu, desde ontem, a característica de um fato político que fatalmente se refletirá dentro do Governo do Marechal Costa e Silva, provocando o confronto entre as tendências dura e liberal [...] Não é mais possível, para os analistas [...], encarar-se os acontecimentos de ontem na Guanabara como manifestação de pequenos grupos inconformados. A presença de verdadeira multidão valeu como

prova de inconformismo, que tende a gerar novos fatos e no futuro, podendo envolver os trabalhadores²⁷.

This and other violent clashes aroused popular solidarity with the students in a variety of ways. New methods of protest were also introduced, by other social groups with influence in the community and the capacity for mobilisation who, along with students, found space in different public, social and political spheres. The press leaked and granted page space to the involvement of the MDB in the different state legislative assemblies, to the artists and intellectuals who involved themselves with the students' cause, to the press itself, to the mothers of the students, and to the Catholic Church.

2. *The Catholic Church's position in relation to students' issues in Brazil*

The views expressed at the Second Vatican Council, especially by Hélder Câmara, and the existence of a number of dynamic Christian movements, such as the Basic Ecclesial Communities, leading to the theology of liberation at the Second Latin American Episcopal Council, held in Medellín, amongst other things, made Brazil one of the most noteworthy sites of the critical renaissance of the Catholic Church. In addition to important theological questions, this involved, amongst other things, reducing distance from the contemporary modern world, observing it, understanding it and acting upon it in favour of social justice and international peace, greater social commitment and more decisive action on the side of the *others*, the poor, the marginalised, non-persons and those suffering injustice, violence and shortcomings of various types²⁸.

These winds of change led a very significant part of Brazil's Church to pay close attention to the student issues, understood to be the expression of more profound shifts taking place in young people, making an effort to understand their motives, their demands, their aspirations and their actions; these clergy felt a sense of solidarity with the students because of the violence to which they were subjected, and began taking an active and visible role in the communications between the students and the government. During 1968, these were some of the main threads of argument which wove together the filtered discourse and

²⁷ Redacção, *Crise estudantil reflete em Costa*, «O Paiz», June 27, 1968.

²⁸ *Concilio Ecuménico Vaticano II. Constituciones, Decretos y Declaraciones*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2004; R. Bruno-Jofré, *Educación popular en América Latina durante la década de los setenta y ochenta: una cartografía de sus significados políticos y pedagógicos*, «Foro de Educación», vol. 14, n. 20, 2016, pp. 429-451; Ead., *The 'Long 1960s' in a Global Arena of Contention: Re-defining Assumptions of Self, Morality, Race, Gender and Justice, and Questioning Education*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 6, n. 1, 2019, pp. 5-27; J. Igelmo Zaldívar, *Desescolarizar la vida. Ivan Illich y la crítica de las instituciones educativas*, Madrid, Enclave de Libros, 2016.

the representations, made by the daily press, of the Catholic Church and its relations with the student rebellion – at least, in the first six months of the year.

The events at the *Calabouço*, which demonstrated the virulence of the repression employed by the government to neutralise the student movement, drew a reaction from the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church. From that point onwards, these clergy took on a certain protagonistic role in relation to the student issues, coming to have a bigger presence in the media. Only a few days after Nelson Luiz's death, the press conveyed the condemnation expressed by the *Arzobispo de Goiânia*, the *Curia Metropolitana de Guanabara* and the *Associação de Educação Católica da Guanabara* (ASCG). Although they demonstrated their support for the «revolution of 64» and lent credit to the idea of «infiltration», they roundly condemned the excesses and violence unleashed by the PM and DOPS during the gatherings, demonstrations and religious celebrations, and also the fact that the death, pain and grief caused by this violence was being exploited for party-political purposes. In addition, they declared themselves in solidarity with the cause of the protesting university students (considered a generation free from suspicion), calling for mutual understanding and dialogue between the students and the government as the only way of resolving the conflict in a way which could be relatively satisfactory for all. They asked for a profound analysis of the causes of the dissatisfaction and frustration behind the protests. The priest Vicente Faria, on behalf of the ASCG, sent an eloquent and clear memo to the press, described thus:

é crime inqualificável aproveitar-se para fins políticos do sangue de um joven para perturbar ainda mais a orden constituída e neutralizar uma justa ação das forças juvenis, que em momento de natural indignação, representam im brado de alerta, pois graves, numerosas, contínuas e desumanas estão sendo as repressões aos jovens em todo país. [...] Há porém, situações cuja injustiça brada aos céus. Essa é a situação que os jovens querem apontar, pois, são a única força em ascensão, não deteriorada pelas conseqüências do período pré-revolucionário²⁹.

The Church was also moved by the provocation of violence and repression by the PM and DOPS on 4 April, during the Seventh Day Mass for the young man. The next day, the Metropolitan Curia of Guanabara published a 4-page official statement, which was succinctly summarised by the press, signed by José de Castro Pinto, curate general of the archdiocese, Vicente Adamo, head of *Associação de Educação Católica* (AEC) and rector of *Colégio Santo Antonio Maria Zacharias*, calling for ways of finding dialogue between the government and the students «para uma compreensão mútua dentro da técnica cristá e humana»³⁰, pointing out the futility of any dialogue with «o poder que tem a

²⁹ Redacção, *Manifestações Estudantis No País. Exército Assumiu Ontem O Policiamento de Goiânia*, «Correio do Povo», April 3, 1968.

³⁰ Redacção, *Ambiente Estudantil Volta À Calma Após A Agitação Dos Últimos Dias*, «Correio do Povo», April 6, 1968.

arma como argumento» as one of the primary causes of students' dissatisfaction, and the fact that the police cordon set up around the *Candelária* managed only to break the peaceable order of the students' event:

o aparato militar montado para manter a orden quando da missa na Igreja da Candelária por incrível que pareça, foi o que contribuiu para perturbá-la, mediante provocações gratuitas, inclusive con agressões físicas e lançamento de bombas lacrimênicas contra um povo que se manifestava ordeiro, acatando a orientação das lideranças estudantis e do Clero para não revidar os ataques recibidos³¹.

From then until the end of June, the Church continued to denounce the violence of the forces of law and order, but, at the same time, began making substantial effort to facilitate meetings and negotiations between the government and the students, to promote university reform, and in so doing, end the conflict. Thus, thanks to the coverage given to such initiatives by the press, gradually, the mediating but critical mindset gained traction and relevance in building the public image of the Church.

José de Castro Pinto and Vicente Adamo were two prominent figures who achieved public recognition, as they served as official mouthpieces, and also had a very good understanding of the issues surrounding the student mobilisation. They frequently met with the parties involved, to listen to what they had to say, attempt to serve as mediators, and pass messages on. On 8 April, they were granted an audience with Gama e Silva, the Minister of Justice. During the meeting, which lasted 2½ hours, 3 questions were dealt with: the definition of the church in relation to the student issues, the new profile of the leaders of the student body, and the demands voiced by the students. The two clergymen conveyed to the minister the idea that the students – especially those who had played a leading role – demonstrated clear awareness, evident in the autonomy and specificity of the movement, its essentially non-partisan and apolitical nature, and the sincere concern for popular sectors of the population, and the most deprived areas of the country («estudantes tornaram-se os portavozes do povo, e suas aflições e reivindicações»), the rejection of any form of violence and vandalism, and fair demands in relation to higher education. In this respect, Fr. Adamo presented and analysed the problems faced by students, managing to put across their views; thus, he highlighted the potential danger of the foreign interference in culture and education that was represented by the MEC-USAID

³¹ Redacção, *Novas passeatas, dois manifestos*, «Zero Hora», April 8, 1968. Vicente Scherer, Archbishop of Porto Alegre, in his weekly radio broadcast – reproduced in *Correio do Povo* – said that «[...] a violência empregada, por exemplo, nestes días no Rio de Janeiro contra estudantes, não sei como se poderia legitimar», and firmly stated that dialogue and mutual understanding between the government and the students were the way forward (Redacção, *D. Vicente não vê como Legitimar Violências contra os estudantes*, «Correio do Povo», April 9, 1968). Jorge Marcos, Bishop of Santo André, during the Seventh-Day May, made a speech «repudiando a ação brutal da polícia contra estudantes e operariado».

agreements, the urgent need to revisit the judicial appeals, and the necessity of putting in place a social welfare system for students struggling financially, increasing public spending on education, and establishing a proportional distribution of annual fees, which should be adjusted to what each student was able to pay, ensuring it would be free for the very poorest. There were two facets to the Church's own position on the student issues. Firstly, at an institutional level, as a hierarchy, manifesting its solidarity with the students, the Church acted as moderator and mediator. As such, it felt sympathy for the students' «justas reivindicações», which it would support, provided they were enacted within certain limits which «moral cristã possa aceitar». In any case, it fundamentally rejected violence of all forms. On the other hand, the clergyman made it clear that the church could not exert any personal influence over the priests and nuns who, individually, decided to take part in the students' mobilisations; just like the rest of Brazil's citizens, with respect to social and political issues, they would remain free to choose on the basis of their own Conscience. Finally, José de Castro and Vicente Adamo showed Gama e Silva that, historically, violence has never worked when used as a tool to contain action by university students – quite the opposite, in fact. With this in mind, they recommended attempting to find preventive solutions, within the ideals of «educação para a liberdade e para o respeito pela dignidade humana». Both the Minister and the two clergymen were said to be satisfied with the outcome of the meeting. Immediately afterwards, the curate general held a press conference, explaining that priests had chosen to participate in the protests unleashed by the killing of Nelson Luiz in order to protect the populace from brutality at the hands of the police, and that the Church's aim was to encourage reconciliation between the government and the students. He also pointed out that the students' burning dissatisfaction was caused by «intolerância e de ausência de diálogo e compreensão», and suggested that:

Uma atitude de justiça por parte do govêrno com relação aos que sentem injustiçados pelo castigo poderia restituir ao País uma confiança no govêrno, que de outra forma não poderia sentir-se como guardião dos direitos humanos do povo³².

Over the next few weeks, newspapers carried reports of the small but significant advances made by the Church to facilitate an initial meeting between representatives of the student groups and the government. Thus, on 24 April, José de Castro met with Costa e Silva to discuss the student issue and attempt to promote dialogue with the students. At the conclusion of the meeting, de Castro told the press that he was satisfied, as he had seen that the President was «profundamente interesado e deseja, tanto quanto nós, uma solução razoável», and emphasised the idea that the Church would act as mediator:

³² Redacção, *Padres debatem com Gama e Silva reivindicações estudantis e cassações*, «Tribuna da Imprensa», April 9, 1968.

Nós não desejamos substituir os estudantes ou governo. Mas apenas facilitar o diálogo entre ambos. Agora teremos um encontro direto entre o governo e os estudantes, que é a solução natural que todos desejam³³.

At the same time, in order to delve more deeply into the causes of the malaise and explore possible avenues for resolving the conflict, the Church looked for dialogue with the students, which came about on 7 May, at *Colégio Santo Antonio Maria Zacharias* (Rio de Janeiro), with José de Castro Pinto and Vicente Adamo in attendance, as representatives of the Church, and the student leaders of the *Diretórios Acadêmicos* (DAs) and the outlawed UNE, UME, UBES and AMES. In the days leading up to the event, a number of newspapers reported on some of the issues that were likely to be discussed at the meeting, the stances of the various actors involved, and the different expectations regarding the outcome of that meeting on the part of its different participants. The aforementioned Church representatives, and the priest José Negreiros, a professor at the *Colégio*, organiser and delegate for the 7 May meeting, all warned that any type of violence would jeopardise the dialogue process.

Negreiros, a few days prior to the meeting, made declarations to the press, showing himself to be sceptical of the chance of success of the planned dialogue between the students and the government, in view of the «própria estrutura do País». And the number of the students demands to which the government would find it hard to acquiesce, such as the legalisation of UNE and UME as a *conditio sine qua non* for the initiation of dialogue. He expressed the concern that, even in the highly unlikely case that the students managed to bring about the reform in accordance with their demands, «estarão sempre a reivindicar e criticar a estrutura de nossa sociedade, porque o que desejam realmente é a transformação total do Brasil»³⁴.

The mediators for the Catholic Church, José de Castro and Vicente Adamo, in their statements to the press, adopted a stance which was pragmatic, conciliatory, progressive and carried a certain amount of optimism. They said they were convinced that, in spite of the difficulties which existed, they would eventually be overcome and dialogue between the students and government would take place, in view of their common interest in resolving what was a shared problem. In addition, they assuaged the concerns of the leaders of UNE, UME and UBES, caused by the fact that they would not have a presence in the negotiations, pointing out that, as these organisations had officially been dissolved, their leaders could only interject as individuals. They also felt that the students' refusal to engage in talks was the wrong strategy, as it could «ser aproveitado contra eles próprios». They advised the students that, in preparation for negotiations with Tarso Dutra, the Minister for Education, they should set

³³ Redação, *Costa e Silva interessado. Bispo abre o diálogo: governo e estudantes*, «Correio do Povo», April 25, 1968.

³⁴ Redação, *Prisões vão dificultar diálogo com os jovens*, «Correio da Manhã», May 3, 1968.

up a committee of 15 or 20 representatives of «todas as tendências existentes no movimento, de esquerda e de direita», capable of drawing up a «lista objetiva dos problemas existentes na Universidade», and advised the government to consider the wisdom of ending the prohibition on the above student organisations: this was the main requirement, as it would open up the door to negotiation, directly and simultaneously, with the students and the groups. They reiterated, once more, that the Church's role in resolving the student unrest was merely one of facilitating dialogue, «aplainando as difereças previas que possam existir», and that, under no circumstances, «pode substituir nem os estudantes nem o Governo». In spite of the high hopes for the meeting, a number of religious figures feared that, whatever the outcome of the machinations to bring about dialogue, there would continue to be students who aimed to «manifestar seu protesto contra a repressão violenta às manifestações estudantis, às deficiências do ensino no Brasil e ao cercamento da liberdade de crítica e opinião»³⁵.

The meeting on 7 May between the student and the church's representatives took place in an atmosphere of tension, with the announcement of renewed student mobilisation in Rio de Janeiro the threat of a resounding response from the government which cover should it come about, would, as José de Castro put it, «o fim do diálogo»³⁶. The meeting was chaired by Castro Pinto and Adamo, and attended by the leaders of UNE, UME, UBES, AMES and DCES, along with 59 DAs. The main priorities were to clearly define the positions of each party, and choose the number and the specific delegates who would make up the committee in charge of negotiating with the government. Apparently, the main new point of information was the Church's U-turn with respect to the participation of the leaders of UNE in the meeting with the Minister for Education, which they now believed would represent «um passo atrás», given the friction that it was likely to cause.

The press also reflected the Church's difficulties with a number of sectors of the student population, and the criticism which the Church's solidarity with the students cause and moves to promote dialogue and understanding had attracted from conservative elements. Newspapers gave space to opinion pieces, which were critical of the initiative and the views expressed by José de Castro and Vicente Adamo. On some occasions, there was an undeniable virulent and aggressive tone to these pieces, which used rhetorical and argumentative strategies, sometimes bordering on insult and ridicule, aiming to undermine the two clergymen's sociological qualifications, strip them of moral authority, and place the progressive wing of the Church on the side of those whom the government viewed as subversives. They never provided quotes, data or factual reports that could disprove the statements, refute the opinions or undermine

³⁵ Redacção, *D. José discute terça-feira com estudantes como será diálogo*, «Jornal do Brasil», May 5, 1968.

³⁶ Redacção, *Com repressão não há diálogo*, «Jornal dos Sports», May 7, 1968.

the authority of the curate general, the President of the AEC and other Church interlocutors. Representative examples of this were the texts signed by Gustavo Corção, published in «Correio do Povo» on 21 and 25 April 1968. The author presented himself as a Catholic and an ardent patriot. Employing a tone which teetered between populist, demagogic, alarmist and downright aggressive, he argued in favour of the idea of infiltration and the silent majority, questioned the stance and style of the new Church of Brazil in the wake of the Vatican Council, with respect to the student issue, and challenged José de Castro Pinto and Vicente Adamo's intellectual, moral and patriotic credentials:

jamais, em tempo algum se tornará [the Church] especialista em jovens. Anda no ar uma novem carregada de virus da bobagem. (...) E aí está um dos resultados funestos: o furor de defender a juventude de um modo que só pode produzir, infalivelmente, a perversão da dita juventude e a desagregação da familia. Cada um de nós conhece dúzias de casos em que o nôvo padre, com essa mania, consegue separar os paes dos filhos e trazer a discordia para o meio familiar. Em dois casos de meu conhecimento as moças conscientizadas entregues aos comunistas, para diálogos nos vãos de escada da Faculdade de Filosofia, se suicidaram. Em outros casos ficaram feridas profundas entre filhos e país³⁷.

And:

Noto em seguida, com penosíssimo sentimento, que os dois eclesiásticos falam em nome da Igreja, sem que se veja de onde lhes vem tamanha autoridade. [...] como católico não posso deixar de estranhar que se confunda aquela que chamo *unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam* com as opiniões de dois ou três padres. [...] Deveremos entender que a noção de autoridade desapareceu totalmente da Igreja e que nos tornamos todos protestantes? [...] E a disciplina? [...] Salta aos olhos que a disciplina virou pó [...] *em materia de disciplina, o eclesiástico não tem disciplina* [...] Quero apenas mostrar que as pessoas envolvidas [...] não parecem credenciadas para discutir com o Governo problemas graves de educação e cultura. [...] Quando porém um bispo e um padre aparecem em público dando apoio às reivindicações estudantis dos agitadores, e criticando em termos da mais festiva esquerda o esforço sério do MEC-USAID, um velho patriota católico só pode gemer e suplicar: – Padres, pelo amor de Deus, não atrapalhem!³⁸

For their part, from the very earliest manoeuvres by José de Castro Pinto and Vicente Adamo to promote dialogue, the students were sceptical of the likelihood of it coming about, and of its success in the event that it did happen. They understood that these efforts were compromised by the «climate of terror» established and prolonged by the government. Also, given the futility of any attempt to reach agreement while the violence continued – besides, a compromise with the government would represent an act of betrayal of those who «sofreram e continuam a sofrer as violências da ditadura» – the leaders of

³⁷ G. Corção, *A Igreja e os jovens*, «Correio do Povo», April 21, 1968.

³⁸ G. Corção, *Casa sem educação todos gritam e ninguém tem razão*, «Correio do Povo», April 25, 1968.

UNE, UME, UBES and FUEG indicated they were inclined to continue voicing their demands on the street – diretamente ao povo»³⁹. Furthermore, they were suspicious and critical of the Church's role as mediator and its increasing direct involvement, for a range of reasons – four are of particular note. To begin with, they felt they did not need intermediaries, negotiators or arbitrators of any kind. Secondly, they were uncomfortable with the tone of political conciliation with which the Church's representatives were presenting the possibility of dialogue: «[...] tenta conciliar o inconciliável e na prática vem favorecendo mais uma tentativa do Govêrno de mascarar a Ditadura [...] as autoridades tentam o diálogo porque se sentem cada vez mais isoladas do povo e o diálogo seria uma forma de enganar a todos»⁴⁰. Thirdly, they disagreed with José de Castro's decision to exclude the official representatives of UNE and UME from the negotiations, given that many among the students' ranks considered those organisations to be «as verdadeiras representações da classe na Guanabara»⁴¹. Finally, they believed that, in spite of José de Castro and Vicente Adamo's Good intentions, they were not adequately representing the students' interests, because, amongst other things, they did not place sufficient emphasis on the need to legalise UNE and UME. It was felt that, in reality, what Castro and Adamo were achieving was to extend the government's gambit. With regard to this last criticism, Vladimir Palmeira, one of the most prominent student leaders, made plain and resounding declarations to the press on a number of occasions:

Para nós, a Igreja, através de D. José de Castro Pinto e do Padre Vicente Adamo, estão fazendo o jogo do govêrno e de parcelas que nunca foram representativas do meio estudantil e que sempre aproveitam dessas oportunidades para aparecerem como líderes⁴². [...] êsse diálogo que está sendo preparado pelo vigário geral do Rio de Janeiro, Dom José de Castro Pinto, reveste-se numa farsa, pois não pode existir uma conversa amistosa, enquanto no Rio, São Paulo e Minas Gerais, diversos colegas continuam presos e sofrendo os mais variados tipos de repressão⁴³.

In early June, after almost a month of work, José de Castro Pinto and Vicente Adamo met once more with the representatives of the student groups, organised by a committee, to finalise the preparations for the audience with Tarso Dutra, which was planned for the third week of the month. According to the press reports, the attendees agreed that, in order for dialogue to take place, the government would have to accept a series of conditions: to increase

³⁹ Redacção, *D. José discute terça-reira com estudantes como será diálogo*, «Jornal do Brasil», May 5, 1968.

⁴⁰ Redacção, *Estudante não aceita diálogo sob pressões*, «Jornal do Comercio», May 4, 1968.

⁴¹ Redacção, *Estudantes não aceitam diálogo enquanto houver arbítrio*, «Tribuna de Imprensa», May 7, 1968.

⁴² Redacção, *Com repressão não há diálogo*, «Jornal dos Sports», May 7, 1968.

⁴³ Redacção, *UME só decide sem prisões*, «O Jornal», May 31, 1968.

spending on education, academics' salaries and funding for faculties, halt the process of turning universities into foundations and, as a *condition sine qua non*, «liberação dos estudantes detidos e cessação da repressão policial ao movimento; legalização das extintas UNE e UME; reabertura do restaurante do Calabouço»⁴⁴. In the wake of this meeting, José de Castro sounded optimistic, believing that the time had come for the students and the government to reach agreement on concrete matters: «este é o momento oportuno para que os estudantes apresentem ao governo um plano positivo e concreto de reivindicações, pois do contrario os estudos e debates se prolongarão indefinidamente sem solução. [...] o problema estudantil só pode ser resolvido se atacado em sua base, começando pela asistencia aos estudantes sem recursos». He pointed to the goodwill on the part of the students, highlighting that even Palmeira, who had originally been against the idea of dialogue, had accepted it, and this meant that UME would be represented by a delegate committee, and that the UME's competitors had accepted that the UME would lead the movement, having accepted the democratisation of the internal structures. According to José de Castro: «A submissão á vontade da maioria [...] é um indicio de que os estudantes caminam para um entendimento entre sí. O dialogo, portanto, já está produzindo resultados positivos»⁴⁵.

However, the events of 21 June, where the government once again demonstrated its repressive power and destructive force, brought an abrupt end to the process of peaceful negotiation and dialogue between the government, which insisted on containing the mobilisations by any means at its disposal – including declaring a state of exception – and all sectors of students, who began showing their willingness to «reagir à agressão com agressão». The Church's response was swift, and two-pronged: on the one hand, it continued in its efforts to direct the course of the student problem by means of understanding and rapprochement; on the other, it severely criticised the government for the violence used, and showed unequivocal solidarity with the students' cause. José de Castro and Vicente Adamo said they felt «perplexos com os incidentes», considering 'que a gravidade dos fatos exige uma tomada de posição, pacífica e imediata, de ambas as partes, caso contrario as consecuencias são imprevisíveis' and they stressed that their objective «foi e é o de conter o impeto dos estudantes para que, cristãmente, chegue-se a uma forma de dialogue que, pelo confronto de ideias, possa aclarar as situações e as posições tanto de um lado quanto de outro»⁴⁶. Another religious figure with a great deal of clout in the community, Friar Elizeu Lopes, prior of the Dominican Convent of Rio de Janeiro, made an unambiguous and vigorous criticism of the government's

⁴⁴ Redacção, *Estudantes aceitam diálogo mas através da extinta UMR*, «O Globo», June 5, 1968.

⁴⁵ Redacção, *Arcebispo acha a hora oportuna*, «O Estado de São Paulo», June 8, 1968.

⁴⁶ Redacção, *Líderes estudantis e padres se reunirão hoje em sigilo*, «Jornal do Brasil», June 23, 1968.

actions. He said the government needed to take a long, hard look in the mirror; he referred to the police and other perpetrators of the violence as «vítimas de uma automatização progressiva», declaring himself to be sympathetic to the «reivindicações e a luta dos estudantes» which, in his words, represented the most «lúcido na consciencia do País», and opined that the right to protest was one of the fundamental aspects defining democratic regimes. He suggested that ordinary citizens ought to look at their reality and decide whether, as the authorities affirmed, they were indeed living in what could be described as a democratic society:

O confronto desse direito com a repressão policial deveria fazer refletir todos aqueles que acham que estamos vivendo num regime democrático [...] as manifestações de rua são instrumentos válidos de pressão⁴⁷.

The Church's work of mediation and guidance, on this occasion, focused on the families of students suffering reprisals, and certain sectors of the academic community. The day before the demonstration for freedom and against violence, a committee formed of university professors, students' parents and the religious figures Pierre Secondi (a Dominican friar), António Abreu (a Jesuit) and Vicente Adamo met with the Minister, Tarso Dutra, handing him a report containing the main demands of the students, professors and family members. Amongst the demands presented, the newspapers placed particular emphasis on the requirement for the government to give guarantees: to allow the students' assemblies and demonstrations to take place without violence; that university campuses would remain independent, free from the presence of police, to hold meetings between teachers and students; and that the students who had been arrested – some of them held in secret locations – should be released from solitary confinement. With respect to this last demand, Vicente Adamo informed Dutra that «vem sendo procurado por varias comissões de país e mães de alunos presos e todos reclamam que até os advogados não estão tendo acesso a alguns deles, pois se encontraram em locais descochecidos». The Minister replied: «Mas onde estão eles? Eu não sei nada disso», washing his hands of the matter⁴⁸. During the meeting, a group of almost 500 people, including professors, students' mothers, priests and nuns – in civilian clothing – demonstrated at the entrance to the Ministry of Education (MEC), carrying placards and banners with slogans expressing demands, and protest against the police's repression of the students (Pic. 1).

Much like other social actors, such as artists, intellectuals, students' mothers, politicians from the official opposition party and civil leaders, the Church was

⁴⁷ Redacção, *Dominicanos pedem mais atenção para palavra de jovens*, «Correio da Manhã», June 23, 1968.

⁴⁸ Redacção, *Tarso confirma a disposição de dialogar com estudantes*, «Jornal do Brasil», June 26, 1968.

quick to join the demonstration planned by the students for 26 June, in Rio de Janeiro. After several meetings to assess the situation and determine what its official stance toward the event should be, the Church decided to support the *passeata* and take an active part in it, with the civic objective of «impedir que as manifestações sejam motivo de novos disturbios, que viriam agravar a situação política do País e provocar outras mortes»⁴⁹ and with the staunch prohibition of «lançar manifestos ou atitudes políticas»⁵⁰. Vicente Adamo, in declarations to the press during the demonstrations of 25 June at the entrance of the MEC, stated that the Catholic Church could not «[...] calar diante da violencia e do vil tratamento às dignidades humanas. Por isso, a passeata de amanhã será desprovida de todo e qualquer conteúdo partidario. [...] A participação de padres e freiras é para fazer sentir a presença da Igreja no meio do seu povo. É preciso que ela dé testemunho de sua presença cristá». He also expressed his firm belief that the march would take place in an orderly and peaceful manner, saying that he trusted «na honestidade dos homens que nos governam»⁵¹.

Finally, despite the atmosphere of tension caused by the massive deployment of police, as though the city was under siege, the demonstration took place, and went off without incident, with the press describing it as «a festa do povo»⁵². Though the protagonists at the event were the students, all the social actors present – intellectuals, artists, composers, civil leaders, labourers and religious figures, opposition party politicians, bankers, journalists and mothers of students – had the opportunity to be heard, through designated spokespersons. The spokesman for the Church was Lazarist friar João Batista who, from the steps of the Legislative Assembly, gave a brief but eloquent and ‘animated’ speech – punctuated by applause, ovations and interjections such as «Abaixo a ditadura» – in which he affirmed that «fazer calar os moços é violentar nossa consciencia, mas isto ninguém conseguirá, enquanto houver reivindicações em defesa da liberdade de pensamento e anseios do povo por uma orden social mais justa, e mais humana», and proclaimed that «a Igreja estará sempre presente e unida ao povo, todas as vèzes que fizer necessário, em qualquer circunstancia, sob qualquer pretexto»⁵³.

The photos printed in a number of newspapers gave the ecclesiastical support more of a sense of reality, because they showed priests and nuns as part of the human torrent, interacting with other social actors, joining in the chants and protest slogans, sharing the emotions, and united in fraternal camaraderie; they were also carrying placards – sometimes signed by other groups – bearing messages of disillusionment with the dictatorship, and demonstrating that the repression of the students, in reality, violated the right of the whole of society

⁴⁹ Redacção, *Mestres dão solidariedade*, «O Estado de São Paulo», June 25, 1968.

⁵⁰ Redacção, *Rio vai parar hoje: protesto vai às ruas*, «Zero Hora», June 26, 1968.

⁵¹ Redacção, *Professôres e mães concentraram-se no MEC*, «Jornal do Brasil», June 26, 1968.

⁵² Redacção, *Passeata foi a festa do povo*, «Jornal dos Sports», June 27, 1968.

⁵³ Redacção, *Padres e Freiras na rua com povo*, «O Paiz», June 27, 1968.

(see Pics. 2 to 7). This did not go unnoticed by Gama e Silva, who bemoaned the fact that «padres e freiras, assim como outros participantes da passeata, tivessem exibido faixas com dizeres ofensivos ao Governo»⁵⁴.

During the march, the representatives of the Church who had played a prominent role in the negotiations to facilitate rapprochement and dialogue between the students and the government made various statements to the press about the meaning and significance of their presence as part of the demonstration, and of the demonstration in itself. José de Castro Pinto stressed that the single aim of the Church's participation was to be «ao lado do povo» in standing up against violence, to promote «tranquilidade e orden», and under no circumstances should it be interpreted as «havia attitude política». Nevertheless, he opined that this civil activity could contribute to «conscientização do povo, no sentido de levar muitas pessoas a ouvir com mais atenção um apelo para que se interessem pela política nacional»⁵⁵. Vicente Adamo, for his part, pointed to the Church's moral duty to participate in the conflict – «os religiosos não podem mais se omitir» – as they felt themselves obliged to «combater os abusos e as violências infligidas ao povo e, particularmente, aos jovens. Estamos aqui para tentar garantir o que ainda nos resta de democracia, pois nas condições atuais, é difícil acreditar que ainda existam garantias humanas»⁵⁶. Pierre Secondi also shared his opinion with the media, but with a more hopeful tone, viewing the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* as the possible start of a new political course:

[...] tudo isso me parece um glorioso momento histórico, uma tomada de posição do povo para reivindicar suas justas e autênticas aspirações, há muito marginalizadas; enfim, acho que estamos iniciando uma nova etapa de revolução, em termos de uma melhor justiça social e humanidade⁵⁷.

From that point on, though, the Church's relationship with the students perceptibly shifted, at least in terms of what is shown in the print media. Gradually, the two became less close. This may be due to the failure of the negotiation process, or perhaps to the changes which took place within the Church, leading it to adopt more conservative positions. Then, it began to move closer to other social actors who were directly affected by the student issue, such as the movements of mothers of university students having suffered reprisals. That, however, is a story for another article.

⁵⁴ Redação, *Gama critica padres e reiras e reconhece ordem na passeata*, «O Paiz», June 27, 1968.

⁵⁵ Redação, *Clero, Artistas e Estudantes. Manifestação Popular de Ontem no Rio Decorreu Sem Incidentes*, «Correio do Povo», June 27, 1968.

⁵⁶ Redação, *Padres e Freiras na rua com povo*, cit.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Conclusions

The context of the military dictatorship and modernisation of the university system were the two main arguments behind the daily press coverage of the student rebellion in Brazil in 1968. Firstly, the best publicised student demands were: a) increased funding for higher education institutions; b) their classification as State assets; c) wholehearted rejection of their conversion into foundations; d) democratisation of the structures and operating procedures of universities; and e) the need to solve the recurring problem of *excedentes*, who found themselves enrolled but with no space on the course. Secondly, in the public eye, the recovery of the democratic rights guaranteed before the 1964 *coup d'état*, and the ending of the violence and repression exercised by the government, became clear and convincing arguments, capable of bringing in other population sectors. Indeed, violence left an indelible mark on the discourse in the daily press in relation to the student mobilisation. The newspapers reported the institutional violence, in the form of evictions, charges, arrests, injuries, deaths and disappearances, and channeled – and sometimes also reinforced – a type of symbolic violence (largely perpetrated by the government, but with the cooperation of a section of public opinion), which manifested itself in the increasingly totalitarian styles of the language and means of argument. The clearest examples of this were the theory of infiltration and the silent majority.

A small, but brutal, disproportionate and unjustifiable act of violence, such as the killing of Nelson Luiz at the *Calabouço*, and a dramatic, disproportionate and – again – unjustified repression, such as that deployed by the government on 21 June in Rio de Janeiro, aroused social uproar in protest and solidarity with the students. In the case of the Catholic Church, these events seemed to be *the straw that broke the camel's back*, leading it to assume a more active role, more publicly visible, and make similarly public declarations of solidarity, backed up by its discourse and acts.

The image of the Catholic Church linked to the student movement, most clearly and persistently projected by the daily press during the austral winter was that of a mediating institution, promoting dialogue and social and political peace, aligned with the students, receptive to their demands and complaints, and critical of the institutional violence. This manifested itself in a variety of ways, but most plainly in the efforts made by several representatives of the Church to resolve the conflicts between the government and students in a non-violent manner, accompanying students on their demonstrations, and making public gestures of solidarity.

Government offices, streets, plazas and semi-public spaces were the arenas in which the Church's activities in solidarity with the students took place. In addition to Christian communion and Catholic faith, churches and other places under the institution's protection (e.g. schools and universities), in the same way as public urban spaces, became civil fora where the students – and other

victims of reprisals – found refuge, could meet with social partners, conduct negotiations and share, with relative freedom, part of the narratives which could not be stated openly to the authorities – or which would have been unwise to voice openly.

The forced or deliberate media coverage of the Church's actions, along with the declarations made, the memos sent, the interviews given and the press conferences called by the Church agents who took the initiative to promote the process of non-violent negotiation between the students and the government, and a number of other figures with authority and specific clout in the community, in addition to demonstrating a certain degree of communicative and public relations strategy, which allowed the Church to assume leadership over part of the narrative about itself, helped amplify its discourse, lending visibility to its protagonistic role as an intermediary, and exert a certain amount of social pressure on the government and on public opinion.

Despite the insistence of its spokesmen that the Church's participation was due to a Christian moral imperative, whereby it could not stand idly by and watch the violence suffered by the students and the abuses committed by the government, the words which accompanied these statements, and the clergymen's actions, indicated to ordinary citizens – especially those able to *read between the lines* – that in fact, something deeper was going on. The active, politically incorrect participation of large numbers of priests and nuns in the *Passeata dos Cem Mil* was an act of civil disobedience which represented a public challenge to the authorities and, perhaps, a demonstration of the institution's ability to camouflage itself: in other words, to present an appropriate face publicly – in the circles of power – whilst deploying (sometimes subtle) strategies of resistance to the forms of domination.

The discourse, filled with references to the 'people', attempting to show the Church as being close to the real world, connecting with society, including the popular classes, and bring together the whole population, showed the same ambiguity. The representatives officially appointed by the Church as negotiators to try to resolve the conflict between the students and the government showed respect for the regime, sometimes subscribing to the theory of infiltration and, in an apparent show of even-handedness based on equanimity, called for the cessation of hostilities on both sides. These public-relations strategies, whether or not they conveyed the truth, or were imbued with caustic irony, served to neutralise any potential vicious reactions from the government, which would find itself wanting for excuses, and placed a certain amount of pressure on the government to play the role that was expected of it, by the public, in view of the expectations generated by the Church. However, these and other significant religious figures also levelled resounding criticism at the authorities for suppressing the students' right to freedom, and to social and political participation, and above all, for the brutally violent repression of the protesting students. These elements introduced ingredients into the discourse which could

help ordinary citizens to see that the student rebellion was something more than a youth issue or one restricted to the university; in a manner of speaking, it was the condensed expression of the sentiments and aspirations of the Brazilian 'people', their yearning for freedom and social justice, which had been laid to rest four years previously by an authoritarian regime: ultimately, the condemnation of a system founded upon, hinging on and sustained by violence, which affected every man, woman and child.

Nobody could remain unaffected by all of this. Despite the criticisms, accusations and reticence from the most progressive or radical groups of students, the Catholic Church's direct and public participation helped give legitimacy to the student movement, setting it up in the minds of the populace as the archetypal model of struggle against the dictatorship.

Photo Appendix

Pic. 1. Source: «Jornal do Brasil», 26 June 1968.



Pic. 2. Source: «Jornal do Brasil», 27 June 1968.



Pic. 3. Source: «Jornal do Brasil», 27 June 1968.



Pic. 4. Source: «Jornal dos Sports», 27 June 1968.



Pic. 5. Source: «O Paiz», 27 June 1968.



Pic. 6. Source: «O Paiz», 27 June 1968.



Pic. 7. Source: «Última Hora», 27 June 1968.

Illegal confessional education of university students in the secret church in Slovakia in the 1960s*

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ABSTRACT: After the Communists took power in 1948, the school system and education in Czechoslovakia were indoctrinated by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and a unified, state system of education was created (Act No. 95/1948). The Church became the biggest internal enemy of the state and the government attempted to track and control representatives of the official Church. Work with children, the youth and students in a religious spirit was harshly punished and considered an anti-state activity. Therefore, in the period of political release in the 1960s (Prague Spring), when all political prisoners were released from prison, the so-called Secret Church started its activity. The paper is focused on analysis of a model of work with university students in the Secret Church in Slovakia.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Education; Communism; Prague Spring; Illegal Church, Religious Education; Slovakia; XXth Century.

Introduction

The chapter is focused on a model of confessional education of university students in the environment of the Secret Church as a specific segment of education in Slovakia that started to take shape in the period of the political release in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s (Prague Spring). The history of Slovakia in the 20th century needs to be perceived in a broader, Czechoslovak context, since the Czech lands and Slovakia established a common state in 1918 and

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the co-existence lasted for almost 70 years. After the First World War, Slovaks and Czechs lived in one state up to 1939. During the Second World War, an independent Slovak Republic and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia existed. After the war was over, Czechoslovakia was established again, in which Czechs and Slovaks lived together up to the fall of Communism (1989). In 1993, Czechoslovakia was peacefully dissolved into two independent states: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

The work with university students was historically both the first and the largest part of the so-called lay apostolic movement in the Secret Church in Slovakia, which later also worked with children and youth as well as families. This specific part of history of non-formal confessional education has not been examined yet. Only publications of a memoir nature¹, several articles (mainly written by F. Mikloško, R. Letz, F. Neupauer, L. Csontos and J. Šimulčík) and the only research focused on the work with children in the Secret Church in Slovakia (B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová)² can be noted so far³.

Based on available literature the following questions have been posed: 1) When did the work with university students in the Secret Church begin and who are its representatives? 2) How was their activity organised and disseminated?

¹ F. Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89* [trans. You Will Not Be Able to Disrupt Them: Fate of the Catholic Church in Slovakia between 1943 and '89], Bratislava, Archa, 1991; S. Krčméry, V. Jukl, *V šľapajach Kolakoviča* [Following the Footsteps of Kolakovič], Bratislava, Charis, 1996; J. Šimulčík, *Svetlo z podzemia* [The Underground Light], Prešov, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 1997; J. Šimulčík, *Zápas o nádej* [The Fight for Hope], Prešov, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2000; J. Šimulčík, *Čas odvahy* [Time of Courage], Bratislava, Ústav pamäti národa, 2017; J. Brocka, R. Brocková, *Kým prišiel November... [Before November Came...]*, Trnava, Dobrá kniha, 2009; M. Gavenda, *Odkaz tajnej Cirkvi* [Message of the Secret Church], Bratislava, Don Bosco, 2017.

² This research aims to point out a confessional education of children in the environment of the Secret Church in Slovakia in the era of Communism, in which the method of oral history was applied. The method of oral history regarded structured interviews with four founder figures of the work with children in Slovakia in the 1970s. The interviews were carried out in March 2017. They were transcribed word for word and consequently analysed by the method of grounded theory.

³ Results of the research are published in studies: B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová, *Model práce s deťmi v tajnej cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1973-1989* [Model of Work with Children in the Secret Church in Slovakia between 1973 and 1989], in B. Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu* [Educational Thinking and Educational System in Slovakia from the Period of Normalisation to the Fall of Communism], Trnava, Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2018, pp. 219-235; B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová: *Illegal confessional education of children in Slovakia in the period of Socialism (political and religious context)*, «Paedagogica Historica», 2019 - online first. There are some interesting publications written by Czech authors on this topic: I. Kašparová, *Growing Up as a Vicar's Daughter in Communist Czechoslovakia: Politics, Religion and Childhood Agency Examined*, in I. Silova, N. Piattoeva, Z. Millei (edd.), *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 87-106; J. Zounek, M. Šimáně, D. Knotová, *Primary School Teachers as a Tool of Secularisation of Society of Communist Czechoslovakia*, «History of Education», vol. 46, n. 4, 2017, pp. 480-497.

3) What were the specific goals and content of education and formation of the university students? 4) Were there any security regulations related to this risk-involving activity? The author attempted to discover characteristic features of the model of work with university students, which can represent a stepping stone for further deeper qualitative research.

1. *Specific Situation in Education and Higher Education in Slovakia After the Communists Took Power in 1948*

After the Second World War, a significant turnover in education took place in Czechoslovakia under the influence of Soviet politics. The school system became a part of the struggle for political power and education was nationalised – this meant the end of plurality in education. After the Communist Coup in 1948, School Act No. 95/1948, which unified the system of education and made it into a state monopoly, was issued. The act unified the system of education and, at the same time, created a state monopoly on education with a pro-Soviet orientation, under which schools were supposed to educate «nationally and politically aware citizens of the people’s democratic state, brave protectors of their homeland and devoted supporters of working people and Socialism»⁴, According to Kudláčová and Šebová, it represented the first stage in the development of the Czechoslovak socialist school, indoctrinated by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism⁵, to which the content of education at all degrees, «as well as leisure time activities of children and youth, were subordinated»⁶. «In the period of normalisation, leisure time activity fulfilled several important roles that shared a common factor, i.e. ideological formation of pupils»⁷.

The complicated development in education was consolidated by two more school acts issued in a relatively short time (1953 and 1960). They emphasised education in Marxism-Leninism aimed at the education of citizens as builders of Communism. The School Act No. 186/1960 required a «society-wide character of education» and thus a «unified impact on school, family and society»⁸.

⁴ See Education Act No. 95/1948.

⁵ See B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová, *Model práce s deťmi v tajnej cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1973-1989*, in B. Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, Trnava, Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2018, pp. 219-235.

⁶ J. Gubricová, *Presahy ideológie komunizmu do činnosti detí vo voľnom čase v rokoch 1969-1989*, in Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, cit., p. 176 and J. Knapík, M. Fronc et al., *Mezi pionýrským šátkem a mopedom. Děti, mládež a socialismus v českých zemích 1948-1970*, Praha, Academia, 2018.

⁷ N. Bizová, *Záujmové činnosti žiakov špeciálnych základných škôl v období normalizácie*, in Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, cit., p. 185.

⁸ See Education Act No. 186/1960.

According to the act, education was a matter of the entire society and needed to be carried out under the guidance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In relation to family, the act stated that «it is an honourable duty of parents to educate their children, in accordance with school, to become conscious citizens of the socialist republic, and to act as models in implementation of all civil duties»⁹. Obviously, the state interfered in family education too.

Similarly, a strong connection with the ideology of the socialist state may be found in legislation related to university education. An important landmark for building of university education in the post-February era was the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [orig. KSČ] in May 1949, where the then president, Klement Gotwald, made the following statement: «Experience teaches us that in order to build Socialism, the working people need to educate their own intelligentsia that comes from their core and is ideologically associated with them»¹⁰. Already the first higher education act passed after 1948 defines the mission of universities in second paragraph as follows:

The role of universities as schools of the highest level is to educate professionally and politically highly qualified experts, faithful to the people's democratic republic and devoted to the idea of Socialism, capable to work and cooperate creatively, scientifically and artistically in order to spread science and art among people¹¹.

The higher education act from 1966 expresses the ideology of Marxism-Leninism explicitly, the role of universities is as follows:

To educate highly educated, professionally qualified experts, prepared through the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism morally and politically for all fields of life of the socialist society¹².

According to Katuninec, «Marxism was much more than only a social-scientific theory or a political program, it became an influential myth about creation of a new man»¹³.

Lectures on Marxism-Leninism started to be delivered at some universities at the beginning of the academic year 1948/1949 and from the following year at all universities¹⁴. The Communist Party and its organisations became a pillar of political and ideological activity at universities. Departments or institutes of Marxism-Leninism were established at all universities. A document from 1975 that represents a certain evaluation of development of university education in

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ K. Gottwald, *Spisy*, Bratislava, 1960.

¹¹ See Act No. 58/1950.

¹² See Act No. 19/1966.

¹³ M. Katuninec, *Fašizmus, národný socializmus a komunizmus. K ideovým zdrojom, praxi a možným rizikám návratu totalitarizmu*, Bratislava, Veda, 2010, p. 293.

¹⁴ See Act No. 19/1966.

Czechoslovakia from the establishment of Socialism to the period of Prague Spring and deals with arrangements in the period of normalisation¹⁵ states:

The political crisis between 1968 and 1969 was fully demonstrated at universities. Many teachers succumbed to the right-wing opportunism and revisionism, some even became its representatives, promoters and bearers. The political disruption at universities was assisted significantly also by the fact that a substantial part of teachers at the departments of Marxism-Leninism failed in this politically demanding situation¹⁶.

Therefore, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of the Czech and Slovak Republic re-evaluated and re-defined the role of the institutes of Marxism-Leninism in their internal documents as follows:

The main role of the institutes of Marxism-Leninism is educational process, quality teaching managed into depth that will permanently influence awareness of students, formation of socialist belief and active participation of students and graduates in the life of the society¹⁷.

University students were acquainted with the principles of the scientific worldview of atheism through courses that were compulsory in the curriculum at all universities: History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and International Labour Movement, Philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, Scientific Communism and Scientific Atheism¹⁸. These courses had to be passed by every university student within their study. The aim of these courses was to provide knowledge, but also to prepare the students to «apply the gained knowledge in practical life»¹⁹ and manifest it in their attitudes toward society.

One of the crucial ideological tasks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the ideological-political education of the youth, which was understood as an individual part of socialist education, while «it took a prominent position» in it²⁰. The ideological-political education, in terms of literature of the period,

¹⁵ According to Pešek and Barnovský, «normalisation» in the history of Czechoslovakia is related to the period beginning in August 1968 when the Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia; their goal was to stop the democratisation processes of the so-called Prague Spring and it was implemented up to May 1971. Normalisation literally meant «restoration of things to their original condition», i.e. the period before 1968, see J. Pešek, M. Barnovský, *V zovretí normalizácie: Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1969-1989*, Bratislava, Veda, 2004, p. 7.

¹⁶ J. Červinka, *Rozvoj vysokého školstva v Československu od oslobodenia a boj KSČ o leviňský charakter školy*, Bratislava, Vysoká škola ekonomická, 1975, p. 30.

¹⁷ See document *Postavenie a úlohy ústavov marxizmu-leninizmu na vysokých školách v ČSSR v procese prestavby* [The Status and Role of the Marxism-Leninism Institutes in CSSR in the Process of Reconstruction], Bratislava, Ministerstvo školstva, mládeže a telovýchovy ČSR a SSR, 1988, p. 7.

¹⁸ I. Bajcura (ed.), *Zborník prác učiteľov Ústavu marxizmu-leninizmu UPJŠ*, Prešov, Ústav marxizmu-leninizmu UPJŠ, 1985.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰ J. Kohout, *Ideovo-politická výchova mládeže*, Bratislava, Svoboda, 1988, p. 7.

[...] creates political opinions and images, strengthens habits to participate in the political life of the country and in management of social processes, develops socially needed personality qualities and ideological belief, civic awareness, social responsibility, etc.²¹

To gain young people for political goals was also the task of newly emerging organisations focused on work with the youth, which operated under the patronage of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Initially there was *The Czechoslovak Union of Youth* [orig. Československý zväz mládeže] (1949-1969); this was transformed into *The Socialist Union of Youth* [orig. Socialistický zväz mládeže, SZM], a uniformed organisation established in April 1969 as one of the results of normalisation. The Socialist Union of Youth was a «united, voluntary, mass, socialist social-political organisation of children and youth in Czechoslovakia»²². Its activities were focused mainly on leisure time activities outside school organised in pioneer houses [orig. pionierske domy] and youth houses [orig. domy mládeže]. The organisation was designed for youth aged 15 to 30. In 1977, it brought together 1,360,000 unionists²³. It was «a backup and helper of the Communist Party, based on the party policy, working under its leadership and being its forerunner»²⁴. All activities were carried out in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

2. *The Church after 1948 and Beginnings of the Secret Church*

According to Jakubčín, «The Church was the only legally operated institution in Communist Czechoslovakia, the worldview of which was not identical with the official state ideology of Marxism-Leninism, moreover, it defied it»²⁵. That was the reason why representatives of the state power devoted great attention to the Church and its activities and wanted to break the impact of the Church on society²⁶.

Since educational activities of the Christian Church, including church education, had a strong tradition in the territory of Slovakia, the Church naturally became the biggest internal enemy of the state after 1948²⁷. A period

²¹ See document *Teória a prax komunistickej výchovy* [Theory and Practice of Communist Education], Praha, Svoboda, 1982, p. 149.

²² O. Pavlík (ed.), *Pedagogická encyklopédia Slovenska 2*, Bratislava, SPN, 1985, p. 280.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ P. Jakubčín, *Pastieri v osídlach moci*, Bratislava, ÚPN, 2012, p. 111.

²⁶ K. Kaplan, *Stát a cirkve v Československu v letech 1948-1953*, Brno, Doplněk, 1993.

²⁷ «According to the census of the 1st March 1950, 3,432,638 inhabitants (99.72 %) reported affiliation to Churches in Slovakia and only 9,679 (0.28 %) inhabitants reported no religion affiliation. The largest and most influential Church was the Catholic Church of Roman and Greek rite (the Roman Catholic religion was reported by 76.20 % inhabitants and the Greek

of repression started. After tough political interventions between 1948 and 1953, the state got the Church under «guardianship of power»²⁸. The State Office for Church Matters [orig. Štátny úrad pre veci cirkevné] was established by act No. 217/1949. Its equivalent in Slovakia was the Slovak office for Church Matters [orig. Slovenský úrad pre veci cirkevné], which started its activity in November 1949. Priests thus had a dual subordination, on the one hand to the Church structures, and on the other hand to the office for Church matters, which caused internal tension. Another Church act was passed in October 1949; it was act No. 218/1949 on material provision of Churches and religious societies by the state. The government presented it as a generous compensation for withdrawn Church properties, because it contained a new, more convenient salary adjustment for priests. The act, however, meant absolute subordination of priests to the state, since, by the act, spiritual activity could have been carried out only by those priests who had state approval and took the oath of loyalty to the state. These were the so-called «patriotic priests»²⁹. In this way, the state power legalised the possibility to eliminate any inconvenient priest.

After the so-called church acts were passed, other eliminatory interventions followed: establishment of the movement of nationalistic priests, who collaborated with the regime; a violent merging of the Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia with the Orthodox Church (Action P); the intervention against male religious orders in 1950 (Action K) and female orders in 1950 (Action R) and ban on their activities, which meant de facto cancellation of all orders and monasteries³⁰; isolation and interning of all bishops, many of whom were imprisoned or sentenced to life imprisonment; cancellation of all religious communities and magazines; and interruption of diplomatic relations with Vatican. As a result, all churches in Slovakia were disrupted and incapable of functioning normally³¹. Work with children, the youth and students were

Catholic religion was reported by 6.55 %, a total of 82.75 %); the second largest Church was the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (12.88 % of inhabitants)», see J. Pešek, M. Barnovský, *Štátna moc a cirkvi na Slovensku*, Bratislava, VEDA, 1997, p. 13.

²⁸ J. Pešek, M. Barnovský, *Pod kuratelou moci. Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1953-1970*, Bratislava, Veda, 1999, p. 9.

²⁹ See Jakubčín, *Pastieri v osídlach moci*, cit.; J.Ch. Korec SJ, *Od barbárskej noci. Na slobode*, Bratislava, Lúč, 1989.

³⁰ See P. Jakubčín (ed.), *Likvidácia reholí a ich život v totalite*, Bratislava, Ústav pamäti národa, 2010.

³¹ In Slovakia, during the forty years of Communism, but mainly in its first two decades (1948-1968), 71,000 citizens were sentenced together to more than 83,000 years of imprisonment. The Communist regime took the life of at least 705 citizens. More than 15,000 people were dragged out of their homes and spent more than 6,000 years in exile. In Slovakia, more than 13,000 citizens were placed in forced labour camps and spent more than 9,000 years there. Up to 1967, more than 1,700 people crossed the «green border». Throughout the entire period of Communism, altogether more than 22,000 citizens left Slovakia, for which they were consequently convicted in their absence and deprived of their property and their family members, who had stayed in Slovakia, were persecuted, see F. Mikloško, *Tri dvadsaťročia cirkvi na Slovensku (1948-2009)*,

observed in particular, since it meant potential disruption of education in the spirit of ideas of the socialist state³². These were all reasons why the so-called Secret Church started carrying out its activities in the period of political liberalisation in the 1960s.

One of the religious groups that went 'underground' after 1948 was the community *Family* [orig. Rodina]. The community was formed in Bratislava in 1943 and its founder was the Croatian Jesuit Tomislav Kolakovič (1906-1999), who came to Slovakia in this particular year³³. Kolakovič, having good knowledge of Soviet politics, presupposed establishment of a Communist regime in Slovakia and, therefore, tried to prepare the members of Family for existence in the tough times of Socialism³⁴. Family consisted mainly of university students who used to meet in small communities, so-called *circles* [orig. krúžky or stretká] that had an educational-formative nature both in a religious and personal sense.

Back then, Bratislava was the only university town in Slovakia and, thus, the members of Family came from all parts of Slovakia. Kolakovič travelled with them to their homes and thus established contacts with priests and laymen across Slovakia³⁵.

The aim was to educate mature Christian personalities. The communities of the Family used to meet every Sunday morning. The meeting would start with a Mass, followed by breakfast and exchange of information on the political situation and news from the life of the Church, a so-called «briefing» [orig. porada]³⁶. The activities of the Family gradually spread from Bratislava to the whole of Slovakia.

After the Communists took power in 1948, members of the Family began to meet secretly and had to carry out their activities very carefully. After their discovery by the Communists in 1951, hard sentences and imprisonment for many of its members followed. Among them were a doctor and Catholic layman, Silvester Krčméry (1924-2013), who was sentenced to 13 years of imprisonment, and Vladimír Jukl (1925-2012), a Catholic priest and mathematician sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment, of which he spent in prison 13.5 years. Krčméry and Jukl, thanks to their experience with Professor Kolakovič and the community of the Family, greatly contributed to the development of activities

«Impulz», n. 3, 2009; also F. Mikloško, G. Smolíková, P. Smolík [edd.], *Zločiny komunizmu 1*, Prešov, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2001.

³² F. Mikloško, *Tajná Cirkev na Slovensku v období komunizmu*, «Slovenská historická identita v. XX. storočí», Bratislava, Eurokódex, 2009, pp. 185-188.

³³ F. Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, Bratislava, Archa, 1991.

³⁴ V. Vaško, *Profesor Kolakovič*, Bratislava, Charis, 1993.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁶ Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, cit.

of the Secret Church after returning from prison³⁷. In the 1960s, the political situation started to change; political liberalisation that culminated in the Prague Spring (1968) occurred. All political prisoners were released from prison, «128 thousand political prisoners who were convicted under the Act No. 231/1948 were rehabilitated»³⁸ and the Catholic Church «took a new breath». Krčméry and Jukl, immediately after coming out of the prison, tried to start working with university students in small communities in the way they had learnt from Kolakovič. Through hard and systematic work, they managed to gather and shape more and more university students.

According to Šimulčík, the Secret Church emerged in the period of normalisation, i.e. after 1969; however, its «roots reach back to the 1950s», which was an era of harsh repressions against the Church by the state power³⁹. The secret activity was performed mainly by active laymen, secretly ordained priests and votaries, but also official priests who also had to carry out the unauthorised activities secretly. Mikloško defines the activity of the Secret Church as an activity that the Communist regime punished by imprisonment or by existential sanctions⁴⁰. The activities of the Secret Church included, for instance, activities of illegal religious movements and communities, religious meetings outside the environment of the church and lessons of religious education at school, copying and distribution of religious literature, and so on. The most important activity was the religious and educational work with believers, particularly work with children, the youth and students.

3. *Religious and Intellectual Education of University Students in the Secret Church in Slovakia*

The presented research is based on the memoir writings of the protagonists of this period; on the author's research on work with children in the Secret Church, mainly findings related to activities of the Secret Church in general

³⁷ Krčméry and Jukl published together a publication *V šlapajach Kolakoviča* [Following the Footsteps of Kolakovič], 1995, in which they recollect how professor Kolakovič entered their lives, how he influenced them, how they established the community Family, which was aimed at «formation through activity», but also how the Communist power thwarted their plans, and their maturing in the prison. In there they understood that «at the beginning, there was enthusiasm for the ideal. The prison taught us a lesson how an ideal is fulfilled. Enthusiasm is not enough. It requires humility [...]», see S. Krčméry, V. Jukl, *V šlapajach Kolakoviča*, Bratislava, Charis, 1995, p. 94.

³⁸ S. Sikora, *Československá jar 1968 a Slovensko*, in M. Londák, S. Sikora et al., *Rok 1968 a jeho miesto v našich dejinách*, Bratislava, Veda, 2009, p. 99.

³⁹ J. Šimulčík, *Svetlo z podzemia*, Prešov, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 1997.

⁴⁰ Mikloško, *Tajná Cirkev na Slovensku v období komunizmu*, cit., pp. 185-188.

and also, on some reports of the state security [orig. ŠtB]⁴¹ related to religious activities of university students. The reports are a part of the archives of the Nation's Memory Institute [orig. Ústav pamäti národa] in Bratislava⁴² in their digitalised form and they are published on their website. The author would like to continue the research through the method of oral history (this particular method was applied also in the above-mentioned research on work with children in the Secret Church in 2017).

3.1 *Beginnings of Work with University Students in the Secret Church and Its Protagonists*

Krčméry was released from prison in 1964 and Jukl in 1965⁴³. The work with university students could start only after 1965, since Krčméry recalls «I was waiting until Vladko would be released» and «when Vladko arrived, we underwent spiritual renewal⁴⁴ and started planning what to do next» i.e. how to revitalise the Church in Slovakia⁴⁵. The contemporary Slovak historian, F. Neupauer, states that the first university circle of the Secret Church was established by Jukl and Krčméry in 1966⁴⁶. Another source states that «for almost two years they would make trips with one university student and, eventually, he left them. It took two-three years to find their place among university students – technicians»⁴⁷. This means that the work with the first university students⁴⁸ could have started in 1966. This work was taken to a

⁴¹ The ŠtB was created by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Party used the ŠtB as an instrument of power and repression similar to the Stasi in Germany or KGB in the Soviet Union.

⁴² *The Nation's Memory Institute* [orig. Ústav pamäti národa] is a public-law institution founded by the Act of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 553/2002 Coll., which collects and processes all kinds of information related to the period of oppression between 1939 and 1989, i.e. the period of the fascist and communist regimes in Slovakia. It systematically collects and professionally processes all kinds of information and documents associated with the given periods. These documents are made available for professional and general public, <<https://www.upn.gov.sk>> (last access: 20.01.2019).

⁴³ Krčméry, Jukl, *V šľapajach Kolakoviča*, cit., p. 93.

⁴⁴ This spiritual renewal was realised in Slnčné údolie in Myslenice near Pezinok, where Jukl's brother had a cottage, see Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, cit.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Press Release by the Press Agency of The Episcopal Conference of Slovakia after the death of Jukl prepared by F. Neupauer, <<http://www.tkkbs.sk/view.php?cislocianku=20120501008>> (last access: 20.01.2019).

⁴⁷ Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, cit., p. 111.

⁴⁸ They were students of the Chemical-Technological Faculty, Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava. According to Mikloško, in 1964, Priska Kopečná, who was imprisoned due to

new level after a secretly ordained bishop, a Jesuit Ján Chryzostom Korec (1924-2015), who was also released from the prison in 1968, joined them. Korec supervised the system of small communities of university students. Under Korec's supervision, the small communities around Krčméry and Jukl formed a broader Catholic movement which connected university students who were interested in Christian formation (both spiritual and personality formation).

Krčméry and Jukl may be considered the main protagonists and moving forces of the Secret Church of the 1970s, but a Catholic layman and mathematician, František Mikloško (1947), a generation younger, entered the scene in the 1980s. It was also a pragmatic solution, since Krčméry and Jukl were tracked by state security⁴⁹ and meetings with them were no longer safe.

her religious belief, came from Nitra to Bratislava. After her release from the prison in 1961, a Salesian, Ján Beňo, provided her with spiritual activities. Small groups of believers started to form around Beňo, who established a movement called *Nazareth* [orig. Nazaret] from them (it was a movement that was too authoritative and closed, it gradually acquired features of a sect, and after the fall of Communism it was abolished by a decree issued by the bishop Baláž in 2005). When Priska moved to Bratislava, she started cooperation with students of chemistry; Krčméry and Jukl joined them later, see *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

⁴⁹ For example, a report of the state security [ŠtB] states, under a code name «Lekár» [Physician], the following: «On 25th August 1977, an interview with the director of the Institute of Tuberculosis and Respiratory Illnesses in Podunajske Biskupice, MUDr. Karol Virsik, aimed at dissolving a group of the lay apostolic movement led by MUDr. Silvester Krčméry from Bratislava at this institute (Krčméry worked here after he was released from the prison, author's note), was conducted. It focused on the reaction of Dr. Virsik to the activity of this group and his potential precautions related to this activity. MUDr. Virsik was informed about the harmful activity of this group of the lay apostolic movement, led by Krčméry, head of the roentgen department at this institute. He was specifically informed about organisation of a group consisting of 9 members of university students from the Faculty of Medicine, Comenius University in Bratislava, meeting in the village of Dedinky, the district of Rožňava», see report *Informácia Správy ŠtB za 37. týždeň zo dňa 8.9.1977* [Information from the ŠtB Administration for the 37th week of September 8th, 1977], č. OS 0035/01-77, *Príloha č. 1 k informácii správy ŠtB za 37. týždeň zo dňa 8.9.1977* [Annex No. 1 to the information of the ŠtB report for the 37th week of September 8th, 1977] <<https://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/sprava-stb-bratislava/BA/67.pdf>> (last access: 28.01.2019). Another report of the state security ŠtB from 1978 states that the activity in Western Slovakia reacted to the most is the activity of the Catholic Church. According to this report, the state security tracked in Western Slovakia «110 Roman-Catholic priests, 82 votaries and 41 members of the lay apostolic movement», see report (*Správa o činnosti cirkví a náboženských siekt v Západoslovenskom kraji zo dňa 7.2.1979* [Report on the Activities of Churches and Religious Sects in the Western Slovakia Region dated 7th February 1979], č. OS-00213/50-VN-79, p. 2, <<https://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/sprava-stb-bratislava/BA/71.pdf>> (last access: 28.01.2019). The end of the report contains precautions that were carried out by state security. Among them, under the code name «Lekár» [Physician] the following may be found: «in order to eliminate the activity of the lay apostolic movement, a domiciliary search was carried out at home of the leader of the lay apostolic movement (Krčméry, author's note), while a lot of religious literature published in the Slovak Institute of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Rome was found. Preventive-educational and prophylactic-disruptive precautions were carried out in this case including 25 persons», *ibid.*, p. 16.

3.2 *System and Organisation of Work in Small Communities*

Krčméry and Jukl started to work with university students in the way they had learned from Kolakovič. They established small communities at every university in Bratislava.

Small communities consisted of 7 to 12 students, who used to meet regularly on a weekly or two-weekly basis in private flats or houses. At first, they were established in Bratislava and were organised according to individual universities, faculties and years. At the end of the 1970s, a network of circles was created: leaders of the circles started to meet based on university affiliation and each university had one leader in charge. They had a so-called «central» (central meeting, orig. *centrálna*) once a month. The «centrals» had a spiritual, methodical and organisational character⁵⁰ and were established due to the need of cooperation of persons working with university students. At first, Vladimír Jukl and later František Mikloško were at the head of the «central» and they were followed by Peter Murdza. It used to begin with a collective prayer followed by experience sharing and problem solving related to work with university students and was concluded by information sharing. Inclusion of new university students in communities or establishment of new communities were also part of the agenda. Everything was based on personal relationships and mutual trust.

Július Brocka, who was a university student in Bratislava in the given period, was also a member of a small community. He and his wife describe his life at university as follows:

During a semester, it was filled with ‘get-togethers’⁵¹ in flats in Bratislava; after the exam period with winter skiing or summer camping. It gave me an opportunity to get to know university students from all around Slovakia, new possibilities and opportunities to grow both spiritually and intellectually⁵².

The communities worked in a so-called cell system. Small communities of university students were established at first in Bratislava, as mentioned above. Each member, after graduating and returning to their hometown, was supposed to establish a new community. The point was to disseminate the experience from the mother community to the others. Gradually, small communities were being established all over Slovakia.

⁵⁰ See J. Šimulčík, *Zápas o nádej*, Prešov, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2000 and B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová, *Model práce s deťmi v tajnej cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1973-1989*, in Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, cit.

⁵¹ The notion «get-together» [orig. *stretko*] denoted a meeting of members of a small community in their terminology.

⁵² Brocka, Brocková, *Kým prišiel November...*, cit., p. 8.

3.3 Goal and Content of Education of University Students

The goal of the work in communities was to «educate intelligent Christians in the Socialist society»⁵³. Mikloško states that in communities the Sacred Scripture was read and collectively discussed, selected parts of the teachings of the Catholic Church were systematically studied and various problems that the community members were interested in were discussed⁵⁴. Šimulčík divided the content of the meetings into three parts⁵⁵: a) introductory part – a personal and collective prayer, reading and reflection on Biblical texts, b) study part – philosophical-theological texts focused on particularities of the environment and education of the members, and c) practical-informational part – news from the life of the persecuted Church in Slovakia, exchange of experiences, monitoring of press, and distribution of samizdat literature⁵⁶.

In addition to regular meetings, members of the communities went for trips, either one-day trips on Sundays, or longer trips during summer and winter holidays. During summer holidays, it was a week-long hiking trip in one of the Slovak mountains with a stay at a private cottage; whereas in winter it was a week-long skiing trip. Besides hiking or skiing, the base of these events was a spiritual program. Communities usually had one-day-long spiritual renewals twice a year. These were led by secretly ordained priests or secret votaries. Even though, for the communities, «the help of priests was necessary, the entire activity in the small communities resided upon laymen who were their driving force»⁵⁷. Those members of circles who were interested in continuation of this work became animators of new circles of university students.

⁵³ Šimulčík, *Svetlo z podzemia*, cit., 1997, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, cit.

⁵⁵ Šimulčík, *Svetlo z podzemia*, cit.

⁵⁶ *Samizdat* is an illegally published printed material of various orientations (the word *samizdat* is derived from the Russian word *samoizdate'stvo*, which means self-publishing [orig. samovydávanie]). Between 1969 and 1989, two basic types of *samizdat* periodical were published in Slovakia: the first one in the environment of liberal-lay intelligentsia and the second one in the Christian environment. The first Christian *samizdat* originated in 1973; it was called *Orientation* [orig. Orientácia] and it was designed for priests in Spišska parish in Eastern Slovakia. It became a pioneer in the Catholic *samizdat* production in Slovakia. The first *samizdat* with Slovakia-wide coverage is noted in 1982 and it was called *Religion and Present* [orig. Náboženstvo a súčasnosť]. The development of *samizdat* works may be seen in its quantitative increase; while in 1973 there was one *samizdat*, in 1989 there were 13 of them. Between 1969 and 1989, altogether 19 *samizdat* periodicals are noted; some of them were published only for 1 or 2 years (more information on *samizdat* may be found at <<http://www.samizdat.sk>> that was established in 2016 and contains reproductions of Slovak *samizdat* journals in the electronic form that are listed in *UNESCO – Memory of the World*, <<http://samizdat.sk/historia-krestanskeho-samizdatu>>, (last access: 20.01.2019).

⁵⁷ Šimulčík, *Svetlo z podzemia*, cit., p. 17.

3.4 *Risks of the Work with University Students and Specific Security Rules*

Since the educational activity with university students was considered an anti-state activity, there was a threat of various punishments and sanctions if it was revealed. Besides interrogations, it included various forms of psychological pressure e.g. threats, surveillance, domiciliary search, exclusion from university or dismissal from work.

[...] surely, they can scare you, they can threaten you, make the situation a bit unpleasant, they can forbid you to work at a better working place or you won't be promoted and you won't find a job, yes, they usually threatened you like this that you will be nothing but a worker⁵⁸.

Meetings in private facilities involved risk, too. In order for the leaders to avoid problems, they had several rules and security precautions in place. These rules were passed down by experienced elder activists e.g. Krčméry or Jukl. The leaders worked to leave no evidence behind them, they did not take any written notes, they were instructed not to take photographs of one another and learned each other's telephone numbers by heart⁵⁹. The leaders were also trained how to act in case of being interrogated. However, it could not be officially reproduced, because it was too dangerous. It was therefore spread orally among the animators or it was typed. The growth of communities and the increase in the amount of information made the oral distribution time-consuming. Thus, the activists of the Secret Church decided for a more efficient solution associated with passing of information: they created nationwide periodical samizdat (see the footnote n. 56).

Provision of appropriate literature and its distribution was also risky, since there was no official Christian literature. Preservation, reproduction and distribution of religious literature represented a threat of harsh punishments. Religious literature was smuggled from abroad and secretly distributed through the network of believers⁶⁰. As Šimulčík states, this literature was also shared at regional meetings and at «centrals»⁶¹. However, it could not be officially reproduced, because it was too dangerous.

⁵⁸ Terézia Žitňanská, interview by Nikol Šebová, March 12, 2017, private transcript Nikol Šebová.

⁵⁹ B. Kudláčová, N. Šebová, *Model práce s deťmi v tajnej cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1973-1989*, in Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku od obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, cit.

⁶⁰ A testimony and document about the transport of Christian literature from abroad, mainly from the Slovak Institute of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Rome, printing house of the Slovak Jesuits in Canada and from a Catholic priest in Germany, Anton Hlinka, mainly across Hungary and the Polish-Slovak border is represented by a publication of the Polish author M. Szczepanowicz, *Kuriéri Božieho slova* [Couriers of God's Word], Turany, P+M, 2017 (orig. Polish: *Kurierzy Słowa Bożego*, 2007).

⁶¹ See Šimulčík, *Zápas o nádej*, cit.

Religious activities of university students provoked the state power⁶². In order to obstruct the activity and punish the actors, the state power needed to penetrate the circle of university students. The best way was to include a student who cooperated with the state security in the circle. Consequently, they informed the state security about the activity of the circle and all persons who were its members and persons who the members kept contact with. The effort to gain students for «cooperation» is documented in control reports in the archives of the state security services and oral testimonies of some of the then members of the small communities, which are available at the webpage of the Nation's Memory Institute. The information about groups of religious students occurs quite frequently there:

Knowledge gained from secondary schools suggests that universities are enrolled at by students who are religiously loaded. Persons from the lay apostolic movement find breeding ground among these students and strive to influence them through religious ideology. At present, information that persons from the lay apostolic movement commute to the dormitory of Ľudovít Štúr in Bratislava and hold training sessions of religious character with the students is being examined⁶³.

Another way of obtaining information was through technological devices. Many contemporaries remember cases when they were photographed or recorded by the representatives of state security, for instance, during a religious pilgrimage. Cases of installation of monitoring equipment directly in the flats occurred, too. The state security, however, was incapable of uncovering the entire system, nor even a mosaic of operation and activities of the students. State security was especially incapable of understanding the motives that led people to such activities.

Conclusions

Confessional education in the environment of the Secret Church is a specific, yet little examined segment of education in Slovakia in the era of Socialism. The establishment of the Secret Church dates to the 1950s, when Churches in

⁶² See report *Kontrolná správa o plnení úloh stanovených operatívnou poradou náčelníka ŠtB dňa 14.5.1976 a rozbor agentúrno-operatívnej práce na úseku mládeže* [Control report on fulfilment of tasks assigned by operational meeting of the StB Officer from 14th May 1976 and analysis of agency and operational work in the segment of the youth], <<https://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/sprava-stb-bratislava/BA/64.pdf>> (last access: 19.01.2019).

⁶³ See report *Správa o štátno-bezpečnostnej a operatívnej situácii po línii vysokých škôl a voľne žijúcej mládeže* [Report on state-security and operational situation following the line of universities and free-living youth], published June 6th, 1980, p. 4, <<https://www.upn.gov.sk/utvary-stb-a-ps-na-slovensku/sprava-stb-bratislava/BA/74.pdf>> (last access: 19.01.2019).

Slovakia experienced tough persecution by the state. Its activities, however, only started to develop at the end of the 1960s, after the Prague Spring, due to several causes: 1) strong ideological nature of official formal and informal education (promotion of Marxism-Leninism as the only worldview was contained in education acts and other legal documents, it was carried out systematically and in a programmatic manner, as it was suggested at the beginning of the paper); 2) in the 1960s, bishops and priests condemned in the 1950s by the regime were released from prison. They experienced years of thinking and hard work in prisons and understood that a new generation of Christians had to be brought up if the Church wanted to survive Socialism. In parallel with the slogan of Socialist education: to educate citizens as builders of Socialism, they created another slogan: to educate mature personalities capable of inner freedom in the time of oppression. Therefore, they gradually created their own structure of the so-called Secret Church, whose unofficial leader was the secret Bishop Korec. Together with I. Kašparová we can say that «during the communist regime, there was a great difference in how people treated and experienced private space of their families and public space of their other existence»⁶⁴.

The findings can be summed up so far as follows:

1. The work with university students was the first activity of the Secret Church in Slovakia and probably the main one. It was the one of the widespread activities of the Secret Church that together created the so-called lay apostolic movement. Besides the work with university students, it included work with families, work with children and work with youth. According to Gavenda, activity of the Secret Church cannot be narrowed down to the activity of the so-called lay apostolic movement led by Krčméry and Jukl, because «in times of normalisation, an important part of the life of the Secret Church was represented by votary communities that could not act publicly. They had their votary structure, superiors, formation and studies»⁶⁵, but everything was carried out silently and unofficially⁶⁶. The groups around Krčméry and Jukl gradually became, mainly in the 1980s, «an alternative to the officially promoted atheistic worldview»⁶⁷ and grew into open civic

⁶⁴ I. Kašparová, *Growing Up as a Vicar's Daughter in Communist Czechoslovakia: Politics, Religion and Childhood Agency Examined*, in Silova, Piattoeva, Millei (edd.), *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies*, cit., p. 87.

⁶⁵ M. Gavenda, *Odkaz tajnej Cirkvi*, Bratislava, Don Bosco, 2017, p. 9.

⁶⁶ It also needs to be noted that secret activities were carried out not only in the Catholic Church (e.g. in the Evangelical Church) but also in several religious communities in Slovakia. Due to the quantitative representation of Catholics in the overall population in Slovakia, the activities of the Secret Catholic Church may be considered the most important, the most numerous and the most wide-spread.

⁶⁷ P. Jašek, *Slovensko v rokoch normalizácie: spoločensko-politická situácia*, in Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie a školstvo na Slovensku obdobia normalizácie po pád komunizmu*, cit., p. 16.

activities for protection of human and religious rights. R. Letz⁶⁸ and M. Gavenda⁶⁹ mentioned pilgrimages which mainly young people attended⁷⁰. Despite their purely religious character and content, they were an expression of a certain fellowship of people in the totalitarian regime and, at the same time, a form of a protest against the violation of human rights and religious freedom. The most attended pilgrimages were in Levoča, where Mariánska hora [tr. Marianska Mountain] with a sanctuary that is the oldest pilgrimage spot in the Eastern Slovakia is placed⁷¹. The pilgrimage in the Moravian town of Velehrad, which took place on the 7th of July 1985 on the occasion of the 1100th anniversary of the death of Saint Methodius, was denoted as the breakthrough event by Letz⁷². The majority of pilgrims came from Slovakia, while the overall number of participants was estimated to be a total of 150.000 to 200.000. The culmination of activities for religious freedom was the so-called «candle manifestation» in 1988, which was a silent protest of believers held at Hviezdoslavovo námestie [tr. Hviezdoslav Square] in Bratislava. It was attended by approximately 10.000 believers, who were attacked by the official power; 141 persons were captured by state security and 14 persons were injured⁷³.

2. The work with university students was a conceptual, organised activity that probably began in 1966 and its first protagonists were Krčméry and Jukl. From 1968, it was under the patronage of the bishop Korec. The work with university students began to develop more significantly in the 1970s. Once the state organs gradually gained information about this activity (mainly from collaborators with state security), Krčméry and Jukl began to be controlled. In the 1980s, for security reasons, Mikloško became the main leader of the

⁶⁸ R. Letz, *Komunistický režim a katolícka cirkev na Slovensku v 80. rokoch*, in P. Jašek, F. Neupauer, O. Podolec, P. Jakubčín (edd.), *Sviečková manifestácia I. (štúdie a spomienky)*, Bratislava, Ústav pamäti národa, 2015, pp. 23-41.

⁶⁹ Gavenda, *Odkaz tajnej Cirkvi*, cit.

⁷⁰ Mikloško similarly states that members of the youth communities started to participate in the pilgrimages mainly in the 1980s and many of them helped also with the organisation, see Mikloško, *Nebudete ich môcť rozvrátiť: Z osudov katolíckej Cirkvi na Slovensku v rokoch 1943-89*, cit.

⁷¹ The number of participants in Levoča in the 1980s was around 100.000 to 250.000, while 1988 represented the greatest pilgrimage in the period of Socialism in Slovakia at all.

⁷² R. Letz, *Komunistický režim a katolícka cirkev na Slovensku v 80. rokoch*, in Jašek, Neupauer, Podolec, Jakubčín (edd.), *Sviečková manifestácia I. (štúdie a spomienky)*, cit.

⁷³ O. Krajňák, Úvodné slovo, in P. Jašek, F. Neupauer, O. Podolec, P. Jakubčín (edd.), *Sviečková manifestácia I. (štúdie a spomienky)*, Bratislava, Ústav pamäti národa, 2015, p. 10.

work with university students⁷⁴. In this period, the network of animators, which was based on mutual trust, help and cooperation, which were very important elements, was already established. Another important feature was personal engagement of leaders of individual communities and a structure based on personal relationships. Animators shared their experiences at joint meetings – «centrals» [orig. centrálka] that had a spiritual, methodological as well as organisational nature. Centrals were organized according to individual universities in Bratislava and were created by animators of all small communities of the given university. Leaders of centrals of individual universities created a so-called main central, where every university had its representation. This system may be considered practical and democratic.

3. The activity was based on the system of work in small communities, which was one of the significant features of the Secret Church. Regular meetings of small communities were supplemented by irregular activities (hiking trips, skiing trips etc.). The entire activity was aimed at the development of mature Christian personalities under the conditions of oppression. The system of work established with university students in small communities was later proven to work well in the work with children, youth and families that formed other parts of the lay apostolic movement. Due to the size of the network of leaders and its associated communities, it may be assumed that the work with university students was the biggest activity of the Secret Church in Slovakia in the 1970s and 1980s.
4. The approach to university students was complex. It did not involve only religious formation, but also formation of personality – in its bodily, social, psychological and spiritual dimension. The selected methods were very attractive: work in small communities (besides spiritual formation, it developed both the personal and social dimension), one-day trips (developed the field of cognition), and week-long summer trips or winter skiing trips (developed the bodily dimension of personality). Since the small communities were filled with friendly and close relationships, they often resulted in marriages. The communities worked in a so-called cell system. Each member, after graduating and returning to their hometown, was supposed to establish a new community. The point was to mediate the experience from the mother community to the others. Gradually, small communities were being established across Slovakia.
5. An important feature and the base of the entire system was trust. Since it was an anti-state activity, bearing the threat of various sanctions, its protagonists had to trust each other. Knowing that they were doing something important and couldn't tell anyone involved a great deal of bravery and strong

⁷⁴ After 1989, František Mikloško worked for twenty years as a member of the Slovak National Council (1990-2010) and for two years as a speaker of the SNC (1990-1992).

motivation. Young people learned responsibility for themselves, for the others and for the common good, which was practical teaching of values.

Concerning research of educational activities of the Secret Church in the period of Socialism in Slovakia, it is still at the beginning. However, the first findings prove that this part of education in the era of Socialism should not be neglected. On the contrary, it seems that it involved an original approach to the organisational and procedural part, which was both effective and attractive for young people. A thorough analysis may offer interesting facts regarding the fields of leisure time and value education. The work with university students was carried out up to 1989, when it was transformed to an official activity of university pastoral centres at several universities in Slovakia.

From popular culture to social transformation: student youth, peasants and the Base Education Movement (MEB) in the 1960s

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ABSTRACT: We discuss how popular culture was used as a political category by university students who acted in Ação Popular [AP, Popular Action] in the early 1960s, and how it was mobilized in the primer book *Viver é lutar* (1963), [Fighting is to Live], written by militants who worked along the Movimento de Educação de Base [MEB, Base Education Movement], to assist in the literacy of adults peasant. Secondly, we approach the culture of the specific historical context of its production, having as sources the letters written by the peasants who attended.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: University youth; Popular culture; Adult literacy; Epistolary interchange; Brasil; XXth Century.

Introduction

The paper approaches the concept of popular culture and how it was used as a political category by university students in the early 1960s, through Ação Popular [AP, Popular Action] – which was a dissident movement of Juventude Universidade Católica [JUC, Catholic University Youth] – and its operation along Movimento de Educação de Base [MEB, Base Education Movement], created in 1961 to promote adult literacy through a radio programming, which included some members of the AP. The engagement of JUC in social issues from the 1950s onwards derived from the militancy of its members in student political activities at a crucial moment in the political life of the university, in

which students took a revolutionary position aimed at bridging the university and society¹.

AP creation was largely due to the operation of JUC on social issues throughout the 1950's which resulted in constant conflicts with the catholic clergy hierarchy which opposed the development of the lay apostolate, assuming a conservative posture contrary to the movement which, according to the most conservative ones, was embedded in Marxist and Communist ideas. In addition, there was among some bishops a feeling of discontent with the public positions taken by the members of the JUC, mainly due to its strong rapprochement with the National Union of Students (UNE)², where its members played an important political role³. As a consequence, JUC was forced to move away from its political action⁴ leading JUC students belonging to the UNE or other movements and political entities to the conflict of positions considering the eminently spiritual character of the organization, which included the respect for the orthodoxy and hierarchy of the Church, rendering unfeasible a more autonomous political action.

Considering this conflict between lay students and clergy, from 1959 on the theoretical foundations that would rise Ação Popular in June of 1962 started to be formulated as an institutionally independent movement from the Catholic Church. AP agglutinated members of JUC and UNE, approaching the movements of left-wing – including Partido Comunista Brasileiro [PCB, Communist Brazilian party], constituting itself as a space for independent political action, risen from an already politically engaged group that had the opportunity to work along social issues without submitting to the Church hierarchy. According to Fávero the group «takes on a revolutionary perspective and defines a political project that aims extreme transformations of the social structure, which should come to be true as the masses seize the control of the political power, fighting against the structural causes of injustices»⁵.

¹ E. Kadt, *Católicos Radicados no Brasil*, Brasília, UNESCO, MEC, 2007.

² The União Nacional dos Estudantes [UNE, National Students Union] is an Brazilian student organization officially founded in 1938, during the II Congresso Nacional dos Estudantes [Second Students National Congress], as students representative entity of higher education. Since its creation UNE participates intensively in the Brazilian politics, alternating between left and right-wing inclinations. At early 1960s with the strengthening of student movement, as result of the relative increase of the number of students who entered the higher education, UNE actively took part at the debate in defense of the University Reform and at the campaign for the legality of João Goulart presidential inauguration. At this time they created the Centro Popular de Cultura [CPC, Popular Culture Centre] and UNE Volante, that had as its goal to promote the awareness through popular culture activities. With the 1964 military coup the entity happens to be pursued by the military regime, however the student mobilization kept operating even illegally, promoting marches and encounters as a way of resistance to the military regime.

³ J.M. Nagamine, *Universidade e compromisso social: a experiência da reforma da PUC de São Paulo*, São Paulo, EDUC, Editora Autores Associados, 1996.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ O. Fávero, *Uma pedagogia da participação popular: análise da prática educativa do MEB*,

In the first part of the text we present the document «AP/Cultura Popular», created in 1963, which defines the conception of popular culture defended by AP members. Once it was a movement dedicated to promoting popular culture bringing the literacy of adults as one of its main objectives, we analyzed some of the content present in the primer *Viver é lutar* [Living is to Fight], created in the same year by MEB members aiming the literacy of adult crop workers, as a way to outline how popular culture was mobilized on the textbooks. Lastly, we discuss, from the contributions of Raymond Williams⁶, how the popular culture with political purposes mobilized by MEB was appropriated by the rural workers, through the use of the radio as an educative vehicle. We analyze a set of letters written by the peasants who attended the radiophonic schools of MEB in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil. In view of the understanding of culture as a daily production of people, our approach works on the popular culture from the specific historical context of its production through the identification of practices of the peasants people themselves which transformed the radiophonic school into a space of mobilization and political action⁷.

1. *Popular Culture: a tool for change*

The word culture itself bares very distinctive uses and meanings over time, so that a brief look over the history of the term allows us to understand better how the popular culture as an element of political action was mobilized by the Brazilian catholic left-wing students in the early 60's. Its first meaning related to the idea of processing or caring something, like the culture or cultivation of corn for instance – and in this case quite related to a practice or a concrete action – the word culture was gradually being transformed. In its modern use from the sixteenth century it started getting a metaphorical meaning that happens to include the human development process approaching the word culture more and more of the use of distinguishing those ones who are endowed with something, the cultured spirit per say⁸.

The culture conception to beyond of physical reference, the one that cultivates or the one that is cultured or cultivated, firstly appears on the eighteenth century so that its use happens to be expanded to englobe aspects in reference to the

Movimento de Educação de Base (1961/1966), Campinas, Autores Associados, 2006.

⁶ R. Williams, *Cultura*, Lólio Lourenço de Oliveira [trad.], São Paulo, Paz e Terra, 1992.

⁷ K. Ludkiewicz Alves, *Entre as cartas e o rádio: a alfabetização nas escolas radiofônicas do Movimento de Educação de Base em Pernambuco (1961-1966)*, Doctoral Thesis, Programa de Estudos Pós-graduados em Educação: História, Política, Sociedade (Supervisor: K. Munakata), São Paulo, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Academic Year 2016.

⁸ R. Williams, *Keywords. A vocabulary of culture and society*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1983.

life in society. In this case, it is widened to a conception linked to the existence of several cultures, presented definitively by Herder, who defied the presumption of the existence of a universal culture as a historical process auto-linear of society development. The author reasons the need of talking about «cultures» in the plural, meaning «the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation»⁹. The innovative assumption about culture developed as an alternative to the term «civilization», endowed with an orthodox and dominant perspective, bringing the notion of national and traditional cultures to the light, also including the new concept of popular culture.

Therefore we see that a lagging process of separation of the culture in its «material» scope took place along the eighteenth century as well as its physical aspect to the awakening of the «human development». Once this process elapsed, the term culture happens to be used as an abstract noun, from three central dimensions. The first one describes the intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development process of man and the human kind. The second one, as a way to indicate the particular manner of a people, era or group and finally as designation of its works and the practices of its intellectual activities and, notably, artistic¹⁰.

The historical formation course of Brazilian society whose hallmark is the difference between the social layers, has divided culture when it comes to the modern concept of human spirit «development» even though the cultural practices reveal countless artistic and ritualistic expressions where both popular and elite marks are inevitably interwoven. Culture as a particular way of living, or as the artistic practices and intellectual activities were put considering the contraposition between the culture of the people or popular, and the erudite culture belonging to the most wealthy layer of the Brazilian society which is usually strongly influenced by Europe and USA.

In Brazil, the use of the term popular culture as a specific way that a people expresses itself, or the people in general, acquires more space throughout the first half of the twentieth century, influenced very strongly by the debate and the political activity promoted by sectors from the urban middle classes that started to have access to the university. They engage in social issues through their involvement in the student movement and other social movements, as was the case of JUC and later of AP, whose members also had a strong presence in the Catholic Church, which at that time used denominational teaching as a field of ideological dispute to maintain its space of power in society. Engaged in these actions, secular political forces, oriented to the right-wing or to the left-wing, perceived the Church's power to influence processes of social transformation,

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

taking positions seen as strategic for the promotion of popular culture through grassroots education activities¹¹.

On the grassroots education that was promoted through the operation of MEB, Kadt when referring to the movement members tells us that:

[...] the cadres of MEB, with exception of the highest echelons, were composed mostly by high school and college students who already perceived the possibility of employing the ‘base education’ as a means to get closer to the popular classes, using it as a mechanism of socio-cultural and political mobilization¹².

The insertion of students members of AP in the university enabled these young people to a venue of formation and to the contact with theories and doctrines which have been placed in field on their areas of political action. These doctrines on the one hand were related to perception of historical ideal that permeated the formation of JUC members approaching them of the formulations of Jacques Maritain¹³. The catholic youth assimilated the idea that the Christian faith materialized in a way of staying in the world and that the active engagement in the reality to be lived personally was needed beyond the knowledge and reflection. On the other hand, the experience in the university also enabled AP militants to meet the Marxist thoughts which motivated a considerable number of the Brazilian youth to guide their political action aiming the promotion of an extreme social transformation of the country by means of a socialist revolution¹⁴.

Largely influenced by a Marxist-structuralist vision, the militants of AP understood culture from the dialectic between subjectivity – subject development – and objectivity-subject action. Thus, the authentic culture would be the one that, being universal, would enable the communication of awarenesses among men, their values and significations, and their interaction in the world.

‘It is like intentionally universal that culture must be called popular’¹⁵, ‘[...] meaning, a culture that allows the opening of awarenesses in a growing degree of universality’¹⁶. For

¹¹ F. Pires Gavião, *A “esquerda católica” e a Ação Popular (AP) na luta pelas reformas sociais (1960-1965)*, Masters dissertation, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas (Supervisora: Vavy Pachego Borges), Campinas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas. Academic Year 2007.

¹² Kadt, *Católicos Radicais no Brasil*, cit, p. 162.

¹³ Jacques Maritain (1882-1973) was a French philosopher with a Catholic orientation, considered as one of the pillars of the renewal of Thomistic thought in the twentieth century. His works influenced the concept of Christian Democracy and inspired social movements in Latin America, especially those of Catholic origin, also influencing the debate on Human Rights. From the works that had a direct influence on the proposals of the Brazilian Catholic Left-wing, the book *Humanisme Intégrale*, originally published in 1936, stands out.

¹⁴ K.M. Zuquin Braguini, *Juventude e pensamento conversador no Brasil*, São Paulo, EDUC/FAPESP, 2015.

¹⁵ O. Fávero (ed.), *Cultura popular e educação popular: memória dos anos 60*, Rio de Janeiro, Edições Graal, 1983, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

this it should communicate with the people in order to 'its significations, values, ideals, works are effectively meant to the people and respond to their demands of human fulfillment in particular time [...]'¹⁷. It is also conceived as '[...] popular the culture that leads the man to take over his position of subject of his own cultural creation and of aware worker of the historical process where he is inserted'¹⁸.

Culture was understood as a historical process, possible through man action who is subject of History and, because of this, culture creator. However, in order to be the authentic expression of historical awareness of men, groups, nations or eras, culture should incarnate some of the essential constitutive values of the man kind to not become dehumanizing and alienating. Thus, the document produced by the militants of AP highlights that culture can also reproduce in a non-authentic way, while the society structure uses communication means of school and propagandas in order to generate an alienating culture that places man in a place of domination, being «[...] applicable the presentation of the Brazilian society as composed by groups culturally dominated and groups culturally dominant imposing a culture of reflex and not of reflection»¹⁹.

Having as core a structuralist conception of culture, the people, as urban mass workers, peasants spread and isolated, was in the conception of these militants submitted to a process of ideological polarization of the contemporary culture. Such domination took place from the influence of alienating media groups and the excluding educational system that let the people in a subordinate condition and in light of this the social movements were forced to the challenge of making the culture happen to go from ideological weapon to a tool of promotion of men [...] where men communicate with each other in terms of recognition²⁰.

According to the conception of culture defended by AP the people should be mobilized by the contradiction in order to become aware of the challenge that were imposed to them and this way be able to reach the objective transformations in their lives condition. Rural workers were placed as priority object of action of AP and of other popular culture movements that acted in the early 1960's guiding its militancy to the promotion of men liberty, turning him from receptor into creator of authentic cultural expressions by «[...] promoting the development of culture with the people, making him participant of the cultural community, instead of creating a culture to the people»²¹.

As we mentioned earlier, the proposal of promoting popular culture defended by AP was founded in the promotion of base education understood as a set of actions which propose was to take to the rural population the knowledge about their reality and the possibility to change their life condition. Such actions took

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

place through various instruments such as the Núcleos Populares [Popular Nuclei], the Praças de Cultura [Culture Squares], theater, art, mainly music and movies, the popular parties, the popular culture festivals, publications and literacy of adults campaigns, that besides being one of the main focus of the social movements acting in that context, they have also emerged as a fundamental agenda of the populist governments since the late 1940²².

Among the militants who worked in MEB, the reformulation of JUC militancy way with the people after the creation of AP was also felt leading to reset some wider action strategies of motivation that were related to the correlation of power within the Catholic Church and the action of lay catholic groups in other areas. The new orientation of catholic youth militancy with MEB took as central point of its political action the promotion of consciousness and the practice aiming the transformation of man, that were included in its proposal of literacy and they appear as basic assumptions of its model of base education, concerned in preparing the people to political life. For being MEB:

the field of action of left-wing Christian groups whose from 1962 pinned an own ideological guidance on the movement, as to the 'awareness' it has become the 'leitmotiv' in order to guide the educational praxis of the programs of community development and rural unionization²³.

We can highlight some elements of *Viver é lutar* primer prepared by MEB in 1963 to the work of peasants literacy in the radiophonic schools intending to illustrate as the ideal of promotion of the awareness and popular culture was mobilized by the militants in the publication. The name of the primer itself – *Viver é lutar* – gives the tone of political perspective assumed in the textbooks adopted by MEB in 1964, in its educational radio systems installed in the regions northeast and northern of Brazil.

Produced to assist the literacy work²⁴, the primer had as propose to be also an instrument of awareness of peasants, allying in its contents both the goals in order to approach them to the popular and religious culture as to the everyday experience of the peasants. Its message focused «[...] the valuation of man and community, its culture, its role in the face of Brazilian reality – all in accordance

²² C.R. Beisiegel, *Estado & Educação popular*, Brasília, Liber Livro, 2004; L.E. Wanderley, *Educar para transformar*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1984.

²³ S.M. Manfredi, *Política e Educação Popular*, São Paulo, Cortez Editora e Autores Associados, 1981.

²⁴ The primer *Viver é lutar* was elaborated in the face of the understanding among the militants that it was essential to prepare reading books that would meet the specificities of the literacy work carried out by MEB, besides being an aid material for the literacy work carried out by the monitors chosen in the communities, given the need to provide them with supporting texts, since most of them had little or no didactic-pedagogical preparation. The existence of what we might classify as a tradition around the use of booklets for literacy was also a motivator because there was a demand among the students, for whom it was important to have a study book.

with the needs of different areas»²⁵. The exercises guided to the literacy had a strong political design becoming an ode to awareness in the perspective of transformation, «awakening the adult to the necessary engagement in working groups in the community – clubs, unions, cooperatives, handcraft, etc»²⁶.

Designed to students who were already in literacy process, each of the 30 lessons that compose the primer on its 65 pages present the grammar content followed by practical exercises, permeated by the texts with political content. Each lesson is illustrated with a photograph – mostly men, but some of hinterland landscape, women and children – portraying a work situation or a talking moment suggesting oral communication as a way of awareness and mobilization. The images dialogue with the lessons content and in that context where the use of photographs in textbooks was restrict yet, meant an element of approach and strong identification of the reader with the northeastern hinterland landscape and with the condition of the rural worker.

The lessons deal with questions concerning the peasant's life, around the family and the community, his status as a rural worker, and his insertion in the religious community, usually ending with mobilizing questions, which sought to propose the debate, and met the way MEB used to work the contents, putting the problem from reality data and then analyzing them. In the end, a phrase was emphasized as a fundamental message to be conveyed in each of the lessons:

The peasant is man of earth
 He works the earth
 He reaps the fruits of earth
 Does the peasant own earth?
 Does he have everything he needs to cultivate earth?
 Does he have any guarantee in the harvest?
 Does the peasant have guarantee at his work?

The Peasant Is Man Of Earth²⁷

The way the lesson addresses in a direct way the peasant work and his connexion with earth stands out of this excerpt, as own element of his existence and culture by what he ensures his own and others survival. A kind of way of being genuine and therefore, transformer. The mobilizing questions propose to readers to think about the lack of this and other rights that are natural to them:

²⁵ MEB, *Análise do Conjunto Didático "Viver é lutar"*, Rio de Janeiro, outubro de 1963, p. 4, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, <<http://www4.pucsp.br/cedic/meb/nas-salas-de-aula/arquivos-pdf/2-1-analise-conjunto-viver-lutar.pdf>> (last access: 10.03.2019).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁷ MEB, *Viver é lutar: 2º livro de leitura para adultos*, Rio de Janeiro, outubro de 1963, p. 4, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, <<http://www4.pucsp.br/cedic/meb/nas-salas-de-aula/arquivos-pdf/2-2-cartilha-viver-lutar.pdf>> (last acces: 10.03.2019).

«Pedro is worried and think: why is our life so tough? Why do so many kids die here? Why do not people have home? Why hasn't we learnt to read?»²⁸.

In the following lessons the primer content work with the understanding and/or awareness about the problems of rural life: «Pedro understood other things as well: the people ignores they are explored. The people ignores their rights and duties. Their rights are not respected [...]»²⁹ then, finally, present the element that point out to the importance of organization and workers fight as a necessary way to an effective change of their life condition:

The peasants feel the need of union.

They feel they can act if united. Their right to union is law.

Pedro and the peasants want to found a Labor Union.

They feel their class problems.

They want to organize their class.

Labor Union is unity.

Labor Union is power.

Union makes the power of the Labor Union.

Union Makes The Power Of The Labor Union³⁰

When we follow the development of the contents presented in the lessons we can see that they structure themselves considering the problematization, what enables a reflexion needed to the action. It is also sought to establish dialogues of approach between the presented contents and the peasants everyday experience that, as we have shown earlier, was one of the fundamental assumptions of the educational base model promoted by MEB. We can highlight this approach and dialogue with the popular culture from some mobilized elements in *Viver é lutar*, such as the insertion of landscape images and everyday scenes and also the use of proper names to refer to the characters of the lessons, establishing a closer dialogue with the reader, who identified the characters as being each one of the thousands of «Pedros» from Brazilian hinterland.

The elements that compose the peasant culture were worked in order to foment a genuinely popular culture, which in the conception of the militants who made part of MEB would be able to overcome the cultural unevennesses that blocked the communication among several social groups. The popular festivals such as Carnival, São João, maracatu, capoeira, ciranda and others are presented as part of both folklore and popular art, able to reveal the soul of the people. Culture is therefore put as the work outcome and the human creation in society.

Popular art is culture.

Everything man invents and makes is culture:

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13^a lesson.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 17^a lesson.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21^a lesson.

House, plantation, shoes, clay stove
 All of this is creation
 Man is creator
 The people customs are culture
 The people makes culture when studying as well,
 They learn to keep and improve their customs.
 A people only marches towards freedom when walking with its culture
 Everything Man Invents And Makes Is Culture³¹

When we observe the historical course of the uses of the word culture till to the modern meaning of the term, masterfully mapped by R. Williams, from the eighteenth century we can identify culture as a way of genuine manifestation of the people, their life experience and nature transformation. Different excerpts of *Viver é lutar*, emphasize in its lessons elements as «popular art» and «the people customs»; or their work conditions and production when he states that «the peasant is a man of earth. He works the earth». His conception of popular culture that highlights the genuine character of the manifestations of the people reinforces on the one hand the elements of division and polarization of culture, when he emphasizes a way of popular life, rural and peasant, that distinguishes and defines a identity type or of 'being' of the Brazilian people. The use of 'customs' to designate a way of acting of the people also reveals the the field of dispute that the term can represent in the political debate context of that time, very concerned with the elaboration of a narrative capable of defining the characteristic elements of the people.

The political and educational action of MEB was based on a moulder spirit capable of leading every man to intervene in the world and produce culture, which did not guarantee that this culture happened in a equality level, understanding the traditional culture of the people under the view of submission to the values and its dependency related to the political and economic local powers. They understood that:

Although modern culture has universal destination, since culture works are created in an anthropological perspective it actually serves, once ideologically polarized, to the interests of a class, a certain social position. To this kind of culture a claim of popular culture opposes immediately³².

On the other hand, if popular culture is understood given the specific historical context of its production, it can reveal us the power that constitutes the experience and the consciousness of a people. In this way, we can identify the culture elements, not as a system of attitudes, values and meanings shared by a particular group or society, but above all it is read it as «a pool of diverse resources, in which traffic passes between the literate and the oral, the

³¹ *Ibid.*, 24^a lesson.

³² Fávero (ed.), *Cultura popular e educação popular: memória dos anos 60*, cit., p. 23.

superordinate and the subordinate, the village and the metropolis»³³, as «it is an arena of conflictual elements, which requires some compelling pressure [...] to take the form as ‘system’»³⁴. Beyond a dichotomous look – erudite vs. popular culture; subordinates and dominants – the letters written by the monitors and students of the radiophonic schools of MEB let us to highlight the peasants participation in the daily functioning of these schools, understanding the popular culture from the practices and multiple processes of assimilation and possible resistance in their daily life³⁵. In the practices around the classes and the daily organization of the radiophonic schools, when analysing the letters we seek the indications that allow us to understand how the peasants culture can be an instrument of mobilization and political organization in that context.

2. *Peasants, popular culture and education through radio wave*

By mobilizing peasant culture for political purposes, MEB contributed to the construction of spaces for cultural expression that transformed radiophonic schools into cultural production organizations. The daily broadcasted educative-radio programme which configures one of the elements that constitute the curriculum³⁶ disseminated by MEB is an example of how local team members formed mostly by broadcaster-teachers and the supervisors who visited schools, tried to create ways to bring students closer to the lessons content, stimulating their participation and engagement in the daily activities of the school and in other spaces of political organization, such as the rural unions.

The programming elaboration met the orientation given by MEB members to define the content according to the «reality of each region» and its local needs. Thus, the broadcaster-teachers who were responsible for the production and issuance of lessons and other educational programs took part in the training given to the monitors³⁷ and on some occasions supervised trips for

³³ E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, London, Penguin Books, 1993, p. 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁵ Williams, *Cultura*, cit.

³⁶ I.F. Goodson, *Currículo: teoria e história*, Petrópolis, Editora Vozes, 2018.

³⁷ The monitor promoted the mediation between the students and the local supervisory teams of MEB, his role was critical for establishing direct contact with the students and the community on which the success of the radio school depended highly. In the process of rooting, he would be responsible for talking to the community about MEB and divulging the installation of the radio school. Subsequently, he was also responsible for enrolling students wishing to attend classes. After the opening of the radio school, the monitor should pay attention to the daily tasks of organization, schedule of transmission of the programs and registration of presence in the frequency sheet, which should be sent monthly to the local teams. His wide list of assignments began with the installation of the school, sometimes in his own home, followed by management, hygiene care, and tidiness. As for the daily life of the classes, the monitor was expected to be constant at orienting the students according to the instructions given by the broadcaster-teacher.

visits to the radiophonic schools. The supervisors, in turn, also collaborated in the production of the classes and systematically criticized them, from what they observed and collected with the schools.

This dynamics of lessons preparation sought to establish a more collaborative relationship for the contents definition that would be transmitted directly to students and to monitors. Therefore, on the part of the broadcaster-speakers, there was the concern to attend during programming the demands and needs of the schools which they were in touch, was it either through training, reports of the monitors, supervision visits or letters that came to hand to be read and answered during the broadcast of the special radio programme that was broadcasted on weekends.

In view of MEB militants guidelines, the curriculum of the classes should be planned in a globalized way in order to meet the objectives of the promotion of awareness, being composed of courses in literacy, calculus, reality studies and other grassroots education syllabuses. The classes that addressed these contents were called *Language, Arithmetic and General Knowledge*. In addition to the weekly classes for the students, there was an orientation to execute «as far as possible, special programs for the community and the monitor, including a synthesis of the message of the classes of the week»³⁸. Thus, on weekends, a special programme for the monitors and the community was broadcasted. The programme included the Monitor Program, the Community Program, and classes with a religious content³⁹, such as catechism and Sunday Masses: «Although MEB is not confessional (because it is intended for all), this does not imply that religion classes are not issued»⁴⁰.

Several techniques were suggested by MEB teams aiming to motivate the students and the monitors, arousing their interest in radio programming, which created spaces for the interaction and circulation of popular culture throughout the programs broadcast by the radios, especially during the special programming. Such techniques varied dramatizations, dialogues and soap-operas to the making of recordings in tape and disc of the classes. Another orientation was that they try to get the participation of the students in the making of the programs.

He should be attentive to the students' learning, stimulate them and serve each one by helping them in their needs, as well as giving special attention to those who present the most difficulties of learning and to encourage the collaboration of the most advanced students. Finally, it was expected to promote discussions with students, encouraging them to relate the topics addressed to the situation of the community (MEB, *O Monitor*, Apostila 4 [s / d] UFF / RJ Collection).

³⁸ MEB/Recife, *1º Encontro de coordenadores: Conclusões*, Recife, dez. 1962, Fundo MEB, CEDIC.

³⁹ There are in the letters many mentions of monitors and students to the transmission of Masses in the schedule of the radio programming of the MEB. Since many communities did not have a parish priest in their churches, religious programming certainly mobilized many people around the radio.

⁴⁰ MEB/Recife, *1º Encontro de coordenadores: Conclusões*, cit.

The reading of the letters during the special programming was one of the ways adopted to encourage the participation of students and monitors, stimulating them as listeners and as writers of missives and poems sent to compose the program. The sending of the letters was even encouraged during the Monitor Program: «when we ask people to write us, it is because the monitor opinion is very important for the classes. It is through him or her that the teachers know what the students think, and they can change lessons and prepare new lessons, taking into consideration of a little to what comes from each one»⁴¹. The concern to mobilize the students' participation was also important for the classes' content's definition and for the exchange and circulation of culture in the radio programming, of which we will speak later.

The incentive given by MEB for the monitors and the students to write was very successful, so that many letters with diverse contents and themes were sent to the educational-radios. Some of them ask questions about the content of the classes or suggest topics to be addressed that contribute to the interaction and participation of the learners – students and monitors – in the classes curriculum elaboration.

Dear Supervisors I'm going to ask you a few quick questions: a person asked me if the classes are going to be dismissed, admitted, submissive, I can't recall well what was the word, it was one of these. I did not understand what it meant and I replied they are suspended. I do not know if I answered right or if one of them meant the same⁴².

Everyone waits their own name on the radio, they happen to be happy! The classes have been great. They love the games, it's a lot of fun and even in general knowledge classes they pay better attention. The problems of arithmetic is that there's no time enough to write everything, only the end. Here you are the 50.00 of the recording, if it is out there I didn't see. [...] What is the other name of the collective of squadrons, is it ships or airplanes? I did not write by forgetfulness. A student asks to ask: [...] what is glass made of? And how do the Indians fish if they have no fishhooks?⁴³

⁴¹ MEB/Sistema Radioeducativo de Olinda e Recife, *Programa do Monitor*, 1963, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 23(1).

⁴² [Caras Supervisoras vou fazer umas perguntinhas: uma pessoa me perguntou as aulas vão ser demitidas admitidas submittidas não estou lembrada direito qual foi a palavra foi uma destes. Eu não entendi o que significava e respondi estão suspensas. Não sei se respondi certo ou uma das mesmas significavam o mesmo] MEB, monitor letter, Sítio Betânia, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedec, caixa 2 (2).

⁴³ [Todos esperam o seu nome pelo o rádio, ficam contentes! As aulas tem sido ótimas. Gostam muitos dos jogos, é muito divertida até nas aulas de conhecimentos gerais estão com outra atenção. Os problemas de aratmêtica é que não dá tempo escreverem todo só o final. Vai os 50,00 da gravação se saiu não vi. (...) Qual é o outro nome do coletivo de esquadrilha é navios ou aviões, não escrevi por esquecimento. Um aluno manda perguntar: (...) de que é que faz o vidro? E como os índios pescam se não tem anzol?] MEB, monitor letter, Engenho Desengano, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedec, caixa 3 (1).

I wanted someone to explain to me whose the rural union belongs to, there is so many people here who sign the union and do not want, bu that is because they don't even know what it is [...] and I also want to know if the rural union has anything to do with the government⁴⁴.

[...] I wish you all health and happiness to everyone of the movements of this great good that radiophonic schools do here in the hinterland. I and all my students are satisfied with the good lessons we receive through Olinda radio. I am writing to learn about the books we are expecting for the good of the schools and the future of all the students in our schools. We are satisfied with the lessons about cotton we from the hinterland want lessons on castor bean cotton and corn. We want sanitary education lessons home education and lessons on agriculture!⁴⁵

Tell Rozário I am happy with the accounts of multiplication and division. I am enjoying it very much and so far I do not find it difficult because she teaches everything right; you ain't need to talk about nouns and verbs⁴⁶.

I'll say I really like the monitors program. I ask for the most advanced division of 3, to 4 figures. [...] I am sorry for my simple affairs that I never been a monitor, never been trained nor ever wrote to any of them. I apologize for the blots of letters cos I also don't know how to write⁴⁷.

Zélia till the date the students are getting is excited each passing day so it's good innit? We are developing a little after these general knowledge classes. Yes they tell you that the most important exercise for them to do is to write, Zélia they are very fond of the accounts that the teacher [...] is giving. As well as language classes are very interesting. Look, the monitor program is great the most important is the accounts that the teacher is teaching them [...] Zélia what I like very much is the songs of the community program. I ask you to let me know which is the program that the letters of the people are replied, because another day in

⁴⁴ [Queria que explicassem a quem pertence o sindicato rural aqui tem tanta gente que assinam o sindicato e não quer mas porque eles não sabem nem o que é (...) e também quero saber se o sindicato rural tem alguma coisa com o govêrno (...)] MEB, Monitor letter, Bezerra, s.d, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁴⁵ [(...) votos de saude e felicidades para todos do movimentos deste grande bem que as escolas radiôfônica faz a qui no sertão. Eu e todos os meus alunos estamos satisfeitos com as boas lições que recebemos através da radio Olinda. Estou escrevendo para saber noticia dos livros que estamos esperando a bem das escolas e do futuro de todos os alunos de nossas escolas. Estamos satisfeitos com as lições sôbre o algodão nós do sertão desejamos lições sobre algodão mamona feijão de corda e milho. Queremos lições de educação sanitária educação doméstica e lições sobre agricultura!] MEB, Monitor letter, Sítio Betânia, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁴⁶ [Diga a Rozário que estou alegre com as contas de multiplicar e dividir estou gostando bastante até a esta altura não achei nada difícil, porque ela ensina tudo direitinho; você não é preciso falar, sôbre as aulas dos substantivos e verbos] MEB, Monitor letter, Azevêu, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁴⁷ [Mando dizer que gosto muito do programa dos monitores. Mando pedir a divisão mais adiantada de 3, a 4 algarismos. (...) pesso desculpa dos meus singelos assuntos que nunca fui monitor, nem nunca fiz treinamento nem nunca escrevi para suprevizora nenhuma. peso desculpa dos borrões das letras que tambem não sei escrever] MEB, Monitor letter, Sítio Campestre, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 3 (1).

the correspondence of the letters, they warned us that the monitors from Nazaré da Mata were to be replied in another program. [...] receive a kiss and a strong hug from the monitor who is struggling a bit for the illiteracy of the people of this place. Regards to your Pedro, the week's classes are great⁴⁸.

The monitors used to report in the letters their satisfaction with the progress of the school and their motivation for the work, as well as reaffirming a kind of collaborative spirit for the desire to fight to end the illiteracy of its people. In addition, the letters that were read and answered in the Monitor Program also arouse, on other schools in the region, the daily questions and the demands of the monitors regarding the organization of the radio schools.

It is also noted that for many of them the content of the Monitor Program was an important school education tool, revealing one of the important points for the discussion regarding the appropriation of the contents transmitted by MEB through the monitors. Although we observed in the sources that the instructors had their own practices and «ways» of conducting the classes – one of them says in the letter that her students keep «developing» after the classes of General Knowledge – most of them listened to the programming, considering the opportunity to have contact with contents that could contribute to their political formation and their practice as literacy teachers. The last part of the Monitor Program was basically composed of notes and the reading of correspondence which, according to the broadcaster-teacher, was the MEB's vehicle of conversation with the schools in the absence of the visits. A significant part of the letters were replied in the programming, which is evidenced in the collection because many of them have annotated the letter «R» and the date in which it was replied.

As for the Community Program which was also frequently mentioned in the letters, the programme with «Seu» Pedro, an improvising singer, was broadcasted for example, used to interpret the mots sent by the students and were related to the subjects of the class: «Look, my pupils want to tell you they are very fond of Seu Pedro because every subject he explains in the mots is very important for the peasants»⁴⁹. According to the broadcaster-teacher, the

⁴⁸ [Zélia até a data os alunos cada dia que se passa estão ficando é animado assim que está bom não é? Estamos desenvolvendo um pouco depois dessas aulas de conhecimento gerais. Sim eles mandam dizer que o exercício mais importantes para eles fazerem é escrever, Zélia eles estão gostando muito das contas que a professora (...) está dando. Como também as aulas de linguagem estão muito interessantes. Olhe o programa do monitor está ótimo o mais importante é as contas que nos manda a profesôra (...) Zélia o que estou gostando muito é das musicas do programa da comunidade. Pesso que me avise qual é o programa que as cartas da gente é correspondida, porque outro dia na correspondência das cartas, avisaram que os monitores que pertencem a Nazaré da Mata iam ser correspondida em outro programa. (...) recebam um beijo e um forte abraço da monitora que está lutando um pouco pelo analfabetismo do povo deste sitio. Lembrança a seu Pedro, as aulas da semana estão ótimas] MEB, Monitor letter, Água doce, 1963, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (3).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

verses of «Seu» Pedro talked about «the history of the people and the life of the countryside man as he himself felt and saw, taking his popular culture into class»⁵⁰.

The programming with «Seu» Pedro was thought not only to make General Knowledge classes more attractive to students, but also to «encourage popular culture through radio programs». The singer is often quoted in the monitors' letters: «There are 10 students in the school who are excited about the community program, I'm enjoying Seu Pedro, singing his mots, the students are enjoying their language and arithmetic classes, they are great⁵¹» The monitor of the community of Varjão comments that «the Program is doing great, my students like to hear Seu Pedro with the his guitar singing. And the community program is a marvel. We're enjoying it a lot»⁵². The monitors speak positively of «Seu» Pedro's classes in the reception of the students, not for the content, but for the form, that is, for being transmitted through the music: *Pedro Pedro singing his mots* and *Pedro with his guitar singing*.

Radio broadcasts generally also answered to the numerous requests for songs to be played in the community program, made by monitors and students, who took the opportunity of MEB's programming to dedicate music to loved ones, pay homage or send regards and greetings for some special occasion.

I really enjoyed the stories of Manoel Poeta and Zé da Rima and the recordings⁵³.

On the 11th, I turn 16 and mom asks you to play the recording You are the greatest love of my life, for me with great love and care. [...] I offer Justina that teaches me in Encruzilhada de Bezerros, the recording You are the most beautiful creature. And the same to the whole MEB team. I offer to Margarida Mauricia da Silva⁵⁴.

This recording is for Angela with many votes of felicity and congratulations that the monitor Josefa and her students to whom she offers him with all love and affection is my hummingbird⁵⁵.

The programming also featured, on some occasions, information on the biography of popular singers in the northeast. There is a program in which the

⁵⁰ MEB/Sistema Radioeducativo de Olinda e Recife, *Programa do Monitor*, 1963, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 23(1).

⁵¹ MEB, Monitor letter, Serra da Capoeira, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁵² MEB, Monitor letter, Varjão, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁵³ [Gostei muito das historias de Manoel poeta e Zé da Rima e das gravações] MEB, Monitor letter, Sítio Chambá, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁵⁴ [No dia 11 eu completo 16 anos e mamãe manda pedir que saia a gravação tu es o maior amor da minha vida para mim com grande amor e carinho. (...) Ofereço a Justina que encina em Encruzilhada de Bezerros, a gravação tu es a criatura mas linda. E a mesma a toda Ecipe do MEB. Que oferresse Margarida Mauricia da Silva] MEB, Monitor letter, Fazenda Serra dos Aires, 1963, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁵⁵ [Esta gravação é para Ângela com muitos votos de felissidade e para-bens que a monitora Josefa e seus alunos a quem lhe oferece com todo amor e carinho é meu beija-flor] MEB, Monitor letter, Gravatá, 1963, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

broadcaster-teacher presented, in the interval of the Language and Arithmetic classes of the Monitor Program, a musical part with the biography and songs of the musician Gilvan Chaves:

Who is Gilvan Chaves? He is from Pernambuco, born in Olinda; he began his life as a singer right here in Recife, on the radio Clube de Pernambuco. [...] he moved to Rio de Janeiro, where he continued his singing career with the same success, always pleasing the listeners. We'll see on this record, 'Gilvan Chaves composer', which means he wrote the songs and lyrics⁵⁶.

During the Community Program, the numerous poems⁵⁷ sent by monitors and students were also read, especially during the competitions promoted by MEB and related to the most diverse topics involving learning, programming, content of the classes and broadcaster-teachers, etc.

Here is the last line
From this Brazilian land
I think it's very funny
of Maria Louceira's programs band

José Severino da Silva
and Manuel Severino da Silva
two student who are competent
Thank God until today.
With the class, I'm very content⁵⁸.

The Radiophonic School
Makes me very pleased
Me who was illiterate,
Already learning how to read
I was with my eyes closed
but to me is a bright day
I do not want to make it wrong
Not even to my monitor's way
At 5 pm I take
My primer and I wait for
The time of the class
together with my monitor⁵⁹.

My dad's old father
Who I call grandpa of me
Has put my father at school.

⁵⁶ MEB/Sistema Radioeducativo de Olinda e Recife, *Programa do Monitor*, 1963, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 23(1).

⁵⁷ Translator's note: the poems were freely translated seeking to adapt rhymes, in respect to the poets who used their talents and effort in creating rhymes in their original verses.

⁵⁸ MEB, student poem, Fazenda Veneza, s.d., Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 2 (3).

⁵⁹ MEB, student poem, Boa Vista, s.d., Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 2 (3).

Teacher taught him, I see
 Today if I can read
 It was my father who taught me

I never had another school
 Nor the pen for the sheet
 It was on radio school where
 I learned to count and read
 If my father is not home.
 I live to help indeed

My father is not home.
 The class will not stop.
 because I take the front
 I keep the teacher plot
 I sum, I subtract
 And I multiply what I caught⁶⁰.

The working conditions of the peasant population were also a theme in the programming through the poems, which denounced the value of the daily rate and the hardness of the work with the land:

The harvest is over
 New fight begins weekly
 The crop will be lost
 If I don't sell it quickly!!!
 so thought Seu José
 with great preoccupation⁶¹.

The life of the peasant
 Is a life of bitter so
 He spends all week
 Grabbed on the hoe
 When the month finishes
 He has nothing to show⁶².

When I was born I cried
 Thank God I'm gonna live
 But it was in radio school
 That I learned to read.

Inspector arrived and said
 It was on a Friday
 small bundle on the reed
 I'm not kidding, I say

⁶⁰ MEB, student poem, Sítio Ilheta, 1965, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 4 (1).

⁶¹ MEB, student poem, Papagaio do Meio, s.d., Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 4 (1).

⁶² MEB, student poem, Utinga de Baixo, 1965, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 4 (1).

the cutter asked him
 How to do the fair I may?
 Inspector replied
 If you can not sell a whole ton
 Sell me for Cr\$ 800 a half one
 This poor man earns none⁶³.

Through special programming, news was also disseminated about festivities held with the community, many of them for the purpose of raising funds to contribute to the purchase of necessary material and the maintenance of the school.

I come through this to tell you how we spent the S. João and S. Pedro. The monitor Maria Solidade and I met twice at that time. We danced the square dance and played exciting bingos, and everything went well, thank God⁶⁴.

Now on the 29th there will be a meeting of all my students to celebrate Easter, those who did not. Still on the 29th, St. Peter's day, the feast of our patron saint we are working for St. Peter all the students giving charity alms, a day of joy for us⁶⁵.

There was a drama dedicated to the Feast of St John on the 21st. All the students came and were very pleased. There was after the Drama a snack for all the staff of the community who attended the total of 100 people⁶⁶.

On St. John's Day we kinda have fun, we held an auction to arrange money for the School expenses; it was kinda good, there were few people but it always made some money, after the auction they still danced some parts⁶⁷.

About the party that we are going to organize here in our school I ask that if it is possible to give some warnings by the radio in my name I want to invite all the monitors of the municipality of Sta Cruz do Capibaribe and all those ones who belong to the MEB team of Caruaru and the people in general⁶⁸.

⁶³ MEB, student poem, s.l., 1965, Fundo MEB, CEDIC, caixa 4 (1).

⁶⁴ [Venho por meio desta contar a vocês como passamos o s. João e s. Pêdro. Eu e a monitora Ma. Solidade fizemos duas reuniões nessas época. Dansamos quadrilha jogamos animados bingos, e tudo correu bem graças a Deus] MEB, Monitor letter, s.l., 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁶⁵ [Agora no dia 29 vai ser reunião de todos os meus alunos para fazer pascoa os que não fizero. Ainda dia 29 dia de São Pedro a festa do nosso padruêro estamos trabalhando para São Pedro todos os alunos dando esmola, dia de alegria para nós] MEB, Monitor letter, Barra de São Pedro, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁶⁶ [Houve um drama dedicado a festa de São João no dia 21. Todos os alunos compareceram e ficaram muito satisfeito. Houve depois do Drama um lanche para tôdos o pessoal da comunida que compareceram o total de 100 pessoa] MEB, Monitor letter, Angico, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2(2).

⁶⁷ [O S. João passamos mais ou menos divertindo-nos, fizemos um leilão afim de arranjar dinheiro para as despesas da Escola; esteve bonzinho, pouca gente porém rendeu sempre qualquer dinheiro, depois do leião ainda dançaram umas partes] MEB, Monitor letter, Pau-Ferro, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁶⁸ [Sobre a festa que vamos organizar aqui em nossa escola pesso que se for pocivel dar uns avisos pelo rádio em meu nome quero convidar todos os monitores do municipio de Sta Cruz do Capibaribe e todos que pertence a equipe do MEB de Caruaru e o povo em geral] MEB, Student's

This note is for the whole MEB team [...] to let you know that the radio is always low and to give the name of the newspaper and the peasant newspaper and also to let you know we are going to celebrate the 7th of September listening to the radio program and then praying the rosary in honor of Our Lady for her to bless our homeland and then we will make several toys and to close up we will sing the National anthem⁶⁹.

The organization of festivities, sale of raffles and prize draws were strategies that were widely and used successfully to collect the resources necessary for the operation of radio schools. The community monitor from Sangue-Suga also had a party to celebrate Mother's Day, in which she prepared «a drama and then the students danced to 10:30». She tells she took the opportunity to run «a raffle, in which we made money that covered to the expenses of the school»⁷⁰.

Festivities organizing and fundraising activities brought the experiences around the radio schools closer to the educational objectives of the MEB, since they involved engagement and cooperation among all those involved directly in schools and the community, assuming that the community itself should involve in the maintenance and ensure its operation. This involved processes of decision-making and intervention at the community level and the utilization of cultural traditions, as occurred, for example, in the popular celebrations and days dedicated to the saints. The celebrations and meetings promoted by the school were moments of gathering, leisure and fun, as well as activities for improvement in schools, demonstrating that in some communities there was an engagement around the movement so that in occasions like that, occurred educational experiences between the community and the MEB, which enabled radio schools to meet their literacy promotion goals.

These occasions were not always sufficient to ensure that all the monitors could afford to pay for the materials sent by MEB to the radio school, however, they were practices mobilized by the communities to raise the necessary financial resources for the school, besides being also an occasion of celebration, commemoration and engagement. We can also attribute to the success of these raffle sale initiatives, or the auctions, the fact that they are cultural practices of rural populations that started being mobilized in favor of the functioning of schools. Thus, through the use the peasants did of their traditions and customs, it was possible that many radio schools would not be closed due to lack of resources on the part of MEB, and as an alternative to the State's failure to meet the need for literacy rural population.

letter, Moreira, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 3.

⁶⁹ [Este bilhete é para toda equipe de Mebe (...) para lhe avosar que o radio continua sempre baixo e para dar o nome do jornal e o jornal do campones e au mesmo tempo para lhe avisar que nos vamos comemora o dia 7 de setembro assintindo o progama do radio e depois e resando um terço em honra de Nossa Senhora para ela abençoar nossa pátria e depois faremos diversos brinquedos e para nos encerrar cantaremos o hino Nacional] MEB, Monitor letter, Olho d'água de Passos, 1963, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (2).

⁷⁰ MEB, Monitor letter, Sangue-suga, 1964, Fundo MEB, Cedic, caixa 2 (3).

Even though they still found many obstacles to its functioning regarding the adequacy of the schedules to the dynamics of rural life. In addition to the climatic, labor and housing conditions, which often led to school dropouts, there was the issue of the periods of planting, cultivation and harvesting specific of each region that caused the school to close for a few months each year. Due to the agrarian cycles, many students were unable to attend school every day for months. In some cases, they reserved the weekend to listen to, at least, the special program or mass. These stories also show us that the organization of time in radio schools was not only due to radiophonic transmissions, but also to the culture and life of the communities, the working conditions, the locomotion and the housing of the peasants who frequented them.

Finally, the combination of radio usage and the letters exchange that MEB did for educational purposes should be highlighted. While technologies available to the spreading of information, education and culture mobilized by MEB allowed, on the one hand, to access to the most distant regions, on the other hand, they could exchange information and establish «dialogues» between absentees, in the oldest way ever in the History of mankind. The habit of writing a letter to a distant relative had always been part of the peasant's culture, even of the non-literate people who used to ask others to write in their place, and after all, it was only thanks to the letters that the community's matters came to circulate in the radio waves.

Final considerations

The experiences of popular culture mobilization, promoted by the AP militants, based on their engagement in issues related to adult literacy and grassroots education, were possible through the assimilation and appropriation practices of the peasants, that generally happened in contradiction to what was expected and propagated as a discourse, but they gave a function in the communities to the movement. Although not revolutionary, they were transformative and creative in giving visibility to peasant culture in the way it combined both the elements of oral and written culture.

The circulation of a popular culture through radio-educational programming enabled the establishment of a community of writers, readers and listeners around the epistolary exchange⁷¹. It created spaces of circulation of diverse types of information, establishing a network of listeners, that contributed to the organization of the peasants, because the functioning dynamic of the radio schools, transforming them into spaces of learning, production and circulation

⁷¹ A. Petrucci, *La Ciencia de la escritura. Primera lección de paleografía*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.

of popular culture. In this way, the peasants gave visibility to their expectations regarding literacy and revealed the limits to their achievement.

At the time of the 1964 military coup, Brazil was experiencing a political conjuncture in which the segments of the middle and popular classes were engaged in a revolutionary reform program that, if successful, would enable the distribution of wealth to levels never seen before in Brazilian history⁷². The successive coups that historically affect our democracy, also in the twenty-first century, and the stagnation of this and countless other processes of ongoing social transformation have relegated Brazil not only to the maintenance of its old structures of domination, but have also brought other sad legacies. The story we tell is the story of a movement that was born and lived for a Brazil that has historically denied the right to literacy, land, health and work to a considerable part of its population.

⁷² F.V. Luna, H.S. Klein, *Mudanças sociais no período militar (1964-1985)*, in D.A. Reis, M. Ridenti, R.P. Motta (edd.), *A ditadura que mudou o Brasil: 50 anos do golpe de 1964*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 2014.

La experiencia estudiantil universitaria en los largos 60s y el estallido del '69 argentino. Emergencia juvenil y biografías femeninas

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The university student experience in the long 1960s and the Argentine eruption of 1969. Emergence of youth and feminine biographies

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the emergence of university youth in Argentina between the 1950s and 1970s. First, it explores the link between the legacy of the University Reform of Córdoba of 1918 and the echoes of May '68 in Paris, through the characterization of the «Argentine '69», centered on the workers struggles in the provinces of Argentina. Second, it tackles the representations of the role of students in university institutions and in the field of politics, through differing interpretations of the prohibition of Peronism. Finally, it reconstructs the experience of esteemed academics of the University of Buenos Aires during their youth/student years. It focuses on the adherence of the student movement to workers' struggles and places the multiple interventions and academic and intellectual actions of women, marked by youth radicalization, knowledge of social inequalities and identification with the popular sectors.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; 1968; Youth movements; Argentine; XXth Century.

Introducción

Me propongo en este artículo explorar la emergencia estudiantil universitaria en la Argentina entre los años '50 y '70 del siglo XX, en un ciclo histórico signado por la proscripción del peronismo, la alternancia de gobiernos civiles y militares y el ascenso de los sectores medios urbanos. En primer lugar, se analizan las huellas en el movimiento estudiantil del legado de la Reforma Universitaria de Córdoba de 1918 y las resonancias y discrepancias con Mayo del '68 en

París, a partir de lo que se denominó como el «'69 argentino», centrado en el papel vertebral de las luchas obreras. En segundo lugar, se reconstruyen las circunstancias históricas atravesadas por los estudiantes universitarios en los largos 60s a partir de las representaciones disímiles sobre su papel en las instituciones y en el campo político más amplio. Por último, se identifican en los itinerarios biográficos de académicas destacadas las experiencias estudiantiles y las actuaciones como jóvenes graduadas en un tiempo caracterizado por la intensidad y la radicalización política.

1. *Mayo del '68 en París y la Reforma Universitaria del '18 y el '69 en Córdoba: genealogías cruzadas y particularidades nacionales*

En la historiografía sobre la rebelión estudiantil durante los años 60s el acontecimiento de mayo del '68 en París ocupa un lugar vertebral; se busca siempre constatar si hubo insurrecciones similares en el mismo año en diversos países. Resulta evidente que el acontecimiento francés tuvo rápido reconocimiento internacional a través de diversas estrategias editoriales y periodísticas. Sin embargo, en los estudios sobre el caso argentino se afirma que «hubo a su modo un '68 argentino, más proletario y más plebeyo»¹, estableciéndose una diferenciación social con la impronta burguesa del movimiento estudiantil en Francia. Se sostiene que sería más preciso hablar del «'69 argentino», en tanto en ese año se produjo el denominado «Cordobazo», insurrección obrera así como otras luchas resonantes, siendo el hilo conductor de la revuelta de carácter político².

Si una genealogía se construye desde mayo del '68 en París en vistas a reconocer su irradiación, simultaneidad o convergencia con sucesos en otros lugares del mundo, otra se ensaya partir de los aniversarios de la Reforma Universitaria de 1918 en Córdoba, como acontecimiento inaugural de los movimientos estudiantiles en América Latina. También en este caso se reiteran los debates respecto de la originalidad de los reclamos de participación estudiantil en el gobierno de la universidad que se produjeron en Córdoba y si hubo o no de antecedentes en distintas universidades y países. No quedan dudas, sin embargo, de que ambos acontecimientos tuvieron notable repercusión y quedaron en la memoria de los movimientos estudiantiles como mitos siempre revisitados.

Las reflexiones de dos autores, uno francés y otro argentino, nos permiten situarnos en la interacción entre la memoria de la rebelión estudiantil en mayo

¹ H. Tarcus, *El mayo argentino*, en OSAL. *Observatorio social de América Latina*, vol. IX, n. 24, octubre 2008.

² V. Manzano, *La era de la juventud en Argentina. Cultura, política y sexualidad desde Perón hasta Videla*, Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017.

del '68 en París y de la pionera experiencia reformista de Córdoba de 1918. El historiador francés Michel de Certeau en una publicación de octubre de 1968 reclamaba «volver al acontecimiento» ante la multiplicación de las leyendas a pocos meses de los hechos; reconocía la existencia de una revolución simbólica a partir de la toma de la palabra como ejercicio público del derecho a hablar de los estudiantes-herederos, que había generado una crisis de representación del saber y por tanto de la historia de la universidad³. Pocos años después el sociólogo argentino Juan Carlos Portantiero⁴ publicaba en Italia un libro titulado *Studenti e rivoluzione nell'America Latina. Dalla Reforma Universitaria del 1918 a Fidel Castro*, editado por la editorial El Saggiatore de Milán, en el que exploraba un tiempo histórico anterior y situado en América Latina y en particular en Argentina. En ese texto analizaba la oposición de los estudiantes universitarios argentinos a los gobiernos de J.D. Perón (1945-1955) y afirmaba que en ese conflicto se había saldado la pelea entre padres e hijos al interior de la pequeña burguesía.

La reflexión que estaba presente en ambos textos se vinculaba con la situación social de los estudiantes y los procesos de movilidad social. Mientras De Certeau retomaba la figura del heredero, abonada por la lectura de Bourdieu y Passeron en el famoso texto de 1962⁵, Portantiero revisaba en forma crítica la oposición de los estudiantes universitarios a los sectores obreros peronistas y la solidaridad con su clase burguesa de origen. Los derroteros posteriores del movimiento estudiantil durante los largos 60s y primeros 70, estarían signados por la proscripción política del peronismo, la alternancia de gobiernos civiles y militares y la radicalización política de los sectores juveniles que experimentaron un progresivo acercamiento a aquella identidad política nacionalista-popular que las generaciones estudiantiles anteriores habían rechazado en el marco de las tensiones globales de la 2da guerra mundial.

En ese proceso de radicalización juvenil incidieron las nuevas circunstancias nacionales a partir de la dictadura militar que se inició con el golpe del General Onganía en 1966, que desplazó del gobierno al presidente constitucional Arturo Illía, y que tuvo como uno de sus hechos inaugurales la intervención de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) en la denominada *Noche de los Bastones Largos*. Luego de la convulsión generada por la intervención de la Universidad, que provocó renuncias masivas de docentes y cierta retracción del movimiento estudiantil durante 1968, aun cuando en junio se produjo la conmemoración de la Reforma Universitaria de 1918.

³ M. de Certeau, *La toma de la palabra y otros escritos políticos*, México, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1995.

⁴ J.C. Portantiero, *Estudiantes y populismo*, en M.C.Torti (direct), M. Chama, A. Celentano (codirect), *La nueva izquierda argentina (1955-1976). Socialismo, peronismo y revolución*, Rosario, Prohistoria ediciones, 2014.

⁵ P. Bourdieu, J.C.Passeron, *Los herederos. Los estudiantes y la cultura*, Buenos Aires, Siglo XXI editores, 2004.

Dirigentes estudiantiles entrevistados por un periódico sindical en 1968, pocos meses después de los acontecimientos de París, ante la pregunta de por qué era diferente la reacción del estudiantado argentino a la de los estudiantes europeos y de otros países latinoamericanos señalaron las diferencias con la situación argentina. La respuesta del estudiante Julio Bárbaro de la Liga Humanista fue la siguiente:

La reacción del estudiante argentino es diferente por ser diferente su realidad. Las luchas del estudiante argentino se entroncan con las luchas de todos los estudiantes del mundo al confundirse con las luchas del pueblo. Las luchas del estudiantado argentino tienen otro tiempo histórico, son distintas pero no por ser menos sonoras o por tener menos publicidad son débiles. En la Argentina, la lucha recién se está organizando y se hace junto al pueblo, al margen del régimen⁶.

La respuesta del Roberto Grabois, estudiante del Frente de Educación Nacional, era convergente:

Las características de las luchas del movimiento estudiantil de cada país dependen de las particularidades de los procesos históricos nacionales. Lo que me interesa señalar enfáticamente es que las imitaciones de los procesos de otros pueblos nunca generaron avances reales para el movimiento popular en cualquiera de sus expresiones. El avance del movimiento estudiantil hacia una conciencia nacional antiimperialista se está dando a ritmo acelerado y ello lo llevará sin duda a estrechar sus lazos con el movimiento obrero y popular. Aquí serán los trabajadores los que dirijan la lucha, los que coordinen el aporte de otros sectores sociales y entre ellos el del movimiento estudiantil. Los estudiantes apoyarán la Revolución de los Trabajadores. Quienes piensen que los trabajadores deben apoyar la revolución de los estudiantes seguirán soñando en París mientras la historia se gesta en Avellaneda, en Tucumán y en cada barrio y provincia de la patria⁷.

Las respuestas pusieron en el centro de gravedad a los sectores obreros, a quienes los estudiantes debían alinearse, y se anticiparon al impacto que un año después tendría el Cordobazo sobre el movimiento juvenil universitario. Como señalan algunos autores, comenzó entonces el mayo argentino, «más plebeyo y más duro», que tuvo una buena acogida en algunos grupos de izquierda troskista pero que encontraría en la cultura política peronista «una barrera difícil de sortear»⁸.

Precisamente las publicaciones sobre el tema estudiantil posteriores al Cordobazo confirmaron esta orientación. La publicación en uno de los «Cuadernos de Marcha» de Uruguay de un número titulado *Otro Mayo argentino*, da cuenta no solo del estrecho contacto con ese país (el número contó con la colaboración de la joven socióloga argentina Alcira Argumedo), sino también de la tesis acerca del protagonismo de los sectores obreros. A pesar de

⁶ *Hablan los dirigentes estudiantiles*, «Semanario CGT», n. 33, 12 de diciembre de 1968.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Tarcus, *El mayo argentino*, en OSAL. *Observatorio social de América Latina*, cit., p. 97.

los «episodios luctuosos» que se sucedieron en distintas ciudades del interior del país que provocaron la muerte de varios estudiantes por la represión policial⁹, los análisis colocaron en la insurrección obrera en Córdoba y en el paro de la CGT del 29 de mayo el foco. La identificación de una nueva convergencia de «estudiantes, obreros, clase media, intelectuales, eclesiásticos postconciliares»¹⁰ se enunciaba como el hecho central. La comparación entre la experiencia parisina y la argentina estuvo presente, pero considerando que en esta última las luchas habían comenzado desde mucho antes. Un obispo postconciliar consideraba en este sentido que en el sector estudiantil se estaba transitando de agrupaciones masivas con protagonismo de dirigentes a grupos de base con alto nivel de concientización y compromiso. Dos hechos marcaban para el autor el presente argentino: la comunión obrero-estudiantil y el predominio del interior sobre la capital¹¹. Para otro autor, joven sociólogo y docente de la UBA, la oposición al gobierno reunía a «aquellos que añoran viejos tiempos de libertades y asambleas con los sectores más radicalizados del interior del país, vinculados estrechamente al movimiento peronista»¹²; se estaba produciendo «la nacionalización del estudiantado» o la «peronización de la clase media», tópico de investigación en la historiografía del período.

2. Representaciones sobre los estudiantes: entre la formación cultural y la formación política

Se hace necesario retrotraernos a los años 50 para comprender las posiciones estudiantiles en el «'69 argentino» y las nuevas convergencias que se señalaban en la publicación uruguaya. La Reforma Universitaria producida en 1918, como consecuencia de la rebelión estudiantil generada en la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, caracterizada por el peso de sectores de la oligarquía y de la Iglesia en el sector de profesores y por un notable atraso institucional, había consagrado la autonomía de la universidad, el cogobierno estudiantil, los concursos docentes y la libertad de cátedra. Sin embargo, dichas reformas no se institucionalizaron de forma permanente en las instituciones universitarias, sino que hubo avances y retrocesos hasta su instalación en el sistema universitario argentino a partir de 1983 con la recuperación de la democracia constitucional, luego de la cruenta

⁹ Santiago Pampillón (Córdoba, 1966); Carlos Aravena (Córdoba, 1968), Juan José Cabral (Corrientes, 1969), Adolfo Ramón Bello (Rosario, 1969).

¹⁰ G. Selser, *El «Cordobazo»: vísperas y rescoldos del estallido*, «Cuadernos de Marcha», n. 27, julio de 1969, p. 7.

¹¹ J. Podesta, *El vacío de poder se llena con el pueblo*, «Cuadernos de Marcha», n. 27, julio de 1969, p. 12.

¹² R. Carri, *La crisis de la “Revolución argentina” y las movilizaciones populares*, «Cuadernos de Marcha», n. 27, julio de 1969, p. 15.

dictadura militar iniciado en 1976. Las razones de la discontinuidad fueron los recurrentes golpes militares a lo largo del siglo XX y la intervención de las universidades.

Como señalamos antes durante los gobiernos de J.D. Perón (1945-1952; 1952-1955), el segundo interrumpido por un golpe militar, los estudiantes universitarios fueron opositores, embanderados en los principios de la Reforma Universitaria de 1918. Las razones de esa oposición fueron, entre otras, la política universitaria del peronismo caracterizada por el mayor peso del Poder ejecutivo en la designación de autoridades (rectores y decanos), la anulación de la autonomía universitaria y el cogobierno, la vinculación inicial con la Iglesia y más tarde la orientación en la doctrina justicialista. Sin embargo, medidas tomadas por el peronismo como la supresión de aranceles y exámenes de ingreso provocó una notable apertura de la universidad a nuevas clases sociales, creando las condiciones para su impronta plebeya y no elitista¹³. Para entonces se había producido un crecimiento de la cantidad de graduados de las escuelas secundarias¹⁴, fenómeno que permite comprender la relevancia que tendría la participación de la juventud universitaria durante los largos 60s.

Desde entonces, y en particular después del golpe militar de 1955 que desplazó a Perón del poder y abriría una nueva etapa en las universidades nacionales, dos representaciones sobre la participación estudiantil estuvieron en disputa. Para el historiador Tulio Halperín Donghi, entonces profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UBA, la tensión existente a principios de los 60s era «entre sectores estudiantiles proclives a pensar la universidad como orientadora de la conciencia cívica de amplios sectores nacionales» y aquellos que creían que debía concentrarse la actividad universitaria «en los problemas que le son propios»¹⁵. En el movimiento estudiantil, en cuyo seno participaban grupos vinculados con el reformismo y el humanismo, aunque articulados con distintas tendencias políticas (comunismo, socialismo, radicalismo, troskismo), comenzaban a experimentarse debates y disidencias frente a los acontecimientos políticos latinoamericanos, en particular la Revolución Cubana, y nacionales, en particular la anulación de las elecciones en la provincia de Buenos Aires de 1962 y el nuevo golpe militar que desplaza del poder al entonces presidente Arturo Frondizi.

Esas representaciones en disputa están presentes en los textos de la época de dos figuras, el entonces Rector de la UBA, el filósofo Risieri Frondizi, representante del pensamiento reformista, y el escritor Juan José Hernández Arregui, pensador marxista que fuera excluido de las aulas universitarias por

¹³ S. Carli, *El estudiante universitario. Hacia una historia del presente de la educación pública*, Buenos Aires, Siglo Veintiuno, 2012.

¹⁴ A. Camarotta, *Somos bachiyeres. Juventud, cultura escolar y peronismo en el Colegio Nacional mixto de Morón (1949-1969)*, Buenos Aires, Biblos, 2014.

¹⁵ T. Halperín Donghi, *Historia de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, Eudeba, 1962, p. 218.

su participación durante el gobierno peronista. La contrastación entre ambas visiones permite comprender la complejidad de un período de la universidad caracterizado por la modernización institucional, por el énfasis puesto en la investigación científica y en la producción de conocimiento, que coincide con los rasgos que asumen otras universidades en el mundo, pero también acechado por las sombras de la exclusión política.

El filósofo Risieri Frondizi defendía la formación cultural del estudiante, que implicaba la dirección espiritual de la experiencia y la promoción de su autonomía, anclado en la filosofía del pragmatismo y en la obra de John Dewey, sin desconocer los balances críticos existentes en Estados Unidos. La formación cultural, según el autor, debía producirse en un ámbito propicio a la libertad de pensamiento para que cada estudiante siga «el propio derrotero»¹⁶, ampliando «el área de decisiones propias»¹⁷. La defensa de una «educación para la libertad»¹⁸ del estudiante, era compatible con la participación política en el gobierno de la universidad, tópico que también indica sus diferencias con las concepciones norteamericanas y su adhesión a la tradición reformista del cogobierno estudiantil. Durante la etapa en la que se desempeñó como rector la participación de estudiantes y recién graduados en la reforma institucional fue intensa.

En las antípodas de esta visión estaba, Juan José Hernández Arregui, autor de varios libros que fueron verdaderos bestsellers para el público estudiantil. Defendía la educación política del estudiantado, para lo cual sus libros eran una herramienta fundamental, interpelando desde afuera de la universidad al lector estudiantil. A partir de la teoría marxista, los estudiantes universitarios eran considerados una expresión de la clase media o pequeña burguesía, caracterizada por «desigualdades de composición, asimetrías de nivel y diversidades ideológicas de sus diversos estratos componentes, así como por el peso del individualismo y la resistencia a solidaridad social»¹⁹. La clase media, en contraste con la lectura del sociólogo Gino Germani, se caracterizaba por su posición de intermediaria, su origen inmigrante y por imitar a las clases superiores²⁰, y era al mismo tiempo un producto del sistema educativo. Para el autor el movimiento estudiantil durante los gobiernos peronistas había tenido una posición «contrarrevolucionaria», pero reconocía que comenzaba a cambiar de posición y la alentaba. En otro de sus libros, publicado en 1960²¹, detallaría

¹⁶ R. Frondizi, *La Universidad en un mundo de tensiones. Misión de las universidades en América Latina*, Buenos Aires, EUDEBA, 2005, p. 104.

¹⁷ En el caso de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras la existencia de un primer año común a todas las carreras, antiguas y nuevas, y la posibilidad de optar por materias de distintos troncos disciplinarios fue afín a esta concepción.

¹⁸ Cabe señalar que Paulo Freire publicó el libro *La educación como práctica de la libertad* en 1965 en Chile.

¹⁹ J.J. Hernández Arregui, *Imperialismo y cultura*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Alpe, 1957, p. 271.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-276.

²¹ J.J. Hernández Arregui, *La formación de la conciencia nacional*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones

con minuciosidad todas aquellas manifestaciones estudiantiles otorgándoles visibilidad pública y legitimidad política.

Si para entonces Risieri Frondizi encaraba un programa institucional que buscaba modernizar la universidad desde perspectivas afines a otros modelos internacionales, en particular de Estados Unidos cuyas universidades conocía con anterioridad y seguiría visitando durante su experiencia como Rector, Hernández Arregui se constituía en un intelectual cuyas obras expresaban la disidencia y el rechazo a la posibilidad de llevar adelante una reforma de la universidad en sociedades caracterizadas como 'coloniales', en las que los movimientos populares eran proscriptos. En ambos casos la interpelación a los estudiantes ocupaba un lugar central en tanto actores capaces de implicarse en la reforma institucional de la universidad o en las luchas nacionales.

Estas discrepancias sobre la posición de los estudiantes delinearón las visiones en juego entre los años 50 y 70 en la Argentina: pensar la universidad como una institución con una autonomía relativa, y con prescindencia ideológica, aunque cogobernada por los estudiantes, o pensar la universidad en contacto estrecho con las demandas de los sectores populares. La primera visión, si bien indicaba un intento de profesionalización académica de la universidad, se asentaba sobre un fondo de exclusión política; la segunda tendría particular pregnancia con los años sobre el movimiento estudiantil que avanzaría en «el carácter no específico de la cuestión universitaria»²².

El escenario en el cual estos debates se produjeron corresponde al desarrollo y movilización de los sectores medios urbanos. Los rasgos y dinámicas de las clases medias fueron un tema de reflexión e investigación de la sociología académica, pero también de interpretación crítica por parte de distintos escritores y ensayistas. La emergencia de la juventud universitaria era un fenómeno que se asociaba a la movilización pública de la clase media en un contexto de inestabilidad política y de reclamos insatisfechos. Dicho fenómeno debe ligarse a su vez con las teorías psicológicas y pedagógicas que tanto en el campo cultural como en el sistema educativo comenzaban a producir una renovación de las miradas sobre la infancia y la adolescencia, con el consecuente impacto en las prácticas familiares y educativas. La relación entre generaciones fue un tópico recurrente en el campo del psicoanálisis de niños, en las experiencias de Escuela para padres que tuvieron amplia difusión en los medios, y en los ensayos sobre la emergencia de los jóvenes en los primeros 70²³.

Plus Ultra, 1973.

²² B. Sarlo, *La batalla de las ideas (1943-1973)*, Buenos Aires, Ariel, 2001, p. 75.

²³ S. Carli, *Infancia, psicoanálisis y crisis de generaciones. Una exploración de las nuevas formas del debate en educación (1955-1983)*, en A. Puiggrós (ed.), *Dictaduras y utopías en la historia reciente de la educación argentina (1955-1983)*, Buenos Aires, Galerna, 1997.

3. *Mujeres en la universidad: radicalización política, experiencia latinoamericana y actuación pública*

En las representaciones sobre el papel de los estudiantes universitarios, no se encuentran perspectivas de género; no hay referencias particulares a la situación de las estudiantes mujeres. Sin embargo, su presencia en las universidades crecía en forma acelerada. Estudios existentes indican que entre 1940 y 1965 se produjo una creciente feminización de la matrícula universitaria que se hará claramente visible en los años 70²⁴.

Una investigación sobre itinerarios biográficos de mujeres académicas²⁵ nos ha permitido identificar la relevancia de la participación femenina en los procesos institucionales y políticos más generales en los largos 60s. En el tiempo que se extiende desde el golpe militar de 1966, atravesado por las rebeliones juveniles locales e internacionales, hasta 1973 cuando se inicia el tercer gobierno de J.D. Perón que retorna del exilio español, se produjo una nueva experiencia universitaria. En ella podemos identificar al menos tres fenómenos, la participación en calidad de estudiantes o auxiliares docentes en la universidad en posiciones disidentes o fuera de la universidad en emprendimientos editoriales y en proyectos y programas de organismos estatales, la incorporación en agrupamientos partidarios, sindicales y/o de organizaciones armadas donde desarrollaron experiencias de formación y militancia política, y el contacto y vinculación con fenómenos de América Latina a partir de viajes y estancias en distintos países. Así como las estudiantes y jóvenes graduadas universitarias habían participado en reformas institucionales de la UBA entre 1955 y 1966, volvieron a hacerlo entre 1973 y 1974. Reformas de distinta orientación que quedaron interrumpidas por golpes militares (1966 y 1976), indicando un rasgo de notable discontinuidad de los procesos institucionales en la historia de la universidad argentina durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

La incursión en los itinerarios biográficos de académicas que ingresaron afines de los años 50 en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UBA, da cuenta de una experiencia estudiantil que sufre el impacto de la notable y acelerada transformación de las costumbres que se produjo en poco más de una década. Procedentes de sectores medios y/o medio-altos, en muchos casos con padres inmigrantes, profesionales o empleados, la elección de carreras de humanidades y ciencias sociales constituía o una continuidad natural de los estudios secundarios realizados en escuelas normales o bachilleratos (Filosofía, Letras o Ciencias de la Educación) o una innovación respecto de las carreras

²⁴ M.F. Lorenzo, *Que sepa coser, que sepa bordar, que sepa abrir la puerta para ir a la universidad: las académicas de la Universidad de Buenos Aires en la primera mitad del Siglo XX*, Buenos Aires, EUDEBA, 2016.

²⁵ Se trata de una investigación que tiene por objetivo la reconstrucción de biografías académicas de mujeres destacadas del campo de las humanidades y las ciencias sociales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.

tradicionales (Sociología, Psicología, Antropología). La educación superior se convirtió en un espacio de expectativas para el futuro relacionadas a la formación profesional, en lo que incidió la ampliación de la educación media²⁶. Los centros de estudiantes contaron en esta facultad con fuerte participación de mujeres.

Entre los recuerdos iniciales sobre el acompañamiento de los padres a sus hijas adolescentes para realizar el primer contacto con una facultad ubicada en el centro de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, y aquellos que dan cuenta de la creciente autonomía de jóvenes mujeres que participaron en la militancia política, se trasladaron a otras provincias o países para formarse y/o realizar primeros trabajos como graduadas, y se comprometieron con reformas institucionales, transcurren los largos 60s, en un país signado por la acelerada modernización cultural y la compleja inestabilidad institucional. Esas jóvenes mujeres en muchos casos se casaron muy jóvenes y tuvieron hijos, experimentando lo que ha sido denominado como una revolución sexual discreta²⁷. Se producía la combinación de tareas y compromisos de la esfera privada y de la esfera pública, cuestión que se expresa en las revistas femeninas de la época²⁸, pero también en las experiencias de militancia política que en los primeros 70 comprometerían a jóvenes matrimonios con hijos que sufrieron años después la represión militar, retratadas en películas recientes²⁹. Ello formaba parte de la politización de lo cotidiano que subordinaba las relaciones personales y afectivas a la política³⁰.

En 1967 la publicación de un libro titulado *Las argentinas de ayer a hoy* de Lily Sosa de Newton, caracterizaba «el dilema de la mujer actual». Si hasta pocos años «la pauta dominante daba por sabido que la mujer ideal era aquella que formaba un hogar, lo manejaba con acierto y criaba muchos hijos», era necesario «realizar una valoración objetiva de la *mujer-mundo*»³¹. Según la autora, la «mujer actual» había encontrado tiempo y energías para ser parte integrante del mundo, habían disminuido las mujeres dedicadas solo a funciones domésticas, combinaban distintos campos de acción y se había construido un puente entre el hogar y la calle. En los años 50 la obra de Simone de Beauvoir se leía en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, *Le deuxième sexe* publicada en Francia en 1949 fue traducida al español en 1954. En la revista *Centro* la estudiante de Filosofía Regina Gibaja comentó la obra y publicaría varios textos sobre el feminismo. Las figuras de las mujeres escritoras y periodistas tenían atractivo; sin embargo, el contacto con el feminismo no fue generalizado entonces sino

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ I. Cosse, *Pareja, sexualidad y familia en los años sesenta*, Buenos Aires, Siglo veintiuno editores, 2010.

²⁸ Las revistas «Claudia», «Para Ti», «Nuestros hijos».

²⁹ Entre otras películas, *Papá Iván* de María Inés Roqué (2000) y *Los rubios* de Albertina Carri (2003).

³⁰ A. Oberti, *Las revolucionarias. Militancia, vida cotidiana y afectividad en los setenta*, Buenos Aires, Edhasa, 2015.

³¹ L. Sosa de Newton, *Las argentinas de ayer a hoy*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Zanetti, 1967.

que se produciría a partir de mediados de los años 70 y en el contexto particular de las experiencias del exilio en América Latina o Europa.

Para ahondar en las particularidades de la experiencia juvenil femenina en los largos 60s resulta interesante contrastar diversos itinerarios, para reconocer cómo se modularon a través del tiempo los procesos de radicalización política juvenil. El recurso a los nombres propios se justifica en tanto se trata de figuras que tuvieron y tienen relevancia en el campo académico e intelectual argentino.

El debate ya planteado a principios de los 60 entre sectores estudiantiles que debían concentrarse en los problemas 'propios' de la universidad y aquellos que pensaban a la universidad en relación con amplios sectores nacionales, se verifica en la transición entre dos generaciones de estudiantes y dos mujeres que se desempeñaron como presidentas del Centro de Estudiantes de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Mientras Amanda Toubes³², estudiante de Filosofía, fue una figura activa del movimiento estudiantil que participara del proyecto de reforma institucional que se lleva adelante en la UBA a partir de 1956, Ana Lía Payró³³, estudiante de Historia, planteó en 1962 fuertes críticas a dicho proyecto, denunciando los límites del reformismo universitario a partir de convocar a una mayor vinculación entre estudiantes y sectores populares y obreros.

Si la vinculación entre estudiantes y obreros, que fue una bandera de la Reforma Universitaria de 1918, estuvo presente en el debate estudiantil durante el 2do gobierno peronista – a pesar de la confrontación con los sectores obreros de adscripción peronista que cuestionara en su texto de 1971 Juan Carlos Portantiero –, en la reforma institucional encabezada en la UBA en 1958 la extensión universitaria y el vínculo con sectores populares ocupó un lugar central, a partir de la creación del Departamento de Extensión Universitaria (DEU). Impulsado por un grupo de estudiantes de la FUBA, el diagnóstico era que la universidad no debía dedicarse solo a la formación de profesionales sino acercarse a los problemas del país. La joven Amanda Toubes, que había sido presidenta de la Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires (FUBA), ya graduada, fue una de las directoras del DEU que coordinó una experiencia en Isla Maciel, un barrio muy humilde de Dock Sud, en la provincia de Buenos Aires, a la vera del Riachuelo, donde realizó un amplio programa de educación, atención de la salud y asistencia social y familiar³⁴.

A pesar del alcance de esta experiencia extensionista que convocó a diversas figuras del campo universitario y del campo cultural, en las páginas de la revista «Correo del Cefyl», del centro de estudiantes, en 1962 la nueva presidenta Ana

³² Amanda Toubes es una especialista en educación popular y de adultos de la UBA.

³³ Ana Lía Payró fue historiadora, especialista en temas de historia argentina y latinoamericana de la UBA.

³⁴ C. Wanschelbaum, *El programa educativo del Departamento de Extensión Universitaria en Isla Maciel (1956-1966)*, «Revista de la Escuela de Ciencias de la Educación», vol. 13, n. 12, julio-diciembre 2017, pp. 49-65.

Lía Payró cuestionaría aquel proyecto. ¿Qué había sucedido?. El impacto de la Revolución Cubana, la visita del Che a la Argentina, la revisión por parte de diversos intelectuales de la proscripción del peronismo, el nuevo golpe militar de 1962 que derrotó al presidente Arturo Frondizi, había conducido a una nueva politización estudiantil. A partir de entonces se produjo una mirada desacralizada de las instituciones universitarias, se comenzó a cuestionar su 'autonomía' relativa, se cuestionaron los aportes de fundaciones norteamericanas y la orientación 'cientificista' de la universidad y se puso el foco cada vez más en las luchas nacionales y latinoamericanas.

La *Editorial Indoamericana*, emprendimiento del pensador de izquierda Jorge Abelardo Ramos, en la que participaron varios estudiantes, publicaba la Colección para Biblioteca de la Nueva Generación que interpelaba a la juventud ilustrada con textos que tenían como eje el antiimperialismo. Se habilitaron entonces un conjunto de lecturas de autores no europeos y el contacto con la historia de América Latina en plena avanzada de la Alianza para el Progreso sobre el conjunto de la región.

Para entonces se estaban produciendo en la Argentina las primeras experiencias de organizaciones armadas, la encabezada por Los Uturuncos en 1959 en Tucumán, una provincia del norte del país, la siguiente la del Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo en 1963 en Salta. En el itinerario de la estudiante de Sociología Susana Checa³⁵, la muerte de su novio estudiante que se había sumado a la experiencia de la guerrilla en Salta constituyó un punto de inflexión. En las emergentes organizaciones armadas se sumaron jóvenes estudiantes y graduados (hombres y mujeres) de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, con diverso tipo de responsabilidades.

Sin dudas, el golpe encabezado por el General Onganía en 1966, inauguró una etapa que produjo inflexiones en los itinerarios biográficos y académicos de mujeres universitarias y condujo a la lenta pero certera radicalización de los sectores juveniles en general. El golpe militar anuló el gobierno tripartito y subordinó las autoridades de las entonces 8 universidades nacionales al Ministerio de Educación transformándolas en interventoras, lo que motivó renuncias de rectores y asambleas de docentes y estudiantes en las facultades. La denominada *Noche de los Bastones Largos*, fue la intervención de la Guardia de Infantería en facultades de la UBA que dio lugar a la represión y detención de docentes y estudiantes, siendo más cruenta en la Facultad de Ciencias Exactas. Se cerraba un ciclo universitario y la apertura de un tiempo de clausura política que generó experiencia disimiles en los jóvenes estudiantes.

Aunque con anterioridad al golpe de 1966 estudiantes y jóvenes graduados habían viajado para realizar estudios de posgrado a Europa y Estados Unidos, promovidos por la propia UBA con apoyo de becas, a partir de entonces se producirían migraciones académicas. Un caso paradigmático fue la reinscripción

³⁵ Susana Checa es una especialista en políticas de Salud de la UBA.

de equipos de investigación de la Facultad de Ciencias Exactas y Naturales en otros países con apoyo de la Fundación Ford.

Pero lo que interesa aquí es identificar las derivas de algunas estudiantes y jóvenes graduadas dentro y fuera del país. La instalación en Chile de la joven socióloga Liliana de Riz³⁶, así como de otra socióloga, Hilda Herzer³⁷, las puso en estrecho contacto con la gestación del gobierno de Salvador Allende. De esa experiencia a la vez de formación académica y política perdurarían redes de relaciones e intereses académicos que marcaron sus trayectorias posteriores en el campo universitario. Para entonces la ciudad de Santiago era sede de centros, fundaciones y organismos internacionales. Llegó también a Chile una joven estudiante de Antropología de la Universidad de Rosario Graciela Batallan³⁸ con su novio presidente del centro de estudiantes, que participó de las campañas de alfabetización de adultos del gobierno de Allende.

El viaje de la joven pedagoga Adriana Puiggrós³⁹ a México a visitar a su padre radicado allí, le permitió conocer los procesos de alfabetización de comunidades indígenas, y el viaje a Perú de la estudiante de sociología Norma Giarracca⁴⁰, la reforma educativa encabezada por el General Velazco Alvarado. En ambos casos, como en tanto otros, se produjeron aprendizajes sociales y políticos de la heterogeneidad latinoamericana. Como maestras normales habían trabajado con anterioridad en escuelas públicas del norte del país y de la provincia de Buenos Aires. La experiencia en otros países les permitió reconocer los rasgos latinoamericanos de la Argentina, siempre diferenciada por su impronta europea. Los viajes nacionales o latinoamericanos, cortos o prolongados, fueron una marca de la experiencia juvenil durante esos años. Así como los pintores argentinos en los años 40 y 50 habían recorrido el interior del país y países limítrofes⁴¹ para retratar a las poblaciones locales, en los años 60 los y las estudiantes se desplazarían por diversos lugares.

Pero cabe destacar otras actuaciones de mujeres universitarias permeadas por la movilización juvenil. Por un lado actuaciones en el campo editorial. Las estudiantes y jóvenes graduadas de Filosofía y Letras, en particular de la carrera de Letras, desempeñaron en esos años trabajos de traducción para editoriales locales o periodísticas en revistas femeninas. La renuncia del director Boris Spivacow en 1966 de EUDEBA, la editorial de la UBA que había desarrollado un gran programa de publicaciones y traducciones, en la que había trabajado una joven estudiante de Letras, Beatriz Sarlo⁴², llevó a la participación de

³⁶ Liliana de Riz es socióloga, especialista en temáticas políticas.

³⁷ Hilda Herzer fue una socióloga especialista en estudios urbanos de la UBA.

³⁸ Gracia Batallán es antropóloga, especialista en antropología de la educación de la UBA.

³⁹ Adriana Puiggrós es una pedagoga especialista en historia de la educación y política educacional de la UBA.

⁴⁰ Norma Giarracca fue una socióloga especialista en estudios rurales de la UBA.

⁴¹ Pintores reconocidos como Lino Spilimbergo y Antonio Berni, entre otros.

⁴² Beatriz Sarlo es una ensayista y crítica cultural.

varias mujeres graduadas de distintas carreras de Filosofía y Letras en el nuevo emprendimiento del Centro Editor de América Latina. Uno de esos fascículos se tituló *El mayo francés*, escrito por Diana Guerrero, graduada de Filosofía y años después desaparecida por la dictadura militar. Otros tomaron por tema las luchas estudiantiles⁴³ y latinoamericanas.

Por otra parte, también se destaca en esos años la actuación en la prensa sindical, como fue el caso del periódico de la CGT de los Argentinos, denominada la CGT de los estudiantes por la alta participación juvenil. El periódico se ocupaba de temas educativos y universitarios denunciando situaciones sindicales, pero otorgando espacio a la problemática estudiantil. Las notas no llevaban firmas, pero varias jóvenes mujeres participaron allí. Es el caso de varias de las mujeres mencionadas pero en particular de Ana Amado⁴⁴, entonces estudiante de la carrera de Ciencias Política de la Universidad Católica Argentina de Santiago del Estero, que combinaría el estudio universitario, la militancia política y el trabajo periodístico en medios locales.

En esos mismos años, la permanencia en la Universidad de algunas mujeres cuyos itinerarios exploramos, revela la implicación en experiencias como las llamadas Cátedras Nacionales, desarrolladas en la carrera de Sociología, que acuñaron procesos de formación disidentes con las institucionalizados por las autoridades militares con orientación católica y nacionalista⁴⁵ o en proyectos de investigación que se continuaron luego del golpe militar en nuevas instituciones privadas donde se radicaron docentes renunciantes que mantuvieron lazos con estudiantes que permanecían en las aulas de la Universidad. Si el afuera de la universidad era un lugar atractivo para la militancia política, el adentro incubaba también experiencias formativas inéditas.

Como señalamos antes se alude en la historiografía al «'69 argentino» a partir del Cordobazo, donde también se destacó la participación de mujeres, tal como analiza una investigación reciente⁴⁶. En junio de 1970 el asesinato de Juan Carlos Aramburu quien fuera una de las figuras de la Revolución Libertadora, responsable del golpe militar contra Perón en 1955, fue reivindicado como acción propia de la organización armada Montoneros. También en ese grupo una mujer tuvo actuación destacada que había pasado en forma breve por las aulas universitarias⁴⁷.

A partir de entonces se produce una nueva etapa de politización juvenil y un acercamiento al peronismo de amplios sectores en el marco de las campañas por

⁴³ L.G. Pardo, *Los estudiantes*, «Transformaciones», n. 31, 1972; C. Suarez, *Las luchas estudiantiles*, «Transformaciones», n. 106, 1973.

⁴⁴ Ana Amado fue una especialista en artes, cine y memoria de la UBA.

⁴⁵ L.Rodríguez, *Universidad, peronismo y dictadura. 1973-1983*, Buenos Aires, Prometeo libros, 2015.

⁴⁶ *El Cordobazo de las mujeres. Memorias*, Córdoba, Editorial Las Nuestras, 2018.

⁴⁷ G. Saidon. *La montonera. Biografía de Norma Arrostito*, Buenos Aires, Susamericana, 2011.

el retorno de Perón del exilio. Mientras entre 1955 y 1966 la reforma institucional de la Universidad de Buenos Aires contó con participación estudiantil, la que se abre en 1973 a partir de la asunción del nuevo gobierno vuelve a encontrar a jóvenes estudiantes, graduados y docentes universitarios. Estudios sobre la llamada experiencia del '73⁴⁸ revelan que Algunas de aquellas jóvenes estudiantes de los primeros 60 asumieron cargos de responsabilidad en universidades, organismos estatales y medios de comunicación: Adriana Puiggrós asumió como decana de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Ana Lía Payro fue una de las codirectoras del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana, Norma Giarraca se desempeñó en el Ministerio de Agricultura, Susana Checa en el Ministerio de Salud, Ana Amado en el nuevo canal 7, entre otras. Todas estaban vinculadas con grupos y espacios políticos de izquierda con mayor o menor cercanía con organizaciones armadas, que en poco tiempo abrieron una intensa confrontación con el nuevo gobierno a partir del mayor peso de sectores de derecha.

La muerte de Perón, la asunción de su esposa como presidenta, la intervención de las universidades por sectores de derecha clerical, el desplazamiento de los sectores juveniles, la ofensiva de la llamada Triple AAA, y poco años después el golpe militar de 1976, dan cierre a un ciclo histórico y el inicio del Proceso de Reorganización nacional y de la dictadura más cruenta que asoló al país. Las mujeres cuyos itinerarios analizamos partieron al exilio externo, algunas vivieron el exilio interno, otras fueron secuestradas y desaparecidas.

Conclusiones

En este artículo nos propusimos explorar la experiencia estudiantil argentina en los largos 60s cuando las huellas y controversias sobre mayo del '68 en París y la Reforma Universitaria de 1918 en Córdoba se combinaron de manera particular en la Argentina. Si este último acontecimiento había consagrado la participación de los estudiantes en el gobierno de la universidad (cogobierno) que distintas generaciones lucharon por instalar en diversas etapas, el acontecimiento francés irradió la imagen transnacional de las rebeliones juveniles. Sin embargo, será el vínculo conflictivo del movimiento estudiantil con los gobiernos peronistas de mediados del siglo XX, así como la proscripción de dicha fuerza política y la alternancia de gobiernos civiles y militares con posterioridad, lo que dirimirá la experiencia universitaria. El «'69 argentino» remite entonces a un contexto y tipo de enunciación: el que lo vincula con el acontecimiento del Cordobazo

⁴⁸ N. Dip, *Libros y alpargatas. La peronización de estudiantes, docentes e intelectuales de la UBA (1966-1974)*, Rosario, Protohistoria ediciones, 2017; S. Freidemann, *La Universidad Nacional y Popular de Buenos Aires (1973-1974). Una reforma universitaria inconclusa*, Tesis de Doctorado, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales de la UBA, 2015.

y con la tesis sobre el alineamiento del movimiento estudiantil a las luchas obreras.

Pero las biografías de mujeres académicas revelaron que la experiencia de estudiantes y jóvenes graduadas excedió esa enunciación para dar lugar a diverso tipo de intervenciones y actuaciones académicas e intelectuales en la universidad, en organismos públicos, en medios de comunicación, en el campo editorial, en el país y en otros países de América Latina, signadas por la radicalización juvenil pero orientadas a la transformación social del estado, de la educación superior y de las políticas públicas. Esa experiencia intensa dejará huellas indelebles sobre sus trayectorias posteriores.

Women should remain very womanly: female university students and work in Spain in 1968

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ABSTRACT: May 1968 was not especially feminist, but it was a milestone for the feminist movement that would take place during the following decades. The Spanish situation was anachronistic due to the long dictatorship was even more evident when talking about women. This article analyses the approaches that in the sixties and seventies were made in university environments (sociological studies and work guides) about the job opportunities for women. Alongside with both anachronistic and innovative positions, there was another one, intermediary and majority, that believed that women, even when they were working, had to remain «very womanly» and that job and family were hardly compatible options. Finally, we try to promote a reflection on what has been achieved in these decades in relation to the current worrying situation.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Women's work; Women's education; Women's movement; 1968; Spain; XXth Century.

It is a matter of life and death, explains Virginia Woolf, either you kill the Home Fairy, or she kills you. [...] And while women were being granted access to schools and universities, the poorest paid jobs, the role of the faithful assistant, it was argued that Women should remain very Womanly¹.

¹ M^a A. Capmany, *De profesión: mujer*, Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1970, p. 229.

1. *The queens of the home go to university*

The situation of women in Spain in the 1960s and 1970s – well summed up in the quotation that opens this paper – differed somewhat from that of other democratic countries around us. Feminist movements linked mostly to student movements already existed back in those decades in countries like Denmark, Great Britain, Holland or the United States. In France, 1970 is marked as the starting point for feminist movements, but in Spain and Portugal, this moment did not come until after the end of the dictatorships².

That said, more than speak about the changes that happened in society in May 1968, we should speak about what happened after May 1968:

There was no sexual liberation in France in 1968, that is a lie. France was an extremely macho society, where girls were expected to make sandwiches while boys took the streets to protest against current affairs. Advances in women's rights came later, in the 1970s³.

Perhaps the phrase is a little absurd and caricature-like, but it is a fair attempt to dismantle the image that links May 1968 and women's social conquests. It can be considered the trigger, but the process was long-drawn-out, even more so in the countries that started from more of a disadvantageous situation.

The Franco dictatorship was not the only reason for women to be thought of as second-class persons, although together with the power that the Catholic Church had, it indeed exerted an evident influence on these issues. Some realities, far-fetched seen with today's eyes, were common to both countries (and to many others for that matter). For example, in 1968, in France and Spain,

women had to ask their husbands for permission to have a bank account of their own and were relegated to a secondary professional role; adultery could ruin an entire professional career; and parental and/or state hierarchy was a decisive pillar of the social and political order⁴.

Sociologists like Alain Touraine see it as «the seed from which many of the best social advances of the last forty years have sprouted: the liberation of women in the developed world, the growing role of civil society, the consolidation of trade union rights», and Henri Weber believed that balance was important because it implied

² F. Picq, *El hermoso pos-mayo de las mujeres*, «Dossiers Feministes», 12, 69-76, 2008. <<http://www.e-revistas.uji.es/index.php/dossiers/article/view/650>> (last access: 12.06.2018).

³ Ph. Artières, *Macron faces national debate over anniversary of May 1968 protests*, «The Guardian», 15 January, 2018, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/15/macron-faces-national-debate-over-anniversary-of-may-1968-protests>> (last access: 15.05.2018).

⁴ J.P. Quiñonero, *¿Mayo del 68? Olvidalo, porfa*, «ABC Cultura», 6 February, 2018, <http://www.abc.es/cultura/abci-mayo-68-olvidalo-porfa-201802051556_noticia.html> (last access: 22.06.2018).

freedom of contraception [in Spain the pill was approved in 1978 but had been on the market since 1960 in the USA] and abortion, joint parental authority over children, the possibility for women to open a bank account without the prior authorisation of the husband and the right to professional equality between men and women⁵.

The anachronism of Spain was palpable, especially in female university students despite the emergence of timid initiatives⁶. In the 1970-1971 academic year, only 25.8% of students were women, while in 1985-1986 they reached 49.5%.

Given that this paper addresses women's university education and that women – like men – who entered university at the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s were mostly upper-middle-class and upper class⁷ who lived in cities, we will refer to this group leaving aside the specific problems of women who did not have access to education at all and had a different upbringing and, therefore, different job possibilities. For most girls and boys, studying a university degree meant leaving the family home to move to a city where the *dangers* were much greater, because of anonymity and the distance from family protection. Parents were concerned with other risk factors besides family estrangement, such as student movements with the resulting disruptions in academic life, clashes with the police, arrests, meetings, sit-ins, assemblies and demonstrations⁸. Withdrawal from the family home has always been seen as a source of potential danger, especially for girls. Whether it be studying or working, girls were told that a job «should not force her to live away from the family, and if this was not possible, at least she should try to join another family, rather than live alone and independent»⁹.

⁵ El Universo, *Mayo del 68, la revuelta que cambió la vida de generaciones*, «El Universo», 3 May, 2008, <<https://www.eluniverso.com/2008/05/03/0001/14/65bb8aeadc7541d4bbaf6e32febb0bd.html>> (last access: 11.05.2018).

⁶ M.L. Maillard, *Asociación Española de Mujeres Universitarias 1920-1990*, Madrid, EAEMU/Instituto de la Mujer, 1990.

⁷ «Not so long ago, only a few decades, the university education field was characterised by a strong social homogeneity: only those who 'had' to study were actually studying. The correspondence between social class and education system was almost total». M^a A. García de León y M. García de Cortázar, *Universidades y universitarios*, «Revista de Educación», n^o extra, 1992, p. 90. The university was an «institution dedicated to a special few as a symbolic requirement that would give their children the right to continue to rule in political, social and economic life», as J.L. Romero, affirmed in *Ibid.*, p. 91. See also C. Lerena, *Escuela, ideología y clases sociales*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1980, 2nd ed.

⁸ The university crisis of these years was profound: the increase of students forced to improvise a new university model, with improvised buildings, improvised teachers and almost improvised students, by social class and gender, which previous generations would not have reached. The role of the university, its objectives, recipients, funding or geographical diversification had to be seen in a new light. The 1970 General Education Act attempted to address some of the problems raised. See R. Abellá, *La vida cotidiana bajo el régimen de Franco*, Madrid, Temas de Hoy, 1966, pp. 279-280 and 359, Lerena, *Escuela, ideología y clases sociales en España*, cit. and J. Burillo, *La universidad actual en crisis*, Madrid, Magisterio Español, 1968.

⁹ F. Ansón, V. Roa, *Mujer y sociedad*, Madrid, Rialp, 1966, p. 162. This book cites more than

In 1966, 39% of female university students surveyed revealed their father's profession being among the liberal professions (lawyers, doctors, pharmacists or teachers), but the percentage of parents with advanced degrees was even higher since many of those listed as civil servants, merchants, bank managers or soldiers had one of these higher degrees. Therefore, «the Spanish university is currently [1966] a preserve for middle-class women and higher, and girls from blue collar or farmworker families find it almost impossible to enter»¹⁰. This is noteworthy because it was the access of women from these upper and middle classes to the liberal professions that posed the most controversy since they did not work purely for economic reasons. In other words, when women worked out of economic necessity, little or nothing could be argued against them. You might or might not like it, but it was considered a «lesser evil».

This paper shall discuss the job expectations of university women (mostly urban middle-class and middle- and upper-class girls) in the final years of Franco's regime. To address this issue, the paper will briefly look at how education and work are two mutually enriching variables when approached at the same time, since education opened up the possibility of accessing better paid and better socially considered jobs, which, in turn, explains why feminist movements have always placed education at the forefront of their demands.

In a second phase, the paper will address the persistence of stereotypes typical of previous centuries in relation to women and men, their role in society, their education and the desire of the regime to draw women away from the public eye and as a result, from professions that required university qualifications, always so characteristic of men. Both men and women assumed their respective roles, and there only seemed to be some disagreement about gender-based discrimination among women under the age of 25. This paper reveals some indicative data of the presence of women at university and provides discussion on labour guides – books written to guide women in their personal lives and in their choice of studies and professions – published in the 1960s and 1970s to guide women about which careers the ought to pursue, seeing how most of them repeated the classic patterns. To conclude, this paper will describe the achievements of the last five decades in respect of this intensely worrying situation.

one hundred «paid occupations» that women could perform without leaving home (p. 152) but does not say that the jobs that were performed at home were always the poorest paid and least qualified. Carmen de Burgos affirmed in 1927: «Home workers – tired, exhausted, poorly paid, hungry and sick, for the most part – have neither taste nor fantasy, nor any incentive to perform work that is not mechanical and routine». Cited by I. Palacio Lis, *Mujer, trabajo y educación (Valencia 1874-1931)*, Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, 1992, p. 29. Home-based work in the 1960s was not so hard, but most of the women who worked at home worked piecework for the textile, garment or footwear industry, without set timetables and, as in 1927, in mechanical and routine tasks and without earning social rights.

¹⁰ M.A. Durán Heras, *Juventud universitaria femenina en España*, Madrid, Doncel, 1966, pp. 28-29.

2. *From domestic to professional paid work*

The vast majority of women have always worked. They have worked in the domestic sphere, and the economic and social value of their effort has been incalculable throughout history, even if scarcely recognised. Besides, domestic work was coupled by work out in the field – which was just extended housework really. Seeing their work as *natural* and *complementary* to that performed by men has been the pitfall that has prevented it from being appropriately valued. Throughout the 19th century, the connection between female labour and certain jobs with cheap labour was formalised and even institutionalised, and by the end of the 19th century, the industry began to regulate certain working conditions. The first regulations affected women and children who were a minority in the industrial activity, but they were always considered jointly as the most vulnerable and in need of protection¹¹.

Female wage earners in Europe were mostly single young middle and lower-class women until well into the 20th century. The rising levels of schooling, the increase in the age of marriage and the expansion of the middle classes favoured the gradual access of young women to higher education and, therefore, to professional levels of higher qualification and social status. Women's struggle to participate in public life, their access to citizenship, the very needs of capitalism and the new labour market, and education as a form of access to better-qualified jobs played an active role in this. As the century progressed, increasingly more women considered expanding the narrow limits of «women's jobs» and gaining access to the most qualified professional sectors such as those requiring a university education.

These professions are those based on a long period of specialised training (such as medicine, law, teaching in secondary and higher education or engineering, to name a few) and having a monopoly over the exercise of one's work created during historical periods in which women were barred.

In Spain, when the education system was created in the mid-19th century, women were not forbidden to enter secondary or higher education, it was more a matter of such a possibility not even having been considered. In the final decades of the century, some girls began to study the baccalaureate and, logically, some of them then tried to enrol in university and managed to after applying for special permits. This situation ended with the Royal Order of 8 March 1910, which allowed them to enrol freely and without restrictions in all levels of education¹².

Despite the family and social discrimination women suffered, their better education levels allowed them a greater professional, cultural and political

¹¹ C. Borderías, C. Carrasco, C. Alemany, *Las mujeres y el trabajo. Rupturas conceptuales*, Barcelona, Icaria-Fuhem, 1994.

¹² See C. Flecha García, *Las primeras universitarias en España*, Madrid, Narcea, 1996.

presence, and this prompted changes in domestic activities and in the maternity regime which, in turn, facilitated the expansion of the female public sphere.

In the 20th century, women's higher education and their work became the subject of heated debate. In general, what is referred to here is middle-class women who would not have previously considered working but as conditions change, were able to find their place in the employment world. In this context, education was the ideal vehicle for empowering women and bringing them closer to a level of equality with men. The «right to education» and the «right to work» were already the axes of social feminism of which Concepción Arenal and Emilia Pardo Bazán were already strong defenders. These approaches, in general, are what led to the claiming of the right to education for women in the first decades of the 20th century throughout Europe.

In addition to the Royal Order of 1910, mention should be made of the Law of 22 July 1961, which granted women the same rights as men for the exercise of all manner of political, professional and work activities (Section 1), except for the three armies and the «Armed Institutes and Corps, services and careers that typically involve the use of weapons» (Section 3.2.b). The Law provides that «women may participate, under the same conditions as men, in competitive examinations, civil service exams and any other system to gain a position within any public administration. Women shall also have access to all levels of education» (Section 3.1) but will require her husband's authorisation to exercise labour rights and in legal or economic acts (Section 5). This law was in force until the 1976 Labour Relations Law (Law 16/1978 of April 8) was enacted. Its preamble stated that «The capacity of married women to act, following the pioneering tradition of the Labour Law, is equal to that of men. The principle of equal rights for women and men is also enshrined with the sole exception of maternity cases».

After the law of 1961, the path was longer than expected because the basic approach that led Pilar Primo de Rivera to present the law to the Courts was that

Women's work is a real and universal fact that cannot be ignored, and it is precisely for this reason that we plead that women, women pushed to work by necessity, are able to do so in the best possible conditions; hence the law, instead of being feminist, is, on the contrary, men's way of supporting women, as the weakest link, to make their lives easier¹³.

However, reality cannot be changed with laws alone, and even if women could enrol in university or work, many women and men did not see it as a desirable option. It is easier to change a law than to dismantle a taboo (married women should not work outside the home), a stereotype (in an ideal society, men would be the breadwinners and women would look after the home and the

¹³ Pilar Primo de Rivera, in P. Ballarín, *La educación de las mujeres en la España contemporánea (siglos XIX-XX)*, Barcelona, Síntesis, 2001, p. 130.

family) and the thousands of other prejudices generated around women's paid labour. These prejudices crumble earlier among educated women and men, and more so if they are highly educated (i.e. with advanced studies) because these women «have more opportunities and more capacity to compete with men», «the taboos about working outside the home disappear when the wife – and the husband – have a certain cultural level» and «because the type of work to be carried out is more attractive and closer to a rewarding professional activity»¹⁴. Therefore, *the level of studies in women was a decisive factor for their employability*. In 1983, only 12.10% of illiterate and uneducated women worked, compared with 68.05% of those with higher education¹⁵.

Although the law allowed women to study almost all careers and professions, social pressure and, undoubtedly, economic factors (which also distanced a significant number of boys from the university because it delayed their incorporation into the labour market for several years) conditioned girls' academic and labour choices. The old-fashioned mindset regarding the role of women shaped over the years still survived among many female university students, so much so, that it was even in the minds of the women who were supposed to be the spearhead of the movement.

In the least educated layers of the population, women worked because they had no choice. In the middle classes, more and more women were entering the employment world out of a desire to have access to certain goods, and in the more affluent classes, women's activity depended on their education:

The wife of the man who earns enough to live comfortably does not give up her job if she has a profession of a certain category. Women in higher professions who require a university degree generally feel esteemed and find their task enjoyable¹⁶.

In this respect, it is also significant how society in general, and men in particular, saw the issue since this conditioned the decision: the simplistic ideas of men versus women cannot be accepted since there were many women, especially in those generations, who expressed clear ideas that things should remain as they had been until then. Some women claimed that the pressure of their mother or mother-in-law against women's work was decisive because they thought that, by working outside the home, they would be regarded worse mothers or wives and their husbands might 'complain'. There were also women whose mothers encouraged them to study and work «to be independent». In general, at that time, the 'politically correct' thing – and more so in university

¹⁴ S. del Campo, M. Navarro, *Análisis sociológico de la familia española*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1985, p. 174.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ C. Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, Madrid, Ediciones Mundo del Trabajo, 1967, p. 114.

circles – was to defend the promotion of women, but what most young men really wanted was a woman resembling their mother¹⁷.

Many men did not like the idea of their wives working; it was a matter of honour for them to support their family (and many women were flattered by this attitude) and «they felt a kind of instinctive embarrassment about their wife’s paid labour, as if it were an attack on their masculinity»¹⁸. Although as they climb the social ladder (to a certain extent), we find less reluctance towards women’s work. Thus, it is the blue-collar workers who least wanted their wives to work, as they felt it was humiliating. In the middle classes, the neither-here-nor-there position was more common: women began working after having raised their children, and in the more affluent classes, their activity depended more on education, except for some husbands who exercised *important* professions and wanted their wives to lead a life of social and worldly splendour that supported their public action and separated them from all professional spheres¹⁹.

Both language and *official* politics, even at the end of Franco’s regime, insisted that women continue to be *queens, angels or fairies of their home*, and although many women in those years were no longer overly interested in being *queens of anything*, they did not dare to kill that angel either. They put up with it and assumed its demands on good terms instead of trying to get rid of it, as Virginia Wolf said in the initial quotation.

The baccalaureate model, before university studies, is one of the variables that hindered²⁰ or favoured women’s access to university. When the baccalaureate structure changed in 1953 and was divided into elementary and higher studies, many girls (and boys) were encouraged to study *at least up to the fourth grade and sit the final examination (reválida)*. Once there, a new selection was made based on gender and personal preferences²¹, but more girls were gradually reaching the university level, and their professional qualifications were increasing.

However – and we want to insist on this – in the last two decades of Franco’s regime, the ‘ideal’ woman hardly changed. No matter what she did, whether she studied or not, whether she worked or not, she had to *remain very Womanly*. This expression sums up what is called *having good relations with the angel of the home*: lawyer, but *very womanly*, engineer, but *very womanly*, doctor, but *very womanly* and so on. No one stops to think that by studying or practising a

¹⁷ García Calmarte, en G.M. Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1975)*, Madrid, Akal, 1986, p. 352.

¹⁸ L.G. Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, Bilbao, Fher, 1978, p. 46.

¹⁹ Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, cit., pp. 114-115.

²⁰ C. Sanchidrián Blanco, *El modelo de Bachillerato universitario de 1938. La difícil incorporación de las mujeres a este nivel*, en J. Ruiz et alii (edd.), *La educación en España a examen, 1898-1998*, Zaragoza, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura e Institución “Fernando El Católico” (C.S.I.C.), 1999, Vol. I, pp. 587-604.

²¹ Ead., *El bachillerato elemental como hito del proceso escolarizador de las mujeres a finales del franquismo*, in C. Flecha, M. Núñez, M. J. Rebollo (edd.), *Mujeres y educación. Saberes, prácticas y discursos en la historia*, Sevilla, Miño y Dávila, 2005, pp. 377-389.

certain profession implies a change of sex in men. Nobody says that the doctor or the architect should remain *very manly*... However, the first women to defend their higher education and work played it safe, to some extent, trying to reassure society, especially men, but also many women, by saying that it would not be detrimental to their femininity, that they will maintain good relations with *the angel of the home*. [the hard part] «is that she be able to combine her freedom, her professional preparation and her performance in the public sphere with her femininity. That she be able to do her chores while still being a woman»²².

Well in democracy, numerous legal norms, beginning with the Constitution, have attempted to make equality between men and women a reality, and in this sense, the effectiveness and social significance of the latest legislative initiatives in this direction are still unknown (Law 3/2007, of 22 March, for the practical equality of women and men and Law 39/2006, of 14 December, on the Promotion of Personal Autonomy and Care for Dependent Persons or Law 9/2018, of 8 October, amending Law 12/2007, of 26 November, for the promotion of gender equality in Andalusia). In this regard, despite evident progress, and as shall be seen at the end, the machismo among young people that conditions – without them even being aware of it – the decisions related to the studies and professions of young men and women is quite alarming.

3. *Study, but return to the kingdom of your home afterwards*

In the 1929-30 academic year, female students accounted for 5.2% of the students in university faculties, a percentage that rose to 8.8% in 1935-36. In the years of the Republic, there was a constant boost in university students, increasing their percentage in the Faculty of Sciences; although it was Philosophy and Letters and Pharmacy where they were most represented²³. In 1940, only in the Faculties, excluding Technical Schools, there were 13.2%, 22.18% in 1960-61 and 24.88% in 1962-63.

Although the image of young women and men at university with their books under their arms in the 1960s is typical and topical in certain Spanish films of the time – for example, *Los chicos del Preu*, 1967 – enrolment figures remained meagre. The students only added up to 40,426 students in 1945 in all faculties. In 1960, only 1.37% of young men of university age were actually studying at this level, and this figure was only 0.55% for young women²⁴. During the following fifteen years, the growth of university students was spectacular,

²² Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, cit., p. 127.

²³ E. Garrido (ed.), *Historia de las mujeres en España*, Madrid, Síntesis, 1997, p. 501.

²⁴ M^a A. Durán Heras, *El trabajo de la mujer en España*, Madrid, Tecnos, 1972.

reaching three hundred thousand in 1970 and surpassing one million students at the beginning of the 1990s.

The number of young women and men attending university rose rapidly (from 10,000 in 1950 to 60,000 in 1970, while the number of young men rose from 44,000 to 168,000 at the same time). When the numbers increase so quickly, the personal decisions, approaches, ideology and situations of students will be more diverse than when they were very few (approaches and social background were more uniform). At these times of harsh changes, some young women had to face the predicated ideal because it *contradicted* their decision and they did it «as best they could». Many were forced to «stay halfway between personal desires and social coercion»²⁵ or try a difficult juggling trick to combine the working life with the role of *queen of the house* or *angel of the home*, especially when, on the one hand, women were encouraged to be *very Womanly*, and on the other, they began to question whether it was valid to ‘trap’ university degree paid for by the community.

A woman dentist in 1943 said that

no woman prefers to exercise a profession than to be at home as *queen and mistress* with her husband and children. But the complexity and fast pace of modern life drag us away from home. What about those who cannot find their *prince charming*?²⁶

In other words, the professional world is all very well for single women, but not for those who found a prince to *make* them *queens*. It was argued that women played an irreplaceable role in family life. The arrival of women at university and in certain jobs was a reason for concern among men. There was even talk of *invasion* (in the sense of taking over a territory that is not theirs) and of *restlessness* in 1930:

If I were asked about the greatest revolution witnessed since the war, I would answer that it is women’s invasion of the university. They were very rare in this field [...]. Thirty years ago, they began to be a third, then half and finally two thirds. So, one wonders with concern if after having been our lovers [*mâitresses*] will they not become our masters [*mâitres*]?²⁷

The desire for economic self-sufficiency – seen by some men as a threat – was presented the other way around, as a way to ensure maintenance by the marriage: «There is a monomaniacal eagerness to work, or at least to place oneself in a position that receives monthly pay, almost as strong as the one our young women have for painting their lips»²⁸.

²⁵ Ead., *La investigación sobre la mujer en la Universidad española contemporánea*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1982, p. 27.

²⁶ See C. Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*, Barcelona, Anagrama, 1987, 6^a ed., p. 49.

²⁷ G. Cohen, «Nouvelles Littéraires», 4 Janvier, 1930.

²⁸ A. Vallejo Nájera, *Antes que te cases...*, Madrid, Plus Ultra, 1965, 3^a ed., p. 127.

The access to certain professions (teaching, medicine, administration...) was faster, although they often had to pay a 'social' price for it:

I do not know why it is, but I have to record a fact that cannot be denied, and that is that the proportion of women with university degrees who do not marry is much higher than the proportion of women who do not marry and do not have an academic degree²⁹.

The relationship between women's higher education and spinsterhood was always established as a warning to women who chose that path – or as a curse in other cases. This remained a fact in the 20th century where many women who had studied a career placed marriage in the first place on the assumption that it was incompatible with professional practice when asked about their life projects. Opinions contrary to women's higher education, but above all *contrary to their professional practice once married*, were a majority in the publications dedicated to orienting women in the Franco regime. Even in the final years, the ideas of thirty years earlier still stood true: women's work was *subsidiary and transitory*. Therefore, they were oriented towards jobs that demanded little qualification. Why invest time, effort and money in anything else?

In the 1960s, various professions were acceptable for women, but the prejudice still prevailed that job and family were hardly compatible, so women would have to choose between the two. Along with this traditional conception, voices were raised demanding a different role for women in society, resolutely advocating the higher education of women on equal terms with men, and consequently, the opening of all areas of work and calling into question the fact that maternity is the only and main destiny of women.

Families, in general, were less concerned with the education of their daughters than of their sons, partly because they did not consider that girls would be responsible for maintaining the family but, in any case, if they did, it would only be in a helpful way to the husband. Hence the belief that studying Teaching or Philosophy and Letters «is very good for a girl», which implies that for a boy it was not as good, and that girls need not aspire to much more. The goal for many girls could be no other than to marry, given the social pressure towards it, and those who did not follow the norm often had to stand up to

²⁹ Corominas, cit. in A. Sopeña, *La Morena de la Copla*, Barcelona, Crítica, 1996, p. 86. A good example of this can be found in university professors. In the rank of university professors in 1967, there were nine female professors, all single (there is no information about the marital status of male professors) because «the long preparation required after completing the PhD is not compatible with marriage», Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, cit., p. 69. It is important how this was explained since it was said that there were no more female professors because women excluded themselves: «although women have been able to access the university without any problem, few continue their studies to PhD levels, and those who did, could reach the university chair through the appropriate competitive exam. As a result of the low number of female PhD holders, the proportion of women in university chairs is minimal compared to that of men, and in reality, there is no discrimination other than that imposed by the female sex in not pursuing their studies». *Ibid.*, p. 66.

the incomprehension of their own family and of society as a whole. However, today, forty or fifty years later, some are recognised and praised for having dared to break the rigid moulds of that time. Despite all this, women's access to the employment world, once they had gained access to higher education, was proportionally faster and women were studying and working more and began to organise themselves and make demands – although not openly until the end of the dictatorship³⁰ when, in all social groups, girls' studying was no longer seen as *an adornment*, as an *expense* or as something *superfluous*, but as an *investment*.

Three surveys reflect the reality of female university students and their professional practice after graduation. The first was conducted in 1966 to female students in 1st and 2nd year³¹; the second in 1968-69 to students in 4th year (62% male and 38% female)³² and the third in the same year to female university students alone, especially in the promotion of 1963³³. Without going into too many details now, in the second survey, the girls' response to «What are you going to do after getting married?» and the boys' response to «What do you think your wife will do after getting married?» is striking. Only 46% of the boys considered that their wives should work, and of those, only 4% believed they should work full-time, 18% on a part-time basis and 24% answered yes, but when they did not have young children to care for. Of the female students, 56% expected to work after marriage, and of these 14% thought it would be full-time, 40% part-time and 35% when there were no young children to care for³⁴. Job expectations varied considerably from one degree to the another but were higher in Philosophy and Letters and Pharmacy.

The results of these surveys to young university women reveal a lack of ambition, persistence of traditional attitudes, albeit weakened, and some girls pursue careers with no real professional purpose on the horizon. In fact, the faculties with more girls were those that offered less professional training, except for Pharmacy. Ana Pujana stated in 1967 that most of the female university students she had met had little interest in her studies «because they were convinced it was their destiny to get married and this was their primary purpose in life». It is obvious that some women studied a career without any specific professional objective. This author criticised those who studied just to «avoid the boring winter when all the boys are out studying», which, in turn, increased

³⁰ Ballarín, *La educación de las mujeres en la España contemporánea*, cit., p. 135.

³¹ Durán Heras, *Juventud universitaria femenina en España*, cit.

³² M.A. Durán Heras, (dir.), *Los universitarios opinan*, Madrid, Almena, 1970.

³³ Durán Heras, *El trabajo de la mujer en España*, cit.

³⁴ Ead., *Los universitarios opinan*, cit., p. 46.

the chances of having a boyfriend within a reasonable period». In addition, this is how they acquired «some culture to be able to play a decent role next to the husband, to know enough to be able to talk to him and understand him (it was never even considered that he would have to make an effort to understand her) and keep up appearances in the social sphere³⁵.

In the 1960s, there was a tendency for women in their 40s to return to work when they no longer had young children to look after:

In Spain, there have been a considerable number of women from 35 to 45 years old, married and who have gone back to educational tasks in High School Chairs, Adjunct Teachers or Directors of School Groups. The tendency of women not to abandon their profession forever is most noticeable in professions of a particular cultural level³⁶.

This is particularly significant because we are talking about professions in which it may be 'easier' to reconcile family life and work, using current terminology. This explains why one of the spheres where women were included most, from the 1960s onwards, was the public administration. In 1960, 11.55% of every 100 female civil servants in all ministerial departments had a higher education degree, well above the average for society. These are jobs where one can resume their position after having abandoned it for 10 or 15 years just because they passed a competitive examination back in the day. If those women (or men) had left a job in a private company, they would hardly have been able to return to it after so long.

Most university women responded, in general, to values favourable to education, work and in some way to the social participation of women³⁷, but marriage had enormous prestige, greater than any profession. Often presented as exclusionary options, if girls had to choose, marriage had a good chance of winning.

From both a sociological and a historical-educational point of view, the study of the working conditions of university women is of great interest because of the consequences it has for society as a whole and because of the multiplier effect of the access of the first women to certain professions. It is often said that where you do not see women, they do not see themselves there either. Well, one woman opens the way for many more that come after her (lawyers, engineers, architects, judges, orchestra conductors or in banks or boards of directors...).

³⁵ Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1975)*, p. 351.

³⁶ Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, cit., p. 88.

³⁷ Durán Heras, *El trabajo de la mujer en España*, cit.

4. *Women's study and career guides*

The debates to determine the female professions par excellence were already about in the 19th century. It was argued that women had always distanced themselves from certain activities merely because they did not have the right qualities for them:

There are professions, such as, for example, Medicine – specially designed for men – that do not mix well with women's psychology, as women are compelled to defend their purity with modesty [...]. On the contrary, there are others that demand their participation, such as the primary education of children of both sexes, a task that should necessarily be entrusted exclusively to women, because it requires skills existing only in the maternal heart³⁸.

However, despite all the propaganda in favour of the traditional image, women, in the late 1950s – and more so in the 1960s – began to leave home coinciding with a period of liberalisation of the economy and one of the moments of greatest economic expansion in our history. As Spain emerged from underdevelopment, women gained increasing access to university and a wider variety of jobs, but «the idea of marriage equalling success and spinsterhood as a failure for females, remained entrenched until the outside airs gave rise to the great sociological changes that occurred well into the 1960s»³⁹. In 1966 we can read:

When a woman, for whatever reason, does not manage to create her own family, her professional activity takes on the character of residual activity [...]. When confronted with an unmarried woman, all that was left was for you to cry with her, as you have been taught to do with a disabled person, with a person with paralysis, with a blind person... This is not completely so; [...] what was important was exercise the functions of femininity, not so much the actual getting married⁴⁰.

With the arrival of women at university, in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a proliferation of articles and books that dealt with «the female issue» and consequently, the studies and professions for women. These publications became a clear advocate for women's labour, who relied on the advantages it would bring for themselves, for their families and society, albeit with certain precautions, that is, limited to specific jobs and in certain circumstances. Classic patterns repeat themselves over and over again in these publications, and the concept of professions more or less suitable for women is clearly maintained: those that demand short careers, those that are sedentary, those that can be exercised cleanly, those that demand little physical effort and so on are preferable

³⁸ E. Enciso Viana, *¡Muchacha!*, Madrid, Ediciones Studium de Cultura, 1943, 4^a ed., pp. 65-66. This book had a high impact even in the 1960s. In 1968 was published its 13th edition.

³⁹ Abellá, *La vida cotidiana bajo el régimen de Franco*, cit., pp. 225-226.

⁴⁰ Ansón y Roa, *Mujer y sociedad*, cit., pp. 152-153.

for women and, in addition – and here comes the most critical thing – those compatible with the tasks that were still seen as *proper* for women, as if almost *exclusive* to women.

At the same time, men who helped in domestic chores were ridiculed:

The *man in the apron* is perfectly suited for an ineffable American comedy. However, for our conception of life, even within the current rhythm, this somewhat ridiculous figure *contributes to devaluing man* so to speak. [...] incompatibility creeps up little by little, escaping from the *domain of pots and pans!*⁴¹

A woman's work was characterised as minor and transitory. The booklet *Iniciación al matrimonio* of 1977 explains it like this:

[There are circumstances] where there is a need for additional income to meet an extraordinary outlay. The wife then assumes, willingly or unwillingly, the obligation to increase the family wealth with her work. (...) Things usually go better when man and woman remain within their sphere of activity⁴².

There are numerous classifications of professions for women: (a) purely female; (b) female because of the conditions in which they are developed; (c) professions undifferentiated for both sexes, and; (d) occupations exceptionally for women. Besides, there is a distinction between studies and professions: women could study any career, but certain professions were placed before others. We have reviewed these Guides to gain further insight into the approaches used to address the professional life of women who studied at university.

The aim of the *Guides* was «to help young women to get to know the professions that existed in Spain and the ones that they could choose taking into account their possibilities, skill, taste and capacity»⁴³ referring, almost always, to the professions requiring some sort of education⁴⁴. In the *Guides* analysed, there is usually a section dedicated to the studies that women could enrol on, some reference to the legal aspects of women's work, and then they address the subject of the work. There are warnings about professions that are not exclusively for women but are more accessible to them or «related to women's conditions». On the whole, they offer a tour of the educational system, indicating the professional opportunities available based on the degree obtained. They show where to study the courses or how long they take to complete, among other information. Interestingly, all the studies, from primary education to the Faculties and Technical Schools of intermediate and advanced

⁴¹ J.D. Rivera de Gil, *Cómo dominar a las mujeres*, Barcelona, Rodegar, 1965, p. 213.

⁴² A. Choimet, *Iniciación al matrimonio*, Barcelona, De Gasso, Hnos, 1977, pp. 114-115.

⁴³ Sindicato Español Universitario, *Guía de estudios y profesiones para la mujer*, Madrid, Servicio "Guía" de la Comisaría para el S.E.U., 1966, p. 9.

⁴⁴ See, for example, M. Aymerich, *Actividad femenina. Oficios de la mujer*, Barcelona, Vicens-Vives, 1966; G. Lorca, *¿Qué te gustaría ser?*, Barcelona, Toray, 1964 and *Profesiones, Profesiones para la mujer. Estudios y trabajos femeninos hoy en España*, 1965-1966, Valladolid, Rutas, 1966.

level, appear in the Guides but when speaking of the professions, the block requiring the highest degree are those of Superior Baccaulaureate, or equivalent, or Pre-university. Said in other words, among the professions related to and accessible to women, none require a bachelor's degree or a degree in engineering.

Some *Guides* dedicate a section to studies that do not warrant leaving home, in an apparent attempt to prolong women's home-schooling⁴⁵. It is upheld not only that housework is the most suitable profession for women (the decree of 11 July 1957 had created the Women's Home and Professional School as the official industrial vocational training institution) but that it is also «the profession most would choose» if there were centres offering specific preparation to become a Home Social Adviser⁴⁶). In 1966, it was said that, to teach this profession, more efforts should be invested by

creating centres that would teach subject such as child and adult nutrition, psychology, family relations, home decor, family budgeting, etc., and it would be a profession dedicated to orienting and solving problems of other families, besides that of a teacher and assistant of future centres⁴⁷.

When they refer to university studies, mostly taken by middle- and upper-class girls as we know⁴⁸, they typically indicate access to various bodies, the free exercise of the profession (not in all cases) or simply work in companies in the corresponding sector. However, there was a difference between what was offered and what was recommended in order to continue juggling *their* tasks of wife and mother. For example, all bachelor's and engineering degrees offered the following professions:

– Teachers in Labour Institutes and Universities, Collaborators of the Spanish National Research Council, Professors and Lecturers at Universities or Secondary Schools, Professors of Business Schools, Professors of Teaching Schools, Professors of Technical Vocational Schools, Teachers in charge of Technical Schools, Teachers in non-official secondary schools, Teachers in Industrial Vocational Training Centres, teachers at Women's Vocational Education Institutes (Philosophy and Letters only), Primary Education Inspectorate (Philosophy and Letters only), School Medical Corps (Medicine only), School Architects (Architecture).

This includes 123 professions classified as Artistic, Teaching, Industrial, Fashion and Commerce, Offices, Healthcare and others. However, among the teachers, for example, the 'recommended' ones are *Rural domestic economy assistant - Sports trainer - Elementary instructor of physical education - Physical Education Instructor - Teacher - Drawing Teacher - Mercantile Teacher -*

⁴⁵ R.M^a Garrido, *Ellas escogen profesión*, Madrid, SARPE, 1965, p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Sindicato Español Universitario, *Guía de estudios y profesiones para la mujer*, cit., p. 12.

⁴⁸ Durán Heras, *Juventud universitaria femenina en España*, cit., pp. 28-29.

*Physical Education Teacher - Home-Schooling Teacher - Language Teacher*⁴⁹. The list is eloquent in itself (the use of masculine and feminine to designate certain professions for women is thought-provoking in itself) because we see that *teacher* is recommended, but not a *university or high school professor*.

The same happens relation to the professions indicated in the health branch: *Childcare assistant - Feeding assistant - Physiotherapy assistant - Paediatrics and Childcare assistant - Radiology and Electrology assistant - Rural informative agent - Nurse - Midwife - Podiatrist - Paediatrician*. The pattern is the same: being a *doctor*, not recommended whereas *midwife* or *assistant* was.

Rosa Garrido affirms that it is possible to speak of professions only for women, among which are social worker and home school teacher. She points out that women were preferred over men in some cases and vice versa, going so far as to say that, whatever each one does, they will do so differently depending on whether he or she is a man or a woman: «In fact, what happens is that the woman – regardless of where she works – will bring her femininity to her profession. The same work performed by a woman or by a man bears the imprint of two different personalities»⁵⁰.

The *Guides* point out the surge in the number of female university students in recent years and the Faculties in which the percentage of female students was higher: Philosophy and Letters, Pharmacy and then, Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Medicine or Law. They indicated the universities where each of these degrees could be studied and the most obvious professional opportunities. Interestingly, several degrees are listed, but only Philosophy and Letters, Pharmacy and Biology are actually spoken of. There is no word of technical careers. «Three different worlds, three different careers and three different feminine mentalities», she says, referring to the students of Philosophy and Letters, Pharmacy and Biology, the three careers with the most girls⁵¹.

In 1978, there was talk of higher technical schools, but those who chose them were a minority for two reasons:

1. The upper classes, those who could afford it, had had negative attitudes towards women's work in these fields. Moreover, its complexity «does not allow the individual to move towards other spheres. [...] Women, who expect to marry in the future, seem to run into what seems like an insurmountable wall at the age of seventeen and at the doors of their career».
2. «And... the same old story. The good posts are drawn among men and women in a lottery of sorts, and women will only get the minor prizes, as usual»⁵². If we look at the middle-level technical schools, things improve somewhat, but the pattern remains the same: as they are three-year programmes, «it

⁴⁹ Sindicato Español Universitario, *Guía de estudios y profesiones para la mujer*, cit., p. 220.

⁵⁰ Garrido, *Ellas escogen profesión*, cit., p. 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵² Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, cit., pp. 99-100.

is interesting for women and offers interesting professional outcomes, although not as many as those offered to male technical engineers». The pattern repeats itself yet again in medicine: «The great advantage of Medical studies, especially for women, is that at the end of the fourth year, you can apply for the title of Healthcare Technical Assistant if you do not want to finish the degree».

By now, 1978, the term «career man» was positive, complimentary, while «career woman» had a negative, derogatory connotation in certain circles, so much so that only a limited number of women advocated it. On the basis of sociological studies, it was timidly said that

women who had received the benefits of higher education [...] experienced the satisfaction provided by responsibility and the execution of difficult work, naturally, have a harder time giving up their work for marriage than those who abandon routine work⁵³.

The conclusion for some was that for them not to miss that past, it was better not to have even known it in the first place.

If we add that «men and women will not be judged equally in their professional lives», the pressure towards traditional roles was still important:

Women are still relatively new to some of these professions [doctor, social worker, architect...] and in some countries, they are still on the bench, waiting to be called out onto the field. If they make a mistake not only by abandoning but also in the performance of the profession, the damage will be far-reaching even for future professionals. We must not forget that even if a woman had made the same mistake as a man, she would be given a hard time for it professionally but, even more so, for being a woman⁵⁴.

In Philosophy and Letters, «we are convinced that the individual has the opportunities, not the careers», but «it is logical and honourable for this career to head the university studies for girls, which bears the greatest popularity among women as coldly demonstrated by the statistics»⁵⁵. Was that popularity related to their lack of professionalism perhaps?

In general, women who chose to devote themselves to teaching, at any level, did not encounter problems, because education was the most natural ‘career’, the best suited for women who obtained a university degree. The school ‘explosion’ took place in the baccaulaureate and the university at the end of the 1960s, which facilitated women’s access to teaching, especially in secondary education.

Another of the topics that these *Guides* and the books that deal with issues related to women in society usually deal with is the convenience – or otherwise – of women’s work according to different circumstances. The reasons given in

⁵³ Garrido, *Ellas escogen profesión*, cit., pp. 23-24.

⁵⁴ Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, cit., p. 50.

⁵⁵ Garrido, *Ellas escogen profesión*, cit., p. 24.

favour are of an economic or psychological nature (need for security, desire for economic emancipation, flight from boredom and loneliness...) and these would predominate among the upper-middle-class and upper-class women who were the ones who mostly went to university⁵⁶. What surprises and irritates most is such a need for justification.

Many of these works argue that women's work outside the home not only has no negative consequences for the family, the care and education of children, the husband, the home, cohabitation or the relations between them all, but it is even positive in many cases. They rely on studies conducted in different countries and try to reassure all those who were seeking the seed of destruction of family life in such works because it is no longer the work of women in general that is discussed, but that of married women, which still needs to be defended and contended⁵⁷. Indeed, women's work will destroy two ancestral images: «The mother's and the woman's image, reduced to a dependency situation, enclosed in the impossibility and passivity in the face of the difficulties that only the father, placed in a divine position, can solve or address»⁵⁸.

At the end of the 1970s, these works become more *realistic*, they better reflected the feeling of the moment⁵⁹, but they coexisted with other publications from previous decades. Thus, the same stereotypes towards women's work appeared in a thought-provoking work poorly translated into Spanish in 1974 and first published in London, which reinforced submission, obedience and even servility. The jobs that appear in Chapter 8 *How you behave at work* are those of secretary, administrative, factory employees, receptionists at hotels, travel agencies or doctors' and dentists' offices, shop clerks, hairdressers... None requiring higher education and where co-workers are always women and bosses are always men. The advice leaves no room for doubt to their approach:

If your boss, employer or another person you depend on seems to have forgotten it by the time you leave, remind them politely. [...] You must consider that your boss or principal will not always be as polite with you as he should be. [...] Every boss carries a burden of responsibilities and might not always be going through good times. In any case, he is the boss. When you have a 'bad' day, be prepared to be extremely helpful⁶⁰.

They chiefly defend the advantages of female work based on obtaining an independent salary and the security of participating in the collective effort.

⁵⁶ M. Solé, *Carreras y sexos*, Barcelona, Nova Terra, 1970, p. 38; J.M^a Azurza, *La mujer ante el trabajo*, Irún, Ethos, 1966, p. 22.

⁵⁷ See Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, cit., p. 103; Azurza, *La mujer ante el trabajo*, cit., pp. 24-30 and M. Bofill *et al.*, *La mujer en España*, Barcelona, Cultura Popular, 1968, 2^a ed., pp. 34-47.

⁵⁸ Azurza, *La mujer ante el trabajo*, cit., pp. 28-29.

⁵⁹ See I. Borbón de Parma, *La mujer y la sociedad*, Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1979, R. Romá, *Mujer, realidad y mito*, Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 1979 and Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, cit.

⁶⁰ C. Holt, *Cómo ser más atractiva*, Barcelona, Ediciones Aura, 1974, pp. 135-141.

However, this change was no easy task for women either, as they had to adapt and forget the image of the *boss* or *master* they were supposed to serve.

Women also had to learn to share with men what used to be an exclusively female field. Cándida Velasco observed that there were many women who, for example, refused all help from their husbands in housework and many men who considered that sharing was a dishonour (in the best of cases they substituted sharing for helping). To illustrate her comment, she told this anecdote starring university students:

A short time ago, I witnessed shamefully, the solemn declaration of paternalism made by a group of Spanish university students in France. When asked about who was in charge of '*faire la vaisselle*' in our country, they all replied unanimously: '*Only women do the dishes in Spain*'. Back in our parents' time, this response would have been reasonable, but it was alarming to see it in university boys who belong chronologically to the 'ye-ye' generation. [...] the frivolous and the serious, the scientists and the humanists, the right-wing and the left-wing stuck to this answer⁶¹.

Although these opinions of more than fifty years ago come as a surprise today, it is even more surprising and worrying that, according to the *Andalusian Detecta* Report drawn up by the Andalusian Institute of Women, in a survey conducted between January and February 2011 to students of 3^o and 4^o ESO, 24% of those interviewed (20% of girls and 28% of boys) agreed that «the most suitable place for women is at home with their families» and that «men should not take on household chores» and that 24% of boys and 9% of girls thought that «men were more capable than women for public jobs (e.g. Politics, business, etc.)»⁶². We have improved, but there are clear signs of backsliding and progress cannot be taken for granted.

5. *Looking from history to the future*

In the last years of Franco's regime, the number of women in universities increased and news of the so-called liberation of women was in the air. The dominant position regarding the subject of women's higher education and their professional practice was what I call *Yes-Buts*: women can study at university, «but not any career». Women can exercise their professions «but only if it does not affect their family life» or «but only until they get married». Women are not inferior to men «but they are different, and their education must be so,

⁶¹ Velasco, *Mujer, familia y profesión*, cit., p. 77.

⁶² Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer, *Andalucía Detecta. Sexismo y violencia de género en la juventud andaluza*, Sevilla, Instituto de la Mujer, 2014, pp. 25-26, <http://www.uca.es/recursos/doc/unidad_igualdad/47737780_112201112236.pdf> (last access: 10.07.2018).

accordingly»; women can work «but in female-oriented professions» or «but only out of necessity» or we want «educated, but not wise» women.

The changes were superficial until 1975 since the generation of the 1960s was *liberating* and *revolutionary* by lip service. In substance, Spanish women had much lower schooling rates compared to men and the European average. Their economic activity rate was among the weakest in Europe, and in the 1975 *Foessa Report*, 68% of those surveyed said that women's education should be oriented towards caring for their families rather than learning a profession; 82.3 % of the population (81.1% of men and 83.3 % of women) believed that housework was for women and that only in case of illness of the wife should the husband do it and 78.9% of respondents (78.6% of men and 79.3% of women) stated that women should be at home when the husband returns from work⁶³.

Even in 1978, it was seen as natural and irremediable that men had a better professional horizon:

The legislation may be the same for both sexes, but the reality is that, because you are a woman, climbing the professional ladder will cost you a lot more – assuming you get the chance to – both privately and publicly. [...] Apart from the historical inertia of their preponderance, we must recognise that most men possess an energy that, accompanied or not by real talent, allows them to readily ascend the professional ladder – not to mention that they do not have to gestate and bring children into the world, because their role is limited to such a brief collaboration role that it does not affect their professional life at all⁶⁴.

The choice of career that women and men made and make is a determining factor when analysing their incorporation into the employment world and is also an indicator of women's attitudes towards different careers. Even today, when the presence of women at university has undergone a spectacular change and are quantitatively majority, the choice of career is made following stereotypes. Studying the reasons why men and women today opt for some studies and professions as opposed to others (when in all reality they should be able to choose any) can help furnish with light the stereotypes that continue to condition to a large extent those choices on the part of both genders and the habits of class that «sink their roots in that social mentality that continues directing, from the familiar and social space, the steps of the woman towards those works where she perceives that she will be well received»⁶⁵.

Nowadays we have formal equality, but in the choice of studies and jobs, not only do the gender patterns survive, but the gender gap in education has widened in recent years due to the fact that the studies that have a better future

⁶³ Fundación Foessa, *Estudios sociológicos sobre la situación social de España*, 1975, Madrid, Cáritas Española, 1976.

⁶⁴ Corella, *La mujer en el trabajo*, cit., pp. 16-17.

⁶⁵ S. San Román Gago, *Las primeras maestras: Los orígenes del proceso de feminización docente en España*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1998, p. 233.

(those related to Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) are losing female students. Girls mostly choose disciplines that lead to relatively lower – paying jobs, such as education, health or humanities, while in areas such as information and communication technologies, girls only represented 12% in 2017 in Spain⁶⁶.

Formal equality prevents girls and boys from detecting the *macho* attitudes that surround them, and they often have a passive attitude by considering “normal” what is far from being so (jealousy, control). Girls and boys consider themselves equal and say that they do not choose specific studies or professions because they do not want to, but they are not aware of the social and family pressures (parents maintain traditional roles with their best intentions) and of the stereotypes that condition their choices.

Faced with «classic sexism», a «benevolent» variant has appeared, hidden, subtle, which makes almost 30% of Andalusian female teenagers aged 14-16 consider themselves irreplaceable at home or 36% of boys and 14.5% of girls agree or strongly agree that «men should lead with affection, but firmly, their wives»⁶⁷.

Rights are conquered, but by no means everlasting. The unawareness of what has been achieved in these fifty years, owing to the work of many women and men, may explain part of the steady development of this ‘benevolent’ machismo of which a significant part of the population is not aware. There is no single solution, but as educators, we must ask ourselves what we are doing and what we have to do to ensure that what we have achieved is consolidated and not lost in oblivion.

⁶⁶ OCDE, *The Pursuit of Gender Equality. Un Uphill Battle*, Paris, OCDE, 2017, <https://read.oecdilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/the-pursuit-of-gender-equality_9789264281318-en#page1> (last access: 30.06.2018).

⁶⁷ Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer, *Andalucía Detecta*, cit.

On May '68 in Spain: student youth and the autonomous universities

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ABSTRACT: May '68 was a trigger for the student youth in Spain during late Francoism. The massification of universities, political conflicts and the outdated state of the Spanish university system forced the government to create Autonomous Universities in Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao. To analyse this state of affairs, we employ a number of theoretical tools, such as the concept of generation and youth, the official account of May '68, the context of the student movement and the study of the beginnings of these three universities, in order to highlight the historic interrelation among these phenomena. We also highlight the parallels among the three autonomous universities.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Student movement; Autonomous universities; May '68; Spain; XXth Century.

Introduction

Recurring to past events to explain the present is a form of historiographic updating, which helps us to make interpretations that are more or less attuned to historical reality; but more importantly, such interpretations are useful for evaluating historical events. In this case, the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the French May '68 is the impetus for looking back. This historical event serves as a pretext for focusing our analysis on the student movement during the late period of Francoism in Spain. Furthermore, in order to understand, from a theoretical point of view, the approach taken to this topic, we will refer to the official account built around May '68 and use the concept of generation to analyse the phenomenon of student youth and the emergence of the concept of 'youth' in the Social Sciences.

Additionally, the use of these theoretical tools makes it possible to analyse two key problems regarding May '68 in Spain: university massification and the political unrest in the latter years of the Franco regime. Finally, using the framework of the Spanish educational system and the university at that time and given the purges of teaching staff and dossiers on students, we will explain how the autonomous universities of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao were created, a process that will emerge as the first attempt to modernise the university system, which was in need of profound reforms and that would be reflected in the General Law of Education of 1970.

The methodological approach in this article applies historical methods as well as sociological and content analysis methods to the various discourses on youth. The sources that we have consulted are quite varied, ranging from reports by the civil governments of the different provinces in Spain to sociological studies on the circumstances faced by youth in that period to the construction projects at the autonomous universities, which are contained in Spain's national General Archive Administration (AGA).

From among our results we highlight the following: 1) that the story of May '68 has been consolidated over these fifty years, resulting in a canonical view of that time; 2) the consolidation of the concept of youth within the social sciences, despite its heterogeneity; 3) the influence of May '68 on the student movement in Spain; 4) university massification and 5) the Ministry of Education's decision to respond to this contentious situation by creating the autonomous universities.

1. May '68 as a pretext

Every ten years, in the month of May, the media, particularly the print and digital press, remember an event: the French May '68. The publishing industry also takes the opportunity to reprint or publish new works about this event. It

is an old marketing strategy in search of a market of nostalgic readers who still live in the hope that the spirit of May '68 will return once again to their lives. Taking advantage of this pretext, we can ask ourselves: 1) What does it mean to celebrate the event from the point of view of historical accounts?; 2) Why May '68? and 3) What role did the student youth play in that month? History, as a scientific discipline, has long been claimed as a cultural asset, one whose value acquires its greatest meaning when celebrating an anniversary, historical commemoration or political claim. History seems to have no value on its own, if not for its social function.

The example of commemorating the French May, like the French Revolution, serves to illustrate the way in which such commemorations build, using a do-it-yourself approach, a heritage that fuels historical memory. May '68 is a date, a city (Paris), a student revolt and numerous slogans scrawled on that city's walls, serving as that period's tweets written on stone: «It is forbidden to forbid», «Under the paving stones, there is a beach», etc. The commemorations, therefore, serve to steward memory, to construct an account of certain historical events that are reinterpreted as a function of the present that evokes them. They are references that inhabit the memory, that domesticate it, as if they were our own memories, lived in a past that does not belong to us or, perhaps, come from what was learned in a History class at school. Therein lies their potential as well as their power of civic education.

With regard to the recent anniversary and from what could be read in 2018, it can be seen that the already existing 'official account' is consolidated, but with two new contributions: 1) May '68 was a forerunner of the current *indignados* movement and of all social movements recorded since then¹; and 2) women were also present in May '68². In addition, during the month of May 2018, the press («Libération», «El País» or «El Mundo») revived testimonies from the time. In contrast, in 2008 the challenge of May '68 was the «issue of emigration»³. The interpretative tradition of May '68 is based on two «tempos» in the accounts: the 'short' May '68, used to refer to the events of that month in Paris and the 'long' May '68, where the date is expanded several years forwards and backwards in order to explain its antecedents and consequences. Both chronological frames are correct, depending on whether sociological or historical analysis tools are used or whether it is an experiential narration of

¹ J. Estefanía, *Revoluciones. Cincuenta años de rebeldía (1918-2018)*, Madrid, Catedra, 2018; A. Badiou, *Ribellarsi è giusto! L'attualità del Maggio '68*, Naples-Salerno, Orthotes, 2018; H. Hamon, *L'Esprit Mai '68*, Paris, L'Observatoire, 2018; R. Vinen, 1968. *El año en que el mundo pudo cambiar*, Barcelona, Critica, 2018; D. Della Porta, *Sessantotto. Passato e presente dell'anno ribelle*, Milan, Feltrinelli Editore, 2018. For the Italian case, see L. Zaquini, *Il '68 raccontato a mio figlio. Cosa vogliamo fare, cosa non abbiamo fatto*, Milan, Mimesis Edizioni, 2018.

² F. Cioni et al., *Donne nel sessantotto*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2018; P. Pombeni, *Che cosa resta del '68*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2018.

³ V. Laurent, *Mayo del 68, cuarenta años después. Entre herencias y controversias*, «Revista de Estudios Sociales», n. 33, August 2009, pp. 29-43.

testimony. However, after May '68, some sociologists and political activists built up a May '68 that was acceptable and adapted to each ten-year anniversary, so that before the twentieth anniversary in 1988, the 'official account' of May '68 had already been constructed: it had not been a revolt, let alone a revolution. Whatever happened had to do, according to that official account, with a change of mentality that affected daily life.

As is evident, we are not talking about what happened in May '68, but rather we are talking about the ways in which it has been interpreted, appropriated, and constructed based on memories, personal experiences and, above all, the greater interest shown by sociologists and political scientists than by professional historians⁴. May '68 has become more of a topic of conversation, one ranging between myth and criticism and that appears cyclically in the media, than an object of historical research⁵. This is why the reissue of works that have been published for anniversaries is striking. The most surprising case is that of Edgar Morin's⁶ book, whose original text is from 1968 and which has been reissued every 10 years by different publishers. In the Italian edition from 2018, there is a preface by the author himself, in which he reflects upon the various decennial anniversaries of '68, maintaining the thesis that May '68 can be considered as the continuing renewal of human aspiration, which returns every so often and will return again in another form.

In any case, the best analysis of May '68 continues to be the one by Kristin Ross⁷, where she refers to «its afterlives», or the lives through which the official account of May '68 is constructed. This account is already canonical, and it was forged in those first twenty years, when the changes were already evident: it went from aspirations for 'equality' in the sixties to defence of individual 'freedom'; that is to say, it went from ideological struggle to personal combat, from ideology to egology, or to what has been called in some studies, «narcissistic» youth⁸. Over time, «May '68» has become a historico-materialist brand, in the sense that Naomi Klein⁹ has given this term, sustaining the capacity to hold that social, cultural, individual or political change is possible. It would be the old version of «Yes, we can».

⁴ F. Dose, *Mayo del 68: los efectos de la historia sobre la historia*, «Sociológica», vol. 13, n. 38, 1998, pp. 165-201.

⁵ J.M. Sánchez-Prieto, *Entre el mito y la crítica: la memoria del 68 francés*, «Arbor Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura», vol. 194, n. 787, 2018; Id., *La historia imposible del mayo francés*, «Revista de estudios Políticos», n. 112, April-June 2001, pp. 109-133.

⁶ E. Morin, *Maggio 68. La breccia*, Milan, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2018.

⁷ K. Ross, *Mayo del 68 y sus vidas posteriores. Ensayo contra la despolitización de la memoria*, Madrid, Ediciones Acuarela, 2008.

⁸ J.M. González-Anleo, J.A. López-Ruiz, *Jóvenes españoles entre dos siglos, 1984-2017*, Madrid, Fundación SM, 2017.

⁹ N. Klein, *No logo: El poder de las marcas*, Barcelona, Planeta, 2011.

2. *What remained from May '68: student youth*

One of the elements that May '68 brought to the fore was the new leading role of the student youth and their political activity. Also noteworthy are the words that remained on the graffitied walls and that have formed a new discourse in which new issues in the field of thought, politics and everyday life still in force are highlighted¹⁰.

Some of the main players in May '68 recall that the spark that ignited that Parisian spring was the problem of the university campus in Nanterre, which was built in 1964 in response to university massification; more specifically was the fact that male students were forbidden from entering the women's residences, but not vice versa. The successive protests against the University of Nanterre's administration inflamed the students' passions until they erupted in the outcry of that famous month of May. In those years the precariousness of the university's ability to accommodate the arrival of the sons and daughters of the working class was revealed, as until that moment, they had been denied access to higher education. Throughout Western Europe the so-called «elite university», which was reserved for the children of the bourgeoisie, gradually disappeared during the sixties, and with it began the «university for the masses»¹¹. This phenomenon could be seen in most European universities within a few years. Moreover, during those years women's access to university is evident, not only in the classrooms but also in the streets, where they joined their colleagues in throwing paving stones. The university, then, would be the first to detect the critical situation that was unfolding given the change of mentality and attitudes and values in daily life, as well as the recognition that the youth was taking on a new leading role. In Spain, the growth in population had the same effect in the sixties and seventies: an increase in the number of university students due to the baby boom; increased demand for higher education due to access to secondary education; and a desire for social and political change¹². The student youth would thus become a kind of elite that sought political leadership, along with other democratic political forces. Furthermore, in those years it was fashionable

¹⁰ W. Gambetta, *I muri del lungo '68. Manifesti e comunicazione politica in Italia*, Rome, DeriveApprodi, 2014; M. Bascetta et al., *Dizionario della memoria in 1968: le parole e le idee*, Rome, Manifestolibri, 2018; A. Esteruelas, J. Garcia, *Maig del 68 i la incidència en els discursos pedagògics pobres*, «Educació i Història: Revista d'Història de l'Educació», n. 33, January-June 2019, pp. 125-150.

¹¹ W. Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. IV: Universities since 1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

¹² J. Noya, *Mayo del 68. Las críticas de la izquierda las revueltas estudiantiles*, Madrid, Catarata, 2018; P. Badenas, *Fronteras de papel. El Mayo francés en la España del 68*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2018; A. Carrillo-Linares, *El mayo francés: impactos culturales y consecuencias políticas*, «Historia del presente», vol. 31, n. 1, 2018, pp. 59-73.

for boys to not wear ties and have long hair¹³ and for girls to wear miniskirts and have pixie haircuts.

3. *The 'invention' of youth and the concept of generation*

The appearance of young people – both boys and girls – in the streets of Paris on May '68 was an observable indication, but so too was the emergence of youth as an object of study, which appears late in historical and sociological research¹⁴. It was still common in the 1950s to talk about young men, in reference to the end of adolescence. However, ten years later, the adjective young started to be used as a noun. With this, 'youth' becomes a social category of great interest for the social sciences. In the sixties, questions about the 'problems' faced by youth begin to break onto the media landscape¹⁵ and the mobilization of university students leads to a rethinking in the academic field. Likewise, in the West, a youth 'culture', with its concomitant values and lifestyles, begins to be forged. From then on, young people will be the subject of surveys, polls, opinion articles, radio programmes, etc. In the Spanish case, the reports and surveys on youth from 1960 onwards will follow a continuous line, which extends to the present day, that grows from reports by regional bodies or private entities¹⁶.

As is well known, the concept of youth is versatile, and it acquires meaning and reinvents itself depending on the cultural, economic or political realities of each historical moment. The appearance of youth in the historical and sociological field legitimizes political practice, where the preferred research tool is the survey. From a historical perspective, we cannot forget the emergence of student movements in the sixties, the most clichéd being May '68, which coincides with the crisis of revolutionary ideologies such as Marxism and which «led some authors to argue that youth was 'a new class' and to study youth as the *vanguard* of social change»¹⁷, against the opinion of Bourdieu, for whom youth was only a word¹⁸. Among the body of studies on youth, it can be seen

¹³ A. Carrillo-Linares, *Sin corbata y con melena: imágenes y representaciones de los estudiantes sesentayochistas*, in A. Paya *et alii*, *Globalizing the student rebellion in the long '68*, Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2018, pp. 63-73.

¹⁴ E. González Calleja, S. Souto, *Juventud y política en España: orientación bibliográfica*, «Ayer», n. 59, 2005, pp. 283-298.

¹⁵ A.M. Sohn, *Âge tendre et tête de bois. Histoire des jeunes des années 1960*, Paris, Hachette, 2001.

¹⁶ J.L. Zárraga, *A los 30 años del Informe de Juventud de 1985. Investigación empírica y cuestiones teóricas*, «Revista Estudios de Juventud», n. 110, 2015, pp. 13-33.

¹⁷ S. Souto Kustrin, *Juventud, teoría e historia: La formación de un sujeto social y de un objeto de análisis*, «Historia Actual Online», n. 13, 2007, pp. 171-192, in partic. p. 181.

¹⁸ P. Bourdieu, *Sociología y Cultura*, Mexico City, Grijalbo-Conaculta, 2002.

that in the 1970s and 1980s researchers introduced a class perspective, which downplayed the focus on the subject of youth relative to social structures or class relationships.

Given all the above, sociological studies have brought about a changing image of youth, highlighting a set of research lines on: demography and generations of young people, independence, formative transitions, political participation and citizenship, new technologies and consumption, and health. In this sense, the construction of the discourse about youth is a «manifold mix of propositions and arguments»¹⁹ and with discourses that follow different lines of narrative dependence: the mythification of youth, narcissistic hedonism, youth as a historical and social product, youth as an agent of social change; the youth response, the youth subculture, the transition to adult life, the subordinated and marginalized youth, the search for identity and diversity of youth. It's not surprising, then, that in 1974 Victor Alba began to apply different adjectives to youth, depending on the particular population's characteristics: the terrified youth (during the Cold War); the frustrated youth (in the third world); the community youth (in Japan, Israel and China); the exasperated youth (in Latin America); the separated youth (starting from 1960); the anti-establishment youth (students since 1960); the unseen youth (young workers since 1960); the integrated youth (the current youth subculture); the independent youth (youth lifestyles); and the interpreted youth (theories about today's youth)²⁰.

However, to understand this patchwork of youth, it may be useful to recur to the concept of generation, which refers to the group of people born more or less in the same year and who have shared similar experiences. Each generation has a world of relationships and political and social contexts that they consider to have marked their lives. Despite this, some researchers raise concerns about its use in the social sciences²¹ since it is very complex to apply the categories of the past to analyse the current reality. It is known that within the social disciplines the concept of generation was posed by Comte and popularized by Ortega y Gasset and Mannheim in a set of works from the 1920s²². Ortega y Gasset wrote about generation on various occasions, going so far as to affirm that «the generation, a dynamic compromise between mass and individual, is the most important concept in history and, so to speak, the hinge on which it moves»²³. Despite this, the concept of generation is not widely used among

¹⁹ J.C. Revilla Castro, *La construcción discursiva de la juventud: lo general y lo particular*, «Papers», nn. 63-64, 2001, p. 105.

²⁰ V. Alba, *Historia social de la juventud*, Barcelona, Plaza & Janes, 1986.

²¹ M. Caballero, A. Baigorri, *¿Es operativo el concepto de generación?*, «Aposta. Revista de Ciencias Sociales», n. 56, February-March 2013, <<http://apostadigital.com/revistav3/hemeroteca/mcg1.pdf>> (last access: 10.02.2019); C. Leccardi, C. Feixa, *El concepto de generación en las teorías sobre la juventud*, «Última década», vol. 19, n. 34, 2010, pp. 11-32.

²² J. Marías, *El método histórico de las generaciones*, Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1949.

²³ M. Martín, *La teoría de las generaciones de Ortega y Gasset: una lectura del siglo XXI*, «Tiempo y Espacio», vol. 20, 2008, pp. 98-110, in partic. p. 107.

historians and it encompasses two senses: the individual and the social. Thus, the «May '68 generation» brings together an amalgamation of memories that not only becomes a set of clichés shared by the participants but is also transmitted as historical account. This evidence can be found, as we saw in the previous section, in the fact that the personal experiences of the young people of May '68 were becoming an 'official account' of a generation that claims to share the same experiences.

4. *Student youth and the protest phenomenon*

The May '68 generation of young Spaniards has its own characteristics, mainly due to the political context of late Francoism and to the dynamics of student youth and their political behaviour. With regard to the ideology of young people, what happens in Spain, despite the Franco dictatorship, is similar to what happens in other Western countries, since young people consider themselves less conservative than older people. One of the studies on the political behaviour of young Spaniards at that time was by Torregrosa²⁴. Widely disseminated at the time, it concludes with two statements that show the reality of youth in late Francoism: 1) the existence of a distinct generational awareness among young people with positive attitudes, which are manifested, above all else, in the criticism of the authoritarianism that they attribute to the older generation and 2) in more tolerant and open attitudes in their own generation.

These conclusions are derived from the surveys conducted with a large sample of young Spaniards, whose level of political information was very limited. They had little interest in political activity, they criticized the attitudes of politicians and they had little influence on the political affairs of the country. On the other hand, it is evident that the youth begin to have more democratic orientations, and the belief that there should be a greater degree of freedom in Spain is a much more evident among male students. Likewise, the young people interviewed point out that the greatest influence in politics came from the military, the Church, banks and finance, and the Opus Dei, while workers or intellectuals had little or no influence. Furthermore, in terms of political options, had it been possible to vote at that time, socializing options conducive to a major change in the political organization prevailed, the two predominant tendencies being Christian Democracy and Socialism. Of course, all the political attitudes held by the youth are a sign of a critical attitude towards the political system of the moment. We can speak about the Basque student youth in similar

²⁴ J.R. Torregrosa, *La juventud española. Conciencia generacional y política*, Madrid, Ariel, 1972.

terms for those years²⁵. In contrast, in Italy 38% of young people say they are aware of politics, while 11% dislike it. As in the case of Spain, the highest degree of commitment is shown by university students, at 15%²⁶.

Apart from this, the student youth lived other ups and downs, especially as regards the growing population of students in universities and the universities' inability to respond to so much demand. This increase in the student population demanded that new faculties and new universities be created. Thus, the student youth, who had not experienced the Civil War, and particularly the university movement of the sixties, achieved clear political hegemony and a relevant role, which was a clear sign of generational rupture and confrontation against established social guidelines²⁷. In this sense, it will be at the university where «a new youth culture, characterized by its critical spirit first comes into force, first against the university institution and starting the defence of democratic values and ideological tolerance, and then against the Francoist dictatorship itself»²⁸. In this sense, the portrait of student youth relative to that of other young people is more critical of the political system. This phenomenon started in 1956-57 in the universities of Madrid and Barcelona with the confrontation with the Falangist leadership of the SEU (Spanish University Union)²⁹, but also for the failure of the Franco regime's processes of socializing young people.

This inability to socialize youth through the Francoist ideology garnered criticism, first of the SEU and later of the creation of democratic unions. This will be the key to understanding the politicization that youth will undergo in those years. The background that frames the milestones that will occur in the 60s are focused with a clear objective for the student movement: end the SEU. In this way, the student rebellion was clearly visible, especially after 1965, when it was usual to hold assemblies without students³⁰. Therefore, this stage, which began in 1965, can be described as the «awakening from lethargy»³¹,

²⁵ J. Larrea Gayarre, *Universidad en conflicto (Análisis de una crisis). Estudio sociológico realizado entre los universitarios de Bilbao*, Bilbao, La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1978.

²⁶ Torregrosa, *La juventud española. Conciencia generacional y política*, cit.

²⁷ R. Montoro, *La universidad en la España de Franco (1939-1970)*, Madrid, CIS, 1981; A. Carrillo-Linares, *Universidades y transiciones políticas: el caso español en los años 60-70*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 2, n. 2, 2015, pp. 49-75; S. Rodríguez Tejada, *The anti-Franco student movement's contribution to the return of democracy in Spain*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 2, n. 2, 2015, pp. 77-106; E. González Calleja, *Rebelión en las aulas: un siglo de movilizaciones estudiantiles en España (1865-1965)*, «Ayer», n. 59, 2005, pp. 21-49.

²⁸ B. De Riquer, *Historia de España. La dictadura de Franco*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2010, p. 560.

²⁹ M.A. Ruiz, *El Sindicato Español Universitario (SEU) 1939-1965. La socialización política de la juventud universitaria en el franquismo*, Madrid, siglo XXI, 1996.

³⁰ S. Rodríguez Tejada, *Zonas de libertad. Dictadura franquista y movimiento estudiantil en la Universidad de Valencia*, 2 vols., Valencia, Universitat de Valencia, 2009.

³¹ A. Carrillo-Linares, *Movimiento estudiantil antifranquista. Cultura política y transición política a la democracia*, «Pasado y Memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea», n. 5, 2006, pp. 149-170.

which begins with the dossiers on several professors from the Complutense University of Madrid (Aranguren, García Calvo, Aguilar Navarro, Montero Díaz, Tierno Galván and García Vercher), and that will continue in 1966 with the *Caputxinada*³² in Barcelona, in which a meeting was held with the aim of creating a democratic student union (SDEUB). All this despite the fact that the regime itself had put an end to the SEU in 1965. It should also be noted that in January 1967, the first preliminary coordinating meeting of the student movement was held on a state scale in Valencia, resulting in several arrests and the holding of a general strike in most universities³³.

In this context, May '68, will be a catalyst for the entire student movement, as can be seen by the actions that were carried out in the universities of Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, etc. We must not forget that on May 18 the concert by Raimon, the singer-songwriter of the «protest song» or «nova canço catalana» at the Faculty of Politics and Economics of Madrid, took place, holding a demonstration that exceeded the police's ability to. It should also be remembered that ETA committed its first deadly attack against the Chief of the Political-Social Brigade of Guipúzcoa and former collaborator of the Gestapo, intensifying the police repression in the Basque Country.

This first stage is followed by another, the «atomization of the movement» (1968-1972), in which the political ideas were clearly expressed, with the participation of the Communist Party and other parties to its left. This situation would justify the declaration of a new state of emergency in 1969, one that was preceded by demonstrations in protest of the death of the law student Enrique Ruano while he was in police custody in Madrid. Likewise, the rejection of the approval of the General Law of Education (1970), the trial of a group of ETA militants in Burgos and the university's own situation gave rise to a stream of university protests that, as of 1973, will already have a clear political component, where this radicalism led to joining the disputes with the workers' movement³⁴.

In this context of protests, the dictatorship's response was led by the Political-Social Brigade³⁵ and the Court of Public Order (TOP), created in 1963. Its competence was to know the crimes committed throughout the country and,

³² La Capuchinada (in Spanish) or Caputxinada (in Catalan) refers to the meeting held in 1966 at the Capuchinos en Sarriá convent (in Barcelona) to create a democratic student union. The arrest of teachers and students led to a series of trials with different types of sentences. The disciplinary files, which form a separate component, with more than one hundred files, can be consulted in the Archive of the Ministry of Education and Science in Alcalá de Henares (Madrid). Catalogue number: Box 93.516.

³³ B. Sanz Díaz, *El fin del franquismo en la universidad*, in Id., *Rojos y demócratas*, Valencia, Artes Gráficas Soler, 2002, pp. 126-154.

³⁴ G. Valdevira, *El movimiento estudiantil en la crisis del franquismo: la Universidad Complutense (1973-1976)*, PhD thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2002.

³⁵ B. Sanz Díaz, *La universidad contra la dictadura. Activismo político y represión*, in Id., *Rojos y demócratas*, cit., pp. 266-288.

particularly, those that had the objective of subverting the basic principles of the State, disturbing public order or sowing anxiety in the national consciousness. One of its most relevant actions was the trial of the *Caputxinada* participants. This situation spread through the rest of Spanish universities, which became a hotbed of democratic and left-wing political ideals. From a systematic study of the sentences issued by the TOP on political organizations and social movements, it can be deduced that the groups upon which its repressive weight fell were the workers' movement (53% of the sentences), nationalism (23%) and university students (15%)³⁶. The period of action with respect to the university is from 1966 to 1973. Fifty-three percent of these sentences are related to students with ties to communism, compared to 17% who are related to nationalism. In all of them, the same typology of crime can be seen, some instructional issue serves as a trigger that ends in an altercation or non-peaceful demonstrations, in addition to other illegal gathering, injuries or attacks and/or illegal propaganda. In most cases, only one person is charged. The university campuses that showed the greatest opposition to the regime were the Catalans (40%), followed by residents of Madrid (22%), and Bilbao (11%). However, it should be noted that 50% of defendants were convicted and 47% were acquitted. Civil governments³⁷ acted in the same way. Thus, on March 14, 1969, the state of emergency was lifted, the Associated Press Agency of Paris commented on the information given by the Minister of the Army, Camilo Alonso Vega, who pointed out that: «Of the 175 sent to civil courts, 52 were students and 123 of other classes. Of the 180 sent to military courts, 75 were students and 105 were from other professions. Of the 243 sent to prison, 74 were students and 169 from other professions»³⁸.

To see, for example, the actions taken by the Civil Government of Biscay, in the case of Bilbao, one of the essential documents were the annual reports that were sent to the central government, in accordance with the ministerial order of the Ministry of Information and Science of November 26 1962, creating the «Liaison Office» (BOE, December 6, 1962)³⁹. The objective of this body was to improve the image of Spain and promote «research on communism and subversive activities». Thus, there is a constant theme in these reports between 1968 and 1977, recognizing that:

The main problem that Biscay has raised in politics is that of separatism [...] especially among the youth, mainly due to the work of recruiting a part of the clergy, non-conformity and, above all, the lack of sufficient political labour that effectively counteracts these

³⁶ S. Núñez de Padro, R. Ramírez, *La oposición al franquismo en las sentencias del TOP: Organizaciones políticas y movimientos sociales*, «Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea», vol. 35, 2013, pp. 263-285, in partic. p. 269.

³⁷ The civil governments were the representation of the Government in each of the provinces.

³⁸ AGA, catalogue number: (05)007.002-42/09129-6.

³⁹ J.L. La Torre, R. Muñoz, M.J. Villanueva, *El gabinete de enlace: una oficina de información y control al servicio del Estado*, in *II Encuentro de Investigadores del Franquismo*, Alicante, Instituto de Cultura "Gil Albert", 1995, pp. 7-13.

tendencies [...] It is believed that combating separatist ideas requires paying the greatest attention to the problem of Education, in what involves education and training of children and youth, trying to have all of it taught in state institutions in order to avoid that profusion of colleges, schools and other centres governed by Religious and lay individuals, where within their teaching cadres many are made up of more or less disguised separatists⁴⁰.

However, by focusing our attention on the references that these reports make to higher education, the information they provide has to do with the development of the University of Bilbao itself, in addition to other activities linked to university students. In 1969, the Civil Governor notes that «the problem that this province has in the field of education has not been solved with the creation of the new University of Bilbao, which started its teaching activities last year, although it undoubtedly contributed to alleviating it to large measure»⁴¹. With respect to the behaviour of the students enrolled in the University of Bilbao, the students are beginning to express themselves, especially those who hold a communist ideology, and in reference to what happened in the fourth quarter of that year:

Communism, through the so-called Revolutionary Communist League, engages in an intense propaganda campaign in the university media, leading to, during this period, the closure of the Faculties of Medicine and Economics and some attempts at student demonstration in various points of the capital, where the arrest of 13 students belonging to said political group was recorded⁴².

If the reports from Biscay were more or less descriptive, the same cannot be said about the ones from Madrid, especially in 1968, as Falangist civilian governor José Manuel Pardo Suárez, who, after describing the political groups that were active at the University of Madrid, includes a study on the state of the university in Spain, carried out by the Spanish Teachers' Service, prior to the White Paper by the Ministry of Education and Science. However, the description of the university in that year is reflected in the following:

It is not necessary to explain the political circumstances that it has gone through, nefarious circumstances that should not be attributed only to that greater or lesser group of disruptive students, but also to certain professors. Naturally, all this led to the year of 1968 ending up being in a rarefied situation, and as a consequence, already at the beginning of the current year it gave rise to a state of exception, which fortunately has cut off all attempts at hostile demonstration to the regime⁴³.

The list of the student or lobbyist political groups that were active in the university milieu in those years shows the intense clandestine activity developed

⁴⁰ Report by the Civil Government of Biscay of 1968, AGA, box 52/489.

⁴¹ Report by the Civil Government of Biscay of 1969, AGA, box 52/496.

⁴² Report by the Civil Government of Biscay of 1971, AGA, box 52/504.

⁴³ Report by the Civil Government of Madrid, 1968, AGA, box 51/475.

from all the political areas, in spite of the legal non-existence of political parties. The spectrum is very broad in terms of political ideology, publication bodies or other activities. Thus, we can find groups such as the Spanish Democratic Student Federation (socialists); the Association of Revolutionary Students (revolutionary internationalists); Union of Democratic Students (progressive Catholics); Student Socialist Front (socialists); University Defence (fascists); National University Syndicalist Front (Falangists); Student Syndicalist Front (left Falangists); National Liberation Front (Marxists and Catholics); Marxist Leninist Communist Party (pro-Chinese); Anarchists; Association of Traditional Students (Carlists); Communist Party, among others. The list also includes more than thirty other groups that were active in other universities. As can be seen, knowledge of these groups' political activity is clearly under the control of the police and government authorities and they show the internal battles and associations in unifying action between the different groups. These observations were also noted at the Autonomous University of Madrid, since from its creation «the student movement was present in their classrooms, showing a wide plurality and certain fragmentation»⁴⁴.

This is the context in which we can understand the decision by Franco's government, made in 1968, to create autonomous universities: a growing student population and the growing wave of protests against the Franco regime that will gradually unite with the strikes and labour conflict in the most industrialized zones. To all this we must add the crumbling state of the Spanish university, which is controlled by professors whose political affiliation was mostly Opus Dei and Falange and whose organizational structure allowed a hierarchical control of the positions for civil servants and all university activity. It is difficult to explain the end of Franco's dictatorship and the subsequent democratic process without taking into account, among the others that shaped civil society, social movements, including the student movement.

5. The creation of the autonomous universities of Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao

The reality of the Spanish university during the Franco regime has been the object of numerous studies. A wide range of topics has been addressed, including «without any doubt, the issue of university students and, in particular, the work dedicated to mobilization and student opposition»⁴⁵. This subject, as

⁴⁴ *Haciendo futuro. 50 años de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1968-2018)*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2018, p. 27.

⁴⁵ S. González, *Historia de la universidad en España durante el franquismo: análisis bibliográfico*, «Educató i Historia. Revista d'Historia de l'Educató», n. 26, July-December 2015, p. 197.

we have indicated in the previous section, appears at the end of the sixties and the beginning of seventies and highlights the changes that were taking place in both Spanish and European universities⁴⁶. The General Law of Education of 1970 highlighted the limits of the Spanish educational system and established the necessary paths for reform and rupture. In this way, as Hernández said, «the end of the traditional university stage is situated in the terminal years of Franco's regime, where the educational blueprint advances the transition to 1970 and the approval and implementation of the Villar Palasí Law, which represents the beginning of a new order for the Spanish university»⁴⁷.

To understand this phenomenon, the situation of the university in Spain can be observed in the Ministry of Education's own reports. Thus, one of the elements that characterized reforms in the higher education was «the unprecedented growth of the university population»⁴⁸. The Ministry was aware of the process of university massification that was taking place, as the university population tripled between 1960-1971. The response to this process was the creation of university colleges and new faculties, technical schools and universities. At that time, Spain went from having 544 students per 100,000 inhabitants in 1968, to 709 in 1971, which was at the same level as Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom, but lower than countries such as Denmark, USA, Finland, France, Sweden and the former USSR and higher than countries such as Belgium, Hungary, Portugal and Switzerland. This demonstrates the process of the growing student body that was observed in the latter part of the 1960s.

We must not forget that university students were predominantly from the middle and upper middle classes, and that the socialization of these students occurred, first and foremost, through Francoist ideology and religion, although the Church did not control the University as it did with other levels of education. In 1950, only 1.4% of young people between the ages of 18 and 25 had access to university, and in 1962, that percentage only reached 2%, of which 14.8% were women. At the end of the 1960s, 6% were the children of workers. The non-permanent teaching staff went from about 3,000 in 1960 (1,200 being civil servants) to 16,000 in 1971 (1,500 being civil servants), that is, an increase of 80%. In other words, in this short period of time student populations went from 77,123 students in 1960, which is 253 students per 100,000 inhabitants, to 240,892, which is about 709 students per 100,000 inhabitants⁴⁹.

This context explains the creation, in 1968, of the three autonomous universities (Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao), which was due not only to student

⁴⁶ Rüegg, *A History of University in Europe. Vol IV. Universities since 1945*, cit.

⁴⁷ J.M. Hernández Díaz, *Los espacios de la universidad española. Una lectura histórica*, «Revista de Historia de las Universidades», vol. 17, n. 1, 2014, p. 93.

⁴⁸ Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia sobre Política Universitaria, AGA, Sección Cultura (03) 127.1 Legajo 42/091.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

demand but also the reality that the Spanish university was experiencing in the sixties, where professors were fired and purged, and new student organizations of a democratic nature emerged. This mirrored the experience in various universities in Europe and America, where the student youth had made anti-establishment demands. The French May '68 was a point of reference. Thus, in the same week that Paris was in the last throes of the revolt, the Franco Government's Council of Ministers approved the creation of the aforementioned universities. One of the aspects worth highlighting is that the creation of these universities marks the beginning of the reform of the entire educational system. In the first public speech given by the Minister of Education and Science, José Luis Villar Palasí (of the Opus Dei) on the occasion of his swearing in in April 1968, he focused on the serious nature of the situation that the existing university, announcing a policy of «detente without capitulation» and the launching of in-depth university reform⁵⁰.

The creation of these autonomous universities «was decided and undertaken because of the conjunction of a series of immediate factors, of which the most evident was undoubtedly the academic and public order crisis that was being debated in which Spanish universities»⁵¹, as Díez Hochleitner, the General Technical Secretary of the Ministry, highlighted years later. From that moment, the complete overhaul of the educational system, which would lead to the General Law of Education, was initiated. Regarding the universities' autonomy, it has been pointed out that said «functional and financial autonomy» represented a principle that later became one of the principles that inspired the General Law of Education⁵².

The rationale of the prologue of the decree creating these universities already lays out the reasons that led to this creation: «The structure of our higher education, created under the principle of university districts with only one university, is insufficient to meet the demands of a growing population in large cities, which has led to the emergence of pedagogical difficulties and even space on the university campus, along with all the consequences that implies»⁵³. Thus, Minister Villa Palasí pronounced that it is not possible to avoid the situation any longer, given «the seriousness of certain problems caused by the massification of education in large cities». These three universities arose without awarding them a university district, so they would not to collide with

⁵⁰ R. Aguilar Cestero, *El despliegue de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona entre 1968 y 1973: de fundación franquista a motor del cambio democrático en Cataluña*, «Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija», n. 10, 2007, pp. 13-199.

⁵¹ R. Díez Hochleitner, J. Tena Artigas, M. García Cuerpo, *La reforma española y la educación permanente*, Paris, Unesco, 1977, p. 13.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵³ Decreto-Ley 5/1968, de 6 de junio, de la Jefatura del Estado, sobre medidas urgentes de reestructuración universitaria (BOE de 7 de junio), [Decree-Law 5/1968 of 6 June, by the Head of State, on the urgent measures for university restructuring (BOE, 7 June)].

the existing ones. But what novelty did the autonomous universities provide? They emerged as a kind of testing laboratory for the future and contributed two elements that were more or less unknown at that time and that have been a great success: this first is the creation of university patronages (what we now call the university Social Council); the second is a concept that was little used at that time, namely autonomy in the university environment. In addition, we must take into account the reform of university degrees at three levels, diplomas, undergraduate/architecture/engineering degrees and the doctorate, as well as the reorganization of Departments and Faculties, stripping professors of the absolute control they exercised. These innovations in language and institutions were normalized in the University Reform Law of 1983.

The seriousness of certain problems, derived from student massification, the fact that the old universities were in city centres and the continuous student mobilizations that were taking place at that time, are sufficient reasons for firm decisions to be made: 1) build universities at the periphery of large cities, making them more difficult to access; 2) finance their construction at a low cost; and 3) build them as quickly as possible. If we compare the architecture of the three cited autonomous universities, we will notice that all three have similar structures and obey the same criteria: cheap and fast construction. By the 1972-73 academic year, the three universities were already functioning, and in the first years all of them began to hold lectures in precarious conditions at various public buildings of the respective capitals (Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao). Beyond that, each of the universities has followed different trajectories, although they share common elements.

The three universities were created in the three most economically dynamic cities of Spain at that time, but they were also the most contentious in terms of worker demands for wage increases and political changes that begin to pose clear conflicts with the Franco regime, despite the reforms that were being made from within the regime. The existence of clandestine democratic parties and unions was clearly evident in all areas.

5.1 Faculties, students and architectural projects

The first article of Decree-Law 5/1968 announced the creation of the three abovementioned universities. Thus, the new Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM) was assigned the faculties of Science, Political, Economic and Commercial Sciences (Economics Section), Law, Philosophy and Letters, and Medicine. In a subsequent Decree (1774/1968, 27 July) the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) was assigned the Faculties of Philosophy and Letters, Medicine, Economics, and Sciences, and the Autonomous University of Bilbao was assigned the already existing faculty of Economics, which until

that moment had been part of the University of Valladolid, as well as the faculties of Medicine and Sciences. Thus, it can be said that, essentially, the three universities began with the same faculties, although over the first years, they began to create new faculties, and they also began to incorporate faculties that were administered by older universities, as was the case for the University of Bilbao.

With respect to the evolution of the student body, during the first ten years, similar growth is observed in each of the universities. The growth rates followed similar patterns, although the UAM grew at a slower pace, and the growth at the University of Bilbao is due to the gradual incorporation of students coming from other tertiary study schools in Gipuzkoa and Álava and that are incorporated into the district of the University of Bilbao in 1977⁵⁴.

Academic Year	UAM		UAB		UBilbao	
		%		%		%
1972-73	11,639	100	8,782	100	11,945	100
1974-75	15,215	130	15,377	175	13,454	112
1977-78	21,084	181	23,027	262	24,140	202

We have already indicated that the beginnings of these universities were precarious, because they were forced to use space in public building to teach the first classes, while the construction of the respective 'university cities' was being undertaken⁵⁵. The University that completed construction in 1971, prior to the beginning of instruction, was the UAM, while the other two began their teaching in the new spaces in the 1972-73 academic year⁵⁶.

Thus, with respect to the early days of the faculties, it should be noted that the agents involved were different at each, even though they appeared in the same Decree-Law of June 1968. While it can be said that it seems that the sheer pressure from the Ministry made the creation of the UAM and UAB possible, in the case of Bilbao, other agents are present. It was evident that the excessive concentration of students at the Complutense of Madrid and the Central University of Barcelona «made them an uncontrollable focus of

⁵⁴ In order to offer homogeneous data we used the data provided by the National Institute of Statistics, in E. Sáez *et al.*, *El campus de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Del tardofranquismo a la democracia*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2018, p. 112.

⁵⁵ B. de Riquer, C. Molinero, *L'audàcia del coneixement*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2018; Sáez *et al.*, *El campus de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Del tardofranquismo a la democracia*, cit.; T. Flores Gómez, *Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 1968-1993*, Leioa, Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 1997.

⁵⁶ We have not entered into the particular vicissitudes of each of the universities, in terms of teacher evolution, appointment of rectors, curriculum reforms or other internal aspects of each of them, but we have only highlighted some common aspects.

protest, growing bureaucratization and educational inefficiency», such that the Complutense «had the dubious success of being the most highly massified university in Europe»⁵⁷. On the other hand, at this time the Complutense of Madrid and the Central University of Barcelona were terminus universities, in the sense that once professors arrived they stayed on indefinitely, as there was little mobility.

Moreover, within the university hierarchy of the UAM, people related to the Franco regime served alongside professors who were committed to democracy, and the same was true at the UAB, where, since its inception the hierarchy «will live divided between two poles of attraction that aim to dominate and model it such that it serves its interests. On the one hand, the Francoist political power that founded it and, on the other, the Catalan civil society that will quickly turn it into a platform to defend its democratic demands»⁵⁸.

The case of the University of Bilbao is different because the Bilbao City Council and the Provincial Council of Biscay had been requesting since 1966 that a Faculty of Medicine be created, marshalling in their favour popular demand, the growth in population, the volume of university students (13,000 students) and the fact that medical students had to attend the universities of Valladolid, Zaragoza and Oviedo, or the non-state University of Pamplona. To all this we must add the campaign in favour of the Faculty of Medicine put forth by Bilbao's local press. The Ministry was aware of the requests by the Biscayan institutions. An open letter requesting a Faculty of Medicine was sent to the Minister of Education in February 1968. Signed by prosecutors, authorities and professors, it set an irreversible process in motion. At that time, a faculty of Medicine had been authorized for the universities of Murcia, La Laguna and Oviedo. The efforts of the Provincial Council of Biscay did not cease, making direct appeals to the ministers, requesting they use their influence. The result was not only the Faculty of Medicine, but the University of Bilbao. In contrast to the established, traditional universities, in 1977 the university district for the University of Bilbao was created, opening up the possibility of changing its name to fit «a culturally Basque framework». This came to pass in 1980, when the official change was made and the name University of the Basque Country/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea was adopted. During this time, it was possible to integrate all public tertiary study schools within the university structure⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ *Haciendo futuro. 50 años de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1968-2018)*, cit., p. 24. In the chapter by A. Soto and M. Artola titled «Modernización, cambio político y protesta», Vol. I.

⁵⁸ R. Aguilar Cestero, *El despliegue de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona entre 1968 y 1973: de fundación franquista a motor del cambio democrático en Cataluña*, «Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija», n. 10, 2007, pp. 13-199.

⁵⁹ Flores Gómez, *Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 1968-1993*, cit.; S. de Pablo Contreras, C. Rubio Pobes, *Historia de la UPV/EHU (1980-2005)*, Leioa, Editorial UPV-EHU, 2006.

A relevant element was the location of the universities, in that it allows us to speak of the homogeneous criteria used when building the three university campuses, a political decision made by the Government and executed by the Ministry of Education and Science⁶⁰. The three universities were not built in the outskirts, as had happened with the Nanterre in Paris, but rather in areas where housing for the middle class was being built, allowing for an American-style university campus. Thus, «the geographical guidelines followed show, in muted language, the preferences and designs of the creators of the new university generation», where distance was important: none are more than 15 kilometres from the city centre (Cantoblanco-Madrid; Bellaterra-Barcelona and Leioa-Bilbao), and all of the campuses are difficult to access to by public or rail transport. Contrary to general opinion, which is historically recorded, and to the Ministry itself regarding the convenience of locating the campuses far from the city centres, Federico Mayor Zaragoza (UNESCO's general director from 1987-1999), argues differently with respect to the UAM, affirming that the distance from the city centres was not «to avoid confrontation with the 'greys'»⁶¹. These are retrospective estimates that, in this case, are far from reflecting reality: «I was present at the deliberations on the 'urban or rural' options and the decisions were not guided by criteria related to public order but rather academic and research, in order to be able to host a considerable number of scientific and teaching institute on campus»⁶². Therefore, following the construction criteria of fast and cheap, in 1969 the Ministry organised an international competition, which was won by various Spanish companies. The UAM was built in just over a year, while the Bilbao and Barcelona campuses took longer due to the land expropriation process.

Another characteristic element of the construction of these universities was the search for a type of construction according to a conceptual approach, governed by the criteria of educational reform that were being proposed in those years. That is, the departmentalization of the faculties and the cyclical organization of the teachings. The idea was to give strength to the departments as teaching and research units, poorly developed in the university in those years, and to organize the university space in accordance with the teaching and teaching cycles (a first basic cycle of three years, a second of two years with some specialization and a third, of doctorate). All this had to allow a certain flexibility in the architectural structuring, to facilitate the transit between the cycles and the access to the departments. The prospects for the year 2000, regarding the increase of the students, were exceeded after a few years. The example of Bilbao is paradigmatic, since the architectural conception of the campus

⁶⁰ Sáez *et alii*, *El campus de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Del tardofranquismo a la democracia*, cit., p. 85.

⁶¹ The greys were the national police officers, so named for the colour of their uniform.

⁶² *Haciendo futuro. 50 años de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (1968-2018)*, cit. p. 30.

followed the dictates of the educational reform of 1970. That is, there had to be a coordination between the teachings, staggered by the three cycles, for this, the departments were a fundamental piece and also their intercommunication. The road communications were distinguished by two independent plans: pedestrian and vehicular. The foreseeable horizon of students for the year 2000 was about 12,000, when in 1969 the student body numbered approximately 2,000. All this was under a body-based conception, where the 'heart' of the University was consisted of the library, the *aula magna* and social services, while the 'brain' was the Rectorate, the computer science institute and the newly created Institute of Education Sciences. In other words, the campus construction was an attempt was made to capture a modern conception of the university⁶³. Using the architectural notion of Brutalism, the projects presented⁶⁴ met the requirements demanded by the Ministry, showing a similarity in the processes followed and an architectural homogeneity in the three universities⁶⁵.

Conclusions

May '68 has become a set of historiographical clichés that put value on highlighting the capacity of young people to mobilize and engage in activism when faced with a society in crisis, where youth is seen as a social group that is capable of carrying out revolutionary changes in everyday life. The lasting social portrayal of the «May '68» brand is due to our ability to believe that social, cultural, political change is possible. The new role taken on by youth demonstrates its social hegemony. There is no single model of youth, but there is a 'generation of young people' who have shared an individual and social experience that makes them the protagonists of a historical moment. Within this diversity of youths, student youth, who are defined by their student activity, are seen as activist, as a carrier of social change, and as leaders of a democratic future.

Given these methodological and historical assumptions, a European and Spanish phenomenon in the 1960s and 1970s can be discerned: 1) the growth in population and the consequent massification of university students, which becomes a kind of elite that sought political leadership together with other democratic political forces, which increasingly occupy the streets; and 2) in this context, the university reforms initiated by Minister Villar Palasí, including the

⁶³ «Vizcaya. Revista de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial», n. 30, 1969, (número monográfico sobre la Universidad de Bilbao).

⁶⁴ The projects of the three universities can be found in the AGA. Signatura: (05) 007.001 caja 40521(UAB); (05) 007.001 caja 40456 (UAM) and (05) 007.001 caja 40545 (UB).

⁶⁵ Sáez *et al.*, *El campus de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Del tardofranquismo a la democracia*, cit., pp. 101-108.

creation of autonomous universities, respond to this new situation, although they had to opt for an innovative solution such as building autonomous universities away from urban environments, where construction was cheap, fast and of poor quality. Given the analysis, the three autonomous universities created in 1968 (Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao) lend themselves to comparison at many levels: homogeneity in architectural projects, creation of patronages, functional autonomy, problems of accessibility and precariousness of resources. Over time, the three universities have achieved a high level of management, research and teaching.

«They are the force for change in today's world and they will lead tomorrow's». The United States and Spanish students in the context of global '68

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to examine the U.S. foreign policy towards Spanish students in connection with the global upheaval of 1968. This work intends to shed light on the U.S. response to the challenge posed by the growing student unrest in Spain during the 1960s. To this effect, the piece first analyzes the U.S. efforts to entice Spanish student leaders by means of various cultural, educational and informational programs. Secondly, it explores the student reaction to these U.S. public diplomacy activities. Finally, the article addresses the U.S. support for the General Education Act (1970) as part of the change to U.S. student diplomacy as a consequence of the events of 1968. However, the U.S. commitment to modernize the educative system in Spain did not manage to neutralize the increasing anti-American feeling in Spanish universities.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Educative system; Student diplomacy; Spain; United States; XXth Century.

Introduction

The fiftieth anniversary of the student rebellion which shook the world in 1968 has given rise to a remarkable historiographic production on the events of those times¹. This literature has paid special attention to the collective

¹ As a non-exhaustive list see, among others, P. Gassert, M. Klimke (edd.), *1968. On the Edge of World Revolution*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2018; R. Vinen, *The Long '68: Radical Protest and Its Enemies*, London, Allen Lane, 2018; M. Abidor, *May Made Me:*

repertoires, to protest politics, to rebellious identities, to inter-generational conflicts, to the politicization of the young, to global dissidences and to the social and cultural cross-currents which marked that iconic year. However, one of the aspects least studied by the abundant literature was the projection of the events of 68 onto international relations and the foreign policy of states. In this regard, it can be said that the works studying 1968 and its bifurcations from the point of view of diplomatic and international history are thin on the ground². In order to contribute to filling that vacuum to the extent that it can, the present article analyses U.S. foreign policy towards Spanish students in connection with the events of '68.

Throughout the sixties, Spanish campuses witnessed powerful student agitation against the Franco regime³. As we shall see below, during that period, protests at Spanish universities had their own characteristics, deriving from the authoritarian framework imposed by the dictatorship. However, the mobilization of Spanish students was not an exclusively national phenomenon, isolated from the external context. It formed part of a transnational 'tsunami' of

An Oral History of the 1968 Uprising in France, London, Pluto Press, 2018; G. Katsiaficas, *The Global Imagination of 1968: Revolution and Counterrevolution*, Oakland, PM Press, 2018; M. Halliwell, N. Witham (edd.), *Reframing 1968: American Politics, Protest and Identity*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Some examples of bibliography in Spanish: A. Elorza, *Utopías del 68. De París y Praga a China y México*, Barcelona, Pasado y Presente, 2018; J. Estefanía, *Revoluciones. Cincuenta años de rebeldía (1968-2018)*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2018; J. Noya, *Mayo del 68. Las críticas de la izquierda a las revueltas estudiantiles*, Madrid, Los Libros de la Catarata, 2018; P. Badenes, *Fronteras de papel. El Mayo francés en la España del 68*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2018. Finally, see the dossier *El mayo francés de 1968*, edited by A. Carrillo-Linares in «Historia del Presente», vol. 31, n. 1, pp. 5-93.

² One exception is J. Chen, M. Klimke, M. Kirasirova, M. Nolan, M. Young, J. Waley-Cohen (edd.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties Between Protest and Nation-Building*, New York, Routledge, 2019. Although they do not focus on 1968, see also the following pieces of work which examine the student mobilizations of the 1960s from the point of view of international history: M. Klimke, *The Other Alliance. Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010; J. Suri, *Counter-cultures: The Rebellions against the Cold War Order, 1965-1975*, in O.A. Westad, M. Leffler (edd.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 460-481; Suri, *Power and Protest. Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*, London, Harvard University Press, 2003.

³ To mention only a few pieces of the firmly-established literature on the student movement in Spain under Franco, see E. Hernández Sandoica, M.A. Ruiz Carnicer, M. Baldó, *Estudiantes contra Franco (1939-1975). Oposición política y movilización juvenil*, Madrid, La Esfera de los Libros, 2007; E. González Calleja, *Rebelión en las aulas. Movilización y protesta estudiantil en la España contemporánea, 1865-2008*, Madrid, Alianza, 2009; J.M. Maravall, *Dictadura y disenso político. Obreros y estudiantes bajo el franquismo*, Madrid, Alfaguara, 1978; G. Valdelvira, *La oposición estudiantil al franquismo*, Madrid, Editorial Síntesis, 2006; J. Álvarez Cobelas, *Envenenados de cuerpo y alma. La oposición universitaria al franquismo en Madrid, (1939-1970)*, Madrid, siglo XXI, 2004; S. Rodríguez Tejada, *Zonas de libertad. Dictadura franquista y movimiento estudiantil en la universidad de Valencia (1939-1965)*, Valencia, Universitat de Valencia, 2009; A. Carrillo-Linares, *Universidades y transiciones políticas: el caso español en los años 60-70*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 2, n. 2, 2015, pp. 49-75.

youth revolts which not only affected the internal order in numerous countries but also represented a fundamental factor in international politics during the nineteen sixties⁴. For good reason, in Spring 1968, the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, pointed out the «very serious overtones» that student protests might have on the interests of the American superpower abroad⁵. It was for this reason that the U.S. Department of State closely followed the events which were taking place in the universities of different parts of the world during that turbulent year.

Nevertheless, the American interest in student and youth leaders did not begin in 1968 but dates back to the late fifties and early sixties. In those years, the important role played by students in the social upheavals and anti-American demonstrations occurring in various developing countries attracted the attention of U.S. officials and diplomats. For instance, the tour of U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon of various Latin American countries was received with severe acts of protest organized by youths and students. As Naoko Koda accounts, the revision of the bilateral treaty for defense between the United States and Japan in 1960 sparked vigorous student opposition in the Asian country. At the same time, students from South Korea carried out powerful demonstrations against US-backed President Syngman Rhee⁶. Also, at the beginning of the 60s the U.S. National Security Council detected a «pervasive political malaise in Spain», especially among the younger generations⁷. In the judgment of American officers, these and other events made clear the emergence of a new generation with capacity to cause, both inside and outside the classroom, conflicts and problems which might frustrate the achievement of the objectives of the United States in the framework of the Cold War⁸.

Furthermore, according to official U.S. sources, that new generation of student leaders had the capacity to influence both the present and the future politics of their countries. These young people made up the «successor generation» called upon to lead the future of their nations⁹. In the case of Spain, U.S. diplomacy

⁴ Klimke, *The other Alliance*, cit., p. 235.

⁵ From Ambassador to Secretary, 24/05/1968. Inter-Agency Youth Committee (IYC), Record Group 353 (RG.353), General Records, 1959-1973, box 6. U.S. National Archives and Record Administration (USNARA).

⁶ N. Koda, *The US Cold War and the Japanese Student Movement*, in Chen, Klimke, Kirasirova, Nolan, Young, Waley-Cohen (edd.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties Between Protest and Nation-Building*, cit., pp. 402-403.

⁷ «National Security Council Report», NSC 6016/1, 05/10/1960. Quoted in R. Landa, J. Miller, D. Patterson, C. Sampson (edd.), *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1993, p. 786.

⁸ «Study of Progress, Problems and Potential», 14/11/1963. U.S. Information Agency (USIA), Record Group 306 (RG.306), Subject folders, box 121. USNARA.

⁹ «Emphasis on Youth. Reaching and Influencing Rising Young Leaders», 1965. Inter-Agency Youth Committee (IYC), Record Group 353 (RG.353), General Records, 1959-1973, box 1. USNARA. On the concept of the «successor generation» see G. Scott-Smith, *Maintaining Transatlantic Community: US Public Diplomacy, the Ford Foundation and the Successor*

considered students to be the source of the elites who would possibly guide the future change of regime when Franco disappeared from the scene. In 1961, the plan for Spain of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) considered that the universities would provide many of the «political leaders of influence when the present regime either turns over power to a new government or is removed». With the result that the said plan included students among the target groups of American public diplomacy. «As Spain moves out of its isolation – stated the above-mentioned annual plan –, it is essential that its youth and leaders of the next five to ten years look to the United States as the source of guidance»¹⁰. Thus, throughout the 1960s, one of the main objectives of the USIA was that of establishing channels of interlocution with the more brilliant and restless students, who had the potential to play a significant role in the post-Franco future in Spain.

The growing student mobilization meant both an opportunity and a threat for American foreign policy towards Spain. On the one hand, for the U.S. government, university students were a prime example of the social ascent of the middle classes as a result of economic development. These intermediate strata were seen from Washington as a positive force which, by contributing to cushioning and channeling the untimely social and cultural dynamics of the country, would help to create the necessary conditions for a future peaceful, post-Franco transition, which would be moderate and favorable to the military interests of the United States. In this regard, official United States sources said in 1961 that a «viable democracy in Spain» would only appear through gradual reforms accompanied by economic growth, mass consumerism and the expansion of the middle classes¹¹. From that point of view, the students represented a potential ally of the United States in the task of strengthening the socio-economic foundations and the stability necessary for a future non-revolutionary regime change in Spain.

On the other hand, a considerable number of the students were members of or were sympathetic to communist and leftist organizations which were leading the protests against the Spanish regime. The Franco dictatorship had since 1953 been a faithful ally of the United States in the fight against international communism. In September of that year, the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower and the government of General Francisco Franco concluded a military pact that began a long period of collaboration between the United

Generation Concept in US Foreign Affairs, 1960s-1980s, «Global Society», vol. 28, n. 1, 2014, pp. 90-103.

¹⁰ «USIS Country Plan for Spain- FY 1960», 25/06/1960. USIA, RG306, Office of Research, 1954-65, box 4. USNARA. See E. González Calleja, *Rebelión en las aulas: un siglo de movilizaciones estudiantiles en España (1865-1968)*, «Ayer», vol. 59, 2005, p. 41.

¹¹ «The Outlook for Spain and Portugal», 26/09/1961. Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library (LBJL), Papers of President 1963-1969, National Security File-National Intelligence Estimates, box 5.

States and Spain. This agreement allowed the superpower to establish, under very advantageous conditions, military bases of high strategic value on Spanish soil while giving Spain economic, technical, and military aid. Since then, and until the death of Franco in 1975, matters of security occupied a place of high priority in U.S. foreign policy towards the Iberian country¹². With the result that U.S. diplomats perceived the growing manifestations of student opposition to the dictatorship as a possible menace which might endanger the valuable military alliance that had been established with Franco.

Therefore, from Washington's point of view, the student activism which was starting to emerge in Spain in the early 1960s involved both possible advantages and risks and constraints for the interests of the superpower. What was the American response to this challenge? How did United States diplomacy attempt to maximize the opportunities and reduce the dangers arising from student mobilization? In order to answer this question, this article analyses, in the first place, the U.S. efforts to attract Spanish students and to gain influence over their political and intellectual socialization by means of a range of programs of a cultural, educational and information-based nature. In the second place, the student reaction to these American programs is studied in the context of the events of 68. Finally, the U.S. support for educational reform, which gave rise to the General Education Act (1970) is examined as part of the change to U.S. *student diplomacy* as a consequence of the global upheavals of 1968.

Methodologically, this contribution is based on the analysis, from the disciplines of new diplomatic and international history, of a varied set of official United States sources. Theoretically, the work builds on the literature on the so-called Cultural Cold War. In the last two decades a research body has considered that the Cold War was «a clash of ideas and cultures as much as a military and strategic conflict»¹³. From the beginning of this century, scholars in the fields of diplomatic and international history have contended that the bipolar struggle was also an ideological, psychological and cultural competition for the hearts and minds of international public opinion¹⁴. Under the framework of bipolar

¹² There is a great deal of literature on the political and military dimensions of the relations between the United States and the Franco dictatorship. See, among others, C. Powell, *El amigo americano. España y Estados Unidos: de la dictadura a la democracia*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2014; A. Viñas, *En las garras del águila: Los pactos con Estados Unidos, de Francisco Franco a Felipe González (1945-1995)*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2003; A. Jarque, 'Queremos esas bases'. *El acercamiento de Estados Unidos a la España de Franco*, Madrid, CEN-UAH, 1998; B. Liedtke, *Embracing a Dictatorship. U.S. Relations with Spain, 1945-1953*, London, Macmillan, 1996; R.M. Pardo, *EE.UU. y el tardofranquismo: las relaciones bilaterales durante la presidencia Nixon, 1969-1974*, «Historia del Presente», vol. 6, 2005, pp. 11-41; L. Delgado, M.D. Elizalde (edd.), *España y Estados Unidos en el siglo XX*, Madrid, CSIC, 2005; F. Termis, *Renunciando a todo. El régimen franquista y los Estados Unidos desde 1945 hasta 1963*, Madrid, UNED, 2005.

¹³ O.A. Westad, *The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century*, in O.A. Westad, M. Leffler (edd.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 13.

¹⁴ J. Gienow-Hecht, *Culture and the Cold War in Europe*, in *ibid.*, pp. 398-420.

cultural rivalry, the Americans and the Soviets both strove to channel the idealism and transformative potential that the youth possessed into their own political agendas. Leaders in Washington and Moscow felt that gaining the support and understanding of youth leaders represented an important resource in the East-West battle to steer historical change¹⁵.

From the beginning of the Cold War, both blocs became involved in the creation of international fronts and counter-fronts with the aim of competing for the allegiance of influential social groups around the world. In this regard, several pieces of work have shown that in the 1950s the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in an intense ideological and propagandistic battle to control international organizations of young people and students¹⁶. However, this literature has paid less attention to such cultural rivalry in the 1960s, the crucial period in which the first generation declared to be in rebellion against the ideological and geopolitical strictures of the Cold War came of age, not only in the developed countries but also in the (semi)periphery of the world system¹⁷. This article analyzes the U.S. efforts aimed at winning the hearts and minds of Spanish student leaders during the 60s, paying special attention to the events of 1968.

1. *Discontented students and convulsed universities*

After the Stabilization Plan of the Spanish economy that was launched in 1959, the Iberian country went through an unprecedented phase of economic expansion between 1960 and 1973. During this period, the Spanish economy grew at an annual rate of more than 7%, only surpassed within the OECD by Japan. The accelerated industrialization of the economy provoked deep demographic and social changes that led to a rapid urbanization of the country.

¹⁵ M. Honeck, G. Rosenberg, *Transnational Generations: Organizing Youth in the Cold War*, «Diplomatic History», vol. 38, n. 2, pp. 233-239.

¹⁶ P. Koivunen, *Friends, 'Potential Friends,' and Enemies: Reimagining Soviet Relations to the First, Second, and Third Worlds at the Moscow 1957 Youth Festival*, in P. Babiracki, A. Jersild (edd.), *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War: Exploring the Second World*, New York, Palgrave, 2017, pp. 219-247; J. Kotek, *Students and the Cold War*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1996; J. Krekola, S. Mikkonen, *Backlash of the Free World. The US presence at the World Youth Festival in Helsinki, 1962*, «Scandinavian Journal of History», vol. 36, n. 2, 2011, pp. 230-255; M. Peacock, *The perils of building Cold War consensus at the 1957 Moscow World Festival of Youth and Students*, «Cold War History», vol. 12, n. 3, 2012, pp. 515-535.

¹⁷ S. Christiansen, Z. Scarlett (edd.), *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2013; G. Scott-Smith, *Psychological Warfare for the West: Interdoc, the West European Intelligence Services, and the International Student Movements of the 1960s*, in K. Fahlenbrach, M. Klimke, J. Scharloth, L. Wong (edd.), *The Establishment Responds: Power and Protest during and after the Cold War*, London, Palgrave, 2013, pp. 123-138.

At the same time, an incipient mass consumer society emerged and new habits and more open and plural forms of life appeared. Factors such as tourism, television, the decline of the rural population, the increase in per capita income and the emergence of new middle classes helped to foster secularization and modernization of Spanish attitudes and behaviors¹⁸.

Such transformations were also notably seen in higher education. Throughout this decade, Spanish universities witnessed a spectacular increase in the number of students. Although with differences according to origin in social and gender terms, the enrolment rate in university studies rose by 142% between 1962 and 1972. In a few years, higher education centers, traditionally dedicated to the training of elites, became mass universities. Such an increase of students imposed a strong pressure on the obsolete education system of the Franco regime, accentuating the problems of overcrowding of the classrooms and other structural deficiencies. But it also meant a transformation in the social composition of the students because of the arrival in the universities of the children of the new middle classes. Both factors facilitated the appearance and growth of anti-Franco student organizations with a high capacity to create a climate of permanent revolt that altered the academic, political, and cultural life of Spanish universities¹⁹. That is to say that the quantitative expansion and social diversification of the student body, together with the structural deficiencies of the educational system and the absence of freedom, fed a bitter conflict on the campuses of Iberian universities²⁰.

The situation of growing conflict in Spanish universities was picked up by U.S. diplomatic documentation from the early sixties. In June 1960, American official sources pointed to the emergence of a new political generation, among which there was «increasing evidence of discontent with the present government, particularly among university groups»²¹. In July 1963, the U.S. Policy Planning Council remarked on the «active dissent among intellectuals and youth» seen in the country's universities²². In 1965, the U.S. diplomatic corps took notice of a «growing restiveness among Spanish workers and students»²³.

During these years, the constant state of agitation in Spanish universities was mainly driven by communist organizations and the New Left. As the 1960s

¹⁸ On the social changes taking place in Spain during the 1960s see N. Townson, *Spain Transformed. The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-1975*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

¹⁹ Hernández Sandoica, Ruiz Carnicer, Baldó, *Estudiantes contra Franco*, cit.

²⁰ Rodríguez Tejada, *Los estudiantes y el cambio sociocultural de los 60*, in G. Sánchez (ed.), *Eppure si muove. La percepción de los cambios en España (1959-1976)*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2008, p. 176.

²¹ «Comments on Authoritarian Regimes Receiving US Assistance», 06/06/1960. RG59, BEA, Country Director for Spain and Portugal, 1956-1966, box 5. USNARA.

²² «The Succession Problem in Spain», 17/07/1963. RG59, PPC, Planning and Coordination Staff, Subject Files, 1963-73, box 16. USNARA.

²³ «Talking Points for Leddy-Ball Meeting», 08/11/1965. RG59, BEA, Country Director for Spain and Portugal. 1956-1966, box 2. USNARA.

wore on, these groups intensified their criticisms of the American government because of its support for the Franco dictatorship, its interventionist policies in the countries of Latin America such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic and the Vietnam War. On the Spanish campus small liberal groups, centrists, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats also operated. But their activity was very modest in a university in which Marxist ideas became increasingly attractive amongst students and intellectuals with great prestige in university circles. In 1965, the Bureau of European Affairs of the Department of State indicated that broad sectors of Spanish universities felt attracted by Marxist philosophy²⁴.

At the height of 1967 even official university publications recognized that «the current University has assimilated a Marxist culture, whether we like it or not»²⁵. So it can be affirmed that the student opposition to Franco's dictatorship did not have so much of a liberal democratic orientation but more a Marxist and revolutionary style, in which anti-capitalism and anti-Americanism were common ingredients²⁶. As the American Embassy in Madrid indicated in November 1968, «most student activists in Spain and a large share of their followers have some form of Socialist leanings and therefore reject the American experience as a monopolistic capitalistic economic system not wanted here»²⁷.

From the American point of view, this rising student mobilization, mainly driven by communist and radical organizations with an anti-American orientation, endangered two conditions considered by the Department of State as essential to preserving their defensive interests in Spain: 1) maintenance, in the short term, of the political stability of the Franco dictatorship; and 2) a peaceful and moderate post-Franco succession in the future that would facilitate the eventual establishment of a new government friendly to the United States. In this regard, from the end of the 50s, U.S. officials highlighted that «significant difficulties could arise [between workers and students] to impede a peaceful transition into the post-Franco era»²⁸.

In order to prevent such dangers, from 1963 onwards the U.S. government deployed a number of cultural, educational and informative programs in Spain aimed at identifying U.S. interests «with the constructive aspirations of the

²⁴ Recommendations Regarding the CU Program in Spain, 24/01/1965. RG59, BEA, Country Director for Spain and Portugal, 1956-1966, box 2. USNARA.

²⁵ Quoted in Hernández Sandoica, Ruiz Carnicer, Baldó, *Estudiantes contra Franco*, cit., p. 216.

²⁶ See Carrillo-Linares, *Universidades y transiciones políticas*, cit.; J.M. Antentas, *1968 and the Spanish State: The Year in its Context*, June 19, 2018, <<https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3890-1968-and-the-spanish-state-the-year-in-its-context>> (last access: 20.02.2019).

²⁷ «Student Unrest», 28/11/1968. RG59, CFPPF, 1967-1969, Political and Defence, box 2489. USNARA.

²⁸ «Inspection Report USIS Spain», 29/05/1959. RG306, Inspection Reports and Related Records, 1954-62, box 8. USNARA.

important youth sector»²⁹. These activities were included in a more general program known as «Emphasis on Youth». This was started by the American government at the beginning of the decade with the aim of «developing closer relations with upcoming generations of political elites in order to nurture favorable ground for the reception of U.S. foreign policy»³⁰. Through the «Emphasis on Youth» U.S. Diplomats intended to transmit a greater knowledge of American institutions and values to the young people of the world so as to gain their support and understanding.

2. *The U.S. channels of cultural attraction and ideological persuasion*

As part of the «Emphasis on Youth», the administration of President John F. Kennedy created the Inter-Agency Youth Committee (IYC) in April 1962. The main job of this organization was «to broaden our contacts and improve our relationships with young and potential leaders in universities and intellectual circles»³¹. The U.S. president entrusted this committee with the task of deploying and coordinating programs abroad to attract those young people who were active and capable of influencing both the political future of their countries and the international sphere. To entice these young people, the IYC had the support of various government agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). But especially relevant for this purpose was its collaboration with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), the official agency in charge of transmitting to foreign audiences «an accurate image of the United States, particularly of its economic and social characteristics, to dispel ignorance and correct distortions»³².

One of the main functions of the USIA was to deploy programs of public diplomacy aimed at attracting, by means of the diffusion of U.S. values and ideas, influential sectors of the public opinion of other countries, such as institutional, media, intellectual, union, and student leaders³³. The youth were already one of the 'target groups' of the U.S. foreign propaganda activities during the Eisenhower administration³⁴. But from 1962, the USIA intensified its work

²⁹ «Some General Observations on United States Policy Towards Spain», 25/06/1965. RG59, BEA. Country Director for Spain and Portugal, 1956-1966, box 2. USNARA.

³⁰ Scott-Smith, *Maintaining Transatlantic Community*, cit., pp. 92-93.

³¹ «Study of progress, Problems and Potential», 14/11/1963. RG306, Subject folders, box 121. USNARA.

³² «Report on the Work of the Inter-Agency Committee on Youth Affairs», 1963. RG306, Subject folders, box 121. USNARA.

³³ N. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency. American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

³⁴ K. Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*,

towards this sector. At the beginning of the 60s the government Task Force on Youth was concerned «that the apparent hostility of the young people of the world to the U.S. results from our failure to convey to them an understanding of our national goals and the nature of our society»³⁵. Consequently, the U.S. leaders considered it necessary for the USIA to launch an informative, educational and cultural offensive to show the student leaders the advantages of the U.S. economic and social system and its superiority over the Soviet model.

The deployment of the IYC, together with the increase in the youth activities of the USIA, reflected the new 'youth effort' that permeated American foreign policy from the early 1960s. In 1963, the leaders of the IYC sent instructions to more than a hundred embassies to establish sections dedicated to improving the image of the United States among young people. That same year the Embassy in Madrid established its own Youth Committee (YC), dedicated to identifying young leaders who could play an important role in Spain's present and future, to cultivate their contacts and promote activities aimed at increasing their interest in American society and culture³⁶.

As of 1963 the work of the YC and USIA's contingent in Spain, known as the U.S. Information Service (USIS), in the youth sphere was focused on counteracting «frequent misunderstanding and criticism of U.S. judgment and maturity in international affairs and the shallow knowledge of U.S. policies and its governmental, economic and social institutions, especially in Spanish universities»³⁷. In the following years, the YC and the USIS directed several of their programs in Spain at opening channels of dialogue with those brightest and most active students who, according to the American field officers, would possibly become the «political leaders of influence when the present regime either turns over power to a new government or is removed»³⁸.

Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2016.

³⁵ Quoted in G. Scott-Smith, *US Public Diplomacy and Democracy: Promotion in the Cold War, 1950s-1980s*, in F.J. Rodríguez, L. Delgado, N. Cull (edd.), *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain. Selling Democracy?*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, p. 24. Also see W. Dizard, *Inventing Public Diplomacy. The Story of the US Information Agency*, London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, p. 90.

³⁶ O. Martín García, *A complicated mission: The United States and Spanish students during the Johnson administration*, «Cold War History», vol. 13, n. 3, pp. 311-329.

³⁷ «Country Assessment Report-USIS Spain 1961», 15/02/1962. RG306, OR, Foreign Service Dispatches, 1954-1965, box 4. USNARA. On the work of the USIS in Spain during the Franco era, see, among others, A. Niño, J.A. Montero (edd.), *Guerra Fría y propaganda. Estados Unidos y su cruzada cultural en Europa y América Latina*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2012; P. León, *Sospechosos habituales. El cine norteamericano, Estados Unidos y la España franquista*, Madrid, CSIC, 2010; F.J. Rodríguez, ¿"Antídoto contra el antiamericanismo"? *American Studies en España, 1945-1969*, Valencia, Universitat de Valencia, 2010; L. Delgado, «Viento de Poniente». *El programa Fulbright en España, 1958-2008*, Madrid, Comisión Fulbright España-LID Editorial Empresarial-AECID, 2009.

³⁸ «USIS Country Plan for Spain-FY 1961», 25/06/1960. RG306, Office of Research, Foreign Service Dispatches, 1954-65, box 4. USNARA.

The American attempt to gain the hearts and minds of the student leaders was part of a more general strategy, aimed at preparing the future succession of the septuagenarian Spanish dictator. In October 1960, the National Security Council (NSC) had established the directives American foreign policy would follow towards Spain during the remainder of the decade³⁹. These guidelines pivoted on two axes. On the one hand, it was a matter of maintaining good relations with the Franco regime so as to ensure the political stability of the country and access to military bases in Spain. On the other, it was an attempt to prepare the ground for a possible future regime change through the establishment of contacts with those who might have a voice in the Spanish political future, as student leaders⁴⁰. Put another way, from the early sixties onwards, the Americans made an effort to create routes of communication with students and «to influence the potential political leadership of post-Franco Spain»⁴¹.

In order to achieve this objective, the YC and the USIS engaged in various public diplomacy activities with the aim of subtly approaching Spanish students. Among these activities, they emphasized: 1) educational exchange programs; 2) conference cycles in colleges and universities; 3) library services and distribution of books, magazines, and other publications among student leaders and teachers; 4) American cultural weeks (exhibitions, screenings, musical performances, theatrical performances, lectures) on university campuses; 5) English and American Studies courses; 6) activities for young people in the bi-national cultural centers of Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia; and 7) radio broadcasts.

These programs were aimed at conveying to Spanish students the sophistication of American cultural values and the advances of that society in fields such as economics, technology, and science. Via these channels, the YC and the USIS attempted to impregnate Spanish students with the cultural values and political ideals of the United States as an ideological counterweight to the extension of Marxism in Spain's universities. It was a question of familiarizing potential Spanish leaders with the values of 'civility', 'compromise', 'consensus', 'responsibility' and 'morality' which were the foundations of the successful American experience⁴². It can be said, therefore, that the United States programs of public diplomacy aimed at creating a psychological climate favorable to U.S. interests in Spanish universities. However, the efforts made in this direction by

³⁹ «Inspection Report USIS-Spain», 29/05/1959. RG306, Inspection Reports and Related Records, 1954-62, Box 8. USNARA.

⁴⁰ L. Delgado, "After Franco, What?" *La diplomacia pública de Estados Unidos y la preparación del post-franquismo*, in O.J. Martín García, M. Ortiz Heras (edd.), *Claves internacionales en la transición española*, Madrid, Los Libros de la Catarata, 2010, pp. 102-106.

⁴¹ «The Succession Problem in Spain», 17/07/1963. RG59, Policy Planning Council, Planning and Coordination Staff, Subject Files, 1963-73, Box 16. USNARA.

⁴² P. León, *US Public Diplomacy and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Spain: Approaches, Themes, and Messages*, in Rodríguez, Delgado, Cull (edd.), *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain. Selling Democracy?*, cit., p. 109.

the YC and the USIS had a very modest effect. They did not manage to gain the support of Spanish students as it was possible to deduce from the wave of protests which shook Spanish universities in the final third of the sixties.

3. Student protests and anti-American demonstrations in the framework of the global 68

From the early sixties onwards, there were constant clashes at Spanish universities but these conflicts achieved an even greater degree of radicalization between 1967 and 1969. During this period the Spanish campuses were submerged in a situation of disorder and crisis of authority⁴³. In 1968, the same Franco regime authorities recognized that the student movement represented an extraordinary risk factor. It was precisely the student pressure which caused the resignation of the Minister of Education, the technocrat Manuel Lora Tamayo, in March 1968. Around the same time, the American Embassy reported that most of the universities were in a state of «extreme turmoil» that could affect the stability of the Franco government⁴⁴.

The serious unrest that occurred at Spanish universities in the late sixties formed part of a global and transnational cycle of student protest. In 1968 and 1969, protests arose of considerable importance in the universities of more than fifty countries⁴⁵. In September 1968, a CIA report with the title «Restless Youth», remarked that the «youthful dissidence, involving students and nonstudents alike, is a worldwide phenomenon»⁴⁶. This was a case of a general tumult which occurred in different parts of the planet. It was connected by means of the linking of university matters, revolutionary criticisms of capitalism and the Vietnam War. The conflict in South East Asia was one of the principal matters which brought students from different places in the world together⁴⁷.

A considerable part of the protests was the result of national matters which introduced local variations to the global student rebellion. For example, in the case of Spain, the main element binding the student mobilization was opposition to the dictatorship⁴⁸. But, apart from the specific protests deriving

⁴³ P. Ysàs, *Disidencia y subversión. La lucha del régimen franquista por su supervivencia, 1960-1975*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2004, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁴ «Barcelona University Student Protest Movement Further Disarmed by Communist Division», 05/04/1968. SD, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, Political and Defence, box 2491. USNARA.

⁴⁵ Carrillo-Linares, *Universidades y transiciones políticas*, cit., p. 52.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Klimke, *The other Alliance*, cit., pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷ G. Eley, *Un mundo que ganar. Historia del izquierda en Europa, 1850-2000*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2003, p. 341.

⁴⁸ E. Hernández Sandoica, *Estudiantes en la universidad española (1956-1975): Cambio generacional y movilización antifranquista*, in D. González Madrid (ed.), *El franquismo y la transición en España. Desmitificación y reconstrucción de la memoria de una época*, Madrid, Los

from the anti-Franco sentiment, Spanish students also rebelled, like those of other countries, against the imperialism of the superpowers, the monopolist nature of capitalism, and generational paternalism. As indicated in 1968 by an intellectual close to the Franco official line, in that year, the Spanish students were «ideologically and tactically on the same line as those of the entire planet, or at least most of it»⁴⁹. The main pillars of this ideological line were anti-capitalism, anti-imperialism and third-worldism. With the result that it is possible to say that many of the students who went onto the streets that year had similar political and counter-cultural aspirations, in which the rejection of the logic of power in the Cold War was the main one⁵⁰.

The disturbances which shook the campuses of half the planet took the U.S. administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson by surprise. In order to get to know, analyze and respond better to this abrupt explosion of juvenile discontent, the U.S. State Department immediately created the Student Unrest Study Group. In its first report to the President, this group sounded the alarm about student revolts which had brought down governments, shaken universities and even damaged the national economy in several countries. More worrying still, the leading figures in these revolts saw the United States «as a relic of imperialism»⁵¹. This perception was linked with an open questioning of the ideological foundations of the United States foreign policy in the Cold War. As the sociologist Seymour Lipset, indicated in a report prepared for the State Department, the protests of 1968 involved a challenge to the system of international alliances and the role of the American superpower in the world.

Similar criticisms were heard at Spanish universities even before 1968. Already in March 1966, the vice-chancellor of the University of Barcelona warned of the organization of activities against U.S. foreign policy promoted by communist and leftist groups. On that occasion, university authorities confiscated pamphlets and stickers which said «Peace in Vietnam», «Johnson is a murderer» and «No to Yankee bases in Spain». Furthermore, American prestige among Spanish students was severely reduced by two almost contemporaneous events. On the one hand, the nuclear accident in which two American aircraft crashed in the locality of Palomares (Almeria) in January 1966. And on the other, the revelations months afterwards of the infiltration by the CIA of various national and international student organizations⁵². Both

Libros de la Catarata, 2008, p. 98.

⁴⁹ Quoted in González Calleja, *Rebelión en las aulas*, cit., p. 259.

⁵⁰ M. Klimke, J. Scharloth, *1968 in Europe: An introduction*, in Id., *1968 in Europe. A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, pp. 1-2; G. Garavini, *After Empires: European Integration, Decolonization, and the challenge from the Global South 1957-1986*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 90-92.

⁵¹ Quoted in Klimke, *The other Alliance*, cit., p. 143.

⁵² On the revelation of the covert CIA support for student associations see J. Kotek, *Youth Organizations as a Battlefield in the Cold War*, in G. Scott-Smith, H. Krabbendam (edd.), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960*, London, Frank Cass Publishers, 2003, pp.

matters increased the distrust of Spanish students towards United States foreign policy.

In summer 1967, the U.S. ambassador to Spain, Angier Biddle-Duke indicated his concern that «the growth of political activity in the universities has been accompanied by an apparent increase in criticism of the United States, with alleged U.S. support to the Franco regime, civil rights issues, and the U.S. position in Vietnam, among the main specific targets»⁵³. A few months later, another official report highlighted the emergence in Spanish universities of «a rising chorus of opposition to United States foreign policy, especially to the conduct of the war in Vietnam, and more critical comments on racial problems and on what some regarded as a breakdown of order and morals in the domestic body politic»⁵⁴. In the autumn, the U.S. embassy again indicated that in the foregoing months the students had «manifested their dissatisfaction with the presence of U.S. military bases in Spain and our role in the war in Vietnam», two issues that had fueled «widespread opposition on the part of the students» against the foreign policy of the U.S. government⁵⁵.

Between 1967 and 1969, different official reports made clear the remarkable increase in the number of anti-American activities led by student groups and organizations. In those months, events in solidarity with Vietnam were held, as well as days against «Yankee Imperialism», simulated representations of war-crimes trials against American soldiers, traffic interruptions and marches to the U.S. Embassy in Madrid. To give just a few examples, in mid-May 1968, the demonstration by two hundred medical students carrying anti-Franco and anti-American placards ended in harsh confrontations with police. During the month of November, anti-American agitation at the Political Science and Economics Faculty culminated in an «anti-imperialist assembly». The hall of the building was adorned with placards and portraits of Mao Tse-Tung, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh. A little later, a lecture by the communist dramatist, Alfonso Sastre, in the Law Faculty was followed by protests against the visit by the American Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, which ended in several arrests⁵⁶.

These and other examples of anti-Americanism highlighted the inability of the United States to win students over. Students perceived the message of the superpower as a mere cosmetic coating used to hide its imperialist ambitions and its support for Franco. A significant number of students identified the

168-169.

⁵³ «Comments on the Spanish Student Scene», 26/07/1967. SD, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, Political and Defence, box 2491. USNARA.

⁵⁴ «US Policy Assessment», 09/05/1968. SD, RG.59, CFPF, 1967-1969, Political and Defence, box 2493. USNARA.

⁵⁵ «Student Unrest», 28/11/1968. SD, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, Political and Defence, box 2489. USNARA.

⁵⁶ «University Situation», 29/11/1968.SD, RG59. CFP, 1967-1969. Political and Defence. Box 2491.USNARA.

United States as supporters of the *status quo* in the form of the Franco regime. The cultural and educational activities carried out by the YC and the USIS did not counteract the adverse effects that U.S. collaboration with the Franco dictatorship projected on student public opinion. In other words, the art of public diplomacy failed to make up for an American foreign policy considered by many students to be illegitimate and lacking in moral authority⁵⁷. The majority of university opinion did not give credence to the U.S. 'Emphasis on Youth' in view of the evident U.S. collaboration with Franco, a too politically compromising ally.

4. *Educational reform as a new political strategy*

The global student protests of 1968, coupled with the assassinations of Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the Vietnam War, racial problems, and violent urban unrest, sowed distrust in the United States as a symbol of the 'Free World' and modernity⁵⁸. In the general context of the crisis of American hegemony and the decline of the grand narratives of the Cold War, the anti-Americanism that spread among the students in the late 1960s considerably reduced the U.S. capacity for influence in the university environment. The strong student rejection shown in various parts of the world convinced U.S. officialdom of the impossibility of directly reaching the youth leaders. Given these circumstances, American foreign policy-makers decided to reduce the programs aimed at actively attracting students, who due to their radicalization were no longer the objects of priority for U.S. diplomatic attention⁵⁹.

This new post-1968 U.S. foreign policy towards students was also applied in the Spanish case. The American Embassy in Madrid reduced its programs and its contacts with those students who were considered effectively unwinnable for the American cause. Instead, U.S. public diplomacy devoted greater interest to young professionals linked to the ruling classes and official circles. Given the difficulties in winning over disaffected groups such as university students, the U.S. diplomats chose to strengthen their ties with the official sector that constituted a community of support and political affinity with the United States. Thus, since the beginning of the seventies, both the USIS and the YC stopped working with the student leaders and directed their persuasion towards the young bankers linked to the financial oligarchy, the new generations of

⁵⁷ Martín García, *A complicated mission*, cit., pp. 326-329.

⁵⁸ N. Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁹ «General Action Recommendation on Student Unrest», 1968. RG353, General Records, 1959-1973, box 6. USNARA.

authoritarian technocrats, the new leaders of the Franco regime's single-party, and the young conservative urban elites⁶⁰.

However, in spite of this new fallback position, the North Americans believed not all to be lost in the student field. Even taking into account the corrosive effect that the 1968 youth rebellion had had on American international prestige, the U.S. diplomats believed that the events of that year had also brought with them an important opportunity for constructive change. Within the U.S. establishment there were figures such as McGeorge Bundy – National Security Advisor (1961-1966) and Chairman of the Ford Foundation (1966-1979) –, who considered that the student activism was not only a threat to American interests, but also represented a resource to be exploited. From this point of view, the student protests were seen as a catalyst which might be used to promote a positive change in higher education⁶¹.

American diplomats who worked in the field of youth believed that, by pointing out the educational faults in their respective countries, students provided a lever for top down reform. Indeed, the student revolts had made many national governments mindful of the urgent need to reform their educational institutions. In this regard, the IYC felt that the student upheaval might represent a positive stimulus to the promotion of liberal and technocratic educational reforms that could prove favorable to United States interests⁶². After all, part of the U.S. agenda for reform in higher education overlapped with the least radical demands of the students.

Along this line, the Student Unrest Study Group estimated that, although the unrest in the classrooms was being manipulated by subversive groups, many of the students' grievances, especially those related to the structural deficiencies of their educational systems, embodied «a legitimate demand and one that offers the greatest opportunity for action»⁶³. With the result that it seemed advisable that the American government should act on the problems identified by the students (habitually related with overcrowding in the classrooms, lack of resources, and inadequate teacher training), whose resolution would leave the Communists without a wedge to stir up subversion. In this vein, the North American officials believed that, in response to the unrest of 1968, it was necessary to initiate an international movement of educational reforms, which

⁶⁰ «Impact of Youth and the US National Interest; Mission Youth Program. American Embassy», 01/04/1970. RG59, CFPF, 1970-1973, Political and Defence, box 2597. USNARA.

⁶¹ J.A. Reuben, *Consorting with the Barbarians at the Gate. McGeorge Bundy, the Ford Foundation, and Student Activism in the Late 1960s*, in B.J. Schulman (ed.), *Making the American Century: Essays on the Political Culture of Twentieth Century America*, Online Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014, p. 193.

⁶² «Report on the Student Unrest Study Group», 17/01/1969. RG353, General Records, 1959-1973, box 9. USNARA.

⁶³ «General Action Recommendation on Student Unrest», 1968. RG353, General Records, 1959-1973, box 6. USNARA.

should act on the underlying causes of discontent in the universities, in order to depoliticize it and reduce the support for radical groups⁶⁴.

The application of these approaches to the Spanish case led to United States support for the educational reforms that led to the General Education Act (GEA) approved in August 1970⁶⁵. For the U.S. Embassy, assistance in this field represented «an exceptional opportunity to influence future generations of Spaniards and the global structure of society in a constructive manner and in accordance with our long-term political interests»⁶⁶. The Americans supported the conduct of educational reform to create the human capital necessary for the promotion of economic development which would, in turn, pave the way to a peaceful and moderate regime change favorable to U.S. defense interests in the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, from the point of view of the United States, economic growth caused by educational modernization would contribute to increasing the moderate middle classes and to reducing social conflict in university classrooms.

In order to achieve these objectives, the U.S. government collaborated with international organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank in the implementation of educational reform in Spain. This was carried out by the technocratic sectors of the Franco regime, who saw in the reform of the obsolete and archaic Spanish education system a way to support the survival of the dictatorship on a more modern basis. Such sectors sought to re-legitimize the Spanish dictatorship by creating a modern and efficient educational system, capable of promoting economic welfare and stability that would repair the decimated social foundations of the Franco regime⁶⁷.

In this sense, the GEA was promoted by Spanish technocrats to reinforce the political stability of the Franco dictatorship at a time of deteriorating authoritarian rule. However, the implementation of this law in the summer of 1970 was met with strong resistance from students and teachers. After a brief period of reflux in university protests between 1969 and 1971, the approval of the GEA reactivated student mobilization in Spanish universities during the last years of the Franco regime. The most politicized student organizations saw in the GEA an act of submission by Spanish rulers to the interests of 'American imperialism'. It was common for the propaganda of the leftist organizations to refer to GEA as the law of the *Yankees*. For the student opposition, this

⁶⁴ «Comments on the Field on Youth and Student Unrest», 16/08/1968. RG353, General Records, 1959-1973, box 6. USNARA.

⁶⁵ L. Delgado, *Modernizadores y tecnócratas. Estados Unidos ante la política educativa y científica de la España del desarrollo*, «Historia y Política», vol. 34, 2015, pp. 113-146.

⁶⁶ «The Educational and Cultural Exchange Program with Spain», 27/10/1969. Archive of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU), Group IX, box 240.

⁶⁷ F. Ortega, *Las ideologías de la reforma educativa de 1970*, «Revista de Educación», Special Issue, 1992, pp. 39-43.

law represented an instrument of ideological control of the repressive local oligarchy in the service of American expansionist capitalism⁶⁸.

A good number of students and professors opposed the hierarchical nature of a reform that they felt had been imposed from above without any attention paid to their opinions. They were opposed to the technocratic character of the GEA and advocated a model of educational democratization from below⁶⁹. In Spain, the top-down nature of the educational reform, in the preparation of which the advice of international experts had been taken into account more than that of Spain's educational community, led to a notable increase in university protests. Thus, after 1971 and until the death of Franco in 1975, this law became the focus of dissatisfaction of large sectors of the university community. According to official sources, the 1971-72 academic year was the most convulsed since 1968, the main cause of such intense student agitation being «the near-universal student (and faculty) opposition to the New Education Reform Law and the manner in which it is being implemented». In this context, rejection of the GEA became «almost an article of faith with Spanish university students and professors»⁷⁰.

Thus, although the GEA represented considerable modernization of the country's educational institutions, the authoritarian and technocratic nature of some of its parts, together with the slow, inconsistent, and distorted application of its most innovative elements, generated a strong student critique against it⁷¹. Student mobilization against the university reforms in the first half of the seventies only increased the American disrepute among the youth leaders. A hostility to the American superpower that by the middle of that decade had already spread into broad sectors of Spanish society⁷². By this time, it was clearly evident that the U.S. strategy based on preparing the post-Franco future while not stepping away from the dictatorship in a meaningful way had not

⁶⁸ Hernández Sandoica, Ruiz Carnicer, Baldó, *Estudiantes contra Franco*, cit., p. 311.

⁶⁹ T. Groves, *Everyday struggles against Franco's authoritarian legacy: pedagogical social movements and democracy in Spain*, «Journal of Social History», vol. 46, n. 2, 2012, pp. 305-334; C. Milito, T. Groves, ¿Modernización o democratización? *La construcción de un nuevo sistema educativo entre el tardofranquismo y la democracia*, «Bordón», vol. 65, n. 4, 2013, pp. 135-148; M. Jiménez Jaén, *La Ley General de Educación y el movimiento de enseñantes (1970-1976)*, La Laguna, Universidad de La Laguna, 2000.

⁷⁰ «Spanish Student Unrest and University Situation», 19/04/1972. NARA, RG59. Subject Numerical Files, 1970-73. Culture and Information, box 397; «Spain: A Troubled Academic Year Ahead?», 27/10/1972. NARA, RG59. Subject Numerical Files, 1970-73. Culture and Information, box 397. USNARA.

⁷¹ R. Aguilar Cestero, *El despliegue de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona entre 1968 y 1973: de fundación franquista a motor del cambio democrático en Cataluña*, «Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija», vol. 10, 2007, pp. 13-199.

⁷² R. Pardo, *La política norteamericana*, «Ayer», vol. 49, 2003, pp. 41-43; A. Niño, *50 años de relaciones entre España y Estados Unidos*, «Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea», vol. 25, 2003, p. 14.

been positively appreciated by Spanish public opinion⁷³. As Lorenzo Delgado concludes, the «lack of coherence between the democratic ideology and the entente with the Franco regime undermined the credibility of the United States' message and policy in Spain»⁷⁴. Thus, at the time of Franco's death in 1975, many Spaniards did not identify the *American friend* with democracy and prosperity but with the authoritarian order that was now coming to an end.

Conclusions

From the early sixties onwards, United States diplomacy in Spain took an interest in students as potential leaders with a capacity of influence on future regime change in the country. Throughout the decade, the U.S. superpower developed a number of cultural, information and educational programs aimed at attracting youth leaders through contact with American cultural values and political ideals. In this way, U.S. diplomacy tried to contain the ascent of Marxist and leftist ideas in Spanish universities. Nevertheless, as the sixties advanced, Spanish campuses saw a significant increase in discontent and student agitation. This disaffection reached maximum intensity and the deepest level of radicalization in the period 1967-1969. During these years there were many student demonstrations of an anti-American nature.

The wave of protests which overran Spanish campuses in the context of 1968 showed the limited capacity of United States public diplomacy to attract student support. The convulsed events of those years made clear the limited effectiveness of the IYC and the USIS to neutralize the rejection by students of U.S. foreign policy. Collaboration with Franco and the Vietnam War eroded the credibility of the United States message among student public opinion in which anti-American influence and the postulates of the New Left were growing.

For this reason, from 1969 onwards, the new administration of President Richard Nixon ended many of the programs aimed at reaching student leaders. In their place, United States diplomacy preferred to lend support to educational reforms which gave rise to the General Education Act of 1970. The Americans saw that Act as an instrument which, by promoting economic development and the de-activation of the student conflict in universities, would contribute to creating the social conditions for a peaceful and moderate post-Franco transition. However, the implementation of the GEA was not well received

⁷³ C. Powell, *El amigo americano. España y Estados Unidos: de la dictadura a la democracia*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011, pp. 302-303.

⁷⁴ L. Delgado, *Consistency and Credibility: Why You Cannot Collaborate with Dictatorships and Sell Democracy*, in Rodríguez, Delgado, Cull (edd.), *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain. Selling Democracy?*, cit., 2015, pp. 202-203.

by a good number of Spanish students and professors. They strongly opposed an educational reform which they considered to have been imposed by the interests of *Yankee* imperialism. In consequence, from 1971 onwards, protests were re-activated at universities and the hostility of students and professors grew towards the United States.

Although the GEA contained aspects which involved significant modernization of Spanish educational structures, students challenged any reform imposed by the dictatorship and guaranteed by its American allies. Throughout the sixties, U.S. cooperation with the Franco regime had deeply eroded the North American image among university leaders. With the result that they rejected the United States attempt to maintain good relations with Franco and, at the same time, to prepare the way for a future regime change in Spain.

Student protest and the «Legitimation Crisis» in Israel, 1965-1977

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ABSTRACT: In the late-1960s, a unique model of student protest and activism had developed in the Israeli campuses. This model included strong criticism against the government which seen as non-legitimate to lead the state. They protested on main issues in the public sphere such as governmental corruption and the normalized diplomatic relations with West Germany, alongside a harsh criticism against the way that the labor party's leaders led the state, which seen as an immoral. Alongside big demonstrations which organized by students, a main platform which students used to criticize the regime was satire columns in the students' press. This article, based on an historical-sociological research, deals with the new form of studentship which occurred in Israel and was part of the «Legitimation Crisis» in the Israeli society, in the words of the German sociologist and philosopher, Juergen Habermas.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Student protest; Student culture; Legitimation Crisis; Israel; XXth Century.

Introduction. Students as key factor in Israeli Sixties

The main claim of this article is that students in Israel created in the 1960s and the 1970s a new model of student activism. They were a key factor in the deep changes that occurred at that time in the Israeli society, which became more individualist and capitalist. At that time, many students saw the old leadership under the rule of the labor movement as non-legitimate to lead yet. They protested on what they called an immoral leadership and demonstrated against corruption and minorities' discrimination. These changes were part of «legitimation crisis» in Israel in the words of the German sociologist and philosopher, Juergen Habermas¹, which led to the utilization of the «First Zionist program» under the labor party's rule and to deep changes in the

¹ J. Habermas, *Legitimation crisis*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1975 [1973].

political and cultural systems. This article focused on the student's function in these important changes in the Israeli history.

Since the Israeli independence in 1948, students coped with the tension between their aspiration for self-realization, freedom and an autonomous intellectual and social blossoming, and a collectivist national perception that emphasized the general good and sought to promote academia in favor of the state. At the first years of the state's existence, students enjoyed the emphasis placed by the political leadership on their importance to the state, and an ever-growing diversity of academic options that was opened to them and that served as their entry ticket to key positions in the professional elite. To this were added the strong connection that was formed in the first years of the state between research and teaching, and the perception of the state that the universities and the research conducted in them were key components to its survival, and at the same time dominant factors in the development of an accelerated modernization. In this atmosphere, the students created a conservative and conformist figure².

In the mid-1960s, a turning point in students' attitude to the public sphere had occurred³. At that time, the number of students increased dramatically – from around 1,800 students in two universities at the early days of the state, to 18,000 in 1965 and more than 52,000 students who studied at seven universities in mid-1970s⁴. These changes in the number of students occurred in parallel to dramatic struggles over the character of the higher education system and its power centers and with a massive investment of the government, which led to the opening of new universities. It was part of the deep massification process in the higher education systems in the Western world, which was one of the most important processes in the post-World War Two era⁵. Alongside this process, new voices were heard to change what students called a «culture of high school students»⁶. They criticized against the leadership and became more autonomous and influential public. They wished to use their ability to influence the administration of academic institutions and to establish their involvement in the universities, as well as to become a politically relevant group critical of the existing social order. These changes were very radical but in contrast to student unions in Europe and the United States, Israeli students weren't criticized the

² D. Timor, *Student culture in Israel, 1948-1965: 'patriotic conformism' on campus* (in process).

³ Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1991, pp. 27-56; C. Calhoun, *Imagining solidarity: cosmopolitanism, constitutional patriotism, and the public sphere*, «Public Culture», vol. 14, n. 1, 2002, pp. 147-171.

⁴ Israeli Higher Education Council, *Higher Education in Israel – data file 1977/78*, Jerusalem, 1979, p. 4.

⁵ P.G. Altbach, *The logic of mass higher education*, in Id. (ed.), *Global perspectives on higher education*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2016, pp. 29-47.

⁶ This phrase was written by the Tel Aviv University's student union chairman, Oded Hermoni, on November 1965. See: O. Hermoni, «Dorban», vol. 2, n. 2, November 29, 1965, p. 5.

regime, based on nationality and patriotism, but criticized the labor party's government, which seen as non-legitimate to lead.

This historical and sociological research combines three main theoretical perspectives to understand the important function of students in Israeli politics and culture and focused on the context of «legitimation crisis»: the first one is the global perspective of the changes in the modern capitalist states, focused on the influences of the big success of the welfare-state project in Western countries. Another point of view is the local one, which is necessary to understand the political and cultural issues in the Israeli society, which moved in the late-1960s from the «first Zionist program» led by the labor movement to the «second program» led by the rightist national and liberals powers, in the words of one of the most important Israeli sociologists, S.N. Eisenstadt⁷. The third perspective is the place of students on the modern society. This research deals with events occurred in a decade of many protests around the world led by students, who criticized against the capitalist regime.

1. *Theoretical framework: Israel, students and the «Legitimation Crisis»*

In his important work, published on 1973, Habermas described the unique legitimation crisis as a result of the big success of the modern Western welfare state project, which improved the standard of living of many people. Habermas claimed that this success led to change in the governments' policy, which described as a turning point from the stage of 'liberal capitalism' to the stage of 'advanced-capitalism'. In the new period, many governments became main economic powers and their policy seen as an immoral and their goals had not seen as based on the modern values of justice and democracy anymore. Furthermore, in this atmosphere, the political involvement of citizens has been significantly reduced and the political system seen as unclean arena⁸.

In Israel, the government led by the labor party, which was a dominant party in the Zionist politics since early-1930s, meaning a party without which no governmental coalition could be formed. During this period, the government handled immense waves of Jewish immigration that led to the tripling of the population of the young state – from 872 thousand in the end of 1948, to approximately 2,6 million in the end of 1965, most of whom came from Islamic countries. At the same time, the defensive reality in Israel was fickle, and included the 1948 War at the end of the British Mandate on Palestine, called by the Zionist narrative «War of Independence» and by the Palestinian narrative «a Naqba», which means «a catastrophe», when around 700

⁷ S.N. Eisenstadt, *Exploration in Jewish Historical Experience*, Leiden, Brill, 2004.

⁸ Habermas, *Legitimation crisis*, cit., pp. 33-94.

thousand Palestinians lost their homes and became refugees. As a result, Jordan and Egypt took a control on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the independent Israel's population included a Jewish majority alongside an Arab minority, who lived under military rule until 1966, and get later a full formal citizenship.

Under the leadership of David Ben-Gurion, the government created a unique model of social-democratic welfare state, which combined a radical policy of immigration absorption and financial austerity, alongside many privileges had given to the middle-class Jews who were 'close to the plate'. That group enjoyed a significant economic growth and a consistent rise in the standard of living. The biggest turning point in the Israeli politics and in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was the result of the *Six-Day War* in 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai Gulf, and put their citizens under military rule. Few years later, the Israeli government started to build controversial Jewish settlements in these areas, based on the concept of «Greater Israel»⁹.

Although most of the students were part of the dominant group, at the third decade of the state's existence, they started to demand for new representation in the political sphere coincided with similar demands among other significant social groups such as rightist, soldiers, Oriental Jews, Arab citizens and national religious. These groups felt the government restricted their access to the political center and had grown weary of the «first Zionist program» led by the labor movement¹⁰. Many of them found a dynamic partner in the right-wing party of *Herut*¹¹, which represented for them a new 'Israeliness'. This shift created new channels of institutionalized social mobility. The main result for this change was the first victory of the right-wing party *Likud*, based on *Herut* and the Liberals, on the 1977 general elections¹². However, this was not merely an electoral victory in a political system, but also signified the transformation of the primary oppositional party, which the labor party, had seen as illegitimate at the dawn of Israeli statehood, to an alternative ruling party. The question of legitimacy was in the middle of the political and cultural discussion, especially after the shock reaction to Yom Kippur War at the end of 1973.

⁹ In general, the leftist agenda supports finish the situation of occupation with a peace agreement with the Palestinians, when the rightist agenda supports in solution which include staying of Israel in the West Bank, which considered as part of the historic Jewish land, based on the bible.

¹⁰ S.N. Eisenstadt, *Changes in the Israeli society*, Jerusalem, The ministry of defense press, 2004, pp. 35-44 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ The meaning of the party's name is «liberty». It created by the leaders of the former Revisionist party. In the 1960s and the 1970s, *Herut* ran to the parliament in a block with other liberal and rightist parties, and in the middle of the 1980s, all the parties which participated in the block joined to the *Likud*, which is the ruling party in Israel.

¹² U. Cohen, N. Leon, *The Herut Movement's central committee and the Mizrahim, 1965-1977: From patronizing partnership to competitive partnership*, Jerusalem, The Israel Democracy Institute, 2011 (in Hebrew).

Another theoretical framework deals with student activism, focused on their activities in the 1960s and the 1970s¹³. The change in the way that students saw their public function in Israel occurred together with events in campuses in Western Europe and the United States. These events expressed the «oppositional nature» of the students, in the words of one of the most important student culture researchers, Philip G. Altbach. Altbach, who performed many studies about students since the early-60s, deals also with the «sporadic nature» of the students, a result of the short «student generation» on campus, alongside their «idealistic nature». In his research, he found many students with high moral motivation that find the campus life as an ideal place to act. Altbach differentiated between students' activity in developed countries and in undeveloped countries. While in undeveloped countries students seen as important figures on the anti-colonialist struggle, students' activism in the west was part of the New-Left movements which was expressed by a secular attitude and sharp criticism against western capitalism¹⁴. Israeli students created a unique model of student activism, based on the protest on what seen as an immoral policy. One of the main issues that influence on students was the normalization of the diplomatic relations between Israel and West Germany a short while after the holocaust, concluding in the 1965 decision to instate full diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors¹⁵. Another path of criticism was the creation of satire columns in the student press, many of them published liberal and secular agenda and focused on many corruption events that occurred in the early-1970s.

This article deals with three examples for protest on the government's legitimation, based on the concept of legitimation crisis¹⁶: political, socio-cultural and moral circles.

2. *Political sphere: unique student activism and the arising of the right-wing party*

The discussion of students' relationship to the public sphere is part of a broad theoretical debate on social expectations of students, who represent young elite in the making¹⁷. This perception is integral to the concept of studentship as

¹³ J. Habermas, *Student protest in the Federal Republic of Germany*, in Id.(ed.), *Toward a rational society – student protest science and politics*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1971, pp. 13-30.

¹⁴ Altbach, *Student political activism*, in Id. (ed.), *Global perspectives on higher education*, cit., pp. 303-320.

¹⁵ R. Vogel, *The German path to Israel*, London, Oswald Wolff, 1969, pp. 159-179.

¹⁶ The three circles based on the work of Habermas about legitimation and motivation crisis.

¹⁷ J.O. y Gasset, *The revolt of the masses*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1932 [1929], pp. 107-114; M. Hartmann, *The Sociology of Elites*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, p. 89.

defined by Manja Klemencic¹⁸. On the one hand, a student can be viewed as a vibrant, activist figure who, in the words of German philosopher Herbert Marcuse, embodies «the ferment of hope in the overpowering and stifling capitalist metropolises»¹⁹, and should therefore serve as a moral compass for his society by zealously criticizing government immorality. On the other hand, students are perceived as conservative figures who refrain from undermining the existing social order²⁰; when they do take a stand, the public views them as illegitimate political players due to their young age and consequently narrow view, and their demands for radical social change are ordinarily dismissed²¹. The questions that arise in this context, are which situations drive students to react actively, and which passively? In what way, if at all, can student politics affect state politics? When do students function as agents of political change, considering that contrary to many other groups, they tend to fight for central social issues even when these exceed their own narrow interests?²²

In Israel, students created in the late-1960s a unique model of student activism, characterized by a right-wing nationalist approach and a liberal, anti-establishment worldview that embraced modern idea, which was an important factor in the legitimation crisis process in the Israeli society. The shifts in question paralleled ongoing escalations in the global student community, particularly in Western Europe and the United States²³. These events, driven by students' rebellion against the institution, expressed the oppositional and idealistic nature of the student population²⁴. Israeli students certainly rebelled against the government, but contrary to their European and American counterparts, their leaders became more rightist and nationalist. As stated, a central reason for this was that in Israel, the Labor Party had led the government since the state's establishment in 1948. The term «right-wing model of student activism» which I deal with, based on the work of George Gilbert about student in the Tsarist

¹⁸ M. Klemencic, *What is student agency? An ontological exploration in the context of research on student engagement*, in M. Klemencic, S. Bergan, R. Primozic (edd.), *Student engagement in Europe: society, higher education and student governance*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 2015, pp. 11-29.

¹⁹ H. Marcuse, *An essay on liberation*, New York, Beacon Press Books, 1969, p. 44.

²⁰ See the works of Walter Benjamin, Alan Bloom and Jurgen Habermas, in W. Benjamin, *The Life of Students*, in Id., *Selected Writings*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1996, Vol. 1, pp. 37-52; J. Habermas, *Toward a Rational Society*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1971, pp. 81-122.

²¹ Altbach, *Student political activism*, cit., pp. 303-320.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ For the student protests in Europe and the United States, see: R. Gregoire, F. Perlman, *Worker student action committees*, France, 1969; P. Seale, *French revolution 1968*, New York, Penguin Special, 1968; J.P. Worms, *The French student movement*, in S.M. Lipset (ed.), *Student politics*, New York & London, Basic Books, 1967, pp. 267-279; H. Bourges, *The student revolt*, London, Jonathan Cape Thirty Bedford Square London, 1968.

²⁴ P.G. Altbach, *Students and politics*, «Comparative Education Review», vol. 10, n. 2, 1966, pp. 175-187.

Russia in early twentieth century. Their activity against the regime combined radicalism and activism²⁵.

Most of the student activity in Israel was conducted through politically affiliated cells. Among these cells, the right and liberal party of *Herut* Movement achieved the greatest success during the years in question. It gradually transformed from a dejected minority cell to a dominant group that led student unions across Israeli campuses as well as the National Union of Israeli Students, winning elections consistently and by great majority²⁶. This dramatic development, also reflected in the expansion of the *Herut* Movement and increasing support for its ideology, enabled the rise of a new student leadership group, which later became instrumental to state leadership under the *Likud* rule after their first victory on the general elections in 1977.

The political victories of *Herut* – affiliated students during the second half of the 1960s, coupled with evident support for the party in surveys published through the student press²⁷, were extremely influential to the national party, which began to see the young generation as a promising political asset in leading a political revolution at the government level. The right-wing model of student activism led by the student representatives of *Herut*, led to dramatic shift in the way that the Israeli public and the party's leaders, saw the function of the youth as critique and charismatic figures. In *Herut* itself, its patronizing approach toward the student public, characteristically stern and one-dimensional²⁸, became inclusive and supportive, and party leadership was eventually willing to accept students as potential leaders and shapers of the Israeli elite. This change did not come from the party's leadership, but was rather the result of bottom-up initiatives in the different campuses, which gradually reached movement leadership. Moreover, when the *Herut* student cells first began to expand the party was revealed to be quite conservative, ruling out their legitimacy to operate as a political movement²⁹. *Herut* leaders wished to funnel students into the conservative frameworks of regional movement branches, but a significant group among the students eventually swayed them into making students central to establishing the party as a leadership alternative at the state level. Thus,

²⁵ G. Gilbert, *Revolt from the right: Russia's right-wing students between conservatism and radicalism*, «European History Quarterly», vol. 47, n. 1, 2016, pp. 32-54.

²⁶ The National Union of Israeli Students had established as the «Association of Jewish Students in British Mandate» in 1934.

²⁷ In a survey which took place in the Hebrew University at 1966, GAHAL (The block of *Herut* and the Liberals) won in 21% and the labor party won in 18%. See: M. Avnimelech, *Ha'studentim be'ad manhigut tse'ira* [students want young leadership], «Nitsots», vol. 12, May 11, 1966, pp. 8-9.

²⁸ Y. Schofman, letter to student cell's committee from June 16, 1966, in: Begin Center Archive (BCA), file P20-032.

²⁹ O. Gravis-Kovalsky, *Bein ta'amula le'hasbara – ta'amulat ha'bchirot shel tnu'at ha'Herut* [Between propaganda and publicity], in A. Diskin (ed.), *Me'Altalena ve'ad hena* [From Altalena to the present], Jerusalem, Carmel, 2011, pp. 92-115 (in Hebrew).

it seems the dynamic processes experienced by the students influenced the movement as a whole, and specifically its leader Menachem Begin who, at the outset of the process, dismissed their demands and even refused an interview for their publication «Chad Ve'Chalak» (Hebrew: clear and simple)³⁰.

In the years following the Six-Day War when Israeli forces occupied in June 1967 the West Bank including the Jerusalem old city, Gaza strip, Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights, the *Herut* student cell garnered increasing support in the various campuses, as reflected by a series of electoral successes. One the important reasons for this change was the fact that the «Greater Israel» (*Eretz Yisrael Ha'shlema*) idea, which was one the main targets on the *Herut's* platform, became a realistic.

The position of *Herut*-affiliated student cells regarding state policy was clear: Israel must settle the territories conquered during the Six Day War. Cell members circulated a petition for guarding the territories, which, according to them, embodied «our security advantage, our rights as a sovereign state, and our historical lands»³¹. Some of the students even personally participated in the settlement of the territories and belonged to an urban collective that settled in *Ma'ale Adomim*, which became a city close to Jerusalem³². Additionally, it was reported that 40 students from South Africa, members of *Herut*, had settled in the Jewish Quarter of the old city of Jerusalem³³. The students believed it was precisely the settlements that would advance the peace process in the Middle East³⁴.

Another conflict which focused by the radical-conservative activism was the tension between Jews and Arab on campuses. One of the main points of friction was the Hebrew University's student dorms on Mount Scopus at Jerusalem. The conflict began when dorm management required that male residents participate in guard duty. The Arab student union objected, and as a result, Arab students did not take shifts³⁵. The conflict peaked on May 19th, 1976, when hundreds of

³⁰ L. Litzky, letter to Menachem Begin from April 6, 1967, BCA, file P20-032; M. Begin to Leah Litzky, response letter from April 18, 1967, BCA, file P20-032.

³¹ GAHAL student cell at Jerusalem, *Chatom al ha'atsuma* [Sign the petition], unknown date. NLA, file V2402 03 21.

³² Likud student cell, *Ha'Likud – ta ha'studentim* [The student cell of Likud], April 1975, NLA, file V2402 03 21.

³³ Y. Ahimeir, *Mitnachalim be'mizrach Yerushalayim* [Settlers in East Jerusalem], «Chad ve'Chalak – “Herut” student cell's journal», vol. 14, December 10, 1968, p. 1.

³⁴ GAHAL student cell, *Shalom yehudi-aravi* [Jewish-Arab peace], unknown date, NLA, file V2402 03 21; Gideon Fureman (Gadot), *Rak kach* [Only so], «Chad ve'Chalak – “Herut” student cell's journal», vol. 11, May 26, 1968, p. 1.

³⁵ G. Lior, *Ha'shomer achi anoci?* [Am I my brother's keeper?], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 16, n. 4, November 19, 1975, p. 3; The Senate of the Hebrew University, Protocol of the first meeting (1975/1976) from November 26, 1975, HUA, file of meetings, 1973-1976; *Ke-1000 studentim bi'shtey hafganot anak* [1000 students protested in two huge demonstrations], *Pi Ha'aton* [16th year, vol. 8], December 24, 1975, p. 1; *Tzlavey keres tsuyru be'har ha'tsofim* [Swastikas were painted on Mount Scopus campus], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 16, n. 17, May 12, 1976, p. 1.

Arab students protested against government restriction of Palestinian protests in the West Bank as well as university policy, and waved pictures of the fallen in the «Land Day» events³⁶. *Likud* students conducted a counter-protest, and ten students were injured in the fight that ensued. Yisrael Goldstein, elected as incoming chairman of the student union on behalf of *Likud*, claimed that, «the Arab students wanted an escalation, and for foreign press to shed a negative light on what is happening on campus»³⁷. In an interview near the conclusion of her role as chairwoman of the student union, Ravdel noted: «Students recently released from the IDF are more sensitive to the subject and any re-investigation might reignite the issue»³⁸. In light of these events, the university administration decided to forbid political protests on campus and only allow discussions and assemblies in the event halls³⁹, but this decision was not enforced for long.

3. *Socio-cultural sphere: creation of satire and rock bands*

One of the main platforms which students used to criticize the regime was satire columns in the students' press, which were published since the mid-1960's in almost every student newspaper. These columns were an important factor in the development of Israeli satire and dealt with the phrases of the most important satire writer at the time, Ephraim Kishon, who criticized the political culture of hypocrisy. The pioneer of this phenomenon was Chanoch Levin, who as a young student at Tel Aviv University published an ongoing critical column in the students' paper⁴⁰.

At the 29th of November 1965, on the 18th anniversary of the vote on The United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine which included the decision about the establishment of a Jewish state, the young student Chanoch Levin published a critical advertisement in the satirical section of «Dorban», the student newspaper of Tel Aviv University. The ad published on the section

³⁶ The «Land day» on March 30, 1976, was a day of brawl between Arab citizens and policemen that ended with 6 Arab citizens who were killed and many others were injured. The citizens demonstrated against the plan to expropriate thousands of dunams of land for state purposes. See: T. Sorek, *Palestinian commemoration in Israel*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2015, pp. 41-66.

³⁷ Y. Priel, B. Gal, A. Stern, *Ha'sipur me'achorey tigrat ha'danim ba'kampus ha'yerushalmi* [The story behind the brawl in the campus of Jerusalem], *Pi Ha'aton – special edition*, May 20, 1976, NLA, file V2402 04 01.

³⁸ M. Toledano, *Histadrut ha'studentim tsreicha libiot atsmat mi'bachina kalkalit* [The student union should be financially independent], «Ma'ariv», August 2, 1976, p. 28.

³⁹ The Senate of the Hebrew University, Protocol of the sixth meeting (1975/1976) from June 2, 1976, HUA, file of meetings, 1973-1976.

⁴⁰ Levin was one of the controversial and most important playwrights in Israel. He studied literature in Tel Aviv University, even though he didn't complete his BA.

which called «Chanoch Levin's rear page», was written as a job ad for young Arabs and expressed criticism against the fact that Arab minority in Israel were still under military rule at that time, and as a result, many of them worked in inferior jobs:

Young Arab! If you are talented, entrepreneurial and have an aspiration for greatness, if you support integrity and cleanliness, you belong with us! Sweeping the streets at nights, in conditions of quietness, an atmosphere of relax and a fresh air under the stars. Our streets are waiting for you! Emptying trash cans in early hours in the morning. Musical cans, interesting garbage, surprising appearance of rats. Our garbage awaits you! Supervision on public urinals. Essential work, full of juice. Our urinals await you! A geriatric assistant. If you are depressed, if you feel deprived, go to the municipal hospital and introduce an enema to Jews. Our backs await you!⁴¹

The column aroused public uproar among students who bought all the 2000 issues that were published at that week, as well as the general public in Israel. Some of the students demanded to remove Levin from the paper and wrote a petition on it, arguing that there was no place for such criticism in a student newspaper, but many others saw the storm that was created by the publication of the satire column, as a positive expression. The editor of «Dorban», Dudu Halevi, who responded to Levin, claimed that «until now, Dorban wasn't a newspaper of the students, but only of the members of its editorial board. Most of the students didn't read the newspaper and I took back all the issues. This issue irritated and aroused the students. This is our job, we must cause people to write petitions, we must not leave them apathetic»⁴².

Few years later, the provocative play «Queen of the bathtub» written by Levin, was performed in the Hebrew University. A big brawl started after students led by a rightist student from the Jewish community in Hebron, Shalom Goldman, called to the actors: «shame on you» and «go home», broke glasses and threw eggs to the stage. Gideon Kutz, the vice chairman of the student union, called the other students to go to the stage and to defend on the actors until the end of the play⁴³. This experience was the main factor for the decision of a psychology student, Kobi Niv, to revive the satire section of the Hebrew University's newspaper «Pi Ha'aton». He was joined by students like Ephraim Sidon, Beit Michael, Ya'akov Lazar and Chanoch Marmari. Every week, they criticized the main figures in the Israeli government, such as prime-minister Golda Meir and minister of defense Moshe Dayan. Their section's agenda was liberal and leftist. They wrote against political corruption by some of the Labor party and against the centrality of the Chief Rabbinate in Israeli daily life. Alongside writing the section, Niv and his colleagues created

⁴¹ C. Levin, *Young Arab!*, «Dorban. The back page of Chanoch Levin», vol. 2, n. 2, November, 29, 1965, p. 20.

⁴² D. Halevi, *240 empty seats*, «Dorban», vol. 2, n. 3, December 1965. pp. 8-9.

⁴³ Z. Ben-Yosef, *The bathtub in 'Wise'*, «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 10, n. 24, June 2, 1970, p. 3.

a satire cabaret which was played by students. The peak of the cabaret was the performance in the «Suramelo basement», under Zion Square at Jerusalem, in the 25th Independence Day, when tanks drove in the biggest military march in the Israeli history. Few months before Yom Kippur War, the students presented a pacifistic show against the vanity of Israeli society after the big military victory in the Si-Day War⁴⁴.

In the issue published close to the International workers' day in the 1st of May 1972, Ya'akov Lazar suggested a new version to the international communist anthem for the Labor Party's leaders: «Arise and settle from your slumber, \ Light to the goyim and the selected nation.\ Everywhere your legs were passed, \ Don't give up, you'll stay there!»⁴⁵ Another criticism dealt with the claim that the government used the defense problems to silence the public criticism on its social policy. Beit Michael wrote in «Nair U'Vair» new words for «The song for peace» written a few years earlier by Ya'akov Rotblith: «Let the silence pass\ maybe spill some blood on it\ only fights and occupations\ will calm the people.\ Sing a song for war\ and not for corruptions\ only corpses in military posts, \ will silence strikes»⁴⁶.

An important issue on the satire section's agenda was a secular and liberal criticism against the centrality of the Chief Rabbinate in Israeli daily life, especially the Ultra-Orthodox society. The writers of «Nair U'Vair» criticized the status-quo from the early days of the state's existence, which gave the permission to Yeshiva's students to avoid military service. Ephraim Sidon compared an Ultra-Orthodox man to the pacifist Giora Noiman, who was sent to prison due to his refusal to serve in the military: «Giora Noiman thinks like Zalman Kigelmacher about the state of Israel and Zionism. The problem is that Giora is a member of Matzpen. Because he's not a Yeshiva Bucher, he is prisoner. The conclusion from this lesson is: when you come to the army, don't forget the coalition agreement»⁴⁷. In another issue, Sidon wrote about *Rabbi Shipu'I* who decided to stop using the Torah of Moses, but looking for a different Torah.

Students also criticized the use of the 'Hebrew work' ideal, which was part of the nationalist narrative although the fact that most of the building workers were unprivileged Arabs. Sidon wrote a song about this issue: «Sing a song, a song of praise, \ sing a song for a worker, \ who tired and working hard \ who built the state of Israel.\ Musa, Ali and Hamid.\ Abed, Salah or Farid.\ They are always on the scaffolding, \ they build the future»⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ M. Rubinstein, *Kabaret*, «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 13, n. 23, May 30, 1973, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Y. Lazar, *Ha'yeshuchtav Ha'internatsional* [The International would written again?], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 12, n. 21, May 3, 1972, p. 4.

⁴⁶ B. Michael, *Shir shalom-bayit* [A song for peace at home], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 13, n. 7, December 13, 1973, p. 3.

⁴⁷ E. Sidon, *Hasarvanim* [The refusers], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 12, n. 21, May 3, 1972, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Id., *Si La'avoda* [A record for the work], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 13, n. 17, March 7, 1973, p. 4.

Another path of protest was a cultural criticism on the old generation, based on the concept of «Sex, drugs and rock and roll». Students were key factors in the creation of a local model of counter culture that transferred from many societies in the West, included a new rock scene, alongside increasing use on drugs. Students, many of whom American Jews that arrived the Hebrew University after Six-Day War.

4. *Moral sphere: protest on the immoral relations with Germany*

Students protested on what they saw as an immoral politics led by the government. Habermas focused on the deep changes occurred in the moral system on the advanced-capitalism stage, when growing complexity resulted in control problems that required that the alternation of social norms be speeded up beyond the cultural tradition. That fact arose bourgeois formal law and norms, which made it possible to released norm-contents from the dogmatism of mere tradition and to determine them intentionally. This process led to a conflict between the cosmopolitanism of the ‘human being’, based on political universal morality, and the loyalties of the citizen, and as a result, the moral system couldn’t more simply erased the memory of a collectively attained state of moral consciousness⁴⁹. At the first years of Israel’s existence, one of the main topics, which seen as a moral issue, was the connections to Germany only a short while after the holocaust. Israeli government signed on a controversial agreement with West Germany at the beginning of the 1950’s, but the turning point from the student’s point of view occurred in 1965 when both governments decided to normalize their diplomatic relations⁵⁰. Shortly before the official decision, students and teachers protested against the government policy in front of the senate building of the Hebrew University at Giv’at Ram, and held a rally in Wise Hall titled: «The Israeli government must save the honor of Israel in its relations with Germany»⁵¹. A few months later, close to the arrival of the first German ambassador, Rolf Pauls, to Israel, students held a protest strike. In a rally attended by about 1000 students, the rector of the university, Prof. Nathan Rothenstreich, spoke⁵². The participation of Rothenstreich, which was one of the important figures in the labor party and on the university’s academic staff, gave the criticism an institutional power. A short while after that rally, students from Tel Aviv University published a

⁴⁹ Habermas, *Legitimation crisis*, cit., pp. 86-88.

⁵⁰ R. Vogel, *The German path to Israel*, London, Oswald Wolff, 1969, pp. 159-179.

⁵¹ *Atzeret mechaa neged mediniyut hamemshala be'inyan germanya* [A protest of governmental policy with Germany], «Davar», February 21, 1965, p. 1.

⁵² *Mishmeret Dumiya* [A silence protest watch], «Ha'aretz», April 26, 1965, p. 1.

protest petition and demonstrated demanding to prevent the arrival of German diplomatic representatives to Israel.

In May 1965, a young student from the Technion in Haifa, Uzi Landau, demanded from the student council committee to stop classes in the day that the first German ambassador will arrive to Israel. His unconventional claim was accepted and classes on campus stopped for 2 hours⁵³. A year later, Landau and his colleagues from the political student cell of *Herut* movement in Jerusalem led together with their partners from the Communist Party cell, a big demonstration during the visit of a German ex-Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, at Giv'at Ram campus of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The demonstration was stormy and emotional, especially after police forces stormed the university grounds and confronted the students in a brawl that ended in the injury of 20 students and policemen. Many students protested on what was perceived as an attempt of the government to silence the student public, which seen as another immoral policy led by the government⁵⁴.

The demonstration was organized by members of *Herut* and the Communist Party student cells, under the name of the fictitious organization «the committee for a welcome to Adenauer». According to one of the organizers, Reuven Amiel from the Communist party: «We demonstrated against Adenauer and against Germany and it is clear that if you demonstrate in front of the senate building, you demonstrate against anyone who received the visitors»⁵⁵. The demonstration began in front of the senate building, but after learning that Adenauer would come only to the National Library building, it was decided to move there, when during the gathering, the number of protesters increased to 1000. The demonstration quickly deteriorated to violence after policemen appeared on campus. The event caused great criticism against the police and the government, and the appointment of a commission of inquiry headed by the advocate Ya'akov Salomon.

This topic found a main place in the student's satire. For example, in February 1966 Chanoch Levin published a commercial for the German car Volkswagen with hand written additions criticizing the fact that Israelis are buying the car. Among the rest was written:

Millions were driven in the cars made by Volkswagen factories in a consistent drive for improvement... Volkswagen 1944-1964, the new models with the newest innovations in sophistication, quality and driving safety are presented to the Jewish Israeli audience.

⁵³ *Kinus moatza belabatz atzuma* [A meeting under pressure], «Pi Ha'aton», vol. 6, n. 11, May 18, 1965, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *Hitnagshut bein shotrim le'studentin bi'Yerushala'im* [Collisions between police and students in Jerusalem], *Haaretz*, May 6, 1966; *Hafganat ha'studentim neged Adenauer bi'Yerushala'im hutkefa be'gasut al-yedey shotrim hamushim* [Student demonstration against Adenauer in Jerusalem brutally attacked by armed policemen], *Al ha'mishmar*, May 6, 1966.

⁵⁵ Reuven Amiel's testimony from May 17, 1966, in IA (Israel's Archive), file P-930/19.

Warranty: half a year with no kilometer limit – first in the country ‘since those good old days’⁵⁶.

The issue after the large demonstration in Jerusalem during ex-chancellor, Konrad Adenauer’s visit at the Giv’at Ram campus of the Hebrew University on May 1966, in which many students were injured in a brawl, included a story about the fictional figure baroness Bertha Koch – a play of words on Ilsa Koch, the wife of the commander of the Buchenwald and Majdanek concentration camps who was nicknamed «The witch of Buchenwald». The fictional description appeared on the black figure of a policeman: «Fraulein Bertha Koch arrived at the Haifa port in their cruise destroyer ‘Shalom Aleichem Hitler’ ... The police were nervous. They apprehended the Holocaust survivors in special camps from six riots, they took out the Hand [‘Yad’ – D.T.] out of ‘Yad Vashem’ [...] ‘We only obeyed orders’ said the police spokesman»⁵⁷.

Conclusion

In contrast to existing research on students in Israel⁵⁸, it seems that in the mid-1960’s there was a dramatic change in the students’ attitude toward the Israeli public sphere. This change, which expresses a unique model of student activism, was part of the harsh social criticism that crated in Israel regarding the legitimacy of the leadership. The students, who presented a conformist stance since the first years of the state’s existence, regarded the government as a political framework that did not act to realize liberal goals aimed at the benefit of the community, but for the social groups it represented. The peak of this process was the economic recession initiated in 1965, which caused severe unemployment among the weaker sectors of the population.

The criticism of students was directed at manifestations of corruption along with a policy perceived as immoral as normalization of the diplomatic relations with West Germany. It seems that the students were major players in the severe social criticism that expressed a «legitimation crisis» that combined political, economic and cultural criticism, and led to dramatic changes in Israeli society, among other things by the removal of the Labor movement from its leadership.

⁵⁶ «Dorban», vol. 2, n. 5, February 20, 1966, p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Hasipur al Freulin Bertha Koch ve’na’aroteiya* [The story on Freulin Bertha Koch and her girls], «Dorban», vol. 2, n. 8, June 2, 1966, p. 1.

⁵⁸ The main research about students from the mid-1970’s was: R. Shapira, E. Etzioni-Halevy, *Who is the Israeli student?*, Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 1973 (in Hebrew).

The formation of resistance culture in Greece and the history null curriculum: a preliminary account

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ABSTRACT: The last decade Greece is undergoing a multi-crisis. During this period of time the history and the past emerged in a peculiar way: the past was used as an example to be followed, while the demonstrators were calling people for disobedience and resistance against the imposed monetary and fiscal measures and against the state as well. This projection of the past to the present was entrenched on certain historical facts which are questionable and not overall well accepted, such as the 1945-9 Civil war, or the 1973 students' uprising against the military dictatorship. Under these circumstances one could be reasonably wondering about the uses of history and the ways history is perceived as a means that construct identities. The notion of the 'resistance culture' is emerged through the utilization of history and the school history's null curriculum, revealing the role various forms of historical narratives can play in the process of historical awareness.

EET/ TEE KEYWORDS: School history; Null curriculum; Unwritten history; Resistance; Greece; XXth Century.

1. *(Greek) Mythologies and Histories (from 1945 to 1973 and beyond)*

As it is widely known, Greece is suffering for almost a decade now (2008-) from a severe crisis, not solely an economic (debt crisis), but a political and a social one as well. During the demonstrations (which quite often were turned into violent and destructive riots in major cities)¹, against the imposed austerity

¹ For a brief chronicle of these upheavals, however under a certain perspective, see D. Dalakoglou, *Beyond Spontaneity - Crisis, violence and collective action in Athens*, «CITY», vol. 16, n. 5, 2012, pp. 535-545 and D. Dalakoglou, *Neo Nazism and Neoliberalism: A few comments*

measures², particularly in the first years of this crisis a graffiti appeared on downtown walls and pillars with the rallying slogan «We are at war again – Varkiza Agreement is over», referring to the 1945-1949 Civil war period (this graffiti is still visible in certain central areas of Athens downtown). One could be reasonably wondering about the association of this historical moment to the present and the rational connection that could be found between the post-WW-II trauma of the civil war and the current monetary-debt crisis. Moreover, another rallying slogan heard at these demonstrations, «junta didn't end on 1973», was referring to another traumatic moment of the recent Greek political history, the military dictatorship regime (1967-1974) and the 1973 November 17th students' revolt against it. Both of these slogans, often heard in the demonstrations during the first years of the crisis – the latter one especially for the upcoming educational reforms, are reflecting a peculiar perception and a utilization of the past, certainly from specific political groups. Is this an ideological and political mixture of past events and periods, hence one could thoughtfully argue about the use and the misuse (or even abuse) of history³, or is it a valid and justified use of history? In either case, which is the role of the 'school history', its textbooks and curriculum? One could also wonder whether this arbitrary mixture of past events, well-formed and deep-rooted myths and causal misconceptions is a product of an unavoidably biased presentation of school history (due to its role in the national identity construction), or behind this *irresponsible use* of history⁴ it's just been hiding an exquisitely formed political and ideological agenda? So as to rejoin these hypotheses and questions – and to the extent of this paper's limitations, one needs to thoroughly survey the data: the school textbooks and the history curricula will be anticipated to reveal

on violence in Athens at the time of crisis, «Journal of Labor and Society», vol. 16, n. 2, 2013, pp. 283-292.

² These monetary and fiscal measures were imposed by the «troika» (the IMF, EC and ECB), the international institutions that were (and still are) supervising the Greek economy rendering the loans they gave to Greece as an international debt bailout.

³ The *uses and misuses of history* have a long history in historiography's debate. The elaboration of these concepts or topics are beyond the purposes of this article. See M. Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History, or, How the Past is Taught*, London, Routledge, 2003 as an initial and fundamental reading for this discussion. Also see H. Swoboda, J.M. Wiersma (edd.), *Politics of the Past: The Use and Abuse of History*, Renner Institut, 2009, for the political agenda in history, although this reading may be judged as biased due to its political stand. An earlier argument was in Balz's notorious titular essay: see A.G.A. Balz, *The Use and Misuse of History*, «The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods», vol. 16, n. 2, 1919, pp. 29-41. A much older discussion can be found in F. Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen, Zweites Stück: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*, Leipzig, Verlag von E.W. Fritsch, 1874, [Engl. transl. *Untimely Meditations: The Use and Abuse of History for Life*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 57-123]. Besides these classic works, one should also mention De Baets's project as a theoretical effort to segregate the terms «misuse», «abuse» and «irresponsible use» of history: see A. De Baets, *A theory of the abuse of History*, «Revista Brasileira de História», vol. 33, n. 65, 2013, pp. 17-58.

⁴ De Baets, *A theory of the abuse of History*, cit.

the ideological and political use of the historical narratives⁵. The Press will be used as an example of the *public narratives and conflicts over history*, given the intervention of political, academic and journalistic approaches presented in Press and Media. It's quite common in Greece, especially in times when the school-history syllabus or a history's textbooks reform is impending or it has just been launched, to be followed by massive interventions by politicians and journalists and by discussions in Media and publications in Press. Conflict quite often replace the argumentation during these debates and the loss of point is unavoidable, as, *id est*, in the case of the 'Repousi's school history textbook' (2006-7) controversy, as it is known in Greece. Around this textbook was one of the last conflicts over the school-history textbooks (and their reform), which unfortunately ended in an unquestionable losing of point: the methodological – almost paradigmatic – shift in this book was diminished in favor of political agendas and disputes in Media (to record history, this textbook was promptly withdrawn and replaced by the older textbook, a typical case of counter-reform in Greek education)⁶.

In the beginning of the year 1945, right after the end of the WW-II and the liberation from the 1941-1944 Nazi occupation, a civil war blasted in Greece (1945-9). Typically, as the opening scene of the civil warfare has been considered a guerrillas' attack on a rural-police station, in the night of March 30th 1946, to free some imprisoned comrades. This attack concurred with the day of the announced general elections. Other than that, the political agenda for this war had been set some time before this attack, when the Communist Party, which triumphed during the Resistance against the Nazis (1941-1944), denied taking part into the announced for the 31st of March 1946 general elections.

The typical argument on the beginning of the 1945-9 Civil war sets as its crucial point the 1945 *Varkiza Agreement*⁷ – an agreement between the communist-driven Resistance guerrilla army and the quasi-official Greek government, to cease fire and grant amnesty to the guerrillas. Before the 1945 *Varkiza Agreement* (February 2, 1945) a raw and cruel British intervention in Greek politics took place, known as the 1944 December Battle of Athens. In this battle the intervened British powers did reinforce the roughly official Greek army troops (of a not yet legitimate government) fighting against the

⁵ The Greek history textbooks (and all the other subjects' textbooks) currently in use to all the school levels can be found as 'pdf' files or as an 'enriched html' form in the official web portal of the Greek Education Authority (Ministry of Education), <<http://ebooks.edu.gr/new/allmaterial.php>> (last access: 30.03.2019). The older (or not currently in use) textbooks can be found in the official portal of Institute for Educational Policy, <<http://e-library.iep.edu.gr/iep/index.html>> (last access: 30.03.2019).

⁶ For a brief discussion on the school history textbooks conflict in Greece see C. Athanasiades, *The withdrawn textbooks – Nation and school history in Greece, 1858-2008*, Athens, Alexandria, 2015 (in Greek).

⁷ Named after the location where the negotiations took place, Varkiza, a suburban area in Athens, Greece.

Communist driven Resistance guerrilla army. After this 1944 December Battle the superintending power of Greece changed with the intervention of the USA military and political agents (not only troops, but financial aid as well, under the Truman Dogma and Marshall Plan, indicated this shift of the superintending power on Greece)⁸. Nevertheless, this can only be seen nowadays as a part of the early Cold War conflicts throughout Europe⁹.

Opponents on the above 1945-1949 Civil war were the official State army (supported initially by the UK and by the USA later on) on one side and on the other side the remaining of the guerrilla army, who previously fought in the resistance against the Nazi Occupation during the WW-II (supported by the illegal – at that time – Communist Party of Greece). There is an ambivalent narrative regarding this war, but this ambiguity is the key-point to comprehend the historical narrative of post-war Greece till nowadays¹⁰.

When the Civil War was ceased in 1949, the Greek society and economy started to develop again, after 10 years of fiercely warfare, given the financial aid of the Marshall Plan. The right-wing party of that time came lawfully in power and established a legitimate government even though an era of ‘reinforced’ or ‘iron’ democracy was established throughout the 1950s¹¹ (and as some support till the mid of 1960s, but this is part of another discussion). Trying to re-establish the post-civil war regime under a severe legislation the government imposed ‘silence’ on the Civil war issue, maintaining nevertheless imprisoned and exiled almost all of the Civil war guerrillas, and excluding their supporters, their family members or anyone suspected to be of their adherents from the access to State’s public services (such as education, health care system, etc.).

⁸ M.P. Leffler, D.S. Painter, *Origins of the cold war - An International History*, New York, Routledge, 2005, p. 32.

⁹ J. Kinsman, K. Bassuener, *A diplomat’s handbook for Democracy Development Support*, Ontario, The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) in partnership with the Council for a Community of Democracies, 2013, p. 29; H.X. Tzolis, *The Price of Freedom: Greece’s Role in the Cold War*, M.A. Thesis, College of Arts and Science (Supervisor: Jared Poley), Atlanta, Georgia State University, Academic Year, 2012-2013, <https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/history_theses/66> (last access: 12.03.2019); C.M. Willard, *America’s Strategic Blunders: intelligence analysis and national security policy, 1936-1991*, Pennsylvania, The Penn State University Press, 2001, pp. 52-54; B. Kuniholm, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980; L.S. Wittner, *American Intervention in Greece: A Study in Counterrevolution*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1982.

¹⁰ Indicatively, Greek society, its historians and the academia, didn’t discuss openly about the 1945-1949 Civil War until the end of the 20th century (just in 1999, ‘celebrating’ the 50 years from the end of the civil war, only a few conferences and some publications have taken place). As part of this ambivalent narration of the Civil War, see N. Marantzides, *Democratic Army 1946-1949*, Athens, Alexandria, 2010 (in Greek); S. Calyvas, N. Marantzides, *Civil passions - 23+2 questions and answers on Civil War (new enriched edition)*, Athens, Metehmio, 2016 (in Greek), and the relative discussion on these publications in Press.

¹¹ N. Alivizatos, *Political institutions under crisis, 1922-1974 – Aspects of Greek experience*, Athens, Themelio, 1983 (in Greek).

Even till the mid '60s, the right-wing government was determined to uphold the established order, despite calls for change.

Ever since (till very recently), Civil war was never a part of the formal history narrative, neither was reference of it in history school textbooks (just in the 2007 history textbooks for the 3rd grade of junior-high-*Gymnasium* and the 3rd grade senior-high-*Lyceum* there is a roughly two pages mention) and it was scarcely mentioned in academic discussions. Moreover, while in the *Gymnasium* history textbook the Greek Civil war is exclusively presented in a roughly two pages solid narrative form, into the *Lyceum* history textbook is presented in a fragmentary form (paragraphs in various chapters) perspectively as a problem and an effect of the Cold war issue.

The stories and the narrative of the Civil war was predominantly written by historians or academics in quasi one sided publications eulogizing the notion of 'resistance'¹² – initially the resistance against the Mussolini's fascist army¹³, later against the Nazi occupation (1941-4) and finally (the Civil war case) against the roughly official Greek army troops of a not yet legitimate government. Hence, the notion of resistance has a positive tone.

Nevertheless, it seems to be a historical paradox, since the winners of the 1945-9 Civil war have not as yet officially written the narration of their victory¹⁴. In educational terms and as far as the history textbooks are concerned, this is a part of a null (history) curriculum.

Seventeen years after the end of the Civil war – and at the pinnacle of the Cold war, in 1967, a military coup established a new regime in Greece (1967-1974). There are lots to be said about this coup, but keeping in track with 'histories and mythologies' one should point out to the case of the American intervention. For years after the restoration of democracy this was a point of a high ideological and political conflict between those who proclaimed themselves as leftists and those as rightists: the former accused the American foreign policy (and the USA Embassy in Athens as its local representative) for intervention into Greek affairs by supporting the military coup (hence the yearly protest-

¹² Briefly see N. Svoronos, *Histoire de la Grèce moderne*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953, [Greek transl. *History of Modern Greece*, Athens, Themelio, 1999]; N. Svoronos, *Analects of modern Greek history and historiography*, Athens, Themelio, 1999 (in Greek); T. Vournas, *History of modern Greece, 1821-1974 - vol. 3 and 4*, 6 vols., Athens, Patakis, 1999, (in Greek); R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

¹³ The 1940, October 28th was the opening scene for Greece into the WW-II, fighting against the Mussolini's army attempt to intrude on Greece (even though Greece itself was in 1936-1940 under a fascist regime).

¹⁴ For an alternative approach to Greek Civil war see C.M. Willard, *America's Strategic Blunders: intelligence analysis and national security policy, 1936-1991*, Pennsylvania, The Penn State University Press, 2001, p. 53. For an overall alternative explanation see N. Bermeo, *What the Democratization Literature Says – or Doesn't Say – About Postwar Democratization*, «Global Governance», vol. 9, n. 2, 2003, pp. 159-177 (although Bermeo implicitly associates overall the military intervention to the process of democratization after the WW-II throughout Europe).

march on the American embassy in Athens) while the latter balanced between ‘silence’ (alike the ‘silence’ for the Civil war) and ‘silently acceptance’ of the foreign intervention – just a few rightists impeached the indigenous political parties and the politicians of that time for their plots and shenanigans¹⁵.

This conflict around the foreign (specifically, the USA) intervention was decisively resolved when a former US Ambassador in Greece, Robert Keeley, published a book acknowledging that the USA’s and the US Athens Embassy’s politics of that time empowered and facilitated the military officers (Colonels) to carry out the coup in 1967¹⁶. This was a moral and political vindication for the Left, for all those years of criticizing and developing an anti-American (and hence, an anti-capitalistic, anti-state, anti-banking, anti-globalization, etc.) attitude¹⁷, something that was needed for the Lefts, since the Eastern World broke down in 1989. This ‘anti-American’ attitude, following the restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1974, was materialized in the annual «November 17th protest-march» on the US Embassy, stating the willing to resist against any threats to parliamentary democracy. Consequently, this is a march predominately by the leftist, or center-leftist, since the rightists and the right-wing parties aren’t in favor of this march. This march (initially anti-American, but turned to anti-anything) has long served as a triggering event on behalf of certain marginal and extreme political groups for a violent expression of a ‘resistant attitude’ against the State (which, since 1974, is a constitutional, parliamentary and democratic state after all).

Nevertheless, lefts or rights, all agreed that the 1973 November students’ rebellion against the military regime was a milestone towards the restoration of democracy one year later, in 1974 and although it was not the first act of resistance against the military regime it became the benchmark for the new (3rd) Democracy Period of the Greek Republic (1974 –). Unsurprisingly, in history school textbooks the period of 1967-1974 military regime and the 1973 students’ rebellion (actually, the whole 1945-1974) were not mentioned, until very recently (2007 reform), being part of the history’s null curriculum.

¹⁵ One could see the dictators’ perspective in G. Bonanos, *The truth, April 21st, November 25th and the Cyprus issue*, Athens, Christakis, 1986 (in Greek). Gregory Bonanos was one of the Generals who participated in the 1967-1974 dictatorship regime servicing that period as Chief of the Army – the highest statutory office in Greek Army officers ranking.

¹⁶ See R.V. Keeley, *The Colonels’ Coup and the American Embassy: A Diplomat’s View of the Breakdown of Democracy in Cold War Greece*, Pennsylvania, The Penn State University Press, 2010. This assistance provided to dictatorship regimes seems to be a common practice for the USA politics during the ’60s and the ’70s, since predominately Latin America was the field to exercise political interventions via military coups (*id est*, Chile, Argentina, etc). During the ’60s and the ’70s the Mediterranean was a field of exercising military coups as well, since Spain, Portugal and Greece experienced this kind of regime.

¹⁷ For the term attitude and its role in society see P.S. Cohen, *Social Attitudes and Sociological Enquiry*, «The British Journal of Sociology», vol. 17, n. 4, 1966, pp. 341-352.

2. *The 'resistance', the written and the unwritten history and the null curriculum*

But what is the connection between the Civil war issue, the history's null curriculum¹⁸ and the case of the 1973 Greek students' uprising and its imprint to present? Following the Media and the Press, especially during the period of the current crisis, one could see that the 1945-9 Civil war (its roots, its instances and its outcomes) is still publicly referred in many cases, even though there is no direct connection between the Civil war per se and the topic under discussion, *id est*, when the Civil war – and the foreign troops intervention – is mentioned in a discussion on foreign investments as an example of loss of sovereignty. Even more, an anti-American movement, most favorable to the center-to-left political identities is entrenched into the period of the Civil war and the American intervention on behalf of the Greek government.

Theorizing this case, the question concerns «the construction of a social and political identity through both the written and the unwritten history/histories».

Reviewing the post WW-II Greek education system one can realize that the Jerome Bruner's approach on «spiral curriculum» was very influential for a long time and had a strong impact on the Greek scholars and teachers, thus the subjects and the syllabuses are repetitively presented between the classes of different school grades (the Elementary, the Gymnasium-junior high and the Lyceum-senior high), although in a more extensive and elaborated form in every higher grade. According to the «spiral curriculum» model this repetitive pattern for syllabuses sets the ancient Greek history in the Elementary 4th grade and in the Gymnasium and Lyceum 1st grade. The Medieval-Byzantine era is presented in the Elementary 5th grade, Gymnasium and Lyceum 2nd grade. Finally, the modern history (namely the period of 1821 War for Independence expanded up to the 20th century) is presented in the Elementary 6th (final) grade and Gymnasium and Lyceum 3rd (final for both) grade.

Analyzing the Greek school history textbooks one can find a lot of examples of 'resistance' – a modest way to say that the overall school history is a praise to *resisting Greeks*¹⁹, practically turning the school history into a war history. When the resistance/battle ends with a Greek victory the written school history attributes glory to the Greek forces. When the resistance/battle ends up to a

¹⁸ D.J. Flinders, N. Noddings, S.J. Thornton, *The null Curriculum: its theoretical basis and practical implications*, «Curriculum Inquiry», vol. 16, n. 1, 1986, pp. 33-42; M. Gholami, A. Rahimi, O. Ghahramani, A.R. Dorri, *A reflection on null curriculum*, «IIOAB Journal», vol. 7, n. 1, 2016, pp. 218-223.

¹⁹ There are a lot of examples, which are known worldwide: the battle in Marathon, the battle in Thermopylae, the naval battle in Salamis, etc. As it is claimed, *ex post facto* – implicitly or explicitly, exaggerating or not, the *resisting Greeks* saved the western civilization from the onslaughting and raiding barbarians of the east (namely, for the Ancient history, the Persian Empire). Nevertheless, this claim is justified enough, if one thinks of the Greek originated words and notions s/he uses in every day's activities and in his/her native language.

Greek defeat, then this defeat per se is laudatory for the defeated, such as was in Thermopylae. The same pattern can be found in the case of WW-II: when the Greek army was victoriously triumphed against the fascist Italian troops (1940 October - 1941 April), history – and school history textbooks – attributed glory to the Greek youth. When the Nazi superior forces broke the Greek defense lines (1941 May), then it was a laudatory defeat for Greeks due to the excessive inequality of powers.

This *resistance worship* has its roots into two chronically irrelevant historical periods: the former is what can (in a broad sense) be perceived as *the Antiquity* and the latter is the 1821 War for Independence (liberation from the Ottoman Empire). Common and core characteristic for the narratives on these two periods is the *struggles of Greeks*, the *resisting Greeks* who fight against all odds to maintain freedom and preserve the civilization and their way of life; preserve the identity features which differentiated them from the neighborhood population. No need to mention that in these textbooks the Greek civilization, the ideals and the way of life are a priori considered as superior than all the neighboring ones.

These two periods place a certain, profound, strong and nonnegotiable meaning on identities as they legitimize the modern Greek nation-state. «This is who we are», is the meaning, independent, eager to fight for our freedom and our way of life, protecting our long-lasting values and traditions. Fighting for these, one becomes a hero, a worth mentioning character whose name is not to be forgotten in times to come (as Achilles understands in Homer's Iliad – and the 8 years old pupils have to learn since the 3rd Grade of the Elementary school). These two periods consist of the core element of the Greek national identity.

One could see as examples the Elementary school 4th grade history textbooks²⁰, where the Persian wars, from *Marathon* battle to *Plataeae* one, are used as simplified examples of pride, glory and freedom gained through war. This narrative is escalated in the Gymnasium 1st grade history textbook²¹, where the emphasis is on freedom gained through battles (resisting against invaders, identified ipso facto as barbarian intruders) and on the glory resulted from these battles, in a detailed narration accompanied by ancient sources as documentation. Furthermore, in the Lyceum 1st grade history textbook the historical narrative draws to the conclusion of a civilization clash, the battle between two entirely different value systems, two different political stances, exhibiting the nation's ideals which echo a higher civilization²². But confronting these two ancient civilizations, the Greek, literally the Athenian democracy, versus the Persian empire, in terms of political ideas clashed into these warfare

²⁰ Elementary school 4th grade history textbooks, pp. 50-62.

²¹ Gymnasium 1st grade history textbook, pp. 57-62.

²² Lyceum 1st grade history textbook, p. 97.

(democracy plus freedom vs empire and obedience), one could claim the fact that Sparta, the other predominant ancient Greek city-state, was not a democracy and this very fact is obscured into the school history narratives, which in a curricular perspective is clearly a ‘null curriculum’ case.

No need to mention as to the ancient history the Greek history school textbooks are full of heroic names, appearing along with the dates of their heroism from all of these periods, troubling though the pupils to memorize them.

Acknowledging consequently the Byzantine (the Greek Medieval) period as the second one which provides profound elements into the modern Greek identity (namely the Christian tradition), legitimizing equally the modern Greek nation-state (19th century –), none can find some heroic names in this narrative preserved into the public discussions on history and referred into Media and Press relative topics (especially when history is brought as an example for today’s problems), none can proclaim this period as an example; actually, this period, important nevertheless for the modern Greek identity as it is and for the Greek and European history, is almost never mentioned in public discussions and the names of Byzantine emperors and great warriors are roughly remembered, since not great instances of resistance are presented into school history textbooks (apart from the Byzantine empire’s last stand in Constantinople siege and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453).

Truthfully, there are a lot of resistance instances during the Byzantine period, but the religious – namely, the Christianity – narrative has a stronger impact in identity construction. Therefore, the resistance instances during the Byzantine period are not considered as such: Byzantine period is an important element into school history curriculum not for the resistance instances, but predominately for religious matters. If one examines the content of the Byzantine history textbooks (5th Elementary grade, 2nd Gymnasium and Lyceum grades) would be astonished for each book chapter has to a greater or lesser extent references to religion (Christian Orthodox) or to religious/Church matters²³.

²³ Undoubtedly, the Medieval era is the period in which the Church (the Christian Church, both Orthodox and Catholic) was established and expanded throughout Europe (from the Edict of Milan in 313 CE, to the East-West Schism of 1054 or the Western Schism of 1378 and the battles throughout Europe between competitive reigns inflamed by the Church itself). Hence the European Medieval history seems to be dominated by the clergy, its politics, plots and shenanigans. The Greek Medieval history, videlicet the Byzantine era, has from this standpoint the exact characteristics of this period of time: for instance, the Byzantine Iconoclasm, a dogmatic difference in the 8th and 9th century CE, turned to be a political affair affecting the Empire’s stability. In any case, the beginning and the end of this period is signified by religious clashes, at the beginning against the ‘old’, pagan, polytheistic Hellenic-Roman religion (with Zeus and other gods and goddesses) and at the end against the invading Ottoman-Muslims. Ergo the references to religion and to religious/Church’s affair is an unavoidable variable in historical narration for this period of time.

The third major historical period which is included into the history textbooks is the «modern and contemporary history», implying the period since the Ottoman invasion and the subjugation of the territories belonging once to Byzantine Empire (the Balkan peninsula, namely, today's Greece and all neighborhood states), until the end of the 20th century²⁴. Although, examining the textbooks' content one can reasonably conclude that the 1821 War for Independence has a major impact on these narrations: almost the 4/5 of the Elementary 6th grade textbook content is taken by it. It has taken the 1/3 of the content into Gymnasium (3rd grade) textbook. Only in Lyceum (3rd grade) textbook the War for Independence is incorporated into the broader discussion for a transitional world in the late 18th and in the 19th century. There is no other explanation than the nature of school history itself; it has to construct a national identity to future citizens. Therefore, it has to have a content orientated to nation ideals. Since Lyceum is not a mandatory school level, the construction of a national and political identity has to be fulfilled until the end of the Gymnasium (the age of 15), when the obligatory education ends. Therefore, the narratives in Lyceum history textbooks could have a broader – a more global/European and not so nation-oriented – perspective.

In the Elementary 6th grade textbook in particular, the concept of a religiously and culturally different conqueror (Ottoman Empire) is prevailing. Gradually the narration is ascending to the notion of 'resistance', that is what the enslaved Greeks did for years until the final clash of the 1821 War for Independence²⁵. Ironically, in different chapters of the very same textbooks one can read that the enslaved Greeks manage to seize high statutory offices in Ottoman's reign, or manage to flourish financially. The 'relative autonomy' of communities within the Ottoman Empire and all the benefits the Greeks gained on several occasions conducted the revolutionary ideas of the late 18th century from Europe (Enlightenment and French Revolution) to Greek communities so as to the 1821 War for Independence be doable.

Into the narratives for the 1821 War for Independence²⁶ the notion of resistance against the foreign intruder (the Ottomans) consists of a praise to those few braves who gave their lives to free their country, the father-land of their ancestors. If one is resisting for the traditional and time-honored values (which includes the language, the religion and other social institutions) then is

²⁴ As it's has already been reported, the extension of the historical periods in history textbooks narration was just recently made possible (after the 1990's textbooks' reform). Until the end of the 20th century the narration in history textbooks was ending just at the end of the WW-II without any reference to the Civil war whatsoever.

²⁵ Elementary 6th grade textbook, p. 40.

²⁶ The 1821 War for Independence is referred, generally in Greece, as the *1821 Revolution*. Semantically there is a crucial difference: while 'war' means two parts involved into a warfare, the revolution holds a higher value, meaning the action of the depressed and their struggle to regain their freedom, their values, their dignity and their way of life; hence the revolution could morally be justified.

uplifted to the pantheon of nation's heroes, equal to Leonidas and the other ancient heroic figures, who also resisted against the enemy and fought for their freedom and their way of life. 'Resisting' is essential to nation's construction and nation consists of high valued actions of resistance, such as predominately the 1821 Revolution (War for Independence).

But inside these narratives, one may find some elements of a paradox. «Where were the actual levels of slavery?» one may be wondering, since the language could be spoken, the Church was active and the religious faith could freely be exercised (depends on the particular period of course, but to a greater or lesser extent the Christian religion and the Christian Church as an institution were not ultimately inhibited or forbidden). Besides that, financial activities were not restrained; on the contrary, Greeks (as much as the Armenians or the Hebrews) were distinguishing in trade within the Ottoman Empire and the Greek communities outside the borders of Ottoman Empire – the *diaspora* – were enriched by this trans-empire trade (the 1774 *Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji* finds Greeks with a substantial fleet by means of which they dominated throughout the Mediterranean Sea at a subsequent time). This is a point for the 'null curriculum' hypothesis, since the actual history is not really need to be written within the school textbooks, due to the limitations of educational aims, political agendas and other curricular restrictions.

Examining the 'written history' in school textbooks one can discuss the null curriculum in history, which incorporates all the unwritten history, the uncomfortable silences imposed on school history textbooks and all the misinterpretations of history, written though in school textbooks. Apart these two cases (the Antiquity and the 1821 War for Independence) which both contain brilliant moments of glorious resistance(s), and of course the *Resistance* itself (the 1941-44 resistance against the Nazis), there are certain instances which are not mentioned in history school textbooks because they are not fitting at all into the national narration of the *resisting Greeks*. Notwithstanding the notion of resistance is implicitly a fundamental one throughout the Greek history curriculum, it was never mentioned a moment of resistance on behalf of the Greek opponents, *id est* the resistance against Alexander's invasion to the East. Into the school history text-books the narrative of Alexander's invasion to East is reflecting the glorious and triumphant march of Greek army far into the East (initially as a quasi-revenge for the Persian wars), spreading and planting the Greek culture deep into the *barbarian East* (an uncharted land so far). Undoubtedly as Alexander was marching deep into the East some form of resistance had to be expressed by the locals against him. This resistance though is covered by the Alexander's glorious victory, such as it was the Battle of Gaugamela. In this case the focus is on the triumphed Greeks, not on the resistance as an ideal express by others (the opponents).

Neither has been mentioned (at all, or as a positive attitude) the resistance displayed by the Turks in 1920-1921, when the Greek army victoriously invaded

deep into Ottoman Empire's land and arrived almost 100 km before Ankara, the current Turkish capital city. Then the Turks were defending for their own country after all and some form of resistance had been expressed against the Greek army. Nevertheless, it's a constantly huge dispute in parliamentary discussions, in Press, in Media and in society as well, over the 'true' narration – that *has to be* – in school textbooks regarding the 1922 Greek retreat back to the coasts of Smyrna (Izmir) and the slaughtering by Kemal Ataturk's army of all the non-Turkish residents in Asia Minor²⁷. There was a huge and a massive clamor over Media when a new (in 2006) history textbook dealing with the 1920-1922 warfare in Minor Asia took the Greeks away from the 'resisting few' position and let a sense of devictimizing into the national narration²⁸.

Besides the null curriculum case in the written (school) history one could claim that the unwritten history has also a major contribution in our perception of the past.

In the case of the 1945-1949 Civil war, since the winners of the Civil war did not write the narrative of their own victory, they let enough space to the defeated to shape an ideological field for confrontation on the Civil war issue. The notion of resistance was predominant in this narration. Regardless their defeat, regardless what really was at stake during the Civil war (the political turnover), regardless their proportion on civil massacres, the defeated (and their political descendants) used what is known nowadays as the 'social appropriation' mechanism²⁹. Through one sided publication they presented themselves as undoubtedly defeated in warfare but as morally and ethically winners, since they were *resisting* against all odds, fighting an army supported by great powers (the USA military aid and the UK troops), and most of all, they were fighting for great ideals, such as freedom, equality, justice, etc. This stance is clear in the Lyceum 3rd grade history textbook where these exact ideas are presented as if they were in stake during the 1945-1949 Civil war. Did the defeated in this Civil war actually entered into the warfare in order to maintain these ideals (social rights, equality and freedom), or just in order to seize the power and establish a new political (overtly communist) regime? This is not clarified into the school history textbooks. Through the unwritten history the involved parts in this war were rearranged as for the moral judgment of their participation.

²⁷ This, on the other hand, could be discussed as a clear genocide against the Greeks, the Armenians and other national-religious minorities performed by the Kemal Ataturk's army in the early 20th century, so as to construct the modern nation-state of Turkey after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Although the modern Turkish foreign policy is constantly denying the term «genocide» as part of their own history, and their history syllabuses are focusing on the Turkey's victory against its long-standing enemies – another example of a history null curriculum case.

²⁸ This was the 2006-7 'Repousi's history textbook' case, as it's already been mentioned previously.

²⁹ D. McAdam, S.G. Tarrow, C. Tilly, *Dynamics of contention*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

The '60s in Greece were a troubled period. Others call it as a «long lasting», others as a «brief decade»³⁰. At the beginning of the '60s the right-wing party of that time was in government, using the 'iron' style of democracy prevailed throughout the '50s; it was literally an authoritarian administration. During these intense years a lot of demonstrations took place (advocated by the major opposition party), demanding the democratic rules to be followed, less intervention to politics by the King (during that time Greece was a kingdom). In the mid '60s, the center-wing party came in power, promising justice, equality, constitutionalism and among others a 15% of GDP grant to education (equal to the «marital grant» given earlier to Princess Sofia of Greece, for her marriage to King Juan Carlos of Spain). Soon, parliamentary activity became overwhelmingly biased and problematic and new elections were pronounced. But the military coup came before these elections (1967). The military dictatorship was in power for seven years (1967-1974).

During that time the society, at first, was numbed and didn't react to claim democracy back. Gradually a few fragmentary and unsuccessful activities revealed a sense of resistance, while some activities did manage to internationalize the problem: famous or distinguished people (such as actors, writers, musicians, etc.) who were either already abroad or left Greece after the coup to seek a shelter abroad were giving international publicity to the problem in any occasion. The US financial support and the hard rules of the military regime (censorship, imprisonment, exiling, unspeakable tortures, etc.) prevented further resistance instances. Despite censorship applied in domestic Press, the US army radio station broadcasting from a US military base in an Athenian suburban, and other foreign radio stations were transferring into the Greek society the news from abroad as well as the 'new' culture of the '60s. Within this political environment Greeks learned about the turmoil and the students' uprisings in the US and European universities (and of course about the new rock bands and the new trends). In many universities across Europe and a lot in the USA, students were protesting against the war in Vietnam and in Cambodia, protesting against the educational system of their country, and they wanted their voice to be heard. Many voices, many requests, many ways for claiming what was sought as right. Once again, the powerless resisting against the ones with power, claiming for social rights and other ideals.

Gradually after six years of political asphyxiation the military regime began to lose its stiffness, certain publications were permitted, and a transitional political government succeeded the military staff in power in order to prepare general elections as a process to restore the parliamentary democracy. The military regime realized the lack of legitimization into society due to economic restrictions and the hardship for the most. Legislating for the students' affairs

³⁰ D. Papanikolopoulos, *The "long" '60s decade*, «Avgi Press», July 27, 2008 (in Greek); N. Alivizatos, *The brief '60s decade*, Athens, Kastaniotis, 2008 (in Greek).

the regime decided to cancel the postponement for military servicing³¹ for those students who participate in students' political unions. This was like a touchpaper for the students that triggered demonstrations in some tertiary institutions in Athens, but also in other major cities hosting universities.

Surprisingly, in 1973 November, students of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) did a sit-in and their act of resistance was spread by the word of mouth throughout Athens – a small radio broadcast station made by the students in NTUA labs helped out to spread the message of resistance faster. Soon thousands of people – the same people who were earlier semi-comfortable and looked unwilling to react – now flowed out in the streets and surrounded NTUA, giving food and other necessities to students for their sit-in. To record the historical sequence, one ought to mention that three days later the regime reacted, there was an invasion of a tank into the NTUA, and the sit-in was savagely terminated causing some deaths (protesters and supporters were killed by the police snipers surrounded the NTUA). This protest, the NTUA students' sit-in as an action of resistance, triggered a second military coup (a coup within the military regime), from some hot-tempered officers who established a much harder and crueler military dictatorship and canceled the announced and promised process of parliamentary democracy restoration. Within a few months this second military regime invaded to Cyprus to overturn the legitimate government of Cyprus and establish a military regime there too. This caused the Turkish reactions (almost a war between Greece and Turkey for a couple of days) and the island of Cyprus is divided ever since³². The 1974 Cyprus tragedy was the ultimate end of these regimes. Under this tremendous national defeat³³ the dictators resign, they delivered the power to the political personnel, the parliamentary democracy was restored (1974 July), all the military officers involved into the coup went on a trial and the most of them were imprisoned for life. A few years later Greece entered the EU as a full member-state.

Unsurprisingly this incident of a massive resistance against the authoritarian regime was not written in history school textbooks till recently. Besides the

³¹ In Greece servicing the military was – and still is – obligatory for all the male population over the 18 years of age. Only the students in Universities and other tertiary institutions can have a 'postponement' from the service for the time of their study.

³² To record history, Cyprus is still divided today: the northern part of the island has been illegally captured by the Turkish army and a non-legitimate government has been established (the 'pseudo-state' of northern Cyprus – as the Greek and Greek-Cypriot foreign policy entitled it – is recognized solely by Turkey). Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus, is the last divided European city with a buffer-zone in the center of it.

³³ «I shall not deliver lesser the land [our father-land] delivered to me» is the oath that the military personnel is giving before entering the service. This oath comes from the (glorious and sacred) ancient times. The irony was devastating here, since the military coup was made just to preserve the historical ideals of the nation, as they proclaimed, but they ended up with the national tragedy they caused.

unwritten history per se, what remains hidden as part of a null curriculum is the true causes for the 1973 November students' uprising. One could agree with the 1973 *legislation on students' affairs* as a motive and could indicate the loss of freedom as the cause for the uprising. Another could claim that students revolted only when their own interests were under question. Nevertheless, the actual history null curriculum in this case is that students' revolt didn't break down the military regime. A direct consequence of the 1973 students' revolt was a much harder dictatorship and the Turkish invasion to Cyprus along with the tragedy that followed. Nevertheless, from the tragedies mentioned above, what remains in social cognition as the imprint of the 1973 students' revolt, is the public acknowledgment of a students' and society's resistance that brought the democracy back (Tsirides, 2017: 313)³⁴. It's a form of social appropriation, given the numbness of society, an alibi for the inertia expressed for long time during the military regime³⁵.

3. *Bridging the past to present: the role of the resistance culture*

Since 2008 Greece is undergoing a multi-crisis. During this period a lot of demonstrations and other forms of 'resistance', predominantly violent and destructive, have taken place against the imposed monetary and fiscal measures. Surprisingly, the public discussions around this crisis partly involved the guerrillas' disobedience to the 1945 Varkiza Agreement and the 1973 students' revolt against the military regime, as major resistance examples which ought to be followed. During the demonstrations against the fiscal and monetary measures in 2010-2012, where Athens turned to be a battle field, some of the demonstrators' slogans were calling for disobedience and resistance in similar ways as it was in 1945 and 1973. The 1945-1949 Civil war unrest and passion seemed to be alive in the beginning of the 21st century! This negotiation on behalf of some social agencies or broad collectivities brings forward the relation between the written and the unwritten history and the history null curriculum. This relation reveals a gap in collective memory that is preventing the wounds from history to heal: «what we do know (or what we have learnt), what we think we know and what we don't talk about» construct a highly volatile and toxic environment in both the political life and the society itself. The most recent example of history's troubles can be seen in the 2019 *Prespes Agreement* (agreement between Greece

³⁴ G. Tsirides, *The Greek Civic Society during the dictatorship regime (1967-1974)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Political Science (supervisor D. Sotiropoulos), Athens, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Academic Year, 2016-2017 (in Greek), (Pergamos repository, the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens digital library) <<https://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/uoalibrary/default/data/1519108/theFile>> (last access: 14.09.2019), p. 313.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315, for a similar reference.

and the FYROM, which ended a dispute over the name of the latter state). A society seems to be ready to burst again for a historical cause not efficiently explained and justified in school history narratives; but on the contrary, it was often hidden in the unwritten history or it had been part of the null curriculum; things never been said, remained hidden under the history's rug.

In both of these cases – the 1945-1949 Civil war and the 1973 Greek students' uprising – their core element is the notion of 'resistance', regardless who resists against whom or what. Along with all the glorious resistance moments in ancient history and the 1821 Revolution as the ultimate action of resistance, this notion of 'resistance' as it is generally perceived constructs a *culture of resistance* within the society. This 'resistance culture' is penetrating the society through the unwritten history and the history's null curriculum and it's legitimized through the written school history, for which 'resistance' carries a positive meaning, since the notion of resistance enhance the nation-state's narratives. It seems that this 'resistance culture' functions as a means of *technology for political domination*³⁶. In this sense, the 'resistance culture' legitimizes the actions carried out regardless the causes or the consequences: resistance a priori maintains a positive quality even if one resists against his own state; this could explain up to a point the high levels of tax-evasion in Greece or the unwillingness of a substantial part of the Greeks to conform to the law in any occasion³⁷. This 'resistance culture' as it is cultivated predominately

³⁶ N. Mouzelis, *Post-Marxist Alternatives. The Construction of Social Orders*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1990; P. Kondylis, *The causes of Modern Greece's decay*, Athens, Themelio, 2011 (in Greek).

³⁷ Actions of 'resistance' can be seen even by the political personnel who are assigned to apply the law – in some cases the law they by themselves voted in earlier times (it is a notorious scene with a minister of health smoking inside the conference hall during a press interview, or other ministers riding bikes without helmet, or driving a car without their seat-belts fasten, etc. Not to mention other matters of importance such as traffic violations causing death, tax evasion, etc, all publicly known through the Press). Additionally, mostly during the '80s the Greek society seemed to be in favor of a terrorist ('extreme left?') group, named after the 1973 students' rebellion (the notorious 17N). Furthermore, the society seemed to be ready to justify their actions (bombing and shooting 'enemies of the people', such as members of American and British diplomatic corps in Greece – the excuse was the intervention of their politics into Greek affairs, years and years behind – or other distinguished Greeks, such as politicians, newspaper publishers, entrepreneurs, etc). This (terrorist) group was 'resisting' against the state, the power, the foreign powers, the capitalism, and so forth, claiming the social rights and other ideals inherited to them by the people's struggles in the past. There is another dispute that this notion of the 'resistance culture' could also be used, up to a certain point, as an explanatory concept for the ambiguous and ambivalent stance a part of the Greek society took in the Catalan issue: for some of the Greeks this is a case of a 'few' (the Catalans) resisting and standing against the 'mighty (the state – Kingdom – of Spain) in order to preserve their own distinguishing identity, culture, language, history – under a naive and emotional reflection it could be a roughly similar case to the 1821 Greek Revolution; hence the Catalans are partially in favor in Greece, with no other logical reasoning but this naive and emotional perception for history.

through the school history's null curriculum and the unwritten history cannot serve as a logical argumentation whatsoever.

For the rightists the notion of resistance is contained into the national narration, praising the glorious past through the written (and school) history. The 'resistance culture' is a concept which constructs the core element of their national identity for which they are overwhelmingly proud of.

For the leftists the notion of resistance regardless of its historical roots is cultivated through the unwritten history and the school history's null curriculum as part of their political agenda, as well as part of the political-historical knowledge and memory they ought to carry – a crucial tool to comprehend the past and transform the present³⁸.

Notwithstanding the roots, the causes and the consequences of this 'resistance culture', under this outbreak of memory due to current Greek multi-crisis, one has to reconsider the national narratives beyond their cultivated myths and the trisection narration of a misused history, divided into the officially written, the unwritten history and the history's null curriculum. Then, as Axelos eminently illustrated, one could comprehend the history as a means to produce the present and the future and not solely as a product by which the past could just be merely consumed³⁹.

³⁸ E. Koukee, *The end of Varkiza [Agreement]: the December [1944 Battle of Athens] as a heritage or as a foreign country?*, «Chronos», vol. 21, 2015 (in Greek), <<http://www.chronosmag.eu/index.php/l-e-l-x.html>> (last access: 09.10.2016).

³⁹ K. Axelos, *Le destin de la Grèce moderne*, «Esprit», vol. 7, 1954, pp. 39-54, [Greek transl. *The destiny of modern Greece*, Athens, Nefeli].

«Et Après?» - The 1970s philosophical fallout from May '68 and its contemporary significance

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ABSTRACT: This essay explores the complex philosophical reaction to the May '68 events, with an especial emphasis on the internalist critique from the Left. Through the 1960s, the respective theories of Lyotard and Debord can be seen as prescient of and influential on the '68 movements and revolt. In contrast, it is only after '68 that there emerges a self-critique of Leftist thought in the work of Rancière. Žižek's work, an amalgam of Marx and Lacan, is also explored as a more idiosyncratic approach to related socio-political questions. Nonetheless, the future of politics and philosophy remains an open horizon. In such a complex space of interpretation and political praxis, the «long '68» will undoubtedly continue to surprise us with its new mutations and metamorphoses.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Philosophy; Ideology; Socio-political questions; May '68; XXth Century

Anarchism is a great libidinal movement of humanity to shake off the repressive apparatus created by hierarchical society¹.

Introduction

One of the May '68 posters infamously asks the searching question «Et Après?» («what afterwards?»), foregrounding what Kristin Ross has referred to as the «afterlives of '68»². One of the most significant strands of this afterlife

¹ M. Bookchin, *Spanish Anarchism: The Heroic Years 1868-1938*, London, AK Press, 1998, p. 14.

² K. Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002.

was to develop, in philosophical terms, with a strong move against a certain version of orthodox Marxism in France and the critique of Althusser was the paradigm instance³. Althusserianism had come to stand for a particular version of communism made to look elitist and out of touch by the sudden emergence of the May events from below. In many ways, this was an oversimplification of Althusser's complex political thinking (a point we will return to below), but the impact of the turn in culture and society against this supposed version of Marx was unequivocal.

This critique came from both the Right (the so-called «new philosophers»⁴) and the Left (with Althusser's ex-students such as Badiou and Rancière), the latter⁵ most notably and most vehemently turning against his original philosophical mentor. What both these critiques shared was a strong argument against philosophical determinism, against the arch hierarchy of intellectual *vs* masses and also an affirmation of, and emphasis on, freedom. Where they differed was the sense, in the Leftist critique (seemingly wholly absent from the Right), that this philosophy could usher in a new communitarian thinking which reconciled liberty and equality, in a way that May '68 had pronounced as possible. For the Right, the critique only pointed towards a renewal of the value of subjectivity⁶.

In this paper I look especially at the intra-Left critique, with reference to the influence of Debord and Situationism⁷. I also look to the contemporary importance of this alternative vision for Leftist thinking, with reference to some recent social and educational movements for change (for example, through the legacy of Paulo Freire's work in Critical Pedagogy)⁸. As the epigraph suggests, the Left is not one homogeneous constituency, and this is nowhere more apparent than in the disparate influences of '68. Most especially here, the fault lines between a communitarian anarchism (as developed by Bookchin and others) and specific versions of Marxism are important to clarify. Moreover, within Marxism itself there are significant differences in the theoretical variations that

³ L. Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)*, in S. Žižek (ed.), *Mapping Ideology*, London, Verso, 1991, pp. 45-62.

⁴ L. Ferry, A. Renaut, *French Philosophy of the Sixties: An Essay on Antihumanism*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1990.

⁵ J. Rancière, *Althusser's Lesson*, London, Continuum, 2010.

⁶ Despite the emphasis on subjectivity in this Rightist discourse of Ferry and Renaut amongst others, there are intimations of a more universalist potential on the Right, for example, in the critique of a Leftist 'anti-humanism' and the valuation of a 'humanism' (Ferry, Renaut, *French Philosophy of the Sixties*, cit., p. XXIV). A focus on the potentials for collectivism on the Right is beyond the scope of this paper but it would be important to look at the recent emergence of so-called 'Alt-Right' perspectives in such a context.

⁷ K. Knabb [ed.], *Situationist International Anthology*, Berkeley, USA, Bureau of Public Secrets, 1989; G. Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, London, Rebel Press, 2000.

⁸ P. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, London, Penguin, 1996; J. Irwin, *Paulo Freire's Philosophy of Education: Origins, Developments, Impacts and Legacies*, London-New York, Continuum, 2012.

are possible, once one accepts what Dolar and Žižek refer to as a form of 'nondogmatic Marxism'⁹. This subset of interpretative problems will be one of the themes explored below, as it relates both to the theoretical history of this problem and its current evolution in political practice.

1. *Different Versions of a Leftist '68*

May '68 in philosophical discourse is much more than simply a month of seismic political struggle and crisis. For the Left especially, May '68 has come to have a very particular significance as an index of the potential for social and political transformation and change¹⁰. Vinen, for example, makes distinctions between:

1968 by which I mean a single eventful year and '68 or 'the Long '68', by which I mean the variety of movements that became associated with and sometimes reached their climax in 1968 but cannot be understood with exclusive reference to that year [...] '68 goes on for several decades¹¹.

As we will see below, our claim is that this longer '68 still continues today which is agreed by many other commentators, with some arguing¹² that this «Long '68» has re-emerged as especially significant more recently, as a response to a contemporary crisis of politics and society.

Prior to '68, one can read the genealogy of events through the particular influence of Situationist thought and Guy Debord¹³. Similarly, the respective philosophies of Jean-Francois Lyotard¹⁴ and Henri Lefebvre¹⁵ (both lecturers at the University of Nanterre during the uprising) are instructive in clarifying that

⁹ J. Irwin, M. Dolar, H. Motoh, *From Structuralism to Lacan - Interview with Mladen Dolar*, in J. Irwin, H. Motoh, *Žižek and His Contemporaries. The Emergence of the Slovenian Lacan*, London/New York, Bloomsbury, 2014, pp. 120-135; H. Motoh, *Punk is a Symptom: Intersections of Philosophy and Alternative Culture in the '80s Slovenia*, «Synthesis Philosophica», vol. 27, n. 2, 2012, pp. 285-296.

¹⁰ Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, cit.; R. Vinen, *The Long '68: Radical Protest and Its Enemies*, London, Penguin, Random House, 2018; L. Todaro (ed.), *Dismantling Authoritarianism: Changes in Education across the Transition from the 1960s to 1970s*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018.

¹¹ Vinen, *The Long '68*, cit., p. VIII.

¹² Todaro, *Dismantling Authoritarianism*, cit.

¹³ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, cit.

¹⁴ J.F. Lyotard, *Political Writings*, [translated by B. Readings, K.P. Geiman], Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

¹⁵ H. Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, 3 vols., London, Verso, 2002.

rather curious amalgam of revisionist Marxism and anarchism, which imbues the '68 movements with such flair and idiosyncratic political critique¹⁶.

«What of Debord's influence first of all?». The Situationism of Debord has at least this advantage over a lot of other so-called radical political and cultural theory; it was influential on, and participant in, an actual extraordinary moment of political and social upheaval. Jan-Werner Mueller describes Debord as the «most innovative Marxist thinker in Europe after 1945». Of course, one paradigm philosophical question here is to what extent Debord remains a Marxist as such, or rather, to the contrary, whether his 'innovations' lead him totally beyond the Marxist category? If Debord does remain a Marxist, we might say of his Situationism what Tariq Ali says of Daniel Bensaïd, that they both tried «to help create a non-dogmatic, non-religious, non-bullshit Marxism»¹⁷.

How so? Debord combines a critique of ideology which is more traditionally Marxist with a less traditional suspicion of the very method of critique itself. Debord directly inherits the ideology critique of the young Marx of the *1844 Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*¹⁸ (translated into French with the inter-war Hegel renaissance as an existentialist' Marx-Hegel)¹⁹. For example, in his text *The Society of the Spectacle*²⁰, Debord cites the predicament of the worker's alienation under capitalism: «The more the worker produces, the less he has to consume; the more values he creates the more worthless and unworthy he becomes; the better shaped his products, the more misshapen he is»²¹. The current conditions of what Debord calls «the spectacle» or the «spectacular society» have further intensified the problematic alienation of the worker so that it has come to colonise all aspects of social life, and Debord notes this intensification by using the concept of 'separation' instead of 'alienation'. In the

¹⁶ Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, cit.

¹⁷ T. Ali, *Foreword: A Letter from Atlantis*, in D. Bensaïd, *An Impatient Life. A Memoir*, London, Verso, 2013, p. 1. This is a version of Leftist thought which would also relate to the 'nondogmatic' Marxism developed in the Former Yugoslavia, initially through the Praxis group of thinkers of Zagreb and later through the Ljubljana school of Slavoj Žižek (Žižek, *Mapping Ideology*, cit.).

¹⁸ As influenced by the political theory of the younger Marx, much of the '68 versions of Leftist philosophy are imbued with a more 'humanist' dimension than, for example, Althusserianism, which is explicitly 'anti-humanist' (Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, cit.). This constitutes a problem for the Rightist critique of, for example, Ferry and Renault, who emphasise unequivocally the 'anti-humanist' nature of the '68 movements, as is exemplified by the sub-title of their critique (*An essay on antihumanism*). (Ferry and Renault, *French Philosophy of the Sixties*, cit.). There is a rather curious (and unacknowledged) affinity between the latter's emphasis on a renewed subjectivity (Ferry and Renault, *French Philosophy of the Sixties*, cit., p. 10) and a simultaneous emphasis in the '68 movements on the re-emergence of the 'subject'.

¹⁹ K. Marx, *The Theses on Feuerbach*, in Id., *Early Writings*, [translated by R. Livingstone, G. Benton], London, Penguin, 1992, pp. 421-423; Id., *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844)*, in *ibid.*, pp. 279-400.

²⁰ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, cit.

²¹ Marx, *The Theses on Feuerbach*, cit.

terms of the '68 revolt, it finds its figure for example in a poster entitled «On Vous Intoxique»²² or «You are being poisoned».

But alongside this traditional critique of alienation, Debord's thought (and especially his writing 'style') is also crucially influenced by some of the esoteric Symbolists, as in the instance of Lautréamont's Maldoror and later also influenced by Breton and Surrealism²³. This gives Debord's thought its rather heterodox quality.

In this, we might say that Debord's work offers a self-critique of Marxism which is original and prescient in foreshadowing much of the radical critique which emerges post-'68. The originality of Debord is that he is already providing this radical critique through the 1960s and prior to and leading into (and influencing) the very tenor of the May '68 social movements themselves. The '68 posters of the Nanterre movements and beyond continually cite phrases and aphorisms from Debord and other situationists such as Vaneigem²⁴. In this, their work bears interesting comparison to the respective philosophies of Lyotard²⁵ and Lefebvre²⁶. Both the latter were familiar with Debord and in dialogue with the wider Situationist movement.

Both Lyotard and Lefebvre's work, from philosophy to the politics of the university, shows the insights gleaned from Debord and Situationism, whilst each also developing thinking in their own right. While the influence of Debord is less strong in the post-'68 era (his work is primarily a catalyst for '68 itself), Lyotard's work continues to evolve in interesting ways through the '70s and '80s (here his 1979 text *The Postmodern Condition*²⁷ is crucially important, becoming one of the central philosophical figures of the period). Lefebvre's work is more marginal to mainstream philosophy, but his trilogy of *The Critique of Everyday Life*²⁸ (which includes volumes from before, directly after and much later than '68, the last volume published in 1981) has again become recently important for anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation movements in contemporary contexts.

In relation to Lyotard's thought, we can say that his later work can be seen to develop out of a strong Leftist commitment in his 1960's and early '70's texts, grounded in the original political activist group *Socialism or Barbarism* (especially famous for its work against the Algerian War). Understood in this light,

²² P. Vermès, J. Kugelberg (edd.), *La beauté est dans la rue. Beauty Is In The Street. A Visual Record of the May '68 Paris Uprising*, London, Four Corners Books, 2011, p. 195.

²³ A. Merrifield, *Guy Debord*, London, Reaktion, 2005, p. 20; J. Irwin, *Re-Politicising Education – Interpreting Jean-François Lyotard's May '68 Texts and 'The Postmodern Condition' in a Contemporary Educational Context*, in C. McDonnell (ed.), *Yearbook of the Irish Philosophical Society*, Maynooth, National University of Ireland, 2010.

²⁴ Vermès, Kugelberg, *La beauté est dans la rue*, cit.

²⁵ Lyotard, *Political Writings*, cit.

²⁶ Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, cit.

²⁷ Lyotard, *Political Writings*, cit.

²⁸ Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, cit.

The Postmodern Condition can be seen precisely as a consistent development of Lyotard's earlier work, focusing on the political and philosophical problematics pertaining to education in the postmodern epoch. As a lecturer at Nanterre, Lyotard wrote several important texts which defended the protests of the students and offered an unequivocal critique of the current educational and political system. Alongside Henri Lefebvre, who was lecturing in Sociology at Nanterre, it is arguable that Lyotard is one of the central intellectual influences on and documenters of the May '68 student movement; again, his links to Situationism are very clear at this juncture and in these writings. Lyotard can be seen to be engaging the need for a revision of Marxist thought in relation to politics and education, right through the 1960s. In a text from the 1962, *Dead Letter*²⁹, he calls for a resurgence of authentic 'cultural desire':

Cultural desire is the desire to put an end to the exile of meaning as external to activities. It is at the same time the desire to put an end to the exile of activities as estranged from their sense. Its instrument cannot be the university, which dwells in this very exile, and is the product of it³⁰.

While the university is and must remain insensitive to this desire (as the problem here would seem to be *a priori* in terms of the university's very *raison d'être* for Lyotard), he ends the essay with a remarkably prescient sense that this desire remains alive in the wider society, however stultified:

[...] now we must look for the acts in which this desire is already silently present; we must hear in these acts the call of a sense, a call that has no truck with the operational world but that is nevertheless utterly contemporary; we must make the call ring out, at the cost of transgressing (destroying) the apparatuses that stifle it [here, the university no doubt]; we must find the ways to make it ring out, the opportunities and the means. That is what it means to take culture literally³¹.

Later texts from this period such as *Preamble to a Charter*, written in 1968, and *Nanterre, Here, Now*³², written in 1970, display a transition from a more optimistic or even utopian perspective on '68 and its implications for political and social processes, to a more realistic (or some might say pessimistic) tone. The concept of *détourner* or 'displacement' also appears in these texts and is an explicit borrowing from the work of the Situationist leader, Guy Debord, and his text *The Society of the Spectacle*. This indicates again Lyotard's cultural and political affiliation to the wider May '68 movement.

The May '68 students' movement has brought a new understanding of what Lyotard terms 'cultural alienation' to the fore. In traditional Marxist terms, it

²⁹ Lyotard, *Political Writings*, cit.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

has foregrounded the superstructural elements of the capitalist oppression. But this must be accompanied by a continued and simultaneous emphasis on the base or economic oppression, as not (in Althusser's phrase) the determining factor 'in the last instance', but one might say as a *co-determining* instance (there is a clear sense here that Lyotard is emphasising a 'cultural-social-economic' Marxism very close to the Lefebvrian model put forward in texts such as the three volume *Critique of Everyday Life*, written almost simultaneously to these Lyotardian texts).

In relation to Lefebvre's thought, although he was originally part of a more mainstream Marxist tradition than was Lyotard, his *dictum* of «Marx said 'Change the world', Rimbaud said 'Change life'; for us, these two watchwords are one»³³ demonstrates his fusion of Marxism once more with *avant-garde* elements in art and politics. His strong connection with Debord has been well documented, although as with all of Debord's connections, there was eventually a major falling-out. For another Situationist, Raoul Vaneigem, this complex hybrid is expressed as the existential principle: «those who talk about revolution and class struggle, without understanding what is subversive about love and positive in the refusal of constraints; such people have corpses in their mouths»³⁴. This is a powerful statement of the duality of the '68 ethos – both liberty *and* equality, both revolution *and* freedom. Lefebvre's three volume *Critique* spans 40 years (1947-1962-1981), with Volume I setting out the framework for a revision of Marxism post-war and Volume II seeking to evolve this framework as consumer society expands in the lead-up to '68. Volume III in 1981 further 'revises' Marxism in the light of the failure of '68 and its aftermath.

Lefebvre criticises the Marxist concepts of 'base' and 'superstructure'³⁵. Instead, Lefebvre suggests the more fluid notion of 'socio-economic formation'³⁶, which he links to his concept of 'everyday life'. These concepts eschew transcendent and *a priori* definitions and classifications in favour of 'ambiguity'. As Michel Trebitsch notes, for Lefebvre this is the «enigma of '68»:

The enigma of '68 – Lefebvre detected a novel development that was incomprehensible and unacceptable to all orthodox thinking about revolution. While economic and social infrastructures had not been overthrown and foundations of state power remained secure, the intellectual, moral and psychological superstructures had collapsed; and he was not far from thinking that this was the key thing³⁷.

Once more, we see the clear distance between these hybrid versions of Marxism and Anarchism (in Debord, Lyotard and Lefebvre) and the Marxism

³³ Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, cit.

³⁴ R. Vaneigem, *The Book of Pleasures*, London, Pending Press, 1984.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, cit., p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ M. Trebitsch, *Introduction*, in *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

of Althusser which would emphasise the economic base precisely *contra* the superstructural elements. Also, with Lefebvre and each of the others, we see a sense that the 'supposed' failure of '68 was not so much a failure of revolution, as a revolution in how we conceptualise and practice the possibilities and potentialities of socio-political change. Thus, we have the «enigma of '68»³⁸.

2. *From Rancière's Critique of Althusser and Marxism to the Rightist '68*

If Jacques Rancière's close association with Althusser, in their distancing from the '68 events (Althusser was Rancière's mentor), suggests the dichotomy between intellectuals and masses, his own post-'68 work marks a concerted and vehement attempt to redress this. Thus, we see Rancière move closer to the more hybrid theories of Debord, Lyotard and Lefebvre, but this revolutionary *volte-face* takes place only after '68 is over, only in significant hindsight. This is especially the case in Rancière's extraordinary text from 1974, *Althusser's Lesson*, but this latter text also marks out Rancière's work to come across the next decades. It is this emphatic *Althusser's Lesson* [*La Leçon D'Althusser*]³⁹ which sees the critique of Marxism become more vehement and directed. His 2010 *Foreword* to the translation of this text is also instructive for our purposes⁴⁰. In these texts, we can see the concept of 'radical equality' emerge in Rancière's work, a concept which was exemplified in practice in the May '68 events but which went unrecognised by Althusser at the time. There is also a powerful articulation of this concept in Rancière's 1987 text *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, which also is a strong if paradoxical critique of 1980s educational policy in France⁴¹. In his *Foreword* to the 2010 edition in translation of

³⁸ For some on the Left, this 'enigma' is not so enigmatic after all, and rather a univocal failure of the Left simply. On this latter reading, the Leftism of Debord *et al.* is merely a pseudo-Leftism. In a manner similar to the way in which Henri Lefebvre was excommunicated from the French Communist party in the late 1930s for invoking the early Marx (Merrifield, *Guy Debord*, cit., p. 26), Lyotard's conception of a postmodern Leftism might be viewed as heretical. Jameson notes the critique of the notion of 'totality' which is crucial to this postmodernist philosophy (what Lyotard refers to in the text as an «incredulity towards metanarratives»): «Lyotard is after all writing in the wake of a certain French post-Marxism, that is, an enormous reaction on all levels against various forms of Marxisms and communist traditions in France, whose prime target is the Hegelian Lukacian concept of totality» (F. Jameson, *Foreword*, in J.F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, [translated by G. Bennington, B. Massumi], Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1986, p. X). Thus, the question remains outstanding: is Lyotard (and indeed Debord's) radical challenging of the Marxist and Leftist tradition in France a renewal *or* a betrayal of fundamental commitments on the side of communitarianism?

³⁹ Rancière, *Althusser's Lesson*, cit.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives*, cit.

Althusser's Lesson, Rancière outlines the ideological and practical distance between Althusser and the student uprising in '68:

Althusserianism as a form of theoretico-political intervention [...] in the intellectual class it underwrote the condemnations of the student uprisings as a petit-bourgeois movement [...] they had to be reeducated by the authority of Science and Party⁴².

But this conception of a generalised powerlessness of the people (a 'theory of impotence'⁴³) is seen by Rancière, after the experience of May '68, as itself misguided. For Rancière, it is premised on a conception of the 'inequality of intelligences' which must be refuted:

My book declared war on the theory of the inequality of intelligences at the heart of supposed critiques of domination. It held that all revolutionary thought must be founded on the inverse presupposition, that of the capacity of the dominated⁴⁴.

Thus, as we will see in the concluding section, the later thinking of Rancière operationalises much of the most radical and positive potential of the '68 movements to seek to bring about a realisation of those original utopian hopes in reality. This Leftist critique of Althusser (but also of some of the errors of the '68 movements) remains convinced that this philosophy can (and will) usher in a new communitarian thinking which reconciles liberty and equality, in a way that May '68 had pronounced as possible.

In direct contrast, the critique of '68 which emerges from the Right disavows this possibility in principle. Here, the philosophical critique of Leftism only points towards a renewal of the value of subjectivity⁴⁵. It is arguable that this tendency has been less influential in philosophy, but more influential by far in the wider Western and global political sphere. Especially noteworthy here are the connects between this discourse and the relatively recent emergence of the Alt-Right rhetorics. In contrast to the contestation of what '68 meant for the Left in France and beyond (and all the attendant ideological schisms), the Rightist reaction to '68 is more univocal (although no less controversial). Perhaps the most famous and influential articulation of this reading is the text by Luc Ferry and Alain Renault entitled *French Philosophy of the Sixties. An Essay on Antihumanism*⁴⁶. This text offers a vehement critique of the underlying assumptions of '68 philosophy and continues to have an influence on contemporary thinking and politics.

For Ferry and Renault, the philosophy of '68 is a bizarre amalgamation of two seemingly opposed philosophies, those of Marxism and Heideggerianism.

⁴² Rancière, *Althusser's Lesson*, cit., p. XVI.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. XVI.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; my emphasis.

⁴⁵ Ferry and Renault, *French Philosophy of the Sixties*, cit.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

What joins these two strands of thinking together and makes them so influential and symptomatic of '68 is, for Ferry and Renault, a simple philosophical formula – *anti-humanism*⁴⁷. Whereas Marxism attacks humanism from the perspective of its bourgeois individualism and seeks to bring about a radical enlightenment communism, Heideggerianism rather seeks to return us to a Hellenic era of hierarchy and the esoteric revelation of 'truth'. But both these ideologies are united for Ferry and Renault in outlining an equally vehement and uncompromising «critique of democracy»⁴⁸, which in each case leads to a false and destructive utopia. In the case of Marxism, it leads to the terrors of Soviet communism and the Gulag. In the case of Heideggerianism, it leads to a mystical ruse of fascism, and support for Nazism. «That the two major critiques of modern humanism have proven to be linked with totalitarian adventures is most significant»⁴⁹. Thus, in very different ways, the underlying philosophical tributaries of the May '68 movements, according to Ferry and Renault, point towards a nostalgia for the 'totalitarian adventure'. As such, we might be tempted to say «that it is lucky that May '68 failed!».

French Philosophy of the Sixties. An Essay on Antihumanism posits the motivation for '68, and its excesses, in certain perceived failures of the modern political and social project, a certain weakness of the project of modernity and of modern democracy. Ferry and Renault acknowledge that there are indeed certain problems here; «the democratic world endlessly makes promises that it cannot keep»⁵⁰. But their proposed resolution to these ailments of the modern project takes a very different tack from the '68 theories of Debord, Lyotard, Lefebvre or even of Rancière's post-'68 revisionism;

[...] it is in the name of these promises then that one should perhaps criticise it, in the name of the present; the subversive potential of such an attitude being more powerful than the one formerly believed was to be found in the future, or in the past⁵¹.

Thus, at the very same time, the backward-looking Hellenic traditionalism of Heideggerianism and the eschatological future project of Marxism are equally outruled, past *and* future, in favour of a 'present' moment of political and philosophical high potential. And if both these misguided philosophies articulate a paralysing rejection of the 'subject' (or 'subjectivity') in their emphasis on a collective notion of truth, instead we should be seeking to resituate this subjectivity more positively⁵². While acknowledging the dangers in denying the subversive aspects of the influence of the 'unconscious', Ferry and Renault end with a foregrounding of the need for a *rethinking* rather than

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. XV.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. XVI.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

a rejection *tout court* of this concept of the subject: «today it is a question of rethinking – after this critique and not only against it – the question of the subject [...]»⁵³. For Ferry and Renaut, this renewal of subjectivity is at the expense of the '68 dream of collective solidarity which, on their terms, simply ends up in a form of 'communist or fascist totalitarianism'.

3. *Leftist Psychoanalysis as an Alternative Reference Point*

One of the paradoxes of the critique of '68 from the Right, which we described above, is that it foregrounded a concept which was to also take on renewed significance for the Left after '68. In brief, we can describe this shared concept of Left and Right as the concept of the 'subject' or 'subjectivity'. It was precisely Althusser's «subjectless structure», the paradigm of an arch-Structuralism, which represented the most crucial political and philosophical problem, a paralysing impasse. This was also the explanation why there emerged a somewhat surprising affinity in the post-'68 context between Leftism and psychoanalysis. Jacques Lacan also belonged to the wider movement of Structuralism but what distinguished Lacan clearly from Althusser was the former's prominent (if enigmatic) concept of 'subjectivity'⁵⁴.

The influence of Lacanianism on varied aspects of Leftist thought and political movements has been one of the most idiosyncratic and unpredicted dimensions of the post-'68 intellectual context. We can trace Lacan's inspiration in, for example, the post-Althusserian writings of Alain Badiou and Rancière. But here I will focus on a more sustained form of neo-Lacanianism in the work of the Slovenian thinker, Slavoj Žižek⁵⁵. Žižek's work is also important for understanding perhaps the most thoroughgoing internalist critique coming from the Left of its own most hallowed presuppositions, where some of the emergent social and political problems of the later twentieth and earlier twenty-first centuries are seen as recalcitrant to more conventional Leftist or Marxist analysis⁵⁶.

Žižek's own work foregrounds overt tensions in its elaboration of the notions of 'ideology' and 'critique of ideology'. Although Žižek's work doesn't emerge until 20 years after May '68 in English translation, his work developed in Yugoslavia from the early 1970s and can thus be seen as a direct response to the '68 crisis. In 1989, in his first translated work, Žižek was signalling an important move away from the 'false consciousness' notion of ideology:

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Žižek, *Mapping Ideology*, cit.

⁵⁵ Id., *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, London, Verso, 1989; Id., *Lacan*, London, Granta, 2006.

⁵⁶ Irwin, Motoh, *Žižek and His Contemporaries. The Emergence of the Slovenian Lacan*, cit.

[...] ideology is not simply false consciousness as an illusory representation of reality, it is rather this reality itself which is already to be conceived of as ideological; ideology is a social reality whose very existence implies the nonknowledge of its participants as to its sense⁵⁷.

In his succeeding introduction to his edited volume *Mapping Ideology*⁵⁸, entitled *The Spectre of Ideology*, Žižek continues to argue for the ‘pertinence’ of the notion of ideology: «we are within ideological space proper the moment (whether true or false) a content is functional with regard to some relation of social domination (‘power’, ‘exploitation’) in an inherently nontransparent way»⁵⁹.

In successive versions of *Enjoy Your Symptom: Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*⁶⁰, Žižek relates the concept of ‘ideology’ to Lacanian (and Marxist) notions such as ‘fetish’ and ‘symptom’ itself. In a Preface to the 2008 edition, entitled *Enjoy your Symptom – or Your Fetish?*⁶¹, Žižek generates a certain ambiguity here between the original concept of ‘symptom’ and the newer concept of ‘fetish’. Can one concept replace the other in the Žižekian analysis? The related notion of ‘sinthome’ also comes to have significance in the later Lacan’s work and in Žižek’s own analysis, complicating matters further.

What is at stake in these theoretical manoeuvres? We can cite here Alenka Zupančič’s claim for psychoanalysis, through the method of comedy. As she notes, «what is at stake in psychoanalysis is not simply becoming conscious of the unconscious, and all that often painfully determines [our] actions and experiences [...]. This is insufficient: the main problem is how to shift and change the very symbolic and imaginary structures in which this unconscious is embodied outside [ourselves]»⁶².

If the earlier conception of ‘ideology’ (and in the Marxist tradition, ‘false consciousness’) seemed to elaborate a (utopian) resolution to the contradictions of contemporary society, politics and education, the later conceptions point rather to a notion of ideology where a certain ‘deadlock’ must be borne, both at the level of subject and at the societal level. There is an explicit critique of Althusserianism in this context, and if the Marxist framework is sustainable for Žižek post-’68, it is only with a complex supplemental Lacanianism and psychoanalysis. For example, the conception of ‘fetish’ is described as follows in its difference from the ‘symptom’, this from the 2008 preface:

⁵⁷ Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, cit., p. 21.

⁵⁸ Id., *Mapping Ideology*, cit.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁰ S. Žižek, *Enjoy Your Symptom: Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*, London, Routledge, 1st ed., 1992.

⁶¹ Id., *Preface: Enjoy your Symptom – or Your Fetish?*, in Id., *Enjoy Your Symptom: Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*, London, Routledge, 2nd ed., 2008, pp. IX–XVI.

⁶² A. Zupančič, *The Odd One In: On Comedy*, Mass, MIT Press, 2008, p. 16.

Fetish is effectively the reversal of the symptom; that is to say, symptom is the exception which disturbs the surface of the false appearance; the point at which the repressed other scene erupts. While fetish is the embodiment of the lie which enables us to sustain the unbearable truth⁶³.

This emphasis on the recalcitrance of ideology and a certain irreducibility of alienation is characteristic of Žižek's work and, in a broader context of specific communisms, can be seen as a vehement argument against the whitewashing by Tito's state socialism of conflict, pointing to a far more messy, complex ideological reality under Yugoslav socialism. Although each of the successive notions described here can be seen as Lacanian (and indeed Freudian), there is also a strong connection back to the Marxist understanding of these concepts (as Žižek notes in *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, «How Marx Invented the Symptom»)⁶⁴. But the Marxism presented here is crucially of the 'nondogmatic' perspective, wary and even hostile to a more (utopian) resolution to the contradictions of contemporary society. Instead, for Žižek, the theoretical matrix of Marx-Lacan rather points away from utopianism to a fundamental 'failure', something which he identifies particularly with Lacan's Seminar XX: «Seminar XX [Encore] stands for his ultimate achievement and deadlock; [...] in the years after, he desperately concocted different ways out [the sinthome, knots etc.] all of which failed; so where do we stand now?»⁶⁵.

Ultimately, Žižek's work leads us to no simple or unequivocal solution. Rather, as with our other protagonists of the post-'68 drama on the Left, his idiosyncratic form of Lacanianism leaves us perplexed and uncertain of where a contemporary Marxism might be able to lead. Nonetheless, given the important transformative intervention of Lacanianism in the Former Yugoslavia and the emergent new Slovenia, there is also an optimistic and affirmative dimension (against all immediate appearances) to Žižek's critique of ideology.

Conclusion. A Contemporary Philosophy of '68

Whither the spirit of '68 in contemporary times? We might remember here another poster from '68 but also looking towards the 'afterlives' in a less than optimistic mode. Depicting a herd of sheep, the poster is underlined with the slogan «Retour à la normale» [«Return to normal»]⁶⁶. Despite everything, no matter the great hopes and dreams of '68, it will all come to naught, to the same

⁶³ Žižek, *Preface: Enjoy your Symptom*, cit., p. IX.

⁶⁴ Id., *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, cit.

⁶⁵ Id., *Less Than Nothing: Hegel and the Shadow of Dialectical Materialism*, London, Verso, 2012, p. 18.

⁶⁶ Vermès, Kugelberg, *La beauté est dans la rue*, cit., p. 195.

old situation on repeat. Is such a fatalism an accurate representation of the actual reality of May '68 and its afterlives, the so-called «long '68»?

Recent political and social struggles in the age of anti-globalisation and anti-capitalism have demonstrated the continuing influence of May '68 as an index of possibility. The Rightist critique of such collective visions of social struggle continues to take its cue from the vision of Ferry and Renault, although the recent upsurge of alt-Rightist rhetorics (racisms, xenophobias in for example the discourses of Brexit or of Trump) deserves a more specific analysis which is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, we will conclude with some brief reflections on the intra-Leftist continuing dialectic on the future potentials of the May '68 events and vision.

Earlier, we mentioned the curious amalgam of revisionist Marxism and anarchism which took place in '68 and which inspired the social movements for transformation. As the poster had it, «Et Après?» [«What afterwards?»]. Marxism and anarchism continue to give different answers to this question. We can cite two examples of this space of contestation on the contemporary Left. In the first instance, we have the example of Critical Pedagogy where a more conventional Marxism debates with the legacy of Freire (the latter embodying a more eclectic political vision)⁶⁷. A distinct but analogous situation applies in the case of the work of Rancière. Rancière's philosophy is a fascinating case from '68 in that his work develops from an original Althusserianism completely usurped by the reality of '68, to a radical *volte face* in the 1970s (in for example *Althusser's Lesson*)⁶⁸ and which continues to the present in its evolution with regard to the emergence of current crises.

What can Freire and the debate in Critical Pedagogy tell us, first of all? Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*⁶⁹ was published in English in 1968 and its first page includes a just-added footnote referencing the May '68 events. These revolutionary events are claimed as kindred spirits to Freire's message of a radically democratic approach to change and transformation. But the evolution of Freire's work in Critical Pedagogy has also shown some of the dangers of this vision of revolution becoming reified into more formulaic and 'positivistic' forms of ideology critique. As with the debate between Althusserianism and the more radical movements of '68, there is a danger that some of the hierarchical distinctions between 'intellectuals' and 'masses' can sneak back into more progressive political movements. Althusser's distinction between 'science' and 'ideology' sometimes seems to be simply retranslated into contemporary (Marxist-Leftist) language⁷⁰. Nonetheless, the stark and consistent message of

⁶⁷ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, cit.; Irwin, *Paulo Freire's Philosophy of Education*, cit.

⁶⁸ Rancière, *Althusser's Lesson*, cit.

⁶⁹ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, cit.

⁷⁰ Irwin, *Paulo Freire's Philosophy of Education*, cit.; Id., *Alternative Genealogies of Resistance: Lyotard, Rancière and '68, Before and After*, in S. Cowden, D. Ridley (edd.), *The Practice of Equality. Jacques Rancière and Critical Pedagogy*, Geneva and London, Peter Lang, 2019.

Freire's later work is that this this weakening of the revolutionary project can be held off by a thoroughgoing self-critique⁷¹, whether in Marxism or related political philosophies such as anarchism⁷². Freire's political and educational philosophy, as with the best insights from «the Long '68», combines Marxism and anarchism to address the particular emergent problematics of the era.

The case of Rancière is related but distinct. If Rancière's work, up to and including the '68 events under the tutelage of Althusser (such a dominant figure on the French Left), showed all the signs of a misunderstanding of the process of societal change, his post-'68 work is impressively stark. The 'self-critique' which Freire advocates finds no more radical and honest exemplar than in the case of Rancière's 1970s work which sets the tone for his succeeding work, right up to the current time. Here, his target is certainly Althusser but it is also, of course, an indictment of his own personal complicity with oppression and his own prior misunderstandings and political error. In terms of May '68, it is an insight that comes far too tardily, being left behind by events in an embarrassing fashion. But in terms of the post-'68 developments and their resonance in the contemporary crisis of politics and society, it is a vision and a praxis that is admirable and inspiring. It is no doubt ironic that it is the May '68 philosophical villain Rancière⁷³, rather than Debord, Lyotard or Lefebvre, those heroes of '68, who might be said to most take on the progressive legacy of the «Long '68» and who might be said to most successfully translate the insightful failures of that time into the all-too-needy temporality of the political present.

Nonetheless, the future of politics and philosophy remains an open horizon. If May '68 taught one mega-lesson to the Left, it was that overarching and one size fits all 'meta-narratives' just don't work in reality and in real history, however much they might lure us into idealised dialectics. In this, we can see the instructive insight of Lyotard's 'incredulity towards meta-narratives' of his *The Postmodern Condition*⁷⁴ text, albeit articulated ten years later in 1979. Moreover, this understanding of historical contingency and fragmentation is already built into the 1960s narratives of Lyotard and the Situationists. Consequently, we should be wary of an oversimplification which would put Rancière over and above the many voices of the schismatic Left. Rather, the longer-term articulation of Left politics will no doubt require a re-exploration of many of the thinkers and concepts here discussed as well as a renewed analysis of figures and movements we haven't addressed in this specific space, most notably feminism and critical multi-culturalism. In such a complex space

⁷¹ P. Freire, *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, [translated by R. Barr], London, Continuum, 1992.

⁷² Bookchin, *Spanish Anarchism*, cit.

⁷³ Irwin, *Alternative Genealogies of Resistance*, cit.

⁷⁴ Lyotard, *Political Writings*, cit.

of interpretation and political praxis, the «long '68» will undoubtedly continue to surprise us with its new mutations and metamorphoses.

*Migrations and History of education in a
transnational view between Italy and Brazil in
19th and 20th centuries*

edited by
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History of education and migrations: crossed (or connected or entangled) histories between local and transnational perspective. A research «agenda»

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ABSTRACT: This collection of papers has its origins back in a meeting that took place in Caxias do Sul (Brazil), on September 11th and 12th, 2018, with scholars of Brazilian and Italian universities interested in migration and history of education. The event was promoted and organized by the Research Group on History of Education, Immigration and Memory (GRUPHEIM) of the University of Caxias do Sul (UCS) (Brazil) and the Center for Research and Documentation on the History of Educational Institutions, School Books and Children's Literature (CeSIS) of the Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education of the University of Molise (Italy). Different research groups aimed to analyze

migrants, migration and human mobility within History of Education and specially to deepen studies about educational initiatives for (e/im)migrants and/or their children in Brazil, carried out by religious, State and civil society institutions, during the 19th and 20th centuries. Educational and schooling processes; educational models and tools for circulation of knowledge; teaching and learning practices in culturally distinguished spaces and times; and practices for promotion of ethnical and cultural identity related to an Italian character are part of a new research field. In a transnational view, Italian and Brazilian scholars, with their participation and methodological approaches, have opened new perspectives of investigation in the field of History of Education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Migration; History of education; Transnational; Brazil; Italy; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *The origins of Italian and Brazilian historiographical productions on the theme of Education and migrations*

Historical interest in educational and identity processes of Italian migrants¹ has come up in Italy during the 1990s, from an impulse that historians on emigration and education have tried to give to the dynamics that were involving Italian society. However, contributions on this theme have remained quite sporadic and unknown. In the context of initiatives with a transnational character promoted by Italian and Brazilian historians and anthropologists in the 1990s, with support of the Agnelli Foundation, oriented to enrich the knowledge framework on the history of Italian (e/im)migration in Brazil, the space dedicated to the subject of educational processes involving Italian (e/im)migrants in Brazil was pretty much on the sidelines: sporadic interventions by Moretto Ribeiro and by Petrone² highlighted a lack of interest of migrants in education and schooling. Nonetheless, in the same decade, other kinds of attention and demands were approached by scholars like Ambrosoli³ and

¹ We refer to «Italian migrants» in this text, to make comprehension easier. However, we understand that identity is not given at birth, but built, in a dynamic way, throughout one's life. An Italian national feeling, for most people who have emigrated from the italic peninsula, was something that did not make much sense. The then recent unification of Italy had not produced identity resonances, as most felt more attached to local communities than to Italy. They have assumed and constituted such belonging as they were considered and called different, in Brazilian territory. For more on the importance of local dimension in the identity of Italian migrants, see E. Franzina, «*Piccole patrie, piccole Italie*». *La costruzione dell'identità nazionale degli emigrati italiani in America Latina (1848-1924)*, in M. Martini (ed.), *Migrazioni: Comunità e Nazione*, «Memoria e Ricerca», vol. IV, n. 8, 1996, pp. 13-32.

² L.B. Moretto Ribeiro, *Escolas italianas em zona rural do Rio Grande do Sul*, in L.A. De Boni (ed.), *A presença italiana no Brasil*, Turin-Porto Alegre, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, Escola Superior de Teologia, 1990.

³ L. Ambrosoli, *L'istruzione degli emigranti nella lotta contro l'analfabetismo in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, in C. Brusa, R. Ghiringhelli (edd.), *Emigrazione e território: tra bisogno e ideale*, Varese, Lativa, 1995, pp. 63-74.

Rosoli⁴, towards the analysis of educational processes of migrants during the 19th and 20th centuries, in destination countries of South America and United States. These investigations have recalled, above all, the importance of the migratory phenomenon for the Italian immigrants' awareness of the role of education. Other researches, such as the ones by Salvetti⁵ and Ciampi⁶, have offered an initial synthetized overview on the policies adopted by the Italian government for promoting schooling for Italian emigrants. In addition to that, stimuli for deepening the knowledge on cultural and educational processes came from researches related to the reconstruction of associations that have been historically requested for a commitment of disseminating Italian education and culture abroad, whether with a laic or religious character, like the laic Dante Alighieri Association, studied by Salvetti⁷; the «Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i missionari italiani nel mondo» (National Association for supporting Italian missionaries in the world); and the federation «Italica Gens», according to Confessore⁸ and Rosoli⁹. Researches by migration historians were the ones that threw light on the need to go deeper onto the reconstruction of educational initiatives and spaces for migrants. Angelo Trento, in his classic book, highlighted the role of Italian schools in Brazil¹⁰. More recently, detailed information on educational and schooling initiatives were offered by Matteo Pretelli's researches on the migration of Italians to the United States¹¹ and on the orientations adopted by ministries to launch policies for defending Italianess in specific historical contexts like fascism¹².

⁴ 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, Editrice La Scuola, 1999, pp. 119-144.

⁵ P. Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina, *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Vol. I: Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, pp. 535-549.

⁶ G. Ciampi, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in V. Pellegrini (ed.), *Amministrazione centrale e diplomazia italiana (1919-1943): fonti e problemi*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1998, pp. 115-122.

⁷ P. Salvetti, *Immagine nazionale ed emigrazione nella Società Dante Alighieri*, Rome, Bonacci, 1995.

⁸ O. Confessore, *Origini e motivazioni dell'Associazione nazionale per soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani; una interpretazione della politica estera dei conciliatoristi nel quadro dell'espansionismo crispino*, «Bollettino dell'Archivio per la storia del movimento cattolico sociale in Italia», vol. XI, n. 2, 1976, pp. 239-267; O. Confessore, *L'Associazione nazionale per soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani, tra spinte civilizzatrici e interesse migratorio (1887-1908)*, in *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo. Convegno storico internazionale*, Atti del convegno storico internazionale, 12, 1987, Piacenza-Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989, pp. 519-536.

⁹ G. Rosoli, *La Federazione Italica Gens e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano 1909-1920*, «Il Veltro», nn. 1-2, 1990, pp. 87-100.

¹⁰ A. Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1989, pp. 177-183; for the Italian edition see A. Trento, *La dov'è la raccolta del caffè: l'emigrazione italiana in Brasile 1875-1940*, Padua, Antenore, 1984.

¹¹ M. Pretelli, *L'emigrazione italiana negli Stati Uniti*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2011, in partic. pp. 125-154.

¹² Id., *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, Bologna, Clueb, 2010.

Similarly to what happened in Italy, in Brazil – a context that is also characterized by different ethnical specificities and migration groups – the attention to the history of educational processes in different ethnical and cultural contexts of migrants was firstly left to the interests of a more anthropological than strictly historical matrix and has recently matured. After the first studies, carried out by Lucio Kreutz, who investigated processes of ethnical schooling of German migrants in the state of Rio Grande do Sul¹³, in the last fifteen years, the attention to the history of educational processes in different ethnical and cultural contexts has gone through great expansion.

In what concerns the investigation about Italian ethnical schools in the Brazilian context, there have been six PhD thesis presented: Luchese¹⁴ and Rech¹⁵ about Rio Grande do Sul, Maschio¹⁶ about Paraná, Rodriguez¹⁷ about Minas Gerais, Corrêa¹⁸ about São Paulo e Otto¹⁹ about Santa Catarina. There are also master's degree studies, like the ones by Mimesse²⁰ and Franchini²¹ about São Paulo, Pagani²² about Rio de Janeiro and Dos Santos Virtuoso about Urussanga, in the state of Santa Catarina²³. Some research has been developed by Norberto Dallabrida²⁴ about Santa Catarina. Since 2008, the Research

¹³ L. Kreutz, *O professor paroquial: magistério e imigração alemã*, Porto Alegre, ed. Universidade/UFRGS, Florianópolis, ed. da UFSC, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 1991.

¹⁴ T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes na Região Colonial Italiana do Rio Grande do Sul, 1875 a 1930: leggere, scrivere e calcolare per essere alcuno nella vita*, PhD Thesis, São Leopoldo, UNISINOS, 2007.

¹⁵ G.L. Rech, *Escolas étnicas em Porto Alegre/RS (1877-1938): a formação de uma rede escolar e o fascismo*, 2015, PhD Thesis in Education, Federal University of Pelotas, 2015.

¹⁶ E.C. Maschio Falcade, *A escolarização dos imigrantes e de seus descendentes nas colônias italianas de Curitiba, entre táticas e estratégias (1875-1930)*, PhD Thesis, Curitiba, UFPR, 2012.

¹⁷ M.R. Gomes, *Sob o céu de outra Pátria: imigração e educação em Juiz de Fora e Belo Horizonte*, MG, 1888-1912, PhD Thesis, Belo Horizonte, MG, UFMG, 2009.

¹⁸ R.L. Corrêa Teixeira, *Conviver e sobreviver: estratégias educativas de imigrantes italianos (1880 a 1920)*, PhD Thesis, São Paulo, USP, 2000.

¹⁹ C. Otto, *Catolicidades e italianidades: jogos de poder no Médio Vale do Itajaí-Açu e no sul de Santa Catarina*, PhD Thesis in History, Florianópolis, UFSC, 2005.

²⁰ E. Mimesse, *A educação e os imigrantes italianos: da escola de primeiras letras ao grupo escolar*, 2ª ed., São Paulo, Iglu, 2010.

²¹ F. Franchini, *Entre Vargas e Mussolini: a nacionalização do Instituto Médio Ítalo-Brasileiro Dante Alighieri*, dissertation in Education, Post-doc, São Paulo, USP, 2015.

²² C. Pagani, *A imigração italiana no Rio de Janeiro e em Petrópolis e a educação para os filhos dos imigrantes, 1875-1920*, dissertation in Education, Post-doc, Petrópolis, UCP, 2012.

²³ T. Dos Santos Virtuoso, *Disputas de identidades: a nacionalização do ensino em meio aos ítalo-brasileiros (1900-1930)*, dissertation in Education, Post-doc, Florianópolis, University of Santa Catarina, 2008.

²⁴ N. Dallabrida, *As escolas paroquiais entre os imigrantes italianos*, «Blumenau Em Cadernos», vol. 38, n. 9, 1997, pp. 7-19; Id., *Escolas Dante Alighieri: resistência e italianidade*, in José Carlos Radin (ed.), *Cultura e identidade italiana no Brasil: algumas abordagens*, Joaçaba, UNOESC, 2005, pp. 109-120; Id., *Trentinos e italianos na Colônia Blumenau e a sociedade da capela*, in W.F. Piazza (ed.), *Italianos em Santa Catarina*, Florianópolis, Lunardelli, 2001, pp. 97-129; Id., *Imigração e colonização de trentinos e de italianos na Colônia Blumenau*, «Blumenau em Cadernos», vol. 56, 2015, pp. 6-22; *Le scuole Dante Alighieri e l'italianità (Santa Catarina –*

Group on History of Education, Immigration and Memory (GRUPHEIM), affiliated to CNPq and to the University of Caxias do Sul and headed by Terciane Ângela Luchese, develops researches articulated with scholars of several institutional affiliations, related to the theme in different states of Brazil and also in Italy. Altogether, these studies throw light onto the different ways through which schooling has been constituted by Italian ethnical initiatives, in the configuration of the migration phenomenon in different Brazilian states²⁵. This survey, although non-exhaustive, demonstrates the state of the knowledge and the investigative paths on the history of education among immigrants that left the Italian peninsula and settled in Brazil, and points to the gaps and potentialities yet to be approached in researches.

2. *The education of migrants and the tendencies in international historiography*

The encounter between the history of education and the history of migratory processes opens new possibilities in the context of historical research. However, the history of educational processes in migratory contexts implicates a complex articulated approach that allows different levels of analysis and reading; thus, contributions are needed from multiple historiographical competences, in an interdisciplinary perspective, including social history, history of educational institutions and practices, history of cultural processes, to name a few, and even from a renewal of migration studies and that are placed within new historiographical tendencies, that refer to global history or transnational history²⁶. It is impossible to ignore the fact that in the last few decades, in what concerns immigration, several possibilities have appeared, renovating the studies and pointing out to other realities in the immigrants' past. A broader meaning of the migration concept has been progressively established, favoring an expansion of the themes that are objects of research. Stimuli offered by studies on global history have led to define some migratory experiences as important agents of transnational connections and interactions. The historiography on migrations has begun to consider a more real stereotype, no longer restrict to the identification of the migration process with a unidirectional model of «one-way-move-and-settle» and introducing more and more analytical categories,

Brasile, 1906-1917), «Nuovo Bollettino CIRSE», vol. 1, 2012, pp. 71-77.

²⁵ Some results of these researches have been published in periodicals and books, among which we highlight: L. Kreutz, T.Â. Luchese (edd.), *Imigração e Educação no Brasil: histórias, práticas e processos escolares*, 1ª ed., Santa Maria, Editora da UFSM, 2011; Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2014.

²⁶ For a first introduction to renewal of studies on migration phenomena in the context of global history, see S. Conrad, *Storia globale. Un'introduzione*, Rome, Carocci editore, 2015; P. Manning, *Migration in World history*, New York, Routledge, 2005.

such as those of «return migration», «sojourning», «transnationalism» and «diaspora»²⁷. Precisely from new approaches and reflecting on the Italian case, the concept of emigration has been replaced by the one of diaspora, to indicate migratory phenomena that were not single way and did not re-establish a single country²⁸.

New investigations carried out in both rural and urban areas in Brazil have highlighted the introduction and the role of new cultural policies, imported directly from the countries of origin. In addition to the already known influence of liberal political elements in the early 19th century, studies came up on the until now neglected participation of migrant groups in the labor world in the early 20th century and the repercussion of Italian fascism among migrants living in Brazil²⁹. From researches dedicated to the migration of marginalized masses, peasants or workers, we go further on to analyze migratory experiences of social and professional figures and groups that had been poorly looked on in the past, like the mobility of soldiers or «organizational migrants», usually highly qualified, such as diplomatic and corporate staff, missionaries and scholars. Other research areas relate to the formation and management of social networks, the construction of ethnicity, the circularity of Italian culture, the leisure practices of immigrants, the press circuits, the corporate associationism and the insertion of qualified workforce³⁰. As Franzina recalls, the history of international immigration has produced considerable studies and even approached areas like literature, cinema and music³¹. However, researches seem to be less precise in what concerns educational issues³². Yet, the subject of migrants' education aims to enrich the panorama of the research in History

²⁷ L. Lucassen, A.X. Smit, *The Repugnant Others: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants*, «Journal of World History», vol. 25, n. 4, 2014, pp. 1-39; Manning, *Migration in world history*, cit.

²⁸ D.R. Gabaccia, *Italy's many diasporas*, London-New York, Routledge, 2003; Ead., *Emigranti: le diaspore degli italiani dal medioevo ad oggi*, Turin, Einaudi, 2003.

²⁹ L. Biondi, *Classe e nação. Trabalhadores e socialistas italianos em São Paulo, 1890-1920*, Campinas, Editora UniCamp, 2011; J.F. Bertonha, *O fascismo e os imigrantes italianos no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, Edipucrs, 2001; Id., *Fascismo e antifascismo italianos*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2017; E. Franzina, M. Sanfilippo (edd.), *Il fascismo e gli emigrati. La parabola dei fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1943)*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2003.

³⁰ In what concerns Italian historiography, the production on history of emigration was quite important. For an overview on contributions of recent years, see P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina, *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana: Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2002, Vol. 2.

³¹ E. Franzina, *Fonti storiche e storiografia*, in R. Radunz, V.B.M. Herédia (edd.), *Imigração e Sociedade. Fontes e acervos da imigração italiana no Brasil*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2015, pp. 15-30; E. Franzina, *La storiografia italiana e l'emigrazione in Brasile*, in Id., *La terra ritrovata. Storiografia e memoria della prima immigrazione italiana in Brasile*, Stefano Termanini Editore, 2014, pp. 97-124; M. Colucci, M. Sanfilippo, *Le migrazioni: una introduzione storica*, Rome, Carocci, 2009.

³² A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Apresentação do Dossiê. Da Italia ao Brasil: processos educativos e formativos. Séculos 19 e 20*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, n. 51, 2017, pp. 33-40.

of Education, which has been experiencing, since the last decade of the past century, significant growth regarding the theme of transnational dimension.

As one broadens their view to European and North American productions in historiography, one notices that demonstrations of interest in the history of the relations between migration and education date from the mid-1990s and the beginnings of the new millennium, in a whole new historical context. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in the globalization processes that have been going on in the last decades, historical-educational researches interested in analyzing the relation between mobility or migratory and cultural processes gain support from several historiographical tendencies as well as from the deepening of the processes of internationalization of research. Following post-colonial studies, after the demands of A. Nóvoa³³, there have been several interventions, according to Iberian, Anglo-Saxon and North American historiographies, in order to deepen and develop a post-colonial point of view and adopt a transnational approach in the choice of themes and in historiographical analysis³⁴; to verify, from a historical-educational view, some aspects of what is considered as the main concern of this line of studies, that means, the historical interpretation in

³³ A. Nóvoa, *On History, History of Education and History of Colonial Education*, in A. Nóvoa, M. Depaepe, E.V. Johanningmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, vol. I of «Paedagogica Historica» Supplementary Series, Ghent, CHSP, 1995, pp. 23-61. See also Nóvoa, *L'histoire et l'histoire de l'éducation (Réflexions à propos de l'historiographie américaine)*, in Id., *Histoire & Comparaison (Essais sur l'Éducation)*, Lisbon, Educa, 1998, pp. 13-50.

³⁴ Amongst researches that have used the transnational category, see G. Steiner-Khamsi, *Transferring Education, Displacing Reforms*, in J. Schriewer (ed.), *Discourse Formation in Comparative Education*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2000, pp. 155-87; L. Trethewey, K. Whitehead, *Beyond Centre and Periphery: Transnationalism in Two Teacher/Suffragettes' Work*, «History of Education», vol. XXXII, n. 5, 2003, pp. 547-59; K.J. Brehony, *A New Education for a New Era: Creating International Fellowship through Conferences 1921-1938*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 40, nn. 5-6, 2004, pp. 733-55; C. Campbell, G. Sherington, M. White, *Borders and Boundaries in the History of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 43, n. 1, 2007, pp. 1-6; E. Fuchs, *Networks and the History of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 43, n. 2, 2007, pp. 185-97; M. Caruso, *Disruptive Dynamics: The Spatial Dimensions of the Spanish Networks in the Spread of Monitorial Schooling (1815-1825)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 43, n. 2, 2007, pp. 271-282; T. Allender, S. Spencer, *Travelling across National, Paradigmatic and Archival Divides: New Work for the Historian of Education*, «History of Education», vol. 38, n. 6, 2009, p. 721; M. del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *The Transnational and National Dimensions of Pedagogical Ideas: The Case of the Project Method, 1918-1939*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 45, nn. 4-5, 2009, pp. 561-84; E. Fuchs (ed.), *Transnazonating the History of Education*, «Comparativ» Special Issue, vol. 22, n. 1, 2012; T. Popkewitz (ed.), *Rethinking the History of Education. Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 251; C. Mayer, *Circulation and Internationalization of pedagogical concepts and practices in the discourse of education. The Hamburg school reform experiment (1919-1933)*, «Paedagogica Historica», Special issue, vol. 50, n. 5, 2014, pp. 580-598; A. Fontaine, *Aux Heures suisses de l'école republicaine: Un siècle de transfert cultureles et de déclinaisons pedagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand*, Paris, Demopolis, 2015; A. Fontaine, G. Masoni, *Circolazioni transnazionali di lettura morali nell'Europa del secolo lungo. Una storia di transfert culturali*, «Annali di Storia dell'educazione», vol. 23, 2016, pp. 20-37.

terms of movement, reflux and circulation, not only as topics of study, but as perspectives or points of view and as an analytical framework to generate a new historical speech³⁵. Within these very recent lines of research, Fuchs and Roldan Vera have also adopted, broadened and tried a first classification of the concept of transnational and its use in the field of history of education³⁶.

In the last few years, along with the use of concepts or analytical categories such as *transnationalism*, others have tried to explore possibilities offered by the adoption of new analytical categories, those that belong to world history or global history. Contributions have been proposed by, among others³⁷, Emmanuel Diet³⁸, Barnita Bagchi³⁹, Noah Sobe⁴⁰, Joëlle Droux and Rita Hofstetter⁴¹, who aimed at a global history of education or to verify, in the historical educational context, for «crossed histories», designed as a field of investigation of French-German historians Michael Werner and Benedicte

³⁵ It is not possible, herein, to enter into a critical examination about the use of the transnational category in historical-educational research. We limit ourselves to indicate that, to reconstruct the concept of transnationalism in the historical-educational field, see Ossenbach, Del Pozo, *Postcolonial models, cultural transfers and transnational perspective in Latin America: a research agenda*, cit., pp. 579-600.

³⁶ More recently, for an attempt of a first classification and a first analysis related to the research path in a historical-educational context and using transnationalism as an analytical category, see also E. Fuchs, E. Roldan Vera, *The transnational in the History of Education. Concepts and Perspectives*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

³⁷ See, for example, J. Schriewer, *Sistema mundial y redes de interrelación: La internacionalización de la educación y el papel de la investigación comparada*, in M.A. Pereyra, J. García Mínguez, M. Beas, A.J. Gómez (edd.), *Globalización y descentralización de los sistemas educativos. Fundamentos para un nuevo programa de la educación comparada*, Barcelona, Pomares-Corredor, 1996, pp. 17-58; K. Myers, I. Grosvenor, R. Watts, *Education and Globalisation*, «History of Education», vol. 37, n. 6, 2008, pp. 737-41; P. Pineau, *Education and globalisation: a latin American perspective*, «History of Education», vol. 37, n. 6, 2008, pp. 743-755; M. Caruso, *World Systems, World Society, World Polity: Theoretical Insights for a Global History of Education*, «History of Education», vol. 37, n. 6, 2008, pp. 825-840.

³⁸ E. Droit, *Entre histoire croisée et histoire dénationalisée. Le manuel franco-allemand d'histoire*, «Histoire de l'éducation», vol. 114, 2007, pp. 151-162.

³⁹ B. Bagchi, *Connected and entangled histories: writing histories of education in the Indian context*, «Paedagogica Histórica», vol. 50, n. 6, 2014, pp. 813-821; B. Bagchi, E. Fuchs, K. Rousmaniere (edd.), *Connecting Histories of Education. Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-) Colonial education*, New York-Oxford, Berghahn, 2014, p. 255.

⁴⁰ N.W. Sobe, *Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education*, in T.S. Popkewitz (ed.), *Rethinking the history of education. Transnational Perspectives on Its. Questions, Methods and Knowledge*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 93-107.

⁴¹ J. Droux, R. Hoffstetter, *Going international: the history of education stepping beyond borders*, in *Internationalisation in Education: Issues, Challenges, outcomes*, «Paedagogica Historica», Special Issue, vol. 50, n. 5, 2014, pp. 1-9; J. Droux, R. Hofstetter (edd.), *Globalisation des mondes de l'éducation. Circulations, connexions, réfractations, XIXe-XXe siècles*, Rennes, Rennes University Press, 2015.

Zimmermann⁴², or «connected histories», as suggested by Gruzinsky and Sanjay Subrahmanyam⁴³.

Sometimes, in some environments or contexts, maybe a little pretentiously, such perspectives are presented as new historiographical paradigms. We believe in the perplexity of many historians, regarding the use of concepts that are not very precise or are ambiguous, that seem to aspire to produce a new universal history or to propose and exercise a history of globalization instead of in globalization⁴⁴. The invitation to look beyond national borders does not mean to abandon national scale, but to place nations and social phenomena that characterize them, such as migration and education, in a more general framework, not only of comparisons, but of interconnections. It is also acceptable that some have concerns regarding the risk, in the interpretative front, of producing easy generalizations, through an uncritical use of categories from historical sociology⁴⁵. This tendency – and these risks – affected and affects the historical educational context, as Gabriela Ossenbach and Maria Mar Del Pozo have already emphasized a few years ago⁴⁶.

In this research panorama, there have been contributions, albeit less quantitatively significant, like the goal of analyzing education in migratory contexts. Among those, we highlight the interventions by Braster and Maria del Mar del Pozo, about the history of education related to immigration in the context of Holland; or by K. Meyers and I. Grosvenor about the English context⁴⁷. Not less significant are the advances in research paths in Spanish, with studies like the ones by Malheiro Gutiérrez, Anton Costa Rico and Vinão Frago⁴⁸,

⁴² M. Werner, B. Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity*, «History and Theory», vol. 45, n. 1, 2006, p. 31; Id., *Pensar a história cruzada: entre empiria e reflexividade*, «Textos de História», vol. 11, nn. 1-2, 2003, pp. 89-127.

⁴³ S. Gruzinsky, *Les mondes mêlés de la Monarchie Catholique et autres "connected histories"*, «Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales», vol. 56, n. 1, 2001, pp. 85-117; S. Subrahmanyam, *Connected histories: Note towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia*, in V. Liberman (ed.), *Beyond Binary Histories: Re-Imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*, Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan Press, 1977, pp. 289-315.

⁴⁴ Precise information in A. Giovagnoli, *Storia e globalizzazione*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2003, pp. VIII ss. And also in S. Conrad, *Storia globale. Un'introduzione*, Rome, Carocci, 2015, in partic. the chapter *Critica e limiti della storia globale*, pp. 65-80.

⁴⁵ G. Levi, *Microhistoria e Historia Global*, «Historia Crítica», n. 69, 2018, pp. 21-35, <<https://doi.org/10.7440/histcrit69.2018.02>> (last access: 1.09.2019).

⁴⁶ See observations by Ossenbach, Del Pozo, *Postcolonial models, cultural transfers and transnational perspective in Latin America: a research agenda*, cit., pp. 579-600.

⁴⁷ J.F.A. Braster, M. del Mar del Pozo Andres, *Educating Immigrants in the Netherlands: migration flows and Educational Policy in the Twentieth Century*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 37, n. 1, 2001, p. 97; K. Meyers, *Immigrant and ethnic minorities in the history of education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 45, n. 6, 2009, pp. 801-816.

⁴⁸ See X.M. Malheiro Gutiérrez (edd.), *Emigración e Educación (1900-1936). Iº Centenario das Escolas da Unión Hispano-Americana Valle Miñor (1909-2009)*, Gondomar, Instituto de Estudos Miñoranos/Consello da Cultura Galega, 2011, pp. 179-201; Id., *Emigration and education. Galician emigration to America and its impact on the processes of literacy, schooling*

dedicated to investigate educational initiatives promoted to favor Galician immigrants in America. Nonetheless, it is hard to contest the considerations by Paul Ramsey, who, despite being based in Anglo-Saxon and North American productions, identifies an urge to extend research on the theme of the relation between education and migration, to broaden the knowledge structure that is under our power⁴⁹. Reflections by the same P. Ramsey, with whom K. Myers and Helen Proctor seem to converge in this perspective, call for new research paths in the area, to go beyond the limits of historiography and methodological approaches considered very strict when it comes to national borders. History of Education, as a discipline, has often left aside references from a narrative or investigation perspective of transnational or international connections, including those related to migratory movements. According to Martin Lawn, such difficulty is due to the condition of a «methodological nationalism» that has followed the works of researchers in Social Sciences⁵⁰, an approach according to which the Nation State and its borders are considered ‘natural’ and with a magnitude scale that is very binding⁵¹. This approach, in his opinion, would

and civic education amongst the rural and seafaring popular classes, «History of Education», vol. 47, n. 6, 2019, pp. 741-762; see A. Costa Rico, *Emigrantes, escuelas y regeneración social: los emigrantes gallegos a América y el impulso de la educación (1879-1936)*, «Revista Brasileira da Educação», n. 16, 2008, p. 33; V. Peña Saavedra, *Panorámica de la intervención escolar de los emigrantes gallegos a América (Siglos XVII-XXI)*, in M. Lordén Miñambres, J.M. Prieto Fernández del Viso (edd.), *El asociacionismo y la promoción escolar de los emigrantes del Norte Peninsular a América*, Boal-Asturias, Ayuntamiento de Boal, 2012, pp. 35-69; A. Viñao Frago, *Filantropía y educación. Fundaciones docentes y enseñanza elemental (siglos XVIII-XIX)*, in J.L. Guereña, E.M. Fell, J.R. Aymes (edd.), *L'enseignement primaire en Espagne et en Amérique Latine du XVIII siècle á nos jours*, Tours, University of Tours, 1986, pp. 65-79; V. Peña Saavedra, *Éxodo, organización comunitaria e intervención escolar. La impronta educativa de la emigración transoceánica en Galicia*, 2 vols., La Coruña, Xunta de Galicia, 1991; X.M. Malheiro Gutiérrez, *A escola da Bandeira. Unha nova escola en Galicia (1909-1936)*, Bandeira, Asociación Cultural Vista Alegre, 2000; C. Cuenca, M^a F. Fernández, J. Hevia, *Escuelas de indios y emigrantes en Asturias. Rehabilitación de las escuelas de Vidiago*, Gijón, Trea, 2003; X.M. Malheiro Gutiérrez, *Herdanza da emigración ultramarina. Catálogo fotográfico da arquitectura escolar indiana na provincia de Pontevedra*, Pontevedra, Diputación Provincial, 2005; *El Quijote en Asturias. La escuela indiana de Sama de Grado*, Gijón, Asociación Cultural «La Castañar», 2005; M. Zapater Cornejo, *Escuelas de Indianos en La Rioja*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007; X.M. Malheiro Gutiérrez (ed.), *Actas do Congreso Emigración e Educación (1900-1936). I Centenario das Escolas da Unión Hispanoamericana Valle Miñor (1909-2009)*, Gondomar, Instituto de Estudos Miñoranos, 2010.

⁴⁹ P.J. Ramsey, *Education and migration in History*, in J.L. Rury, E.H. Tamura, *The Oxford handbook of the History of Education*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 372-384. In the North American context, the subject has been studied by A. Bravo-Moreno, *Transnational mobilities: Migrants and Education*, «Comparative Education», vol. 45, n. 3, 2009, pp. 419-433. Usually, Anglo-Saxon are quite inattentive when it comes to scientific production from Mediterranean Europe and Latin America.

⁵⁰ M. Lawn, S.R. Rabelo, *Um Conhecimento Complexo: o historiador da educação e as circulações transfronteiriças*, «Revista brasileira de história da educação», vol. 14, n. 1 (34), 2014, pp. 127-144.

⁵¹ A. Wimmer, N. Glick Schiller, *Methodological nationalism and beyond. Nation state*

also characterize the History of Education, which often addresses its object of study as naturally national, with impermeable borders. The recent publication of a special issue of the magazine «Paedagogica Historica», edited by British, North American and Australian historians⁵², brings a transnational perspective, presenting the first results of a meeting between scholars and research groups, constituted as places for international deepening in the Small Working Group of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE).

3. *Migration and educational processes between Italy and Brazil. A research agenda for a complex and multidimensional history*

Within this international perspective for research, there are also meetings of Italian and Brazilian research groups. In the context of the increase of internationalization of the studies in the past ten years, opportunities of comparing scholars from both geographical spaces proliferate. The participation in events like the Luso-Brazilian Congress on History of Education (COLUBHE), the Ibero-American Congress on History of Latin-American Education (CIHELA) and the above mentioned International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), with the SWG on Education and Migration, are examples of relevant events in the area, in which the scientific production derived from studies we are carrying out was presented.

In the past few years, a transnational bilateral Italian-Brazilian group has been developing, gathering researchers from the CeSIS⁵³ of the University of

formation, migration and the social sciences, «Global Networks: a Journal of Transnational Affairs», Oxford, vol. 2, n. 4, 2002, pp. 301-334.

⁵² K. Myers, P.J. Ramsey, H. Proctor, *Rethinking borders and boundaries for a mobile history of education*, «Paedagogica historica», vol. 54, n. 6, 2018, pp. 677-690. The issue includes several international contributions by Ramsey, *Migration and common schooling in urban America: educating newcomers in Boston and Cincinnati, 1820-1860*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 6, 2018, pp. 704-719; by P.F. Pannula Toft, M. Paksuniemi, J. Westberg, *The challenge of returning home: the role of school and teachers in the well-being of Finnish war children, "Finneborn" during and after World War II*, *ibid.*, pp. 720-735; by V. Rjeoutsky, *Migrants and language learning in Russia (late seventeenth-first part of eighteenth century)*, *ibid.*, pp. 691-703; by A. Barausse, T.À. Luchese, *Education, ethnic identity, and memory in the Italian ethnic schools of South Rio Grande (1875-1902)*, *ibid.*, pp. 720-735; by O. Esteves, *Babylon by bus? The dispersal of immigrant children in England, race and urban space (1960s-1980s)*, *ibid.*, pp. 750-765.

⁵³ The center for documentation and research called Cesis was created in 2006, to carry out researches in the field of history of educational institutions, schoolbooks and children's literature. It is directed by Alberto Barausse, professor on History of School and Educational Institutions at the University of Molise, along with Rossella Andreassi, technical research employee, and a group of expert professors and researchers, constituted of: Michela D'Alessio, Valeria Viola, Valeria Miceli, Florindo Palladino. Cesis' programs and initiatives are assisted by an international scientific committee, composed of several professors on History of Education, including Roberto

Molise and the CESCO⁵⁴ of the University of Macerata, as well as from the University of Caxias do Sul, the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS)⁵⁵, the University of Vale do Sinos (UNISINOS) and the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) in Porto Alegre (Brazil). The transnational group has developed an actual work agenda, from the assumption that studies about educational and schooling processes in the Brazilian migratory context cannot be limited to the preparation of occasional isolated contributions for international events. They must be continuous, through a bilateral – or even wider – program of deep excavations, able to restore the complexity of the phenomenon. At the same time, to coordinate this project, one must not

Sani, Anna Ascenzi, Giorgio Chiosso, Maria Helena Bastos Camara, Joaquim Pintasilgo. The research team has several publications and started investigation programs both locally and internationally. See: A. Barausse, R. Andreassi, *Il Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca sulla Storia delle Istituzioni Scolastiche, del Libro Scolastico e della Letteratura per l'Infanzia dell'Università del Molise tra dimensione locale e scenari internazionali*, in S. González, J. Meda, X. Motilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La Práctica educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, Salamanca, Fahren House, 2018, pp. 1083-1096.

⁵⁴ The center for documentation and research called CESCO was created in 2004 by the University of Macerata, to promote researches in the field of history of schoolbooks and children's literature. Supported by an international scientific committee, the center is directed by Roberto Sani and gathers a great number of professors and researchers, such as: Anna Ascenzi, Edoardo Bressan, Dorena Caroli, Marta Brunelli, Luigiaurelio Pomante, Juri Meda and Elisabetta Patrizi. The intense activity of the Macerata group can be seen in their numerous scientific publications and also in the editing of the international magazine «History of Education and Children's Literature». More data on the center can be found at the following link <<https://www.unimc.it/cescom/it>>.

⁵⁵ One of the partial results of the work by these researchers is the dossier *Da Itália ao Brasil: processos educativos e formativos* published by the «Magazine on History of Education» and available at <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_issuetoc&pid=2236-345920170001&lng=pt&nrn=iso>. The results of this research are part of an international cooperation project, called *Migrações: perspectivas histórico-conceituais e análise de fenômenos contemporâneos no Brasil e na Europa (Migration: historical-conceptual perspectives and analysis of contemporary phenomena in Brazil and in Europe)*, which, in its turn, is part of a bigger institutional internationalization project of PUCRS/Print, funded by Brazilian government agency Capes. The project aims to strengthen and implement interdisciplinary studies of a network of European and American scholars whose researches refer to historical and cultural relations between Europe and Latin America. Through a multilateral and multidisciplinary approach, they intend to develop a new and original view about human mobility, which, from the great migrations in late 19th century, has generated processes of cultural hybridism in several fields. A specific space is dedicated to one of the dynamics that has been less researched by historiography, that means, to the ways through which immigrants have ensured the first forms of instructing their children, school cultures, didactic practices and education models to strengthen ethnical identity (curriculum, school books, public memories and so on). For this reason, the project includes a partnership between postgraduation programs in Education and in History of PUCRS and of University of Molise (UniMOL-Italy), specially CeSIS, directed by Alberto Barausse, researcher of transnational education processes in communities of Italian immigrants in several places in South America. A few years ago, PUCRS and University of Molise have established agreements to strengthen the opportunities for scientific relationship in this area.

miss the persistence, in this area, of what Sani, quoting Raichic, recalled a few years ago, in the field of History of Italian Education, that means: «the absence of a serious research organization and the problems that come from a scarce presence of indispensable tools for a historical investigation that is able to go beyond superficial hurried synthesis and provide deep contributions»⁵⁶.

The research paths chosen and the methodological approaches adopted are formatted to ensure a deeper knowledge about several aspects related to the role and function of educational processes in Italian groups in migratory contexts in Brazil, within the more general panorama of transoceanic migration from the second half of the 19th century to the first decades of the 20th century. Within this general perspective, focus is more into a deeper knowledge about the educational agencies and initiatives, both religious and civil – State or associative – that affected the execution of educational and formation paths. It also seems important to understand the role of the Church, when it comes to educational processes and schooling institutions founded from the early 19th century. Research has allowed to begin to investigate this role, in what concerns the History of Education of Italian immigrants in Brazil. With the cooperation of Italian researchers, it was possible to deepen the evolution of the pontifical guidelines on immigration and the rising of the Scalabrinian Congregation for migrants⁵⁷. However, more significant study cases must be developed, concerning the history of schooling institutions, like the one by researchers who are working on the profile of religious congregations in education in the first decade of the 20th century. Another case study is being carried out about the Carlist, Salesian, Marist, Jesuit and Capuchin congregations, in order to understand the educative role of those at that time. Also to be more studied is the role of laic associations of religious nature, such as «Italica Gens», from the end of World War II to the end of the 1930s.

On the other hand, we are still far, for example, from the reconstruction of a general map of initiatives for ethnical schooling and the dynamics of their development in Brazil. General data about enrolled students found in the directories of Italian Schools Abroad reveal a quite interesting scenario, which must be classified for each state.

⁵⁶ R. Sani, *Scuola e istruzione elementare in Italia dall'Unità al primo dopoguerra: itinerari storiografici e di ricerca*, in R. Sani, A. Tedde, *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Interpretazioni, prospettive di ricerca, esperienze in Sardegna*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, p. 8.

⁵⁷ See the monography *Chiesa ed emigrazione, italiana tra '800 e '900*, «Studi emigrazione», vol. XIX, n. 66, 1982; 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; R. Sani, *Tra esigenze pastorali e impegno per la preservazione dell'identità nazionale: la Santa Sede e l'emigrazione italiana all'estero tra Otto e Novecento*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, n. 51, 2017, pp. 143-185.

Number of students enrolled in Italian Schools Abroad (1890-1930)

Year \ State	1890-1891	1896-1897	1904-1905	1909-1910	1913-1914	1921-1922	1922-1923	1924-1925	1927	1930
Bahia	20			250						
Minas Gerais				296	330	307	333	301	267	321
Paraná			752	596	786	704	1644	708	568	708
Santa Catarina			1681	1132	2261	1477	3195	2915	1032	2010
Pará						30	30	30		
Pernambuco				424	424	656	656	656	409	61
Rio Grande do Sul	1468	2250	3213	2492	4310	3199	4628	4085	3315	3686
Rio de Janeiro	50	95	214	411	438	774	1072	901	334	101
São Paulo	515	1200	7275	6724	13307	5642	8248	10626	7012	6934
Espirito Santo			138	1053	1355				785	0
Mato Grosso				180	201				180	0
TOT	2053	3545	13273	13558	23412	12789	19806	20222	13902	13821

Source: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Annuario delle scuole coloniali*, Rome 1888-1889, 1890-91; Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Annuario delle Scuole Italiane all'estero governative e sussidiate*, Rome 1897, 1899, 1900, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1913-14, 1921-22, 1924, 1927, 1930.

Some initial researches have shown interesting quantitative development of the phenomenon of Italian ethnical education in the state of São Paulo, through pioneer studies by Mimesse⁵⁸, followed by Franchini⁵⁹ and Dell'Aira⁶⁰; in the Italian colonial and urban area in Rio Grande do Sul, studied by Luchese⁶¹,

⁵⁸ E. Mimesse Prado, *Acondicionamento das escolas de primeiras letras paulistas no período que compreende os anos de 1877 e 1910*, in T.Â. Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2014, pp. 185-211.

⁵⁹ Franchini, *Entre Vargas e Mussolini: a nacionalização do Instituto Médio Ítalo-Brasileiro Dante Alighieri*, cit.

⁶⁰ A. Dell'Aira, *Lungo studio grande amore*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2012.

⁶¹ T.Â. Luchese, *Em busca da Escola pública, tensionamentos, iniciativas e processo de escolarização na região colonial italiana Rio Grande do Sul Brasil*, «Caderno de História de

Rech⁶², Barausse⁶³, Barausse and Castro⁶⁴; in Paraná, from the researches by Maschio⁶⁵ on the Colombo colony; in Espírito Santo, studied by Simões and Franco⁶⁶; in Santa Catarina, according to researches by Otto⁶⁷, and already cited by Dallabrida and Virtuoso. Studies about schools for Italian immigrants in Minas Gerais have been conducted by Rodrigues⁶⁸, as well as about the ones in Rio de Janeiro, by Pagani⁶⁹. As a whole, these studies have thrown light on several ways through which schooling has been constituted by Italian ethnical

Educação», vol. 11, n. 2, 2012, pp. 667-679; T.Â. Luchese, L. Kreutz, *Educação e etnia: as efêmeras escolas étnico-comunitárias italianas pelo olhar dos consules e agentes consulares*, «Historia da Educação», vol. 14, n. 30, 2010, pp. 227-258; Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileira*, cit.; Ead., *Em busca da escola pública: tensionamentos, iniciativas e processo de escolarização na região colonial italiana Rio Grande do Sul Brasil*, «Cadernos de História da educação», vol. 11, n. 2, 2012, pp. 667-679; Ead., *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2015.

⁶² G.L. Rech, T.Â. Luchese, *Escolas Italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2018.

⁶³ A. Barausse, *From the Mediterranean to the Americas. Italian Ethnic schools in Rio Grande do Sul between emigration, colonialism and nationalism (1875-1925)*, «Sisyphus - Journal of Education», vol. 4, 2016, pp. 144-172; Id., *Le scuole italiane nel Rio Grande do Sul attraverso le carte consolari tra la fine dell'Impero e l'inizio della Repubblica (1875-1893)*, in A. De Ruggiero, V.B.M. Heredia, A. Barausse, *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 195-248; A. Barausse, *Chamas da educação nacional e do sentimento pátrio: as escolas italianas no rio grande do sul da colonização ao final do século 19 (1875-1898)*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, 2017, pp. 41-85; A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Nationalism and schooling: between italianity and brazility. Dispute in education of Italian gaucho people (RS, 1930-1945)*, «History of Education and Childrens' Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 443-475.

⁶⁴ R. Brião de Castro, Barausse, *Algumas considerações sobre as escolas italianas em pelotas (rs) entre o final do século XIX e o início do XX*, in *História da Educação: sensibilidades, patrimônio e cultura escrita*, 34º Encontro da ASPHE, São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 2018, pp. 341-359.

⁶⁵ E.C.F. Maschio, *Iniciativas escolares públicas entre imigrantes italianos no Paraná do século XIX*, in Luchese, Kreutz, *Imigração e Educação no Brasil. Histórias, Práticas e Processos escolares*, Editora UFSM, 2011, pp. 221-238; E.C.F. Maschio, *Escolarização Pública e Imigração italiana. A constituição do ensino elementar das colônias ao município (1882-1912)*, Paco Editorial, 2014; Id., *A escolarização da infância italiana e ítalo-brasileira de Colombo: contribuições para a cultura escolar primária*, in Id. (ed.), *Memórias de uma Colônia italiana: Colombo – Paraná 1878-2013*, pp. 105-128; Id., *A infância contadina nas colônias italianas de Curitiba no Paraná*, in Mimesse (ed.), *Bambini brasiliani: a infância das crianças italianas e ítalo-brasileiras*, Jundiá, Paco, 2013, pp. 55-92.

⁶⁶ R.H. Simões, S.P. Franco, *Instrução pública e imigração italiana no estado do Espírito Santo, no século XIX e início do século XX*, in T.Â. Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2014, pp. 79-99.

⁶⁷ C. Otto, *Escolas italianas em Santa Catarina: disputas na construção da identidade*, in Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, cit., pp. 233-253.

⁶⁸ M.G. Rodrigues, *Imigração e educação em Minas Gerais: histórias de escolas e escolas italianas*, in Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, cit., pp. 101-146.

⁶⁹ C. Pagani, *A formação das escolas italianas no estado do Rio de Janeiro (1875-1920)*, in *ibid.*, pp. 147-183.

initiatives, in the configuration of the migratory phenomenon in different Brazilian states. The process of Italian immigration in the states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo, for example, was very different of the one experienced in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, due to both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. In the same way, different types of schools that have been promoted in colonial and migratory contexts are not yet entirely clear. Beginning investigations have allowed to identify a plurality of educational agencies and forms of schooling, however, additional investigation about them are still to be developed. We do know that Italian schools have been organized due to the absence of a state public-school system in Brazil, or so to say, as an answer to a need of immigrant families. On the other hand, they take place due to the Italian policies of following up their emigrated. The ways of organizing these schools varied in time and space and so do preserved evidences. It is possible to understand these histories from a diversification of the documental base constituted of preserved documents in Brazilian and Italian files. The category *Italian ethnical school* must be followed by rigorous analysis about different natures of schools promoted between 1875 and 1942. More precisely, through attentive reading of consular sources, it was possible to identify the existence of schools subsidized by the Italian State, defined as Colonial Schools by Italian legislation, and that after 1894 they started to be called Italian Schools Abroad and finally, Italo-Brazilian Schools. However, we must develop a map of Italian ethnical schools, composed of heterogeneous schools, as revealed by early investigations: Colonial Schools, Italian Schools Abroad, Rural Schools and private schools promoted by mutual support societies, by parents or private teachers, confessional parish schools or by religious orders, municipal subsidized schools. Heterogeneity was in nature (associative and private), in characteristics (articulation and composition of mixed or separated by gender classes; number of enrolled and attending students; enrollment fees and forms of costing), organization modules and didactical pedagogical contents (day and evening school, articulation in degrees, mnemonic didactics or intuitive didactics, inclusive or Christian-oriented contents of history and geography), level of qualification of schools and teachers. With the documentation available today, we can retrace a map of ethnically based school institutions and notice their impact from a quantitative point of view. Researches conducted in the past few years have indeed begun to identify the relevance of the phenomenon of «Italian schools» in what concerns their quantity and distribution in the territory. Among the research fields that can enrich knowledge, there is the one that refers to the teachers and their mobility, a profile that has been neglected by both education historians and migration studies, conditioned by more ideological than empirical evaluations, that have considered them as «reactionary instruments in the hands of capitalist, imperialist, and repressive elites, and such

fit uncomfortably into the new social history wave»⁷⁰, rather than as agents of transnational interconnections, as well as circulation of knowledge and practices. The transnational mobility phenomenon has involved a lot of Italian teachers (and not only them), who have followed complex migratory itineraries in different geographical and historical contexts: sometimes, following groups of peasants designated to colonize certain lands as, for example, Vicentino teachers Antonio Ceretta and Giulio Lorenzoni, who have maintained frequent relations with his original State, as it emerges from the important memories that remained⁷¹. In other circumstances, an urban context was chosen, like it happened with the couple Gaetano and Giovanna Manetti Nesi, who emigrated to Sao Paulo, where, in 1895, they have founded the Institute «Ai Nostri Monti» for elementary school. In other cases, teachers have work in the spheres of state, religious and civil organizations involved in migration processes. In this last cases, teachers have also worked as «organizational migrants», that means, «people (and their dependents) whose migratory behavior is primarily determined by interests of the organization they have joined (voluntarily or forced)»⁷². The reference to the transnational dimension of migration allows to broaden our views and clarify about the characteristics of these migrants of a specific ethnical group, Italians. Who were those teachers? Where had they studied? What was their teaching culture? How much were they under command of the State of non-State organization they responded to? This contribution aims to highlight the itinerary of Italian teachers, trying to set a context and problematize their migration experience, also by using analytical categories that have been recently introduced in the field of history of education, such as transnationalism and transcultural. The analysis of their ways is paradigmatic in what concerns the transnational dynamics that have followed their experiences. Umberto Ancarani has arrived in Brazil in the early 20th century, in 1904, and stayed until 1920, with a job as «agent-teacher», as charged by Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs when the Italian State introduced new migration policies through the establishment of an Emigration Commissariat and new resources to support the development of ethnical education in Brazil. During this period, he has founded schools and organized the interests of Italian emigrated in the state of Rio Grande do Sul⁷³. The context in which teacher Luigi Ledda has

⁷⁰ Lucassen, Smit, *The Repugnant Others: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants*, cit., p. 4.

⁷¹ A. Barausse, *Le fonti per una storia delle pratiche educative nelle scuole italiane in Brasile: dalla colonizzazione al fascismo*, in González, Meda, Motilla, Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, memoria y patrimonio*, cit., pp. 996-1010; G. Lorenzoni, E. Franzina (edd.), *Memorie di un emigrante italiano*, Rome, Viella, 2008.

⁷² Lucassen, Smit, *The Repugnant Others: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants*, cit., p. 6.

⁷³ For more on the profile of the «agent-teacher» Umberto Ancarani, see paper Barausse, Castro, *Trasnacionalidade e Ensino: a trajetoria de umberto Ancarani entre a Europa e o Brasil nas escolas no exterior*.

arrived in Rio Grande do Sul's capital, Porto Alegre, in 1932, under direct command of the general direction of schools and Italians abroad, was the one of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs under control by fascism. During five years of activity, he produced significant documentation that helps, nowadays, to go deeper on educational culture and practices developed within a very particular school context⁷⁴. From a methodological point of view, memories and reports produced by teachers are the kind of work that must be decoded and interpreted to include the set of pedagogical and teaching practices as well, which were the basis of activities oriented towards the representation of Italian culture promoted by educational institutions in the rural and urban areas of Brazil.

As for the development of school processes, research groups intend to elucidate the identification of school cultures and practices developed throughout time, as well as educational models through which students' identity was built. Some initial research by Barausse⁷⁵, Luchese⁷⁶ and Bastos⁷⁷, about the first years of colonization and also the 1920s and 1930s, have begun to throw light on the production of teaching books used in experiences of ethnical education, on the transnational circulation of texts, on the dynamics of adapting or not these books. In addition, these investigations can improve the identification of the role of education and schools as spaces of definition of models of identity, assimilation and/or inclusion of (e/im)migrants and thus, characteristics of the development of multicultural societies in a time of affirmation of national States⁷⁸. The renewal of the interest of Italian and Brazilian historians in reconstructing the educational and identity processes finds, in this case, a common foundation in the renewal of the historical educational paradigm itself, that matured in the end of

⁷⁴ A. Barausse, *Le fonti per una storia delle pratiche educative nelle scuole italiane in Brasile: dalla colonizzazione al fascismo*, in González, Meda, Mottilla, Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, memoria y patrimonio*, cit.

⁷⁵ A. Barausse, *Os livros escolares como instrumentos para a promoção da identidade nacional italiana no Brasil durante os primeiros anos do fascismo (1922-1925)*, «História da Educação», vol. 20, n. 49, 2016, pp. 81-94; Id., *The construction of national identity in textbooks for Italian schools abroad: the case of Brazil between the two World Wars*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 2, 2015, pp. 425-461; Id., «Una impronta di italianità»: *the textbooks for Italian ethnic schools in Brazil between liberalism and fascism*, «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 18, n. 2, 2019, pp. 329-350; but, for more general information, see the monographical section titled *Escolarização, livros escolares e movimentos migratórios*, on «Cadernos de História da Educação», vol. 18, n. 2, papers by A. Barausse, P. Bianchini, C. Panizzolo, T.Â. Luchese, M.A. Táborda, M.H. Câmara Bastos.

⁷⁶ T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes na Região Colonial Italiana do Rio Grande do Sul, 1875 a 1930: leggere, scrivere e calcolare per essere alcuno nella vita*, Thesis in Education, São Leopoldo, UNISINOS, 2007.

⁷⁷ Câmara Bastos, Barausse, *Le vicende della Patria: Os manuais de formação moral e civica as escolas elementares italianas no exterior (Rio Grande do Sul/RS – Décadas de 1920-1930)*, in De Ruggiero, Heredia, Barausse, *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*, cit., pp. 249-276.

⁷⁸ A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Education, ethnic identity, and memory in the Italian ethnic schools of South Rio Grande (1875-1902)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 6, 2018, pp. 720-735.

the last century. In that context, are established the pillars for the promotion of a historical-educational investigation that goes beyond the perspectives offered by the traditional history of ideas, history of institutions or quantitative social history. From European, French⁷⁹, Belgian, Anglo-Saxon⁸⁰ and then Iberian⁸¹ contributions in historiography of education, it became possible to see, also in Italy⁸² and in Brazil, a history of educational processes and school culture, that is able to elucidate usually unexplored dimensions.

In this perspective, we present next our research scheme and the main itineraries that open for the next years of investigation.

Eventually, educational processes acquire considerable relevance as they matter for researches related to the migratory phenomenon based on investigative analysis of the formation of ethnic identity, using categories and concepts as invention and construction of identity and defining ethnic identity as a cultural construct developed in a given historical period⁸³. In such sense, the general framework of the research is based on contributions or shall take into consideration the historiography that is going through a renewal with the introduction of the concept of ethnicity. Migratory phenomena are directly linked to the history of ethnical relations, as they generate situations of inter-ethnic coexistence and the inevitable emergence of ethnical minorities. The introduction of this key-concept for analyzing migratory phenomena requires critical approach. More precisely, it is necessary to verify how the ethnical dimension has been expressed and which characteristics it had. This ethnical revival⁸⁴ is mentioned referring to the phenomenon of discovering a lost or abandoned ethnical solidarity, of claiming the belonging to a history, to a collective memory, or to the invention of an ethnicity. This way, ethnical groups are constantly re-created and ethnicity is reinvented, to confront realities that

⁷⁹ D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, in A. Novoa, M. Depaepe, E.W. Johanngingmeier (edd.), *The Colonial experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, «Paedagogica Historica», Supplementary Series, 1995, Vol. I, pp. 353-382; Id., *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa: per una storia comparata delle culture scolastiche*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 3, n. 3, 1996, pp. 119-147.

⁸⁰ M. Depaepe, F. Simon, *Is there any place for the history of Education in the History of Education? A Plea for the history of Everyday Educational Reality in-and outside Schools*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 31, n. 1, 1995, pp. 9-16.

⁸¹ A. Escolano Benito, *Tiempos y espacios para la escuela. Ensayos históricos*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000; Id., *La Cultura material de la escuela*, Berlanga de Duero, CEINCE, 2007; J.R. Berrio (ed.), *La cultura escolar de Europa*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000; A. Vinão Frago, *Por una historia de la cultura escolar: enfoques, cuestiones, fuentes*, in C.J. Almuña Fernández (ed.), *Culturas y Civilizaciones*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 1998, pp. 165-184.

⁸² R. Sani, *Education, school and cultural processes in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, Eum, 2018.

⁸³ S. Hall, *Identidade cultural na pós-modernidade*, Rio de Janeiro, DP&A Editora, 2011, 11^a ed.; K. Woodward, *Identidade e diferença: uma introdução teórica e conceitual*, in T. Tadeu Silva (ed.), *Identidade e Diferença*, Petrópolis, ed. Vozes, 2000, pp. 7-72.

⁸⁴ A.D. Smith, *Il revival etnico*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1984.

change and build an imagined community⁸⁵. Studies by Benedict Anderson⁸⁶, as well as the ones by Conzen⁸⁷, Hobsbawm and Ranger⁸⁸, consider that this conceptual lens provides an efficient view to analyze the phenomenon of *Italianess*, defined as a cultural construct realized in a given period. They define the invention of tradition as the process that involves symbolic manipulation, unveiling a need to state a social personality. Such need belongs to the (e/im)migrants for excellence and, among those, Italian (e/im)migrants relate to *Italianess*. For historians, it is crucial to understand this sociocultural phenomenon, using this term as defining a social organization, with traced lines of borders and established relationships among social groups. It is known that the cultural identity of groups of Italian (e/im)migrants does not come up out of nowhere: it was made collectively, based on experience, memory, tradition – whether built or invented – and on a variety of cultural, political and social practices and expressions. The use of symbols and practices to state *Italianess* by Italian groups in Brazil is easily notable and affects schools directly. However, in historical investigation about educational processes, especially the ones of schooling of (e/im)migrants and their descendants in Brazil, we consider that contacts and coexistence with other ethnical and cultural groups have determined appropriations of new cultures and practices. Their identity processes are forged in the midst of experiences and ways of thinking and living in different countries. They are neither Italian, nor Brazilians. They become others. Hybrid subjects, in their identity processes, who, in a process of cultural transfer⁸⁹, recreate traditions, adapting and reinventing lifestyle, amid power games. And to investigate the complexity of such educational and cultural process requires that historians draw attention to the diversity of documentation and go beyond that which has been preserved within national borders. More than a transnational object, we consider that the approach of documental analysis can be done through this bias, as we consider that many documents like letter and reports have been produced by subjects marked by the migratory experience, who produce representations about what was lived, who make sense of and explain what was lived, translating it into perceived and conceived. Fluidity, hybridism and negotiation processes go beyond schooling the subjects who have lived the intensity of migratory processes.

⁸⁵ N.S. de Costantino, *Italiani a Porto Alegre. L'invenzione di un'identità*, «Altreitalie», n. 25, july-december 2002.

⁸⁶ B. Anderson, *Comunità immaginate. Origini e fortuna dei nazionalismi*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2018.

⁸⁷ K. Neils Conzen *et al.* (edd.), *The Invention of Ethnicity in the United States*, «Journal of America Ethnic History», vol. 12, n. 1, 1992, pp. 3-41.

⁸⁸ E. Hobsbawm, *Introduction: the invention of tradition*, in E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *The invention of traditions*, São Paulo, Paz e Terra, 2002, 3rd ed., pp. 9-23. For the Italian version see Hobsbawm, Ranger, *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Turin, Einaudi, 2002.

⁸⁹ Ossenbac, Del Pozo, *Postcolonial models, cultural transfers and transnational perspective in Latin America: a research agenda*, cit.

The processes of analysis seldom emphasized the study of educational processes promoted in areas of colonization or migration and, specifically, the role and function of schools and educational institutions as spaces for building identities and exercising memory practices⁹⁰, as one notices in the first survey conducted in the context of Rio Grande do Sul, by Barausse and Luchese⁹¹. In this sense, proposals and investigation paths promoted by research groups intend to call attention to the role of educational spaces, as well as ethnical press, in the formation of an Italian-Brazilian imaginary, and to mechanisms to build memory in (e/im)migrant groups, in both urban and rural contexts. Also, the proposal intends to deeply analyze mechanisms of nationalization, through an idea of *Italianess*, that characterize urban and rural groups of Italian (e/im) migrants.

The researches we intend to develop, just like the ones that happened during the meeting, search to and try to conciliate different scales. The scenario in which the research framework was developed contained both global and local dimensions of the processes through which shared references, educational models, texts and actives that circulated in a scale that was much larger than the national one were crossed and adequated, to «make sense in a specific time and place»⁹². When we mention a global scale, we wish to refer, above all, to a perspective of historical reconstruction, to a research structure that is able to highlight experiences of «connected histories», that means, to that which, as Chartier recalls, related educational exchanges, processes and practices of different populations, with different cultures, economies and powers⁹³. Connected histories also reveal the presence, even though it cannot be generalized, of a significant dimension of transnational awareness in migrant communities and subjects.

It is a perspective that, howsoever, does not intend to waive on microanalytical approaches of study cases, in order to not to risk decontextualizing some elements and lose sight of the importance of the context that constitutes the «symbolic system that gives it meaning and local specific uses that make up its

⁹⁰ M. Pollak, *Memória e identidade social*, «Revista Estudos Históricos», vol. 5, n. 10, 1992, pp. 200-215. Available at: <<http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br/ojs/index.php/reh/article/view/1941/1080>> (last access: 25.06.2017). Id., *Memória, esquecimento silêncio*, «Revista Estudos Históricos», vol. 2, n. 3, 1989, pp. 3-15. Available at: <<http://bibliotecadigital.fgv.br>> (last access: 23.06.2017). On the shortage of studies concerning the relation between migration and education see K. Myers, *Immigrants and ethnic minorities in the history of education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 45, n. 6, 2009, pp. 801-816; A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Apresentação dossiê: Da Itália ao Brasil: processos educativos e formativos*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, n. 51, 2017, pp. 33-40.

⁹¹ A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Education, ethnic identity, and memory in the Italian ethnic schools of South Rio Grande (1875-1902)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 6, 2018, pp. 720-735.

⁹² R. Chartier, *La mano dell'autore, la mente dello stampatore. Cultura e scrittura nell'Europa moderna*, Rome, Carocci Editore, 2015, p. 30.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

own meanings»⁹⁴. The local dimension of historical educational investigation remains heuristically rich and complex, even in contexts with wider scale perspective, as mentioned by Barausse, Ghizzoni and Meda⁹⁵. This approach has matured in the light of some general considerations that have been proposed in the last few years, by both Italian and Brazilian historians of education, like Sani⁹⁶, Montino, Luchese⁹⁷ and others who have examined the heuristic value of this dimension in History of Education. It is especially useful to recall what David Montino wrote, in a study published posthumously in 2011, regarding the history of school, which could be reconducted to a history of more general educational processes:

[...] A history of school and of educational institutions, today, that wishes to be complex and also attentive to political and institutional dynamics, in what concerns school cultures that intertwine and overlap along time, with all their social and anthropological implications, cannot fail to take into account a point of view that is closer to the (micro)reality in which concrete realization of contemporary Italian schooling process develops. [...] If we consider all the actors in the schooling process, we have a history that is nor simple, nor direct. On the contrary: a history of conflicts and resistances is revealed, especially between the center and the periphery, then between public space (State) and community space, between collective interest and private (family) interest, between modernity and tradition⁹⁸.

It is possible to question the assumption that, for decades, have followed the construction of educational and historical schooling processes, which came from ideological prejudice, according to which the national dimension of public education would implicate that school events could only be read in a national scale. On the contrary, from a strictly epistemological point of view, constructions focused on a local dimension have shown to be extremely helpful to understand more general historical phenomena. There is indeed no doubt that the deepening on local schooling processes can contribute to confirm or not the premises elaborated by national historiography, as well as to identify continuity or discontinuity, revealing social compositions, economic interests

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁹⁵ A. Barausse, C. Ghizzoni, J. Meda, "Il campanile scolastico". *Ripensando la dimensione locale nella ricerca storico-educativa*, «Rivista di Storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 7-14.

⁹⁶ R. Sani, *Scuola e istruzione elementare in Italia dall'Unità al primo dopoguerra: itinerari storiografici e di ricerca*, in R. Sani, A. Tedde, *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Interpretazioni, prospettive di ricerca, esperienze in Sardegna*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, pp. 3-18.

⁹⁷ T.Â. Luchese, *Modos de fazer história da educação: pensando a operação historiográfica em temas regionais*, «História da Educação», vol. 18, n. 43, 2014, pp. 145-161; J. Magalhães, *A instituição educativa na modernização do local. Perspectiva histórico-pedagógica*, «Rivista di Storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 41-55.

⁹⁸ D. Montino, *La storia della scuola e delle istituzioni educative in una prospettiva locale*, in *La storia dietro l'angolo: luoghi e percorsi della ricerca locale*, Millesimo Savona, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri Società Savonese di Storia Patria, 2011, pp. 121-148, in partic. p. 126.

and cultural resistances that may not be conciliated with general periodizations. The exam of local dimension is therefore fundamental to verify the tendency of more general phenomena in the field, at the level of the community and the territory. In many contexts, the nationalization process has gone through different stages and, in Italy, as Sani reminds us, during the second half of the 19th century, it is deceptive to talk about a national school⁹⁹. This way, the subject of the local dimension of historical educational research characterizes a historiographical approach and exercise carried out in other national context, also Brazilian and Portuguese ones, specifically through regional researches, limited to investigate educational processes «in a delimited geographical space, produced by relations of power and cultural and historical practices reinvented by groups of humans who live and have lived there»¹⁰⁰.

The central role of the local dimension seems to be even more relevant as recent processes of internationalization of historical-educational research have shown the risk that comes from or the need to overcome the national and/or nationalist paradigm. Thus, the need to propose and expand a local approach in global scale to the analysis of phenomena such as the schooling process, which are specific of contemporaneity and cannot be set apart from their respective national context, that, in their turn, are the micro-geographical contexts in which the schooling process is articulated in global scale. Fuchs and Roldan¹⁰¹ have also addressed the need for balance between local and transnational dimensions. The goal is to achieve a «molecular history» of educational processes, one that – albeit starting from a local microcosm – does not close within strict limits of local erudition and reconnects with general political, social, cultural and economic context and that is based on a wide spectrum of sources researched by educational historiography in the past two decades.

4. *The contributions of the International Meeting as initial research paths*

Within this effervescence and this historiographical scenario, are the contributions presented in the international studies meeting. The 12 papers reunited herein range from the second half of the 19th century to the third decade of the 20th century. The articles gathered in this work do not intend to

⁹⁹ Sani, *Scuola e istruzione elementare in Italia dall'Unità al primo dopoguerra: itinerari storiografici e di ricerca*, cit., p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ T.Á. Luchese, *Modos de fazer história da educação: pensando a operação historiográfica em temas regionais*, «História da Educação», vol. 18, n. 43, 2014, pp. 145-161, in partic. p. 147; J. Magalhães, *A instituição educativa na modernização do local. Perspectiva histórico-pedagógica*, «Rivista di Storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 41-55.

¹⁰¹ Fuchs, Roldan Vera, *The transnational in the history of Education. Concepts and Perspectives*, cit.

be exhaustive studies in what concerns investigations about Italian immigration and education, but instead, search to stimulate comprehension about the need for greater articulation of investigative paths and for deepening what has been done so far. With this intention, contributions reflect research fields that can be enriched further on. These are placed in different contexts of the development of Nation States in both countries, Italy and Brazil, but richly interconnected. Regarding Italy, articles cover the moment when the recent national State, under the rule of liberal elites, tries, with Crispi, to renew colonial policies, in a perspective that is able to combine the need for a strong State and plans of colonial, political and commercial expansion. It is a period marked by plans of reforms by the government, in what concerns emigration and the role of Italian schools abroad. This period is followed by the increase of State intervention in the regulation of the migratory phenomenon, from the early 20th century to the raise of fascism and Italian projects abroad. As for Brazil, contributions refer to a distinguished period in the history of Latin America, characterized by the last decades of imperial experience and the beginning of republican federation. The period is marked by the end of slavery and by government projects from the power centers, firstly imperial and then federal or state, of colonization and immigration. This context continues as republican federation is consolidated, in the early 20th century, until Brazil experiences the crisis of the Old Republic and transition to the raise of Getúlio Vargas' *Estado Novo*. These are contexts in which 'imagined' or 'invented' communities mature, as defined by structuralist historians mentioned above, like Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm¹⁰²; contexts in which there were attempts to introduce paths and initiatives to support ethnical-national characteristics, until there were moments of tension. Processes carried out through practices of *cultural transfer*¹⁰³, founded in diverse religious and State tools and institutions, qualified as actual agencies that generated significant constant interconnections between realities, and favored circulation of goods and cultural products. It is exactly in this perspective that Roberto Sani deepens a scarcely known section about initiatives to facilitate pastoral and educational tasks of an entity as complex as the Catholic Church. The need to implement, disseminate and distribute training tools adapted to pastoral needs of Scalabrinian missionaries and vicars established in Italian migrant communities in Brazil was the basis of an original and modern initiative by the Scalabrinian bishop to promote the writing of an educational text, a spiritual guide, then made by missionary Father Colbacchini:

¹⁰² Anderson, *Comunità immaginate. Origini e fortuna dei nazionalismi*, cit.; Hobsbawm, Ranger, *L'invenzione della tradizione*, cit.

¹⁰³ Herein, we refer to «cultural transfer» according to Ossenbach, *Postcolonial models, cultural transfers and transnational perspectives in Latin America: a research agenda*, cit.; Fontaine, *Aux Heures suisses de l'école républicaine: Un siècle de transfert culturels et de déclinaisons pédagogiques dans l'espace franco-romand*, cit.; Fontaine, Masoni, *Circolazioni transnazionali di lettura morali nell'Europa del secolo lungo. Una storia di transfert culturali*, cit.

the *Spiritual Guide for Italian Emigrants in America*. The article allows us to understand better, not only specific dynamics that characterize the missionary's religious commitment, like the ones related to conflict with local clergy and episcopate, but also characteristics of his pastoral commitment, based on the Tridentine model, which, alongside with aspects of spirituality, intended to support pastoral activity and its impact in a very different context from those of regional geographical areas of Northern Italy, Lombardia and Veneto, where he came from. In addition, Sani's article aids to understand the role of cultural products, like the *Guide*, and pastoral action itself, in the maturing of an idea of citizenship that is not addressed to an extenuating claim for original ethnical and cultural characteristics. The experience of the Scalabrinian father and the content of the *operetta*, as well as devotion manuals widely disseminated in Brazil, are helpful to clarify on integration routes and many Italian ideas that have crossed colonial communities and Italian migrants in Brazilian states. Interdependences on the homeland and new geographical space lay precisely on the preservation of original ethnical and cultural traces, which is the very idea of *Italianess*, are fruitful research scripts.

Nonetheless, Colbacchini's is just one of many profiles of Scalabrinian missionaries, among others, about which historical researches seem to manifest new interest, as they identify as an actual educational agency¹⁰⁴. The contribution by Falcade dwells on the role of the educational agency developed by the group of Scalabrinian missionaries who established in Italian colonies in the state of Paraná. The scholar highlights profiles of Scalabrinian fathers like Giovanni Battista Bergia, Francesco Bonato, Silvano Giuliani, Giuseppe Adamo, Francesco Brescianini and Claudio Morelli. Falcade's research throws light on the establishment of a network of catholic schools in the Italian colonial area in Paraná, to support schooling process in face of the weakness of the school system implemented by Brazilian elites and the dissemination and circulation of models of educational programs based in Christian principles. Chapels and schools were the first buildings established by Scalabrinian missionaries in Paraná and, in addition to the role of teachers, they also acted as inspectors, like Father Colbacchini, to monitor the functioning of governmental schools, marked by their poor performance. Falcade Maschio is focused not only in illustrating the catechism work done by missionaries, but also in the specific attention given to the development of schooling processes for migrants, the definition of knowledges and behaviors to be adopted in Christian education models for religious, moral and social education of migrant childhood.

The attention to those that, according to Lucassen's suggestion, could be defined as «organizational migrants»¹⁰⁵, inspires the contribution by

¹⁰⁴ Lucassen, Smit, *The Repugnant Others: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Aid Workers as Organizational Migrants*, cit., pp. 1-39.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Barausse, focused on the analysis of initiatives and activities carried out by another Italian Catholic organization with transnational ambitions since its very beginnings. The work of the Italica Gens Federation indeed constitutes an additional study case, when it comes to understanding the tools used by Italian government and Catholicism to develop a specific cultural project that protected and defended ethnical characters and national cultural institutions, closely associated to the promotion of religious identity in a Catholic sense. Analysis of the correspondence between the inspector sent to the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul from the catholic organization's headquarters in Rome, Cesare Bompard, and the organization's executives, through Ernesto Schiaparelli, provides deeper comprehension about how the project tried to support the development of schools in some Brazilian states, to circulate new periodical press with national and Catholic orientation and to realize a series of cultural initiatives for dissemination of Italian culture.

The relations among educational themes, educational processes, schooling processes and ethnical press are object of additional studies, by another research section presented during the meeting. Ethnical press is a recent field of study, that opens a new front of investigation in multiple contexts. This theme, previously addressed in more general terms, is now object of study of scholars who, from the work by Angelo Trento¹⁰⁶, have fed a transnational network of researches, in which Italian-Brazilian groups wanted to identify and focus on circulation and diffusion of pedagogical-educational issues. A very relevant plan, especially for the press produced abroad, in places of destination of migrants, where newspapers and magazines, as shown in researches, played a role and function of agency, extremely significant regarding the defense of cultural and ethnical identity and characteristics. The protection and promotion of the Italian character is a constant reference point for a cultural and editorial project of the newspapers analyzed. The fortnightly newspaper «Stella d'Italia», published in the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul; the «La Tribuna», published in Florianópolis, the capital of the state of Santa Catarina; the Catholic magazine «Corriere d'Italia», produced and promoted by Scalabrinian fathers in the context of Italian colonization in Rio Grande do Sul, are three examples, among many yet to be studied, of the rich repertoire of newspapers and periodicals produced by Italian groups in the 19th and 20th centuries in the vast Brazilian context. Those publications were meant to be tools of a mass pedagogical project, destined to preserve strong ethnical and cultural features of the Italian character, quoting the fortunate expression by a

¹⁰⁶ A. Trento, *Due secoli di giornalismo italiano in Brasile*, in L. Principe (ed.), *La stampa di emigrazione italiana*, «Studi Emigrazione», vol. XLVI, n. 175, 2009, pp. 568-590; Id., *Imprensa italiana no Brasil séculos XIX e XX*, São Carlos, EdUFSCar, 2013; B. Deschamps, *Echi d'Italia. La stampa dell'emigrazione*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2002, Vol. 1, pp. 313-334.

passionate researcher of the ethnical press, Pantaleone Sergi¹⁰⁷. It is an *Italianess* that is not homogenous, but with distinct traces from the cultural matrix to which those who promoted newspapers, whether secular or Catholic, belonged.

When it comes to the circulation of cultural products and educational models designed for migrant children, an important area is the one related to production and circulation of schoolbooks and periodicals for children exported abroad. This field of study is extremely important and unprecedented, in what concerns the understanding of the characteristics and the role played by cultures that were introduced in the context of schooling processes for the construction of paths of identity of migrants and their descendants. The analysis of contents and readings proposed by these periodicals and didactic books is extremely relevant as researches begin to identify their transnational circulation. Contributions by Claudia Panizzolo and Terciane Luchese represent advances in the comprehension about the circulation of didactic books and the educational models proposed in some texts. The contexts of São Paulo and of Southern Brazil allow to investigate on issues such like the interconnections between the production of Italian and Brazilian schoolbooks and the needs of adaptation of publications to local context, as well as the identification and analysis on fundamental tools for cultural transfer, as translators and translations.

For deeper comprehension about reading proposals and educational models offered to Italian children and teenagers abroad, in the context of Italian fascism, the contribution by Anna Ascenzi is especially interesting, as she retraces for the first time the parable of two periodicals for children and teenagers – «Aquilotti d'Italia» (1928-1930) and «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero» (1931-1943) – edited by the General Secretariat of the Italian *fasci* abroad (Segreteria Generale dei Fasci italiani all'estero), specifically designed for both girls and boys of Italian families living outside of national borders. The Macerata scholar, after analyzing the approach and different characteristics of both publications, examines in detail the role they played, at first, for national and patriot education and then, especially in the mid-1930s, for the *fascistization* of young Italians abroad.

School and educational institutions, together with networks built by ethnical associations around the world, are an additional fruitful field of analysis, to which contributions by Mimesse, Rech and Barausse and De Ruggiero are dedicated. Networks of ethnical sociability, object of De Ruggiero's studies, for the first Italian migratory movements abroad, were one of the main tools not only to preserve identity, but also to a progressive transformation of this identity, as it encounters Brazilian ethnical and cultural traits. These networks increased favored by professional insertion of Italians in urban contexts, as well as by the organization of education, culture and leisure among them, from the

¹⁰⁷ P. Sergi, *Stampa migrante. Giornali della diaspora italiana e dell'emigrazione in Italia*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2010, pp. 14-ss.

arrival of the first Italians in the 19th century to the first decades of the following century. De Ruggiero, in addition to expanding perspectives of interpretations about the capital, Porto Alegre, also addresses research efforts to the analysis of ethnical sociability in realities of territories that were apart from colonization processes organized by authorities, including cities in the borders with Argentina and Uruguay, which had already become welcoming places for a great number of Italians in a time prior to the «great migration» to Brazil.

The reconstruction of events of the Cristovão Colombo Orphanage, promoted in São Paulo by Priest Giuseppe Marchetti, reveals the extension of educational interventions by religious – and especially Scalabrinian – congregations in Brazilian context, in what concerns abandoned children. It is still to be deeply studied, specially regarding correlations of transformations produced by modernity and preservation of ethnical and cultural characteristics, like in the case of Cristovão Colombo Orphanage. Amid transformations experienced in the late 19th century, São Paulo turns into a multicultural metropole, attracting millions of workers searching for jobs. But many families caught diseases and did not withstand long trips, and their children became orphans. Thus, many orphanages, day cares and vocational schools were created, in order to take in these children and youngsters. An orphanage was founded by Father Marchetti, who aimed to create an assistance-education institution that preserved the children's original ethnical and cultural characteristics.

The contribution by Rech and Barausse brings new knowledge elements in what concerns the development of Italian ethnical schools in Porto Alegre. In the field of researches carried out about these schools in the last decade, focus was initially on the rural colonial area in Rio Grande do Sul, then on similar rural context in Santa Catarina and finally on urban areas. The reconstruction by Gelson Rech and Alberto Barausse set focus on one context: the urban area of the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in the 1920s and 1930s. This context not only presents dynamics and processes that differ from the ones that affected the area of rural colonization in the state, but also allows to notice the presence of specific characteristics that the fascist regime wanted to introduce in the school organization and culture, like the greater politization that institutions should assume also abroad, in order to educate a new fascist man.

The history of ethnical schooling processes in Brazil still presents several gaps. We already mentioned the importance of knowing about levels of alphabetization of migrants and about the cultural profile and characteristics of the teaching staff that has promoted or followed the development of schools. For instance, the experience of many teachers, characterized by an accentuated international mobility and strong attachments to the original context, may reveal the presence of deep connections between Italy and Brazil. For this reason, the contribution by Michela D'Alessio is of great interest, as she proposes an examination of some quite unknown pages of the migration policy adopted by Italian State for improving emigrants in the early 20th

century: the ones related to compulsory alphabetizing courses offered to those who would become expatriates and more specifically, to the formation of a specialized group of teachers. The article offers a revealing view on the kind of teaching culture expressed by the teachers called upon a task of «high social protection» of emigrants, as well as on the kind of initiatives registered in the context of a greater commitment of Italian State in the early 20th century to the management of emigration policies. Such commitment is known to have resulted in the General Commissariat for Emigration (Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione), for managing a series of interventions, designed to protect and help emigrants before they left the Kingdom, defend them throughout their journey and protect them in the countries where they arrived.

5. Multiple sources and crossed views on documentation to think about educational processes among e/immigrants

Which documents have we been choosing for the researches we develop? How do we organize and question these documents on our research topics? We think, according to Certeau¹⁰⁸, that to 'make history' is a practice, and understanding it that way, we consider that investigations we have been conducting are gaining distinct contours, as historians with backgrounds and traditions that are at once peculiar and distinguished choose a very same object to analyze, in this specific case, education among (e/im)migrants and their descendants who left Italy and established in Brazil between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries – a transnational investigation object. Research groups have paid attention to sources and documental materials that had been scarcely used or even completely ignored by historical pedagogical research until a few years ago. They addressed a set of documents, a historiography and theoretical-methodological references from both Italian and Brazilian contexts. With the goal to share this theoretical-methodological dimension that comes from researchers' contributions and to reflect on the documents and their typology, we have produced the articles herein.

We understand that, as they migrate, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, those subjects have promoted cultural transfers, for as they contacted other social groups, they needed to negotiate senses, lifestyles and ways of thinking. In a historiographical deepening, we think about the intercrossing of itineraries of investigation and the ensemble of documental corpora they mobilize to densify the historical narrative about the object.

Cultural and schooling processes varied in time and space, and to look for traces that have been preserved to understand these histories is possible,

¹⁰⁸ M. de Certeau, *A escrita da História*, Rio de Janeiro, Forense Universitária, 2002, p. 81.

considering diversification of the documental basis constituted of documents kept in Brazilian and Italian collections. This documental corpus, analyzed in the light of references from Cultural History and History of Education as analytical categories, produces a research program which we are developing. This way, as Chartier states, «what is fundamental is to find and build a historical object, if possible, one that has not been really analyzed or, if it has, to analyze it in a different way, that means, to mobilize resources, starting from sources and approaches that allow to explain it»¹⁰⁹. This is what we have been doing and intend to do in the development of this research program.

For Hartog, humans contribute to make history, «a history that certainly escapes from them, but that does not require less of them to be made. And deep down, the more they know it, the better they do it, as this way they are properly warned about their limits and ignorance»¹¹⁰. In such sense, we do understand that there are many limits, despite the efforts put in the historical-educational research we carry out, despite the potentials and numberless possibilities of analysis.

Considering that documents can be thought of as registers of human cultural practices along time and that they «translate into acts the plural ways through which men make sense of their world»¹¹¹, and the diversity of documental typologies, we understand that «objects and images, writings and voices, every testimonial that pass on the legacy of the past of education, are semiotic materials, which emit signs and symbologies, building solidarity amongst practitioners of the profession and amongst generations of citizens who have used it»¹¹².

Countless are the file, printed or oral sources that a historian of education may mobilize to search for evidence, to locate traces, that are significant for their investigations, as well as places to access them. We have partially analyzed the documentation that composes the rich framework of sources regarding Italian emigration and then find and articulate with those that concern specifically the contexts of education and school¹¹³. Considering the documental ensemble we have been using in our research, we can mention:

1) File documents preserved in national, state or municipal spaces, where we have located minute books, reports by consuls, school inspectors and political

¹⁰⁹ R. Chartier, *Roger Chartier entrevistado por Robert Darnton*, «Matrizes», vol. 5, n. 2. 2012, pp. 159-177, in partic. p. 168.

¹¹⁰ F. Hartog, *Crer em História*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2017, p. 15.

¹¹¹ R. Chartier, *Leituras e leitores na França do Antigo Regime*, São Paulo, UNESP, 2004, p. 18.

¹¹² A.B. Escolano, *A escola como cultura: experiência, memória e arqueologia*, Campinas, Alínea, 2017, pp. 275-276.

¹¹³ See, for example, the summary that Italian and foreign records offer on the issue of migration in *L'emigrazione italiana 1870-1970. Atti dei colloqui di Roma*, 2 vols., Rome, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2002.

authorities, diverse correspondence. Some of them also preserve minute books by associations, especially mutual support ones;

2) Printed documents such as newspapers, magazines and pedagogical publications that addressed or communicated themes related to research, preserved and kept at newspapers libraries or public and private archives;

3) Documents from collections kept by school institutions or archives in public spaces, where we located school notebooks, teachers' diaries, didactic books, photographs, correspondence, and general school records;

4) Memory Banks with collections of oral history or interviews, other potent paths for investigations;

5) Family and personal collections, with diaries, notebooks, letters, photographs, schoolbooks, objects. To add contributions from biographies, autobiographies and memorial narratives represents an enrichment for the narrative of History of Education. This kind of documents of «ego-history», in the words of Vinão Frago¹¹⁴, has been allowing, in recent years, to bring historians closer to daily representations as lived and registered by different subjects;

6) Documents like Inventory Books, letters, reports, publications and others from religious archives, like the ones kept at parishes by the Catholic Church and/or congregations, as well as the ones kept by laic associations of local or national relevance;

7) Official documents produced by Italian or Brazilian governments. In the specific Italian case, we can mention statistical sources presented in Directories of Italian schools abroad, which represent a possibility of catching a glimpse of statistical maps of schooling in this communities. Official bulletins published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are rich documents for the History of Education. There is also repertoire collected from circular notes produced by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which are useful to identify the development of guidelines of policies for Italian Schools Abroad.

This way, amongst the sources that constitute a very interesting research field on schooling and education, the ones by consuls deserve special mention. These sources have been mostly used in a historiographical context to highlight essential aspects of the history of diplomacy or the history of Italian emigration. In this sense, studies that have been conducted in the past few years allow to reconstruct fundamental characteristics of the Italian diplomatic staff during the years between Unification and World War I¹¹⁵. Brazilian historiography, in its turn, has used these researches to understand the consuls' approach of Italian immigration in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. That has been done

¹¹⁴ A. Vinão Frago, *La memoria escolar. Restos y huellas, recuerdos y holvidos*, «Annali di Storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 12, 2005, pp. 19-33.

¹¹⁵ Università di Lecce, *La formazione della diplomazia nazionale (1861-1915): repertorio bio bibliografico dei funzionari del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1987.

with special attention to economic and political aspects¹¹⁶ and not to school or educational processes¹¹⁷. It is worth mentioning, however, that recent research developed by fellows from the University of Caxias do Sul and the University of Padova, after a long digitalization process, resulted in the publication of most reports by consuls produced between 1877 and 1915 about Rio Grande do Sul¹¹⁸.

In what concerns the educational processes, these are documents that help to reconstruct Italian immigration in Brazil as a whole, which contributes to influence mechanisms of formation of a collective memory. It is important to mention that amongst documents that have been scarcely used by historians of Contemporary History or even of Education, are the ones related to Italian Schools Abroad that exist in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They make up a significant part of the evidence of what historiography has classified as ethnical schools. The documentation preserved covers a long period – from right after Unification until the mid-20th century. Unfortunately, part of that cannot be easily accessed, due to difficulties faced by the diplomatic historical archive, which, in a context of lack of resources, has not yet inventoried the material related to the «Archivio Scuole» (School Archive)¹¹⁹. The documentation is extremely diverse and allows to perceive the process of school organization and several types of school that were constituted abroad, which have been generically called Italian Schools Abroad or even Colonial Schools. However, this category, as studies have been showing, must be approached in a better way. The inclusion of experiences of schooling in colonial and immigration areas within the category of «Italian ethnical schools» has started from a reading of the migratory phenomenon as producer of multiethnic social and cultural context, but as we go deeper into investigations and obtain richer documental repertoire, we notice the diversity of forms of organizing school among immigrant groups, as well as coexistence of similar but not necessarily identical school proposals¹²⁰.

¹¹⁶ L.H. Iotti, *O Olhar do poder. A Imigração italiana no Rio Grande do Sul de 1875 a 1914*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2001.

¹¹⁷ For a first introduction on the use of consular sources in the field of History of education see A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Uma história da educação dos (i)migrantes italianos entre o local e o transnacional: entrecruzando documentos e olhares investigativos*, in A. Karsburg, M. Vendrame (edd.), *Variações da micro-história no Brasil: temas, abordagens e desafios*, São Leopoldo, Oikos Editora E-book, 2018, pp. 171-203.

¹¹⁸ G. Romanato, V.B. Merlotti Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul brasiliano (1875-1914)*. *Fonti diplomatiche*, Ravenna, Consiglio Regionale del Veneto, Longo Editore, 2018.

¹¹⁹ We use this opportunity to express our special thanks to Dr. Paola Busonero, Stefania Ruggeri and Federica Onelli, of the Historical Diplomatic Archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for their competence and excellent availability to favor our access and consultation of sources.

¹²⁰ T.Â. Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2014; A. Barausse, *Le scuole italiane nel Rio Grande do Sul attraverso le carte*

The documental corpus preserved by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs comes from the role played by Italian consular services abroad. It is known that Consulates had considerable importance in the development of a network of Italian schools abroad. The law through which the Crispi government reorganized the entire system of schools abroad, dividing them into governmental and subsidized schools¹²¹, assigned consuls with the responsibility of inspecting Italian schools abroad¹²². The regulations established for Italian Schools Abroad during the reforms adopted by Crispi have given a especially important role for consular authorities. In particular, regulations were clearly specific regarding the consul's authority over every school in their district, with responsibility for all the people involved in the schools' administration, teaching and practices.

Among the consul's tasks, there was the job to «keep alive the colonies' interest in schools»¹²³ and to expand their credit, promoting charity events, obtaining signatures of support and implementing initiatives for families to send their children to school, stimulating that a higher number of students enrolled. The consul was not only assigned to preside entities that were essential for management of schools or the supervision committee, but also to manage financial resources destined to maintain each school, paying stipends and personal remunerations to directors, teachers and employees, as well as every necessary expense. In cases when school assets were managed by a special commission, the consul should supervise the conformity of documents. So, the consul examined and transmitted to the Minister his evaluations, with possible observations, and proposed the entity for subsidizing. They should provide the school a proper place, regarding hygiene and pedagogy, taking into account observations that the Central Director for Schools presented. It was also the consul's job to present changes concerning schools, to manage inventories, to monitor moral and civil conducts of teachers and directors of individual schools (articles 2 to 7 of chapter I of the regulation). Following specific assignments attributed to them by legislation, consular authorities would regularly send reports to the Ministry, about the conditions of Italian schools established overseas.

For this reason, the use of reports by consular authorities kept at the Historical Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, like the ones printed in

consolari tra la fine dell'Impero e l'inizio della Repubblica (1875-1893), in De Ruggiero, Heredia, Barausse (edd.), *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*, cit., pp. 195-248.

¹²¹ Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, cit., pp. 535-549.

¹²² The measures from December 8th, 1889, that means, the *Decreto organico per le scuole italiane all'estero* n. 6566 and the *Regolamento sulle scuole italiane all'estero* are found in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Annuario delle scuole coloniali per l'anno finanziario e scolastico 1889-90*, Rome, Tip. delle Mantellate, 1890, pp. 201-207, 211-238. See also G. Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero cento anni di storia*, Rome, Armando Editore, 1974.

¹²³ Barausse, Luchese, *Uma história da educação dos (i)migrantes italianos entre o local e o transnacional: entrecruzando documentos e olhares investigativos*, cit., p. 183.

the ministry's bulletin, represent indispensable sources to enlarge the perspective and knowledge about the still quite unknown phenomenon of Italian ethnical schooling. To such sources, one must add reports by travelers and journalists who circulated around immigrant communities, producing interventions in magazines or ethnical press. All these sources, up until now, have been only partially used by both Italian and Brazilian historians of education in their researches. Along with other kinds of documental sources, they have allowed to put in evidence cultural processes of building collective memory.

Final considerations, or thinking about the suspension of national borders as an investigative possibility

In the research program we built, it is relevant to acknowledge that many documents are still unpublished and may be innovative, just like the crossings of documents that consider not only the diversity of typologies, but go beyond and question them, examine evidences, counterpose discourses. As Luchese stated:

In documental analysis, I find it relevant to ask ourselves: what was the social, cultural, economical and political context in which this document was produced? Who wrote it? From which social place? For whom? Who were their interlocutors? Which opinions, information, discourses are expressed in it? Which discursive traits are reinforced? When going through documents, perceive the recurrences, the evidences, as ways of thinking education and multiple social-political-economic relations, that produce discourses¹²⁴.

This way, in the construction of methodological contours of the research, documents are not given *a priori*, but woven, constituted and thought of along the making. As suggested by Rogers¹²⁵ about French feminine congregations in a transnational approach, it is in the dialogue between historians from different communities and backgrounds that we can build narratives with the potential to think about objects of study that go beyond national borders. That is precisely our case: it is not enough to think about it just like Italian consuls or travelers did, it is necessary to confront such narratives with local records, with the diversity of documents produced by those who went through schooling and other educational processes playing different roles. It is not about establishing comparisons, but about confronting documents, crossing them and show different representations that have circulated, about the educational process [and project] among Italian immigrants in the different Brazilian contexts.

¹²⁴ T.Â. Luchese, *Modos de fazer história da educação: pensando a operação historiográfica em temas regionais*, «História da Educação», vol. 18, n. 43, 2014, pp. 145-161.

¹²⁵ R. Rogers, *Congregações femininas e difusão de um modelo escolar: uma história transnacional*, «Pro-posições», vol. 25, n. 1 (73), 2014, pp. 55-74.

According to Seigel¹²⁶, comparisons impose limits, thus, it is necessary to understand the need to overcome the borders of Nation State, when it comes to thinking about relations, connections and spatialities-temporalities of the historical analysis game. This is a potentializing path, for the investigation object we are addressing. A connected history, that overcomes national borders, placing migration experiences, local, regional, Italian and Brazilian cultures, educational processes and social phenomena within a more general scenario. A history that thinks about the circulation of people in migration, people who carry education models with them and who, in contact with other social groups, other cultural contexts, negotiate, take ownership, tense lifestyles and ways of being. We understand that when emigrants leave the italic peninsula, they carry discourses, many of them carry schooling experiences, that set their ways of thinking about curriculum, organization of the school time and space, as well as pedagogical memories they experienced as students and in some cases as teachers too. The complexity of international cultural contacts to be looked over by researchers requires an expansion of our exchanges as investigators. Thus, to consider the context in which cultural exchanges happen is crucial. From which territories did emigrants leave? Where did they head to? In the case of Brazil, to rural or urban areas? To colonize and become proprietary of a small piece of land or to work as employees at coffee farms? To cities or to the countryside? Those differences strongly distinguish itineraries. Issues like social class, generation, gender and ethnical groups must also be considered when analyzing documents mobilized in the research.

A transnational history of educational and schooling processes among Italian e/immigrants in Brazil suggests to think about connections, interactions, to use more complex and deep interpretation keys, in an exercise of interpretation that produces historical narrative that considers more than documental diversity, but also the accumulation of experiences that each researcher¹²⁷ carries, from their specificities and cultural background. According to Giovagnoli, to globalize «does not mean to make uniform, it means that global enters more and more into local, or general enters into particular, however, without cancelling differences and thus introducing new ones, more destabilizing, in the confrontation of many consolidated interpretative schemes»¹²⁸. For Gruzinski, «the globalization process is inevitably changing the frames of our thinking and thus, our ways to revisit the past»¹²⁹. This way, the dialogue of historians of

¹²⁶ M. Seigel, *Beyond compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn*, «Radical History Review», n. 91, 2005, pp. 62-90.

¹²⁷ It is worth recalling, at this point, what was stated by Chartier: «[...] for each reader, from their own references, whether individual or social, whether historical or existential, gives a more or less singular and more or less shared meaning to the texts they address». Chartier, *Prefácio*, in Id. (ed.), *Práticas da leitura*, São Paulo, Estação Liberdade, 2009, p. 20.

¹²⁸ Giovagnoli, *Storia e globalizzazione*, cit., p. VII.

¹²⁹ S. Gruzinsky, *Os mundos misturados das monarquias católicas e outras connected*

education from different communities potentializes views and narratives that, connected, can describe the historical process, putting Hartog's warnings in practice, with a:

task to identify regularities, apprehend continuities, update cracks, ruptures, emphasize, according to the moments, a history that is more attentive to series and continuities or more interested in cracks and discontinuities; to privilege socioeconomic models or a biographic approach, to place and replace, again and again, the issue of change in the history and in history¹³⁰.

Many are the ruptures, the cracks, the continuities and discontinuities that we can identify as we go through our object of investigation, due to the typological diversity of itineraries and documents that we have mentioned above, but also due to the ways of reading and interpreting them. So, analysis of documents is enriched and complexified as interpretation considers accumulated experiences of researches. That means, as one operates with a historical document, it becomes clear, as methodological procedure, that «from a very same set of texts, indeed, many readings can be proposed, and none of them can intend to exhaust the totality of possible comprehensions»¹³¹, as we think about history as «an unfolded writing that has, thus, the triple task of evoking the past, for it is not in a discourse in the present; of showing the historian's competences, as they own the sources; and of convincing the reader»¹³².

As historians of education, with our theoretical and methodological backgrounds, building a documental set, we intend, with the rigor that is necessary to construct a plausible interpretative version, to effectively contribute to describe, in the present, the experience of educational and schooling processes of Italian migrants in the Brazilian context.

histories, «Topoi», vol. 2, n. 2, 2001, p. 178.

¹³⁰ Hartog, *Crer em História*, cit. p. 24.

¹³¹ Chartier, *Leituras e leitores na França do Antigo Regime*, cit., p. 381.

¹³² Id., *A história ou a leitura do tempo*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2009.

Catholicism, education and emigration: the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] by the Scalabrinian priest Pietro Colbacchini

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ABSTRACT: On the basis of a very rich archival and printed documentation, A. traces the genesis and goes into the characteristics and the underlying guidelines of the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America], edited by the Scalabrinian missionary Pietro Colbacchini (1845-1901) in Milan in 1896. Destined to be an effective aid for the pastoral and religious work carried out in the communities of Italian emigrants in America by the Institute of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, which was founded by the bishop of Piacenza, Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, some time ago, the *Spiritual Guide* is an extremely significant – and, in some cases, unique – document used to throw light on the guidelines and the choices carried out by the Scalabrinian religious in Brazil and in other countries of the New World between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Furthermore, this article is one of the first contributions devoted to the examination of the modern tools of pastoral animation and religious and civil education for Italian people emigrated abroad.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Religious and pastoral animation; Father Pietro Colbacchini; Institute of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo (Scalabrinian Missionaries); Brazil; America; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *The Scalabrinian missionary Pietro Colbacchini and the pastoral care of the Italian communities emigrated to São Paulo, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil (1845-1901)*

In a report sent to Card. Mieczyslaw Ledòchowski, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, on August 12th, 1900, where Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini retraced the origins and the first developments of the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo and provided a synthetic picture of the initiatives carried out by the male and female religious of his institutes both at the harbour in Genoa and on the ships sailed to the New World and in the missions in North America and Brazil, he made known the outcome of a competition, which he had announced some time ago for the realization of a «manual or a spiritual guide of the Italian emigrant in America», which should have been an effective aid to the pastoral and religious work carried out by the Scalabrinians in America and «contributed to the material well-being and, above all, the spiritual advantage of our emigrated compatriots»:

The bishop of Piacenza wrote: – I published a competition for a ‘manual or a spiritual guide’ of the Italian emigrant in America, awarding a prize of L.1500. There were 24 distinguished clergymen coming from various Italian regions. A commission, chaired by the late Card. Alimonda of Turin, awarded the prize to the writing of the priest Pietro Colbacchini, a missionary of ours. So, the Providence, which knows our poverty, did not allow this sum to come out of the poor box. I am sending to this Holy Congregation a copy of this Guide, printed in a large number of specimen¹.

But who was the Scalabrinian missionary who won the competition? Pietro Colbacchini was born in Bassano, in the province of Vicenza, on September 11th, 1845, from a family of landowners². He entered the bishop’s seminary in Vicenza in 1857 and was ordained there on December 19th, 1868, at the age of 23. From the first phase of his priestly experience, Father Pietro Colbacchini

¹ *Relazione sulla Congregazione a M. Ledòchowski*, Piacenza, August 12th, 1900, in AGS / BA 03-04-01; published in G. Terragni, *Scalabrini e la Congregazione dei Missionari per gli Emigrati. Aspetti istituzionali 1887-1905*, Naples, Autorinediti, 2014, pp. 244-253 (the quote in the text is on p. 252).

² About the biography and the works of the Scalabrinian missionary, Father Pietro Colbacchini (1845-1901), first of all see the fundamental collections of documents, recently printed by Terragni, *Scalabrini e la Congregazione dei Missionari per gli Emigrati. Aspetti istituzionali 1887-1905*, cit.; and, above all, Id., *P. Pietro Colbacchini. Con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paraná e Rio Grande do Sul 1884-1901. Corrispondenza e scritti*, Naples, Autorinediti, 2016, on which the writer has widely drawn for the drafting of this contribution. Useful references can be also found in G. Rosoli, *L’opera di assistenza tra gli emigrati dei missionari scalabriniani in America Latina*, in *L’emigrazione italiana 1870-1970. Atti dei colloqui di Roma 19-20 settembre 1989*; 29-31 ottobre 1990; 28-30 ottobre 1991; 28-30 ottobre 1993, Rome, w.e., 2002, Vol. I, pp. 127-144.

made himself noticed for his intense spirituality and his vigorous commitment to the pastoral care of his souls.

In 1874, he undertook the activity of an apostolic missionary, devoting himself to preaching popular missions in various locations of the diocese of Vicenza. Two years later, after being appointed rector of Santa Corona Church in Vicenza, he was called in 1879 to hold the position of archpriest of Cereda, a small town in Valle dell'Agno, in the province of Vicenza, where he stayed until 1883.

When everything seemed to presage an ordinary and peaceful career for the young priest as a pastor of souls in one of the parishes of the diocese, here was the real turning point destined to radically change his human and religious itinerary and to place him in the face of an unprecedented and demanding challenge in terms of testimony of faith and pastoral commitment.

Father Pietro Colbacchini traced the origin of his 'conversion' to the assistance and the religious care for Italian emigrants in America in a memorial sent to the apostolic internuncio in Brazil, Msgr. Francesco Spolverini³, a few years later, in June 1889:

He wrote: – In May 1884, I was in Feltre preaching in that Cathedral. A good priest from Campo di Quero, a nearby town, came to show me several letters he had received from his compatriots, who were in the Provinces of Rio Grande and Santa Catarina in Brazil and strongly excited me to help them with his ministry. I was heartrending for those letters, where there were the lamentations for so many unfortunate Italian people's abandonment and their danger to lose their faith. For many years, I have aspired to the Italian mission in Brazil, but the difficulties which it provided let me interrupt my desire on the one hand and the continuous missions in Italy took away from me the time and the way to think about it on the other hand. Those letters came to shake me and to get rid of any doubt to decide to go there as soon as possible.

Definitively matured the decision not to drop the pleas coming from overseas and to personally engage in the religious assistance and the pastoral care for Italian people emigrated abroad, Father Pietro Colbacchini established the necessary contacts and started the preparations for his transfer to America. As he reminded in the above-mentioned memorial:

After the preaching in May, I did nothing but got ready for this deed. I went to Turin to seek advice from Don Bosco, God rest his soul, and he would have taken me in his holy

³ About Msgr. Francesco Spolverini and his work (San Martino al Cimino (Viterbo), January 26th, 1838 - Rome, October 13th, 1918), an apostolic internuncio and a special correspondent of the Holy See in Brazil from July 1887 to November 1891, please see: G. De Marchi, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1957, pp. 78-79; and C. Fantappiè, *Chiesa romana e modernità giuridica. Tomo I: Il Codex Iuris Canonici (1917)*, Milan, Giuffrè, 2008, p. 1212.

networks and aggregated to his Congregation for the purpose of the Mission in Brazil, if a great repugnance, which I felt to embrace an Institute not adequately corresponding to my old habits and aspirations, had not forced me to resist his desire. The Cardinal Patriarch of Venice [Card. Domenico Agostini, 1877-1891], who deigned to be more intimately confident, encouraged me in my plan and gave me the means, so that I could deal with this matter to the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and the Supreme Pontiff. My project was approved and blessed by the Holy Father in a special audience obtained in October of that year. I was allowed many powers in order to facilitate the work of my ministry and, after two months in Rome, I sailed from Genoa to Brazil by the mail boat «Umberto I» belonging to Piaggio Company on November 1st, when cholera stopped in Naples [in 1884], because it prevented the departure of the Steamships [Vessels] to America.

Having landed on the American coast at the end of a long and troubled journey by sea, Father Pietro Colbacchini immediately went to visit the bishop of São Paulo, Msgr. Lino Deodato Rodrigues de Carvalho (1873-1894), to present his credentials and to obtain the authorization to carry out his pastoral ministry in the diocese, and here he was able to find for the first time the growing distrust and the aversion nourished by most of the episcopal hierarchy and the clergy in Brazil to the priests coming from Europe, especially from Italy, when they were in charge with immigrants:

On February 14th [1885], I left Rio at about 5 o'clock in the morning and I arrived at S. Paulo at about six o'clock in the evening (without having food during the journey). I directly went to the Bishop's, who was not at home. He was in the seminary to attend the school opening. [...] After three hours awaiting, he came. I introduced myself to kiss his ring. He did not stop with me for a moment and, when I gave my name, he replied that it was not the time to visit him. I explained to him the case of my arrival and its purpose; he replied that I would return the following day at 11 o'clock. I asked him if I could have a room in the Seminary, but he replied that the Seminary was not the Fathers' hotel and there were no shortage of hotels in the city.

The following day, even if the climate of marked hostility already found in the fleeting and cold conversation of the previous day persisted, the Italian priest finally got to be received in audience by the local ordinary and to be assigned to a first pastoral appointment:

Father Pietro Colbacchini still wrote: – At 11 o'clock I was at that place. The Bishop received me with suspicion; I gave him a lot of important letters of recommendation: three were from Cardinals – the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and the Cardinal Patriarch of Venice. All of them were in Latin; the latter one gave me so much praise that its twentieth part would have been enough to make me well accepted by anyone. Then other papers from my Bishop of Vicenza with the «*discessum ad beneplacitum*» by Msgr. Cagliari, Vicar-Apostolic and Superior of the Salesians in America, etc. They were too many! The bishop received them. He opened one, he did not even have the patience to read it and he began to tell me I do not know what and why, till I did not understand a word because of his incorrect pronunciation. [...] I learned that he assigned me at the service of an Italian Colony in Monserrate at the Roman

Catholic Diocese of Jundiá. The Bishop gave me a letter, which I had to give to the Priest, and everything was decided with a few words⁴.

As already mentioned, far from representing a fact attributable to personal motivations or character difficulties, the attitude held by the bishop of São Paulo to Father Pietro Colbacchini fully reflected the strong unrest and the growing distrust nourished by the episcopal hierarchies and the clergy in Brazil to the priests and the religious arrived in Brazil and in other countries of the old continent in the wake of the Italian immigrants.

Two models of Church and two radically different conceptions of pastoral practice and *cura animarum* were at the root of this unrest and distrust and the peculiar experiences which had characterized the establishment and the development of Catholicism in Latin-American colonies since the fifteenth century and the particular geo-political and socio-economic conditions which marked a lot of Brazilian and Argentinian areas hung over them.

In fact, in the face of the typically Tridentine conception of the priestly ministry, which linked a lot of clergymen and religious coming from Italy and other countries of the old continent and reflected a pastoral ideal which had its assigned place in the parish and its foundations in the liturgical and devotional practice, the dispensation of sacraments and the Christian catechesis and education of God's people, there was the different priestly ideal and model of ecclesiastical life which the *royal patronage*, established in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in Latin America during the previous centuries⁵, had helped to become deep-rooted in Brazil and Argentina⁶.

Destined to do his work in the Italian colony in Monserrate, at the Roman Catholic Diocese of Jundiá, Father Pietro Colbacchini moved to his new venue in the following weeks and here he had the opportunity to establish the first contacts with the immigrant community and to take note of the climate of

⁴ P. Colbacchini, *Cinque anni di Missione agli Italiani nella Diocesi di S. Paulo e Paraná in Brasile*, a memorandum attached to Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Francesco Spolverini, Itù, June 20th, 1889, in AGS/EE 02-07-13, Orig. aut., 4 ff.; now published in Terragni, P. Pietro Colbacchini. *Con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paraná e Rio Grande do Sul 1884-1901. Corrispondenza e scritti*, cit., pp. 143-145.

⁵ Cf. A. de Egaña, *La teoría del Regio Vicariato Español en Indias*, Romae, Apud aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1958; G. Sorge, *Il Padroado regio e la S. Congregazione De Propaganda Fide nei secoli XIV-XVII*, Bologna, Clueb, 1985; J.P. Paiva, *Os bispos de Portugal e do Império: 1495-1777*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 2006.

⁶ L. Favero, *Gli Scalabriniani e gli emigrati italiani nel Sud America*, in Rosoli (ed.), *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo. Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale (Piacenza, 3-5 December 1987)*, cit., pp. 395-396. But you could also see: C.A. Zagonel, *Igreja e imigração italiana*, Porto Alegre, EST/Sulina, 1975; R. Gonzáles, *Iglesia e inmigración en la Argentina, 1810-1914*, in *La inmigración en la Argentina*, Tucumán, Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, 1979; R. Azzi, *A Igreja e os Migrantes. I: A migração italiana e os primórdios da obra escalabriniana no Brasil (1884-1904)*, São Paulo, Edições Paulinas, 1987; and N.T. Auza, *La Iglesia y la evangelización de la inmigración*, «Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos», vol. 14, 1990, pp. 104-137.

distrust and hostility generated by the priests who had been previously entrusted with pastoral care.

Shortly thereafter, however, he was instructed by the bishop to take care of the Italian colonies in Parana, who had been long urging the sending of a priest. On May 24th, 1886, the Venetian priest arrived at Curitiba, the capital city of what was the province of Parana at that time and, within a few months, he gave rise to a series of initiatives destined to arouse widespread support among the Italian people living there and largely coming from Veneto and to give a new course to the religious life and the pastoral practice in the colonies⁷.

Colbacchini learned the news that, in Italy, the bishop of Piacenza, Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, was working to found an «institute of clergymen who are determinately going to move abroad, especially to America, to bring the support of the sacred ministry to the multitude of Italian Catholics who settled in those regions, driven by the need to emigrate from their homeland»⁸, so he decided to join the new religious institute promoted by the bishop of Piacenza and, a few months later, in August 1888, he officially joined the institute of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for the religious assistance of Italian emigrants in America – the first nucleus of the Scalabrinian missionary congregation in Brazil – together with Father Domenico Mantese from Vicenza and Father Giuseppe Molinari from Piacenza⁹.

In the mid-nineties, after a long and demanding missionary activity in Brazil, Father Pietro Colbacchini, who was «exhausted by manual labours», obtained from Msgr. Scalabrini the permission to return to Italy to get back his strength and to complete a series of initiatives launched with the Italian government and the Holy See.

The religious stopped in Italy from August 1895 to October 1896, settling in Bassano, in his father's house, and engaging in the «preaching of spiritual exercises in seminaries and religious communities in Veneto»¹⁰.

During this period, he devoted himself to the drafting of the original manual of piety, primarily destined to the Italian people emigrated overseas. As already

⁷ Colbacchini, *Cinque anni di Missione agli Italiani nella Diocesi di S. Paulo e Paranà in Brasile*, cit., pp. 146-151.

⁸ Leo PP. XIII, *Litterae ad Episcopum Placentinum [I.B. Scalabrini] de Instituto sacrorum virorum qui in Americam proficiscentes, opem s. ministerii ferant Italis illuc rerum necessitate compulsis*, Romae XXV Novembris MDCCCLXXXVII, «Actae Sanctae Sedis», vol. XX, 1887, p. 305. As it is well known, this is the short *Libenter agnovimus* (November 25th, 1887) sent by Leo XIII to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, with whom the pontiff approved the institution of the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for the religious assistance of Italian emigrants in America thanks to the bishop of Piacenza.

⁹ About their work, you could refer to the fully documented pages of the M. Francesconi (ed.), *Storia della Congregazione Scalabriniana*, 6 vols., Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, Vol. III: *Le prime missioni nel Brasile (1888-1905)*, 1973.

¹⁰ Terragni, P. *Pietro Colbacchini. Con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paranà e Rio Grande do Sul 1884-1901. Corrispondenza e scritti*, cit., p. 10.

mentioned, we intend to refer to the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America], which would see the light in Milan in late 1896, thanks to A. Bertarelli Typo-lithographic Workshops, would be the winner of a competition announced by the bishop of Piacenza, Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, «for a 'manual or spiritual guide' of the Italian emigrant in America», would be «printed in a large number of copies» and would know a notable diffusion in Brazil, Argentina, United States and several other countries of the new continent in the years to come¹¹.

2. *The genesis and the main headlines of a manual of piety and Christian morality for the Italian communities emigrated to America*

The first direct reference to the drafting of the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] is found in a letter sent by Father Colbacchini to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini in March 1895, where, as soon as the Venetian religious returned to Italy to have treatment and to recover his strength after the long and demanding missionary experience carried out first in the State of São Paulo and then in Parana, he expressed his regret for having temporarily abandoned the Italian communities emigrated to Brazil and, at the same time, he announced his willingness to prepare for those communities a useful manual of piety, which also contained moral precepts and rules of conduct, in order to be a sort of guide for everyday life¹².

In the following months, in virtue of the extraordinary determination which also animated the Venetian religious, the drafting of this devotional work quickly proceeded without interruption to the point that in December Father Colbacchini could confirm to the bishop of Piacenza: «I am at a good point with my religion book for the emigrants and, if the obstinate constipation which has troubled me for about a month will not prevent it, I hope to see it through to the end in January or February»¹³.

¹¹ *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Cobacchini Miss. Apost.*, Milan, Officine Tip.-Lit. A. Bertarelli, 1896, in-32°, pp. 416, 2,00 Liras. This work, edited with the «ecclesiastical approval» by Msgr. Giambattista Gobbi, ecclesiastical censor of the diocese of Vicenza (March 9th, 1896), and the «admittitur et imprimatur» by Father Giuseppe Del Corno, ecclesiastical censor of the archdiocese of Milan (July 14th, 1896), was opened by a letter containing the author's dedication to the bishop of Piacenza, Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, which was followed by the answer of the Lombard bishop and superior general of the (Scalabrinian) Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo.

¹² Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bassano, March 5th, 1895, in AGS/DE 17-06-03, orig. aut., 4 ff.; now in *ibid.*, pp. 418-419.

¹³ Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bassano, December 26th, 1895, in AGS/DE 17-06-08, orig. aut., 3 ff.; now in *ibid.*, p. 436.

In mid-February 1896, Father Colbacchini triumphantly announced to the bishop of Piacenza and his religious superior:

Finally, I can tell you that my work, *The moral religious manual of the Italian Emigrant in America* [Manuale religioso morale per l'Emigrato Italiano nell'America] is concluded. The various missions I gave and the disorder of my fragile health, delayed my work for a few months. In writing it down, I have always had the particular needs of the settlers into consideration and, therefore, it will retain its originality, both in the arrangement of the arguments and the material with which they are discussed. Then, I used the most possible clarity for me. I omitted those prayers and practices which can be found in all the books of devotion and I fixed my mind on religious, social, economic and hygienic instructions and warnings more than anything else. But religion is always its pivot and its aim¹⁴.

In early April, Msgr. Scalabrini's letter, where the bishop of Piacenza expressed the widest and the most convinced approval for this work, finally arrived at the Venetian religious', only suggesting a different distribution of its arguments and a series of formal changes¹⁵.

In October 1896, a few days after his return to Brazil, Father Colbacchini could triumphantly announce to the bishop of Piacenza and his religious superior: «The Bishop [of Porto Alegre] gave me a very good welcome. He did not mention any information against me and he only showed that he hold me in high esteem, especially for the *spiritual guidebook of the emigrant*, which he read with interest»¹⁶.

However, it was only the beginning of a process destined to make the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] a sort of *long-seller*, or rather, the best known and widespread reference manual about religious and civil life for Italian people abroad.

In fact, in the following years, Father Pietro Colbacchini's work would have also had a remarkable fortune outside Rio Grande do Sul, increasingly spreading in all the states of Brazil, where there were colonies of Italian immigrants, as well as in several other countries in America¹⁷.

¹⁴ Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bassano, February 15th, 1896, in AGS/VA 01, orig. aut., 4 ff.; now in *ibid.*, p. 440.

¹⁵ Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bassano, April 8th, 1896, in AGS/VA 01, orig. aut., 4 ff.; now in *ibid.*, pp. 445-446.

¹⁶ Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Porto Alegre, October 18th, 1896, AGS/ID 17-03-01, orig. aut., 6 ff.; now in *ibid.*, pp. 479-481. In a letter sent to Msgr. Cavagnis a few days later, Father Colbacchini reiterated: «That bishop [of Porto Alegre] liked my *Spiritual Guide of the Emigrant* very much and he recommends it very much. I hope to be able to spread it in all of our Colonies» (Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Felice Cavagnis, Porto Alegre, October 20th, 1896, in ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Spogli Curia, Card. Felice Cavagnis, b. 3, fasc. 130, orig.; now in *ibid.*, pp. 484-485).

¹⁷ If one takes into account the undoubted originality and the remarkable fortune of the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant to America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America], edited by Father Pietro Colbacchini in 1896, it is not surprising that a scarce attention has been paid to this work by the international historiography on Italian emigration to America up to now. The only

3. *Objectives and goals of the Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America]*

The *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] by Father Pietro Colbacchini can be assimilated to a large number of catechetical, hagiographic and devotional texts flourished in Italy during the nineteenth century.

We intend to refer to the wide range of treatises, pamphlets, works and other writings, primarily destined to male and female young people and adults from different social conditions and essentially focused on the issues of moral and spiritual education, religious practice and behaviour in family and society.

Written with a plain and modest language and style and at ridiculously low prices, these works have known a growing diffusion in Italy – also witnessed by frequent reprints and re-editions –, even after the national unification (1861) and, at least, until the First World War¹⁸.

It generally dealt with a modest type of publication, which included bishops, parish priests, religious and, more rarely, exponents of the Catholic laity among its authors and which addressed to a very varied public of readers – ranging from the peasant world to the urban one with artisan families and the small and middle bourgeoisie –, to whom it proposed to provide ideals and behaviour patterns, as well as practical/operative indications and suggestions about the most suitable way to fulfill their duties of Christian life, to carry out religious practices and to daily act and work in family, at school and at the workstation¹⁹.

works devoted to it are the ones by F.A. Scarpim, which were poorly documented and characterized by a sociological and anthropological approach: *Um guia para a saúde do corpo e da alma: o ideal de catolicidade proposto pelo Padre Pietro Colbacchini para imigrantes italianos*, «Rever», vol. 15, n. 1, 2015, pp. 93-110; and Id., *A atuação do missionário scalabriniano Pietro Colbacchini e o confronto entre o catolicismo brasileiro e imigrante no final do século XIX*, a communication to the XXVIII Simpósio Nacional de História, Florianópolis (Brazil), July 27-31, 2015, available at the following link: <http://www.snh2015.anpuh.org/resources/anais/39/1427319468_ARQUIVO_textoANPUH2015ultimaversao.pdf> (last access: 03.02.2019).

¹⁸ Cf. *I libri più letti dal popolo italiano. Primi risultati della inchiesta promossa dalla Società Bibliografica Italiana*, Milan, Società Bibliografica Italiana, 1906. But now you can also see: G. Ragone, *La letteratura e il consumo: un profilo dei generi e dei modelli nell'editoria italiana (1845-1925)*, in A. Asor Rosa (dir.), *Letteratura italiana. II. Produzione e consumo*, Turin, Einaudi, 1983, pp. 687-733; F. Traniello, *La cultura popolare cattolica nell'Italia unita*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'età contemporanea. I. La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, pp. 429-458.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Dordoni, *I libri di devozione dell'Ottocento (con particolare riferimento alla produzione milanese): proposte per una lettura critica*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 59-102; Ead., *I libri di devozione nell'800: una lettura critica*, in *Chiesa e società a Bergamo nell'Ottocento*, Milan, Glossa, 1998, pp. 203-234; M. Marocchi, *Le dimensioni educative nella letteratura di pietà*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 189-209; R. Sani, *Tra società di massa e totalitarismo fascista. Il rinnovamento dell'editoria e della pubblicistica educativo-popolare cattolica tra le due guerre*, in L. Pazzaglia

These last aims were also pursued by the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] by Father Pietro Colbacchini. However, though having a lot of links and affinities with the above-mentioned rich range of devotional works, this latter one was destined to play a particular role, as it was exclusively addressed to «Italian settlers in America», that are the communities of «compatriots emigrated to the new world», wrestling with spiritual and material «circumstances», «needs» and «dangers», which were unprecedented and, sometimes, very difficult to face to. Father Colbacchini emphasized it by introducing to the readers *The reasons for this book* [Le ragioni di questo libro] and he expressed:

The book I am introducing you should not be confused with other books or manuals of devotion. It is a book only about the circumstances and the needs of the Italian settlers in America. Therefore, as well as containing a collection of the most common prayers and practices for Christian people, it will be provided with exhortations and excitations to preserve the faith and the practice of religion in them and to bring those who strayed from the straight and narrow path to heel; notices and useful advice concerning particular needs not only for what belongs to the things of soul, but also to regulate their relationships with their own compatriots and other foreign people and to provide for their material well-being, health and special cases and circumstances of their life²⁰.

The Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] was opened by the author's dedication to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini²¹ and a letter written by this latter one, where the full sharing of the initiative and the deep appreciation nourished by the bishop of Piacenza for the work edited by Father Colbacchini²² were

(ed.), *Chiesa, cultura ed educazione in Italia tra le due guerre*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 329-357; A. Ascenzi, *Il Plutarco delle donne. Repertorio della pubblicistica educativa e scolastica e della letteratura amena destinate al mondo femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Macerata, Eum, 2009; R. Sani, «Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam». *Istituti religiosi, educazione e scuola nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea*, Macerata, Eum, 2009.

²⁰ *Ragioni di questo libro*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, Milan, Officine Tip.-Lit. A. Bertarelli, 1896, pp. 5-10. This text contained the *Ecclesiastical Approval* by the archpriest Giambattista Gobbi, ecclesiastical censor of the diocese of Vicenza (March 9th, 1896), and the *Admittitur et Imprimatur* by the priest Giuseppe Del Corno, ecclesiastical censor of the archdiocese of Milan (July 14th, 1896).

²¹ The letter, with which Father Colbacchini announced to Msgr. Scalabrini the intention to devote to him the forthcoming volume, dated May 1896, said: «It is only up to Your Rev. Excellency to protect this book, which is going to fulfill a wish of Yours and was honoured with Your approval. Therefore, I devote it to Your Excellency and I am sure that You will deign to accept it willingly as a further means among others used by the unremitting zeal of Your Rev. Excellency, for the benefit of our Italian emigrants in America, and as a sign of esteem, affection and gratitude which my soul binds to Your Excellency» (*ibid.*, p. 2).

²² In the letter of reply, dated June 7th, 1896 and published on the introductory pages of the text, the bishop of Piacenza stated: «My dear Father Pietro, all that can contribute to the material well-being and, much more, the spiritual advantage of our emigrant compatriots, deserves all the biggest favour. Therefore, I accept with gratitude the book which you wanted to devote to me with

repeatedly confirmed, and it was articulated in a preface and 18 chapters devoted to exquisitely religious and devotional issues and questions mixed with pedantic other ones, concerning moral conduct, rules for preserving hygiene and health, the way to behave in civil and social relationships and economic and professional activities, at the end of which, in addition to the *Conclusion* [Conclusione], there were a series of appendices devoted to the «Most Recommended Devotions» [«Divozioni più raccomandate»], the «Via Crucis» [«Via Crucis»], the «Devotion to St. Joseph» [«Divozione a S. Giuseppe»], as well as a collection of «Spiritual Praises» [«Lodi Spirituali»] and a «Prospect of Christian Doctrine» [«Prospetto di Dottrina Cristiana»]²³.

In the introduction of the characteristics and the aims of his *Spiritual Guide*, the author essentially addressed not to a generic «Italian emigrant in America», but rather to those peasants mainly coming from Veneto, Trentino and Lombardy who, after the growing misery and the difficult conditions of life in their homeland, had been forced to abandon the countryside, where they were born and had grown up («your little farm, your Church, your village»), to venture into distant countries and foreign places in the «hope to improve their fortune».

Therefore, the main and the most direct interlocutors of the author were the big community of poor labourers and modest tenant farmers who, after coming «to America», had succeeded in overcoming difficulties and discomforts and achieving «a condition which could be considered well-to-do» only by virtue of their sacrifices, their hardships and their hard work. It was necessary to provide them with the instruments to preserve and to increase faith, «to practice the religious acts» and «to behave as good Christians» in family, at work and in the vicissitudes of daily life. The model of pastoral care adopted by Father

so much heart and I bless it, hoping to fully achieve the very holy purpose which you intended in writing it. No one better than you, who have been there for many years among our emigrants in Brazil, could have offered them a wiser and more opportune *Guide* than this one. Dear Father Pietro, God greatly reward you for the good, which you do not cease to do for the sake of our distant brothers and my consolation» (*ibid.*, p. 3).

²³ The chapters into which the book was divided were as follows: I. – The Prayer [Della Preghiera]; II. – The sanctification of the Feasts [Della santificazione delle Feste]; III. – Prayers to listen to the Holy Mass in a devotional way [Preghiere per ascoltare divotamente la S. Messa]; IV. – The attendance to the Holy Sacraments, the Confession and the Communion [Della frequenza ai Santi Sacramenti, della Confessione e della Comunione]; V. – The escape from the occasions of sin [Della fuga dalle occasioni di peccato]; VI. – Other general notices about marriage [Altri avvisi generali circa il matrimonio]; VII. – The amusements: dances, sounds, songs [Del divertimento balli, suoni, canti]; VIII. – The good use of things [Del buon uso delle cose]; IX. – Beware of blasphemy [Guardatevi dalla bestemmia]; X. – The purity of costumes [Della purezza dei costumi]; XI. – Civil and social relationships [Dei rapporti civili e sociali]; XII. – Justice and loyalty in Commerce; Economy and avarice [Della giustizia e lealtà nel Commercio; Dell'economia e dell'avarizia]; XIV. – The hygiene [Della igiene]; XV. – Rules for preserving faith [Norme per conservare la fede]; XVI. – Duties towards Priests [Doveri verso i Sacerdoti]; XVII. Fast and abstinence [Del digiuno e astinenza]; XVIII. – Three good works [Tre opere buone].

Colbacchini and the other Scalabrinians in Parana and in other regions of Brazil was widely reflected in the main purpose of the *Spiritual Guide*²⁴.

4. *The moral and religious headlines of Father Colbacchini's Spiritual Guide*

The complex and ambitious «catechetical and spiritual» itinerary, which Father Colbacchini's work intended to have his readers do in order to preserve and to increase faith, «to practice the religious acts» and «to behave as good Christians» in each moment of their day, opened with a large chapter, whose goal was «to excite the good Italian settlers to the practice of prayer», since it was found to be «the most direct and effective means for their spiritual and temporal needs»²⁵.

In the wake of St. Alphonsus Maria Liguori, whose famous warning «If you pray, you will be certainly saved; if you do not pray, you will be certainly damned»²⁶ was always recalled in mind, Father Colbacchini underlined how Christian life should be «a life of union with God» and such a union could be realized «especially through prayer», which provides «a superabundance of grace, according to our desires, with which we can resist temptations more easily, fortify our weakness, facilitate the practice of virtues and ensure the Kingdom of Heaven»²⁷.

Hence, the clear conviction that only the assiduous prayer could preserve the Christian from sin and attract the indispensable heavenly aids. So, the Scalabrinian religious said: «A Christian who does not think about God and does not pray, according to the supernatural life, he/she is like a branch broken off the tree, which dries up; he/she is like an infertile ground, because he/she does not receive the necessary humours; he/she is like a soldier without weapons exposed to the fight against formidable enemies»²⁸.

Faced with the peremptory with which Father Colbacchini urged his readers to resort to «prayer» «without fear» and «without any limit», he did not hide the difficulties and the uncertainties which characterized most of his faithful in their religious practices. In the wake of St. Alphonsus Maria Liguori's teachings²⁹ and

²⁴ *Ai Coloni Italiani*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, Milan, Officine Tip.-Lit. A. Bertarelli, 1896, pp. 11-19.

²⁵ *Chapter I. – Della Pregoiera*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., p. 19.

²⁶ *Del gran mezzo della pregoiera per conseguire la salute eterna e tutte le grazie che desideriamo da Dio. Opera teologico-ascetica del rev. padre d. Alfonso De' Liguori... Utilissima per ogni genere di persone...*, Naples, Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Di Domenico, 1759, p. 16.

²⁷ *Capitolo I. – Della Pregoiera*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., pp. 21-23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹ Cf. *L'amore dell'anime, cioè riflessioni, ed effetti sulla passione di Gesù-Cristo*, in *Operette*

aware of the «human frailty» and the scarce spiritual inclination of many of his readers, he realistically recommended them to practice prayer with simplicity and humility³⁰.

In the continuation of his analysis, Father Colbacchini wanted to address his exhortations and his spiritual teachings not to a generic «Italian emigrant in America», but rather to the people from the colonies of the Italian immigrants, which were born in the agricultural areas in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Parana, to whom he did not fail to remind the undoubted advantages, which the distance from large urban centres and the simple and frugal life of the fields they experienced were indispensable for the purpose of preserving the Christian faith and their «spiritual health»³¹.

According to him, therefore, the individual and collective prayer expressed by each person and the entire community, in the same way as it has been daily doing for centuries in Veneto, Trentino and Lombardy, from where most of emigrated Italian people came, should have beaten the time of the Italian communities settled in America re-establishing, even in the remote areas of the southern hemisphere, that full harmony between rural life and religious experience – between the ‘time of the Church’ and the one of rural communities, as Jacques Le Goff said³² – which would have only made possible «the salvation of souls and the progress of religion», according to Father Colbacchini:

The author recommended: – At the sound of the bell in the morning, at midday and in the evening, devoutly say the Angelus Domini with three Ave Maria and three Gloria, even if you were at work or in the streets or anywhere, taking off your hat. [...] Before or after dinner in the evening, I urge you to say the third part of the rosary with your family members. We cannot tell the blessings which the Blessed Virgin imparts on the families who are faithful to her with this homage. [...] Before going to bed, do not forget to be deep in prayer on your knees. Blessed is that Christian who begins and ends up his/her day with prayer!³³

He also wrote in the same way the following three chapters of the *Spiritual Guide*, respectively devoted to the observation of the holy days, the prayers which the faithful were called to say in order to devoutly hear «Holy Mass» and the attendance of the sacraments «of Confession and Communion».

Father Colbacchini was convinced that it was necessary to foster the community worship and the celebration of the religious holidays in order to

spirituali del rev. padre d. Alfonso de' Liguori... Parte seconda... Decima terza edizione. Nuovamente accresciuta, e corretta dall'Autore, Naples, Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Di Domenico, 1761.

³⁰ Capitolo I. – Della Preghiera, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., pp. 30, 38-39 and 43.

³¹ Capitolo VIII. – Del buon uso delle cose, in *ibid.*, pp. 226-228. Capitolo I. – Della Preghiera, in *ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

³² Cf. J. Le Goff, *Tempo della Chiesa e tempo del mercante*, Turin, Einaudi, 1989.

³³ Capitolo I. – Della Preghiera, cit., pp. 45-46.

increase «the salvation of souls and the progress of religion», so he recommended his readers to never neglect «the serious Christian duty to keep the holy days»³⁴.

Furthermore, each family belonging to the rural colony should have set up «a secluded place for the use of the Oratory» in its own house, so that each member or the entire family can practice their daily devotions³⁵.

Besides listening to the Mass, the religious experience of each faithful and the entire community in the Italian colonies in America should be characterized by a series of initiatives and practices aimed at fostering the knowledge of the word of God and feeding the piety of the faithful:

The Scalabrinian religious recommended above all: – All the parents must be urged to send, or rather, to lead their children to the Christian doctrine, which must take place at every Feast in all the colonies by a Priest or, if he is not there, by zealous people. And not only children up to 10 or 12 years old, but also the older ones should intervene in this Christian teaching, both because of the great need they have, due to their ignorance (for lack of religious education), and because the catechism is never learned enough³⁶.

In order to reinvigorate the religious piety of each person and the entire community, Father Colbacchini exhorted his readers to frequently practice those devotions which had the great merit of reminding the sacrifice of the Cross to the Christian, as in the case of the «*Via Crucis*»³⁷. In the same way, he recommended not to neglect the spiritual readings, especially those ones which were able to revive faith and to increase the religious fervour of the faithful³⁸.

Being aware that «the most direct and the most effective means for living in a Christian manner and in a direct relationship with the practice of prayer and the sanctification of the feasts» was «the good use and the attendance of Confession and Communion», the Scalabrinian religious finally exhorted his readers to frequently approach these sacraments underlining – in the light of the writings by St. Leonard of Port Maurice, a friar minor and a prominent personality of the religious Italian eighteenth century³⁹, – the real centrality of the frequent practice of confession and the «authentic veneration for the Eucharist»⁴⁰ in a Christian experience:

³⁴ *Capitolo II. – Della santificazione delle Feste*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., pp. 49 e 51-53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79. Among the other devotions recommended by Father Colbacchini to his readers of the *Spiritual Guide*, the «Divination to Our Lady», «to the Sacred Heart of Jesus», «to St. Joseph», «to the Souls in Purgatory» and «to the Guardian Angel» must be reported (*Capitolo XVIII. – Tre opere buone*, in *ivi*, pp. 352-389).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

³⁹ Cf. M. Petrocchi, *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, Turin, SEI, 1996, pp. 212-214.

⁴⁰ St. Leonard of Port Maurice, *Prediche quaresimali*, in *Opere complete di S. Leonardo da Porto Maurizio missionario apostolico, minore riformato del Ritiro di S. Bonaventura in Roma...*, Venice, Tipografia Emiliana, 1868-1869, 5 vols., III, pp. 432-433.

Father Colbacchini wrote: – Only by attending the Holy Sacraments, you will find safe from a lot of dangers which threaten your faith and your Christian conduct. [...] If a soul attending the Holy Sacraments is lukewarm, it will become fervent, and if it is fervent, it will become holy⁴¹.

On this regard, in support of his *benign* and *anti-conservative* sacramental conception, the Scalabrinian religious remembered the teaching of the great saints during the modern age, as well as certain personalities of the Church of his time, who were particularly careful and sensitive to the peculiar pastoral needs of contemporary world and totally hostile to a too rigid and elitist point of view about a journey of faith⁴²:

He stated: – Beginning with the Fathers of the Church up to the most recent ones, such as St. Ignatius, St. Cajetan, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Philip Romolo Neri, St. Francis de Sales, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Alphonsus [Maria] Liguori and many others, all the Saints insisted on this point and excited Christian souls to the daily or weekly Communion. The Venerable Cottolengo and the holy man of Don Bosco referred to the attendance of this Sacrament the miraculous development of the institutes founded by them in Turin at that time⁴³.

Indeed, the *benign* and *anti-conservative* perspective taken by Father Colbacchini concerned not only sacramental practice, but also characterized every aspect and dimension of his pastoral commitment in favour of the Italian people emigrated to America (he reiterated many times: «God does not demand impossible or too difficult things»⁴⁴). As we have already mentioned, the Scalabrinian religious was animated by a typically Tridentine point of view of the priestly ministry and the responsibilities deriving from the *cura animarum*⁴⁵, so he promoted the definitive liquidation of the austere *conservative* spirituality, which was typical of the eighteenth century, and the approach to a pastoral conception nourished by the writings of St. Philip Romolo Neri, St. Francis de Sales and St. Alphonsus Maria Liguori through

⁴¹ *Capitolo IV. – Della frequenza ai Santi Sacramenti, della Confessione e della Comunione, in Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost., cit., pp. 84-85.*

⁴² Cf. R. Sani, *Spiritualità e ideali di vita religiosa in Francia e in Italia tra Rivoluzione e Restaurazione*, «Annali della Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione – Università di Macerata», vol. I, n. 1, 2004, pp. 337-355; and Id., *Religious Congregations, Education and School in Italy in the Nineteenth Century*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», vol. IV, 2016, pp. 85-106.

⁴³ *Capitolo IV. – Della frequenza ai Santi Sacramenti, della Confessione e della Comunione, in Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost., cit., pp. 105-106.*

⁴⁴ *Capitolo V. – Della fuga dalle occasioni di peccato, in ibid., p. 127.*

⁴⁵ Cf. G.G. Meersseman, *Il tipo ideale di parroco secondo le riforma tridentina nelle sue fonti letterarie, in Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina. Atti del Convegno storico internazionale (Trento, 2-6 settembre 1963), 2 vols., Rome-Freiburg-Basel-Barcelona-Vienna, Herder, 1965, Vol. I, pp. 27-44.*

his *Spiritual Guide*, where there were issues, such as sweetness, kindness, benignity, belonging to those authors' spiritual perspective⁴⁶.

In pointing out the final purpose of his entire priestly work at the service of the Italian settlers in America, he did not reiterate by chance that it consisted in transmitting to the faithful «what the holy Archbishop of Geneva defined the real joy [...] for a good Christian», that is what derived «from the peace of his/her conscience, the fulfillment of his/her duties and the practice of the virtues»⁴⁷.

The image which is constantly on the pages of Father Colbacchini's *Spiritual Guide* is that of a doctrine which has its nucleus and its beating heart in the parish or in the village church and its foundations in liturgical and devotional practice, dispensation of sacraments and Christian catechesis and animation of God's people. This doctrine addressed to a population of permanent Italian settlers in America wrestling with the new moral and spiritual challenges arising from the undoubted improvement of living conditions and the increasing well-being achieved compared to the period when they had been forced by poverty and absence of prospects to abandon Italy and to cross the ocean⁴⁸.

In order to face many «occasions of sin» and serious moral risks to which «Italian people in the Americas» were exposed, it was necessary to promote and to foster among the faithful of the colonies a strong and fully interiorized religious piety, which was able to responsibly guide their everyday behaviours and their individual and collective choices⁴⁹, as well as to meet a lot of difficulties and serious and unprecedented threats typical of the American environment:

Father Colbacchini warned: – The circumstances in which many Italian emigrants live in America are very different from those in which they lived in their homeland, regarding

⁴⁶ Cf. M. Petrocchi, *Schema per una storia della spiritualità italiana nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento*, now in Id., *Storia della spiritualità italiana*, cit., pp. 244-274; R. Sani, *Indirizzi spirituali e proposte educative dei nuovi Istituti religiosi dell'Ottocento in area lombarda*, in Id., *Chiesa, educazione e società nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento. Gli Istituti religiosi tra impegno educativo e nuove forme di apostolato (1815-1860)*, Milan, Centro Ambrosiano, 1996, pp. 77-138; and the most recent M. Marcocchi, *Spiritualità e vita religiosa tra Cinquecento e Novecento*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2005, pp. 283-322.

⁴⁷ *Capitolo VII. – Dei divertimenti balli, suoni, canto*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., pp. 191-193.

⁴⁸ *Capitolo V. – Della fuga dalle occasioni di peccato*, cit., pp. 123-124.

⁴⁹ For example, the author recommended: «If you cannot listen to many Masses or frequently approach the Holy Sacraments, you will be able to make up by desiring or doing other good works, without losing any merit to God, who does not demand impossible and too difficult things. If you cannot always have the priest at your disposal, you will have one more reason to always keep you in a state of grace and ready for death. If you cannot often approach the Holy Sacraments, you will be able to receive them with more fervour when there is an opportunity; if you cannot frequently listen to the word of God, you will be able to read it in books or to hear it from devout people, who are not lacking among you, thank God; and you can and must make up for all the rest by keeping you away from all the occasions which may expose you in danger of sinning» (*ibid.*, pp. 126-127).

faith and profession of religion. [...] Just to be outside Italy, in a new country with different customs and a different language, and at the beginning of their struggle to obtain a placement and the means necessary for life are particular circumstances which are enough to cool them not only in faith, but certainly in its acts⁵⁰.

According to Father Colbacchini, it was necessary to be careful, so that what he called «the faith of the fathers» was totally preserved in the conscience of each person and «in the acts and the practices of the communities», in the face of the «old and new dangers» which threatened the «sincerity of faith» and the «holiness of life» of the Italian emigrants in America.

Indeed, it was necessary to let the Italian settlers «know and practice Catholic religion in its real spirit», helping them to recognize the most authentic and deep meaning of the painful exodus from their homeland and the vicissitudes they experienced in the light of Christian faith and accompanying them in their new life in a foreign country⁵¹.

5. *The promotion of a new feeling of citizenship in Father Colbacchini's Spiritual Guide*

As we have already mentioned, besides the chapters devoted to religious and devotional issues, Father Pietro Colbacchini's *Spiritual Guide* included other ones focused on how to behave in civil and social relationships and economic and professional activities⁵². On this side, a special interest is devoted to the complex and controversial issue of integration with the culture and the language of the country hosting Italian immigrants.

As we have remembered, during the drafting of the work, this question had already been the subject of a quiet and precise cross-examination of the author and Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini who, convinced that the «poor emigrants» would have ended up losing «the feeling of Catholic Faith» with the loss of «national feeling»⁵³, he had not failed to urge his religious on several occasions keeping alive their love for homeland and their Italian feeling in

⁵⁰ *Capitolo XV. – Norme per conservare la fede*, in *Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America del Sac. Pietro Colbacchini Miss. Apost.*, cit., pp. 314-317.

⁵¹ *Conclusionione*, in *ibid.*, pp. 391-392.

⁵² The curious chapter devoted to hygiene and superstitions, where Father Colbacchini did not skimp any hygienic, healthy and ethical recommendations and suggestions, also falls within this context. Cf. *Capitolo XIV. – Della Igiene*, in *ibid.*, pp. 304-309.

⁵³ Msgr. Scalabrini wrote: «Dear gentlemen, but who could describe the dangers to which our poor emigrants expose themselves for their religious life? [...] They lose their feeling of nationality and the feeling of Catholic Faith with it... my heart aches at this thought» (G.B. Scalabrini, *L'emigrazione degli operai italiani*, in *Atti e Documenti del XVI Congresso Cattolico Italiano tenutosi in Ferrara nei giorni 18-21 aprile 1899*, Venice, Tip. Patriarcale già Cordella, 1899, pp. 295-296).

the consciousness of those who came from Italy and were entrusted to their pastoral care⁵⁴.

According to the Lombard prelate, the preservation of the original ethnic-cultural features, including mother tongue, was a sort of guarantee, so that the emigrants who left Italy to permanently move abroad and to build a new life in another country would have maintained that religious faith tenaciously bound to the traditions and the values of the original community and greatly threatened in the new cultural realities and the national context of their landing stage⁵⁵.

In the letter sent to the bishop of Piacenza, his religious superior, in February 1896, Father Colbacchini had shown himself confident of the support granted by Msgr. Scalabrini to his unfavourable opinion to the demand for a religious doctrine focused on the defense of the Italian feeling and the preservation of the national identity for the people emigrated from Italy, without minimizing the diversity of opinions professed on this matter⁵⁶.

The position expressed in the *Spiritual Guide* was in sharp contrast with any religious doctrine committed to give a particular meaning to a 'national' dimension and an excessive emphasis on the link between each emigrant and the Italian communities settled abroad to the mother country.

In fact, he showed himself to be indifferent and to have absolutely nothing to do with any veneration of the distant homeland or nostalgia for the native place, reiterating that the only sense of 'identity' and 'belonging' compatible with Catholic faith was the religious one and warning his readers from the risks inherent an exaggerated patriotism and nationalism, which risked keeping the Italian people emigrated in America in isolation and loneliness, far from favouring integration in their landing countries:

⁵⁴ Cf. G.B. Scalabrini, *Progetto di un'Associazione allo scopo di provvedere ai bisogni spirituali degli italiani emigrati nelle Americhe*, Piacenza 16 febbraio 1887, in AGS / BA 01-02-04 a,b,c.; now in Terragni, *Scalabrini e la Congregazione dei Missionari per gli Emigrati. Aspetti istituzionali 1887-1905*, cit., pp. 195-201. Such an orientation would have also been reiterated on several occasions by the Lombard prelate. Please, see G.B. Scalabrini, *L'emigrazione degli operai italiani*, in *Atti e Documenti del XVI Congresso Cattolico Italiano tenutosi in Ferrara nei giorni 18-21 aprile 1899*, Venice, Tip. Patriarcale già Cordella, 1899; now in *La società italiana di fronte alle prime migrazioni di massa. Il contributo di Mons. Scalabrini e dei suoi primi collaboratori alla tutela degli emigranti*, a special edition of «Studi Emigrazione», vol. V, nn. 11-12, 1968, pp. 295-301.

⁵⁵ Cf. G.B. Scalabrini, *Regolamento della Congregazione dei Missionari di San Carlo*, [September 19th] 1888, in AGS / DE 22-04-07 b; now in *ibid.*, pp. 201-213.

⁵⁶ «The Venetian religious wrote: - Unless we have a permanent home here, I do not blame the settlers who prefer this country to the other one, although I remind them to preserve all their affection and their gratitude to their nation. What I do not recommend is to be islands in the sea, wishing to be Italian people abroad, although I exhort them to preserve language, customs, etc. [...] I do not doubt that Your Excellence will largely give me reason, especially as I have dealt with this question with all the delicacy, in order to not hurt someone's feelings» (Father Pietro Colbacchini's letter to Msgr. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bassano, February 15th, 1896, cit., p. 441).

Father Colbacchini wrote: – In my opinion, the common idea which requires man to live in his own country rather than elsewhere is an idea imposed by custom, but it has no basis to be accepted. The man's country is not on earth, as the Apostle teaches us. [...] And as most of the Italian emigrants meet these best circumstances in America; America, Brazil, Argentina and any other southern or northern country of this big continent will be their home of adoption better than Europe, the homeland of those who lacked and, perhaps, would still lack the means necessary to live in Italy.

In order to leave no doubts about the attitude to be held, Father Colbacchini further specified his point of view, recommending a necessary balance between the aspiration to keep alive and to cultivate traditions and links with motherland in a privileged way and the necessity of not isolating themselves in a sterile and dangerous rejection for cultural and civil habits, practices and customs of the countries which had welcomed them and had offered them the possibility of achieving serenity and economic well-being:

The Scalabrinian religious recommended above all: – Always remember your Italy with complacency, the country where you spent most of your life and of which you cherish the sweetest memories. Talk about it to your children; they must know that the Italian blood, noble and generous for the great achievements in faith, sciences and arts, flows in their veins. Preserve your beautiful language among you, [...] continue with your good Italian customs; your joviality, your religious feasts characterizing that faith which you heavily drew on the source and you can instil in other people with your good example. I do not praise those who assume the customs of the new country for reasons of interest or self-satisfaction, after a few years of their stay in America, forgetting their own ones⁵⁷.

In fact, the real challenge was not «to radically change their own habits» and «to even erase the mark of their own nationality», but rather to start «cordial relationships» and to establish «solid links» with the original population in the host country, learning a new language and increasingly adapting to the customs and the traditions of that place, making their cultural heritage not an obstacle, but an authentic resource for the purpose of positive integration in the new country:

Father Colbacchini underlined: – Knowing how to well cohabit between their own compatriots and the foreign people is something on which the successful outcome of emigration largely depends. The Italian settlers must exchange the most cordial relationships with their compatriots [...], without lacking the conventions towards other people coming from any other country and, especially, towards the inhabitants of the countries where they are. On the contrary, they must exchange with them the canons of civilization and commerce, express their esteem for them and almost show themselves grateful for the hospitality found among them (without servility). [...] They must make themselves at home better than they can among the new people, with whom they will have to create a single society and a single nation little by little, and, preserving their language and their customs (because they

⁵⁷ *Capitolo VIII. – Del buon uso delle cose*, cit., pp. 236-240.

are the better things they have), they must not neglect to learn the new language and to adapt to those customs, which are honest and common, to remove from themselves those particularities which could make them hateful or less friendly to other people: it would always do them harm.

And, in addition:

They must observe civil laws, as they must not oppose the divine and Church laws; they must fulfill their duties and they must not take care of other things which do not belong to them. [...] America is the land of all the people. It is a new country which is open to all the nations of the world, especially Europe, in the designs of Providence and it seems reserved to great destinies. Each person coming from a different country will have to create a single great nation little by little. [...] So much has been done and is being done in the northern United States, where all the inhabitants and the foreign people are fused in a single nation which has become noble and great for this reason⁵⁸.

According to the Scalabrinian religious, thanks to the acquisition of a new idea of citizenship, which was able to ensure them not only their integration in the social and economic life of the host countries, but also the assumption of civil and political responsibilities and the effective practice of rights and duties, the Italian people emigrated to America would assume and share a series of values and behaviours intended to permeate every aspect and dimension of daily life and professional experience.

On this regard, we do not have to surprise for the exhortation addressed by Father Colbacchini to his readers to act in daily life and professional practice with «honesty, rectitude and justice» and «without mystification, fraud or lies», by shunning any hostile behaviour to the «law of God or the natural rights»⁵⁹.

Finally, the ideal of citizenship supported by Father Colbacchini and proposed to Italian people emigrated to America was characterized by the convinced and constant reference to the observance of the law and the obedience to the authority, the respect for other minorities and the peaceful coexistence with all the components of society, the real centrality of the religious dimension in the life of each person and community, as well as by the preference for a lifestyle based on sobriety, temperance and simplicity: a lifestyle which widely echoed the rural one from Veneto, Lombardy and Trentino, from where most of the recipients of the *Spiritual Guide* came⁶⁰.

In conclusion, conceived as a tool to face «the needs of the Italian settlers in America» and to allow them «to preserve their faith and practice of religion» and «to provide for their material well-being, health and special cases and circumstances of their life», the *Spiritual Guide of the Italian emigrant in America* [Guida spirituale per l'emigrato italiano nella America] (1896) by

⁵⁸ Capitolo XI. – *Dei rapporti civili e sociali*, in *ibid.*, pp. 271-275 e 281.

⁵⁹ Capitolo XII. – *Della giustizia e lealtà nel commercio*, in *ibid.*, pp. 288-291.

⁶⁰ Capitolo XIII. – *Dell'economia e dell'avarizia*, in *ibid.*, pp. 298-299.

Father Pietro Colbacchini is an extremely significant – and, in some cases, unique – document to grasp the characteristics and the basic guidelines of the pastoral and religious commitment carried out by the Scalabrinian religious in Brazil and in other American countries between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries; a pastoral and religious commitment which had in the Venetian priest, the author of the spiritual guide, one of its main creators and protagonists, as we have tried to highlight in this work.

Childhood, school and education in Italian settlements under the auspices of the Scalabrinian Missionaries, located in the state of Paraná, Brazil

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ABSTRACT: The present study aims at analyzing how the Italian Catholic missionaries organized the formal schooling process in the Italian settlements located in the state of Paraná, Brazil. It seeks to understand the guidelines and actions set out by the priests to organize the education and to teach morals to immigrant children. The study covers the period 1887 to 1930. The analysis was carried out comparing personal and official sources, from the Cultural History perspective. Considering that the Italian immigrants who arrived in the state of Paraná professed the Catholic faith, the missionaries' work to create schools and offer guidance regarding childhood was fully embraced in the Italian settlements. The settlers had absolute trust in the priests, who supported them spiritually, organized the communal life, mediated conflicts, and educated their children.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Missionaries; Formal Schooling; Catholic church; Italian immigration; Brazil; XXth Century.

Introduction

The present study aims at analyzing how the Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for Italian Emigrants organized the formal schooling process in the Italian settlements in the state of Paraná, Brazil. Making use of personal records, letters, and official reports from the Public Instruction (Instrução Pública) of Paraná, we aimed to understand the guidelines and actions set out by these priests to organize the education process and to teach morals to immigrant children. The period starts in the year 1887, when the first

Catholic missionary, Pietro Colbacchini, arrived in Paraná in order to provide spiritual support in the Italian settlements. And finishes in 1930, when there was an important reorganization of the Catholic schools due to the process of mandatory nationalization of education.

Documents from a group of sources produced by the priests were analyzed from the Cultural History perspective. The documents included published homilies, handbooks, reports, as well as official letters between the missionaries and Paraná's state government officials. Similarly, the research also referred to letters; more precisely, a collection of personal letters sent to and received by the priests.

In order to support the empirical field, the analyses from Michel de Certeau provided information on the Church's opinion, represented by its missionaries. The Church became a place of power from where the ideals of the Catholic education of the immigrant children arose. Peter Berger's inputs were essential to understand the concept of catholicity as guardian of the social order and of the morality of the Italian settlements. Norbert Elias's inputs, in turn, helped to reflect upon education and, as a consequence, upon the organization of formal schooling in the settlements as a civilizing element for childhood. Formal schooling intended to teach morality, instill values, and define the ideal behaviors in order to educate Catholic immigrant children.

For Maschio, the religious services and guidelines provided by the priests established the rules of immigrant life in the settlements. They were aligned with Trento's conservative Catholicism from the Roman Catholic Church, which was based on the guidelines developed during the Council of Trent, in the 16th century. According to the Scalabrinian missionaries' view, it was necessary to limit the life of the family, controlling their behavior and tying their communal life to the Roman Catholic practices. This view also concerned the children. Therefore, the priests made every effort to teach the Catechism, create Catholic schools, and reorganize the public schools in the settlements. In this way, they appreciated a school that would teach Italian and Portuguese, but mainly the Christian doctrine¹.

The significance of formal schooling in the process of producing a Catholic childhood was clearly noticed in Father Pietro Colbachini's records, during the short period of time he was Parish Inspector of the schools in the Italian settlements of Paraná, in the late 19th century. Due to the impossibility to create denominational schools, he controlled the public schools in the settlements by appointing or dismissing teachers, proposing contents and behaviors that were to be taught in these locations. He objected to the appointment of Brazilian teachers for the immigrant schools, nominating settlers that stood

¹ F.L. Machioski, *Uma luta ultramontana: o discurso do padre Pietro Colbacchini e o forjar da identidade dos imigrantes italianos em Curitiba no final do século XIX (1886-1901)*, Master's dissertation, (Supervisor: Marcos Gonçalves), Curitiba, UFPR, 2018.

out in the communities as Catholics committed to practicing the Catholic faith. He made his voice heard by the state government when he took on the job of Parish Inspector for the Italian schools, contributing to the creation of formal schooling in those settlements. In contrast, his uncompromising attitude towards the threats to the Catholic faith caused conflicts and created adversaries. He confronted Italian individuals of liberal mindset who supported secular education centers in Curitiba's downtown area and outskirts, where the Italian settlements were located.

A substantial number of Italian immigrants who arrived in Paraná in the late 19th century professed the Catholic faith. Therefore, sending their children to denominational schools was a way to reaffirm the group's ethnic identity by maintaining the language and the religiousness, not to mention that it was a good alternative to the absence or failure of the public education of the time.

In this way, the Catholic education had an important impact on the Italian settlements of Curitiba. It has to be noted that the settlers had absolute trust in the religious congregations to educate their children. Inside the settlements, the Catholic schools – mainly the ones directed by female religious congregations – played a significant role in the process of formal schooling of the Italian immigrant children and their descendants. In general, they were located next to the parishes and the chapels. They were managed by a female religious congregation and were opened regularly, with a large number of children when compared to the number of children registered in the public schools. There were more than 100 students on an average, most of them Italian.

It is worth noting that the Catholic education of the Italian immigrants was part of a broader plan from the Roman Catholic Church. The idea of implementing Catholic schools in the settlements was part of a plan from the Bishop of Piacenza, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, founder of the Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for Italian Emigrants, founded in Italy in January 27, 1887. When he intended to provide religious support to the Italian emigrants, Scalabrini envisioned the power that formal schooling would have to teach and propagate the Catholic doctrine, and to develop a vocation to religious life. His goal was to teach the Catechism and basic notions of reading, writing, and mathematics; as well as to develop a vocation to religious and sacerdotal life, and to reconnect the emigrants to their distant homeland, strengthening the bonds and heightening the feeling of Italianness.

Thus, the immigrants' interest for the Catholic formal schooling ensured the creation of a network of Italian Catholic schools in the first few years in which the Italian settlements were established. Notwithstanding the precariousness and underachievement of the formal education provided by the public schools from Paraná at the time, the convenience of ensuring a Catholic education for their children was supported by the protection of these institutions. Therefore, the Catholic schools were supported by the Catholic Church, the settlers, the state of Paraná, and, in some instances, by the Italian government.

Thus, the mission of teaching the Catechism, educating, and organizing the formal schooling of the Italian immigrants' children overseas was carried out under the auspices of the Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, the Scalabrinians.

1. The Scalabrinian missionaries and the creation of Catholic schools in the Italian settlements of the state of Paraná

Implementing Catholic schools in the settlements became an effective alternative to the absence or even the failure of public education at the time. Fewer in number, communal schools were the first type of formal schooling implemented in the settlements. In general, these schools started due to the communities' initiative, and were mediated by a local authority – the Italian priests, in this case. With time, these schools could or could not become public schools. In contrast, parish schools, and schools implemented and directed by Italian priests from different congregations – Catholic or denominational schools – supported the protection of the Catholic *ethos* of the Italian immigrants, mainly due to the strengthening of their identity through the language and through the teaching of the Catholic doctrine.

Furthermore, these Catholic schools had a large number of students, since the settlers had absolute trust in the education offered by the missionaries. Regarded as indispensable authorities in the coordination of communal life in new lands, the missionaries listened to, gathered and guided the families, looked after sick people, conducted the sacraments, preached the gospel, and mediated conflicts. Therefore, childhood was also ruled by the priests' advice, who made all efforts to create and organize the Catholic schools in the settlements, as well as to strengthen the teaching of the Catechism in order to bring together the ones with a vocation to both religious and lay life.

The first missionary who implemented communal schools in the Italian settlements of the state of Paraná was Father Pietro Colbacchini. He was born on September 12, 1845, in Bassano Del Grappa, province of Vicenza, in the Veneto region, Italy. He joined the Society of Jesus when he was 18 years-old, and was ordained a priest on July 26, 1869, at the age of 24. He carried out pastoral duties in Italy for 15 years. He expressed an interest in coming to Brazil in order to provide religious support to the Italian immigrants, but the Society of Jesus did not allow it, so he left the congregation.

According to Riolando Azzi, when he was in Italy, he tried to gather some missionaries in order to work with the emigrants in America. He intended to found his own congregation in order to provide religious support to the Italian immigrants. However, he learned that the Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for Italian Emigrants, in Italy, had been created with the

same purpose. He asked the founder of that congregation, Giovanni Baptista Scalabrini, to join it. Thus, as stated by Riolando Azzi, he was authorized by the Sacred Congregation of Propagation of the Faith (Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide) in America to serve as an apostolic missionary. He immigrated to Brazil in 1884, taking up residence in São Paulo at first, where he remained for a couple of years.

In the state of Paraná, he stayed in the Dantas colonial center, in the Água Verde neighborhood's parish church, in Curitiba, and was appointed as the main responsible for the Scalabrinian mission in the state. As a missionary, he served the following colonial centers: Dantas (Água Verde), Santa Felicidade, Alfredo Chaves, Antonio Rebouças, Campo Comprido, Santa Maria do Novo Tyrol da Boca da Serra, Murici, and Zacarias. They were all part of *Capelania Curata Italiana*, implemented in the Santa Felicidade settlement's chapel, and created to provide religious support to the Italian immigrants.

Even though the teachings he had received from the Society of Jesus were not entirely put aside, they came into conflict with the liberal Catholic branch – where the Scalabrinian Congregation was placed – refuting the integration between catholicity and italianness. It should be noted that the documents and writings about the missionary show that the priest was known as a “ferce Jesuit”, not as a Scalabrinian missionary striving to align the italianness and the Catholic faith while supporting the emigrants.

Between the years 1888 and 1889, the missionary Pietro Colbachini recommended that communal schools were opened in the following settlements: Água Verde, Santa Felicidade, Ferraria, Alfredo Chaves, and Antonio Rebouças. In the Antonio Rebouças settlement, Cobalchini reported that the Scalabrinian missionary Father Francesco Bonato already looked after a parish school and supported that he was appointed to serve as a teacher:

In Antonio Rebouças settlement, with 80 families that will benefit from the school, I suggest Father Francesco Bonato, who lives and teaches there, to serve as a teacher. However, since he has to provide his service in Mendes settlement every fortnight, he would not be able to attend school every day, having to miss school once a week².

Father Francesco Bonato was the second Italian missionary to take up residence in the Italian settlements, and Father Pietro Colbachini was his superior. Father Bonato was born on November 28, 1853 in Olieiro, province of Vicenza, in the Veneto region, Italy. His religious life started when he was 24 years-old, and he was ordained a priest on March 29, 1884. He immigrated to the state of Paraná in 1888, and was accepted as a priest in the Diocese, taking up the job of chaplain in the Antonio Rebouças Italian settlement, where his family (his sister and her children) had already taken up residence a couple

² P. Colbacchini, *Departamento Estadual de Arquivo Público: Ofícios e Requerimentos*, w.e, 1880-1930, p. 28.

of years before. Just as his superior, Colbachini, Bonato sent a letter to the Bishop of Piacenza, Giovanni Baptista Scalabrini, requesting to be accepted in the Scalabrinian Congregation in order to serve as a missionary with the Italian immigrants³.

Father Francesco Bonato had a close relationship with Father Pietro Colbachini, who often examined Bonato and guided him on the mission. In one of the several letters sent to Francesco Bonato, from June 2, 1888, Father Pietro Colbachini described how Father Francesco Bonato should perform his duties in the Italian settlements that were under his responsibility. In general, the aspects presented show how the missionary performed the priesthood duties.

Lo spirito di umiltà di obbedienza, di abnegazione, di sacrificio è quello che forma il Sacerdote e che santifica le opere del suo ministero. Parlare poco cogli uomini e molto con Dio; ispirar confidenza, senza lasciar adito a mancar del rispetto dovuto alla dignità di Sacerdote. Essere indulgente senza debolezza; inflessibile al dovere, senza offendere; amar tutti in Dio e per Iddio, senza distinzione; prediligere i fanciulli ed i vecchi; essere cortese senza affettazione; parlar bene di tutti, e mai di se stesso; deliberare, dopo preso consiglio da Dio; Esaminare, almeno una volta al giorno la propria coscienza, per tenere i conti in chiaro; Condire di prudenza lo zelo, ed offerire a Dio il desiderio quando non si possono le opere. Star sempre allegro senza dissipazione; non visitar le persone senza un fine di ministero; far conto del tempo, più che del denaro; leggere vite di Santi Sacerdoti, per ammirare e per imitare ecc. ecc. Nell'imitazione di Cristo, nel Tesoro del Sacerdote ed in altri libri troverete le regole e le spiegazioni. Sic fac et vives⁴.

It is possible to observe that the children, as well as the elderly, should receive special attention through pastoral work. This aspect was largely developed by the missionaries serving the Italian settlements in Paraná, since teaching the Catechism and organizing the schools became the main activities of the Scalabrinian missionaries.

Moreover, the missionaries' pastoral duties were crucial to propagate the Liturgical Latinization process in Brazil. The Lusitan Catholicism prevailed in

³ F.L. Machioski, D. Gabardo, *El Pretin Gobeto: a história de Padre Francesco Bonato, primeiro pároco de Colombo*, in E.C.F. Maschio (ed.), *Memórias de uma colônia italiana Colombo Paraná (1878-2013)*, Porto Alegre, EstEdições, 2013, pp. 79-104.

⁴ «The spirit of humility of obedience, of self-denial, of sacrifice is that which forms the Priest and which sanctifies the works of his ministry. To speak little to men and much to God; to inspire confidence, without leaving room to lack the respect due to the dignity of a priest. To be forgiving without weakness; inflexible to duty, without offense; to love all in God and for God, without distinction; to favor children and old; to be courteous without affectation; to speak well of all, and never of himself; to deliberate, after taking counsel from God; to examine, at least once a day, one's conscience, to keep the accounts clear; to season with prudence zeal, and to offer to God the desire when the works cannot be done. Always be cheerful without dissipation; do not visit people without an end of ministry; account of time, rather than money; read lives of Holy Priests, to admire and imitate etc. etc. In imitation of Christ, in the Treasury of the Priest and in other books you will find the rules and explanations. So you will live». G. Terragni, *Pietro Colbachini con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paraná e Rio Grande do Sul (1884-1901): corrispondenza e scritti*, Naples, Gráfica Elettronica, 2016, p. 63.

the country; characterized by practices that were different from the ones already entrenched in the settlers' social imaginary (originated from their homeland). Therefore, the presence of Italian priests was demanded from the very beginning of the land division process. Chapels and schools were the first constructions to be provided. The settlers obeyed the priests regarding their communal lives in the settlements; however, many of them violated the missionaries' orders, and secretly disobeyed them⁵.

One record from 1903 shows that in the Antonio Rebouças settlement, the parish school started to be directed by the Scalabrinian missionary Father Giovanni Baptista Bergia, but except for the official record from the Report of the Public Instruction of Paraná, we do not have any information about how this school worked. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that between the years 1905 and 1906, the abovementioned priest had served in a region called Rondinha, which comprised the Italian settlements of Mariana, Balbino Cunha, Mendes de Sá, and Antonio Rebouças, on the outskirts of the capital city, Curitiba. Father Giovanni Baptista Bérigia was born on February 19, 1875 in Andonno, province of Cuneo, in the Piedmont region, Italy. He was ordained a priest on June 7, 1902 by the Bishop of Piacenza, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini. He was immediately sent to the mission in the state of Paraná, Brazil, in the Santa Felicidade settlement, where he remained until 1905⁶.

In addition to implementing parish schools, the Italian missionaries also organized the creation of Catholic schools, making efforts to promote the inclusion of the female congregation *Suore Apostole Missionarie del Sacro Cuore di Gesu*, founded in 1894, in Italy, by Clélia Merloni. It is also important to highlight the participation of the Scalabrinian missionary Father Francesco Breschianini. Even though he was not in charge of any schools, he was responsible for opening the first Catholic school conducted by a female congregation in the state of Paraná. On October 23, 1895, Father Francesco Breschianini, who lived in the Santa Felicidade settlement, wrote a letter to Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, his superior in Rome, reporting that:

Apart from these works, the most useful and necessary work is still to be done: an Italian school for the continuously increasing youth. But how could I do that without any resources? In face of such a need, and not in the least discouraged, I found strength. After receiving authorization from my superior, D. Scalabrini, and from the diocese's bishop D. José de Camargo Barros, to open the home for the nuns and the school, I bought the piece of land next to the church, that belongs to a person named Smaniotto, and started building a big house for the nuns and for the lessons. As for the money, part of it came from the congregation, part was mine, received from the settlers for providing them with medical

⁵ Machioski, *Uma luta ultramontana: o discurso do padre Pietro Colbacchini e o forjar da identidade dos imigrantes italianos em Curitiba no final do século XIX (1886- 1901)*, cit., p. 108.

⁶ R. Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo: missionário scalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888-1938)*, Passo Fundo, EST/P. Berthier, 1990, p. 145.

assistance for several years. The settlers did not appreciate the construction – that would bring many benefits – because they were not aware of its importance; thus, except for two or three families, nobody helped me. By the way, some of them maliciously started spreading rumors that the house was going to fall down, but God’s work does not fall down⁷.

Father Francesco Breschianini was born on December 10, 1856 in Palazzolo sull’Oglio, province of Brescia, in the Lombardy region, Italy. He was ordained a priest on May 31, 1893, leaving to the state of Paraná two years later in order to help the Scalabrinian mission along with missionaries Pietro Colbachini and Francesco Bonato. Rizzardo’s review of Breschianini’s memoirs found that in the end of year 1900, when the building where the school would take place was completed, Father Breschianini traveled to Italy to pick up the *Suore Apostole Missionarie del Sacro Cuore di Gesu* in order to start the formal schooling in the Santa Felicidade settlement.

Quando la casa era quasi finita, io, con pochi soldi confidando nella Provvidenza di Dio, sono andato in Italia per portare la Suore Apostole Missionarie del Sacro Cuore di Gesù. In Italia, ho dovuto chiedere carità per fare il viaggio, così come per acquistare oggetti indispensabili per la scuola. Dal governo italiano ho ricevuto il materiale per la scuola e il sussidio annuale di mille lire per le sorelle. Quando tutto era pronto e dopo aver ottenuto dalla Società di Navigazione una riduzione del 50%, ho lasciato Piacenza, benedetto dal mio superiore, con Maximo Rinaldi, che viaggiò fino a Rio Grande do Sul, e le quattro sorelle che vennero a Paraná. Rizzardo⁸.

The excerpt shows the effort made by the missionaries in order to implement Catholic schools in the settlements, aiming at consolidating the founder’s project. One of the goals from the Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo was to start schooling during childhood through the teachings of the Catholic doctrine, basic notions of reading, writing, Math, and also the History and Geography of Italy.

Keeping our parent’s faith alive and – by renewing the immortal hopes of eternal life – educating and promoting moral development, since we cannot forget that our people’s single ethical set of rules are the Ten Commandments, fortunately. Teaching the mother tongue and a little of the Italian History at school – along with basic notions of Math – in order to keep alive in their countrymen overseas the love for their homeland and the desire to come back⁹.

⁷ R. Azzi, *A igreja e os migrantes*, São Paulo, Paulinas, 1987.

⁸ «When the house was almost over, I, with little money trusting in God’s Providence, went to Italy to bring the Missionary Apostle Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In Italy, I had to ask for charity to make the trip, as well as to buy items indispensable for the school. From the Italian government I received the material for the school and the annual subsidy of one thousand lire for the sisters. When everything was ready and after having obtained a 50% reduction from the Navigation Society, I left Piacenza, blessed by my superior, with Maximo Rinaldi, who traveled to Rio Grande do Sul, and the four sisters who came to Paraná». Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo: missionário scalabriniano e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888-1938)*, cit., p. 71.

⁹ J.B. Scalabrini, *A emigração italiana na América*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 1979.

In 1911, the Scalabrinian Missionary Father Claudio Morelli took up residence in the Umbará settlement. As of this moment, he was responsible for opening a Catholic school directed by the Italian nuns. Father Claudio was born on November 8, 1881, in Piacenza, in the Emilia-Romagna region, Italy. He was ordained a priest on November 1896, also by the founder of the Scalabrinian Congregation, Bishop of Piacenza, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini. He arrived in Brazil one year later, at first serving at Instituto Cristovão Colombo, in São Paulo. He took up residence in the state of Paraná in 1906, in order to serve in the region of Rondinha – comprised of four Italian settlements – to replace the missionary Father Giovanni Baptista Bérégia. Before taking up residence in the Umbará settlement, he took part of a Christian mission in the Tibagi region, in the state's countryside, from 1908 to 1911.

The last record found about the role of Italian priests in teaching the Catechism, providing education and formal schooling in the settlements from the state of Paraná was a Catholic school directed by the Scalabrinian Missionary Father Silvano Giuliani, in the Santa Felicidade settlement, in 1921. Father Silvano was born on May 31, 1874 in Verona, in the Veneto region, Italy. He was ordained a priest in the Diocese of Verona in 1900, but he only joined the Scalabrinian Congregation in 1912. In 1914, he came to Paraná to replace Father Giovanni Morelli in the Rondinha region. He continued serving the four Italian settlements in the region until 1919, when he was transferred to the Santa Felicidade settlement. According to his memoirs, disclosed by Rizzardo, one of the main difficulties he found in his mission in Paraná was, undoubtedly, the «youth's ignorance». That is why he truly dedicated himself to teaching the Catechism to children¹⁰.

2. *Father Pietro Colbacchini's actions and recommendations on the organization of the formal schooling process for the immigrant children*

Apart from many letters, Father Pietro Colbacchini wrote a *Guida spirituale dell'emigrante italiano* and two lengthy reports. One of them, that addressed the immigrants, was written in Curitiba and sent on October 1892 to Marquis João Baptista Volpe Landi, from Piacenza, President of the Sociedade Italiana de São Rafael (Italian Society of St Raphael). It was published in a book from Francesco Macola, *L'Europa alla Conquista dell'America Latina*, Venezia, Ongaria, in 1894, and transcribed in the book *La Società Italiana di fronte alle prime migrazione di massa*, Studi Emigrazione, pages 327 to 340. The other report was sent to the Foreign Minister of Italy in 1895, and published

¹⁰ Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo: missionário scalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888-1938)*, cit., p. 119.

in the abovementioned book, on pages 345 to 393. These were written when he returned to Bassano Del Grapa in 1894, in order to improve his health after several confrontations during the hard work of supporting the immigrants in Paraná, which led to fierce opposition and disagreements, mainly with the Italian liberals. On September 1896, when he returned to Brazil, he went straight to the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where he helped founding the Nova Bassano settlement, where he died five years later.

Even though after the Proclamation of the Republic the Brazilian schools had to become secular, having Catechism lessons next to other contents from elementary school emphasized the civilizing potential of the schools with Christian orientation. However, for missionary Pietro Colbacchini, teaching the Catechism at schools was not enough. He appreciated the work inside the families in order to provide a Catholic education to the children. In addition, he devised lessons in Italian in the settlements' schools, ideally taught by a Catholic immigrant who mastered the language.

Therefore, Pietro Colbacchini supported the settlers by getting involved in the formal schooling and education of the immigrant children through recommendations and interventions. The priest considered formal schooling an important element to safeguard morality, as a supplement to the development of the Catholic man. He complained about public schools and gave his best in order to prevent the settlers from sending their children to schools directed by Brazilian teachers who did not practice the Catholic faith.

In a letter from October 1889, sent to Monsignor Spolverini, Apostolic Nuncio of the Scalabrinian Congregation in Rome, the priest declared that the private schools in the Italian settlements achieved better results than the public ones. However, most immigrant children attended public schools supported by the local government, since there were very few Italian private schools.

As for the school, it is important to say that in some settlements the government paid for teachers, either Brazilian or Italian, but with little success. I have not seen properly directed schools in the Italian settlements yet, and I believe this work should also be under responsibility and under the care of the missionaries. In some settlements, private schools have been built and are being built. These schools have a very good attendance rate and achieve better results than the state schools¹¹.

It is important to note that the immigrants' Catholic education was part of the project devised by the Bishop of Piacenza Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, founder of the Congregation of St. Charles Borromeo or Congregation of Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo for Italian Emigrants, founded in Italy on January 27, 1887, to which the missionary was a member.

¹¹ P. Colbacchini, *Pastoral do imigrante: um desafio para a Igreja do Brasil*, Edições Loyola/CEPEHIB, 1989.

In a letter written to Monsignor Scalabrini, from November 11, 1889, Colbachini regarded the precarious situation of evangelization in the Italian settlements of Paraná. He underlined that it was necessary to attract good parents and good teachers in order to extend the work:

Ho letto con molto piacere il promettente sviluppo della ns. missione nell'America del Nord. Noi non possiamo dir tanto, ma per le circostanze critiche in cui ci troviamo possiamo e dobbiamo star contenti di quanto ha fatto e sta facendo a mezzo nostro il Signore fra questi italiani. Sedici cappelle si eressero nel giro di tre anni, superate gravissime difficoltà, e tutte fornite del necessario; la fede dei nostri fattasi viva da morta che era, la pietà coltivata, i costumi corretti, la pace domestica e la vita comoda sottratte al disordine, al vizio ed alla miseria di molti. Noi poi dobbiamo lottare colla scarsezza dei mezzi, perché avessimo dato mano ad opere molto utili di scuole orfanotrofi ecc. se avessimo avuto il modo di avere i mezzi a superare le prime difficoltà. Anche i soggetti scarseggiano tra noi, da non saper trovare il tempo a tutto, causa specialmente la distanza dei luoghi ai quali di frequente dobbiamo ricorrere. Con altri Padri e buoni maestri, si potrebbe dilatare la ns. missione e renderla più proficua, e pure col soccorso di mezzi materiali, che non possiamo pretendere da gente quasi tutta che si guadagna il pane col proprio sudore, e per di più così rozza da non comprendere che il Sacerdote deve essere provvisto da coloro che di lui hanno bisogno. È con le elemosine delle Messe che noi ci manteniamo¹².

Parents and teachers would be important allies to divulge the Catholic morals, supporting the mission just like the priest hoped. Sharing the responsibility for evangelization among good Christians was an important approach devised by the missionary, who claimed he was unable to fulfill the task. Attracting parents to teach the Catholic doctrine and to modify their children's behavior at home was a unique practice of the missionary's work in the state of Paraná.

According to Scarpim, within the guidelines laid down by the priest, the ones concerning family relationship stood out. For him, parents should safeguard the moral principles and other generally accepted social values, as well as the

¹² «I read with great pleasure the promising development of our mission in North America. We cannot say so much, but for the critical circumstances in which we find ourselves we can and must be happy with what he has done and is doing in our Lord's way among these Italians. Sixteen chapels were erected within three years, overcome very serious difficulties, and all equipped with the necessary; the faith of our made to be alive when he was dead, the cultivated piety, the correct costumes, domestic peace and comfortable life buried in the disorder, vice and misery of many. We must also fight against the scarcity of resources, so that we might have begun to work on very useful orphanages, etc. if we had the means to overcome the first difficulties. Even the subjects are scarce among us, from not being able to find time for everything, especially because of the distance of the places to which we frequently have to run. With other Fathers and good teachers, we could dilate ours mission and make it more profitable, and even with the aid of material means, which we cannot expect from people almost all who earn their bread with their own sweat, and moreover so crude as not to understand that the Priest must be provided by those who need him. It is with the alms of Masses that we keep» (Terragni, *Pietro Colbachini con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paraná e Rio Grande do Sul (1884-1901): corrispondenza e scritti*, cit., p. 242).

language and the religion. The Catholic Church used the family to implement its Liturgical Latinization initiatives¹³.

One of missionary Pietro Colbacchini's guidelines written at *Guida spirituale dell'emigrante italiano* was addressed to parents aiming at safeguarding the children's spiritual life from temptation, deception, and sinful events that the city and its amusements could bring about:

Non si potrebbero scusare quei genitori che lasciassero vagare, sia pure col pretesto della S. Messa, i loro figliuoli e figliuole nelle domeniche e nelle feste, essendo manifesti i pericoli a cui si troverebbero esposti, i quali, come molti sanno, non sono immaginari nè di poca entità, ma reali e spesse volte gravissimi. Statevene adunque, nei giorni festivi, nelle vostre colonie e frequentate le vostre Chiese, che Iddio non vi domanderà conto delle S. Messe che non avete potuto ascoltare, ma sì della santificazione che avrete dato ai suoi giorni Santi. Tutti i genitori devono essere solleciti di mandare, o meglio condurre, i loro figliuoli alla dottrina cristiana, che in ogni festa deve aver luogo in tutte le Colonie, o per mezzo del Sacerdote, o mancando, per mezzo di zelanti persone. E non solamente i fanciulli fino a 10 o 12 anni, ma anche i più grandi dovrebbero intervenire a questo insegnamento cristiano, sia per il grande bisogno che ne hanno, attesa la loro ignoranza (per la scarsità dei mezzi di religione), sia perché il catechismo non s'impara mai abbastanza, ed io ho sempre provato la più viva soddisfazione nel vedere che molti adulti, uomini e donne, regolarmente si trovavano alla dottrina cristiana, il che oltre che a loro grande bene, tornava a buon esempio e stimolo ai più bisognosi. Spero che la buona consuetudine continuerà e si estenderà anche in quelle colonie che su questo punto non meriterebbero la mia lode¹⁴.

Similarly, regarding school as an extension of home, and the teacher as an extension of the parents, Colbacchini used the socialization networks, mainly the ones from the local government, to play a role in the organization of the public formal schooling of the settlements. On December 11, 1889, under an act from Governor José Marques Guimarães, missionary Pietro Colbacchini

¹³ F.A. Scarpim, *Um guia para a saúde do corpo e da alma: o ideal de catolicidade defendido pelo padre Pietro Colbacchini para as regiões de colonização italiana no Sul do Brasil*, «Rever», vol. 15, n. 1, 2015, pp. 93-110.

¹⁴ «We could not excuse those parents who let their children and daughters wander, even under the pretext of the Holy Mass, on Sundays and feasts. The dangers to which they would be exposed are manifest, which, as many know, are not imaginary nor of little magnitude, but real and often very serious. Therefore, on the feast days, in your colonies and in your Churches, may God not ask you to give an account of the S. Masses you have not been able to listen to, but of the sanctification you have given to his holy days. All parents must be solicitous to send, or better lead, their children to the Christian doctrine, which must take place in all the Colonies, either through the Priest, or failing, through zealous people. And not only children up to 10 or 12 years old, but also older children should intervene in this Christian teaching, both for the great need they have, waiting for their ignorance (for the scarcity of the means of religion) both because catechism is never learned enough, and I have always felt the most heartfelt satisfaction in seeing that many adults, men and women, regularly found themselves at Christian doctrine, which apart from their great good, was a good example and a stimulus to those most in need. I hope that good practice will continue and extend to those colonies which would not deserve my praise on this point» (P. Colbacchini, *Il Guida Spirituale per L'Emigrato Italiano Nella America*, Milan, Officine Tip. Lit. A. Bertarelli, 1896. p. 21).

was appointed Inspector of the Italian Schools in the settlements. In addition, according to Act No. 962, the elementary schools at the settlements would receive a 360\$000 *reis* subsidy in order to operate according to the Teaching Procedures in effect¹⁵.

The appointment of Colbacchini for the job of Parish School Inspector was largely communicated to his superiors. Three letters with the news were sent. For the missionary, this job was an opportunity to organize the public formal schooling in the settlements, as an example of the mission's success. The opportunity to intervene in the childhood's educational processes was demonstrated by the great satisfaction expressed when the decree was signed.

The first letter was addressed to his superior from Casa di madre di Piacenza, Father Rolleri Bartolomeo, on November 11, 1889:

Ho scritto del favore che alla nostra. missione dà il Presidente di questa Provincia, che venne a visitarci, e volle pubblicare nel giornale del Governo un atto di pienissima adesione di aggradimento e di ammirazione sulla nostra missione. Ho mandato il Giornale, ossia lo stralcio al R.mo Mr. Vescovo, e io pensava che sarebbe pervenuto anche a V. R. Lo stesso Presidente (come ho scritto da pochi giorni allo stesso Mons. Vescovo) mi affidò la direzione delle scuole che sta per istituire nelle principali colonie, coll'onorario di 2 lire e mezza al giorno ai maestri di mia scelta, promettendomi tutto l'appoggio della Provincia e del Governo per il migliore sviluppo della ns. Missione¹⁶.

The second letter was sent on the same date to Monsignor Spolverini, Apostolic Nuncio of the Scalabrinian Congregation in Rome.

Qui le cose, Deo adjuvante, procedono a gonfie vele. Il Presidente della Provincia non potrebbe mostrarsi più affezionato a me ed alla Missione, nella quale molto confida. Pubblicò nel Giornale del Governo le sensazioni da lui provate nella visita che fece a questa Colonia di Agua Verde, mostrando il suo aggradimento e la sua ammirazione, e promettendo tutto il suo appoggio e quello della Provincia e del Governo generale per il maggiore sviluppo della nostra s. impresa. Egli mi ha anche dato segni che le sue parole non sono solo parole. Ora ha istituito le scuole salariate dal Governo, eleggendomi a Ispettore facendo che io stesso scegliessi il personale insegnante. Anche le altre Autorità locali mi mostrano molta stima e mi danno ajuti, almeno morali¹⁷.

¹⁵ V. Machado. *A República: Órgão do Partido Republicano*, Curitiba, w.e., 1889, p. 1.

¹⁶ «I wrote the favor that ours mission given by the President of this Province, who came to visit us, and wanted to publish in the government newspaper an act of full adhesion of grace and admiration on our mission. I sent the Journal, that is, the excerpt to the Reverend Mr. Bishop, and I thought it would also reach Your Reverence. The President himself (as I wrote a few days ago to Mons. Vescovo himself) entrusted me with the direction of the schools that he is going to establish in the main colonies, with an honorary of 2.5 lire a day to the teachers of my choice, promising me all the support of the Province and the Government for the best development of our Mission» (See Terragni, *Pietro Colbacchini con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paranà e Rio Grande do Sul (1884-1901): corrispondenza e scritti*, cit., p. 243).

¹⁷ «Here things, God helped, proceed to swell sails. The President of the Province could not be more fond of me and of the Mission, in which he trusts much. Published in the Government Newspaper the feelings he felt during his visit to this colony of Agua Verde, showing his

Finally, he sent a letter to Monsignor Giovanni Batista Scalabrini, on November 21, 1889, reporting that: «Di questi giorni ricevetti dal Governo la nomina di Ispettore Scolastico delle Scuole delle Colonie Italiane sovvenzionate dal Governo, e questo incarico, per niente gravoso, mi facilita in certe cose il ministero»¹⁸.

On December 5, 1889, Colbacchini wrote to Father Rolleri again, saying how proud he was of the control he kept over the teachers' selection in the schools from the settlements. However, he showed his rigorous nature saying that he was tired of working in the mission. He was having difficulties finding teachers and catechists with the apostolic attributes required to carry out the task of educating children in the Christian doctrine.

Il lavoro cresce, e le forze scemano, in conseguenza apparisce il bisogno di nuovi operai, come ho scritto tante volte. Le scuole sono in mia mano ed ho scelto maestri di mia fiducia, ma con fatica ho potuto trovarne di idonei, se pur lo saranno. Per fratelli coadiutori sarà meglio non mandarne, almeno per ora, quando non fossero maestri e catechisti approvati¹⁹.

Undoubtedly, the job's benefit was having the opportunity to appoint teachers for the public schools, choosing only those who, in his opinion, showed good behavior. But, mainly, that were Catholic. After taking up the job of Parish Inspector of the schools from the Italian settlements, on mid-December 1889, Father Pietro Colbacchini wrote a report with the list of teachers appointed for the settlements' schools. It should be noted that in some settlements the schools were already operating, and the missionary did not spare efforts to replace teachers he did not consider reliable for the job, with the excuse that the problem lay in the teaching skills.

In the Alfredo Chaves settlement, which has 70 families, I suggest teacher João Tosin, a skilled man who is already successfully teaching the boys and girls from the settlement. It is true that a young lady – who is mister Baitaca's daughter – lives there, has a teaching degree, and worked as a teacher before the schools were opened. But I can say that the school was not attended by any boys or girls from the settlement, the good of [?] and that the same would

graciousness and admiration, and promising all his support and that of the Province and of the General Government for the greater development of ours enterprise. He also gave me signs that his words are not just words. Now he has set up government-salaried schools, electing me as Inspector by making me choose the teaching staff myself. The other local authorities also give me a lot of respect and help, at least moral», *ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁹ «Work is growing, and forces are diminishing, and as a result the need for new workers appears, as I have written so many times. The schools are in my hands and I have chosen teachers of my own confidence, but with difficulty I have been able to find suitable teachers, if they are. For coadjutor brothers it will be better not to send them, at least for now, when they were not approved teachers and catechists», *ibid.*, p. 252.

happen on this occasion, since the parents did not trust it enough to leave their children there. As for the young lady, I have no objection²⁰.

The dissatisfaction with teacher Giovanni Baptista Marconi's misconduct was also used as an excuse to replace him:

In the Novo Tyrol settlement, with 70 families, and that longs for a teacher, the applicant would be Mr. João Baptista Marcon, who worked as a teacher for some years in the same settlement. However, since he shows an undesirable behavior, I am forced to ask you to appoint Mr. Luiz Thomas, a skilled man with exemplary behavior²¹.

Otherwise, the appointment of the Italian teacher for the Ferraria settlement, in the region called Campo Comprido, was supported by her exemplary behavior and for being married. «In the Campo Comprido settlement, with 35 families whose children will be able to easily attend school, I suggest the appointment of Mrs. Thereza Borgo. A married young lady who shows exemplary behavior and good standing for the job»²².

In another moment, Pietro Colbachini stood up for the Italian settler Francisco Zardo – who worked as a teacher in the Santa Felicidade settlement – against District Inspector Albino Schimmelpfeng. The inspector did not want to declare the truthfulness of the information and of the tasks the teacher carried out in the school. This statement was necessary for the teacher to receive his payment. Consequently, the missionary wrote an eloquent and flattering statement about Francisco Zardo, with the information concerning the number of students he taught in that all-boys school. He subsequently sent it to the state government demanding the teacher's payment²³.

Regarding Father Pietro Colbacchini's interests as a missionary in the Italian settlements in southern Brazil – mainly in the seven years he remained in the state of Paraná, we can imply that the priest worked vigorously towards the social organization and moral development of the settlements. As well as to consolidate and propagate faith as the key element of the support offered to immigrants. He adopted a rigid, authoritarian, and hostile attitude towards whoever propagated doctrines opposed to the Catholic faith. And, to a certain extent, received support from the government of the state of Paraná to carry out the mission.

In a letter sent to Monsignor Giovanni Battista Scalabrini on February 20, 1890, Colbachini writes about the government's relationship with the Catholic Church, due to the changes produced by the Proclamation of the Republic, which separated the Church and the State.

²⁰ Colbacchini. *Departamento Estadual de Arquivo Público: Ofícios e Requerimentos*, cit., pp. 27-28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

V. Eccell. R.ma mi chiede come la va in ordine alle relazioni del Governo colla Chiesa. Posso rispondere che: ottimamente, e cento volte meglio che prima. Il Governo in prima opponeva legami i più vergognosi alla Chiesa, facendo mostra di proteggerla; ora vennero tolti in tutto col decreto della separazione dello Stato dalla Chiesa. È lasciata piena libertà ai Sacerdoti, e perfino alle Comunità Religiose; persino i Gesuiti che hanno in mano i più importanti Collegi del Brasile, non sono punto molestati! Le Autorità locali si mostrano rispettose e affezionate, e posso dire che mi trattano con ogni attenzione. Sono stato pregato di conservare il carico di Ispettor delle Scuole governative delle Colonie, e mi venne promesso tutto l'appoggio²⁴.

Although Pietro Colbacchini always said that his relationship with the public officers was good, he was actually persecuted, and his deeds caused the local authorities and a large part of the Italian immigrants to oppose him, mainly those who were considered liberals and who supported schools in Curitiba's downtown area. For the missionary, the school should be safeguarded from ideas that violated the Christian morals, in order to prevent the new generations from turning away from the Catholic doctrine. Since Father Pietro Colbacchini was a Jesuit, he represented the conservative branch of the Catholic Church.

Consequently, he had an uncompromising attitude towards whoever opposed the Catholic doctrine. Father Pietro Colbacchini's conservative and authoritarian mindset was evident in his homilies and sermons. His words were always vigorous, condemning attitudes, behaviors, and ideas against his faith. Due to his uncompromising attitude towards threats to the Catholic faith, he faced many conflicts and opponents. His guidelines concerning the school and the organization of the life in the settlements did not reverberate favorably among his peers. The authorities did not abide by his rules and the settlers violated his orders. He also confronted Italian fellows with liberal mindset, who supported secular education centers. For these reasons, he returned to Italy in 1894.

Final words

The role of the missionaries from the Congregation of St. Charles Borromeo for Italian Emigrants was crucial for the organization of the first communal and Catholic schools in the Italian settlements located in the state of Paraná, in

²⁴ «Your Excellency most reverend asks me how it goes in relation to the Government's relations with the Church. I can answer that: excellently, and a hundred times better than before. The first government linked the most shameful to the Church, showing that it protected her; now they were removed in all with the decree of separation of the State from the Church. Full freedom is left to the Priests, and even to the religious communities; even the Jesuits who hold the most important colleges in Brazil are not harassed! The local authorities show respect and affection, and I can say that they treat me with every attention. I was asked to retain the consignment of inspector of the Colonies' Governmental Schools, and I was promised full support» (Terragni, *Pietro Colbacchini con gli emigrati negli Stati di S. Paolo, Paranà e Rio Grande do Sul (1884-1901): corrispondenza e scritti*, cit., p. 261).

Brazil. Created after the 1880s, these schools promoted the teaching of basic notions of Italian and Portuguese languages. Moreover, teaching Christian values through Catechism inside the schools was the focus of the mission regarding childhood.

It is understood that most families who emigrated from Italy believed in the religious authority of the priests, who were, quite often, the only compatriot counselors they could trust. The Scalabrinian missionaries that took up residence in Paraná, Brazil, implemented a network of religious support that started when the first missionary, Father Pietro Colbachini, arrived. The Italian missionaries traveled to and from Brazil while the settlements were thriving. They achieved it through hard apostolic work, striving to conciliate the safeguarding of the gospel and the strengthening of the *italianità*.

Therefore, although most Scalabrinian missionaries had played a role in the organization of the schools, the iconic figure of missionary Pietro Colbachini deserves to be highlighted. His actions contributed significantly to the creation and expansion of the elementary formal schooling process, and of the family and childhood's moral development in those settlements. To this end, the approach he used during the short period he served his mission with the Italian immigrants was characterized by representativeness within the community, the clergy, and the government. He created communal schools, recommended behaviors, fought against the appointment of Brazilian teachers in the settlements' public schools, and appointed for the teaching job settlers that stood out in the community as Catholics committed to practicing the faith. Consequently, opposition and conflicts were inevitable. They involved the missionary and a large part of the Brazilian and the Italian communities: teachers, religious and civil authorities, and even the settlers themselves.

Between religion and nation: *Italica Gens* and the development of ethnical schools and Italian language in Southern Brazil in the early 20th century (1910-1930)

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ABSTRACT: The article aims to investigate the role of *Italica Gens* in Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) along the phenomenon of Italian colonization and immigration. After illustrating the origins of this Catholic federation, the text analyses the characteristics of their cultural project of stimulating Italianity in Brazil's Southern states, especially the activities for developing Italian schools in Rio Grande do Sul in the 1920s. It highlights the profile and role of the Catholic organization's inspector Cesare Bompard and goes deeper into the dynamics that followed the evolution of the perspective of Italian nationalist Catholicism, facing the process of «Brazilianization» of Italian immigrants.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Italian ethnical schools; Migration and education; Catholicism and nationalism; Brazil; XXth Century.

Introduction

The mass immigration experienced between the second half of the 19th century and the first four decades of the 20th century¹ have compelled Catholic Church to redefine strategies. Projects and perspectives of a «Christian reconquest» have become more complex facing the dynamics created by the economic development and the nationalisms of that time, characterized by the temporal

¹ L. Favero, G. Tassello, *Cent'anni di emigrazione italiana (1876-1976)*, in G. Rosoli (ed.), *Un secolo di emigrazione italiana 1876-1976*, Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978, pp. 11-37.

power of the Supreme Pontiff. To follow the religious design in a radically different context, Roman Catholicism has begun, amidst many uncertainties, to face the migratory phenomenon that characterized many European countries, including Italy².

There are many factors on which the Holy See interventions are based, to which historiography has been calling attention for many years: after losing temporal power, they were afraid not only of the increase of anti-Pope propaganda, inspired by the *Risorgimento* and of the growth of Protestantism among immigrants, but also of the progressive decrease of faith among believers that were part of social and political movements, due to the modern industrial development. Many of those were considered as opposed to Christianity, like socialists and anarchists³.

Catholic Church has defined and evaluated possible strategies and interventions to promote missions for the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith [known as *Propaganda Fide*], that has gathered richer information about migratory flows and adopted important measures like the one on April 11th, 1887, authorizing the constitution of national parishes that should integrate the diocesan tissue, but with jurisdiction over an immigration community and not over a neighbourhood. Among the innovative ways of intervention that were introduced, not only in the social framework of Italy, but on the global one, there have been religious congregations and associative groups dedicated to multiple assistance activities, not only religious, but also social and educational, for migrants⁴.

In this context, employees of *Propaganda Fide* noticed that Italian emigrants did not have sponsoring associations and priests from the Peninsula were scarce or had followed paths not always approved by the Holy See. The Vatican Congregation, along with the national parishes resolution, has decided to promote the foundation of an institute to support Italians in the Americas and to direct a college to train missionaries, guided by Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza⁵. Leo XIII approved the project on November 25th, 1887, and presented it to bishops abroad on December 10th, 1888 (*Quam aerumnosa*). At first, they predicted a five-year experiment for the United States and Brazil,

² R. Sani, *Entre as exigências pastorais e a preservação da identidade nacional: S Santa Sé e a emigração italiana para o exterior entre o Oitocentos e Novecentos*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, n. 51, 2017, pp. 143-185.

³ M. Sanfilippo, *Chiesa, ordini religiosi ed emigrazione*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, Vol. I.: *Partenze*, pp. 128-129.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ M. Francesconi, *L'apostolo degli emigranti: Giovanni Battista Scalabrini vescovo di Piacenza e degli emigranti*, Rome, Città Nuova, 1985, p. 988. See also: M. Francesconi, *Inizi della Congregazione Scalabriniana (1886-1888)*, Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1969; M. Francesconi, *Un progetto di mons. Scalabrini per l'assistenza religiosa agli emigrati di tutte le nazionalità*, «Studi Emigrazione», nn. 25-26, 1972, pp. 185-203.

but very soon the Pontiff and the Curia have noticed the inescapable need of attention to migrations and of interventions that should not be limited to Italians only⁶.

At the same time, lay groups tried to give life to associations that could support the Church's pastoral efforts, as well as supporting and guiding the constitution of national policies in host countries like France, Belgium, Austria, England and Germany. Because of this, by the end of 1886, in Florence, from an initiative of Ernesto Schiaparelli and Augusto Conti, the *Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i Missionari Italiani* (ANMI) was born, to work in different continents. The two Italian university professors have collected and coordinated the participation of many members of the Florence Catholic nobility, but not only, as there were members of the Catholic conciliation circles, who wrote for the *Rassegna Nazionale* magazine; members of the political liberalism; and of the agrarian conservative circles. Their initiative, with an anti-francophone spirit, was well-received by Francesco Crispi, as was according with the Gallophobia that was then marked in the foreign conciliatory policy of this new Italian government president, who was trying to regain consensus with Catholics⁷.

Religious and patriotic subjects were constantly intertwined. The reach of the association's action was firstly constituted by Northern Africa and the East. While Christianity showed up as a path to religious civilization, in contrast to the Muslim actions, on the other hand, the missions' defense was to follow Italy's colonial expansion. In the association's statute, it can be read:

È costituita in Italia un'Associazione nazionale per soccorrere i Missionari cattolici italiani, e per promuovere sotto la loro direzione o vigilanza, la fondazione di nuove scuole e la diffusione della lingua italiana, specialmente in oriente e nell'Africa, e mantener vivo, insieme colla fede, l'amore per la patria nei numerosi Italiani che si trovano in lontane regioni [...] ⁸.

⁶ Pontificia Commissione per la Pastorale delle Migrazioni e del Turismo (Vaticano), *Chiesa e mobilità umana. Documenti della Santa Sede dal 1883 al 1983*, a cura di G. Tassello, L. Favero, Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1985.

⁷ O. Confessore, *Origini e motivazioni dell'Associazione nazionale per soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani; una interpretazione della politica estera dei cociliatoristi nel quadro dell'espansionismo crispino*, «Bollettino dell'Archivio per la storia del movimento cattolico sociale in Italia», vol. XI, n. 2, 1976, pp. 239-267; O. Confessore, *L'Associazione nazionale per soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani, tra spinte civilizzatrici e interesse migratorio (1887-1908)*, in *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo. Convegno storico internazionale*, Atti del convegno storico internazionale, 12, 1987, Piacenza-Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989, pp. 519-536.

⁸ Translation: «A National Association is constituted in Italy, for supporting Italian Catholic missionaries and promoting, under their directions and inspections, the foundation of new schools and the diffusion of Italian language, especially in the East and in Africa, and keep alive, along with faith, the love for the homeland, among the many Italians who are in distant regions». Statuto dell'Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i missionari italiani nel mondo in Archive «Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i Missionari Italiani» [from now on AANMI], 21/E Presidenza, b. Promemoria. Circolari. Various notes.

At the same time as it intervened in colonial areas in Africa, the ANMI, through Schiaparelli, bonded with representatives of the episcopate who were then maturing projects of supporting emigrants and managing problems that have come up with the migratory phenomenon. Among them, there are Monsignor Bonomelli of Cremona and Monsignor Scalabrini of Piacenza. Later on, by the end of the first decade of the 20th century, in Turin, in 1909, was established a federation of religious congregations that worked with assistance to Italian emigrants in America. After being acknowledged by the Congress of Italians Abroad – from which it had been excluded at first – the ANMI goes back to the field, for assistance to immigrants and diffusion of Italian culture abroad, now looking at overseas territories⁹.

It was also Ernesto Schiaparelli who considered creating an organization to coordinate several initiatives generated from the expansion of activities promoted by many religious congregations in a global level, in the first twenty years after the foundation of ANMI. The preparatory work, carried out throughout 1909, resulted in a circular letter to several religious orders involved, among which the intentions of the initiative were clarified: the ones of establishing a foundation between religious orders and Italian missions and the institutes that already practiced those activities, to protect emigrants and coordinate several forces of the Church towards emigration, in harmony with the institutional commitment of the Italian State, as assured by the royal emigration commission created in 1902:

Esaminandosi e rendendosi conto di questo stato di cose, é parso alla nostra Associazione che, invece di un organismo completo per l'assistenza della emigrazione, si abbia una quantità di organismi autonomi e tutti più o meno incompleti e che si muovono indipendente gli uni dagli altri, in campi d'azione sempre più o meno ristretti, senza unità direttiva, senza coordinamento e conseguentemente con inadeguata efficacia [...]. Parve inoltre a noi che da questo stato generale di disgregazione non si possa uscire senza l'aiuto diretto e meglio coordinato che non sia stato finora, delle numerose e disciplinate forze di cui la Chiesa dispone. E ritenemmo pure che sia giusto e doveroso che questo coordinamento si faccia in diretta relazione col R. Commissariato dell'emigrazione [...]¹⁰.

Almost all male and female religious orders and congregations present in the Americas have joined the *Federazione per l'assistenza degli emigrati transoceanici Italica Gens* (IG), especially the Friars Minors of South America

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Translation: «Analysing and considering the situation, our Association's thought is that, instead of a complete agency for assistance to emigrants, there are numerous autonomous bodies, more or less incomplete, moving independently from one another, in more or less restrict fields of action, without a single direction, without coordination and consequently, inefficient. [...] We also think that to get out of this general situation of disintegration, a direct and coordinate support is needed, from the numerous and disciplined forces the Church has. We also feel that it is correct and appropriate that this coordination is carried out in direct relation with the Royal Emigration Commission [...]», AANMI, 21/E Presidenza. Promemoria. Circolari. Various notes.

(Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil) and some places in North America; the Minor Conventuals; the Capuchins; the Jesuits; the Salesians; the Augustinians; the Pallottines; the missionaries of the Christopher Columbus Institute; the missionaries of the Brignole Sale College of Genoa; the Piemonte missionaries of the canonic Sorasio in the Santa Catarina state; the Passionists; the Oblates; the Redemptorists; the Dominicans; the Benedictines; the Lazarists, in isolated missions; the Institute of the Emigration Missionaries, founded in the first decade of the 19th century and directed by Monsignor Coccolo. There were also many secular priests who have joined them¹¹.

The new federative association was born under the same perspective and guidelines that had animated ANMI and, not by chance, with the same general secretary, Ernesto Schiaparelli. In such sense, one observes continuity of what was being done since the late 19th century, when the subject of promoting Italian language and culture globally was one of the pillars for collaborating with consular authorities for defending Italy's prestige abroad and for starting new schools¹². The relationships between the association and the leaders of the Holy See, however, were not always idyllic. According to Rosoli, the Church leaders have not hidden their perplexities and doubts about the lay leadership group¹³. De Lai, according to Rosoli, has expressed strong perplexity regarding an association considered as having a «strange birth», for it presented «religious congregations directed by one or more laics, for religious work»¹⁴.

1. *Italica Gens in Brazil during the years prior to World War I*

The Italica Gens Federation was structured through a headquarter office in Turin and two central secretariats, in New York (USA) and Buenos Aires (Argentina). In Brazil, it started in the years just before World War I. With a strong presence of the Italian clergy, IG carried out significant activities in Brazil. In 1909, 12 secretariats were created, mostly in Rio Grande do Sul (5), Parana (1) and Santa Catarina (2) and also one in Sao Paulo, one in Rio de Janeiro and one in Para¹⁵.

¹¹ G. Rosoli, *La Federazione Italica Gens e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano 1909-1920*, «Il Veltro», nn. 1-2, 1990, pp. 87-100.

¹² 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, Editrice La Scuola, 1999, pp. 119-144.

¹³ Rosoli, *La Federazione Italica Gens e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano 1909-1920*, cit.

¹⁴ Note by Cardinal G. De Lai, on February 3rd, 1915, ACSER (Archivio Centro Studi Emigrazione Rome), Carte italica Gens, cit. in G. Rosoli, *Chiesa ed emigrati italiani in Brasile, in Chiesa ed emigrazione italiana tra '800 e '900*, «Studi Emigrazione», vol. XIX, n. 66, 1982 p. 237.

¹⁵ *I segretariati della Italica Gens nei paesi oltreoceani*, «Italica Gens», vol. 1, n. 1, 1910, p. 21.

State	Location	Headquarter	Religious congregation/parish	Representative
Parana	S. Felicidade	Parish	Scalabrinians	Father Giuseppe Martini
	Timbituva	Parish	Scalabrinians	Andrea Garau
Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro	Casa D. Bosco	Salesians	Father Luigi Zanchetta
Sao Paulo	Sao Paulo	Sacred Heart of Jesus Lyceum	Salesians	Father Dionigi Giudici
Santa Catarina	Criciuma	Parish		Parish priest.
	Urussanga	Parish		Vicar Luigi Gilli
Rio Grande do Sul	Porto Alegre	Central Secretariat	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Mattia Schonauer
	Alfredo Chaves	Parish	Capuchins	Luigi de La Vernac
	Antonio Prado	Parish		Giuseppe Benini
	Arroio Grande	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father G. Spiesberger
	Bage	Our Lady Helper School	Salesiani	Father Andrea Dell'Ora
	Bento Gonçalves	Our Lady of Caravaggio		Father Carmine Fasulo
	Capoeiras	Parish		Father Antonio Seganfreddo
	Caxias	Parish		Father Angelo Donato
	Cruz Alta	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Kolb
	Encantado	Parish	Scalabrinians	Father Massimo Rinaldi
	Esperança	Parish		Father Enrico Preti
	Montebello	Parish		Father G. Cavigliolo
	Monteveneto	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father E. Medicheschi
	Nova Bassano	Parish		Father Giovanni Costanzo
Novo Trento	Parish	Capuchins	Father Roberto D'Apprieu	
Rio Grande	Leo XIII Lyceum	Salesians	Father Giuseppe Vera	
Sao Luis	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Franc. Konig	
Santa Maria	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	G. Paglica	
Santa Teresa of Bento Gonçalves	Parish		Father Pietro Negri	
Silveira Martins	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Federico Schwinn	
Vale Veneto	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Kuklok	

Source: *I segretariati della Italica Gens nei paesi oltreoceani*, «Italica Gens», vol. 1, n. 1, 1910, p. 21.

In the following year, 28 secretariats were added in Rio Grande do Sul state¹⁶, with support of many Italian priests¹⁷.

State	Location	Headquarter	Religious congregation/parish	Representative
Rio Grande do Sul	Porto Alegre	Central Secretariat	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Mattia Schonauer
	Alfredo Chaves	Parish	Capuchins	Luigi de La Vernac
	Antonio Prado	Parish		Giuseppe Benini
	Arroio Grande	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father G. Spiesberger
	Bage	Our Lady Helper School	Salesians	Father Andrea Dell'Ora
	Bento Gonçalves	Our Lady of Caravaggio		Father Carmine Fasulo
	Capoeiras	Parish		Father Antonio Seganfredo
	Caxias	Parish		Father Angelo Donato
	Cruz Alta	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Kolb
	Encantado	Parish	Scalabrinians	Father Massimo Rinaldi
	Esperança	Parish		Father Enrico Preti
	Montebello	Parish		Father G. Cavigliolo
	Monteveneto	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father E. Medicheschi
	Nova Bassano	Parish		Father Giovanni Costanzo
	Novo Trento	Parish	Capuchins	Father Roberto D'Apprieu
	Rio Grande	Leo XIII Lyceum	Salesians	Father Giuseppe Vera
	Sao Luis	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Franc. Konig
	Santa Maria	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	G. Paglica
	Santa Teresa of Bento Gonçalves	Parish		Father Pietro Negri
	Silveira Martins	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Federico Schwinn
	Vale Veneto	Parish	The Pious Society of Missions	Father Kuklok

Source: *L'incremento dell'Italica Gens*, «Italica Gens», vol. 1, n.5, 1910, pp. 197-199.

¹⁶ *L'incremento dell'Italica Gens*, «Italica Gens», vol. 1, n. 5, 1910, pp. 197-199.

¹⁷ About the role of the clergy in Rio Grande do Sul, see: R. Costa, *Il contributo del clero italiano alla colonizzazione rio-grandense*, in *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo. Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo*, Atti del convegno storico internazionale, 12, 1987, Piacenza-Rome, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989, pp. 411-431.

The management of secretariats was in the hands of several congregations and parishes present in Brazil: the Salesians (that managed most of the secretariats), the Scalabrinians, the Pious Society of Missions and the Capuchins. The Federation had a journal, *Italica Gens*, that quite often published correspondence coming from different parts of the country to update readers about initiatives of associations, parties, several cultural institutions and, of course, religious ones: that, today, is also a very interesting source to follow such initiatives. The publication, however, did not omit to publish articles about problems created by Brazilian economic-productive system, like farms, issues related to the development of cooperative, small properties versus latifundia, and the organized labour movement¹⁸.

Amongst the most interesting documents produced in this period – that certify the attention of the Catholic association to the Brazilian context – one must refer a well-known research done by the journal director and general secretary of the Catholic organization, Ranieri Venerosi, throughout a long trip, in 1912, around the colonies in Southern Brazil: Parana, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. At that moment, Venerosi had the chance to register the role played by religious presence in the development of colonial communities, but presented very significant critique against the non-Italian clergy. At the same time, he expressed great concern with the risk of losing national identity features. He mentioned denationalization and the decaying Italian feeling in immigrant communities that were strongly marked by regional belongings:

Viaggiando nelle zone coloniali italiane si sente parlare ancora, dopo trenta e più anni che si sono formate, quasi esclusivamente il dialetto veneto ed un pó d'italiano; si vedono sistemi ed usanze che danno l'illusione di trovarsi nel Veneto o nel Mantovano, regioni da cui venne la maggior parte dei coloni¹⁹.

Venerosi's interest was directed towards characteristics of the integration process of Italian settlers, who seemed to live in slower times compared to those in USA and Argentina. The peculiar social and economic conditions of Italian communities spread over the states of Santa Catarina, Parana and Rio Grande do Sul seemed to be the basis of an emigration model that could assure the preservation of ethnical characteristics and define the Italian type, like resistance to struggle against and overcome natural forces, diligence, adaptability to the environment, ingenious attitude in every job and variety in the making of agricultural products. All these elements have defined a «superiority over other

¹⁸ Rosoli, *La Federazione Italica Gens e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano 1909-1920*, cit.

¹⁹ Translation: «Travelling in Italian colonial areas, we still hear, after thirty years of foundation, people speak almost exclusively in Venetian dialect and a little Italian; one sees systems and habits that give the illusion of being in Veneto or Mantua, the regions most settlers came from».

races in colonization», even though he identified Germans as a reference model to be followed²⁰.

L'isolamento, se é causa principale del lento progresso di queste colonie, le ha però protette dal contatto coll'elemento indigeno e dalla invasione del capitale straniero, due delle maggiori forze che promuovono la snazionalizzazione, e le ha conservate in condizioni tali che, se si vuole, si é ancora in tempo a spiegare utilmente in esse un'azione di carattere nazionale²¹.

Such reflections have constantly kept up with the three main pillars of *Italica Gens*'s actions, that means, agricultural colonization, protection of Italians abroad by establishing places for support (*Uffici di Patronato*) and the people's secretariats (*Segretariati del popolo*) for supporting actions of the State and the schools.

It is noteworthy that Venerosi Pesciolini's considerations have produced quite controversial reactions, as well as criticism from French congregations. In particular, leaders of the French Capuchins have expressed some discomfort with the remarks by *Italica Gens*'s head. Bernardin D'Apremont, who followed Pesciolini's report in the Italian newspaper with great attention, did not hesitate to speak about the «distorted view on Italian immigration in Rio Grande do Sul» and the lack of knowledge about the work done by the French congregation for Italian settlers. The original fault of the Capuchin Father Superior was precisely to confuse or mix «spiritual will and patriotic interest»:

If I understand it well, the goal of the magazine by *Italica Gens* association is certainly to help settlers, but it seems to hide another main goal: a patriotic, national one. That means to make Italian colonies an extension of Italy, maintaining some compact, homogeneous groups of Italian language and habits, but with a wise adaptation to the new environment where immigrants are now existing²².

²⁰ R. Venerosi Pesciolini, *Le colonie italiane del Brasile Meridionale*, Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1914, p. 272.

²¹ Translation: «Isolation, though being the main cause of the slow progress of these colonies, has protected them from contact with the autochthonous element and from invasion of foreign capital, which are the two main forces that promote denationalization. It has conserved them in conditions such that, if one wishes, there is still time to explain actions with nationalizing features». *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²² B. D'Apremont, B. de Gillonnay, *Comunidades indígenas, brasileiras, polonesas e italianas no Rio Grande do Sul (1896-1915)*, Porto Alegre-Caxias do Sul, Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes-UCS- 1976, p. 87. See the whole third paragraph in pp. 81-98.

2. *Italica Gens and schools*

In this scenery, there is also the importance given by the Federation to the development of Italian ethnical schools, considered crucial for the improvement of «our emigrants' latent intellectual energies, in order to enable them to develop, in their minds, the national spirit»²³. School was considered as a fundamental tool to ensure, through language, the «preservation» of national character, of Italian feelings. According to Rosoli, the impulse of *Italica Gens* was «more creative with alternative models and new school initiatives in America, made concrete by supporting the several existing ones, already promoted by priests and clergymen»²⁴.

Unlike United States and Argentina, in Brazil, Italian ethnical schools, according to Venerosi's analysis, were pretty much consensual among local authorities and populations and could, in his opinion, compete with Brazilian ones. Due to financial difficulties of several Brazilian states, schools did not seem to develop very significantly. Instead of a marginalized role, Italian language was preponderant and considered as a «useful language». Aid from Italian government, through subsidies, has shown to be much more efficient than in other contexts abroad. Because of that, it was easy for *Italica Gens's* director to conclude that it was possible to expect for more «investment from Italian government in this area, in order to ensure the development of a network of educational institutions that are able to preserve the bonds of national identity and delay the serious threat of denationalization that was on its way»²⁵.

Thus, to Venerosi, in the three states of Southern Brazil, there were conditions for school to act not only for the «preservation of our language» but above all as «the main means of education in the country [Brazil]», assuring a «basis for it», of use and resistance, «that could have been uselessly pursued in other contexts abroad». Venerosi observed the important work of consular authorities for developing a school network, besides the low financial resources. They were encouraged by the slow establishment of a network of primary schools, promoted for free by Brazilian local authorities that, however, started to hamper the survival of Italian schools due to the lack of teachers. From that, came a proposal by Count Venerosi, to reorganize Italian schools according to the model that German settlers had created and articulated in Southern Brazil. Venerosi indeed observed that some strong points of the German system were the teachers' training, done by selecting the most adequate profiles amongst settlers, and becoming involved with normal schools, usually directed by clergy people. That was a task that the Tuscan Count considered possible through

²³ *L'Italica Gens*, «Italica Gens», vol. 1, n. 1, 1910, p. 8.

²⁴ Rosoli, *La Federazione Italica Gens e l'emigrazione italiana oltreoceano 1909-1920*, cit., p. 89.

²⁵ Venerosi Pesciolini, *Le colonie italiane del Brasile Meridionale*, cit., p. 12.

getting more significantly involved with female religious institutes, as well as by sending masters and teachers trained in Italian normal schools directly to Brazil.

Such measures, alongside with some other legal, administration and social security ones, could have favoured a more effective participation of the Italian teaching staff. In addition to training, for Venerosi, it was advisable to interfere in the didactic-pedagogic system, through teaching programs. One of the limits he has glimpsed at was the presence of an exclusively Italian program, with handbooks produced exclusively for Italy and thus with contents that were useless and inadequate for children in ethnical schools. Not by chance, books and programs had been adapted in German schools. At the same time, the Count saw an opportunity to consider establishing a high school, similarly to what had happened in German colonies in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, that could involve the Jesuit order²⁶.

To achieve such goals, Venerosi expected direct financial intervention from the Italian government, which, in his opinion, should have centred, in these areas, «most of the activities and money that is, in vain or almost, spent in countries where no profit can be expected»²⁷ Venerosi's proposals and suggestions have remained ignored among groups of Italian leaders, who were then absorbed by problems arising from the beginning of World War I and their consequent scarcity of resources.

3. *The revival of the cultural project of schools for Italianity*

With the end of the war and especially in the beginning of the 1920s, the interest of Italian political-administrative leaderships in the Italica Gens Federation was renovated: in that moment, the association qualified as one of the most important pro-government agencies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The great involvement of the association has matured in the light of changes in the ministry's guidelines and consequently, of the leaders in charge of the application of political measures²⁸. From the first months of 1921, these changes have settled and gained consistency. Around the figure of the new director Ciro Trabalza, there was significant change on the structure and management in the whole General Direction for Italian Schools Abroad (DGSIE). First of all, there was the relaunch of the presence of Italian schools abroad. However, as Trabalza

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁷ Venerosi Pesciolini, *Le colonie italiane del Brasile Meridionale*, cit., p. 291.

²⁸ A. Barausse, *The Construction of National Identity in Textbooks for Italian Schools abroad; the Case of Brazil between the two World Wars*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 2, 2015, pp. 425-461.

wrote in a note, including expressive voting from the central commission, «making better use of the past work by the society, by clergy people dedicated mostly to the attention to Italian expatriates and secular societies with a goal of preserving and promoting Italian language and culture abroad»²⁹.

Under Trabalza's direction, the DGSIE has decided to engage in a study of several issues and reorganization, based on reports about the schools' functioning and on «systematic radiography of their actual state» and concluded that it was necessary to «arrange a radical reorganization of an efficient system of surveillance of schools in America, even though the vast and varied material has not yet been completely analysed» From this, came the idea of creating a commission with a task of going deeper into the situation and proposing a law³⁰.

From DGSIE's point of view, there was a triple problem: political, financial and technical. In what concerned politics, it considered as

necessary to explain with maximum caution why it does not arouse abroad, especially in a moment in which there is a marked tendency of Americanization of emigrants, the impression of political penetration with nationalist political expansion intents and for that, it is advisable to explicitly reveal that we aim to promote Italian culture, mostly where it is searched by foreigners, a specific case, and to offer culture to our co-nationals, so that they can become great American citizens and preserve the language of their homeland at once³¹. [our translation]

The forces involved in this work of reorganization should all «not distinguish political or religious faith and the only watchword abroad should be Italianity». Under those premises, the Ministry inaugurated, on December 14th, 1921, a commission to reorganize and watch over Italian Schools in the Americas³². The involvement of *Italica Gens* in this commission was particularly significant. In charge of elaborating a specific law, the commission entrusted Ernesto Schiaparelli in the United States, Prof. Adolfo De Bosis in

²⁹ Minuta n.a. e n.d. in Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri [from now on ASMAE], Archivio Scuole 1888-1920, b. 437.

³⁰ *Commissione per la riorganizzazione e la vigilanza delle scuole italiane in America*, Report by DGSIE, n.d. [but in 1921], *ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² In addition to the Subsecretary of Foreign Affairs, have participated the General Emigration Commissary, Giuseppe De Michelis; the General Director of Political, Commercial and Private Matters for America, Asia, Africa and Australia, Filippo Serra; the General Director of Italian Schools Abroad, Ciro Trabalza; the General Consul; the head of the Executive Office of Italian Schools Abroad; the Central Inspector for High Schools; the representative of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Vittore Alemanni; the representative of the National Dante Alighieri Society; the representative of the Italian Colonial Institute; the representative of the National Association for the Protection of Italian Missionary and of *Italica Gens*, Ernesto Schiaparelli; the representative of the Italian League for Protection of National Interests, Adolfo De Bosis; and the Legation secretary, Giovanni Di Giura. Report by DGSIE, n.d. [but in 1921], ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1888-1920, b. 437.

Central America, Prof. Vittore Alemanni in Brazil and Commander Franzone in Argentina, with a task of designing possible solutions. Schiaparelli's and Allemanni's ones were defined as having «capital importance»³³. In what concerned the commission's activities, exponents of the clergy that had already collaborated with *Italica Gens*, like Father Baldelli, who did not hide his critiques and worries and expressed clear discomfort with the general secretary of the federal organization, have expressed their opposition to Schiaparelli's choice to centralize the representation of the National Association and of *Italica Gens*. That was a choice that, «in addition to demoralizing our work before opponents, will enslave, without notice, Masonry, through the Dante Alighieri Society, the Italian League and the Italian Colonial Institute, the Commission itself, that will not stop donating part of the maximum financial aid in benefit of schools»³⁴. It was a worry that the secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, Cardinal De Lai, did not hesitate to express directly to *Italica Gens's* secretary, by asking him to rethink over his decision to take double representation, for the «serious repercussion that such decision may have in discussions and in any voting that could take place in the Commission above mentioned, with great advantage of other associations in detriment of *Italica Gens* and the National Association»³⁵. It cannot be excluded that the cardinal aimed at a greater involvement of the Emigration Prelate, another ecclesiastic structure dedicated to the migratory problem, an expression of the Holy See's centralizing will, but also of renewed pastoral of the Church, in the ministerial political choices. However, Schiaparelli was not effectively available. The official secretary of *Italica Gens* and of the National Association not only recorded insistences from the ministry's general direction, that means, Trabalza's, but above all, he argued that it was embarrassing to have to delegate the task to a second person whose competence he was not sure about. Schiaparelli, nonetheless, searched to reassure the heads of the Consistorial Congregation about the central issue brought up by Baldelli:

D'altra parte la commissione non ha voto deliberativo, ma solamente consultivo ed è stata nominata più per dare una soddisfazione all'amor proprio di quegli Enti che si propongono una attività italiana all'estero che per stabilire delle direttive; le quali già sono state bene fissate dal Ministero medesimo, e dalla comunicazione riservata ch'io ebbi della relazione

³³ Promemoria for the subsecretary of State «La scuola italiana in America», February 13th, 1923, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 702.

³⁴ The letter from Don L. Baldelli to G. De Lai preserved at ACSER (Archivio Centro Studi Emigrazione Roma), Carte italice Gens, is quoted in G. Rosoli, *Chiesa ed emigrati italiani in Brasile*, in *Chiesa ed emigrazione italiana tra '800 e '900*, «Studi Emigrazione», vol. XIX, n. 66, 1982 p. 237.

³⁵ Letter from G. De Lai to E. Schiaparelli, December 12th, 1921 at General Scalabrinian Historical Archive [from now on ASG], RP-02-02, Pos. *Italica Gens*. Corrispondenza Schiaparelli – Congregazione Concistoriale 1914-1924.

già pronta posso assicurare che esse corrispondono a quei criteri sui quali Mons. Cerrati già ha riferito a Vostra Eminenza. Non credo perciò che vi sia motivo di avere apprensioni, e credo che le cose tanto più facilmente seguiranno la via che è nei nostri voti quanto meno noi figuremo di volervi influire³⁶.

Indeed, the careful management of the commission's secretary, Baron Di Giura, close to the Catholic federation, has allowed the most involved Catholic organizations to keep up with what was developing within the commission. The same Prelate for Emigration, Monsignor Cerrati, was engaged in a request for an opinion³⁷.

The Catholic association, in its turn, continued to show special attention to Italian emigration to the Southern states of Brazil – in addition to North America –, by entrusting another leader of the Federation, Captain Luigi Seghetti, for a new long trip around the three states: Parana, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. He had the specific task of identifying strategies to give substance to the new project proposed a few years before by Count Venerosi, to protect and promote Italianity through the schools³⁸.

Captain Luigi Seghetti's reports about the work done and reminders about what could be done for preserving Italian language and the national feeling in these colonial areas were based on the constitution of several schools, fundamentally parochial³⁹, and have persuaded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

³⁶ On the other hand, the commission does not have deliberative, just advisory vote, and was designated to satisfy the self-esteem of those who proposed an Italian activity abroad, rather than to establish guidelines. Those have already been well established by the Ministry and, from confidential communication I had on the complete report, I may assure that it corresponds to the criteria about which Archbishop Cerrati has already referred to Your Eminence. I do not believe, then, that there is any reason for apprehensions, and I do believe things will make their way easily according to our vows, at least we will imagine that we wish to influence them. [our translation] Letter from E. Schiaparelli to G. De Lai, December 17th, 1921 in AGS, RP-02-01 Pos. Italice Gens. Corrispondenza Mons. Pisani Pietro Schiaparelli Ernesto (1913-1928).

³⁷ Note of Mons. Cerrati to Di Giura, November 10th, 1922, ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1888-1920, b. 437.

³⁸ Report by Luigi Seghetti in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637. It is currently in progress, by Professor T. Luchese and myself, the preparation of a publication with the whole of the travelling reports by the inspector of Italice Gens.

³⁹ Seghetti has prepared a reminder, whose copy is kept at the Archivio Scuole of MAE, demanding that a secretary-inspector was sent to Florianopolis, to «make Italian schools – or simple courses – work, in a way that they provide the best return the local conditions allow. School commissions in the several centres, composed of people chosen among the best in the Colony. Look for employees, financial aid. Distribution of books, subsidies from the government, awards etc. [...] Fill the deficiencies found in the school staff, which are sometimes composed of elements that are poorly trained. If possible, carry out some short courses on hygiene and first aid. Spread patriotic music etc. etc. In his visits, the Inspector will realize the economic, moral and cultural needs of the several colonies, becoming useful in all of their contingencies, awakening energies that are asleep, reliving memories of the distant homeland, cooperating for the harmony of the souls, in a spiritual union of Italian colonies, to preserve national feeling and Italian language. From Florianopolis, he will spread his action through the state of Santa Catarina, keeping in touch with the presidency of Italice Gens. Interested in Italian schools, he shall not

to strengthen interventions in Brazil, by sending three *Italica Gens* inspectors. According to what Schiaparelli has announced, between January and the Spring of 1924, they were available to send Cesare Bompard to Rio Grande do Sul; and Cesare Marzioli and Cesare Tibaldeschi to Santa Catarina⁴⁰. It is said that the second would have lived in Florianópolis but should also visit Parana⁴¹. Later on, physician Giorgio Brunet was added⁴². The important role the association has played during the first years of the fascist government would also have been remembered in the Parliament by the draftsman of the General Budget Council, Andrea Torre⁴³.

According to the letter through which the association's secretary, Count Venerosi Pesciolini, informed Bompard⁴⁴ about his task, we read that the

lose sight of the possibility of existing Brazilian schools to make proper agreements with the vicar and the colony, aiming to change into Italian, or Italo-Brazilian, schools. That matter demands maximum caution not to offend the susceptibility of Brazilian authorities. It is useful that all schools have parochial nature, for they count on the support of Ecclesiastic Authorities (Bishops and Vicars). Stimulate the work that has already started. Begin, even if it is for a new use, from a minimum program (simple courses of Italian – that shall be established where there are groups of Italian families – commissions, subsidies, awards, books, stimuli etc.) and then, place by place, it is possible to establish Italian schools (that also teach Portuguese) everywhere. Act accordingly to environment conditions. It is necessary that the inspector and secretary, although they are responsible for *Italica Gens*, are fully acknowledged by the homeland government, that makes use of the illuminated and alive action of Italianity that must be carried out both at the school and in social fields. In Florianópolis, it is necessary to have a teacher at the Catarinense Gymnasium and (if the decree has already been signed) at the Normal School (see report n. 15.) He will depend on the Inspector Secretary for his new collaboration. He will make cultural conferences in the capital and, in compatibility with his office needs, in other centres of the state as well. As for the state of Rio Grande do Sul, an Inspector Secretary (just like in Santa Catarina), with residence in Bento Gonçalves, is strongly needed, considering the time that has already passed and the revolution that desolates that state. Father Chenuil, General Superior of the Scalabrinians, has agreed to operate a Secretariat in Bento Gonçalves, but it would be useful that an Inspector Secretary is sent there, making arrangements with Father Chenuil about how he should work at the office. Reminder without signature [but written by Capitain Luigi Seghetti] and without date [but in January or February, 1924] ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Single documents.

⁴⁰ Promemoria for the Head of Office of the Minister on May 13th, 1924), ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 679, f. Ispezione scuole dipendenti dall'ANMI.

⁴¹ Schiaparelli to Head of Office of the Minister on April 24th, 1924, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

⁴² Letter of Ernesto Schiaparelli to Cesare Bompard [from now on Letter of Schiaparelli to Bompard] June 17th, 1925, AANMI, 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924-1925.

⁴³ E. Piano, *Memorie e documenti per una storia dell'Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i missionari cattolici italiani (1884-1928)*, Civitella S. Paolo, 1970, p. 442.

⁴⁴ Cesare Bompard was a young lawyer whose background was the environment of Prelature for Emigration, structured through direct intervention of Michele Cerrati, another Prelate for Emigration, nominated by the Pope, as indicated by the *Italica Gens* secretary, Ernesto Schiaparelli. Piedmontese, Egyptologist, he was born in Bardonecchia on April 28th, 1892. In 1913, he was convened to the Army and after attending the course for officers at the 70th Infantry Regiment, in February 1914 he was turned into sublieutenant. It was in the army that he has matured his sensitivity to problems of instruction, for between 1914 and 1915 he was entrusted with the

mission's temporary proposal was to promote the «Italianity work» started a few years before by Captain Luigi Seghetti. Thus, it was up to Bompard to «give the best organization as possible to the already existing schools» and to those who «create and execute wider and more rational basis». Among those activities, there was also a task of organizing a warehouse for school materials offered by the Ministry and take care of the distribution of such materials for the colonial population. Finally, a visit to all the colonial settlements was also indicated, to assure the recuperation of the Italianity spirit⁴⁵. In his answer, Bompard, after thanking Schiaparelli for the job, stated that he was working «for the triumph of our religion and of our homeland»⁴⁶.

There are many documental traces of the activity of the three inspectors in the contexts of Southern Brazil, which are not possible to explicit in a more systematic way herein: reports sent to the *Italica Gens* headquarters, to consular authorities and to the Ministry. However, the action of the *Italica Gens* inspectors, especially Bompard, are characterized by significant autonomy and an autonomous assessment about the value of Italian educational institutions in the colonies.

school for illiterate militaries and has autonomously started a course of Homeland History for the military, as well as evening conferences. In 1915, he has directed a school for explorers. After Italy entered World War I, he was immediately called for combat and in October 1915 he suffered his first serious injury. When he got out of the hospital in March 1916, he received a promotion to lieutenant and was in charge of the instruction of those reconvened and of a part of the Class of 1898. After passing by the Supreme Command and then by the 37th Infantry Regiment, on August 5th, 1917, he has suffered the second serious injury and shortly after, was declared unsuitable for the war. He requested to be called back to service and then was designated for the field office, as responsible officer. For his war merits, he obtained several acknowledgements, like the Warcross, the campaign medal 1915-1918 and the Unity of Italy. After the war, he graduated in Law School at the Turin University, on July 19th, 1921. Between 1922 and 1923, Bishop Michele Cerrati has designated him for a Prelate for Emigration, to teach about emigration laws and citizenship at a course for priests. What we know about Bompard is part of a document that summarizes his curriculum, written by Monsignor Michele Cerrati for another Prelate for Emigration, named by the Pope. Letter from Michele Cerrati on February 26th, 1924. AANMI 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924.

⁴⁵ Letter from Venerosi Pesciolini to Bompard on January 24th, 1924, *ibid*.

⁴⁶ Letter from Cesare Bompard to Ernesto Schiaparelli [from now on Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli] on April 27th, 1924, *ibid*.

4. Bompard as cultural organizer for the revival of Italianity

During the first years of his time in the colonial area in Rio Grande do Sul, Bompard went on many trips, sometimes daring ones, firstly on horseback⁴⁷ and after by car⁴⁸, taking risks that made Schiaparelli recommend more caution⁴⁹.

Bompard's job was to visit communities of immigrant settlers with a certain consistency, check their development conditions up, collect data, organize meetings to arouse interest and national feelings, register the number of schools and verify conditions for development and support to the dissemination of Italian language and culture. Bompard was very active and immediately – despite some difficulties and disorientations⁵⁰ – started making contacts to pursue the goals for which he was hired by *Italica Gens*. In the months after his arrival, between October and December 1924, the *Italica Gens* inspector travelled to many colonial cities, like Faria Lemos, Pinheiro Alto, Esperança, Lajeado, Anta Gorda, Itapuca, Loboli, Paredão, Putinga, Gramado, Nova Brescia, Encantado, Muçum, Santa Tereza, Montebello, Caxias⁵¹. Between January and February, he travelled from Nova Bassano to Vista Alegre and Monteveneto, before going back to Bento Gonçalves. Then, he visited the municipalities of Alfredo Chaves and Guapore⁵². Between February and April he went again to Guapore and

⁴⁷ «The trip was full of accidents. Before anything, I had to hire a mule to carry the boxes, for I could not make the materials arrive to me, due to the great distance. But when the journey began, the mule was stuck and did not mean to go on. Any attempt of making it go on was useless. At some point, I ripped the halter and escaped again towards Bento. I left the morning after, with a horse instead of the mule, and a boy to guide it. But then at some point I had to get off my horse and walk under a burning sun, a suffocating heat and thirst that burned me. I arrived in N. Brescia the day after, tired and exhausted». Trabalza noted on the edge of the paper sheet: «Here are the real pioneers!». Report letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, on December 10th, 1924 in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

⁴⁸ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on November 18th, 1925, AANMI, 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924-1925.

⁴⁹ See the letter in which the general secretary asks the administrator «not to expose himself too much». Letter from Ernesto Schiaparelli to Cesare Bompard [from now Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard] on January 16th, 1925, *ibid*.

⁵⁰ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on July 28th, 1924, *ibid*. «I must confess I feel very disoriented. There is almost no trace of Captain Seghetti's work; the revolution has destroyed everything. I will have to work for a long time to build it again. I have the impression (it is just my impression) that Captain Seghetti has trusted too much the enthusiasm and patriotism many people have shown him. I noticed that many people who had disposition, despite their good will, wanted to receive some subsidy. Someone really declared it explicitly». Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on August 25th, 1924, *ibid*.

⁵¹ List of expenses from October 1st to December 31st, 1924, *ibid*.

⁵² «In my recent trip, I could definitely establish the school of the Borges de Medeiros district, at 30 kilometres from Guapore. Sir Armando Conedera, a war volunteer and strong patriot, will make an evening school so that adults may come as well. I have already arranged for the necessary books to be sent. Also, in Vista Alegre I have negotiated for the school with the state teacher, Mister Giacomo della Costa, who could not make daily classes for regulation and will do so in the evenings. Another small school, also an evening one, will be opened by Mister Meneghini,

continued to Garibaldi, Nova Vicenza, Nova Milano, Nova Roma and Antonio Prado⁵³. In May 1925, Santa Maria was object of a specific visit⁵⁴. Travelling was a constant commitment he kept along the years. In March 1926, he visited the communities of Guapore, Passo Fundo and Erechim. From December and along 1927, visits were to the municipalities of Castro Alves, Nova Roma, Nova Treviso, Antonio Prado, Sao Pedro de Ipiranga, Nova Trento, Sao Marcos da Serra, Anna Rech, Caxias, Galopolis, Sao Pedro, Sao Marcos de Palmeira, Nova Vicenza, Nova Milano⁵⁵. From time to time, Bompard sent updates to *Italica Gens* secretary, Ernesto Schiaparelli, in a continuous correspondence. The link of relations between the inspector and the homeland never ceased during his five years of presence. Vestiges of this exchange are documented through more than one hundred letters and reports preserved today in the Historical Archive of ANMI and, along with the ones sent by other inspectors, are object of a systematic collection in progress, under my coordination⁵⁶.

Bompard's efforts, at first, were placed within a particularly favourable atmosphere, as Rio Grande do Sul's political class was extolling the contribution of Italian emigration for the state's development, with celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Italian immigration⁵⁷. The 50th represented a moment of considerable affirmation of the identity for several Italian immigration communities and aroused strong expectations in all colonial groups and urban immigrants. The interpretation the *Italica Gens* member made of the consequences of this great celebration is interesting. It was, above all, political. Bompard indeed saw, in this demonstration of Italian greatness, the beginning of a more direct role in the political life of the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

Si tenterá cioè di assorbire questo poderoso elemento, amalgamandolo con gli altri, sfruttandone le preziose energie e le ottime qualità morali. Già il Governatore dello Stato ha promesso di immettere nell'amministrazione un maggior numero di italiani; di dare alla lingua e alla coltura italiana quel posto che si meritano⁵⁸.

a man of excellent culture and a passionate reader of Italian books». Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, on January 5th, 1925, ASMAE, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

⁵³ List of expenses from March 1st to April 30th, 1925; List of expenses from May to June, 1925, AANMI 29/B, cit.

⁵⁴ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, on May 18th, 1925, *ibid*.

⁵⁵ List of expenses from March to April, 1925. Attachment to letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, on May 1st, 1926, AANMI 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1926.

⁵⁶ I use this opportunity to thank Dr. Maiuri for his availability and liberality in allowing to consult the rich historical archive of the Association.

⁵⁷ See letters from Bompard to Schiaparelli from January to December, 1927, AANMI 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1927.

⁵⁸ «It will be attempted to absorb this powerful element, merging it with others, exploring its precious energies and excellent moral qualities. The governor of the state has already promised to introduce more Italians in his administration, to give the Italian language and culture what they deserve». Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, on January 5th, 1926 in ASMAE, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

All that surely had positive impacts, «for it values our race, with its ethnical characteristics (precisely due to the isolation it was forced into)», but the most notable and feared consequence was the possible integration or assimilation of Italians in the social context of the state: «ma puo presentare il grave pericolo, che, con un piú intimo contatto con l'elemento brasiliano gli italiani perdano il loro carattere originario»⁵⁹.

From that comes the need to activate a strategy that is adequate to keep identity traits intact, using these actions: organizing trips to Italy, propagating the culture through a greater distribution of books, greater involvement from the clergy and religious organizations, using modern means of communication, like periodic press. Nonetheless, in the cultural action, as we will see, there was also an indication of supporting the development of ethnical schools.

The reports and communications allow us to define the type of activities carried out by Bompard and the *Italica Gens* inspectors aiming at the project of revival of identity in an ethnical, national and religious sense. Periodic visits to the colonial settlements were meant to promote reunions with small communities, usually in the evenings, in what the lay Piemonte missionary defined as «Italianity Journeys», through an innovative method of presenting slides with support from the priests⁶⁰. This method seemed to evoke great enthusiasm in small communities that gathered for meetings more motivated by curiosity to participate in events that appeared to have something magical, for they used technological products that, in that context and in that time, were pretty much innovative⁶¹. Such enterprises were followed by attempts to establish parish libraries, promote groups and theatre activities or pretty daring and complex proposals, like organizing a peregrination to Italy⁶².

That was the expression of an approach to Catholicism that seemed to be at the centre of modern methods of mass propaganda implanted in the social

⁵⁹ «[...] however, it may present a serious danger that, with a more intimate contact with the Brazilian element, Italians lose their original features», *ibid*.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Bompard's report on December 10th, 1924, and the enthusiastic notes, at the edge of the text, by Trabalza, who did not hesitate to send the report to the head of the office, Marquis Paulucci, calling attention of «His Excellence the president, for he deigns to read, when he gets back, even the first four pages, which will certainly touch him, will see the drama [...] of this silent but deep work we are doing, for the first time after fifty years of abandonment». Letter from Trabalza on February 22, 1925, *ibid*.

⁶¹ «Such views on Italy are a revelation for our compatriots. Those who never saw anything and believe that the whole world is the one they live in, become surprised with those superb beauties and proud that such beauties are demonstrations of Italian genius. Italy, their beloved Italy, which they know little about, that they only know from the descriptions of their parents and from something they heard of at school, presents itself in all its glory and magnificence in the projections». Bompard to Schiaparelli on December 10th, 1924, *ibid*.

⁶² About that, see the report sent by Bompard to Schiaparelli on January 5th, 1926, and the note by Venerosi Pesciolini as vice-general-secretary of *Italica Gens*, that followed the inspector's transmission to the general direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 6th, 1926. Both documents in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

tissue of small communities of immigrants. With that, the fiduciary inspector of *Italica Gens* proposed to transmit a nationalist feeling that, in the perspective of Schiaparelli's organization, was considered a pre-condition, essential to preserve the emigrant settlers' religious character, but inevitably destined to support a great adhesion, even though in a vague way, of those immigrants to the ideology of fascism⁶³. Such approach would have led Bompard, in 1929, to extol the agreement between the Holy See and the fascist government⁶⁴.

5. *Bompard and the Catholic ethnical press*

In the context of modern cultural propaganda activities, Bompard also turned into an advertising person. The journalistic work of the *Italica Gens* representative has unfolded within the context of the Italian colonial area around Caxias do Sul, Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi, that showed a certain dynamism, from a journalistic point of view. The area was indeed characterized by significant presence of Catholic newspapers with features and directions that sometimes conflicted. The efforts for a journalism with Scalabrinian style, evident in the publication of the «Corriere d'Italia», were well-established, just like the ones that, on the opposite hand, were the expression of the Capuchin congregation, that edited the newspaper «La Staffetta Riograndense»⁶⁵. Whereas the first was committed to search for an editorial and educational project meant to combine protection of a religious feeling with the national belonging⁶⁶, the latter seemed less sensitive to socio-political issues and more oriented in a strictly confessional sense. The report on periodic or daily press was a pretty relevant chapter in the itinerary of the *Italica Gens* administrator,

⁶³ «We are living days of intense Italianity. I do not know if you know if there was a time in which one spoke as much about Italy as these days: it is a true wave of admiration for our country, for the value of its children... The heroic enterprise of aviator De Pinedo may have caused as much enthusiasm as it did in Italy. Every newspaper extolls the earnest pilot, his journey was followed with passion. Then there was the beginning of Casagrande's air travel. The announcement of this new and expected victory of Italian wings caused great commotion in the colony. We barely speak about anything else, newspapers pages are read with great greed and are impatiently awaited, in a feverish anxiety. Everybody is proud to be Italian. The inauguration of the submarine cable, that came in an astonishing speed, was greeted as an event for our course». Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on November 18th, 1925, cit.

⁶⁴ Letter from Bompard to Venerosi Pesciolini, on June 20th, 1929, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1928-1929-1930.

⁶⁵ About the newspaper promoted by the Capuchin congregation, see M. Pozenato Menegotto, L. Slomp Giron, *100 anos de imprensa regional 1987-1997*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2004.

⁶⁶ About the role of the *Corriere d'Italia*, see the essay by T.A. Luchese, *Catolicidade e a italianidade no Jornal Il Corriere d'Italia, RS, Brasil (1913-1927)*, in A. De Ruggiero, A. Barausse, V.B. Merlotti Herédia (edd.), *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*. Porto Alegre, Porto Alegre, EDIPURS, 2017, pp. 277-300.

who started collaborating with the Scalabrinian newspaper just a few months after his arrival⁶⁷. But the vicissitudes of Catholic ethnical press are an important chapter of the general history of relations among Catholicism, emigration and education, and put in evidence the complexity and the transnational dimension of interests and perspectives that enter the scene in the small context of Rio Grande do Sul.

Documents analysed also reveal involvement of more subjects in events that characterize the development of Catholic ethnical press. Not only the one by *Italica Gens*, but also by ecclesiastic agencies that intended to govern, from Rome, the complex dynamics brought up by the migration movement, like the Consistorial Congregation mentioned above, through the figures of Cardinal De Lai and the Prelate for Immigration, Monsignor Cerrati. The Consistorial secretary is an important interlocutor to understand the dynamics that followed the crisis of the newspaper produced by the Scalabrinians, until its fusion with the Capuchins' newspapers. It was by the mid-1920s that the lack of priests available and the impossibility of having a Scalabrinian in the newspaper direction have led the head of the order, Father Preti, to consider indispensable to sale the newspaper and the typography, up to that moment mostly managed by Father Poggi, founder of the newspaper. In his opinion, the newspaper had done «immensely good amongst Italian settlers, not only in the religious aspect, but also tenaciously supporting patriotic feeling», to the point of contrasting with an anti-Italian newspaper⁶⁸. *Italica Gens*, through Bompard's figure and mediation by Schiaparelli, has tried to buy the newspaper, as suggested by Preti⁶⁹. For the inspector, the acquisition of the typography and the newspaper could have created means of financing schools⁷⁰ and could not «be left because it is a powerful propaganda tool, as shown in the tenacious attempts of Brazilians to smash it»⁷¹. His perspective aimed to assure that the newspaper

⁶⁷ From an exchange of letters between two Scalabrinian priests, Cleto Benvegnù and Massimo Rinaldi, vicars of Rio Grande do Sul, one notices the visit of the first to the Scalabrinians by the end of July 1924. Letter from Benvegnù Cleto to Massimo Rinaldi on August 2nd, 1924 in AGS, DE, 48, 07, f. 30.

⁶⁸ Letter from Preti to Bompard on August 25th, 1925, AANMI, 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924-1925.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on May 18th, 1925, *ibid.*

⁷¹ In a following letter, Bompard wrote that the newspaper had about four thousand subscribers and made something between 4 and 5 *contos de reis*, which corresponded to 10 to 12 lire, a year. The typography made from 12 to 18 *contos de reis* a year. According to Bompard, through better edition and more attention to the typography, the 25 *contos de reis* could have achieved, throughout the year, about 60 thousand lire. Besides, the typography, even though it was not particularly modern, would need partial renovation of types. The price of the typographic press and the newspaper was assessed at about 25 to 30 *contos de reis*. It was a matter of giving the newspaper an arrangement that was «concurrent» for Italian interests. For that, IG's administrator took the responsibility of the editorial team «I alone». Bompard to Schiaparelli on January 5th, 1926, cit. The newspaper had a positive balance.

was in line with a continuity of the previous management, which was also warranted by Bompard's presence, collaborating since the end of 1924. Father Preti's view, also shared by Father Poggi, was indeed understood by the *Italica Gens* secretary, Schiaparelli, as he answered one of the communications in which Bompard elucidated some details of the purchase proposal, reminding that it was «worth considering» to buy the typography and the newspaper, and for this, requested that the fiduciary agent sent more information⁷².

The Scalabrinian project, also shared by *Italica Gens*, nevertheless, was in contrast with the one by the secretary of the Consistorial Congregation. Cardinal De Lai was not much favourable to leave the newspaper in the hands of laics, who could not assure its tone apart from political events that threatened to unduly implicate the clergy and its pastoral activities. Not by chance, when he addressed to the head of the Scalabrinians for his indication, Father Aneto Bogni, he gave very precise indications:

Le raccomando poi vivamente di dare al giornale un carattere essenzialmente religioso e di difesa della Religione. Elimini sempre quella forma morbosa di nazionalismo, che oltre allontanarli dal suo scopo, lo renderebbe invisibile alle Autorità locali⁷³.

Cardinal De Lai, according to Bompard, seemed to be interested in founding some kind of cooperative among clergymen of Italian colonies, aiming to form a «powerful typography». The solution, for Bompard, appeared to be «ideal in the religious side, whereas in the Italian side» it seemed to present «some danger, like giving the newspaper a speech that was much alike the one by the *Staffetta Riograndense*, a newspaper that is not favourable to Italianity and has a particular tendency to denationalization» In his opinion, De Lai's project was destined to remain a «pious illusion»⁷⁴.

In February 1925, during his visit to Rio Grande do Sul, the General Superior of the Capuchins, Father Perspiceto, gave his brothers the indication to sell «La Staffetta Rio Grandense» to the Scalabrinians. After this speech, the new Regional Superior of the Scalabrinians invited Bompard to intensify negotiations which, however, had an unexpected outcome. The Capuchins made the newspaper lose its Italian national character and keep an exclusively religious tone. Because of that, Bompard has interrupted negotiations and Father Preti, worried about the increasing needs of managing the newspaper, decided to sell it to a Brazilian. «A catastrophe» appeared and then Bompard

⁷² Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on June 17th, 1925, AANMI, 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924-1925.

⁷³ «I strongly recommend that you give the newspaper an essentially religious character, that defends religion. Always eliminate this morbid form of nationalism that not only take them off their proposals, but also make local authorities unpopular». Letter from De Lai to Bogni Aneto on December 11th, 1925, in AGS, ED, 01, 10, f. 04.

⁷⁴ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on January 1st, 1926, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1926.

went back into scene and offered again for *Italica Gens* to buy it, making a promise to manage the newspaper until negotiations were concluded⁷⁵.

However, the General Superior of the Scalabrinians, Father Costanzo, warned Brazilian interlocutors that the Capuchins' Superior, together with Cardinal De Lai, intended to predict a sale between the two congregations before any transfer to *Italica Gens*. It was a clear sign that interlocutors of the Catholic association controlled by the secular Schiaparelli wished to favour the agreement between members of the clergy. From that, came the proposal from the Superior of the Capuchin Congregation order in Rio Grande do Sul that, in order not to incur in disapproval from the general superior in Rome, offered to the Scalabrinians' regional manager in Brazil to sell the newspaper at such a high price that made it difficult to make negotiations go on. This way, the Capuchins Congregation adopted a stratagem to «mask» the refusal to process the order that came from Rome⁷⁶ and keep control over the *Staffetta Riograndense*. In July 1925, the founder of the «Corriere d'Italia», Father Poggi, after having declared his disposition to sell exclusively to *Italica Gens*, went to Italy and, in this context, tried to finish negotiations directly with Schiaparelli⁷⁷. In September, Preti, who was just about to leave the leadership of the Scalabrinian area to Brazil, wrote to Cardinal De Lai to reassure the impossibility of merging the Scalabrinian and Capuchin newspapers and the authorization to continue negotiating with *Italica Gens*: «It is expected, then, that the Cardinal does not wish to obstinately stop new obstacles, which would end up causing harm to Carlists as well»⁷⁸. In October, Schiaparelli met Padre Poggi, who travelled to Italy to better define the issue⁷⁹, which, nonetheless, had not yet been resolved until November, so that Schiaparelli, on a explicit demand from Father Poggi, asked Bompard to stay in the direction and not to leave it empty. The perspective of a fusion continued to be a wish of the Consistorial⁸⁰. In the Spring of 1926, thanks to Consistorial initiative, according to Bompard, negotiations were interrupted and he resigned from his position of editor at the newspaper⁸¹. Schiaparelli himself, in his turn, has specified the scarce convenience of being in a society with a cooperative of priests

nella quale possono prevalere indirizzi non conformi al nostro e venirne dissensi e musi infiniti. Se si tratti di una piccola partecipazione cogli scalabribiani, non avremmo difficoltà; ma più in là no. E ciò tanto più perchè a mio modo di vedere il giornale divenuto nostro

⁷⁵ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on August 8th, 1925, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1925.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Letter from L. Preti to E. Schiaparelli on July 24th, 1925, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on September 3rd, 1925, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on October 22nd, 1925, *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on November 26th, 1925, *ibid.*

⁸¹ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on April 20th, 1926, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1926.

dovrebbe in qualche parte modificare il suo indirizzo che attualmente è eccessivamente chiesastico e si direbbe quasi un bollettino parrocchiale. Noi vogliamo un giornale a base di sentimento religioso vivo e fervente e cattolico ortodosso sotto tutti i rapporti ma che non abbia quel carattere così ristrettamente di sacrestia che ha presentemente, giudicando dai pochi numeri che io ho veduto⁸².

Nevertheless, in June 1926, Cardinal De Lai wrote again to new regional superior of the Scalabrinians, Aneto Bogni, to recommend Bompard to «persist in his edition at least until the Apostolic Visitor arrived»⁸³. It is likely that this last step alone determined the final decision of the Consistorial Congregation, to order Scalabrinians to sell the press and the newspaper⁸⁴.

6. *The project of revival of Italian schools in Rio Grande do Sul*

The area in which the inspector's main activities were concentrated was the one related to schools. The characteristics of Italian ethnical schooling seemed to be going through significant changes. Indeed, from the end of the war to the mid-1920s, the incidence of Italian schools was decreasing: the presence of the network of Italian schools was in decline. Consul Arduini, in a specific report sent to Rome, stated that «the current conditions are unfortunately unlikely to prosper», highlighting, above all, a situation of «abandonment and neglect» in which lay schools have ended and, at the same time, low efficiency of educational institutions promoted by religious congregations in Rio Grande do Sul, «especially with French origins and mentality»⁸⁵. The role and presence of *Italica Gens*'s entrusted administrator characterized as constant inspection and promotion of Italian schools in the colonial area, throughout his permanence period, as prove the numerous reports sent to the central headquarters of the

⁸² «In which directions that are not according to ours may prevail and diverge and numberless faces leave. It is a small participation with the Scalabrinians, we will not have difficulties, but not more. And that is even more because, in my opinion, the newspaper that ours has become, must partly change its address, which is currently excessively ecclesiastic and looks almost like a parish bulletin. We want a newspaper based on the alive and feverish religious feeling that is Orthodox Catholic in every aspect, but that does not have this strictly sacred feature it has now, considering the few ones I have seen» [our translation]. Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on April 24th, 1926, *ibid*.

⁸³ «Tell Mister Bompard that I read the newspaper for which he is responsible, and that Father Costanzo provided me some numbers. I enjoyed the sobriety and right choice of news. However, consolidate them to persist in the edition, at least until the Apostolic Visitor arrives». Letter from De Lai to Father Bogni on June 2nd, 1926 in AGS, ED, 01, 08, f. 13.

⁸⁴ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli, March 3rd, 1927, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1927.

⁸⁵ Report by Consul L. Arduini in September 1925, in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

association and forwarded to support the Consulate in elaborating proposals of aid to schools.

Reports sent by Bompard to the organization's centre in Rome show constant efforts to chair the exams at schools in the colonial area. He follows the evolution of schools' progress, communicating the establishment of new schools and the shutdown of others. He also describes curricular and extracurricular activities done by teachers to promote Italian language and culture, emphasizing the kind of subjects studied, levels of study, performance and teachers' characteristics. An important chapter of his activity was distribution of school materials, starting with handbooks⁸⁶.

Since his first months in Bento Gonçalves and Porto Alegre, he identified some points he considered fundamental to assure the seek the goal of Italianity. In addition to the increase of primary schools, he noticed the need to establish a secondary school, which would be managed by a religious congregation; and to include Italian in the program of normal schools in Rio Grande do Sul. To achieve such goals, he searched for a direct relationship with the state governor, with support of two prominent figures from Italian community in Porto Alegre: Celeste Gobbato – teacher at the engineering schools in the capital – and Giuseppe Ricaldone, both very close to Borges de Medeiros⁸⁷.

Bompard did not neglect to analyse what already existed and observed that, regarding secondary teaching, Italian immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul could only count on the Institute founded by Menegatti in Porto Alegre in 1919, which he evaluated in a very positive light, but also as having a very serious limit considering *Italica Gens*'s cultural project: it was a lay institute and «this eminently religious population prefers schools managed by clergy people»⁸⁸.

Because of that, he considered urgent to facilitate the establishment of some religious congregations destined to create and manage a secondary school. For this, Bompard started contacts with the Salesian Congregation present in Rio Grande (which headed the Leo XIII Lyceum), to verify about their availability to establish religious presence in the state capital, observing significant interest in the Dom Bosco order⁸⁹ and in the Passionist priests established in Nova Pompeia. The two Italian congregations seemed, for the *Italica Gens* inspector, as the only one capable of going against the Brothers of Christian schools, whose French origins did not fulfil the needs of the cultural project, as we will see more about further on.

⁸⁶ See as an example the report by Bompard on January 5th, 1926, cit.

⁸⁷ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on August 25th, 1924, cit.; Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on August 23rd, 1924, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1924-1925.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on December 9th, 1924, *ibid.*; Letter from Celeste Gobbato to Cesare Bompard on November 28th, 1924, *ibid.*

In terms of primary education, the *Italica Gens* representative has transmitted quite critical considerations about the situation of Italian schools in Porto Alegre. In addition to a simple reference to the school managed by the Umberto I Mutual Support Society, Bompard has made very serious considerations about the Elena de Montenegro Mutual Support Society, which did not seem «very careful» about the school, directed by a teacher with a regular diploma, Teacher Sanguigni:

Questa deve impartire l'insegnamento ad un elemento il piú disparato che si possa immaginare: vi sono ebrei, armeni, siriani, russi ed italiani e qualche brasiliano – gli italiani non sono piú di dodici. La maestra ha dedicato a questa piccola scuola tutta la sua attività, tutte le sue forze ed insegna con vera passione, con spirito di sacrificio, benché sia molto male retribuita. E se in mezzo a tante difficoltà e con tale deficienza di mezzi si sono ottenuti risultati discreti, il merito é esclusivamente della maestra⁹⁰.

To assure the development of Italian schools or, at least, of Italian language courses, Bompard found, then, several interlocutors. Among those, there are the representatives of municipalities more closely related to Italian immigration communities. He related with Caxias Mayor, Celeste Gobbato, who defends the development of an ethnical identity through Italian schools⁹¹; and also with Encantado Mayor, Antonio De Conto, who was also father of two teachers involved in two of the four schools in this municipality⁹². But Bompard's first interlocutors were priests, who introduced him at schools, not only the parish ones. Among the most considerate ones, Bompard meets the priest of Nova Roma, Father Ben, who started a parish school that was «the only one of this kind in the whole upland colonial zone out of Caxias» and had 41 students. Teaching was assured with the commitment of one teacher who, «for his culture and particular attitude, combined with a certain passion», seemed to be «really adequate»⁹³. Another priest that has joined *Italica Gens*'s cultural project and expressed his full disposition for starting an Italian school was Scalabrinian Filippo Flesia, a former army chaplain. In Esperança, he entrusted his sister, recently-arrived from Italy and graduated at the Pinerolo schools. Bompard would have sent books enough for classes with 40 students⁹⁴. A very dynamic, but less reliable, priest with whom the inspector interacted was

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Translation: «She teaches to the most diverse elements one can imagine: there are Jews, Armenians, Syrians, Russians and Italians, and some Brazilians – the Italians are no more than twelve. The teacher has dedicated to this little school all of her work, all of her energy and teaches with true passion, with a spirit of sacrifice, even if she is poorly paid. And if amidst so many difficulties and with such deficient means, a few discrete results are obtained, the merit is exclusively the teacher's».

⁹¹ See the letter from Gobbato to Bompard attached to the report by Bompard to Schiaparelli on April 28th, 1925.

⁹² Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, *ibid.*

⁹³ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on April 28th, 1925, *cit.*

⁹⁴ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, *cit.*

Father Meneguzzi, canon in Caxias, promoter of parish schools with about 600 students but about whose «Italianity, there was a lot of doubts»⁹⁵. That has made *Italica Gens* inspector not to include these schools in the list of those that should receive aid, sent to the Consul. Besides that, the canon was in conflict with schools of Christian Brothers, who had been requested to establish a secondary school, for which they had asked the local population for signatures.

However, during his mission, Bompard was forced to notice that, even among the Italian clergy, especially the Scalabrinians, there was great decrease of the commitment to schools and to the promotion of national feeling. A first awareness rises after conversations with the Superior Priest in Brazil, Father Costanzo⁹⁶ and grows throughout the years in a more general sense⁹⁷. We ask ourselves if, behind resistances expressed by the Scalabrinian clergy, like the ones by Father Carlo Pedrazzani in Encantado, about «how much he knows on Italianity»⁹⁸, are forms of scarce adhesion to the nationalist ideology that had ended up increasing the adhesion to fascism.

Together with the priests, the inspector did not neglect to verify the presence and to find masters or teachers that, as lays, with support from vicars, decided to open schools in more isolated areas. Thus, in his more detailed reports, for example, he remembers the role of Armando Conedera, a «war volunteer and passionate patriot» who, in the end of 1924 and in the first months of 1925, thanks to handbooks that he had sent, assured the inauguration of schools in the Borges de Medeiros district, at 30 kilometres from Guapore, and committed to start «an evening school which adults will attend as well». After visiting Vista Alegre, he has agreed to open a school with the state teacher Giacomo della Costa, who «could not make daily classes for regulation, will do so in the evenings». At the same place, another «small school, also an evening one», will be opened «by Mister Meneghini, a man of excellent culture and a passionate reader of Italian books»⁹⁹. In February 25th, he registered the existence of 4 schools in the municipality of Encantado: Jacarezinho, Rocco, Sao Luis and Sagrada Familia, where teachers Marta De Conto and Ida De Conto, daughters of Mayor Antonio De Conto, Enrichetta Palmieri and master Angelo Calegher

⁹⁵ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on March 3rd, 1925, cit. See also: Explanatory notes on the proposal of aid for the schools in Rio Grande do Sul, attached to the letter on March 11th, 1925.

⁹⁶ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

⁹⁷ «About the Italian clergy, that means, the priests that came from Italy, I do not tell anything. After five years here, I cannot say which is their best concern. They do not shine, except for some, not for their religious zeal, nor for their patriotic passion. Instead, I found help and support from the priests that have been trained here. They worry that the colonizer knows the Italian language, for they start from the precise idea that, keeping their language, settlers will also keep their race's qualities, their morality, their religiosity». Letter from Bompard to Venerosi Pesciolini, on June 20th, 1929, cit.

⁹⁸ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

⁹⁹ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on January 5th, 1925, cit.

gave classes to thirty, eighteen, twenty-three and nineteen students. Schools where «teaching Italian is properly done»¹⁰⁰. After visiting Anta Gorda and after a report by the priest, Father Erminio Catelli, who was also a consular correspondent, about the lack of teachers as a difficulty to promote Italian school, he met a young man with a degree in business, Nello Della Latta, who had begun an Italian school for twenty students with books sent by the Consulate. In this colony, Santos Filho registered another Italian school, that counted with 31 students and was directed by teacher Augusto Olivieri, who was «admired for finding so much enthusiasm»¹⁰¹. In November 1925, he highlighted his agreement with some teachers, to open new schools at Jansen, in the municipality of Montevenuto; Desvio Machado and Erechim, from initiative of a mutual support society¹⁰².

Bompard, however, anticipated observations Consul Arduini would make later and revealed the decrease of «all of those numerous small schools our first settlers had opened in every chapel». The reasons for that were attributed to lack of teachers «because nobody is interested in them anymore», that caused to lose subsidies, either in money or school materials. There was also an initiative of the municipalities, that opened more schools than they did in the past. Such situation led the association's head to state that «it is not the case, at least for now, to think of reopening them»¹⁰³. On the other hand, it was not possible to trust parish schools much, as they could not «give any warranty that they will operate in a regular basis»:

I parroci sono sempre molto occupati e capita che, qualche volta, rimangano assenti per tutala settimana. La scuola parrocchiale si potrebbe avere solo quando fosse possibile mettere vicino al parroco un altro Sacerdote che avesse le funzioni di Cappellano maestro: sarebbe questa la soluzione ideale suggeritami da molti parroci¹⁰⁴.

A solution considered «ideal», but that would only be possible through an agreement between the Italian government and the Emigration Prelate, and between the latter and the local ecclesiastic authority¹⁰⁵.

One of the problems that kept limiting and conditioning the development of ethnical schools was, according to Bompard, the availability of good teachers. For that, the inspector, continuing what had been reported by Venerosi Pesciolini

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² The first school for 80 students was directed by teacher Sartori, the second one counted with 60 students and the third, with about twenty. Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on November 18th, 1925, cit.

¹⁰³ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

¹⁰⁴ «The priests are always very busy and it happens, sometimes, that they are away for the whole week. The parish school could only be obtained when it would be possible to place, with the priest, another clergyman, with chaplain functions: that would be the ideal solution, which has been suggested to me by the priests» [our translation], *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

ten years before, has changed, since the beginning of his mission, in order to favour the inauguration of a teacher training centre. In more than one occasion, he recorded the need of a wider presence of religious congregations in different and dispersed colonial centres. To respond to that need, the administrator of the Catholic association went to the Mother Superior of the Scalabrinian Female Congregation, to suggest the institution of a novitiate to attract female vocations, that could also turn into a potential reservoir to train teachers to be included in education institutes promoted by female congregations¹⁰⁶. The project, which, according to Bompard, was shared by the General Superior of the congregation in Sao Paulo, has found resistance in Sao Paulo Archbishop, who «for the anti-Italianity spirit that moves him» has forbidden it. To overcome obstacles, Bompard requested mediation and intervention from Schiaparelli with the head of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy, Cardinal Camillo Laurenti, trusting in the interest of Porto Alegre Archbishop, who would soon go to Rome¹⁰⁷.

However, to support the availability of teachers, Bompard has tried to introduce the tool of awards, to promote prestige of masters and teachers who had been working in colonial areas for decades¹⁰⁸. In several occasions, the fiduciary has requested *Italica Gens*'s general secretary to support the attribution of special honours, like for master Augusto Oliveira¹⁰⁹, or for master Ludovico Maestri¹¹⁰, or for Scalabrinian Father Poggi.

Facing this scenery, *Italica Gens*'s fiduciary has considered fundamental to discuss with those in charge of congregations, opening or intending to create institutes of instruction and schools, whether elementary or intermediate. He found necessary to support schools promoted by religious institutes in the most important centres, especially the female ones, through sending «good subsidies and school materials» and frequent visits. Using inspection agents, he intended not only to control, but above all, to give schools a direction, «a test of interest, with moral satisfaction for teachers»¹¹¹. An inspection task, according to Bompard, strongly conditioned by the material situation of different environmental contexts of the southernmost Brazilian state, marked by «lack of good roads and fast means of transportation»¹¹².

¹⁰⁶ «With this novitiate, we can, on the one hand, please these populations; on the other hand, we could have reliable and economic teachers in many centres». Letter from Bompard, n.d. attached to the report on April 28th, 1925, cit.

¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Schiaparelli has sent Bompard reassurances on the interest of Father Tacchi Venturi and Luigi Seghetti on that matter. According to letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on June 17th, 1925, cit.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Bompard on March 3rd, 1925, cit.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

¹¹⁰ Letter Bompard attached to the report on April 28th, 1925, cit.

¹¹¹ Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

The project to ensure the increase of Italian school has thus been articulated through the coordination of a network of confessional institutes in immigration areas. In the note attached to the proposal of assigning subsidies sent to Italian Consul Arduini, *Italica Gens*'s administrator explained very clearly the strategy he considered efficient. In his opinion, that was concentrating maximum financial resources in schools in colonies, in order to consolidate Italian schools and then strongly compete with public schools established in these regions, progressively subtracting members in the most important centres. «As I have already observed, the only danger of denationalization is in the centres, this danger would be removed for a long time»¹¹³.

The attention to schools by religious congregations was, nonetheless, conditioned to an ethnical national approach. Prevalence of foreign clergy was again considered harmful for the promotion of Italian language and culture. The faculties of the Scalabrinian Sisters of the Sao Carlos Congregation in Nova Brescia¹¹⁴, Guapore, Bento Gonçalves, Nova Vicenza and Nova Milano seemed to offer the best warranties. Also favourable were the ones established by the Congregation of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Mary, in the centres of Montebello, Nova Bassano, Ana Reck and Encantado. As for the Sisters of the Sao Jose Congregation, present in Nova Pompeia, Alfredo Chaves, Garibaldi, Caxias, Nova Trento and Antonio Prado, it was a more problematic relationship. According to Bompard, they introduced a «chauvinist spirit in the nuns», recruited in Italian families, and only French was spoken¹¹⁵. The schools of the congregation have emerged from that line, governed by Italian superiors, and also from the context of male lyceums, so the situation presented lights and darks. At the Garibaldi and Alfredo Chavez lyceums, directed by Marist priests, things did not seem to go accordingly with the inspector's desires.

Nei detti collegi manca ancora lo spirito; si sente troppo che quanto si fa é fatto pro forma. Come o già scritto è indispensabile rinorzare l'elemento italiano degli istruttori. A Garibaldi vi è un solo marista italiano, pieno di buona volontà, che però mi ha confessato di sentirsi a disagio nello svolgimento della sua missione appunto per quello spirito di dissimulata ostilità che incontra d parte dei colleghi, tutti francesi. La stessa cosa accade ad Alfredo Chaves¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ Explanatory notes on the proposal of aid for the schools in Rio Grande do Sul, attached to the letter on March 11th, 1925.

¹¹⁴ «I have visited the school and I was convinced that, even without the means for it, the nuns do make miracles. The students of second grade read very well in Italian and wrote correctly in a dictate. The ones of third grade went quite well in grammar analysis, knew all the main things about our geography and of Italian history». For that reason, Bompard expressed his opinion on the need of supporting the school, which had never received aids from the Consulate. Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, cit.

¹¹⁵ Explanatory notes on the proposal of aid for the schools in Rio Grande do Sul, cit.

¹¹⁶ «The spirit is still missing in these schools; it seems too much that what is done is done without will. As it was described already, it is essential to reinforce the instructors' Italian element. In Garibaldi, there is only one Italian Marist, full of goodwill, but who already confessed he feels

Things went even less well in Caxias, where, in 1925, the presence of the congregation of the Brothers of Christian schools, exclusively dominated by French clergymen, seemed to be an impassable obstacle (but those priests were also present in Canoas and Santa Maria)¹¹⁷.

Bompard's constant disposition was to interact with superiors of local organizations and with the Rome office, in order to progressively promote changes in the national ethnical composition of those who formed congregations. Or try to negotiate with leaders of both male and female congregations that referred to Sao Jose, regarding the schools. The schools that were particularly observed were above all those of the Marists, where the teaching of Italian language and culture was especially weak, like the ones in Antonio Prado, Garibaldi and Alfredo Chaves¹¹⁸. As for schools of Sao Jose Sisters, he considered them «continue to give the work a character that is too much French», despite the presence of Italian nuns¹¹⁹.

Bompard's requests, presented at the Ministry by secretary Schiaparelli or subsecretary Venerosi Pesciolini, were not easy to attend and mediation was not very simple. Venerosi Pesciolini reminded that, at the institutes that belonged to the French monastic province by the Marists themselves, for about one year, according to negotiations conducted directly by the *Italica Gens* secretary, the Superior counted on gradual substitution of French staff for Italian staff. In this sense, for example, along the years, Bompard has observed with particular attention what happened in the colonial centre of Antonio Prado, where, in his extremely positive opinion, the Marist lyceum experienced gradual arrival of four Italian clergymen, two of which gave the school «a totally Italian pace»¹²⁰. A few years later, also in the context of Caxias, a city that was «the supporting point of the resistance to intrusions», Bompard noted the arrival of three Italian

uncomfortable to accomplish his mission, precisely due to this spirit of dissimulated hostility he finds in his colleagues, all French. The same happens in Alfredo Chaves» [our translation]. Summary report from Bompard to Schiaparelli on February 14th, 1925, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 62, f. Scuole italiane in Brasile Parte Generale Amministrativa 1923-1929.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ In Alfredo Chaves, there was the S. Luis Lyceum, managed by Marists and «among the best in the State», where, however, Italian was not taught. So, Bompard established an agreement through which the school director would introduce curricular changes in the following year (1926), with a commitment to provide «good anthologies and history books».

¹¹⁹ Also, at the São José Lyceum, directed by nuns and with 100 students, the IG inspector noticed lack of Italian courses due to lack of materials, which were indispensable, like books, maps and wallpapers. He made a commitment with the responsible nun to send those through Father Giuseppe Cappuccino. Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on August 1925.

¹²⁰ Account by Bompard on January 5th, 1926 cit.; «In Antonio Prado, to where I will soon return, I have found the Marist Lyceum completely changed. Now, all the instructors are Italian and perfectly united. Father Fabiano guides the school. He also told me that two other Italian Brothers are now in Porto Alegre to learn Portuguese, as they recently arrived from Italy. They will be assigned to the Alfredo Chaves school. That news made me very happy because, if we do have Italian Marists in Rio Grande do Sul, the situation will change completely». Letter from Bompard to Schiaparelli on January 18th, 1926, *ibid.*

vicars at the Christian Schools Brothers Lyceum, with participation of 350 students, divided in eight classes. An Italian school «made by French»¹²¹.

We ask ourselves if the *Italica Gens* inspector's activism and autonomy to act are not among the factors that determined some kind of conflict with consular authorities. Tensions between *Italica Gens* representatives and consular authorities have appeared in the second half of the 1920s, regarding the role and function of schools.

The points of view of the Porto Alegre Consul and of the *Italica Gens* inspector did not seem accordingly¹²², for the director of Italian schools abroad, Ciro Trabalza, was forced to ask Consul Luigi Arduini to correct his considerations, assessed as excessively pessimist compared to more positive reports by Cesare Bompard¹²³. By the end of 1926, the association's general secretary, Schiaparelli, was called to respond to the Ministry about some objections to the three inspectors sent by the Rio de Janeiro Ambassador. The correspondence seems significant for it highlights substantial change in the atmosphere of the work done by *Italica Gens*, in comparison to what happened in the beginning of the 1920s. Schiaparelli, recognizing some difficulties in the inspectors' relationships that limited their potentials, had to reject accusations against the three exponents of this mission, suggesting that rumours could be an expression of discredit beginning within the consulates. He specifically rejected the most serious accusation about Cesare Bompard by the head of the Porto Alegre Consulate, who claimed that as he was an exponent of populism, of the Italian People's Party¹²⁴, was selling school materials sent by the Ministry, as well as selling and buying lots. Schiaparelli did not hide hostilities amongst *Italica Gens* inspectors but observed that a much more serious problem was «the open hostility of those in Consulates» and requested internal investigation of the consular staff. At the same time, he considered the hypothesis of evaluating the opportunity of continuing or not with *Italica Gens*'s action program:

Per questi ed altri complessi motivi sui quali non posso dilungarmi, la iniziativa presa da questa associazione incontra nella sua esecuzione tali difficoltà da doverci porre il quesito se

¹²¹ Letter from Bompard to Venerosi Pesciolini on June 20th, 1929, cit.

¹²² Report by Consul Arduini in September 1925, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

¹²³ Letter from Ciro Trabalza on December 3rd, 1925 and two replies by Consul Arduini on December 19th, 1925, ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre. About the problems regarding nationalization of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, see A. Barausse, T.A. Lucchese, *Nationalism and schooling: between italianity and brazility. Dispute in education of Italian gaucho people (RS, 1930-1945)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 443-475.

¹²⁴ «Certainly, Bompard is a man of a feverish religious feeling and it can happen that people who are very benevolent and, in the past, have accused him of clericalism would now accuse him of popular. In any case, precise declarations will be made for him about this point, and he will refer to this Ministry again». Letter from E. Schiaparelli to Head of Office of the Minister C. Trabalza on 18 August 18th, 1926, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

la via in cui ci siamo messi possa condurre a quei risultati che ci siamo proposti, ovvero se altre vie debbano essere tentate e con quali altri mezzi¹²⁵.

Tensions with consular authorities were destined to increase, each time more disturbed by the autonomous attitude of the association's inspectors. So, in March 1927, the Regent Consul of Porto Alegre complained about the refusal of *Italica Gens* representatives to accept the invitation to communicate information «depending exclusively on this association» and forcing the General Director of Italian Schools Abroad to intervene for the Consul to «be able to follow the progress and development of our educational institutions»¹²⁶.

The answer given by Schiaparelli himself to *Italica Gens* inspectors was very significant. In the letter in which he informs Bompard about Regent Consul Bozano's complaint, he specifies that he doubted that there was anything true, «as I wrote them [Brunet and Bompard] myself, never to send reports to the consulate, but only to us». That means, Schiaparelli, despite being part of a collaborative relationship with ministerial leaders and consular authorities, defended the autonomy of the Catholic organization:

To make things right, we elucidated with the Ministry that they are not government employees, entitled through ministerial decrees, and since they were made available by *Italica Gens*, they are not dependent on the Consulate in any way¹²⁷.

The situation became more dramatic with the Florianopolis Consul, who has informed the MAE about the impossibility of elaborating reports, given the total lack of relationship with two representatives, one of which, Cesare Marzioli, had returned to Italy and during the time in the consulate would have «neglected his main task, in a way that today I am concerned about knowing which are the schools, which work and at which some mother language is taught!»¹²⁸ Such situations force the general presidency of the federation to «take radical measures»¹²⁹, like the return of inspectors Marzioli and Tibaldeschi to the country, searching for Trabalza's «most vivid regret, for the lost cooperation» of the association in the state of Santa Catarina¹³⁰. Conditions were such that

¹²⁵ Translation: «For this and other complex reasons I cannot go on about, the initiative taken by this association finds such difficulties to be carried out that we should ask ourselves if the way we are established can lead to the results we expect, that means, if other modes should be experimented, by other means», *ibid*.

¹²⁶ Letter from Trabalza to ANMI On March 30th, 1927, in AANMI, 39 MAE, b. Ministero anno 1927, f. Scuole all'estero 1927. The telegram from Regent Bozano is in AANMI, 29 Missione al Brasile.

¹²⁷ Letter from Schiaparelli to Bompard on March 29th, 1927, AANMI, 29/B b. Avv. Bompard Missione al Brasile Meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1927.

¹²⁸ Report by the Regent Consul of Florianopolis on March 8th, 1927, AANMI, 39 MAE, b. Ministero anno 1926, f. Scuole all'estero 1926.

¹²⁹ Schiaparelli on January 22nd, 1927, in AANMI, 39 MAE, b. Ministero anno 1927, f. Scuole all'estero 1927.

¹³⁰ Letter from Ciro Trabalza to Ernesto Schiaparelli [from now on Letter from Trabalza to

Schiaparelli, as the association's general secretary, made an appointment with Mussolini himself in May 1927¹³¹.

The program of support and promotion of Italian language propaganda did not fail over the following years. Contrarily, the events of conciliation between State and Church seemed to determine favourable conditions for the organization's work, now in line with the clergy-fascist positions, once again. After February 11th, according to the inspector, it appeared to be less difficult for schools to persuade students about the importance of Italian language. Actually, «I am looking forward to meeting you very soon»¹³².

Despite positive signs of the action taken by the inspector, the intervention of *Italica Gens* in Southern Brazil, nonetheless, started to decrease. By the end of the 1920s, Cesare Bompard was the only one remaining in Rio Grande do Sul. He left in the beginning of 1930, not without bitterness, both for different opinions about the Italian Consul and for accusations of a political belonging that was far from fascism. He rejected such allegations, claiming his loyalty to the ideals that had brought him to Brazilian lands:

Dolentissimo però che, dopo 5 anni di lotte, di sacrifici e di miseria io debba chiudere la mia fatica sotto il peso di una calunnia che si é anche voluto preannunciarmi. Per sua tranquillità dico subito che, non solo ho la coscienza di non aver fatto nulla di cui mi possa rimproverare, ma che, iscritto al Fascio di Porto Alegre, mi son comportato sempre da soldato disciplinato, non meritando fino ad oggi il minimo appunto. Si tratta appena di una vendetta che si é voluto far contro di me per la tenace difesa fatta dell'italianità, come potrei dimostrare chiaramente, da quelle stesse persone che qui mi fecero perseguire dalla polizia coe spia del governo italiano o fascista pericoloso¹³³.

Tensions with the consulates are the reflection of the Ministry's hardening, each time less available to support the association's autonomous action. Such hardening was meant to accentuate after the appearance of Piero Parini for the General Direction of Schools and Italians Abroad, replacing Ciro Trabalza. The wish to centralize even more the management and control of emigration in the

Schiaparelli], *ibid.*

¹³¹ Letter from Trabalza to Schiaparelli on May 7th, 1927, in AANMI, 39 MAE, b. Ministero anno 1927, f. Scuole all'estero 1927.

¹³² Report by Bompard to Venerosi Pesciolini on June 20th, 1929, cit.

¹³³ Letter from Bompard to Venerosi Pesciolini on December 3rd, 1929 AANMI 29/B Avv. Cesare Bompard Missione al Brasile meridionale 1924-1930, f. 1928-30. Translation: «Sad, however, that after 5 years of struggles, sacrifices and misery, I shall close my fatigue under the weight of a slander I also intended to announce. For your calm, I say that immediately: I am aware I did not do anything I can be reprimanded for, but also, registered at the Porto Alegre *Fascio*, I have always behaved like a disciplined soldier, who did not deserve, up to now, the smallest finger pointed at. This is just a revenge you wanted to have for my tenacious defense of Italianity, as I could clearly demonstrate, for those same people who have sent the police to persecute me here, as a spy from the Italian government or a dangerous fascist».

hands of fascism has also produced significant consequences in relationships in the associative world, that, despite adopting a pro-government policy, did not give up on its independence. In addition to that, in 1928, *Italica Gens* has recorded the loss of Ernesto Schiaparelli, who, with his strong personality, was related to the regime. The next evolution would have led, unsurprisingly, to the association's direct control through the nomination, in 1935, the same Piero Parini as vice-president of the *Associazione Nazionale per soccorrere i missionari italiani – Italica Gens*¹³⁴.

¹³⁴ Royal Decree on March 11th, 1935 in AANMI, 21/E Presidenza, b. Promemoria. Circolari. Various notes.

A «civilizing mission» between quills, inks, and types: Italian immigrants and «La Tribuna» newspaper (Florianópolis/SC - 1932)

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ABSTRACT: The Newspaper «La Tribuna» circulated in Florianópolis/Santa Catarina, southern Brazil between February and September 1932, totaling 17 numbers and 15 localized specimens. The study analyzes how a civic-educational ideal, especially Catholic/religious, was disseminated to the Italian immigrants who inhabited the capital and the state. His pages constituted a civilizer instrument, in the sense of educating immigrants, reminding them of their bonds with their country of origin, and especially about their greatness and value as people and as a nation. The analyzed pages let us see a cult of the heroes-, represented in a laudatory form that acquired forms of memories and celebrating virtue, devotion, patriotism and heroism, besides exalt the work of Italian immigration in the state, the glory of Giuseppe and Anita Garibaldi, new Italy and Mussolini.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Newspaper «La Tribuna»; Italian immigration; Civic-educational ideal; Brazil; XXth Century.

Introduction. The State, the City, and the Newspaper

In the center of every city, according to several degrees that are fulfilled in capitals, there were a town of letters that comprised the inner circle of power, to execute their orders: a pleiad of people in religious, administrative, education, professional, and writing areas,

as well as intellectual workers. Everyone with a quill was strictly associated with power functions¹.

When reflecting upon the «town of letters» in Latin America, Uruguayan writer Ángel Rama sheds light upon the extraordinary longevity of social groups specialized in «handling the quill,» performing a civilizing mission among their social and symbolical functions. Such strength would have sprouted in the second half of the 16th century, remaining vigorous even two centuries later. Amidst changes and continuities, the power of a given community of letters would survive, and its traces, as well as its civilizing task, can be observed in an Italian newspaper published in the city of Florianópolis, capital of the state of Santa Catarina, in 1932. This article observes the history of this newspaper, by the community of letters that provided the conditions for its existence, and through their civilizing mission through quill, ink, and printing types.

Its downtown office produced the first issue of «La Tribuna» on Monday, February 1st, 1932. According to the presentation editorial, it was dedicated to the entire Italian colonies in the state, then estimated in 70,000 people. That editorial also stated the objective of uniting the interests of compatriots in their second homeland, Brazil, without forgetting their Italianness.

La colonie italiane di Santa Catarina, non potevano piu continuare a sentire la mancanza di un giornale che, difendendo i loro interessi, potesse ancora contribuire per lo sviluppo delle sue possibilitá. Solo dopo un secolo dell' arrivo dei primi, colonizzatori italiani, é possibile pubblicare un giornale coloniale nella capitale, dello Stato. La nostra iniziativa rappresenta il volere dei 70.000 italiani sparsi in questo grande Stato, contribuendo per la propaganda delle industrie, del commercio, dell'agricoltura e degli altri rami d'attività, esercitata da questo grande stuolo di connazionali che hanno eletto questa nobile nazione come loro seconda patria. Speriamo che questo giornale manterrà accesa in ogni cuore la fiaccola dell'italianità consapevole dei suoi diritti, oggi più che mai sacri, dovuti ala volontà férrea del sommo che dirige i destini d'Italia².

«La Tribuna» would be added to the list of other newspapers dedicated to the Italian community in Brazil that started circulating after the 1870s. In Santa Catarina, the emergence of such newspapers can be observed in several

¹ Á. Rama, *A cidade das letras*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1985, p. 43.

² Authors' translation: The Italian colonies in Santa Catarina cannot continue to feel disunion that, when defending our interests, could still contribute to loss of our potential. Only after a century after the first Italian immigrants arrived, we could publish a colonial newspaper in the state capital. Our initiative represents the will of over 70,000 Italians throughout this great State, contributing to propagate industries, commerce, agriculture, and other branches of activity performed by this great nation of compatriots that have elected this noble nation as their second country. We hope this newspaper keeps the light of Italianness upon each heart, as well as the awareness of our rights, more sacred than ever today, due to the will of a man leading the destinies of Italy. *Presentazione...* «La Tribuna» v. 1, n.1, 1932, p. 1. Archive Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC), Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2019).

locations in the south of the state, according to data researched by Angelo Trento³. This researcher also claims that it is impossible to know the exact number of publications in Italian circulating in Brazil between 1870 and 1940 because some of them have no extant records. Thus, he records that «the only approximations made mention 170 publications between 1880 and 1920, 140 or 150 of which in Sao Paulo, underestimating the real consistency of the phenomenon⁴.

Surely the presence of these newspapers was justified by a significant number of Italian immigrants that the country received in the second half of the 19th century. For Eugenia Vezzelli⁵, two vectors catalyzed the coming of Italians to Brazil: the need to populate and the lack of working power in countryside areas in the Southeast and South of Brazil, and, especially, the agrarian crisis in Italy after the 1870s that left many workers unemployed. In her studies, the researcher also points out that «cross-referencing these vectors seems to have been the main culprit» by the entry of nearly one million Italians in Brazil between 1887 and 1902. In more precise numbers: «868,178 according to official statistics of the realm and 949,588 according to statistics of the importing country»⁶.

In Santa Catarina, several publications⁷ have been dedicated to the Italian immigration in Southern Brazil, which started in 1875⁸. This study does not study Italian immigration per se. However, it is important to reference these seminal studies on the topic, since the complex dynamics lived by immigrants contribute to explain both the emergence and short life of the «La Tribuna» newspaper in Florianópolis.

It is important to consider that, since the late 19th century and in the first four decades of the 20th century, the colonial poles (notably in Southern Santa Catarina) went through economic, cultural, and political tensions in varied

³ A. Trento, *Imprensa Italiana no Brasil: séculos XIX e XX*, São Carlos, EDUFSCAr, 2013.

⁴ Id., *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1989, p. 185.

⁵ E. Vezzelli, *A construção do ethos discursivo na imprensa em língua italiana em São Paulo: o caso de La Difesa*, Doctoral thesis, Faculty of Philosophy, Literatur and Human Sciences (Supervisor E.A.R.M.C. Santoro), São Paulo, USP, 2016.

⁶ E. Franzina, *Gli italiani al nuovo mondo. L'immigrazione italiana in America (1492-1942)*, Milan, Mondadori, 1995, p. 452.

⁷ W.F. Piazza, *A colonização italiana em Santa Catarina*, Florianópolis, IOESC, 1976; N. Baldin, *Tão fortes quanto à vontade, história da imigração italiana no Brasil: os vênetsos em Santa Catarina*, Florianópolis, Insular, Ed. da UFSC, 1999; R.I.C. Santos, *A colonização italiana no vale do Itajaí-Mirim*, Florianópolis, Editora Lunardeli, 1981; Id., *Incontro tra la cultura veneta e la cultura latino americana*, «Quaderni Dell'ADRE», vol. 3, n. 1, 1998, pp. 63-75; J.H. Zanelatto, *Fascismo italiano em território Barriga-Verde: sua receptividade entre imigrantes italianos e o integralismo*, «Revista Territórios & Fronteiras», vol. 8, n. 2, 2015, pp. 386-407, <<http://www.ppghis.com/territorios&fronteiras/index.php/v03n02/article/view/403>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

⁸ According to historian Walter Piazza, the first wave of Italian immigrants in Florianópolis (formerly Desterro) occurred in 1836 in a ship from the islands of Sardinia and Genova. See Piazza, *A colonização italiana em Santa Catarina*, cit., pp. 32-33.

scales. It is in this scenario that Italian actors began encouraging strategies aimed at a certain «rekindling of Italian identity», especially considering the effective actions by the State in facing these issues. Thus, immigrant associations⁹ and newspapers were created. According to Claricia Otto, after the 1920s «there are conjectures of intentional action to introject to that population of approximately 70 thousand Italian immigrants the image of ‘another’ Italy, different than the country that forced their emigration»¹⁰.

In the 1930s, one might say the city of Florianópolis «happened» around its Northern and Southern bays. Paving, houses, commerce, industries (basically of consumer goods), services, transportation, fishing, leisure, etc. – everything was concentrated in the streets parallel to the Southern bay, around the Harbor, the Public Market, and the Customs, as well as on the streets parallel to the Northern bay, in which mansions and cottages were found in streets such as Bocaiúva and Almirante Lamego. Felipe Schmidt street, parallel to Conselheiro Mafra, would be the streets connecting the main plaza (XV de Novembro) to the Northern Bay. Around that plaza is the city cathedral and the seat of government, among other important public buildings. The truth is, the urbanization process was still recent. For example, in 1914 Florianópolis had only 606 commercial buildings, with its highlights being a nail factory, established in 1896, and the Arataca shipyard in 1907. Only in 1917 would another important factory be established, a lace and embroidery manufacture¹¹. According to data from the Brazilian Institute of geography and statistics¹², the population of 41,338 inhabitants in 1920 would reach 46,771 inhabitants in 1940¹³. In this context, about 500 Italian immigrants settled, according to reports by consul Caruso Macdonald in 1906¹⁴, as recorded by researcher Carlos Humberto Corrêa¹⁵:

⁹ The Societá di Mutuo Socorso Fratellanza Italiana was founded in Florianópolis (SC) on September 20th, 1891 by Italian residents. Its founding started right away with 58 associates. See R. Leuchtenberger, *Mutualismo e beneficência em Florianópolis-SC*, in *Simpósio Nacional de História, São Leopoldo, RS. Anais do XXIV Simpósio Nacional de História, História e multidisciplinaridade: territórios e deslocamentos*, São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 2007, p. 3, <https://anpuh.org.br/uploads/anais-simposios/pdf/2019R01/1548210563_38862e4bda37de7daf7c6b5a86e24a2d.pdf> (last access: 03.09.2018); C.H.P. Corrêa, *História de Florianópolis Ilustrada*, Florianópolis, Editora Insular, 2004, pp. 240-242.

¹⁰ C. Otto, *Avanti, cari connazionali! Tentativas de construção da italianidade em Santa Catarina*, «Esboço: histórias em contextos globais», vol. 10, n. 10, 2002, p. 120.

¹¹ V.A. Peluso Júnior, *O crescimento populacional de Florianópolis e suas repercussões no plano e na estrutura da cidade*, in Id., *Estudos de Geografia Urbana de Santa Catarina*, Florianópolis, Ed. da UFSC, Secretaria do Estado da Cultura e do Esporte, 1991, p. 15.

¹² Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e estatística, *Estatísticas do Século XX*, Rio de Janeiro, IBGE, 2007, <<https://seriesestatisticas.ibge.gov.br/series.aspx?vcodigo=CD79>> (last access: 03.09.2019).

¹³ No census in 1930.

¹⁴ In 1900 the city population was of 32,229. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e estatística, *Estatísticas do Século XX*, cit.

¹⁵ Corrêa, *História de Florianópolis Ilustrada*, cit., p. 240.

The only urban colony worth mentioning is Florianópolis, in which 500 patricians lived. The Italians soon start feeling influenced by the environment. Little by little, they forget about the language, customs, habits, and everything else. [...] I had to observe, sadly, that married couples from Italy at mature ages do not speak Italian to one another. Some hesitate to introduce themselves as Italian.

The Italian community integrated with the city, which was also undergoing urbanization and modernization after the 1920s. Such enterprise includes the removal of tenements from the city center, canalizing and draining water sources, widening streets, garbage collection, and other hygiene practices aimed at bringing discipline to customs and habits. In 1922 the Hercílio Luz bridge started being built as the first land connection between the Island of Santa Catarina and the mainland. In effect ever since, one might say the urbanization process is more significantly effective after the 1930s marked by the *Revolution of 1930*. Similarly to other places, Florianópolis would be modified by federal intervention, resulting in growth in public activity, urban and social rearrangements, etc.

Such an intervention through various public policies would also result in what Walter Piazza¹⁶ identified as «a disarticulation of intellectual life in the Capital, with the exodus of scholars to other points of the country». From the public administration perspective, gaucho Major Rui Zobarán¹⁷ took the position as federal interventor in Santa Catarina. In this context, the early 1930s see the emergence of a scenario in political practice with possibilities to establish an unlimited number of party organizations, among which the integralist action¹⁸.

In the meantime, the Italian community of the city made itself significantly present in commerce and service. However, it's important to highlight that since the late 19th century the Italian presence in Desterro/Florianópolis was also felt in civil construction (Italians built the manor of merchant Luís de Oliveira Carvalho, in 1879)¹⁹ later hired to renovate the Palace of Government in Plaza XV de Novembro, by invitation of Governor Hercílio Luz. Paulo Genovese and Gervásio Cúneo, both Italians initially living in Montevideo, moved to Florianópolis after these successful enterprises. Gervásio, married to Uruguayan

¹⁶ Piazza, *A colonização italiana em Santa Catarina*, cit. p. 645.

¹⁷ He was succeeded by Colonel Aristiliano Ramos in 1934, a state-based farmer and politician from a traditional family based in Lages/SC. That political oligarchy would raise Nereu Ramos, who governed Santa Catarina as intervener chosen by Getúlio Vargas, between 1935 and 1945. Details between the organization and political culture of the state can be found in C.H.P. Corrêa, *Um Estado entre duas Repúblicas: a Revolução de Trinta e a política em Santa Catarina*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1984, pp. 154-190.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-174.

¹⁹ This Neoclassic property, built by Italian immigrants, at the beginnings of the twentieth century was the family residence until 1965. Later, it was sold to the Country Club of Santa Catarina, which worked there until the decade of 1970. It was patrimonialized as the historical patrimony of the city in 1979 and is now the ballroom of the residential condominium Country Club.

Norma Suárez, fathered Arnolde Suárez Cúneo, one of the founders of «La Tribuna»²⁰, which will receive our focus next.

1. «La Tribuna»: materiality and circulation

In Brazil, History written «in and through» newspapers²¹ can be observed after the 1970s, when the scope of historians was widened to concern the statute of the press – formerly an object of suspicion – transforming it into a source of historical investigation. Newspapers became increasingly better understood as a source and as an object of study²², requiring considerations on both their materiality and logic, as well as the various cultural and political practices that past narratives can be seen and read. They conform a part of the symbolic and social universe in power relations while being constituted as to support for memories and practices linked to the period and place of their publication. From this perspective, we suppose that «La Tribuna» is both a source and an object of the present study²³. Therefore, it's indispensable that we make observations about the material and technical conditions surrounding its release, as well as its proposed objectives, the target audience, and the commercial and political relations established with it. It's equally relevant to consider how topics are organized and presented to readers, as they evidence unwavering relations to understand not only aspects related to discourse elements of the message and language aspects, but also how the newspaper selected, ordered, and narrated what was deemed important to write to the public.

²⁰ Corrêa, *Um Estado entre duas Repúblicas: a Revolução de Trinta e a política em Santa Catarina*, cit., pp. 239-241.

²¹ T.R. Luca, *A Revista do Brasil (1916-1944): notas de pesquisa*, in A.C. Ferreira, H.G. Bezerra, T.R. Luca (edd.). *O historiador e seu tempo: encontros com a história*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP, 2008, pp. 117-127.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ The study *News from over there, views from out here: A study on Italian newspapers circulating in Florianópolis in the 20th century*, coordinated by Professor Maria Teresa Santos Cunha is being developed in both History and Education graduate programs at Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC).

The news desk of «La Tribuna» was located in a side room of a building in the city center (Rua Marechal Guilherme, 9)²⁴. Its founder-director was Arnaldo Suarez Cúneo, a well-known dentist in town. Its Chief of Press was Italian journalist Biaggio D'Alascio, born in Basilicata, Italy in 1911, living in town for the last 16 months. According to Angelo Trento²⁵, he kept «proper relations with the Italian colonies and the Florianopolitan society».

Measuring 47cm x 31.5cm, the paper was announced as a weekly independent printing. However, it's possible to observe that the 17 issues published (in 15 publications) between February 1st and September 15th, 1932, alternated between biweekly (its two first issues), weekly (issues 3 to 6), and after April issues become more and more irregular, varying between 15 and 30 days between each. Issues 12-13 and 16-17 were published as single issues, which indicates the difficulties the newspaper had to sustain both regularity and volume of publications. See the chart below for more information.

Tab. 1. Information about the issues found

«La Tribuna»	Date of publication	n. of pages	n. of images	n. of Ads	Writer(s)
Issue 01	2/1/1932	8	1 (King Vitor Emmanuel III on the front page)	36	A. Cúneo and B. D'Alascio
Issue 02	2/15/1932	8	2 (A picture of Mussolini and another of Doctor Diniz)	35	Idem
Issue 03	3/6/1932	4	-	26	Idem
Issue 04	3/13/1932	4	-	25	Idem
Issue 05	3/20/1932	4	-	25	Idem
Issue 06	3/27/1932	4	-	25	Idem
Issue 07	4/9/1932	4	-	22	Idem
Issue 08	4/19/1932	4	-	22	Idem
Issue 09	5/3/1932	4	-	21	B. D'Alascio
Issue 10	6/2/1932	6	-	16	Idem
Issue 11	6/23/1932	4	-	16	Idem
Issues 12-13	7/15/1932	4	-	05	Idem
Issue 14	7/30/1932	4	-	05	Idem
Issue 15	8/15/1932	4	-	04	Idem
Issues 16-17	9/15/1932	4	-	04	Idem

Source: «La Tribuna», Archive Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC)/Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense. Chart organized by the authors.

²⁴ The building exists until today, cornering the Rosary steps and holding an office of the Brazilian Army. After Issues 12-13 (published as a single issue on July 15, 1932), the news desk is moved to Rua Trajano, 45, also in the city center and 150 meters away from its previous address.

²⁵ Trento, *Imprensa Italiana no Brasil*, cit. p. 235.

Pic. 1. Cover of the first issue



Pic. 2. Cover of the last issue located



Source: «La Tribuna», n. 1, 1st February 1932.

Source: «La Tribuna», n. 16, 15th September 1932.

Aside from the difference in page sizes and of ads, which were reduced in later issues, the paper maintained aesthetic and graphics stability in all 17 issues published. Each page was divided into four columns, the first page always privileged editorials and commented news in detriment of small notes, which could be signed or not (most were not). The last two pages (for the first two issues) or only the last page (issues 3-11) were destined to advertisement only.

The newspaper was edited in Florianópolis, using the typography in the State Official Press. Livraria Moderna, a bookstore owned by Italian Paschoal Simone & Sons, who owned state-of-the-art typographic workshops, contributed to the newspaper technical printing as well as featuring ads. According to studies by Felipe Matos²⁶, the bookstore «was the only state representative of Sociedade Anonyma Augusta de Turim, a traditional European company of graphic machinery, types, and other lithography and typography materials, established

²⁶ F. Matos, *Uma ilha de Leitura: notas para uma história de Florianópolis através de suas livrarias, livreiros e livros (1830-1950)*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 2008, p. 74.

Pic. 3. Air



Source: «La Tribuna», n. 1, p. 3.

Pic. 4. Air post



Source: «La Tribuna», n. 8, p. 1.

in Milan, Rome, Genova, and Florence». In spite of its short lifespan, the newspaper circulated outside the state capital. There are indications that it arrived in colonies in Santa Catarina, as well as in neighboring state capitals such as Porto Alegre and Curitiba. The support of «Livraria Moderna» can be considered a facilitator both for the printing and for the circulation of the newspaper.

We understand that the circulation and diffusion of newspapers at the time was facilitated by the «new cityscape of the early 20th century, that held an affinity for periodical publications, including those directed towards specific ethnic audiences»²⁷. It's possible to observe that the additional ease of printing and circulation of Italian-written newspapers was also due to the scholarly process that the target audience was undergoing. Immigrants and their descendants, coming to work in commerce instead of rural areas, were not illiterate. There is, therefore, some degree of similarity to the profile studied in São Paulo, as noted by Eugenia Vezzelli²⁸.

News from Italy arrived in Florianópolis and to the «La Tribuna» newsdesk by airmail, as can be implied. Several mentions to «air» or «air post» are made in the news coming particularly from Rome, Naples, Milan, and the United States.

There is also information on telegrams, both sent and received, indicating that information also circulated through an undersea cable operated in Florianópolis for nearly 100 years. The Western Telegraph Company Limited, under the British group named Cable and Wireless, was considered between 1874 and 1973, one of the best technologies available for fast-paced communication between the city and the rest of the world²⁹. This means of communication is

²⁷ T.R. Luca, *História dos, nos e por meio dos periódicos*, in C.B. Pinski (ed.), *Fontes Históricas*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2005, p. 120.

²⁸ Vezzelli, *A construção do ethos discursivo na imprensa em língua italiana em São Paulo: o caso de La Difesa*, cit., pp. 23-29.

²⁹ The history of Western in Florianópolis lasted through 99 of local quotidian life, connecting the state capital to any place in the world through Morse code. From the downtown station (Rua

referred to in several news pieces and texts, which allows us to consider that the circulation of ideas, texts, and articles was made present, keeping readers in Florianópolis up to date with what happened in Europe – particularly in Italy. It is possible to infer that the undersea cable facilitated the flow of ideas between both countries in the production of «La Tribuna», be it through the movement of assets and products or by images and printings. Inher analysis of the magazine «A Ilustração», Tania de Luca³⁰ records a flow of intense cultural exchange and circulation through the Atlantic, observing that

Common spaces for circulation and exchange were formed as never seen before, which unveiled new possibilities for cultural production and the clash of opinions. The intercontinental link greatly facilitated this through submerged cables, such as the one uniting Brazil to Europe in 1874, as requested by Portugal.

Although it is not exactly possible to affirm that the newspaper had fixed sections, some had a certain level of regularity. «Dall’ Italia» or notes entitled «Roma», «Milano» or «Firenze» etc. brought news from Italy (and from other countries with lower incidence): politics, economy, culture, etc. These sections appeared in practically every issue of the paper. Another regular section was named «Note Mondane» (issues 1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 12-13, 14, 15, 16-17), that announced weddings, deaths, visits (to Florianópolis, the state, or even Brazil) by politicians or other relevant celebrities, as well as various cultural activities that were assumed to be of interest to the Italian community. The section named «Piccola Posta» (issues 8, 12-13, 14, 16-17), had small, provocative, and questioning notes on cultural and consumption habits of topic cities, for example: «Poveri prodotti nazionali, nonostante tutta la propaganda... consumano solo “bebidas inglesas”. Non si ricorderanno dei nostri prodotti?»³¹. Not only in this section but also in others, was there both an encouragement to consume Italian goods and a criticism to those who did not. There is a recurring educational tone, observed not only in editorials, news pieces, and notes but also in advertisements of commercial establishments that informed the importance and amount of commerce in town, often mentioning those which had Italian owners³².

João Pinto) cables submerged in the Southern bay for underwater branches to the Rio Grande (RS) and Santos (SP) stations, <<https://ndonline.com.br/blogs-e-colunas/carlos-damiao/memoria-de-florianopolis-herancas-do-cabo-submarino/>> (last access: 24.02.2019).

³⁰ T.R. Luca, *A Ilustração (1884-1892): circulação de textos e imagens entre Paris, Lisboa e Rio de Janeiro*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP, 2018, p. 8.

³¹ Authors’ translation: «Poor national products... In spite of all the propaganda, people buy only “English drinks”. Don’t they remember our products?», *Piccola Posta*, «La Tribuna», vol. I, n. 8, p. 3, 1932, Archive Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC), Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

³² Another study focused solely on advertisements from this newspaper is being developed, with the working title: «A stage for Italianness: advertisements in the newspaper “La Tribuna”» (Florianópolis/1932).

2. *The civilizing mission: paths between the pages of «La Tribuna»*

The pages of «La Tribuna» were also a civilizing instrument, educating immigrants, reminding them of their connection to the homeland, and especially of their grandeur as a people and a nation. Not only did this praise the work of Italian immigrants in the state, or the glory of Giuseppe and Anita, heroes of both worlds, but also praised the Nuova Italia and Mussolini, described as examples of virtue and devotion (qualities associated to civism and Catholicism in its pages) that acted as edificating forces. The predominant tone was to create a certain «devotion» to Mussolini, to fascism, and figures such as Giuseppe Garibaldi and Anita presented as virtuous people who seemed to fit the strategy of connecting Italy to immigrants in Brazil, as well as constructing a glorious past. It's possible to consider that the Press was another channel through which Italian fascism managed to lure and attract several sectors of society in Santa Catarina, particularly Italian immigrants, and their descendants, presenting fascism in celebratory tone³³.

Texts and advertisements functioned as vessels to express and divulge values, norms, and civic practices associated with Catholicism (spreading the practice of virtues such as charity and encouraging personal devotions). It is then possible to analyze the scenario of their production, with the high praise of Italy and its leaders, its emphasis in Italian news such as the passing of Mussolini's cousin Arnaldo in the first issue, and the section «Dall'Italia», as originally received and transcribed by the writing director³⁴.

Advertisements announcing various products and services were always a part of «La Tribuna», particularly those referring to the commerce of services offered by Italian descendants. Surnames such as Batistta, Bavasso, Monari, Atherino, Paschoal Simone, and Cappelli, among others, announced services as mechanics, shoemakers, tailors, brokers, and commercial representatives. Commercial predominance lied within families named Grillo, Faraco, Peluso, Posito, and Bresciani. As mentioned earlier, most advertisements were in the final pages of the paper, but it was also common for some of them to appear in other pages, such as banks, insurance companies, and events of public interest.

³³ Zanelatto, *Fascismo italiano em território Barriga-Verde: sua receptividade entre imigrantes italianos e o integralismo*, cit., pp. 386-407.

³⁴ *Dall'Italia...*, «La Tribuna», n. 1, p. 5, 1932. Archive Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC). Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

Pic. 5. Advertisements: Banco de Crédito Popular e Agrícola de Santa Catarina (banking) and Feira de Produto Agrícola e Industrial Catarinense (state fair)



Source: «La Tribuna», n. 1, p. 3.

It was also common for «La Tribuna» to publish advertisements to subscribe to the newspaper as a patriotic act. Similarly, it encouraged readers to purchase Italian products «Italiani-Preferite il prodotto d'origine italiana, fabbricato in Italia, a qualsiasi altro importato»³⁵. After issue n. 7, an «innovation» appears in the commercial parts: publicity in the form of news. It can be observed in

³⁵ Authors' translation: *ITALIANS – Prefer products of Italian origin, made in Italy, to any other imported goods* («La Tribuna», n. 7, p. 3), Archive: Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC), Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

Pic. 6. «Café e Restaurant Estrella» (coffee shop) and Faculdade de Direito de Santa Catarina (Law school)



Source: «La Tribuna», n. 7, p. 3.

how «Café e Restaurant Estrella» was treated (page center), with news of its renovation and menu, as well as to the Law school Faculdade de Direito de Santa Catarina (same page, rightmost column) announcing, in Italian, the inaugural course classes, the faculty, etc. Figure 6 below shows an advertisement on the lower left corner asking to divulge the paper and in the rightmost column a note asking Italians to favor Italian products.

It is understandable that uplifting messages and advertisements privileged commerce for Italians or their descendants to evidence their strength and importance in the city's economy, shamelessly propagating fascism. The way these advertisements are presented to the readership is part of the seduction apparatus that they receive. Authorship and the construction of representations

in each issue maintain its peculiarities, partly reinforcing the production of meanings over each publication.

In regards to the images of advertisements, it's important to highlight that the playful image world presented in the newspaper can generate feelings of love, acceptance, hatred, but also entertainment through the power of images, generating representations directed by editors towards the interest of their validation and consolidation. Detailing the variety of offers with descriptions of goods sold leads us to think of the «novelty» and success of the Italian community of merchants in town. This may be directed towards the needs of an emerging class in a place under urbanization, receiving an influx of students since the Law school was inaugurated in 1932. Listing the merchandising was possibly done to meet a more diversified demand. With the development of all sectors of urban life, supply and demand increased, and the highlight was always given to the owner (always of Italian ancestry). In the newspaper, restaurant advertisements induce us to see a city that was growing and modernizing, gaining new habits, becoming densely populated in various branches of commerce, improving, and, at the same time, nationalizing itself by the hands of entrepreneuring descendants of Italians.

The paper featured news and commentary by writers from Florianópolis such as José Boiteux (founder and first Headmaster of the newly-created Law school) and José Dinis (both from IHGSC), on History and Politics, which seemed to aim at contributing to construct a «sense of Italianness»³⁶. Texts and notes on the Homeland, related directly to Mussolini and fascism, are recurrent in the paper. It's significant to observe that the preoccupation with a «sense of Italianness» or the lack thereof is related to the little value that political movement had in Florianópolis. In a note entitled «XIII aniversario della fondazione dei Fasci di Combattimento» there is a mention to the fact that the date came and went locally:

Il giorno 23 Marzo é stata commemorata solennemente in Italia e ovunque esiste un manipolo d'italiani la storica data che segno la fondazione dei Fasci di Combattimento che posteriormente con l'epica gesta della «Marcia su Roma» serisse nella storia d'Italia il risorgimento di una nova era che ha dato alla Patria un posto di evidenza nel concetto delle grandi Nazioni. Non é mai superfluo ricordare ciò che era l'Italia del dopo guerra, nella sua tormentosa vita interna e nei suoi rapporti internazionali. [...] Come abbiamo detto più sopra che la data é stata ovunque ricordata, facciamo una eccezione per la collettività italiana de Florianópolis. Ci facciamo eco delle lagnanze dei fascisti e simpatizzanti locali i quali non hanno visto commemorare la data, che dovere doveva essere ricordata degnamente. Non vogliamo discutere sul poco o molto numero di fascisti locali, ma anche ammesso che si fosse solamente in tre, le commemorazioni dovrebbero sempre aver luogo ugualmente. Di chi la colpa?³⁷.

³⁶ Otto, *Avanti, cari connazionali! Tentativas de construção da italianidade em Santa Catarina*, cit.

³⁷ Authors' translation: On March 23rd, in Italy and wherever there's a handful of Italians,

This position is directly related to a disagreement between Biaggio D'Alascio and Italian vice-consul Giacomo Ungarelli that will dominate the last issues of the paper. In a full-paper cover story, the newspaper reaffirms the Italianness of Italians and their descendants in Santa Catarina state, while denouncing the dire posture their vice-consul had taken by ignoring the date. Later, and for unknown reasons, the vice-consul orders the shutdown of the seat of the fascist movement in Florianópolis. The publication of this and other texts of the same tone coincides with the departure of Arnaldo Suarez Cúneo as newspaper director. He worked on it until issue n. 8, published in April, and a note in issue n. 9 in May mentioned he left the head of the newspaper for «personal» reasons. Biaggio D'Alascio replaced him. Preliminary studies indicate that his actual reason to leave was disagreeing with Biaggio's increasingly vehement positioning towards Mussolini and Italian fascism. Also, of course, to his public disagreement with the vice-consul. The definitive break-up between Cúneo and D'Alascio may have occurred in July, as after the double-issue 12-13 (15 July 1932) the newspaper changes address to Rua Trajano, 45.

The lengthy opening text of «La Tribuna», in double issues 12-13, accuses Ungarelli of reporting to superiors that Italians in Florianópolis were not interested in fascism or Italy. However, the most serious issue was the order to remove the «Fascio» flag from the Società Fratellanza Italiana.

Malgrado che lo Stato di Santa Caterina possegga delle Colonie con circa 70 mila italiani, solo una puccola parte risiede nella capitale dello Stato, essendo che il grosso delle forze si é diretto sin dall'inizio dell'emigrazione in Brasile, all'interno dello Stato. A Florianopolis ne affluisce una piccola parte di questi connazionali, ma benché avente un numero regolare questa Colonia parallela aspre lotte combattute nel campo della indipendenza economica dei suoi membri non fece mai infiacchire la sua fede verso la Patria, le istituzioni e il suo Re. E così si spiega la fondazione della Società Fratellanza Italiana che nel suo albo d'oro da oltre quarant'anni scrive a caratteri cubitali, questo sano patriottismo coloniale insieme al suo spirito di italianità³⁸.

celebrates solemnly the historical date that marks the foundation of Combat Groups with the epic feats of the «March on Rome», in the history of a resurgent era in Italy that gave the country a place of evidence amidst the great nations. It is never too much to remember what post-war Italy was, tormenting in its internal affairs and in its international relations. [...] As said above, the date was celebrated everywhere, except for the Italian community in Florianópolis. We echo the complaints of local fascists and sympathizers who did not see the date being commemorated, as it must. We do not want to discuss how few or how many fascists are here, but even if only three of them were in town, celebrations should have been in order in any way. Now who's to blame? «XIII anniversario della fondazione di fasci di combattimento – la data è passata inosservata a Florianopolis», «La Tribuna», vol. 1, n. 7, 1932, p. 1), Archive: Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC), Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

³⁸ Authors' translation: Despite the fact that Santa Catarina state has a colony of more than 70,000 Italians, only a small amount resides in the capital as most immigration forces were directed to the country, since its onset in Brazil. Only a small part of these countrymen flowed into Florianópolis, but the harsh fights parallel to the Colony for the economic independence

Issue n. 14 also has the same topic, and Biaggio D'Alascio raises the bar with a warning that this and other future issues will be dedicated to the vice-consul:

Questo numero e quelli che seguiranno a voi, saranno dedicati. Il nostro desiderio, quando fondammo questo foglio, era sottoporlo al vostro patrocinio. Volevamo fare un giornale fiancheggiatore del fascismo e che allo stesso tempo curasse gli interessi degli italiani residenti nello Stato di Santa Caterina. Figurava e continuerá a figurare nel suo programma il rafforzamento del vincolo di solidarietà che dovrà sempre unire gli italiani ai generosi ospiti brasiliani³⁹.

The strife seems to generate conflict beyond the «quill», considering that a paid text that occupied the entire right page, written by Battista Domingues, shows support to Biaggio and accuse the vice-consul's secretary of assault:

SEZIONE A PAGAMENTO. Conseguenze dell'incidente consolare italiano – Minaccia d'aggressione. A quanto stó osservando, nel vice consolato locale, la violenza fá scuola. Nell'incidente D'Alascio, fu il vice console Ungarelli a voler aggredire il giornalista. Ora é la volta del suo segretario a vole maneggiare il bastone... Le insistenze di amici mi obbligano a chiedere al sig. Capo di Polizia un habeas corpus preventivo un eventuale caso di legittima difesa. Dubito, però, di questa sfuriata tragicomica di Nicola, il bravo Nicola, col quale, sino a pochi giorni fá, le nostre relazioni erano di finissima cortesia e che sfreddarono in seguito ad un articolo che in mia difesa pubblicai, contro gli attacchi ingiusti del suo signor 'papá'⁴⁰.

On September 15th, 1932, the last issue of the paper was published, a double feature #16-17. Whether by the blatantly fascist stance of Biaggio, by the public fighting with the vice-consul, or by the departure of Cúneo, what happened is

of each member has never weakened their views towards the homeland, its institutions, and its King. This explains the foundation of the Italian Brotherhood Society that, in its golden book for over 40 years, speaks in capital letters of this healthy colonial patriotism, along with its spirit of Italianity. «*Il fascio italiano di Florianopolis ha definitivamente chiuso le porte...*», «La Tribuna», nn. 12-13, 1932, p. 1, Archive: Biblioteca Pública de Santa Catarina (BPSC), Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, <<http://hemeroteca.ciasc.sc.gov.br/>> (last access: 03.09.2018).

³⁹ Authors' translation: This issue and those who follow will be dedicated to you. Our desire was to submit this paper to your patronage, when it was founded. We wanted to write a newspaper of fascism that would also deal with the interests of Italians residing in Santa Catarina state. Its program features, and will continue to, the strengthening of the link of solidarity that will always unite Italians to the generous hospitality of Brazil. «*Sezione a pagamento. Conseguenze dell'incidente Consolare Italiano – Minaccia d'aggressione*», «La Tribuna», n. 14, 1932, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Authors' translation: PAID SECTION. Consequences of the incident with the Italian consulate – threat of assault. As far as I can see, violence is a school in the local consulate. In the D'Alascio incident, it was vice-consul Ungarelli who wanted to attack the journalist. Now, it is time for his secretary to want to handle the bat... Friends have insisted with me enough to ask our Chief of Police to provide with a preemptive *habeas corpus* in the case of legitimate defense. I however doubt of this tragicomic outburst by Nicola – good old Nicola with whom our relations were good and courteous until only a few days ago. They continue to exploit an article I published in my own defense against the unfair attacks from the person of his 'daddy'. «La Tribuna», n. 14, 1932, p. 2.

that many advertisers stopped publishing on the paper since Issue n.9. Also, there seems to have been an official order for its closure by Ungarelli. A note published in «Jornal de Santa Catarina» on a special 100-year issue informs that the vice-consul had ordered the police to suspend publication⁴¹.

In every issue observed, it is possible to note that the newspaper somewhat coerced Italians through a discourse of nationalism, patriotism, and the effective cult of leaders. This sentiment corresponds to a devotion of a medium of expression to transmit values, norms, and civic practices usually linked to Catholicism. «La Tribuna» gave prominence to contemporary national figures of Italy, such as King Victor Emmanuel II and Duce Benito Mussolini. Stylistic and graphics procedures were also employed to make these discourses accessible to the great majority, by keeping them on the front page. Catholicism used to print to reinforce traditional hierarchical values. It is possible to consider that these articles carried individual traces from personal contact between the newsdesk and the Catholic Church doctrine and even political parties. Here, we can perceive the newspaper as one of these privileged places in which it is possible to observe the construction of representations through the written word. Roger Chartier⁴² indicates historians venturing this field of studies to «handle simultaneously textual criticism, history of print or writing, and the history of the audience and its reception».

Texts often tended to foster devotion to figures such as Giuseppe Garibaldi and Anita or to incite virtuous practices in readers. Countless representations forged on the Garibaldis allow corroborating topics treated as spaces and times to set up memories. As news texts are provided for reading, they feed identifications that see the past as a safe place, in which what is considered legitimate, traditional, and virtuous can be found, therefore, worthier to practice and remember.

Final remarks. Working with newspapers

The interpreting efforts in this study view the paper as a device to divulge print that, through its reading and circulation, may have affected social groups of letters such as small merchants, liberal professionals with some connection to urban organizations such as fraternities, class associations, etc. In this sense, it «can provide context to meanings» proposed, constituting itself as «not only a source of ideas and images but also as a messenger of relations»⁴³. It's

⁴¹ *Especial 100 anos de história*, «Jornal de Santa Catarina», 30 September 1998, p. 12.

⁴² R. Chartier, *A aventura do livro. Do leitor ao navegador*, São Paulo, Unesp, 1999, p. 191.

⁴³ N.Z. Davis, *Culturas do Povo: sociedade e cultura no início da França moderna*, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1990, p. 159.

important to consider that the newspaper and its nationalistic discourse acted in several time strata (that is, several temporal dimensions), crossing historical time simultaneously. They divulge and elaborate events, opinions, and ideas of that present in which it was produced, at the same time as it organizes and projects expectations of a future while legitimating and constructing a memory of that past/present in the future. Thus, «they intertwine in the presentiality of experience and expectation»⁴⁴.

Representations constantly figuring written and imagetic contents in these issues constitute elements that structure possibilities to elaborate memories. Consonant with arguments by Koselleck⁴⁵ in regards to institutional truths, these contents forebear «basic enunciations that only slowly modify through the centuries and remain available even if not shared by everyone». Within this key of analysis, one might consider that representations constructed by these writings – on heroes, devotion, virtues, and propaganda – give prominence to permanences over issues discussed in the present, and thus legitimize their meaning as a past that remains, ravaging the present and betting on the future.

Brimming with historicity, the newspaper acts as a discursive practice, producing meanings and forming memories that allow the construction of hopes to its audience. Even when judging by the writing style, it fosters complicity from writers to readers, generating a sense of belonging particularly in the Italian community residing in Florianópolis. As a constitutive piece of written culture, newspapers are effective elements in propagating ideas, an «effective alternative to political propaganda and one of the most important records of a country's political memory»⁴⁶. Although its discourse presents fissures and resistances in which several meanings can emerge, «the variety of print sources are enormous, and their research possibilities are broad and varied»⁴⁷. We took such a risk in studying this publication, which circulated news both national and foreign, as well as discourses, news pieces, and advertisements of commercial establishments in Florianópolis, all in Italian.

The analyzed pages of «La Tribuna» show a cult of Heroes, lauding them as gods that obtained forms of memories that celebrate their virtue and devotion, patriotism, and heroism. Transcribed news from Italian newspapers and every text feature compilations, transcriptions and countless representations of Giuseppe and Anita Ribeiro Garibaldi, trying to turn them into myths. This edifying cult of heroes, putting them above political factions, makes them a symbol of national spirit. Advertisements and articles witness the tapestry of memory. They often exalted patriotism and celebrated virtue. To some of

⁴⁴ R. Koselleck, *Estratos do tempo. Estudos sobre História*, Rio de Janeiro, Contraponto/PUC-Rio, 2014, p. 307.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁶ M.L. Tucci Carneiro, *Livros Proibidos, ideias malditas*, São Paulo, Atelie Editorial FAPESP, 2002, p. 156.

⁴⁷ Luca, *História dos, nos e por meio dos periódicos*, cit. p. 142.

them, other examples can emerge from these texts as a circumstance in which the appropriation of prophetic vision, of religious symbols linked to political sentiment, served as an obstacle to a secularized representation.

Between virtue and devotion, there was a civic-educational and particularly Catholic ideal for Italian immigrants and other readers of «La Tribuna», in Florianópolis, in the year 1932. Such resort comes against the constitution of what the Catholic Church defended as educational proposals in both Brazil and Italy, as highlighted by Roberto Sani:

Una storia dell'istruzione e delle iniziative e istituzioni di carattere scolastico ed educativo nell'Italia moderna non può in alcun modo prescindere dal fondamentale ruolo esercitato su tale versante dalla Chiesa e, in particolare, dalle nuove fondazioni religiose maschili e femminili sorte a partire dai primi decenni del sec. XVI⁴⁸.

Thus, the city of letters imposed its will to the various reading segments, increasing its power. Newspapers analyzed here were saved from oblivion by zealous librarians that safeguarded them for the use of historians⁴⁹. By skimming those pages, we could narrate this past from the present, attributing meanings to the order of existing in a country with meager documentation of this kind.

Surprises and wonders moved this study with a renewed will to find the unexpected, meanings in experience through variable times, in accelerations and incredibly slow movements. History is made in these moments of differing temporalities.

⁴⁸ Authors' translation: A history of education and initiatives upon educational institutions in modern Italy cannot overlook the fundamental part played by a part of the Church, particularly by the new religious establishments of men and women born in the 16th century. R. Sani, *Istruzione, educazione e carità*, in *Storia Religiosa Dell'Italia*, Milan, Centro Ambrosino, 2016, vol. 2, p. 517 <https://www.academia.edu/28427430/Istruzione_educazione_e_carit%C3%A0> (last access: 03.09.2018).

⁴⁹ We would like to thank librarian Alzemi Machado (Biblioteca Pública do Estado de Santa Catarina) for substantial help in locating and digitalizing issues of «La Tribuna» that were not yet available in Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense.

Informing and educating for Italianess on the pages of «Stella d'Italia» (Porto Alegre/RS, 1902-1908)*

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ABSTRACT: The phenomenon of the ethnic press in the context of Rio Grande do Sul was rich and can be included in the more general movement of the Italian diaspora worldwide. Today, the study of the ethnic press reflects the dynamic, which has characterized globalized society, such as human mobility, which appears to be the focus of historiography and of transnational research networks. Recent studies evidence the multiplicity of the role that was played by the ethnic press in the context of emigration and immigration. According to this premise, the present study aims to analyze the Italian ethnic press of Porto Alegre/RS, especially the contribution of the longest-lived newspaper «Stella d'Italia», published initially twice a week and then three times a week from 1902 to 1925, which was the most respected mouth-piece of the numerous Italian community in the state. Run by Adelchi Colnaghi from Milan, the newspaper proclaimed its independence as an advocate of Italian interests and institutions, especially schools and the promoter of Italian associativism.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Ethnic press; Italian immigration; School education; Identity; Brazil; XXth Century.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of the ethnic press in the context of Rio Grande do Sul was rich and can be fitted into the more general movement of the Italian diaspora worldwide¹. Today, the study of the ethnic press reflects the dynamic which has characterized globalized society, such as human mobility, which appears to be the focus of historiography and of transnational research networks². Recent studies evidence the multiplicity of the role that was played by the ethnic press in the context of emigration and immigration. The studies have particularly highlighted the relationship between the context of destination and of origin, where the former tends to marginalize or segregate the immigrant, and the second to forget the emigré, determining a condition of a «double fault» regarding their own Homeland and that to which they emigrated³. The periodicals were a vehicle of identity and the «fortress of Italianness, small Italies of information, with the scope of favoring a slow, non-traumatic integration»⁴. The Italian ethnic press in Rio Grande do Sul also took on this role.

¹ About the concept of diaspora, see D. Gabaccia, *Emigranti: le diaspore degli italiani dal Medioevo a oggi*, Turin, Einaudi 2003.

² The study of the periodical «Stella d'Italia» (1902-1925) is part of the project «The Italian ethnic press in Porto Alegre, from the great emigration to fascism (1875-1943)», which was started in collaboration with the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul /PUCRS and the Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla Storia delle Istituzioni Scolastiche, del Libro Scolastico e della Letteratura per la Infanzia/CeSIS dell'Università del Molise, in Italy. It is part of the research group *Transfopress Brasil – Imprensa em língua estrangeira entre identidade e alteridade* (Cnpq – Transfopress Brasil – Grupo de Estudos da Imprensa em língua estrangeira no Brasil, a network of researchers established at UNESP – Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho”, coordinated by professors Dr. Valéria Guimarães (UNESP) and Dr. Tania Regina de Luca (UNESP), connected to the international network of Transfopress – Transnational network for the study of foreign language press, under the general coordination of Dr. Diana Cooper-Richet of the Centre d'Histoire Culturelle des Sociétés Contemporaines – Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (CHCSC-UVSQ), <<http://transfopressbrasil.franca.unesp.br/>> (last access: 27.07.2019), T.R. De Luca, V. Guimarães (edd.), *Imprensa Estrangeira Publicada no Brasil. Primeiras incursões*, Consolação São Paulo, Rafael Zamperetti Copetti Editor Ltda.

³ P. Sergi, *Stampa migrante. Giornali della diaspora italiana e dell'emigrazione in Italia*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2010, pp. 14 ss. On the sociological interpretation introduced by A. Sayad, *La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato*, Milan, Raffaello Cortina, 2002. In the whole, on migration or ethnic press see B. Deschamps, *Echi d'Italia. La stampa dell'emigrazione*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2002, Vol. I, pp. 313-334. For the Brazilian context see G. Rosoli, *La stampa d'emigrazione. Alcuni appunti storici*, «Dossier Europa Emigrazione», vol. 12, 1982, pp. 77-92; A. Trento, *L'identità dell'emigrato italiano in Brasile attraverso la stampa etnica: il caso del Fanfulla, 1893-1940*, in L. Tosi (ed.), *Europe, Its Borders and the others*, Naples, Esi, 2000; Id., *La stampa italiana in Brasile 1946-1960*, «Studi emigrazione», vol. XLVI, n. 175, July-September 2009; T. Malatian, *Até que o vendaval passe, “acreditar, obedecer, combater”: o Fanfulla e o Duce (1922-1941)*, in De Luca, Guimarães (edd.), *Imprensa Estrangeira Publicada no Brasil. Primeiras incursões*, cit., pp. 330-361; A. Trento, *A imprensa antifascista no Brasil, 1922-1936*, in *ibid.*, pp. 362-396.

⁴ Sergi, *Stampa migrante*, cit. p. 15.

The almanac of the «Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud», (Fiftieth anniversary of Italian Colonization in Rio Grande do Sul) published in 1925, dedicated an entire chapter to the historical phenomenon of «colonial press», in the southernmost state of Brazil. Benvenuto Crocetta recalled that beginning in the last decade of the 19th century, there were a number of attempts at 'ethnic' newspapers, however, often they were very short lived and soon ended, among the many different ideological orientations. Save for a few gaps and exceptions regarding the main periodicals published in the colonization region⁵, there are almost no studies about the Italian ethnic press in the urban realities of Rio Grande do Sul, which also received a significant number of Italian immigrants. Even rarer is the attention given to the relationship between the ethnic press and the issues of schooling and education⁶.

The wealth of the Italian ethnic press in Rio Grande do Sul is summarized in the many titles of the newspapers that circulated in the urban context and are listed in the table below:

Summary Table 1. List of newspapers published in the urban context of RS (1891-1936)

Title	City	Year
L'Italiano	Porto Alegre	(1891-1893)
Il Commercio italiano	Porto Alegre	(1892-1893)
L'Avvenire	Porto Alegre	(1892-1892)
L'Eco delle Colonie	Porto Alegre	(1892-1893)
Il Corriere Cattolico	Porto Alegre	(1891- 1895)
L'Italia	Porto Alegre	(1895-?)
La Scintilla	Porto Alegre	(1896-?)
Il Progresso	Porto Alegre	(1897-1900)

⁵ K.M. Pozenato Menegotto, L. Slomp Giron, *100 anos de imprensa regional 1987-1997*, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 2004. The Italian ethnic press produced in Rio Grande do Sul has not been much studied and researched. See A. Trento, *Imprensa italiana no Brasil séculos XIX e XX*, São Carlos, EdufScar, 2013, p. 229; [B. Crocetta], *Il giornalismo coloniale*, in *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte e Cultura, 2000 (1 ed. 1925), vol. 1, pp. 444-447 [from now on Cinquantenario]. The name of Benvenuto Crocetta as editor of the chapter of the Centennial is deduced by the Sommario della Monografia kept in the Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero, degli Affari Esteri [ASMAE], F[ondo]. Affari Commerciali 1924-1926, b. 25-54, f. *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana a Porto Alegre*; V.M. Chalmers, *Escritas Libertárias*, São Carlos, EduFSCar, 2017; See M. Chalmers, *A escrita dialógica da imprensa libertária em italiano publicada em São Paulo*, in T.R. Lucca, V. Guimarães (edd.), *A Imprensa Estrangeira publicada no Brasil – Primeiras Impressões*, 1 ed., São Paulo, Rafael Capetti Editor, 2017.

⁶ T.A. Luchese, *Catolicidade e a italianidade no Jornal Il Corriere d'Italia, RS, Brasil (1913-1927)*, in A. De Ruggiero, A. Barausse, V.B. Merlotti Heredia (edd.), *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*. Porto Alegre, Porto Alegre, EDIPURS, 2017, pp. 277-300; G.L. Rech, E.G. Tambara, *O Jornal Stella d'Italia e a defesa da escola étnica italiana (1902-1904)*, «História da Educação», vol. 19, n. 45, 2015, pp. 159-182.

La Patria italiana	Porto Alegre	(1897-1898)
La Voce Della Verità	Porto Alegre	(1898-?)
L'Operaio italiano	Porto Alegre	(1899-?)
Il Corriere italiano	Porto Alegre	(1902-1904)
La Verità	Porto Alegre	(1902-?)
La Cometa	Porto Alegre	(1902-?)
La Patria	Porto Alegre	(1904-?)
XX Settembre	Porto Alegre	(1904-?)
Gazzetta delle Signore	Porto Alegre	(1910-?)
Il Tempo	Porto Alegre (Santa Maria)	(1906-?)
La Frusta	Porto Alegre	(1906-?)
Gazetta della Signore	Porto Alegre	(1910-?)
La Patria Italo-Brasiliana	Porto Alegre	(1912-1917)
L'Araldo Coloniale	Porto Alegre	(1913)
Il Trentino	Porto Alegre	(1915-?)
Italia	Porto Alegre	(1915-?)
Almanaco idella Patria	Porto Alegre	(1917-?)
Gazzetta Coloniale	Porto Alegre	1917-?
Rivista Italo brasiliana	Pelotas	1922-?
La Nuova Italia	Porto Alegre	1924-?
Patria Nuova	Porto Alegre	1924-?
La Tribuna d'Italia	Porto Alegre	1925-?
Il Giornale d'Italia	Porto Alegre	1925-?
Lo Pascoalino	Porto Alegre	1925-?
D'Artagnan	Porto Alegre	1926-1926
Il Tribuno	Porto Alegre	1927-?
Voce d'Italia	Porto Alegre	1927-?
Vita Coloniale	Porto Alegre	1927-?
Lo Pasoalino	Porto Alegre	1927-?
La Nuova Italia	Porto Alegre	1933-1936
La Voce d'Italia	Porto Alegre	1935
La Patria fascista	Porto Alegre	?-?
La Verità	Porto Alegre	1933-?

Source: A. Colnaghi, *Il giornalismo italiano nel Rio Grande del Sud*, «Stella d'Italia», n. 405, 11 february, 1906; *Il giornalismo coloniale*, in *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte e Cultura, 2000 (1 ed. 1925), vol. I, pp. 444-447⁷.

This dynamism was also recognized at the International Exhibition of Milan, in 1906 and at the International Exhibition of Turin in 1911. During the events, the director of the periodical «Stella d'Italia» received an award for

⁷ Some information was complemented with data from the research done by D.J. Simi, *Periódicos em Língua italiana publicados no Rio Grande do Sul*, in *Blog Povo do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Sunday 4 May 2014, <<http://darisimi.blogspot.com/2014/05/periodicos-em-linguaitaliana-publicados.html>> (last access: 8.02.2019).

the study that presented the historical course of Italian journalism in the last decade of the 19th century⁸.

Based on this premise, the present study aims to perform an attentive analysis of the Italian ethnic press of Porto Alegre/RS, especially the contribution of the most long-lived newspaper, «Stella d'Italia»⁹, published twice a week and then three times a week from 1902 to 1925, which was the most-respected mouth piece of the numerous Italian community in the state. Run by Adelchi Colnaghi from Milan, the newspaper considered itself independent, as an advocate of Italian interests and institutions, especially schools, and the promoter of Italian associativism. The focus of this study is limited to the analysis of the periodical regarding the topic of Italian schooling during the period from 1902 to 1908.

Trento informs that he located issues of «Stella d'Italia», at the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo/IHGSP* he located 9 1908-1909 issues; at *Biblioteca Nacional/FBN*, 3 1911 issues. At the *Museu da Comunicação Social Hipólito José da Costa*, in Porto Alegre/RS, he located only two issues of the newspaper – one issue of September 25, 1913 and one of April 1, 1920¹⁰. The *corpus* of sources consists of a collection dispersed in various conservation sites¹¹ but it expands the availability of journal for a longer period than the recent past when Rech and Tambara obtained access to some issues of the years from 1902 to 1904 in a non-accessible private collection¹². The recent finding of the printed and microfilmed issues of the periodical (1902-1917) – an extremely rare fact in Brazilian reality – enables us to begin a more systematic investigation, both as regards the editorial aspects of the initiative, and the guidance given during its long life. Among the Italian periodicals published in Rio Grande do Sul, it presents a significant documental *corpus* regarding the

⁸ A. Colnaghi, *Diploma di benemerenza*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 505, 27 January 1907, p. 3; Id., *Diploma di benemerenza "per collaborazione" alla Stella d'Italia*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. XII, n. 1229, 18 January 1914.

⁹ For an initial introduction to the periodical see entry *O jornal "Stella d'Italia" (1902-1925)* organized by A. Barausse, M.H. Bastos, A. De Ruggiero, <<http://transfopressbrasil.franca.unesp.br/verbetes/o-jornal-stella-ditalia-1902-1925>> (last access 9.04.2019).

¹⁰ A. Trento, *Imprensa italiana no Brasil séculos XIX e XX*, São Carlos, Edufscar. 2013.

¹¹ In 2017, Alberto Barausse located a collection that covers the years from 1902 to 1913 in the Sormani Municipal Library of Milan/Italy, with a total of 1223 issues of the periodical. Access to part of this microfilmed collection allows one to think that it results from the fact that the Owner and Editor Colnaghi returned to Italy, taking up residence in Milan in 1914. Recently, 1914 microfilmed issues were located in the Archive of *Centro di ricerca e documentazione sulla Storia delle Istituzioni scolastiche, del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia* of Molise' University. Other issues are from 1916 and 1917 and are at the Library of Modern and Contemporary History in Rome, a total of 1470 issues. The issue of 23 October 1921, issue 1980 and 1981, was located in the Diplomatic History Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy. The copy is kept at ASMAE, AS Scuole 1911-1922, Cat. III, b. 445, f. Porto Alegre.

¹² G.L. Rech, E.G. Tambara, *O Jornal Stella d'Italia e a defesa da escola étnica italiana (1902-1904)*, «História da Educação», vol. 19, n. 45, 2015, pp. 159-182.

number of issues available, and qualitatively by the importance of the Italian ethnic press during the first decades of the 20 century.

Palhares-Burke states that the press was a powerful instrument of the enlightened project to change ideas and manners of the common people. This function of the press is generally justified by the absence of other educational agents such as laws and a system of public education¹³. The press in general, especially the ethnic press, are privileged observatories of what circulates in a given space and historical time of a social and cultural group. The choice of a newspaper as an object of study is justified because it is considered that the press is basically «an instrument to manipulate interests and intervene in social life»¹⁴.

Writing the history of Italian immigration in Brazil «through the press», based on critical procedures, will always have gaps, because it does not allow embracing the complexity of the «sources of information of the periodical, numbers printed, area of dissemination, relations with political institutions, economic and financial groups», the actors involved. The analysis of a periodical ranges from the printing techniques, the social position of the press, materiality, the idealizers, the editors in charge and other actors responsible, sections, contents, circulation, editorials, images and publicity¹⁵.

1. *Adelchi Colnaghi and Benvenuto Crocetta: the idealizers*

The figure above enables one to find the idealizers and people in charge of the publication of the newspaper: Director: Adelchi Colnaghi; Administrator, later Managing Editor: Benvenuto Crocetta.

In a series of articles written for the International Exhibition of Milan (1906), director Colnaghi recalled the origin of the editorial initiative of «Stella d'Italia» and what called the attention of the group promoting it: the absence of an Italian press at the beginning of the new century in Porto Alegre, compared to the experience of the German immigrants who, during the same period, had three newspapers¹⁶.

¹³ M.L. Palhares Burke, *A imprensa periódica como uma empresa educativa no século XIX*, «Cadernos de Pesquisa», n. 104, julho 1998, pp. 144-161.

¹⁴ T.R. Luca, *História dos nós e por meio de periódicos*, in C. Pinsky Bassanesi, *Fontes Históricas*, São Paulo, Contexto, 2009, p. 118.

¹⁵ According to Tania de Lucca, through newspaper ads it is possible to study different aspects of Brazilian society and, in this case, the Italian community in the State, and especially in Porto Alegre, *ibid.*, p. 111 and p. 117.

¹⁶ A. Colnaghi, *Il giornalismo italiano nel Rio Grande del Sud*, «Stella d'Italia», n. 405, 11 February 1906. But also issues nn. 406, 407, 409, 410-411, 413, 418, 419, 421, 425, 427, 430, 432, 436, 438, 442, 447, 451, 460, 469, 473.



Pic. 1. Adelchi Colnaghi (?-1917)
Source: *Cinquantenario*, vol. I, p. 447.



Pic. 2. Benvenuto Crocetta
Source: *Cinquantenario*, vol. 1, p. 447.

Adelchi Colnaghi probably arrived in Brazil in the last decade of the 19th century and settled in Porto Alegre /RS. He remained in the country until 1914, when he returned to Milan and died in May 1917¹⁷.

From the time he arrived he became involved in journalistic activities. Initially in the periodical «L'Italiano» (1891), whose owners were the Marsiano brothers and the Director Cesare Pelli. When the Federalist Revolution (1893-1895) occurred, the newspaper stopped being published in 1893. Later he began to manage the periodical, «Il Commercio italiano», an initiative of Agostino Ferrario, an immigrant from Milan, who began to publish it on November 10, 1892. The experience did not last very long, until January 1893¹⁸.

During this period, Colnaghi also collaborated with the periodical «Il Corriere Cattolico» (1891-1895) with a different orientation from his other journalistic experiences. This newspaper was founded on the initiative of an important political association of Porto Alegre, «Centro», under the management of Alfredo Clemente Pinto, a cultured Catholic man, but, according to Colnaghi «of moderate and conservative principles», a member of the Catholic Party which

¹⁷ The newspaper of the Republican Party of Rio Grande do Sul, «O Brazil» (1909-1924), announced his death in the edition of 26 May 1917. See «O Brasil», vol. IX, n. 312, 26 May 1917, p. 2.

¹⁸ Colnaghi, *Il giornalismo italiano nel Rio Grande del Sud*, cit., p. 1.

was formed by immigrants and descendants of Germans. Colnaghi became part of the editorial staff in 1893, in place of Guido Carlo Pasini, for the purpose of «modifying its program in the Italian and liberal» a difficult task considering the strong presence and interference (ingerellia) of Clemente Pinto, who represented the seminar students and was an ultraconservative germanophile and «and not very prepared for modifications in their orientation». Colnaghi's participation allowed rendering the periodical «less aggressive, taking out all the anti-Italian color preserved until that time» and ensuring the support of the Consuls Pio di Savoia and Angelo Legrenzi (the latter provided funding). This collaboration, however, ended in October 1895, due to failure to prevent the strongly confessional influence, at the same time as the commemoration of 20 September 1895¹⁹. Besides these periodicals, he collaborated as editor and temporary director, between October 1891 and March 30, in the newspaper «Il progresso» (1897-1900), founded by Mario Candia²⁰. Concomitantly with the journalistic activities, he was the inspector of the Italian schools in Porto Alegre; secretary of the *Circolo La Giovine Italia* (1890-1902), a society for learning and amusement.

This is illustrated by mentioning the participation of the Editor with a series of articles, in the illustrated books of the International Exhibition Universal – *L'Esposizione Internazionale de Sempione*²¹, that took place in Milan from April 28 to October 31 1906, at which he was present and the newspaper was awarded an Honorable Mention. Besides, it is important to note the participation of Rio Grande do Sul, the only Brazilian representative in an exclusive room²².

According to the research carried out by Stella Borges and Paulo Possamai, Colnaghi was a 3rd degree member of the Ausonia Masonic Lodge. This lodge was opened in Porto Alegre in 1895 and closed in 1903 and it also sponsored the publication of the periodical²³.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ In the last decade of the 19th century other periodicals were published: «L'Avvenire» (1892), directed by Leone Colombo; «Eco delle Colonie» (1892-93), directed by Carlo dell'Apa; «L'Italia» (1895), directed by Cesare Pelli. Colnaghi worked at four of the seven newspapers published in Porto Alegre.

²¹ Forty-three times during the period from 1908 to 1910.

²² Balbinot and Tedesco inform that «136 meters of the space occupied by the Latin American Pavillion were dedicated to the Rio Grande do Sul exhibition. The objective was to show the excellent situation of the Italians established in the State, more than 300 thousand Italo-Brazilians, because of the Prinetti Decree (1901) that suspended the license of four shipping companies responsible for transporting Italian immigrants free of charge by sea to Brazil. G. Balbinot, J.C. Tedesco, *Colonos em Milão. A participação do Rio Grande do Sul na Esposizione Internazionale del Sempione (1906) e suas correlações com a imigração italiana*, «Revista Brasileira de História & Ciências Sociais/RBHC», vol. 8, n. 16, 2016, pp. 252-269, in partic. p. 257.

²³ S. Borges, *Italians: Porto Alegre e trabalho*, Porto Alegre, EST Edições, 1993, pp. 41-45; P. Possamai, «*Dall'Italia siamo partiti*». *A questão da identidade entre os imigrantes italianos e seus descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul (1874-1945)*, Passo Fundo, EDUPF, 2005, p. 173.

After the death of Colnaghi, Benvenuto Crocetta became director of the periodical as editor, director and manager, until 1925, when the newspaper was no longer published²⁴. In the Editorial of July 3, 1902, the Editor informs that Crocetta's collaboration was free of charge and that he did not receive any monetary value, and he highlights his daily activities:

Amministratore, compositore, spedizioniere, correttore di bozze, impaginatore e corrispondente. Giorno e notte, durante tre lunghi mesi, egli ha lavorato con vigoria ineccepibile, contentandosi di vivere all'oscuro, mentre a noi abbandonava tutta la gloria – se pur vir e gloria – ed il vanto della popolarità²⁵.

Crocetta also worked at other Italian periodicals in Porto Alegre after «Stella d'Italia» was no longer published – «Giornale d'Italia» (founded in 1925), «Voce d'Italia» (created in 1928), «La Verità». But his civil and professional experience is distinguished by intense and constant participation in the associative school life and in various events in Porto Alegre society. He was also secretary and inspector of the schools of «Società Italiana di Beneficenza and Instruzione Principessa Elena di Montenegro», and was a great incentivizer of Italian schools²⁶.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Italian colonization in 1925, Crocetta became the secretary of the organizing committee and responsible for writing the monography *Um cinquantennio de vita coloniale: gli esponenti individuali e collettivi della colonia italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul, no Album do Cinquentenário della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, in which he calls attention to the «psychological characteristics of immigration, unity and collective formations, the associations, schools, colonial life, the producers of gold and blood, the individual exponents and the founders of colonies and cities, the pioneers of science, industries and trade, the works by women»²⁷. In the 1930s he was a member of the board of the «Associazione Dante Alighieri», founded in Porto Alegre in 1914²⁸. Often his presence and that of Colnaghi was recorded in several periodicals, such as the «Federação» newspaper (1884-1937), at political and social events in the

²⁴ Since the first year of publication, in the absence of Colnaghi, Crocetta took on the function of Director.

²⁵ «Administrator, typesetter, shipper, revisor, pager and correspondent. Day and night, for three long months, he worked with unimaginable stamina, contenting himself with living in the dark, while for us he abandoned all glory – if there is glory – and the pride of popularity», *Il primo trimestre della Stella d'Italia. Agli Abbonati*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 28, 3 July 1902, p. 1.

²⁶ His signature as secretary of the society appears in the letters of the schools kept at ASMAE AS 1888 – 1920 b.445, f. Porto Alegre.

²⁷ V.B.M. Heredia, R. Radunz (edd.), *História e Imigração*, Caxias de Sul, EDUCS, 2011, p. 250.

²⁸ Crocetta was worthy member of *Dante Alighieri*. See Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri, *Comitato di Porto Alegre, Relazione morale-fianziaria della gestione sociale dal 1 aprile 1936 al 31 marzo 1937*, p. 16 in ASMAE, AS 1936-45, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

city (as speakers, participation in a banquet in honor of Borges de Medeiros, presence at the inauguration of buildings and public monuments, participation in relatives' births and deaths) which shows the broad network of sociabilities that the people responsible for «Stella d'Italia» kept in the city and outside it, which gave the periodical greater visibility, since they were always introduced as directors²⁹.

2. An «independent gazette». Structure and program of «Stella d'Italia» to advocate and promote the Italian collectivity

The project of the periodical was constructed with some members of the Italian middle class of Porto Alegre, that increased their social and economic role in the context of the state capital, since the end of the 19th century³⁰. A circular of December 1, 1900 presented the project of the publication, signed by the Promoting Committee comprising several professionals: engineer Pietro Rusca, photographer Virgilio Calegari, businessman Felice Doderò, physicians – Gennaro Lanzara, Gaspare Vincenti, Biaggio Rocco, Giovanni Battista De Paoli, pharmacist Stefano Rocco, and journalist Adelchi Colnaghi.

Egregio Connazionale!

L'incremento sempre maggiore che va prendendo l'elemento italiano in questo Glorioso Stato e la sentita necessità di tutelarne i molteplici interessi, ci ha suggerito l'idea di promuovere la fondazione di un giornale che, ispirato a sentimenti altamente patriottici ed indipendenti, per mezzo d'una saggia e previdente collaborazione, riesca a disciplinare gli sforzi individuali, sorreggerli, animarli e fonderli in una unica e poderosa collettività. Redatto in lingua italiana e con servizio telegrafico particolare, sotto l'immediato concorso di uomini totalmente ligi alla grandezza della nostra Colonia e del nostro Bel Paese, esso sarà il vessillo sotto il quale ci troveremo riuniti, onde difendere e tutelare questa nostra patria d'adozione, dal cui benessere ed ingrandimento dipende tanta parte di noi stessi. Tener desta, in una parola, la fede italica nei nostri petti, pur mantenendo viva ed incondizionata la nostra devozione a quest gran Popolo fratello. Una collettività senza giornali é un esercito senza bandiera; dai nostri sforzi dipende quindi unicamente il nostro trionfo. E per raggiungere questo nobile scopo e perché il futuro periodico, sia realmente il rappresentante ufficiale della nostra Colonia, onde supplire ai mezzi di sua creazione, abbiamo ideato di fondare una Società per azioni, affinché il più umile di noi abbia la facoltà di contribuirvi senza gravi sacrifici³¹.

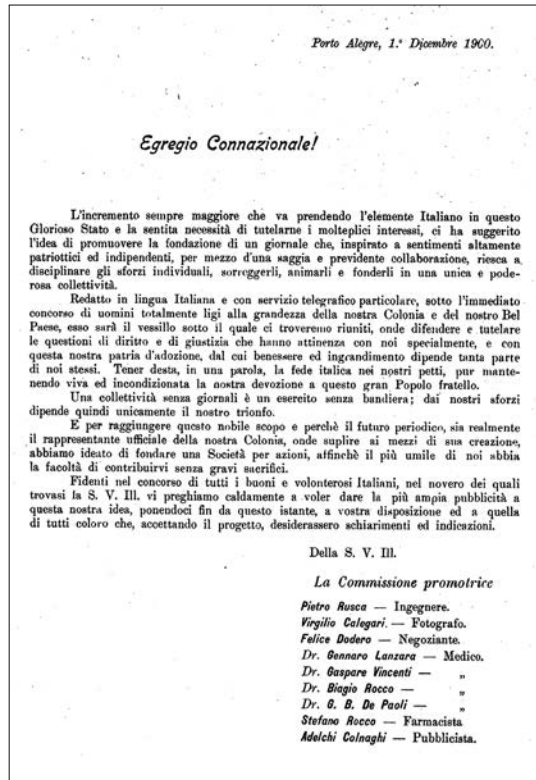
²⁹ *A inauguração do hospital "Dr. Bartolomeo Tacchini", em Bento Gonçalves*, «A Federação», vol. XLIV, n. 63, 17 March 1927, p. 2; *A homenagens que forma prestadas hoje ao dr. Borges de Medeiros*, «A Federação», vol. XLV, n. 20, 23 January 1928, p. 3.

³⁰ About the development of a bourgeois middle class in Porto Alegre, see N. M. Constantino Santoro, *L'italiano di Porto Alegre: immigranti meridionale nella capitale del Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Edipucrs, 2015.

³¹ «Dear Compatriot! The continuous increase of Italians in this Glorious State and the need felt to protect their multiple interests have suggested to us the idea of promoting the foundation of a newspaper that, inspired by highly patriotic and independent feelings, through a wise and thoughtful

In order to ensure the financial sustainability of the periodical, the group of founders intended to set up a joint stock company – 400 shares, each worth 25\$000. Later the Administrative Council would be appointed by the General Assembly³².

The project announced in 1900 by publishing a circular underwent several stages when, in 1901, it was taken up again directly by director Colnaghi, who accepted the requests from other fellow countrymen to begin a «newspaper that far from the party politics pressures, would implement the aspirations and ideas of the Colony and of the Homeland, continuously fighting to affirm our name and our rights». In 1902, once again, he invites his fellow countrymen to «Fight, fight always until sacrifice. Place our name very high to be respected and loved: these are the principles and ideals of Stella d'Italia and its collaborators»³³.



Pic. 3.

collaboration, able to discipline the individual efforts, support them, encourage them and fuse them into a single and powerful community. Elaborated in Italian, and with a private telegraph service, with the immediate agreement of men who are completely loyal to the greatness of our Colony and our Beautiful Country, it will be the flag under which we will meet to defend and protect our homeland, an adoption on which most of us depend. In one word, it maintains the Italic faith in our breast, while we keep our devotion to this great people fraternal, live and unconditional. A collectivity without newspapers is an army without flags, only our triumph depends on our efforts. And to attain this noble purpose and for the future periodical, it is really the official representative of our Colony to compensate the means of creating it, we conceive founding a joint stock company so that even the humblest of us can contribute to this without serious sacrifices». Circular December 1, 1900 included «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 1, 30 March 1902.

³² On the first page of the issue published on March 30, 1902 is a call from the Editor: «To the committee promoting the foundation of an Italian newspaper. Porto Alegre. The undersigned fully sharing the ideas expressed in the circular of December 1, 1900 and accepting the financial project added to it, commits himself to subscribe... shares, in the value of Rs 25\$000 each, placing the full amount of them at the disposal of the future Administrative Council. [Rua Bento Martins n. 28 (Canto della Rua dos Andradas), Porto Alegre]» (Progetto finanziario, *ibid.*).

³³ Circular of February 7, 1902 «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 1, 30 March 1902.



Pic. 4. Header of the number 1 issue of March 30, 1902
Source: «Stella d'Italia».

In the first issue, the director presented the program and established a relationship with the readers. Colnaghi also explicitly says that the objectives of the periodical were to «construct a collectivity with a homogeneous identity with the Motherland to contrast the dispersion and isolation in which the Italian community of Porto Alegre and the State lived». More than a program, he says that the publication would be more than a «conversations, from friend to friend, from compatriot to fellow citizens». The objective was to «create a relationship of affection, sympathy and mutual esteem»³⁴. The director presented the newspaper as an independent voice that did not belong to any religion or party, that did not intend to divide but rather to unite in the ideal of the Homeland. He stated that the title itself already comprised an extensive program that intended to form the solidary civic spirit that, in his opinion, was lacking in the Italian community. He criticized the individual and isolated patriotism that was in contrast with the idea of homogeneity. He considered that the Italian immigrant abroad should not have any party, except that of his Homeland. The project was to homogenize and discipline the immigrants' patriotism «so that the masses will become invincible»:

Nei lunghi anni di convivenza fra gl'italiani all'estero, specialmente in questa Colonia, abbiamo potuto arguire che ciò che manca a noi è lo spirito di solidarietà e di concordia, senza delle quali ogni progresso ed affermazione vigoroso si tornano irrisoroi. È lo spirito civico che ci fa difetto. Il nostro patriottismo individuale, comechè isolato, non potrà mai trionfare degli ostacoli che si frappongono alla nostra omogeneità e non tentiamo di fonderlo, di compagnarlo, di disciplinarlo e spingerlo così verso quegli ideali che rendono invincibili le emasse. Centomila connazionali e una sola idea, una sola aspirazione³⁵.

³⁴ A. Colnaghi, *L'ideale della Stella d'Italia*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 1, 30 March 1902, p. 1.

³⁵ «In the long years of interaction with Italians abroad, especially at this colony, we were able to argue that what we are lacking is the spirit of solidarity and a harmony without which the entire progress and affirmation become negligible. We lack the civic spirit. Our individual patriotism, since it is isolated, can never triumph over the obstacles that prevent us from achieving homogeneity and we do not try to fuse it, combine it, discipline and thus push it toward those

The newspaper sought to promote an Italian identity among the new generations born in Brazil, which tended more to assimilating the Brazilian identity culture. For this purpose it intended to present itself not as an entity of the colony, but as an expression of the unitary perspective of the associations that followed the ideal of the periodical, reflecting the Italian immigrants' form of sociability³⁶. In the first issue of 1902, the credits inform that the periodical is published under the auspices of the most relevant Italian ethnic societies in the capital: Vittorio Emanuele I (1877), Principessa Elena di Montenegro (1893-1937), Società di Beneficienza ed Instruzione Umberto I (1900), Ausonia Masonic Lodge (1895-1903), Circolo Filarmonico Italiano, Giuseppe Mazzini, at Tristeza in Porto Alegre (1885); Sociedade Operária de Mútuo Socorro Príncipe de Nápoles (1887), in Caxias do Sul.

Over time, the partnerships with the sociability networks spread throughout the colonial areas grew: there was also the Sociedade Stella d'Italia (1884), at Colônia Conde D'Eu (now Garibaldi/RS), that maintained schools – for boys and for girls; or also the «Luigi Amadeo de Savoia» society, in Arroio Grande.

The header presents data on the newspaper administration located at the Tipografia do Centro³⁷, at Rua Santa Catharina, in Porto Alegre to which correspondence was to be addressed. Later it was published by the Typografia «Italo-Riograndense» of Giuseppe Petrochi³⁸, which was also the representative of the *Grande Libreria Italiana*, belonging to the Fratelli Bertolotti, founded in 1892, in São Paulo, with a branch office in Porto Alegre at Rua dos Andradas, 136, with a great variety of newspapers and Italian magazines. After this change, the Directors, Management and Typography moved to General Câmara street, n. 10 (the former rua da Ladeira). Besides printing the periodical, the company

ideals that make it emanate invincibility. One hundred thousand compatriots and one idea, one aspiration only», *ibid.*

³⁶ A. Colnaghi, *Trepidazioni*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 2, 3 April 1902, p. 1.

³⁷ The Tipografia del Centro announces that it publishes materials in «lingua italiana, latina, tedesca, portughese», *ibid.*

³⁸ Luigi Petrocchi was a teacher and consular agent sent from Italy to Caxias do Sul, Bento Gonçalves, Bagé, Alfredo Chaves and Porto Alegre. Trained teachers also took on consular functions. He was born in Pistoia in Italy. He emigrated to Brazil around 1900, sent by the Italian Government with his two children who were of age, leaving his wife and two other children in Italy. He acted as «teacher-agent», for the purpose establishing a connection between the immigrants and the consular authorities. He acted as consular agent in Bento Gonçalves, probably between 1901 and 1909, he was a teacher and directed the «Petrocchi» school that he founded, in the same municipality for six years, disseminating Italianness. It appears that after he left Bento Gonçalves, Petrocchi became Vice-Consul in Porto Alegre/RS and in Florianópolis/SC. About this, see T.A. Luchese, *Singularidades na história da educação brasileira: As escolas comunitárias étnicas entre imigrantes italianos no Rio Grande do Sul (final do século XIX e início do XX)*, «Cuadernos Interculturales», vol. 6, n. 11. Segundo Semestre 2008, pp. 72-89; Luchese, Kreutz (edd.), *Imigração e educação no Brasil*, cit., pp. 323-324; G.L. Rech, *Escolas étnicas italianas em Porto Alegre/RS (1877-1938): a formação de uma rede escolar e o fascismo*, Pelotas, Doctoral Thesis, Programa de Pós-graduação em Educação (Supervisor: Elomar A. Callegaro Tambara), Pelotas, UFPEL, Year 2015.

had a bookshop – «Libreria della Stella d'Italia», opened in July 1909, and the books it announced were probably sold at the newspaper office.

The periodical had a system of subscriptions for one month, three months, six months or annual, and payment was «made in advance without exception»³⁹. On the first page, in the left corner, the *Ai Lettori* section, usually with a call to keep up the subscription and payment of the periodical, signed by Administrator Benvenuto Crocetta. A one-year subscription cost 10\$000 (reis); for six months 6\$000; for three months 3\$000; for one month, 1\$000. The separate issues sold for 200\$00. The newspaper was also sold in separate issues, as informed by the publishers: by Mr. Luigi Pedrazzi (at rua da Ladeira, the former address of Livraria Americana); and Mr. Matteo Carreta, at rua Bragança in the capital. An announcement published in issue 814, of 27-30 January 1910, page 2, informs that the renewal of the subscription included a book as a prize:

“Stella d’ Italia” e “Esposizione Illustrata di Milano”. (Elegantissima Rivista della grande Mostra Internazionale del 1906. Edizione di lusso ricca di oltre 2000 finissime incisioni. Reis 20\$000 – Con diritto al premio).

As to the number of issues published up to the present, we are informed that from March 30, 1902 to May 18, 1916, there were 1470 issues. Since it has not yet been possible to locate the issues from 1917 to 1925, it has been impossible to assess the total number of issues.

Regarding periodicity, initially it was twice a week (1902-1908): Thursdays and Sundays; and later it became three issues a week (1908-1917): Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

The periodical was published from 1902 to 1908, in four columns, with 4 pages (A4 folded in the middle). The first page always presented the Editorial, which took up two or three columns, and focused on the doctrinaire scope. The fourth column was for announcements, popular subscriptions, and/or travel reports, more important news. The pages carried the other sections. The two last pages were dedicated to the novels in serialized form (*feuilleton*) and to ads (restaurants, fashion for women and men, Italian products, pharmaceutical products, hotels, tailoring, carpentry, wool mills, Italian language classes, schools, photographic studio, umbrella and walking stick factory, butchers, furniture, textiles, clubs, snooker parlors, grocery stores and delicatessens, lottery houses, school books, technical books, novels, magazines)⁴⁰. People

³⁹ So far it has not been possible to obtain information about the number of copies of each issue.

⁴⁰ In a set of 202 issues, from September 1908 to August 1910, we classified the ads according to five categories: liberal professionals (sixteen times, that of Lawyer Alzio Marino); trade and industry (most of the ads published are in this category; «Oficina de Marmi», appears 88 times); health (this class includes ads in this category that are for physicians, medicines, pharmacies; the ad of physician Giovanni Campelli, *home visit*, was published 116 times and his Surgical Clinic

interested in publishing announcements were to talk to Francisco Truda, who was in charge of this, and pay in advance. The space kept for announcements guaranteed the economic maintenance and also disseminated services and products of interest to the reader⁴¹.

The announcements generally took up the two last pages of the newspaper and a few spaces at the top of the pages and/or empty spaces that were filled with the advertisements. The publicity allows observing that most of them referred to companies and services in Porto Alegre. However, there are ads from establishments in other towns in Rio Grande do Sul (Santa Maria, Rio Grande, Livramento, Caxias do Sul, Encantado, Garibaldi, Pelotas, Alegrete, Novo Hamburgo and others), which shows that the newspaper did not circulate only in the capital, but in other towns in the interior, as confirmed by the broad network of correspondents⁴².

On 20 September 1908 (year VII, n. 673), it began to have 6 columns, with 8 pages. It also altered the header, which presented symbolic elements that recall the influence of the masonry: the 5 points star, above the female head, framed by leaves. The woman also symbolized the Italian monarchy. The newspaper began to have a subscription to implement their own typography «for its [own] growth»⁴³.

In the first issues of the newspaper there appears to be a clear will to pursue an ethical, civil and pedagogical project, rather than political, through the Director's editorials, which adopt various titles according to the intention, and sometimes between parentheses «Ai Lettori» – attributing to the incipient Italian urban middle class of Porto Alegre the task of building the perspective of a national identity shared and founded on concordance. But this was in contrast with the tendency of the Italian collectivity of a clear party division and defining itself as monarchical, republican, socialist: «Fuori della Patria Outside

in Encantado, 11 times); agricultural products (olive oil, snuff and tobacco factory, land sales); education and culture (schools, private tutors, books, libraries, magazines, serial novels).

⁴¹ *Ai Lettori*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 2, 3 April 1902, p. 1.

⁴² The circulation of the periodical can be confirmed by the numerous presence of «agenti-corrispondenti del giornale»: Caxias (Francesco Mainieri, Dr. G. Lazara, I. Bersani), Pelotas (Cesare Cesario), Garibaldi (Abramo Camini), Bento Gonçalves (Luigi Allegretti), Tristeza (Pergentino Piva), Rio Grande (Ambrogio Revello), Cachoeira do Sul (P. Battisti), Nova Trento, Itaquí (Fratelli de Grazia), Arroio Grande, São Marco, Montebello, Passo Fundo, São Leopoldo, Jaguari, Colônia Ijuí, Bagé, Garibaldi, Silveira Martins, Encruzilhada, Antonio Prado, São Vicente (Angelo Previtali), Nova Vicenza, Convento Vermelho (Olimpio Cavagna), Guaporé (Giuseppe Fontana, Antonio Cappelari), Alfredo Chaves-Capoeiras, Alfredo Chaves (Emilio Toschi), São João de Montenegro (Antonio Paganelli), Encantado (Luigi Zuliani), Nova Pádua (Vittorio Mantovani), Esperança, Cruz Alta, Bujará – São José do Norte, Santa Maria, Barão do Triunfo, Taquara do M. Novo, Santa Vitória do Palmar, General Osório, Estação Colonia and São Marcos (Masimiliano Danelli). This network of agents fed the weekly chronicle in the section «Echi dalle Colonie», with news and events in the different towns in the State – for instance, Olimpio Cavagna (Roca Salles); Griso (Alfredo Chaves); Gloacchino Mascarello (Nova Trento).

⁴³ «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 674, 20 September 1908.

the Homeland», wrote Colnaghi «l'italiano non può ne deve aver altro partito che non sia quello della propria bandiera»⁴⁴, together with the requirement and obligation abroad, to «amare, proteggere, difendere il nostro connazionale... elevarne il morale love, protect, defend our co-citizens raise their morale»⁴⁵; and to analyze the evils that prevented developing «omogeneità e concordia della colonia italiana»⁴⁶. For this reason, the director, to create a contrast with the apathy of local associativism⁴⁷, once again took up the idea that had already been pursued unsuccessfully in 1892 by the elementary school teacher, of a confederation of various mutual aid societies⁴⁸. The process acquires credibility and strength with the increase in the number of subscribers⁴⁹, and the proposal to elaborate by-laws. This however was unsuccessful, and the subject was taken up repeatedly over several years. The project was resumed also between the end of 1906 and the beginning of 1907 after the arrival of the new consul of Italy in Porto Alegre De Velutiis⁵⁰. However only in September 1911 the associations would succeed in promoting the establishment of a Federation of the Italian Societies even though such existence would be short lived⁵¹.

In order to implement the feeling that it belonged to the Motherland, the newspaper constantly published news of the political life of Italy, in the section

⁴⁴ «Outside the Homeland an Italian should not have another party than that of his own flag». A. Colnaghi, *Mali e rimedii. Presunzione-Insociabilità*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 6, 17 April 1902, p. 1.

⁴⁵ «love, protect, defend our co-citizens raise their morale». See A. Colnaghi, *Mali e rimedii. Presunzione e insociabilità II*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 7, 20 April 1902, p. 1 and n. 8, 24 April 1902, p. 1.

⁴⁶ «homogeneity and harmony in the Italian colony». See Id., *I nostri articoli*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 27, April 1902, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Id., *Mali e rimedii. Apatia*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 4, 10 April 1902, p. 1; Id., *Mali e rimedii. Apatia II*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 5, 13 April 1902, p. 1; Id., *Mali e rimedii. Presunzione-Insociabilità*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 6, 17 April 1902.

⁴⁸ It was Dionisio Ronchi, a teacher at the school managed by «Società Vittorio Emanuele II» who in the beginning of the Nineties tried to give life to the «Consolato Operaio» federation. See A. Colnaghi, *Confederiamoci*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 3, 6 April 1902, p. 1; Id., *Benefici della concordia*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 13 and n. 15, 11 and 18 May 1902, p. 1; Id., *La confederazione degli Enti e della Colonia*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 141, 2 August 1903, p. 1; n. 142, 6 August 1903, p. 1 and n. 144, 13 August 1903, p. 1. On the school of the society and the teacher see A. Barausse, *Chamas da educação nacional e do sentimento pátrio: as escolas italianas no rio grande do sul da colonização ao final do século 19 (1875-1898)*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, 2017, pp. 41-85.

⁴⁹ Colnaghi, in his balance of the first three months publishing Stella d'Italia says that «Faithful to his program: Union and Harmony [...] always fighting for our ideal: the union and confederation of the Italian moral institutions». With this preamble, he calls attention to the fact that the increased number of subscriptions allows maintaining «the route traced for us, feeling its strength and hopes grow», *Il primo trimestre della Stella d'Italia. Agli Abbonati*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 28, 3 July 1902, p. 1.

⁵⁰ *Nel mondo scolastico. La premiazione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. IV, nn. 498-499, p. 1.

⁵¹ *La Commemorazione del 20 Settembre in Porto Alegre. La costituzione della Federazione delle Società Italiane*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. X, n. 987, 24 September 1911, p. 1.

«In giro per l'Italia» which published a variety of small news items from different Italian periodicals and/or sent by telegram and correspondence. Concomitantly, there was also the section «Attraverso L'Italia». In these sections the newspaper expressed the orientation close to the new liberal policy inaugurated by the governments led by statist Giovanni Giolitti⁵² and identified itself with the ideal of moderate secularism and more marked nationalism, beginning at the end of the first decade of the 20 century. For instance, the periodical maintained its own telegraph address, which fed the section of «Notizie telegrafiche», that alternated the name in some issues to «Boletim Telegráfico», bringing news about the Tripoline War (1911-1912) as a form of propaganda to inform the reader against the information provided by the opposition to the conflict. This section changed its name in several issue to «Trip around the world». The nationalist ideology followed the life of the newspaper, as Simi observed, that *Stella d'Italia* and other periodicals in the mountains region of northeast Rio Grande do Sul (Serra Gaúcha) showed sympathy for Italy and criticized Germany and Austro-Hungary, whereas, «Il Trentino», published in Italian, Portuguese and German, during the period of 1915-1917, supported them. In another section, titled «Varietà», whose topics were very variable, it looked further into general debates, such as the news from the magazine «Revue Universelle», offering the opportunity to go deeper into the subject of divorce⁵³.

From the perspective of advocating and promoting the identity of origin, the structure and contents of the newspaper focused on support of the ethic-civil and mass pedagogical project. In the first editorials, the political line of the newspaper established a contrast with the naturalization process that involved the descendants of Italians born in Brazil.

Other Italian periodicals published in Brazil, – such as *Fanfulla* and *La Tribuna*, the two largest newspapers in São Paulo, also promoted a debate on whether it was or not useful to join the assimilation process.

Colnaghi⁵⁴ acknowledges that both positions have valid arguments. He states that every immigrant who abandons his Homeland and establishes his home in Brazil, must become naturalized, but loses the protection of his native country. In the Editorial titled *Naturalizzazione? Pro e Contro* the editor concludes

⁵² Giovanni Giolitti's term in office (1901-1914) was a period characterized by an attempt to broaden the integration into the Italian State of the party forces and social movements that were marginalized in the previous period, such as socialist and Catholic. After the 1900 elections, the new policy of reforms in education, above all in elementary school, and of basic teachers; institution of the new popular school, new programs for the elementary school, new legal status and new reform of retirement pensions for elementary and high school teachers, handing basic education that until then had been managed by the municipalities to the state. About this, see: A. Aquarone, *Tre capitoli sull'Italia giolittiana*, Bologna, il Mulino 1987; L. Pazzaglia, *La scuola fra stato e società negli anni dell'età giolittiana*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e Società nell'Italia unita. Dalla legge Casati al centro sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 171-211.

⁵³ *Varietà – Per ottenere il divorzio*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 4, 10 April 1902.

⁵⁴ A. Colnaghi, *Naturalizzazione? Pro e Contro I*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 33, 20 July 1902.

that, morally, naturalization does not bring any benefit, since one loses the protection of the country of birth and does not acquire any from the adopted country. He exemplifies this with the issue of voting, which is not respected and that the ballot box is not sacred, which does not give the citizens any certainty, naturalized or not. He informs that the Brazilian Law of Naturalization, decreed at the end of 1890, was an imposition and, therefore, valueless⁵⁵.

From this perspective, the periodical will highlight the commemorations of the Italian national holidays, as a vehicle to construct a collective identity imaginary founded on traditions. On the first page of issue number 62, there is a circular titled *Onoranze Funebri a Vittorio Emanuele II – 25° anniversario*, by Stefano Rocco, followed by appreciations by the editor informing about the Pantheon⁵⁶.

Other sections emphasized identity defense. From number 5 onwards there was a section called *La Vita al Brasile*, which focused on facts involving the Italian community of various Brazilian states⁵⁷. It is signed with the initials of Benvenuto Crocetta. A small section, titled *Dalla Argentina*, which reports various news items about the Italians in that country. Adelchi Colnaghi, in a few issues, writes a kind of obituary of important people in the Italian community of Porto Alegre or other cities.

From the perspective of ethnic cultural promotion, the newspaper *Stella d'Italia* also publishes novels in serial form (Feuilleton)⁵⁸, usually on the last page of the periodical, in the section titled *Appendice della Stella d'Italia*. For instance, in two hundred and seventy-two issues the periodical published the novel *La Figlia maledetta*, by Emílie Richebourg (1833-1898)⁵⁹, characterizing it as «a very original romance, moving and above all moral»⁶⁰. Other authors are also published in feuilleton form: Attilio Vetere, «Villa Glori, (the story of a survivor)»⁶¹; «The irremediable», a novel without an author⁶². Besides the

⁵⁵ Id., *Naturalizzazione? Pro e Contro*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 35, 27 July 1902.

⁵⁶ *Onoranze Funebri a Vittorio Emanuele II – 25° anniversario*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 62, 30 October 1902.

⁵⁷ *La vita al Brasile*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 5, 13 April 1902, p. 2 o qual apresentava a análise de viagem de Adolfo Rossi o *Commissariato dell'Emigrazione*.

⁵⁸ Anne-Marie Thiesse considers that many periodicals do not present as a uniform ensemble, but are a sexually divided space, where each section, according to its analogy with private life, is aimed at female or male reading. One place dominates female reading part excellence – the feuilleton novel: a novel in episodes that introduce literary fiction into daily reading. The fact that it is in small parts makes reading easier for women who can read it between one and another domestic task. A-M.Thiesse, *Le Roman du quotidien. Lecteurs et lectures populaires a la Belle Epoque*, Paris, Le Chemin Vert, 1984, pp. 20-25.

⁵⁹ Known French author of feuilleton novels. In Brazil two of his works were translated by Companhia Brasil: *A toutinegra do moinho* (1944); *A filha maldita* (1944, 1948).

⁶⁰ E. Richebourg, *La Figlia maledetta*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 607, 19 January 1908; n. 879, 11 September 1910.

⁶¹ «Stella d'Italia», vol. V, n. 480, 2 December 1906 until n. 492, 13 December 1906.

⁶² *L'irremediabile novella*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VI, n. 525, 7 April 1907 until n. 543, 9 June 1907.

feuilletons written by male authors, there is one, *La Regina Elena*, written by Paola Lombroso.

Other literary text are published – poems, poetry, theatrical plays. Among them, the play by Edmondo de Amicis, titled *Fiore del Passato. Bozzetto drammatico in un atto*. On the first page, the editor placed a reminder at the top or at the bottom, «Read on page four, Fiore del passato»⁶³. By the same author, the article *Complimenti e Convenevoli*⁶⁴. On 19 March 1908, on page one, *Edmondo de Amicis, lo scrittore popolare*, highlights the news of his death on 14 March⁶⁵. Successively he publishes other news about the writer, reproducing a news story published in Rome on 11 March 1908⁶⁶. From issues 630 to 643, the newspaper publishes, in 13 chapters, the novel by De Amicis, *Ricordi d'un viaggio in America*⁶⁷.

In addition to the objective of promoting and defending the ethnic identity characters, the newspaper intended to be the advocate of the interests of the Italian community in Rio Grande do Sul and in the capital Porto Alegre. From this perspective, already in the first few months it highlighted the role of the Italian immigrants in the economic development of the State and demanded that Brazilian authorities take relevant structural measures to improve safety in the colony settlements, ensuring better conditions to support the economic activities promoted by the immigrants. For instance, the director asked for urgent measures to remove the *intendentes* (mayors) or bands of criminals from Guaporé, Caxias do Sul, Alfredo Chaves, who threatened and assaulted the immigrants and the consular agents⁶⁸. He also requested measures to improve the settlers' mobility on roads and railroads, demanding the implementation of the project of the railroads in Caxias do Sul⁶⁹ that had already been announced. There is an emblematic letter from Colnaghi to the State Governor, Dr. Borges de Medeiros, on behalf

⁶³ *Fiore del Passato. Bozzetto drammatico em um atto*, «Stella d'Italia», n. 413, 11 March 1906 until n. 428, 3 May 1906.

⁶⁴ *Complimenti e convenevoli. Studio di E. De Amicis*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. V, n. 490, 6 December 1906, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Edmondo de Amicis. Lo scrittore popolare*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 624, 19 March 1908.

⁶⁶ *La morte di Edmondo De Amicis*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 626-627, 26-29 March 1908, p. 2.

⁶⁷ E. Amicis, *Ricordi d'un viaggio in America*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 630, 9 April 1908, p. 4 until n. 643. L. Wataghin, *Edições brasileiras das obras de Edmondo de Amicis*, «Mutatis Mutandis», vol. 9, n. 1, 2016, pp. 42-52; G. Romani, *Edmondo De Amicis na América do Sul: pátria e identidade italiana fora dos limites nacionais*, «Estudos Ibero-americanos - PUCRS», vol. 38, supl., pp. 863-875, nov. 2012.

⁶⁸ *Ieri ed Oggi*, «Stella d'Italia», 3 April 1902, p. 3; *Ieri e Oggi*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 2, 3 April 1902, p. 2; *Echi delle colonie*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 7, 20 April 1902, p. 2; *Ieri e oggi*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 10, 1 May 1902, p. 3; *Brigantaggio in azione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 12, 6 May 1902, p. 2; *I martiri della gleba. Guaporè ed i coloni*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 43, 31 August 1902, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Ieri e Oggi*, «Stella d'Italia», *Il problema del giorno*, vol. I, n. 8, 24 April 1902; A. Colnaghi, *E la ferrovia di Caxias?*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 10 and n. 11, 1 and 4 May 1902, p. 1 and pp. 1-2.

of the Italian Community, about the regrettable state of the road that links the colonial region of São Sebastião do Caí to São João de Montenegro⁷⁰.

The focus on the different settlements of Italian immigration was maintained in the section «Ieri ed Oggi», which contained a miscellany of news from the different Italian colonies in Rio Grande do Sul. Later it was called «Echi dalle Colonie».

From the perspective of maintaining a constant relationship with the readers, the periodical published telegrams and letters received, as well as the editors' answers. But it complemented them with information that was useful for the Italian community in the section titled «Indicazioni», in which it supplied the addresses of the Italian Consulate in Porto Alegre, and of the following societies: «Vittorio Emanuele II», «Principessa Elena de Montenegro», «Palestra Umberto I», «Circolo Filarmonico Italiano», «Ausonia Masonic Lodge», «Sociedade Giuseppe Mazzini». It also had a «Sezione Commerciale», with quotations from the foreign exchange and the price of various products and «Movimento Marittimo».

As we leaf through the periodical, it is found that only Colnaghi and Crocetta signed their participations, but mostly it is impossible to know who their collaborators were because only their initials or pseudonyms appeared. Some are identified: Francisco Truda, who participated in the management of the newspaper and chaired the *Circolo Giovine Italia*; F. Luigi Zuliani, Stefano Rocco, president of the Vittorio Emanuele II school. It is possible that they also used a pseudonym for some collaborations.

The board of the periodical wished to extend its circulation to the entire State and this was expressed in the request for cooperation from the readers: «Tutti i lettori che consideriamo amici, devono farsi nostri cooperatori. Quando avviene qualcosa d'importante nei luoghi ove essi risiedono, ci informino affrettamente e in modo esatto»⁷¹.

3. «Stella d'Italia» and the matter of language and Italian ethnic schools (1902-1908)

In the overall context, oriented to reinforcing the defense of the identity processes, the periodical gave particular attention to the matter of the language and of the ethnic schools. Actually the matter had called the attention of

⁷⁰ *Lettera aperta a Sua Ecc. Il Presidente dello Stato, dott. Borges de Medeiros*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 79, 28 December 1902, p. 1.

⁷¹ «All readers whom we consider friends should become our collaborators. When something important happens in the places where they live, they inform us speedily and precisely». *Ai Lettori*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 40, 4 September 1902, p. 1.

the consuls ever since the beginning of colonization⁷². Consul Ciapelli, who lived in Porto Alegre at the beginning of the Nineties, also asked the Ministry in Italy, for attention to the importance of the school, because «besides the dissemination of elementary knowledge its aimed at disseminating *italianità*, of nationalist nature»⁷³. In the Report, dated 1901 about the intellectual and moral conditions of the Italian colonists, he stated:

[...] l'istruzione scarseggia ed è trascurata. Vi sono, è vero, molte scuole, ma tutte in condizioni didattiche e finanziarie poco soddisfacenti [...] Molti hanno lasciata la cittadinanza d'origine per abbracciare quella del paese in cui vivono; ma, in fondo, si mantengono egualmente buoni italiani, sebbene siano sinceramente affezionati alla loro seconda patria. Nelle colonie quasi tutti prendono parte alla vita pubblica. Parecchi occupano impieghi nell'amministrazione del paese, nella polizia, nei municipi e tutti si distinguono per buon senso, per lealtà e per la giusta misura cui sanno attenersi nell'esercizio delle funzioni⁷⁴.

Maintaining the language and religion of Italy, as the homeland of the children of immigrants, was a matter of concern for the authorities. According to Kreuz,

The ethnic-cultural dimension is constructed and reconstructed constantly, in a relational process in which the groups and individuals seek, select or are reluctant based on the meaning the phenomena and processes hold for them. Therefore, education and the school are a favorable field to perceive the affirmation of the identity process and the alienation and tensions resulting from the relationship between cultures⁷⁵.

This concern is also present in the «Stella d'Italia», in different ways, but especially in the Editorials. The periodical has a large space to disseminate information about school education, teachers, books, magazines and journals,

⁷² See A. Barausse, *Le scuole italiane nel Rio Grande do Sul attraverso le carte consolari tra la fine dell'Impero e l'inizio della Repubblica (1875-1893)*, in A. De Ruggiero, V.B.M. Heredia, A. Barausse, *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 195-248; A.T. Luchese, L. Kreuz (edd.), *Imigração e educação no Brasil: histórias, práticas e processos escolares*, Santa Maria, Editora UFSM, 2011.

⁷³ Luchese, Kreuz (edd.), *Imigração e educação no Brasil*, cit., p. 233.

⁷⁴ «Instruction is scarce and neglected. Indeed there are many schools but all of them with less than satisfactory teaching and financial conditions. [...] Many have given up their original citizenship to embrace that of the new country in which they live; but, deep down they are still good Italians, although with a sincere inclination to their second homeland. In the colonies almost all participate in public life, some of them with jobs in the settlement administration, in policies, in the municipalities, and by the precise way in which they hold to exercising their functions». *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud (Brasile) e l'immigrazione italiana. Da un rapporto del R. Console a Porto Alegre, cav. E. Ciapelli, August 1901*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione», n. 4, 1903, pp. 58-59 now also in G. Romanato, V.B.M. Heredia, *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914). Fonti diplomatiche*, Ravenna, Longo Editore, pp. 306-307.

⁷⁵ L. Kreuz, *Imigrantes e projeto de escola pública no Brasil: diferenças e tensões culturais*, in *Educação no Brasil: história e historiografia. Sociedade Brasileira de História da Educação*, Campinas, Autores Associados, 2001, p. 123.

Giovedì 1° Febbraio 1906

La Voce d'Italia

(Esce al giovedì ed alla domenica)

Porto Alegre - Brasile

GAZZETTA INDIPENDENTE

Anno V. — N. 402

Abbonamenti posticipati
Anno.....128000 — Semestre.....68000
Trimestre.....38000 — Mensile.....18000
Un numero separato 2000

Direttore: **ADELCHI COLNAGHI**
Administratore: **Benvenuto Crocetta**

Direzione e Amministrazione:
Rua Dr. Feres, 32 A (antico S. Caterina)
Non si accettano ordini di pagamento personale.

Colonia Villanova-Italia

CENNI GENERALI.

Riproduciamo qui sotto la succinta monografia della Colonia Villanova-Italia, accompagnante la collezione di 21 nitide fotografie delle diverse case coloniche, campi, chiese ecc. di quel piccolo centro suburbano, proporzionalmente eseguito per l'Esposizione Internazionale di Milano:

Questa colonia venne fondata nell'anno 1894 per opera di diverse famiglie agricole italiane le quali desiderose di stabilirsi vicino alla capitale speravano il modo di acquistare qualche terreno nei dintorni.

Poco dopo la morte del generale Barreto Leite, avvenuta nel 1893, i suoi eredi decisero infatti di distaccarsi da una tenuta di circa cinque milioni di metri quadrati, posta a 10 chilometri da Porto Alegre, sulla strada generale che congiunge questa città ad una piccola borgata denominata *Belen Velha*. Questa immensa distesa di terra non era mai stata lavorata; essa veniva adibita a pascolo di animali come del resto tutte le terre possedute dai brasiliani.

Bisognò di danari, i detti eredi cedettero la possessione per una somma irrisoria. Un momento in possesso, i fortunati acquirenti intrapresero immediatamente la sua coltivazione. Pallarono la terra dalle erbe maligne, la dissodarono, aprirono i fossi che offrono ad altre famiglie italiane. Queste infatti, data la eccellente posizione e la facilità immensa di collocare i prodotti, vendendoli a contanti sul mercato di Porto Alegre, non tardarono ad acquistarele chi a contanti e chi a respiro, a seconda delle loro diverse posizioni finanziarie. Ricche di acque e di legumi, colle prime stabilirono l'irrigazione, col secondi intrapresero a fare carbone. In pochi anni

trapprendendo ed arveduto, il signor Monteggia provvedendo il grande avvenire della nascente colonia, per un largo terreno ivi collocato cedette tutte le terre da lui possedute nella colonia Alfredo Chaves lungo dalla capitale circa 200 chilometri. Collocato così nella sua nuova dimora, da lui anteriormente scelta, vi fabbricò una bella casa campestre sopra un piccolo corso d'acqua, a circa cinquanta metri dalla strada sopraccennata. Un largo viale fiancheggiato da alberi fruttiferi conduce al cortile prospiciente la casa stessa.

Utilizzando l'acqua del torrentello vi formò una chiesa, ed aprendo un piccolo canale la condusse fino a farle dare un salto di cinque metri. Signore di quella preziosa forza idraulica, vi collocò una turbinia nord-americana capace di muovere due macine moderne. Né il signor Monteggia si limitò soltanto a questo magnifico stabilimento in miniatura. Lungo la strada maestra che taglia longitudinalmente la sua terra, quasi di fronte al viale che conduce al mulino e casa campestre, misurò e divise in lotti urbani un suo terreno piano e levigato come un bigliardo; uno di quei lotti lo cedette gratuitamente alla piccola collettività della nuova colonia—già battezzata col titolo che serve di base a questo breve cenno—colla condizione di erigervi una piccola Chiesa dedicata a S. Giuseppe ed una scuola.

I coloni accettarono l'offerta e tutti, in uno sforzo comune, ne intrapresero la costruzione—vedi fotografie n. 1 e 2; le altre marcate coi numeri 3, 4, 5, 6, mostrano l'esterno della casa Monteggia, il mulino, la fattoria, l'interno ecc.; le altre dal n. 7 al n. 21 le parecchie case coloniche a terre delle diverse famiglie ivi residenti, tutte in uno stato di invidiabile benessere rispetto alle colonie di Caxias, Antonio Prado, Alfredo Chaves, Bento Gonçalves, Garibaldi, Gasparé ecc. In queste colonie governative, sia la distanza a mano viabilità sia la distanza

giato dal sig. Cristiano Kramer, oriundo di Alemagna, comprò una possessione di 3 milioni di mq. confinante con Villanova Italia e che denominò Colonia Lombarda, in cui si della grande rassomiglianza con quella ricca ed ubertosa provincia italiana.

Se possedesse capitali sufficienti, queste terre feraci comprenderebbero e gli e quante migliaia di famiglie oggi viventi una vita di stenti, non troverebbero ivi la felicità ed il benessere?

La cinquantina di famiglie italiane residenti nella piccola colonia Villanova-Italia, non danno esse immagine di quanto potrebbero centinaia e centinaia di altre famiglie, se il capitale italiano invece di star neghittoso, ammassato nelle casse e nei banchi, non tentasse un utile impiego in questo paese, ove tutto è ancora da fare? A. COLNAGHI.

Sezione Commerciale

Porto Alegre, 31 Gennaio 1906.
Camblet 17 1/2.
Lira sterlina 138714.
Lira italiana: 9245.

Agli Abbonati.

Per una rivista molto accettabile, se ricordate che domani, festa dei Mari-gusti, la tipografia resta chiusa, se accendete il presente numero. Siamo così costretti a sospendere quella della prossima domenica, riservandoci di darlo giovedì prossimo con numero duplicato. Di ciò domandiamo ve ne si diletterete. LA REDAZIONE.



Attraverso l'Italia

ROMA, 19 gennaio. — Il Papa ha ricevuto in udienza particolare un vescovo polacco che lo ha informato di una grande agitazione religiosa che fermenta nella Polonia russa, minacciando la sicurezza del partito cattolico. Parecchie migliaia di radicali cattolici invitarono il cardinale arcivescovo di Varsavia a dare le sue dimissioni a cagione delle sue tendenze reazionarie. Il Papa dirigerà quindi una nuova enciclica ai vescovi polacchi, consigliando di sottoporsi per la pacificazione degli animi.

Dalla situazione del Ministero del Tesoro si rileva che nel primo semestre dell'esercizio finanziario 1905-1906, le entrate dello Stato segnano un aumento di 80 milioni. A questo aumento ha contribuito il rendimento delle ferrovie passato all'esercizio dello Stato.

La Tribuna informa che nel mese di febbraio avverrà l'incrociatore a Barmueda, dell'on. Martini, Governatore della Colonia Eritrea, col Negus Menelik, onde discutere importanti questioni che interessano lo sviluppo della Colonia Eritrea, tra cui l'impianto del servizio telegrafico in Eritropia, affidato ad una società italiana, e l'istituzione di agenzie commerciali in varie località dell'impero etiopico.

Si è costituita in Roma una Società anonima per azioni, con capitale interamente italiano, per la costruzione d'artiglierie navali e da guerra. Il capitale sottoscritto è di 10 milioni, interamente versato. L'arsenale sarà piantato nel golfo di La Spezia.

Telegrafano da Campagnano che due mila contadini hanno invaso il feudo del principe Chigi, ripartendo i terreni che incominciarono a coltivare. L'autorità locale, impotente di fronte al numero dei contadini

Pic. 5

both to the families and to the school universe, published in Italy and circulating in the State.

Since the newspaper was sponsored by societies that maintained schools⁷⁶ the latter were present daily in small insertions throughout the pages and in the section called *Indicazioni*, which provided the addresses of these institutions. These notices were not of interest only to the schools of Umberto I society or of Principessa Elena di Montenegro society in the capital, but also to the schools in the colonial areas⁷⁷. News of the schools were to be found in the

⁷⁶ Calls to assemblies of the Italian societies are also published, and later a summary of what was discussed.

⁷⁷ See for instance *Società operaria Stella d'Italia di Garibaldi* e *Società Giuseppe Mazzini di Triesteza*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 7, 20 April 1902, p. 2; *Ieri e Oggi. Società di Mutua*

official minutes of the Associations, as well as reports of the *Bilancio morale-finanziario della Società Principessa Elena di Montenegro*⁷⁸. But attention was addressed above all to the surroundings of the school activities and events which qualified the institutions as functional entities to advance and promote identity in the ethnic-national sense. News about the final exams at the schools takes up a significant amount of space. For instance, the two columns that are meant to inform about *Gli esami Finali della Scuola Umberto I* and of *Scuola Principessa Elena di Montenegro*⁷⁹. Besides the schools in Porto Alegre, the newspaper also publishes news of the final exams in the colonial area, such as those of Encantado and Caxias do Sul⁸⁰.

The effort of «Stella d'Italia» to highlight the identity dimension, led the newspaper to give significant space to disseminating the participation of schools in the Italian commemorative events, such as September 20, or the holiday of the Estatuto Albertino, the first liberal constitution⁸¹.

The cover of the issue of 20 September 1902, an *Edizione speciale*, is titled *W Roma W Italia. Salve XX Settembre*⁸². The next issue, dated September 25, on page 4, publishes the program for the 32° *Anniversario del XX Settembre 1870*, with a civic parade and civic session. The newspaper also participated in the organizing committee, together with the representatives of the Italian schools of Porto Alegre, intending to «interpret the patriotic sentiments of the Colony, wishing to affirm to the glorious people of Rio Grande do Sul sentiments of devotion to the adopted Homeland and undying affection to the Great Mother Italy, they determined to celebrate the fateful date by adopting [...]»⁸³.

The interest of the periodical in the topic of instruction can be measured also by the advertising space, which was to make propaganda of the schools and teachers. The insertion of publicity became an instrument for promotion and offering work to several teachers. The principal of «Princesa Elena de Montenegro» school, in Porto Alegre, herself used the periodical to offer private

cooperazione di Rio Grande, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 12, 21 December 1902, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Bilancio morale-finanziario della Società Principessa Elena di Montenegro. Primo semestre 1903*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, nn. 152-153, 13 September 1903, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Gli esami Finali della Scuola Umberto I* and to *Scuola Principessa Elena di Montenegro*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, nn. 183-184, 27-31 December 1902, p. 1 and p. 2.

⁸⁰ See, for instance, the broad account of Luigi Zuliani. The correspondent, a consular agent and also teacher at the schools in Santa Maria, participated in the finals exams of the coed school of S. Antonio, managed by the congregation of the sister of the Holy Heart of Jesus in the colony of Encantado. *Echi delle colonie*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 79, 28 December 1902, p. 3.

⁸¹ About the role of feasts in promoting national identity, see M. Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2003.

⁸² *W Roma! W l'Italia! Salve XX Settembre*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 51, 20 September 1902, p. 1. More generally about the function of the feast of September 20, in Rio Grande do Sul, see A. De Ruggiero, *Le celebrazioni del 'XX Settembre' tra gli immigrati italiani nel Rio Grande do Sul*, in H. Capovilla da Luz Ramos, I.C. Arendt, M.A. Witt (edd.), *Festas, comemorações e rememorações na imigração*, São Leopoldo, Oikos Editora, 2014, pp. 931-932.

⁸³ *32 Anniversario del XX Settembre 1870*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 52, 25 September 1902, p. 4.

lessons in family homes, both of Italian language and of Portuguese⁸⁴. Another example was that of Professor Salvatore Biancucci, prepared to transfer from São Paulo to Porto Alegre «if a class of 40 students is available»⁸⁵, or of a female teacher who had recently arrived in Porto Alegre, and presented herself as «honest claims»⁸⁶.

In order to promote and enhance the value of the function of ethnic schools and the role of the teachers, the periodical has often highlighted acknowledging teachers as the meritorious people who benefited public schooling. Already in the first issues published there are articles that exalt the activity of teachers such as Giacinto Targa from an Italian school in Nova Trento, Luigi Zuliani from the Italian School and president of the Mutual Aid Society of Encantado, and later of Porto Alegre, or the already mentioned Roncoroni⁸⁷. Another example are the announcements about the *Istituto Italo-brasileiro* (1908 to 1918) created by Umberto Ancarani and his wife Iró Ancarani. After he arrived in Porto Alegre he was initially sent to Pelotas, where always with the participation of his wife, he ran the Italian school and tried to consolidate primary education in the important southern center of Rio Grande do Sul. Ancarani was a *teacher-agent*, sent from Italy. He was intended for Pelotas /RS, but stayed there only a short time, since in 1906 he was put in charge of inspecting the Italian schools of Caxias do Sul where he worked at the *Principe di Napoli* School together with his wife, and wrote a few important reports about the context in Caxias. In 1908, he was transferred again to Santa Maria, where he founded the «Istituto Italo-Brasiliano», which was disseminated by the newspaper, as shown in the pictures below⁸⁸.

⁸⁴ «The Director of the Principessa Elena di Montenegro School, Mrs Camilla Roncoroni, teaches private classes in the homes of families, both in Italian and in Portuguese, at times and prices to be agreed. Address requests to 41 Fernandes Vieira Street». *Avviso*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 89, 1 February 1903.

⁸⁵ Prof. Salvatore Biancucci, currently in São Paulo, writes to us from there, saying that he is prepared to work as a teacher in any Italian school, both in the capital and in the interior, governed Societies or even privately, as long as the locals guarantee at least 40 student; For further information access our editorial office. *Professor*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 673, 20 September 1908, p. 4.

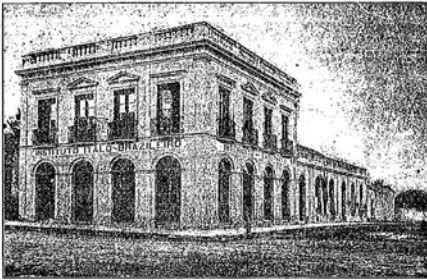
⁸⁶ A female teacher who arrived recently in this capital, wishes to find a place in a good family, to teach Italian, Portuguese, French and also needlework and embroidery. The references are very honest. She informs that a few hours of the day will be available for her, during which she gives lessons to others at the home of the parents who deign to honor her with their services. For further information, go to this editorial office, Teacher available, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 682, 22 October 1908, p. 4.

⁸⁷ *Un maestro che si fa onore*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 25 December 1902, p. 2; A. Colnaghi, *Scuole italiane in Porto Alegre*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. III, 16 April 1903, p. 1.

⁸⁸ About Ancarani, see the scenes in Luchese, Kreutz (edd.), *Imigração e educação no Brasil*, cit., pp. 321-323, but, above all the references contained in the personal file of the teacher kept at ASMAE, AS 1888-1920, *Personale cessato dal servizio* bb. 4 e 5.

ISTITUTO ITALO-BRASILIANO (Internato-Esternato)

diretto dai Coniugi ANCARANI in SANTA MARIA



Nuovo edificio del Collegio (area 3500 mq.) — Proprietà dei Coniugi Ancarani



—◀ Corpo docente ▶—

Il detto Istituto comprende 1 corso elementare di 5 anni, 1 corso commerciale di 3 anni, 1 corso secondario di 4 anni, ove conforme la recente riforma dell'insegnamento secondario, preparansi gli alunni per la Scuola d'Ingegneria, di Agronomia, di Medicina, Farmacia, Odontologia e di Diritto. Il suo Corpo docente, formato di distinti Professori diplomati, è garanzia sufficiente per il buon esito degli esami.

I Proprietari-Direttori: CONIUGI ANCARANI

Pic. 6. Announcement of the Instituto Ítalo-Brasileiro and its teachers
Source: «Stella d'Italia».

Other ads are from *Collegio S. Giuseppe nella Villa Garibaldi diretto dalle Sorelle di S. Giuseppe*, which informs that it adopts the boarding school system, gives religious and civic education and lists the subjects taught⁸⁹.

In his travels to the interior of the Italian colonies, Colnaghi divulged some experiences that called his attention. In the report on his trip to Bento Gonçalves he tells of his visit to the coed school run by Luigi Petrocchi, providing a detailed portrait «a large, spacious, well lit room, with walls covered by maps, geographical charts and murals, pictures of the battles for Italian independence and our main heroes. I saw seated in an orderly manner, on well kept, very comfortable benches, more than ninety children aged eight to 12 years, very busy with the different exercises given to them». He also informed that the teacher did some calculations with the students, gave them lessons in cosmography and did physical exercises with them⁹⁰.

Over the decade, the spaces offered to the Publishing Houses as a contribution to the cultural life of Porto Alegre grows. For instance, in several issues there

I BENEMERITI
DELL'ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA

Fregiamo oggi le pagine del nostro giornale con la fotografia del superbo edificio, ove funziona il Collegio Italo-Brasileiro tenuto e diretto dagli esimii educatori coniugi Ancarani in Santa Maria, Boca do Monte, nonché del corpo docente di detta Scuola.

Secondo le ultime informazioni sappiamo che gli iscritti ai vari corsi sono 193, dei quali 51 Interni.

Il corso elementare è frequentato da 137 alunni e il secondario da 56. Coloro che studiano lingua italiana sono 89, cioè 33 figli di italiani e 56 figli di brasiliani.

Pic. 7. I Benemeriti dell'istruzione pubblica
Source: «Stella d'Italia»

⁸⁹ *Collegio S. Giuseppe nella Villa Garibaldi diretto dalle Sorelle di S. Giuseppe*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 38, 7 August 1902, p. 3.

⁹⁰ A. Colnaghi, *Appunti di viaggio*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 160, 8 October 1903, p. 1.

is a call to survey resources to install a «Biblioteca del popolo» in the city⁹¹. And at the same time, there is an offer of books with the same title at the price of 400 réis, «a great collection of works on popular subjects, science, literature arts and crafts»⁹².

Moreover, Director Colnaghi sought to promote a debate among the readers about the importance of defending the Italian language and the schooling processes for the immigrants' children. In the editorial *Parliamo Italiano*, he critiqued the article by Giuseppe Gaia published in the «Jornal d'Italia» of Rio de Janeiro, in which he said that the language is the strong tie that united homeland, the true element of identity. And he underscored: «Let us help maintain the schools we have, strengthen them; oblige our children to attend them constantly, to speak our language, to respect their teachers, to venerate the country of their parents»⁹³.

In another Editorial, he denounced the neglect and general carelessness of school instruction and of teaching Italian in the Italian colonies, warned that the future generations would become «barbarian, ignorant, savages». He said that the Brazilian school was not up to much. And he asked: «What will be of our Italianness when the old, one after the other, no longer are alive? [...] School and Society for this are synonymous with sacrifice and boredom». And he concluded that, if «this state of neglect by the families and society were to continue, in fifty years they would be 'krumira'. Whose fault is it?»⁹⁴. Faced with this perspective, the editor highlighted the experiences of Camilla Roncoroni and Pietro Riva, who taught respectively at the schools of Principessa Elena di Montenegro Society and of Umberto I Society, presented as «two modest teachers who made an effort to keep alive in the students the sacred flame of love for their homeland»⁹⁵.

The resonance of what the periodical published about the debate on schooling was vehiculated through letters addressed to the newspaper. Luigi Zuliani, the consular agent in Encantado and teacher, complained about the limits to schooling determined by the difficult economic conditions of the colonists⁹⁶, but also of the very bad political choices («powerlessness to spend») and the lack of good teachers. To deal with this situation, he recommended a better organization of the ethnic schools that could speed up the establishment of schools in the rural areas more than in urban centers, which already had a

⁹¹ Nemo, *Istruzione ed educazione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 610, 30 January 1908, p. 1.

⁹² *Biblioteca del popolo*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 640, 16 May 1908, p. 3.

⁹³ A. Colnaghi, *Parliamo italiano*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 42, 24 August 1902, p. 1.

⁹⁴ A. Colnaghi, *Le Nostre Scuole. Fra cinquant'anni tutti Krumiri*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 44, 28 August 1902. 'Krumiro' is a jargon used by Italian typographers to designate workers who broke the strike state, betraying the struggle of their comrades.

⁹⁵ A. Colnaghi, *Scuole italiane*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 73, 7 December 1902, p. 1.

⁹⁶ *Istruzione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 55, 5 October 1902, p. 2.

system of Brazilian public schools and a strict selection of the teachers who had the habit of «insatiable drinkers of cachaça»⁹⁷.

The Italian schools, at the beginning of the 20th century, were one of the main causes of tension with the consular authorities. At the end of 1902, the newspaper denounced the scarce participation of consul Ciapelli. In the editorial *Scuole Italiane*, Colnaghi analyzes the anonymous article published in the periodical «Corriere Italiano» (n. 28), about the statistics published by Angelo Scalabrini, inspector general of Italian schools abroad, regarding the Report by the Italian consul Ciapelli, who disguises the results. Colnaghi showed how arid the protection of the Consulate was in terms of education, although he acknowledged that there was a distribution of school materials sent from Italy, but that this was not sufficient. The director made use of the absence of the Consul at the final exams of the two schools in Porto Alegre, to show the distance of the Consular authority as representative of the Italian Government that should support the initiatives considered essential to preserve the identity of the future generations in the State⁹⁸.

In this way, the tension with the consul grew. Therefore, the newspaper kept up an attitude of supporting the associations that continued to maintain the life in schools considered the «holy temple of modern society». However, even with the cuts of financial subsidies and school materials, the associations continued to maintain and increase the number of students at their schools to promote the Italian national identity:

«We educate our children to love their homeland, to adore their language; we educate them in the holy principles of union and harmony and, happen what may, we accomplish our mission as Italian men and citizens»⁹⁹.

The teaching materials presented limits in their irregular distribution, resulting from the frequent changes of titles and evaluated as not very adequate to the conditions of the Italian schools in Brazil, which needed slower learning than the Italian ones. The absence of «fit and capable» school inspectors left the teachers without guidance and support and ultimately they «give their schoolchildren a very personal address»¹⁰⁰. The absence of homogeneity at the Italian schools was one of the reasons why the newspaper often questioned, from the perspective that *Italianness* was the specific cultural axis around which the school curriculum should be constructed. In this sense, participation in the final exams of the schools of the associations in Porto Alegre, allowed

⁹⁷ *Istruzione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, n. 57, 12 October 1902, p. 2.

⁹⁸ *Gli esami finali della Scuola Principessa Elena di Mont[enegro]*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 80, 1 January 1903, p. 1.

⁹⁹ A. Colnaghi, *Scuole! L'opera degli oscuri*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 177, 6 December 1903.

¹⁰⁰ A. Colnaghi, *Il grave problema delle Scuole italiane*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. I, nn. 82-83, 8-11 January 1903, p. 1.

the director of «Stella d'Italia» to declare the diversity, if not divergence, of the methods and results of the two schools¹⁰¹.

However, the very bad conditions of the Italian schools in the state, according to Colnaghi were worsened by the lack of consular interference in the financial subsidies established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which were not sufficient to maintain them. In this sense, the editor called attention to the different guidance of the Italian consul in Santa Catarina, Gherardo Pio di Savoia, who ten years earlier had held the same position in Porto Alegre. For the 14 schools spread throughout the state of Santa Catarina, he obtained a homogeneous contribution from the ministry, and another from the local administrations¹⁰². Thus, «Stella d'Italia» promoted a campaign to sustain the criticism against the consular and ministerial authorities, which received the support of the readers, be it in the urban or rural context¹⁰³, On the other hand exalting the solidary action of associativism for maintaining the two schools¹⁰⁴ and contrasting the attacks by the consul¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless the schools, were keeping on being one of the most important battle fields on newspapers and the arrival of the new consul De Velutiis in Porto Alegre eased the tension with the newspapers and within a part of the Italian Community. In fact the school question was considered the starting point for the revival of the project of getting together the urban voluntary associations with the idea of a federative organization¹⁰⁶. As a result, the traditional award ceremony for the end of the school year scheduled for the beginning of January 1907 was promoted, for the first time, by the whole school community of the capital¹⁰⁷. This important event was to be designed as a clear willingness to join the associations in a federative way in order to give a contribution in building up a homogenous school addresses which started from their curricula that better satisfy the national identity needs¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² A. Colnaghi, *Scuole italiane in Porto Alegre*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. III, 16 April 1903, p. 1 and 19 April 1903, p. 1.

¹⁰³ See for example the letter published on *Scuole italiane in Porto Alegre*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. III, 26 April 1903, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ A. Colnaghi, *Pro scuole. La Giovanni Emmanuel e l'Umberto I*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. III, n. 10 May 1903, p. 1; Id., *Il terzo anniversario della Umberto I*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. III, 14 May 1903, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ A. Colnaghi, *Indecorosa campagna. La vendetta del Cav. Ciapelli*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. II, n. 135, 12 July 1903, p. 1; n. 136, 16 July 1903, p. 1; n. 137, 19 July 1903, p. 1; n. 139, 26 July 1903, p. 1. Id., *Due pesi e due misure*, in «Stella d'Italia», n. 143, 9 August 1903.

¹⁰⁶ *Nel mondo scolastico*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. V, n. 492, 13 December 1906, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Nel mondo scolastico. La premiazione*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. V, nn. 498-499, 3-6 January 1907, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Nel mondo scolastico. La riapertura delle scuole*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. V, n. 506-507, 31 January-3 February 1907, p. 1. See also the conference of Ercole Donadio teacher of «Umberto I» school presented during the Statute Celebration in *Patria e scuola*, «Stella d'Italia», vol. VII, n. 649, 14 June 1908, p. 1.

Concluding

Reading the first years of «Stella d'Itália» enables the perception that the periodical intended to express the demands of the incipient middle class Italian urban bourgeoisie in Porto Alegre, configuring itself as the advocate and promoter of Italianess in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. At the same time, it sought to cover the various Italian social groups present in society – bourgeoisie and workers, gathered around the associativism of mutual aid to which it intended to give a voice. Besides pursuing the objective of guiding the interests of the groups of Italian migrants, it took on schools and the promotion of the Italian language as an essential task to ensure that the sentiment for the homeland would continue.

Ethnic catholic press in the RS Italian colonial regional: clashes and consensus on behalf of education (1898-1927)

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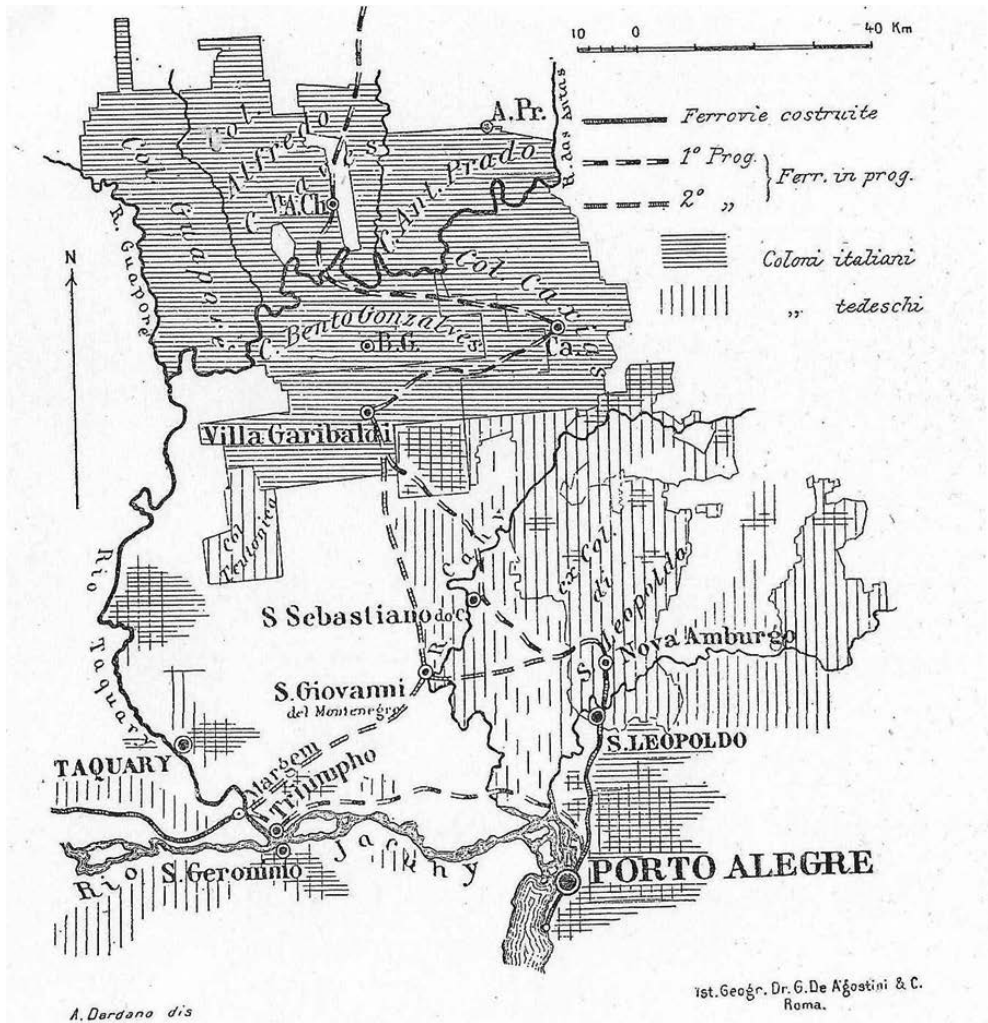
ABSTRACT: This article analyses the four first Catholic newspapers published in Italian in the known Italian Colonial Region of Rio Grande do Sul in the period from 1898 to 1927, trying to map the main consensus and clashes printed in their pages, regarding educational processes. Matching contributions of the Cultural History of the press, Migration History and Education History, the empirical corpus is formed by these newspapers' collections, crosschecked with correspondences, consular agents reports, and records of the Book of Records. The historical documentation analysis of the newspaper's production progressed with regular attention dedicated to education as a prescription of ways of thinking, doing, and instructing children. As a consensus, to educate meant to form good Catholics and instruction, preferentially in confessional schools. As a clash, the Italian spirit, and the emphasis on children education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Press; Education; Catholicism; Italian immigrants and descendants; Ethnicity; XXth Century.

Introduction

1988 passed and, on Sundays, the roads of the wealth settlement of the seat of Caxias Colony, Santa Tereza de Caxias, dawned with many passers-by that, coming from the colony or even outside it – from the fields above the Serra, São Sebastião do Caí and other locations – followed the peal of bells and many of them attended the mass. There, encouraging the town, markets selling products of dairy, from the orchard, farm work, animals farming, and products from the small industry – straw hats, rustic chairs, within others. Cafés, bars, eating houses¹ and hotels, all delighted. The theater opened at night, and musical bands

¹ Denomination done to locations that offered food and stay.



Pic. 1. Colonial centers of the State Estado do Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil)

Source: U. Ancarani, *La colonia italiana di Caxias in Rio Grande del Sul, Brasile*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione. Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Commissariato dell'Emigrazione», 1905, p. 27, in V.B.M. Herédia, G. Romanato (edd.), *Fontes diplomáticas: documentos da imigração italiana*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2016, Vol. IV, p. 639.

walked down the streets. The Ministry of Agricultural report describes that the old and primitive houses of cracked planks were giving space to more improved constructions of sawn lumber, planed, decayed, painted and decorated; and those, by their turn, were replaced by modern houses of stone and whitewash, bricks, mixture of wood and stone, or wood and brick; tile replaced zinc that

substituted shingles (scândoles). Products as wine, cereals bags, poultry, eggs, dairies, wheat, pork and other meats, salami, sausages, imported products in clay, ironwork made in the colony, wheels, spindles, wickerwork, female domestic industry work, small tricks, products of different sorts, all kind of things were sold, exchanged or purchased in there. At the colony seat, one or another change, but, in general, everything remained in good order, and market traders would end their day dancing in the sound of harmonica and other cheap music, easy to obtain. The commerce did not close on Sunday morning, and many settlers would go to the village to attend the mass, taking the opportunity to do business².

The region of the Gaucho Northeast Superior Slope, of rugged terrain and cut by many streams and rivers, covered by subtropical forest and by unnumbered pines, was the location where the majority of the immigrants were settled, especially from 1875 on. The first colonies created by the imperial government were Conde d'Eu, Dona Isabel, and Caxias. There, it was promoted the occupation by small properties with the economic purpose of creating supplier centers for agricultural products. For authorities, the ideal immigrant was the married one who would be settled definitively and would work to support his family with more ease. In few years, all areas were occupied, in particular, by immigrants from the Italian peninsula. To the left, I present the map that localizes the colonies as well as the capital, Porto Alegre, from where the immigrants would leave in small crafts to São Sebastião do Caí when they would go to Caxias and Antônio Prado or from the capital to São Joao de Montenegro when they would go to Conde d'Eu, Dona Isabel and Alfredo Chaves.

Since the first years, the colonies produced cereals, fruits, and vegetables, initially, for the family subsistence and, later, to exchange by other food or other products with the local traders. After few years, handcraft business and manufactures grew as well as commercial activities. Catholicism was one of the more significant cultural practices within immigrants from Italy established in those colonies, nowadays known as the Italian Colonial Region (RCI) of Rio Grande do Sul (RS). In a certain way, the Catholic Church acted as a driving force of RCI cultural processes and practices. With the arrival of the Republic and colonies growing, municipalities grew as presented in table 1:

² Report by Inspector of Lands and Colonization, tenant-colonel Francisco de Barros and Accioly de Vasconcellos from 1888, in *Relatório apresentado a Assembleia Geral da quarta sessão da vigésima legislatura pelo Ministro dos Negócios da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Públicas, Rodrigo Augusto da Silva*, Rio de Janeiro, National Press, 1889, pp. 75-76.

Table 1. The first colonies of the Italian Colonial Region of Rio Grande do Sul and their municipalities

Colony	Year of Creation	Municipality	Year of Emancipation
Dona Isabel ³	1870	Bento Gonçalves	1890
		Monte Belo do Sul	1992
		Santa Teresa	1992
		Pinto Bandeira	1996
Conde D'Eu	1870	Garibaldi	1900 ⁴
		Carlos Barbosa	1959
		Coronel Pilar	1996
		Boa Vista do Sul	1995
Caxias (Fundos de Nova Palmira) ⁵	1875	Caxias do Sul ⁶	1890
		Farroupilha	1934 ⁷
		São Marcos	1963

Source: author's organization.

In these first municipalities – Caxias, Garibaldi and Bento Gonçalves – the four first Catholic Newspapers published in Italian were produced in the period object of this article, from 1898 to 1927. Their circulation reached several neighboring municipalities. The intent of this article is to explicit the production of these newspapers and to map the main consensus and clashes printed in their pages regarding educational processes. Matching contributions of the Cultural History of the press, Migration History and Education History, the empirical corpus is formed by these newspapers collections, crosschecked with correspondences, consular agents reports, and the Book of Records. The historical documentation analysis concerning the production of the newspapers

³ Dona Isabel and Conde d'Eu were taken to the condition of municipalities in the year of 1890, at October 11, by the Act 474, with the denomination of Bento Gonçalves, remaining the administration at the old seat of Dona Isabel. The condition of a district in which remained Conde d'Eu caused political movements in the sense of looking forward to the emancipation that came in 1900, by Decree 327, of October 31, signed by Antônio Augusto Borges de Medeiros. The new municipality received the denomination of Garibaldi.

⁴ Dona Isabel and Conde d'Eu colonies were elevated as municipalities in 1890 with the name of Bento Gonçalves. In 1900, Garibaldi (Conde d'Eu) emancipated.

⁵ After the Proclamation of the Republic, recognizing the pressure and unsatisfaction of traders and industrials of the Italian Colonial Region, General Cândido José da Costa, President of the Province, by Act 257 of June 20, 1890, elevated the parish of Santa Tereza de Caxias as a municipality, with the denomination of Caxias. The news was well received by its inhabitants who celebrated the event for three days. During the festivities, the bells of the parish church were baptized, and the third agroindustrial exhibition of Caxias opened with the presence of the State Governor, General Cândido José da Costa. M.A. Machado, *Construindo uma cidade: história de Caxias do Sul, 1875 a 1950*, Caxias do Sul, Maneco Livraria & Editora, 2001, p. 84.

⁶ In 1890 it was elevated to the condition of a municipality with the name of Caxias. Another alteration of the name occurred in 1944 and then called Caxias do Sul (Decree no. 720 of December 29 of 1944).

⁷ The territorial constitution counted with part of Bento Gonçalves and part of Montenegro too.

proceeded with regular attention dedicated to education as a prescription of ways of thinking, doing, and educating children.

This article is composed of two moments: the first, presents the four Catholic newspapers and their production and circulation conditions; the second, the analysis of consensus and clashes in «Corriere d'Italia» and «Il Colono Italiano», both Catholic newspapers, but marked by some singularities regarding ethnicity. In this manner, these newspapers are object and document in this analysis.

1. *Catholic press: between Catholicity and ethnicity*

One of the first references that analyze the presence of newspapers and their production in the RCI is a report presented by the teacher and consular agent Umberto Ancarani, who in 1905 affirmed:

Caxias è uno dei pochi municipi coloniali che hanno una tipografia ed un giornale locale. Più volte si iniziò la pubblicazione di periodici italiani o brasiliani, ma ebbero tutti breve durata, per mancanza di un numero sufficiente di abbonati. Così avvenne nel 1897 di un piccolo giornale settimanale, «O Caxiense» e nel 1898 di un giornale clericale bimensile, scritto in italiano e intitolato «Il Colono Italiano». Nel 1902 vide la luce un giornale brasiliano, «14 de Julho», organo del partito repubblicano locale; ma ebbe due soli anni di vita. In seguito mutò di colore politico, pur non mutando di proprietario-direttore e assunse il titolo di «O Cosmopolita». Esso continua ancora le sue pubblicazioni – esce una volta la settimana, il sabato – ed è scritto in parte in lingua italiana. Tra i periodici e giornali italiani che arrivano in questo municipio ricorderò «La Tribuna» e «La Patria» di Roma, «Il Secolo XX», «La Tribuna Illustrata», «Il Corriere della Domenica», «La Tribuna Italiana» ed «Il Fanfulla» di San Paolo⁸.

The circulation of newspapers from the Gaucho capital, São Paulo and Italy as well, puts in evidence the interest of many families in following and

⁸ [Caxias is one of the few municipalities that have typography and a local paper. Many times new Italian and Brazilian journals were published but with short duration by lack of a sufficient number of subscribers. So, in 1897, a weekly journal is published, «O Caxiense», and in 1898, a bimonthly clerical journal is written in Italian and called «Il Colono Italiano». In 1902, came to light a Brazilian newspaper, «14 de Julho», an agency of the local Republican Party, but it lasted only for two years. Then it changed the political color, but without changing its owner-director, assuming the title «O Cosmopolita». It kept its publications – once a week, on Saturdays – and was part written in Italian. Within the newspapers and journals that arrived at this municipality, I remember «La tribuna» e «La Patria from Roma», «Il Secolo XX», «La tribuna Illustrata», «Il Corriere della Domenica», «La Tribuna Italiana» and «Il Fanfulla» from São Paulo], U. Ancarani, *La colonia italiana di Caxias in Rio Grande del Sul, Brasile*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione. Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Comissariato della'Emigrazione», 1905, pp. 28-29, reproduced in V.B. Merlotti Herèdia, G. Romanato (edd.), *Fontes diplomáticas: documentos da imigração italiana*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2016, Vol. IV, pp. 640-641.

accessing news from Italy, and also of what happens in Brazil. The regional growth, of Caxias in particular, produces a demand for a newspaper, which was published from 1897 on. «Directed by Brazilians, the first regional journal, «O Caxiense», was published in 1897. Júlio Campos was its director, and it had as owner Doctor Augusto Diana Terra, who kept contact with the Republican Party⁹»¹⁰. Self-called as defensor of the Italian colonies and an agency of the Republican Party, its first number circulated on October 15, 1897, announcing that it came to light for two motives:

First one, is to prove that the Republican party, commanded by eminent Dr. Castilhos, has been promoting, and should continue its brilliant political campaign, the progress of Rio Grande do Sul as lushly demonstrated. The second, is that Caxias, a center of grand and encouraging activity, when constituted as a city and district, according to the promise of the President of the State, whom we think is sincere, with no doubt will assume a character of great importance. [...] A Republican agency and defensor of the colonial interests, we count absolutely on the sincere support of the populations of the municipality of Caxias¹¹.

The eighth vicar of Caxias, Fr. Pietro Nosadini, who took office on July 15, 1896, was the first to assume the initiative of creating a Catholic newspaper in the region. Brandalise (1988) affirms that Nosadini¹² received formation and had knowledge regarding journalism¹³. So, Nosadini resolves to initiate a publication directed to Catholics and that, in a certain way, would oppose to what «O Caxiense» published. The paper «Il Colono Italiano» was the first RCI catholic journal, which lasted for a short time but generated intense repercussions in Caxias. For Pozenato and Giron «it was the Catholic answer to «O Caxiense» journal, considered as a Masonic paper by settlers»¹⁴. From the first experience, other posterior initiatives came and will be analyzed in the sequence.

⁹ The Riograndense Republican Party (PRR) founded in 1882, controlled the political scene of the Gaucho province, in particular, in the First Republic (1889-1930).

¹⁰ K.M.M. Pozenato, L.S. Giron, *100 anos de imprensa regional (1897-1997)*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2004, p. 37.

¹¹ «O Caxiense» journal, a defensor of colonial interests and a Republican agency. Biweekly paper. Diana Terra, editor in chief. Caxias, Year I, n. 1, October 15, 1897, p. 1.

¹² Father Pietro Antonio Maria Umberto Nosadini was born on August 15, 1862, in Bassano del Grappa and died in Padua on March 25, 1921. He assumed on July 15, 1896, as parish priest of Caxias. He worked on behalf of the apostolic works and realized the 1st Catholic Congress. On February 7, 1897, he was expelled from the village and went to Nova Pádua. Accepted with great popular demonstration, he returned and in 1898, and ended by leaving Caxias for the Paraná, according to Dom. J. Barea, *A vida espiritual nas colônias italianas do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1995, p. 101.

¹³ E.A. Brandalise, *Das escolas paroquiais à universidade: a Igreja em Caxias do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte & Cultura, 1988.

¹⁴ Pozenato, Giron, *100 anos de imprensa regional (1897-1997)*, cit., p. 38.

The Catholic Church, through priests and female and male religious confessions, acted, intensively, in the construction of identity processes, establishing social roles, stablishing a symbolic universe that aims to Catholicize and Italianize, most of the times. The religious practices and values of the immigrants differentiated from those experienced in the Brazilian context. They were used to the close presence of the priest, and to meetings in the holy days to pray and celebrate, so, the alternative found was local social association and community enterprise to the construction of the chapel. In a certain way, the transference happened from the RIC colonies to the holy world lived in Italy. Families of a line or cross street were joined to undertake, in a collective work, the edification of the chapel in wood, stone or artisanal bricks, according to the group conditions. They chose a patron saint and, with the time, occupied themselves with the construction of the altar, benches, the bell tower, with the purchase of bells, implements, within others. Nearby the chapel, gradually, other elements were built as a cemetery, a community hall for celebrations, a school, and a food store. As Zanini affirms, «[...] the religious experience created stability and safety symbolic territory visible in the capitals, chapels, churches and images of patron saints»¹⁵.

The patron saints celebrations – *sagras* – mobilized, for weeks, the families of the community in the preparations. Novenas preceded the date, celebrated in the votive day, independent of the day of the week. They realized, so, the festive mass, the confessions, the rosary prayer and Our Lady litany, then, lunch. During the afternoon, boccie games, Morra, cards, meetings, datings, and so, the «Catholicism was the strength that cemented the unity of the Italian communities in the Rio Grande do Sul»¹⁶. It created an «atmosphere of Christendom where the massive participation of believers in the ceremonies of the religious life, the frequency of sacraments, the internalization of a Catholic ethics code»¹⁷ governed quotidian life and conformed the way of being, and life.

Since the arrival of the immigrants in these colonies, we have the record of the presence of priests that accompanied them, but the majority did it by individual initiative. It took the Holy See¹⁸ a few decades to understand the

¹⁵ M.C.C. Zanini, *Italianidade no Brasil Meridional. A construção da identidade étnica na Região de Santa Maria/RS*, Santa Maria, UFSM, 2006, p. 138.

¹⁶ P. Possamai, *Imprensa e Italianidade: RS (1875-1937)*, in M.N. Dreher, A.B. Rambo, M.J. Tramontini (edd.), *Imigração & Imprensa*, Porto Alegre, EST Edições, 2004, p. 567; P. Possamai, «*Dall'Italia siamo partiti*». *A questão da identidade entre imigrantes italianos e seus descendentes no Rio Grande do Sul (1875-1945)*, Passo Fundo, UPF, 2005.

¹⁷ L.A. De Boni, *O catolicismo da imigração: do triunfo à crise*, in J.H. Dacanal (ed.), *RS: Imigração e Colonização*, Porto Alegre, Mercado Aberto, 1980, p. 242.

¹⁸ See R. Sani, *Tra esigenze pastorali e impegno per la preservazione dell'identità nazionale: la Santa Sede e l'emigrazione italiana all'estero tra otto e novecento*, «*História da Educação*», vol. 21, n. 51, Porto Alegre, ASPHE, Jan./Apr. 2017, pp. 143-185; M. Sanfilippo, *Chiesa, ordini religiosi ed emigrazione*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione*

importance of undertaking the pastoral care of immigrants, however, in RCI, many religious congregations were settled in the late nineteenth century, as well as numerous regular priests¹⁹. Within the initiatives of these religionists was the press. In a report to Bispo Scalabrini, who visited Garibaldi in October of 1904, Frei Bruno Gillonnay affirmed that:

We work to establish, with simplicity, in the center of the Italian colony, a small press that will take, periodically, in the heart of families, in their mother tongue, a page of the Holy Gospel, explained and commented, an edificant story, some agriculture advises, the indication of some brochures adapted to the settlers' needs [...]²⁰.

It is convenient to systematize the experience of the Catholic Church in the RCI concerning the press. In table 2, the main Catholic newspapers published since the final of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century:

Table 2. Catholic journals in the RCI between 1875 and 1930

Journal	Periodicity	Circulation period	Municipality	Editor	Notes
Il Colono Italiano	Montly	01/01/1898 a 08/21/1898	Caxias	Fr. Pietro Nosadini	Montly Catholic news bulletin. 4 pages.
La Libertà (Giornale Settimanale del Popolo)	Weekly	02/13/1909 a 03/05/1910	1909 – Caxias 1910 – Garibaldi	1909 – Fr. Carmine Fasulo 1910 – Fr. Giovanni Fronchetti	4 pages. It had a Portuguese section.
Il Colono Italiano (organo degli interessi coloniali)	Weekly	03/12/1910 a 06/21/1917	Garibaldi	Fr. Giovanni Fronchetti In 04/20/1917 – Agostino Mazzini	4 pages. Some advertisements in Portuguese.
Il Corriere d'Italia	Weekly	07/25/1913 a 30/06/1927	Bento Gonçalves	Founded by Fr. Henrique Domingos Poggi.	4 pages.

italiana. I, Partenze, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, pp. 127-142.

¹⁹ Between 1875 and 1930, 132 priests of the secular clergy arrived in the Rio Grande do Sul, according to De Boni, *O catolicismo da imigração: do triunfo à crise*, cit., p. 240.

²⁰ B. Gillonnay, *Relatório de Frei Bruno a Dom Scalabrini, Bispo de Piacenza*, in B. D'Apromont, B. Gillonnay, *Comunidades indígenas, brasileiras, polonesas e italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, EST, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 1976, p. 247.

Staffetta Riograndense	Weekly	07/05/1917 a 09/03/1941	Garibaldi/ Caxias	Capuchins	From 1938 on, sections in Portuguese grew until fully published in Portuguese. In 09/10/1941 its name changed to Correio Riograndese, remaining until nowadays.
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Source: author's organization

To better understand with more details the production and a little about the circulation of each one of the Catholic journals published in the RCI between 1898 and 1927, I present them, individually.

2.1 «*Il Colono Italiano*» (1898)

The first Catholic journal published in the RCI, as mentioned, was the monthly publication «*Il Colono Italiano*» that circulated from January 1, 1899, to August 21, 1898, in a total of seven editions. The monthly publication announced in its first edition that its price was a hundred Réis²¹. Correspondences and advertisements should be sent to Antonio Moro. In the first edition, he affirmed, while addressing to readers, that:

«*Il Colono Italiano*» sarà l'amico, il consigliere, la guida, l'avvocato dei cattolici italiani emigrati in Caxias e nelle Colonie circconvicine e fornirà loro intercasanti notizie della cara e bella Italia. A tale proposito è listissimo d'annunziare che è assicurato un distinto corrispondente da Roma e che ne troverà degli altri nelle principali città italiane. «*Il Colono Italiano*» non si occuperà di politica tanto piú che esiste già in Caxias un giornale «*O Caxiense*» ad hoc al quale invia un fraterno saluto. Senza occuparsi di politica «*Il Colono Italiano*» non mancherà di raccomandare ai propri lettori l'obbedienza alle leggi ed alle Autorità legittimamente costituite. Darà relazione dell'incremento delle Società Cattoliche delle loro feste ed adunanze affinché l'esempio dei fevorosi animi il pusillanime scuota gli indifferenti. Stamperà novelle, racconti, bozzetti e romanzi dilettevoli ed onesti²².

²¹ As a comparison, «*O Caxiense*» was sold fortnightly with the cost of 12\$000 réis for yearly subscriptions and 7\$000 to half-year subscriptions.

²² [«*Il Colono Italiano*» will be a friend, a counselor, a guide, a lawyer of Italian Catholics who immigrated to Caxias and neighboring colonies, and will furnish information about the dear and beautiful Italy. In this regard, it is important to announce that a distinct correspondent of Rome is assured and there will be others in the principal Italian cities. «*Il Colono Italiano*» will not treat of politics, as there is in Caxias a newspaper ad hoc «*O Caxiense*» to whom we present fraternal regards. Without dealing with politics, «*Il Colono Italiano*» recommends its readers



Pic. 2. Header Newspaper «Il Colono Italiano», 01/01/1898

Source: collection of the Arquivo Histórico Municipal João Spadari Adami, Caxias do Sul.

Denying any involvement with politics, affirming the commitment with news coming from Italy – through a correspondent already contacted, the journal outlines and confirms the intention of being a «friend», «counselor», «guide» and, even, «lawyer» of the immigrants. It was printed at the Tipografia do Centro, located at Dos Andradas Road, 378, in Porto Alegre.

Figure 2 presents the header of the bulletin «Il Colono Italiano» with both signature of Fr. Nosadini – in Portuguese and Italian:

The small number of editions allows systematizing in the following table, some aspects of those numbers published by «Il Colono Italiano». Though the pages, it is evident the interest in disseminating and maintaining the Catholicism with its practices, closer to the Italian context than the Gaucho one.

Table 3. «Il Colono Italiano» (Bollettino Cattolico mensile)

Date of publication	Nº of pages	Principal subjects reported
January 1, 1898 n. 1	4 p.	Page 1 – A letter to readers describes the motivations and the mission of the new journal. In the sequence, an announcement of the events of the Catholic Caxiense Federation meeting held on October 14, 1897, with the following schedule: a solemnity to bless the flags; a mass; and Fr. Massimiliano de Lasberg preaching, vicar of São Inácio da Feliz. The activity listed the presence of 800 persons; Italian, German and Brazilian flags; Italian-Brazilian band; the presence of many priests of the region; of the intendand Campos Júnior; of marshall Marsiaj; representatives of the German Catholic Union; and Giuseppe Chiaradia, president of the Caxias' German Labor Union of Mutual Aim. A telegram transmission to the Holy Priest, Leão XIII, informing the meeting.

to obey the laws and authorities legitimately established. It will report the increase of Catholic Societies, their celebrations and meetings, so that the fervor encourages the fainthearted and shake the indifferent ones. It will publish novels, stories, drafts, and romances, mild and honest], «Il Colono Italiano», Year 1, n. 1, Caxias, January 1, 1898.

		<p>Page 2 – It gives continuity to the description of the Caxiense Catholic Federation, speeches made, highlighting Fr. Massimiliano de Lasberg speech about Christian education of the youth. They defend that Italian private schools should teach catechism. Introduce the idea of creating a Catholic school in Caxias. Reiterate the value of the school activity of Jesuits in the Christian instruction of the youth. Establish a People's Secretariat, affirming that besides providing spiritual welfare, the Caxiense Catholic Federation also intended to benefit its partners, materially. The People's Secretariat had as objective to help, for free, with the necessary advice, referrals, and decisions. The speech of Fr. Carmine Fasulo highlighted the importance of the Catholic press, which was acclaimed. It defended the creation of a Catholic weekly in Italian. Also, the desire to create lending Catholic libraries. It announced the realization of a feast for 400 people, regretting the difficulty of satisfying everybody that wanted to participate. In the final, the celebration of the <i>Te Deum</i>.</p> <p>Page 3 – It highlights that the independent Italian liberal press was publishing Rudini's newsletters, which attacked the Catholic Associations. Publishes the <i>Canto del Lavoratore</i>, a hymn created by the Parish Priest of Nove and furnished by the General Presidency of the Labor Catholic Federation of Vicenza, for future use in the festivities and meetings of the Caxiense Catholic Federation.</p> <p>Page 4 – It discloses some news from Italy. Announces that those that would desire to sign the bulletin could do it to receive the next numbers, as well as business announces would be accepted. In the sequence, it publishes news from Nova Padova and Nova Trento, with the launching of the cornerstone of the Fr. Capuchins convent. Finally, a correspondence of Bishop of Adria, D. Luigi Pavanini, addressed to the clergy and people of his diocese about the creation of Parish Committees.</p>
January 2, 1898 n. 2	4 p.	<p>Página 1 – «February 7» is the first text that reminds the 20 years of the death of Papa Pio IX. Another publication is the «January 2 in Caxias» that announces the mass, the <i>Te Deum</i>, poetry recitation by the students of teacher Maria Traslati, musical presentations with maestro Francisco Zani [director of Caxias Italian-Brazilian Bank]. Another recall was a few bits of advice to readers, within them: not to bear arms, and to realize the civil marriage besides the religious one. It highlights a summary about the life of the Genoese Cristoforo Colombo.</p> <p>Page 2 – A publication of letters of different bishops and cardinals from Italy, greeting the initiative of Fr. Nosadine in organizing the Catholic societies of Caxias and region. It also published protests and statements against the liberal Rudini that circulated in Italy.</p> <p>Page 3 – News about the Catholic movement in Italy. News about the blessings of the flag of the Catholic committee created in São Ignácio, Segunda Légua de Caxias. At the final of page 3 and also part of page 4, the prologue of the <i>Avanti la scoperta dell'America</i>.</p> <p>Página 4 – Holy masses and religious festivities celebration in the region, the arrival of priests in the community, donations for the creation of Antonio Prado's church. Announcement of the Tombola game on behalf of the construction of the church of Caxias.</p>
June 3, 1898 n. 3	4 p.	<p>Page 1 – Emphasys to fishing and auction organized by the Caxiense Catholic Federation on behalf of Caxias church construction. A letter from the Popel. Caxias elevated to a district. The project of a railroad to Caxias. News of the inauguration of a wool textile factory in the Fifth Mile.</p>

		<p>Page 2 – Election of the president of the Caxiense Catholic Federation constituted by Ambrogio Bonalume, general president. Daniele Caberlon, vice-president. Antonio Moro, vice-president. Giuseppe Generosi, general secretary. Antonio Artico, vice-secretary. Letter to the elected president. Constitution of new committees. Presentation of the results of the Tombola in favor of the construction of the Caxias' main church. Summaries of notices published in Italian newspapers.</p> <p>Page 3 – It emphasized the notice published in «O Caxiense» journal, which accused the Catholic Societies of Caxias of approaching the Catholic associations from Italy, which represented a danger to the social order. As to reply, they affirmed that these associations did not represent any danger and that they did not want favors or privileges, but respect to the guaranteed right of an association. In the session dedicated to the journal members, as advice to readers, they asked them to avoid the use of mortars.</p> <p>Page 4 – Criticism of Rudini's newsletters in Italy. Publication about the ban of public dances, according to directions of bishops from Italy. It claimed that Caxias and region should also follow the measure. News from Catholic committees of Italy. Publication of two or three advertisements.</p>
<p>January 4, 1898 n. 4</p>	<p>4 p.</p>	<p>Page 1 – Urge readers to obey the legitimate laws and authorities, explaining, that by the direction of the bishop, the bulletin would deal with some news about agriculture, and orienting that those interested in a subscription of the journal should contact Antonio Moro in Caxias, or the Tipografia do Centro, directly, in Porto Alegre. News from the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition of Caxias, organized by the Caxiense Catholic Federation. What was exposed – if donated – would be auctioned on behalf of the construction of the church in progress. Pope's words.</p> <p>Page 2 – Meeting of the Caxiense Catholic Federation, detailing 12 proposals with a composition of committees to work in the referrals to be done: on the status of the Federation; tribute to Jesus Christ the Redeemer in the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries; call for festive rest; Christian doctrine and First Communion with unique text for teaching; league against public balls; Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament; Catholic Newspapers and Federation Bulletin; Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition Committee; music reform for the churches; league against blasphemies; commission charged with proposing a regulation for the functioning of the People's Secretariat and assistance to the sick. Finally, it published an invitation to the 'enemies' of the Catholic Societies to attend the next meeting, as they had nothing to hide. A summary of the balance sheets published in three Italian newspapers about 1897. Congress of the German Catholic Union. Feast in Bom Princípio for the consecration of the Church.</p> <p>Page 3 – Presence of the Consul of Italy, Brandolini, in Caxias. Catholic celebration at the 3rd League in Caxias. At the bottom of page 3 and also page 4, the continuity of <i>Avanti la scoperta dell'America</i>.</p> <p>Page 4 – News from Nova Trento and Antonio Prado. Red Cross work for the victims of the war in Africa. John Mayer and Cia's announcement for the sale of sewing machines.</p>
<p>May 15, 1898 n. 5</p>	<p>4 p.</p>	<p>Page 1 – Second Italian Catholic Congress in Caxias. It stated that the Vicar General of the Diocese, Msgr. Diogo Saturnino da Silva Laranjeira, honorary vice-president of the Caxiense Catholic Federation, had agreed to assume the presidency of the Second Congress. The reception of the general Vicar of numerous priests of the region, the presence of the students of Professor Maria</p>

	<p>Traslati, the Italo-Brazilian band, the flags²³, processions, mass celebrations. It said that the congress had participation larger than two thousand people.</p> <p>Page 2 – Expedition of telegrams reporting the Second Congress to several authorities, such as the President of the Province and the Bishop. It called on Catholics to subscribe and pay for the receiving of «Il Colono Italiano».</p> <p>It transcribes a letter from Fr. Nosadini urging everyone, even those who differed in ideas, to support the conclusion of the construction of the church and the foundation of the Christopher Columbus Institute, which would serve the Christian and civic education of youth. It transcribes the celebration of the Italian Private School directed by Maria Traslati, held on May 2, in the main nave of the church under construction, attended by many local, family authorities. Students recited poetry and awarded prizes: Class III – 1st Prize, Ermenegildo Barato and Dosalina Bonalume; 2nd Prize, Celestina Artico; Class II – Maria Florian, 1st Prize; Giuseppe Braiajoli, 2nd Prize; Maria Chiarello, 3rd Prize; Superior Class I: 1st Prize, Severina Sartori; 2nd Prize, Giovanni Balen; Lower Class I – 1st prize, Amalia Baldesserini Prize; 2nd prize, Angelo Bellini Prize. The party was closed by Vicar Nosadini, who stressed that there is no education without religion. The journal recommended the school of teacher Maria Traslati for all Catholics. It also reported the celebrations of May 1st in Caxias, in the workers' feast. Note about Senator Alessandro Rossi.</p> <p>Page 3 – Celebrating that May was the month dedicated to Mary, they wrote about T'Amo Maria. Correspondence transcription published in Corriere Nazionale, Torino, about <i>Ai Prati di Castello</i>.</p> <p>Page 4 – At the bottom of page 3 and also page 4, the prologue to <i>Avanti la scoperta dell'America</i>. As the «Last Minute» publication, a small manifesto by Fr. Nosadini informing that the intendant Campus Junior had reported that he had suffered an attack: «riservandomi de rispondere punto per punto a quella denuncia protesto fin d'ora energicamente contro quanto essa é a mio carico affermato»²⁴. Under the title Italy, it reports the economic development of 1895 and 1896 of several European countries and explains that emigration is due to poverty, misery, and the hope of a better life.</p>
<p>July 7, 1898 n. 8</p>	<p>4 p.</p> <p>Page 1 – In emblematic numbers, revealing the many clashes between Catholics and Freemasonry, the front page prints «Per la storia» in which it says that on June 21, Thursday, school children, stewards of the local administration and a small group of people had paraded through the streets of Caxias carrying an oil painting in a gilded frame with the image of the intendant, Campos Junior.</p> <p>Speeches by Mauricio Nunes de Almeida and next by intendant Campos have proclaimed that in Caxias no thirds or banners of value were needed, but that they had to banish Jesuitism to follow the path of Golgota's martyr for prosperity. Later, there has been a picnic on a triangular table (the newspaper bolded the word triangular, relating it to Freemasonry). About 200 people had attended the event and the presence, even if emptied, of the Santa Cecilia</p>

²³ Besides the committees' flags, the Brazilian, Pontifice, Italian, German and Austrian flags were exhibited.

²⁴ [Reserving myself the right to answer this complaint step by step, I now vigorously protest against what was affirmed to be of my responsibility], «Il Colono Italiano», Year I, n. 5, Santa Teresa de Caxias, May 15, 1898, p. 4.

		<p>Band. There were several criticisms and it is evident the confrontation between Fr. Nosadini and the intendant Campos Júnior. Following, news from the Caxiense Catholic Federation and the founding of new Catholic Committees in the countryside. The page ends with a call «Rivoluzionari?».</p> <p>Page 2 – In the continuation of the answer to the call of the anterior page, if the Caxiense Catholic Federation and committees were revolutionaries, it was affirmed that yes, they were and that they fought against vice, impiety and as weapons were prayer, action, and sacrifice. To conclude, a statement that they had the cross as banner and as supreme leader, the Pope; that they raised their flags in the fight against anticlericals. Other news from Italy was published.</p> <p>Page 3 – News from Italy, about actions of the Italian army, approaches on clerical enmities. At the bottom of page 3 as well as page 4.</p> <p>Page 4 – Selected excerpts from Rivista Europea, «Vatican Chronicles». Announcement of sale of sewing machines by João Mayer Jr. and Company.</p>
<p>August 21, 1898 n. 10</p>	<p>4 p.</p>	<p>Page 1 – It reminds the day of St. Joaquim and its celebration. Encourages and explains the importance of the rosary and prayers for Our Lady of the Rosary. News about hunger in Italy.</p> <p>Page 2 – The Holy Father and the reception of the Catholic Committees. Chronicles of the Caxiense Catholic Federation and the opposition of intendant Campos Júnior. Tensioning and splitting among the inhabitants of Caxias. Father Nosadini states that Campus Junior had announced that Fr. Nosadini would have to withdraw from Caxias.</p> <p>Page 3 – In continuation, Fr. Nosadini's entire speech transcribed at the meeting between the leaders of the Catholic committees. Reveals that the Catholic Federation and its committees are considered dangerous to public order. Finally, it publishes about Italian Catholics and the government.</p> <p>Page 4 – A short story about vocations, a short text entitled Last Hour, with new accusations and revelations of the tensions between Campus Junior and Fr. Nosadini. A note to readers stating that a monthly correspondent from Treviso had been invited to collaborate with the newspaper. At the end of the page, the <i>Avanti la scoperta dell'America</i>.</p>

Source: author's organization from the journals collection.

The clash between Father Nosadini and the Intendant of Caxias, Campos Junior, was stamped on the pages of the newspaper. Exchange of accusations and threats were diverse. The Intendant accused Fr. Nosadine of inciting discord, by attacking Freemasonry, that his preaching spoke ill of Italy, that the presence of the parish priest was a cause of division among the population. We need «to understand how the text under our eyes could be formed»²⁵, in the case of the newspaper «Il Colono Italiano» and the news printed in «O Caxiense», and for this, we need to add new information that is not within the intent of this article²⁶. The last edition of «Il Colono Italiano» circulated on August 21, 1898, and Father Nosadini, shortly afterward, to cease the tension, was transferred, and the newspaper was no longer published.

²⁵ A. Corbin, *O prazer do historiador*, «Revista Brasileira de História», vol. 25, n. 49, 2005, p. 14.

²⁶ The conflict between Catholics and Freemasonry, between the intendant Campos Júnior and Fr. Nosadini, deserves a more detailed historiographic study.

The newspaper «Il Colono Italiano» printed in its pages many of the quarrels and rivalries present in the Italian peninsula, was combative with the anticlericals and sought to organize – by the Caxiense Catholic Federation and its committees – answers to maintain and spread Catholicism, defending the Pope. A new Catholic journal would be published again in Caxias ten years later, «La Libertà».

2.2 «La Libertà» (1909-1910)

On February 13, 1909, Fr. Carmine Fasulo²⁷ founded the newspaper «La Libertà, Giornale Settimanale del Popolo». The newspaper's management location was at 28, Dante Square. In its first edition, it stated that it counted on agents and correspondents in the smallest centers of the state. With four pages, the weekly circulated on Saturdays. Following the title, right below it, two Latin sentences. On the left, «Ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas» (2nd, or Cor. III, 17) i.e., [Where is the Spirit of the Lord, there is freedom and on the right], «Instaurare omnia in Christo» (Pius X S.S. Program), i.e., [Repair everything with Christ]. The newspaper was printed in its typography with a Marinoni machine²⁸, and also provided printing services to the community as business cards, invoices, memos, and others.

In the first number, it presented his program stating that it came to light with the permission of the ecclesiastical authority, and reiterated its link with Catholicism. However, besides addressing religious subjects, it proposed addressing topics that might interest readers in their material aspects and exemplified: agriculture; industry; hygiene and practical medicine. World news, from Italy and the Rio Grande do Sul would be part of the publication. It finalized the program affirming that «Coll'amore alla Religione, intendiamo consolidare nel cuore dei nostri lettori l'amore alla patria d'origine ed a questa di adozione, conviti come siamo che un buon cattolico sarà sempre un'ottimo

²⁷ Fr. Carmine Fasulo was a Pallottine. He was born on February 11, 1865, in Monte Falcione, province of Avellino, and ordained in Rome on May 22, 1890. In Brazil, he was a coadjutor in Caxias, in Caravaggio. Later, he was as a first parish priest in Antonio Prado. He was a parish priest in Caxias and invited the Lasallians to set up a college, which continues until these days. Later, he also worked in Caravaggio, Farroupilha, Bento Gonçalves, Triunfo and Gramado. He returned to Italy in 1920. He died on January 23, 1935, at the age of 69, according to Archbishop J. Baréa, *A vida espiritual nas colônias italianas do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1995, pp. 99-100.

²⁸ In testimony of Orestes Zoppas, he states that the newspaper took an average of 3 days to be ready. «The machine was slow to print a thousand or so by hour. [...] The small manual Marinoni machine was up to 8,000. Then, it was no longer possible [...]. Marinoni was Italian. Purchased in Porto Alegre». Testimony of Orestes Zoppas in L.A. Henrichs, *Histórias da Imprensa em Caxias do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, Pioneiro, 1988, pp. 59-60.

cittadino»²⁹. In the same edition, at the cover, expressing the importance of the journal, affirmed that «La stampa é per le anime come il cibo per i corpi»³⁰.

It first edition thanked three newspapers that had announced, in advance, the creation of «La Libertà: Gazeta Colonial», «Correio do Município» and «O Brasil».

While analyzing the available editions, it is evident the circulation of news of Italy, and the Rio Grande do Sul, agriculture, religious festivals, as well as many advertisements on the last page. Usually, on the third page, a session in Portuguese with texts related to home economics, food cleaning and conservation, agriculture, grape cultivation, alcoholism, and tobacco combat. In several editions, there was the presence of poetry. At the end of the third page, there were literary texts and some historical syntheses.

At the second edition, «La Libertà» destined the first text of the cover to discuss «Educazione». Concludes that there is much talk about education, but with few and scarce results, and with many difficulties. Argued that much was done for instruction, but little for wisdom. Instruction, only, was like working on the sand, of no help. It incited readers to recognize that with such development, the moral man formation was absent. Christian moral education could regenerate people. Realized that all social classes should have access to instruction, but that without a Christian culture, attentive to the formation of souls, would be of no use. Such arguments, under different forms, were recurrent in the pages of the journal.

In the edition of May 22, 1909, Fr. Carmine Fasulo no longer has management over the newspaper³¹ and the new parish priest, Fr. Francesco Baldassare³² takes over the paper's newsroom and administration. In the editorial about Christianity and Fatherland, Fr. Baldassare reaffirms the principles of the newspaper, emphasizing the value of the family, Homeland, and God. In January 1910, the printing house was transferred to Garibaldi, as well as the newsroom and administration, under the care of Fr. Giovanni Fronchetti³³,

²⁹ [With love for Religion, we intend to consolidate the homeland of origin and adoption love in the hearts of our readers, because we believe that a good Catholic will always be a very good national], «La Libertà», Year 1, n. 1, February 13, 1909.

³⁰ [Newspapers are for souls, what food is for bodies], *ibid*.

³¹ The reasons for this departure of Fr. Carmine Fasulo are unclear. There are references to financial difficulties, but also of new conflicts with local Freemasonry, which would have led to the removal of Fasulo.

³² Like Fasulo, Father Francisco Baldassare was born in the Province of Avellino, born on January 29, 1872. He worked in several municipalities and died in Nova Prata, RS, on October 15, 1920. Dom J. Baréa, *A vida espiritual nas colônias italianas do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul*, cit., p. 103.

³³ Father Giovanni Battista Fronchetti «was born in Torra, Dean of Taio, Val di Non, diocese of Trento, on September 15, 1863. Thanks to the financial aid left by a great-uncle of the same name, who was Dean of the Cathedral of Trento, he could do religious studies at the diocesan seminary, being ordained a priest on December 26, 1887. He occupied, in the diocese, by a provision of July 20, 1888, the position of Vicar Cooperator of Volano. Desiring to give spiritual help to the emigrants, he asked for and obtained permission from his Prelate, leaving

parish priest of Garibaldi. The acquisition had the financial support of two other partners: Adolfo Moreau and João Carlotto. Edition 45, of January 15, 1910, published in Garibaldi, had on the front page the episcopal approval declared by the bishop, Claudio José, and also «two words to our courteous readers». The journal reaffirmed his commitment to the Catholic bias, proposing to be a friend, an adviser, and a defender of the settlers. It promised to post useful readings, and news from the Rio Grande do Sul, Veneto, Lombardy, and Tyrol. It proclaimed its neutrality to party politics and ended by wishing a good year. The last edition of «La Libertà» was on March 5, 1910. In the following number, it circulated under the name «Il Colono Italiano».

2.3 «*Il Colono Italiano*» (1910-1917)

On March 12, 1910, the first edition under the name «Il Colono Italiano» stamped in bold the approval of Bishop Claudio José for the exchange of name. He justified it by stating that the reason for being, the essence of the newspaper, was the Italian settlers. The desire to respond to the needs of Italian settlers was clear from the cover, acting as friend, adviser, and defender of the children of the Bel Paese. It kept its four-pages-structure, and the last one consisted basically of ads. It published letters from readers, maintained correspondents in many cities of the region, published jocular texts mainly focused on notions of agriculture, plus moralizing subjects that intended to guide the conduct of readers, as presented below. The Capuchins, based in Garibaldi since January 1896, supported and assisted the journal's production.

In moments of tension derived from the political positions of Fr. Giovanni Fronchetti, the name «Il Colono Italiano» was questioned. Fr. Giovanni, at the time of World War I, for example, defended Austria. So, people called the newspaper «Il Colono Austriaco», as Fr. Giovanni Fronchetti had been a consular agent of Austria-Hungary since August 3, 1908³⁴ and his political position in defense of the Austrian cause rivaled with the one expressed, for example, in «Il Corriere d'Italia», a defender of Italianate. These stresses were not just local. «Il Colono Italiano» was in dispute with other Italian journals

for the Rio Grande do Sul in 1889. He became a coadjutor in Garibaldi and was appointed on Janeiro 2, 1890 Vicar Chapter of St. Lawrence of Vilas Boas «a colony composed of around 70 families of immigrants from the Provinces of Trento, Cremona, Vicenza, Milan, and Bergamo». In September 1896, he was transferred to Garibaldi, where he remained for thirty years. Passed away on February 22, 1927. A. Rupert, *Clero secular italiano no Rio Grande do Sul* (1815-1930), Santa Maria, Pallotti, 1977, p. 80.

³⁴ Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The report presented to the President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil covering the period from January 1, 1911, to April 30, 1912, Rio de Janeiro, 1912.

that circulated in the Rio Grande do Sul and even in São Paulo. On the edition cover of November 9, 1910, it published several criticisms concerning Porto Alegre's newspaper «Stella d'Italia». It claimed that this journal was anticlerical, criticizing institutions and people without checking the truth of facts and that they believed to be true only because they were Catholic. The criticism made by «Stella D'Italia», which allegedly referred to «Il Colono Italiano» as «giornale maledetto»³⁵ was rebuted.

The pages of «Il Colono Italiano» often stamped letters, speeches from ecclesiastical authorities, documents, and papal letters. The transcription, not always literal, of news or texts published in other periodicals and magazines such as «Squilla», «Civiltà Cattolica», «Unità Cattolica» were cultural transfers³⁶ that semantically remade the sense as they circulated in a different context.

As a result of the friction generated by the clashes, Fr. Giovanni withdrew from the newsroom and, on April 20, 1917, «Il Colono Italiano» was taken over by Agostino Mazzini. In a period of brief transition, the newspaper went to the supervision of Capuchins, who collaborated with the publication for several years and named it «Staffetta Riograndense». «Staffetta» took root, progressively expanded its readers and superseded in 1927, «Il Corriere d'Italia». From September 10, 1941, became «Correio Riograndense», which remains until today.

2.4 «Il Corriere d'Italia»

«Il Corriere d'Italia» journal was founded in 1913 by the parish priest of Bento Gonçalves, Fr. Henrique Domingos Poggi³⁷, and was the first Catholic

³⁵ [Damn paper], «Il Colono Italiano», Year II, n. 37, November 19, 1910, cover.

³⁶ M. Espagne, *A noção de transferência cultural*, «Jangada», vol. 5, n. 9, Jan./Jun. 2017, pp. 136-147.

³⁷ Enrico Domingo Poggi was born on March 2, 1868, in Sarizzola, Tortona, Genoa. He was the son of Serafina Meregá and Giuseppe Poggi. According to Rupert, Poggi studied at the diocesan seminary and college Brignole-Sale of Genoa, and ordained on September 23, 1893. In 1897, after the invitation of D. Claudio Ponce de Leão, bishop of Porto Alegre, he left for the RS to accompany emigrants. On his arrival, he was appointed chaplain at the 1st League in Caxias and, in 1899, Cura de Caravaggio, where he undertook improvements in the Church, started the parish school and the Holy Childhood Work. In 1904 he returned to Italy and was appointed to Lagoa Vermelha Parish, becoming a cure for Sananduva. In February 1911, he moved to Bento Gonçalves as a parish priest. Active, he reorganized the Church, invited the Carlist Sisters to found a school (in 1915, St. Charles College, now Medianeira College), founded the newspaper «Il Corriere d'Italia». In September 1921, Fr. Poggi joined the Scalabrinian Institute. In 1925 he returned to Italy and in 1928 left the Scalabrinian Institute and joined the Institute of the Sons of Santa Maria Immaculada. He spent a year in Algeria and remained in his homeland, Genoa, until his death on February 2, 1936. See more in R. Rizzardo, *Carlistas no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, EST/CEPAM, 1981; Id., *Raízes de um povo. Missionários escalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888/1938)*, Porto Alegre, EST, Congregação dos Missionários de São Carlos,

paper of the municipality. With the motto Religion and Homeland, it was one of the most durable newspapers published in Bento Gonçalves, defending the ideals of the Catholic Church and, although declaring itself neutral, took open positions regarding the international, national and local events that took place between 1913 and 1927.

Its emergence may be related to the attempt of expanding, through the press, the action of the Catholic Church in the region. In 1912, at the Capuchin convent in Garibaldi, there were about thirty priests, within seculars and regulars. Fr. Poggi coordinated the meeting, which discussed themes about «religious renewal», «social programs for the benefit of the settlers» and «press». From this meeting Fr. Henrique Domingos Poggi founded the newspaper «Il Corriere d'Italia»³⁸ in 1913, assisted by Fr Estevão Minetti, a Geese young man with great expertise³⁹. Edited by the Societá Anonima Editrice, installed

1990; Rupert, *Clero secular italiano no Rio Grande do Sul (1815-1930)*, cit. Fr. Poggi worked with Fr. Nosadini in his first Catholic journalistic experience in the region.

³⁸ The first newspaper founded in Bento Gonçalves was «Bento Gonçalves journal», in 1900, by Francisco Leitão and Júlio Lorenzoni, printed in Porto Alegre. Subsequently, a manuscript emerged in 1907, «O Recreio». Between 1910 and 1913, another paper appeared with the name of Bento Gonçalves. About it, the immigrant Júlio Lorenzoni, who was one of the founders, in his memoirs, while summarizing the events regarding the press experienced in Bento Gonçalves in 1911, states that he «continues his tireless work in the weekly the 'Bento Gonçalves', which on the first day of January of this year celebrated its first anniversary. An agency of the colonial interests, a year ago it outlined its mission of being useful to this significant range of the population of our beloved Rio Grande. Proof that it has religiously fulfilled his duty to inform is the 1,000 subscribers who read its chronicles every week. It is fair to note in these memoirs the limited resources available to Dr. Antonio Casagrande, Dr. Gino Batocchio, Mr. Antonio Amaia de Gusmão, Reverend Father Francesco Saverio Acierno, with us, that is, with my son Antonio and I; yet we all strive to improve our paper so that it becomes more and more attractive. Born crippled, as critics have said because it is bilingual and has two headings, it is already walking and imposing himself in the journalistic scene for the honor and glory of this center of activity and work». G. Lorenzoni. *Memórias de um emigrante italiano. Memorie d'un emigrante italiano*, Bilingual edition, Trad. Fr. A.S. Lorenzoni, Pelotas, ed. Ponto de Vista, 2011, pp. 190-191. On the events of the following year, 1912, he reports that «our modest paper 'The Bento Gonçalves' enters its third year of life, with about twelve hundred subscribers, funded by the illustrious gentlemen, Dr. Antonio Casagrande, Dr. Gino Batocchio, Antonio Amaia de Gusmão, and Father Savério Acierno». Lorenzoni. *Memórias de um emigrante italiano. Memorie d'un emigrante italiano*, cit., p. 197. Concerning the topics covered in the weekly, in addition to the news about events, it dealt with agriculture, commerce, industry and sought, as Lorenzoni said (*ibid.*), «to maintain peace and harmony in these colonial centers that promote the progress of a region». Lorenzoni also stated in his memoirs that in 1913 he returned to Italy and his time away let him understand that the newspaper «Bento Gonçalves» was sold. In his words, «on my arrival, I was festively welcomed by the family and many local friends and I could immediately notice the following news: our newspaper the *Bento Gonçalves* had been sold to a company that changed its name to *Corriere d'Italia* and installed it in one of the locations of the Canonic House», *ibid.*, p. 207.

³⁹ R. Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo. Missionários escalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888/1938)*, Porto Alegre, EST, Congregação dos Missionários de São Carlos, 1990, p. 190.

in the canonical house, it circulated in Italian until 1927, stamping on its pages news and religious-political positions, assuming a prescriptive role on several aspects of daily life. The circulation of «Il Corriere» created controversy in the oppositions brought from Europe, between Italians and Austrians, as well as between Church and Freemasonry, for example.

In Table 2, I present the Fathers who were at the forefront of the newspaper's writing and editing process between 1913 and 1927. Initially, Fr. Estevão Minetti took over the «Il Corriere» journal, consolidating it and increasing the number of readers. In his place, Fr. Henrique Domingos Poggi turned to the Carlist priests who remained at the head of the newspaper until closing.

Table 4. Editors-chiefs of «Il Corriere d'Italia» Journal – 1913 to 1927

Editor-chief	Country of Birth	Local and date of Birth	Bond	Education	Period as editor-chief
Father Estevão (Stefano) Minetti ⁴⁰	Italy	Gênova	Secular priest	Doctor in Theology ⁴¹	1913 to 1914
Father João (Giovanni) Costanzo ⁴²	Italy	Barone Canevese (Turim), 05/05/1875	Carlist priest	Doctor in Theology, Gregorian University of Rome	1914 to 1917

⁴⁰ Father Estevão (Stefano) Minetti «priest of good qualities who, from 1910, exercised his ministry in Caxias, Canoas, Conceição do Arroio and Bento Gonçalves. Returning to Italy, he was, during World War I, chaplain of the Italian Navy (1915-1918)». Rupert, *Clero secular italiano no Rio Grande do Sul (1815-1930)*, cit., p. 109.

⁴¹ There is no formal record about Fr. Estevão Minetti formation, but the newspaper «Cittá de Caxias» registered in April 5, 1914: «Is among us the literate and fervent soldier of the Catholic faith, Dom Stefano Minetti, a doctor in Theology and valorous editor of the co-brother «Il Corriere d'Italia» published in the neighboring Bento Gonçalves. Wishes of happy stay in our city that cultivates hospitality». «Cittá de Caxias», April 5, 1914, p. 6.

⁴² According to biographical data presented by Rizzardo, João Costanzo was «the first doctor of theology, graduated from the Gregorian University of Rome, to join the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. Charles, João Costanzo was born in Barone Canavese (Turin), on May 5, 1875. [...] He was ordained priest on August 10, 1899, in Ivrea, the diocese to which he belonged. He entered the Scalabrian Institute on the same day he was 30, May 5, 1905, 25 days before the death of Bishop Scalabrini. [...] On July 28, after months of preparation, he left for Brazil». Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo. Missionários escalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888/1938)*, cit., p. 175. He passed by Encantado, Nova Bassano, Bento Gonçalves, Fagundes Varela e Monte Belo. He went back to Italy in 1920, returning to Brazil in 1921, and was appointed parish priest at Dois Lajeado and later appointed provincial superior in the Rio Grande do Sul. «On April 12, 1925, after the end of his provincial government, Fr. John returned to Italy [...] died in Arco (Trento) on January 17, 1955, at the age of almost 80», *ibid.*, p. 179.

Father Carlos (Carlo) Porrini ⁴³	Italy	Casorate Sempione (Milan) 07/08/1883	Carlist Father	Combonian Institute of Verona	1918 to 1921
Father José (Giuseppe) Guido Foscallo ⁴⁴	Italy	Valle San Nicolao (Novara), 04/10/1882	Carlist Father	Diocese Seminar of Biella	1921 to 1927

Source: author's organization.

In addition to the work of writers, there were correspondents, being frequent publications by other priests from nearby parishes, especially those linked to Carlists. But not all correspondents were priests, as Italy's consular agent in Bento Gonçalves, Gino Battocchio, collaborated with the paper, as did Ernesto

⁴³ Fr. Carlo Porrini is remembered as a «great speaker and, above all, as a renowned journalist and fluent writer. When he spoke, he electrified crowds; and when writing, he caught the attention of any reader. Endowed with a contemporary and vibrant style, and to some, extent humorous, he pleased and captivated». Born at Casorate Sempione in Milan on August 7, 1883, Carlo studied at the Principality of Monaco and in 1900 joined the Comboni Institute of Verona. In 1902 he opted for the congregation of Scalabrini, in March 1906, ordained a priest. In the same year, in October, he left for Brazil and went to Encantado, RS. He was later transferred to Nova Bassano and, in 1910, to Nova Prata. He returned to Italy in 1914, and when back in Brazil was sent to Fagundes Varela, RS. In April 1918 he was transferred to Bento Gonçalves, taking over as editor of the «Il Corriere d'Italia» journal. In 1921 he went to Italy and in 1922, on his return to Brazil, was sent to Sao Paulo, which, according to Rizzardo (1990) was against his will. He held pastoral activities in Jundiá (1922), Ribeirão (1923/1924), Santo André (1925/1934) and São Bernardo do Campo (1934/1937). In 1922, he became a contributor to the «Squilla newspaper», publishing under the pseudonym *Mastica Polenta*, and from 1925 to 1929 he became director, later, a contributor. In 1932 he helped found «La Fiamma», which lasted until 1939. Porrini returned to Italy in 1937 and remained at the Rivergaro sanctuary near Piacenza, where he died on March 29, 1956, *ibid.*, pp. 186-195.

⁴⁴ According to biographical data, «Valle San Nicolao (Novara) is a small town where José Guido Foscallo was born, on October 4, 1882. He made religious studies at the diocesan seminary of Biella and received priestly ordination in the sanctuary of Nossa Senhora d'Oropa, on July 9, 1906, in that city, with almost 24 years old. As a secular priest, he exercised his ministry in Mosso de Santa Maria (1906/1908), in the diocesan seminary (1908/1909), in the cathedral of Biella (1909/1919) and Coggiola (1919/1920). On November 11, 1920, after 14 years of priesthood, invited by Fr. John Costanzo, and encouraged by the campaign launched throughout Italy by Fr. Pacific Chenuil, Superior General of the Missionaries of St. Charles, to recruit new missionaries [...], entered the Institute of Piacenza, and, after a brief preparation, left for Brazil on February 25, 1921 [...]. He began his religious activities in Bento Gonçalves, Rio Grande do Sul, replacing Fr. Carlos Porrini in the administration and newsroom of «Il Corriere d'Italia» journal. In September 1925, when Fr. Henrique Domingos Poggi returned to Italy, he took over the parish in his place. From Bento Gonçalves, he left to Encantado in 1928, where he remained for some years. In 1936, he went to Sarandi, and in October 1937 moved to Santo André, SP, where he stayed until 1949, returning to Italy this same year. In 1951 he came to Brazil, to the Rio Grande do Sul, passing through Protásio Alves, Vespasiano Correa, Guaporé and Casca. Then, in 1956, he definitively returned to Italy. He died on June 23, 1961, in the sanctuary where he was ordained a priest», *ibid.*, pp. 267-275.

Ronna⁴⁵ and Cesare Bompard, in different years. With a markedly moralizing speech, each of the Fathers who led the writing of «Il Corriere»⁴⁶ printed in its pages ways of thinking about Catholicism, Italianate, Religion and Motherland, mottos announced since its conception. The newspaper educated and directed readers to understand the importance of work and family, maintaining the virtues of faith and Italianate in their daily lives. The journal had been kept regularly over the years, and its pages revealed the educative desire that the Catholic Church longed for its believers. According to Rizzardo⁴⁷, Fr. João Costanzo, while designated as editor-chief of «Il Corriere», published in the journal pages «all the fervor of the great Scalabrinian ideal: Religion and Homeland! He sustained strong controversies against «Stella d'Italia», the freemasonry newspaper of Porto Alegre – which he called «La Stalla d'Italia»⁴⁸ [...] and against «Il Colono Italiano» – which he called «Il Colono Austrús» because during the war it defended Austria». It is also worth mentioning that, as an inspiration for the journalistic activity, Fr. Carlo Porrini highlighted Scalabrini's phrase, founder of the congregation: «Children in America, wherever I send you in the name of the Lord, you must dedicate yourselves to churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and secretariats, on behalf of our immigrant brothers, but don't forget the press! Where you do not come, comes the newspaper, which will preach on your behalf»⁴⁹. Scalabrini⁵⁰ argued that religious feeling could not be separated from patriotic pride, as it would prevent the aggravation of the crisis between the church and the Italian state under formation. The preservation of the language was related, in Scalabrini's

⁴⁵ In the edition of November 5, 1915, there is a note stating that «Dr. Ernesto Ronna left the administration of the newspaper and wished him the best of destinations». «Il Corriere d'Italia», November 5, 1915, p. 1.

⁴⁶ In the Book of Records of Santo Antônio, headquarters of Bento Gonçalves, in the record of the first pastoral visit of Archbishop Dom João Becker from November 20 to 23, 1914, to the Parish of Santo Antonio, it was recorded that «the illustrious writing of the «Il Corriere d'Italia» presents the sincere expression of our deep gratitude for the honors he has deigned to give us» (*Livro de Tombo n. 1*, Paróquia de Santo Antônio, Bento Gonçalves, Manuscrito, 1893-1947). The Pastoral Visit Term of 1918, recorded that on November 14, 1918, the Metropolitan Archbishop Dom. Joao Becker had visited the newsroom and typographic workshops of «Il Corriere d'Italia», whose noble program – for Religion and Homeland, «we praise and acclaim» (*ibid.*). In 1924, on March 11, again in the Pastoral Visitation Term, as a record, he stated that «we also visited the «Il Corriere d'Italia» journal, to which we consign our applause and give a special blessing» (*ibid.*).

⁴⁷ Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo. Missionários escalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888/1938)*, cit., pp. 177-178.

⁴⁸ The name *La Stalla* in Italian means the stall. In the Venetian dialect, common in the RCI, it makes sense to understand that «stalla» means stable, corral.

⁴⁹ Rizzardo, *Raízes de um povo. Missionários escalabrinianos e imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1888/1938)*, cit., p. 188.

⁵⁰ Scalabrini defended this position long before the Holy See had a different understanding from that he assumed at the time of Italian unification: in contrast to the Italian state and an orientation towards Catholics not participating in the political life of Italy.

understanding, with the maintenance of the faith and religiosity apprehended in Italy.

Between 1913 and 1927, the regularity of the production of «Il Corriere d'Italia» was kept, which obeyed almost the same layout. At the first page, the editorial followed by subjects to what was considered the most important event of the week, as well as religious reflections related to Christmas, Easter, religious festivities linked to saints and moralizing texts with different themes. News about Italy usually gained prominence. In the second page, news about Italy and editions about other countries, as well as a section about Brazil, Rio Grande do Sul, RCI and other municipalities where the paper circulated. In general, news about religious festivals, public announcements, official communications, schools, and religious congregations [work expansion] are shared. Consul visits, public works inauguration, celebrations, reports of the Italian Societies of Mutual Aid are recurrences on the second page. The third and fourth pages show all type of advertisements. It is noteworthy how long they last, the same ad published in all editions, in some cases for years. Ads from self-employees as doctors, lawyers, dentists. Publicity of Scalabrinian schools gained space in «Il Corriere» such as Colegio São Carlos, installed in Bento Gonçalves from 1915, as well as other schools of the RCI connected to the female congregation of the Carlists⁵¹. Advertisement from companies selling land are frequent, especially from the 'new colonies' of northwestern Rio Grande do Sul, such as Erechim, Cruz Alta, western Paraná, and Santa Catarina. Medicines and pharmacies also has their publicity. Advertisements of grocery stores of Porto Alegre, Carlos Barbosa, Garibaldi, Caxias, besides those of Bento Gonçalves. Ads from *Banco Pelotense* and other agencies are also usual.

From 1915 on, it appears that the newspaper had a correspondence office in Caxias and Porto Alegre. Concerning the production of the news, it was possible to verify the publication of articles from correspondents of different municipalities, as mentioned above, such as telegrams, letters, and summaries of news posted in Italian and national papers. Within the papers published in Italy, introduced in «Il Corriere» regularly, with part of their articles adapted by editors, are «L'Osservatore Romano» (an agency of Vaticano), «Stella Cattolica», «Il Figaro», «Giornale D'Italia», «Squilla», «Il Corriere d'Italia», and «Corriere della Sera». Summaries of informative texts about agricultural, wine production, religious and educative subjects were also frequent. Besides this, official and public administration communications, those later published in Portuguese.

⁵¹ In the period of publication of «Il Corriere d'Italia», they are mentioned: Colégio São Carlos (later Colégio Nossa Senhora Medianeira) in Bento Gonçalves and founded in 1915, Colégio Nossa Senhora de Lourdes in Nova Vicenza, Caxias district (after 1934, Farroupilha) started in 1917, Monsignor Scalabrini College also founded in 1917, in Guaporé, Sacred Heart of Jesus College established in 1919 in New Brescia.

A special four-sheets insert, *Il Buon Semiatore*, smaller in size, monthly, followed the editions from 08/21/1924 and the whole year of 1925 (as far as it was possible to see). It is not possible to specify when these inserts ceased. Also, in 1925, in June, at the end of the third page of «Il Corriere», the book *Frich Froch Imbosca*, a humorous tale, published throughout the 1925 editions in small parts. This is a story of Frich Froch and his friend Anzoletto, both emigrants⁵². In interspersed periods, the journal published stories in chapters, at the third page or end of the second, one chapter by edition. This was the case of «The Victim of a Secret», published during the year of 1920, and later, «The Way of the Marriage», a historical novel by Fr. Ugo Mioni. It is also relevant to note that in some years the calendar of the following year was inserted in one of the last editions of the current year. On December 24, 1920, for example, the 1921 calendar circulated, highlighting the holy days and also the ten rules of the good Christian.

From 1918 to 1921, when Fr. Carlo Porrini has been in the direction of «Il Corriere», it was possible to identify a column created by him: *Paginetta del Colono*. On this column, located on page 2, he posted humorous stories and dialogs, most of them with educative and moralizing sense, signing with the alias *Mastica Polenta*⁵³. Some front-page notes and editorials signed by *Italicus* in the same period indicates that this was another alias assumed by Fr. Carlo Porrini in his posts in «Il Corriere».

«Il Corriere» journal circulated on Fridays, and it regularly kept its four pages. Between 1913 and November 1916, the paper was 0.65 cm high by 0.45 wide. By November 24, 1916, it had his size reduced, and the justification given in the printout was the «difficulty in buying paper, the cost, and the wartime financial crisis»⁵⁴. The circulation varied. It started with a little over eight hundred prints but reached three thousand copies a week. As for the printing of the newspaper, it was in charge of the canonical house⁵⁵.

⁵² It is also worth to investigate if the publication was full, how it won the pages of the newspaper, because in 1924 the book was already in its eleventh edition, as found: G. Flucco, *Frich Froch Imbosca. Racconto umoristico in dialetto veneto*, 2 vols., Padova, Tip. Antoniana, 1924, 11a ed.

⁵³ In 1935 Father Carlo Porrini organized a book entitled *Masticapolenta* and published it the following year. Written in Veneto dialect, it takes over and reorganizes the weekly texts published in «Il Corriere d'Italia». C. Porrini, *Masticapolenta*, POA, EST, Caxias do Sul, UCS, 1978.

⁵⁴ «Il Corriere d'Italia», November 24, 1916, cover.

⁵⁵ The printing house was located next to the canonical house from 1913 to 1923. In the Pastoral Visitation Term of 11 March 1924, of the Parish of St. Anthony, carried out by D. João Becker, Metropolitan Archbishop of Porto Alegre, is stated that «improvements were also made to the parish house, and a building was made in which the workshops of the Catholic newspaper «Il Corriere d'Italia», run by the Reverend Fr. José Foscallo, were installed» (*Livro do Tombo* n. 1, cit.).

3. *Consensus and clashes on behalf of education in the pages of «Il Colono Italiano» and «Il Corriere d'Italia»*

While going through the editions of both papers, I gave attention to the conditions of their production, and thought how the editorials, news and highlights were composed, what news gained space, and what was put aside and not published, which cultural traditions were manifested, in which language and vocabulary, and tried to understand what worldviews intended the papers to defend, what were the legitimized representations, such as religiosity and ethnicity, put into play in the columns, composed the printed matter. Moreover, by understanding the dynamics of the circulation and appropriation of this cultural asset that newspaper is, it was possible to glimpse the nuances of the processes of access and reception. It is worth remembering that «the meanings of cultural assets are not only inscribed in themselves, nor their authors' projects and intentions, but also in the practices of appropriation that involve the processes of reception and consumption by the public» as stated by Gomes and Hansen⁵⁶.

To morally normalize immigrants and their descendants, with regularity and frequency, in daily life, rituals, festivities, celebrations, sermons that symbolically populated the imagination of those who lived in the RCI, were constituted. For Beneduzi, «Sermons, missions, newspapers, schools, associations, and religious celebrations are instruments to control the community, so that it may continue walking under the practices of the Catholicism sought to implement in Brazil»⁵⁷. Stamping the evangelizing discourse on the pages of the Catholic press was an indispensable resource. Thus, as cultural artifacts, the newspapers «Il Colono Italiano» and «Il Corriere D'Italia» forged the intention of the Church, between consensus and clashes. The initiative, in Zagonel's evaluation, was that the press would be constitute «as a complementary subsidy to the school and the popular mission. The newspaper would be the extension of the missionary and teacher, joining families with timely messages of education, agriculture, and Christian life, making up for the lack of direct pastoral care»⁵⁸.

To intensify the analysis and, considering the available empirical corpus, editorials selection was from their categorization, by recurrence. The family in the educational process, the mother's centrality in the educational process, guidelines on how to educate and instruct good Catholics, and guidelines for the education of Italians were the axes that generated the systematization of the following tables. If «to take power they have to take the word and spread

⁵⁶ A.M. de C. Gomes, P.S. Hansen (edd.), *Intelectuais mediadores: práticas culturais e ação política*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2016, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁷ L.F. Beneduzi, *Imigração Italiana e Catolicismo. Entrecruzando olhares, discutindo mitos*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2008, p. 25.

⁵⁸ C.A. Zagonel, *Igreja e imigração italiana*, Porto Alegre, EST/Sulina, 1975, p. 204.

it»⁵⁹ as affirmed Darnton, the power of the spoken word was one of the parish priests. Proclaimed in the sermons and added to the power of the written word printed in the newspapers, they represent power over families who have read prescriptions of ways of life, of regulating the moral and intellectual formation that they wished to spread, which echoed among the subjects who lived in the RCI. In the newspaper structure, the cover texts are those that have the most evidence and prominence, if we think about the reading practices. So, it is relevant to pay attention to these first texts that serve as editorials, even if not named as such, which occupy the cover first column (and sometimes also the second).

In Table 3, I present four excerpts from the family papers, about their duties in raising children, which was recommended and desirable as instruction and moral education. The family was the main center of the Christian's formation, and recurrently, both «Il Colono» and «Il Corriere» mentioned and emphasized their function.

Table 5. The family in the educative process

Journal name	Localization	Editorial ⁶⁰	Literal transcription of some evidences
Il Colono Italiano	Cover, April 29, 1911	La forza dell'educazione in famiglia ⁶¹	«La casa paterna è il nido dei fanciulli, in questo nido le anime loro ricevono i primi germi dell'educazione, germi che cresceranno e rimarranno per tutta la vita; i fanciulli saranno uomini buoni o tristi secondo le qualità di chi ha governo della casa paterna. Le abitudini della famiglia sono il vero libro morale del fanciullo. Tutto in lui è immagine e istinto d'imitazione. [...] Felici i fanciulli quando le abitudini della famiglia sono regolate secondo la sapienza cristiana» ⁶² .

⁵⁹ R. Darnton, *Introduction*, in R. Darnton, D. Roche (edd.), *Revolução impressa. A imprensa na França, 1775-1800*, São Paulo, EDUSP, 1996, p. 16.

⁶⁰ In this memorable moment, these first cover texts have no editorial name but fulfill a similar function. Also, they are all cover texts, the first publications to be seen due to their prominence in the newspaper.

⁶¹ [The strength of family education].

⁶² [The paternal house is the nest of children, in this nest their souls receive the first germs of education, germs that will grow and remain throughout life; children will be good or sad men according to the qualities of those who have the paternal house government. Family habits are the true moral book of the child. Everything on him is the image and the imitation instinct. [...] Happy are children when family habits are ruled according to Christian wisdom], *La forza dell'educazione in famiglia*, «Il Colono Italiano», Year III, n. 8, April 29, 1911, cover.

	Cover, March 8, 1912	La famiglia ⁶³	«É la piú antica, la piú universale, la piú perfetta delle societá, e il tipo é il modello di ogni governo. Nella famiglia vi sono tre elementi contemperati in bellissimo ordine, il capo del governo, il ministero e il suddito. Il <i>padre</i> rappresenta il potere: egli deve comandare. [...] Egli deve comandare, governare, presiedere la famiglia [...]. La <i>madre</i> è il ministro nel governo della famiglia e il suo ministero si riassume e si compedia in una sola parola «sacrificio». [...] Il <i>figlio</i> è il suddito nel governo della famiglia [...]. L'avvenire dei figliuoli riposa per nove decimi sulla virtù dei genitori, dipende dalla loro fede e dai loro esempi» ⁶⁴ .
Corriere d'Italia	Cover, August 25, 1916	Ai Padri di Famiglia ⁶⁵	«Ma a chi incomberá l'obbligo di salvare la famiglia, minacciata di siffatta rovina? Non si creda che siano soltanto i preti obbligati a porre un riparo a tanto marcio, obbligati a impedire il male, a salvare le anime! Anzi il clero ha legate le mani. É escluso da tutto. I padri invece sono i primi e naturali preti della loro famiglia e quindi della societá. Essi come cittadini e padri uniti, possono farsi rispettare, far valere i loro diritti, possono imporsi anche alle autorità civili e reclamare la soppressione del male e la libertá del bene. Voi padri dunque non potete stare indifferenti; diventiresti traditori. Voi tutti, siete chiamati a salvare la societá veramente in pericolo. [...] altrimenti davanti a Dio dovrete a rendere un grande e terribel conto» ⁶⁶ .

⁶³ [The family].

⁶⁴ [It is the oldest, the most universal, the most perfect of societies, and the type is the model of every government. In the family, there are three seasoned elements in much good order: the head of government, the ministry, and the subject. The father represents the power: he must command. (...) he must command, govern, preside over the family (...). The mother is the minister in the family government, and her ministry is summarized and composed in one word 'sacrifice'. (...) The son is the subject in the family government (...). The future of children rests by nine-tenths on the virtue of their parents, it depends on their faith and examples], *La Famiglia*, «Il Colono Italiano», Year IV, n. 21, August 3, 1912, cover.

⁶⁵ [To family fathers].

⁶⁶ [Whose is the obligation of saving the family threatened by such ruin? Do not believe that only priests are obliged to repair so much rot, forced to avoid evil, to save souls! The clergy has their hands tied. It is excluded from everything. Parents, instead, are the first and natural priests of their family and therefore of society. They, as citizens and united parents, can make themselves respected, claim their rights, can also impose themselves on civil authorities and claim the suppression of evil and the freedom of good. You parents, therefore, cannot be indifferent; you would become traitors. You are all called to save the truly threatened society. (...) otherwise, you will have to do great and terrible accountability before God], *I padri di famiglia*, «Il Corriere d'Italia», Year IV, n. 34, August 25, 1916, cover.

	Cover, October 11, 1922	Istruite i vostri figli ⁶⁷	«[...] Coloni che mi leggete, capitela una bella volta: il vostro primo dovere si é d'istruire i figli nella religione e nella scienza. La piú bella e pingue eredità che lascerete loro, erede lo, sará una buona istruzione. L'uomo, o il giovane istruito, bene educato puó guadagnarsi la vita ovunque, no cosí sempre l'ignorante. Appunto questo amore allo studio infiltrato (sic) dai genitori [...]. Coloni, genitori, sizatevi (sic) dalla vostra letargia, allargate a piú ampi orizzonti lo sguardo ché cosí preparate dei buoni cristiani e cittadini coscienti che sapranno adempiere a menadito tutti i loro doveri, i loro diritti, faranno onore a sè ed alla patria e meglio tutelarano e promuoveranno i loro interessi. Coloni, che vi pare? Su dunque, mandate alla scuola e al colegio i figli, insegnate loro voi stesse, aiutateli a studiare» ⁶⁸ .
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Source: author's organization from the collection of newspapers consulted.

Through the use of metaphors, biblical passages, documents transcriptions, and papal orientations, the newspaper cover with some recurrence pointed to the family as a space for the transmission of morality, virtues, and examples that would form habits. The mother figure is put into the game, and several publications, as consensus, in both journals, treat the Mother, as a model and educator by 'nature'. The play of representations impresses with determination the mother's feminine role in the family, and even recognizes and recommends some instruction. Slightly educated mothers would better fulfill their Christian duties, raise their children as prescribed by the Church. Table 4 presents excerpts that evidence such an argument:

⁶⁷ [Instruct your children].

⁶⁸ [Settlers who read me, understand once and for all: your first duty is to instruct children in religion and science. The most beautiful and abundant inheritance you will leave, or inherit, will be a good education. The man, or the educated, well-educated young man, can earn a living everywhere, not always the ignorant. Precisely, parents infiltrate this love of study. [...] Settlers, parents, stop being lethargic, widen your gaze to broader horizons, to prepare good Christians and conscientious citizens who can fulfill all their duties and rights, honor themselves and their homeland, and better protect and advance their interests. Settlers, what do you think? So send your children to school and college, teach them, help them study], *Istruite i vostri figli*, «Il Corriere d'Italia», Year X, n. 45, November 10, 1922, cover.

Table 6. The centrality of the mother in the educative process

Journal name	Localization	Editorial	Literal transcription of some evidences
Il Colono Italiano	Cover, February 11, 1911	Alle donne Cattoliche ⁶⁹	«Nello scorso mese, l'Exxmo. Mons. Giovanni Pellizzari, successore del non mai abbastanza compianto, Mons. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini fece alle donne cattoliche di Piacenza, una conferenza sul tema – L'educazione. [...] Alla donna piú che all'uomo si addice la missione dell'educare, fisicamente e moralmente: ella ha doti speciali fornitele dal Creatore a tal uopo. A tutto ella arriva col cuore e colla parola. [...] La madre, prima maestra dei figli, su di essi ha somma influenza morale. [...] La madre metta a base della sua educazione la fede e saprà saggiamente istruire. Ma per istruire bisogna studiare [...]. La madre deve ancora correggere. I figli benediranno un giorno la severità dei genitori. Il troppo amore fa troppo compatire e il danno è grande. I figli sono i fiori della famiglia, ma i fiori hanno le loro spine e sono i difetti che s'abbarbicano alle tenere pianticelle» ⁷⁰ .
Il Corriere d'Italia	Cover, October 3, 1922	A voi madri! ⁷¹	«Si insegna di tutto oggi ai bimbi da tante mamme, ma per insegnare il <i>Pater Noster</i> , le orazioni, un po'di catechismo, non si trova il tempo. Che cosa ne è di tali bimbi, quando son fatti adulti? [...] Mamme, per amore dei vostri bimbi tornate al catechismo, alla pratica della Religione» ⁷² .

⁶⁹ [For Catholic women].

⁷⁰ [Last month, the Hon. Mons. Giovanni Pellizzari, successor of the not sufficiently lamented Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, gave a lecture to Piacenza's Catholic women on the topic – Education. For woman rather than man, the mission of education is adequate, physically and morally: she has special gifts given to her by the Creator for this purpose. She comes to everything with the heart and the word. (...) The mother, the first teacher of the children, has a great moral influence on them. (...) The mother puts faith in her education and teaches wisely. To instruct is necessary to study (...). The mother still needs to correct. Children will one day bless the severity of their parents. Much love is very godly and the damage is great. Children are the flowers of the family, but the flowers have their thorns and are the defects that are impregnated with small tender plants], *Alle donne Cattoliche*, «Il Colono Italiano», Year II, n. 49, February 11, 1911, cover.

⁷¹ [For you, mothers!].

⁷² [Everything is taught to children today by so many mothers, but to teach Our Father, prayers, a little catechism, we find no time. What happens to these children when they are adults? (...) Mothers, for the sake of your children, return to the catechism, to the practice of religion], *A voi Madri!*, «Corriere d'Italia», Year X, n. 10, March 10, 1922, cover.

	Capa, January 20,1927	Madri, siete (sic) vigilianti	«Madri, siete vigilianti. Vigilate sui vostri figli, al l'ora svegliarsi; il loro primo pensiero sia per Dio che ve li ha conservati nella notte; la loro prima azione sia un buon segno di Croce; le loro prime parole l'offerta al Sacro Cuore delle azioni e delle sofferenze della giornata. Madri, vigilate. Vigilate perchè dopo esserci modestamente vestiti e prima di ogni altra cosa, prendano l'acqua benedetta si mettano in ginocchio e, lentamente, devotamente, facciano la tradizionale preghiera. Vigilate perchè dicano l'Angelus la mattina, a mezzogiorno e la sera. Perquanto sar� possibile al suono della campana. Madri, vigilate al momento dei pasti perchè ricordino di fare una breve preghiera. [...] Madre siete (sic) vigilianti. � un obbligo grave, molto grave quello di vigilare quando vanno a scuola, non soltanto finne (sic) sono vicini a voi, ma anche quando sono cresciuti e dovete separarvese (sic). Vigilate sui libri che leggono [...]. Madri, siate vigilianti. Siate vigilianti, perchè la vostra responsabilit� � grande, molto grande; ma fatevi coraggio, la ricompensa sar� pi� grande ancora» ⁷³ .
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Source: author's organization from the collection of newspapers consulted.

Apart from family and maternal education, the first to 'convey' the good morals that a Catholic should observe, the newspapers emphasize the value of school, especially the confessional school, or a school that teaches catechism [here, both seem to recognize the critical role of private teachers who taught in rural areas]. In this subject, there is a dissonance between the journals.

«Il Colono» publishes announcements and often activities carried out in the schools maintained by congregations such as the Marists and the Sisters of Saint Joseph, both French. «Il Corriere» does not. It emphasizes and disseminates, recommending to the readers, that the children shall be sent to catholic schools, preferably the Carlists that beyond the catholicism would know how to form good Italians. The clash, even if not explicit, is evident in all pages and

⁷³ [Mothers, be vigilant. Supervise your children, wake them up; your first thought must be to God who kept you through the night; your first action shall be a good cross sign; your first words shall offer the Sacred Heart the actions and sufferings of the day. Mothers, watch. Take care that after being modestly dressed, first of all, you drink holy water, kneel, and devoutly pray the traditional prayer. Watch out for them to say Angelus in the morning, noon, and evening. If possible, also say it to the sound of the bell. Mothers, supervise at mealtimes to remind them to say a short prayer. (...) Mother, be vigilant. It is a serious, very serious obligation to be vigilant when they go to school, not only when they are near you, but also when they are grown and need to leave. Watch the books they read (...). Mothers, be vigilant. Be vigilant, for your responsibility is great, really great; but have courage, the reward will be even greater], *Madri, siate vigilianti*, «Corriere d'Italia», Year XV, n. 3, January 10, 1927, cover.

publications. In Table 5, I selected two cover texts that guide readers in how to educate and instruct good Catholics:

Table 7. Orientations on how to educate and instruct good Catholics

Journal name	Localization	Editorial	Literal transcriptions of some evidences.
Il Corriere d'Italia	Cover, March 5, 1914	La Scuola ⁷⁴	«Ma insieme coll'istruzione civile è necessaria la religiosa. Mandateli alla scuola i vostri figli genitori, ma mandatelli pure alla dottrina e l'istruzione civile vada di para passo colla istruzione religiosa. [...] questa vita è un passaggio. Voi non potete dire al popolo ch'egli ha un'altra luce oltre quella della religione; quella della ragione naturale. Voi non avrete nessuna solidità nello Stato se non date al popolo la morale basata sulla religione. Si è tentato di supplire, ma invano» ⁷⁵ .
	Cover, April 30, 1925	Luce Nuova ⁷⁶	«La scuola muterà. Essa ha bisogno di luce, calore, vita; essa ha bisogno di Dio; Che è Forza, Sapienza, Amore. La scuola per istruire deve condurre a Dio [...]. La scuola per mutare deve avere il maestro. [...] Noi dichiaramo invece che l'educazione delle anime é una vera e propria missione per la quale occorrono virtù e doti particolari e soprattutto ehe ne se senta forte vocazione. [...] Ma la scuola per cambiare deve pur aver uno stile, un metodo. [...] Tralasciano i metodi educativi dei nostri grandi Santi, che da San Anselmo d'Aosta a S. Filippo Neri, al grande D. Bosco hanno portato alla soluzione del problema un contributo pratico di un valore insuperabile, ricorderemo come anche recentemente la professoressa Montessori riuscì a trovare nelle Sue 'Case dei Bambini' un metodo didattico, veramente straordinario. [...] D'al resto

⁷⁴ [The school].

⁷⁵ [Along with civil education, spiritual education is necessary. Send your children to school, Parents, but send them also to doctrine, and civic education will work in the same path as religious guidance. [...] Life is a passage. You cannot tell people that there is any light other than religion: that from natural reason. You will not have a powerful State if you do not give people morality based on religion. An attempt was made to provide it but in vain], *La scuola*, «Corriere d'Italia», Year II, n. 10, March 5, 1914, cover.

⁷⁶ [New light].

			chiunque prenda in meno uno dei quei libri italiani che vengono distribuiti nelle famiglie, vedrà come si siano ottenuti grandi risultati per adattarsi all'intelligenza del bambino, per farvi entrare piano, piano cognizioni semplici ed utili che vanno aumentando gradatamente ogni anno» ⁷⁷ .
	Cover, February 18, 1926	Istruzione ed educazione ⁷⁸	«[...] per noi sola a vera istruzione è quella che, oltre ad armare la mente di molte cognizioni sa anche preparare dei buoni cittadini elevando l'anima verso il suo Creatore. [...] E necessario che nella scuola sia il catechismo e tocca ai genitori ad introdurlo. [...] Le scuole private dirette dai religiosi sono le sole che sotto questo aspetto danno una garanzia sicura. Sarebbe spaventoso che esse non fosseno capaci di un piccolo sacrificio per educare i figli» ⁷⁹ .

Source: author's organization from the collection of newspapers consulted.

As a last category, the issue of education for an ethnic identity process – Italianate and the question of the country. If the argument is recurrent for «Il Corriere», which continually refers to the conception that the homeland of all immigrants and descendants is Italy, the «patria lontana», in «Il Colono» the theme is little emphasized and, when it is, the position is negotiated and even minimized.

In «Il Colono» the speech refers to being a good Catholic, a good citizen, as something of value. The next table presents some evidences:

⁷⁷ [The school will change. It needs light, warmth, and life; need God; Strength, Wisdom, Love. The school to instruct must lead to God (...). The school to change must have the teacher. Instead, we declare that the education of souls is a real and proper mission for which we need particular virtues and gifts, and above all, if we feel a strong vocation. [...] But to change the school, it must have a style, a method. From the educational methods of our great saints, from San Anselmo d'Aosta to St. Filippo Neri, and the great Don Bosco, who brought solution to the problem with a practical contribution of unsurpassed value; we also remember how recently Professor Montessori was able to find a really extraordinary teaching method in her 'Casa dei Bambini'. (...) Further, anyone who takes one of those Italian books that is distributed among families, will see how great results have been obtained to adapt them to the child's intelligence, to let you slowly enter into the simple and useful knowledge that gradually increases every year], *Luce nuova*, «Corriere d'Italia», Year XIII, n. 18, April 30, 1925, cover.

⁷⁸ [Instruction and education].

⁷⁹ [For us, true education is one that, in addition to arming the mind of great knowledge, also knows how to prepare good citizens by raising the soul to its Creator. (...) the catechism must exist in the school and it is up to parents to introduce it. (...) Private schools run by religious are the only ones that give a safe guarantee in this regard. It would be unfortunate that parents would not be able to make a small sacrifice to raise their children], *Istruzione ed educazione*, «Il Corriere d'Italia», Year XIV, n. 7, February 18, 1926, cover.

Table 8. Orientations to the education of 'Italians'

Journal name	Localization	Editorial	Literal transcriptions of some evidences
Il Colono Italiano	Cover, March 18, 1911	Voci di accordo – Per l'italianità ⁸⁰	«Il tema è delicato assai e difficile perché possa tradursi in alcuni criteri pratici da seguirsi con piena fiducia e con armonia d'intenti. Duplice è l'aspetto che presenta il problema della nostra emigrazione: uno che deriva dalle aspirazioni legittime della nostra cara Patria lontana, la quale vorrebbe in qualche modo usufruire della produttività che noi laboriosamente operiamo in terra straniera; l'altro, che nasce dal processo di assimilazione che molto ragionevolmente tentano i paesi d'immigrazione. [...] Il problema, in relazione ai due supremi contrasti cui abbiamo accenato, può riguardarsi sotto molteplici riflessi, che noi però riduciamo sommariamente a tre, quello della cultura, il lato economico e in fine l'espressione politica. [...] La scuola, come tutti sappiamo, è un eminente fattore di progresso civile; perché dunque non lasciare che la coltura si diffonda con quei mezzi che sono piú naturali e comfacenti al genere di persone cui si dirige? Cosa importa che essa sia itatica, quando si ha la massima certezza di ottenere l'effetto di uomini sufficientemente colti e atti a coadiuvare potentemente la seconda patria che hanno di adozione?» ⁸¹ .

⁸⁰ [Voice of agreement – for the Italianate].

⁸¹ [The subject is very delicate and difficult as it can be translated into some practical criteria to be followed with total confidence and harmony of purposes. It is twofold the aspect that presents the problem of our emigration: the one that stems from the legitimate aspirations of our dear distant homeland, which would like somehow to enjoy the productivity we laboriously operate in a foreign land; the other, which arises from the process of assimilation that immigration countries reasonably attempt. (...) The problem about the two supreme contrasts to which we refer, may reappear under multiple reflections, which we have, however, briefly reduced to three, that of culture, of the economic side, and finally of political expression. (...) School, as we all know, is an imminent factor of civil progress; so, why not let the culture spread through those mediums that are more natural and similar to the type of person you address? What matters if it is Italian when we are almost sure to have the effect of men who are sufficiently educated and capable of powerfully supporting the second homeland they adopt?], *Voci di accordo per l'Italianità*, «Il Colono Italiano», Year III, n. 2, March 18, 1911, cover.

	Cover, August 13, 1914	Dopo il congresso di Pallanza. I Cattolici di fronte alla Dante Alighieri. Ed ora? La conclusione ⁸²	«I cattolici italiani appunto perché <i>cattolici</i> rifuggono dalle società neutre, acconfessionali, settarie, massoniche, laiche, perché <i>italiani</i> vogliono che la lingua italiana si difonda all'estero, sia di fede, sia insegnata, sia praticata. Ma essi saranno larghi di aiuti morali o materiali ai missionari che con sacrifici, con disinteresse portano ovunque la nostra italianità all'estero. Salesiani, francescani, domenicani, camiliani, redentoristi, assunzionisti, giuseppini, opera Scalabrini, ecc. ecc. sono migliaia e migliaia di persone che il nome, la lingua, i costumi della nostra patria italiana, fanno conoscere nelle varie nazioni dell'Europa, nelle Americhe, nell'Asia, nell'Africa: questi vanno largamente aiutati dai cattolici tutti, certi di fare un'opera santa ed eminentemente patriottica» ⁸³ .
Il Corriere d'Italia	Cover, June 7, 1914	Patriottismo ⁸⁴	«Patriottismo! Santa o fatidica parola che esprime uno dei più forti, dei più nobili amori dell'uomo: l'amore per la piccola terra che ci vide nascere, dove appendemmo all'albero della vita il nido della nostra famiglia: l'amore per la terra più grande dentro alla quale risuona la nostra favella, vivono i nostri fratelli e aventola (sic) la alita (sic), la bandiera nostra sfolgorando di fronte al più bel sole, i più bei colori» ⁸⁵ .

⁸² [After the congress of Pallanza. Catholics in front of Dante Alighieri. What now? The conclusion].

⁸³ [Italian Catholics precisely because Catholics shun neutral Masonic secular societies, non-denominational, sectarian; because Italians want their language to be spread abroad as much as faith was, taught and practiced. They are sensitive to moral or material help for missionaries who, with sacrifice, with disinterest, will take our Italianate abroad. Salesians' work, Franciscans', Dominicans', Camillians', Redemptorists', Assumptionists', Josephites', Scalabrinis'. There are thousands upon thousands of people whom the name, language, and customs of our Italian homeland make known in the various nations of Europe, in the Americas, in Asia, in Africa: these are to be largely helped by all Catholics, certain of doing sacred and eminently patriotic work], *Dopo il congresso di Pallanza. I Cattolici di fronte alla Dante Alighieri. Ed ora? La conclusione*, «Il Colono Italiano», Year VI, n. 21, August 13, 1914, cover.

⁸⁴ [Patriotism].

⁸⁵ [Patriotism! A sacred or fateful word that expresses one of the greatest, most noble loves of man: the love for the small land that we were born, where we hang our family's nest in the tree of life; the love for the earth, within which our speech resounds, our brothers live and give us breath, our flag burning in front of the most beautiful sun, the most beautiful colors]. The same cover calls readers attention to the National Celebration of Great Italy, *Patriottismo*, «Il Corriere d'Italia», Year II, n. 23, June 07, 1914, cover.

	Cover, February 15, 1918	La Patria ⁸⁶	«L'amore di patria ha le sue radici naturali e profonde come l'amore della famiglia, della fede dei noi stessi: l'amore di patria si impone con voce di dolore naturale come l'amore ispirato dal vincolo del sangue: l'amore di patria è il gradino per salire dall'amore di se stessi e della famiglia all'amore di tutta umanità. La patria è nel sangue, nel ritmo particolare della nostra vita, nel nostro pensiero, nella nostra lingua [...]. La patria è ancora tutto ciò che dorme nelle tombe, i padri dei nostri padri. [...] La patria è nella corona gloriosa di Fede che Dio pose e conservò sempre sui nostri popoli [...]. Tutto questo è la patria, ed è potente, indistruttibile [...]. La patria non è che una grande famiglia e valgono, in certo modo, per essa, i doveri che noi abbiamo verso la nostra casa» ⁸⁷ .
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Source: author's organization from the collection of newspapers consulted.

Considering the evidence presented, note that during the years 1913 and 1917, two Catholic newspapers were published in the RCI, one in Garibaldi, the «Il Colono Italiano» and the other in Bento Gonçalves, «Il Corriere D'Italia». Although both are Catholic in terms of education and instruction, there was consensus, but also some clashes. It must be recognized that some of the tensions derived from the readers' dispute, a power game that would or would not guarantee the maintenance of the newspaper.

In the set of newspapers analyzed, one of the clashes was in the support that «Il Colono Italiano» was giving to the schooling initiatives of the Sisters of St. Joseph and to the St. Anthony College of the Marists in Garibaldi. None of the many publications on these schools of French congregations were in «Il Corriere D'Italia». In its pages, the «Corriere» encouraged the adherence to confessional schools, and other schools if teaching the catechism, but practical support was for the Carlist initiatives, as for the journal Carlists were better prepared to welcome and understand Italians, in reason of the same ethnic origin. The clash was ethnic, revealing stays and disputes that transcend the national border of the adoptive homeland. They denote cultural practices because they «translate into acts the plural ways in which men give meaning to the world that is their

⁸⁶ [The homeland].

⁸⁷ [The love for our country has roots, natural and deep, like the love of family, of the faith in ourselves: the love for the homeland imposes itself like a voice of natural pain, like the love inspired by blood bond. The homeland is in our blood, in the rhythm of our life, in our thought, our language. (...) The homeland is, still, everyone that sleeps in the tombs, the fathers of our fathers. (...) The homeland is in the glorious crown of faith that God established and preserved for our peoples. (...) All this is a homeland, and this is powerful, indestructible (...). The homeland is nothing but a big family and, in a way, for that, we have the same duties we have for our home], *La Patria*, «Il Corriere d'Italia», Year VI, n. 7, February 15, 1918, cover.

own»⁸⁸. As a consensus, the emphasis was on vigilance to educate for Christian morality, illuminating the family and mothers with a priority role in the process.

Final considerations

The newspaper, as a cultural artifact, allowed the circulation of ideas about what was recognized and authorized as an educational ideal concerning family practices, but also and especially school practices. Catholicism and Italianate were disseminated through the production and circulation of «Il Corriere». In the case of «Il Colono», the religious practices, the catechism, the educational value of the family was emphasized in its pages.

«Il Corriere»'s motto was Religion and Motherland. In this manner, the construction of ethnic identity process, Italianate, was based on the relational process, interactions, confrontations, and published agreements.

The sharing of religious and life practices, the moralizing speech on how to conduct life, educate children, prescriptions about daily life, publishing what was acceptable and what was condemnable, what gave way to salvation and what not, were evident characteristics in both newspapers. Values, feelings, traditions, were shared and reinforced; the sermon echoes marked the lines that produced the newspapers, the networks of sociability, but also competition. They established supports, negotiated but also conflicted. Some disagreed, did not accept, and criticized the newspapers and those who produced them. As already mentioned, the colonies and, soon after, the newly constituted municipalities were contact zones between 'Brazilians' and immigrants and descendants of different ethnicities, such as Germans, Austrians, Poles, and Italians, predominantly. The contacts of these actors, coming from different cultural matrices, produced pressures on a speech that indicated the need for renewal. This renewal was obtained with the publication of the «Staffetta Rio-Grandense», which became, from 1927, until now, the most significant Catholic journal. Finally, I consider that the analysis of the newspaper, as a cultural artifact, allowed us to perceive the circulation of representations about what was recognized and authorized as an educational ideal to family practices, but also and especially school practices.

⁸⁸ R. Chartier, *Leituras e leitores na França do Antigo Regime*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP, 2004, p. 18.

Journals for Italian young people abroad during the Fascist Twenty Years: from «Aquilotti d'Italia» (1928-1930) to «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero» (1931-1943)

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ABSTRACT: Author reconstructs for the first time the course of the two periodicals for children and young people – «Aquilotti d'Italia» (1928-1930) and «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero» (1931-1943) –, published by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero and mainly aimed at children and young people coming from the Italian communities living outside the national borders. After having analyzed the approach and the different characteristics of the two periodicals, A. examines with a wealth of details their role carried out firstly on the national and patriotic education and secondly with regard to the Fascistization of Italian young people abroad, especially since the mid-thirties.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Journals for Children; «Aquilotti d'Italia» (1928-1930); «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero» (1931-1943); Fascist period; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

In November 1928, the first issue of the fortnightly publication «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero»¹ appeared. Published for

¹ We have not an organic and documented study on the periodical «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero» (Rome 1928-1930) yet. Please see synthetic references in D. Montino, *Le tre Italie di Giuseppe Fanciulli. Educazione e letteratura per l'infanzia nel primo Novecento*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 2009, pp. 123-130.

the Printer of the State of Rome by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero², this periodical was one of the ripest fruits of the real turning point made to the Fascist organization abroad by the new secretary Piero Parini, appointed by Mussolini in January, with the task of making this body the main tool for Fascist penetration into Italian communities³, focusing not only on adult people as in the past, but also, and above all, on younger generations, a question of greater attention by the Italian regime in those years, witnessed by the institution of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.)⁴ in 1926.

Arising as an organization of the National Fascist Party (P.N.F.) since 1920 and passed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1925, the Fasci Italiani all'Estero⁵ were the tool through which Mussolini regime proposed to achieve the objective of «fascistizing Italian immigrants and their descendants in order to turn them into vehicles for dissemination of its ideology», as Emilio Gentile recalled.

Although the regime officially justified the creation of the Italian Fasci abroad with the need to «protect the social and economic interests of the Italian emigration and with the purpose of promoting the enhancement of Italian culture and the development of Italian trade and production abroad», there was «always an ideological objective from the beginning», as Emilio Gentile also mentioned⁶.

Not by chance, in tracing the general guidelines of the P.N.F. politics with regard to the Italian people who emigrated abroad, in November 1922, Mussolini had not «immediately» failed to underline the necessity of «a massive campaign aimed at stimulating Italian feeling in all the emigrated masses and strengthening their bonds with motherland».

However, on that occasion, Mussolini had also stressed the opportunity to give life to a «progressive work of sensitizing new generations» at a later stage and, at the same time, to commit «some more receptive minorities of young

² Cf. M. Petrelli, *Direzione generale degli italiani all'estero e delle scuole editrice. Roma (1929-1946)*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008, pp. 163-165.

³ E. Gentile, *La politica estera del partito fascista. Ideologia e organizzazione dei fasci italiani all'estero, 1920-1930*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. XXVI, n. 6, 1995, pp. 949-951.

⁴ Cf. N. Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo 1926-1943*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. XIII, nn. 4-5, 1982, pp. 569-633; C. Betti, *L'Opera nazionale balilla e l'educazione fascista*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1984.

⁵ Cf. D. Fabiano, *I fasci italiani all'estero*, in B. Bezza (ed.), *Gli italiani fuori d'Italia*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1983, pp. 221-236; Gentile, *La politica estera del partito fascista. Ideologia e organizzazione dei fasci italiani all'estero, 1920-1930*, cit., pp. 897-956; N. Labanca, *Politica e propaganda: emigrazione e Fasci all'estero*, in E. Collotti, N. Labanca, T. Sala, *Fascismo e politica di potenza. Politica estera 1922-1939*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 2000, pp. 137-172.

⁶ Gentile, *La politica estera del partito fascista. Ideologia e organizzazione dei fasci italiani all'estero, 1920-1930*, cit., pp. 897-898.

emigrants» in the work of «cultural and spiritual penetration of ideology in the host countries»⁷.

As already mentioned, appointed as Secretary General of the Italian Fasci Abroad in January 1928, Piero Parini, a leading exponent of the Fascist regime, had recently taken up the diplomatic career under the leadership of the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Dino Grandi, and had been appointed the Italian consul in Aleppo, Syria, the year before. Both the General Direction of the Italian School Abroad and the General Direction of Italian People Abroad would have been placed under his leadership since 1929. Besides, in 1929, he would have been called to manage the National Foundation of the Lictor, taking care for the organization of a series of summer camps for Italian children living abroad. Finally, after having been raised to the dignity of minister plenipotentiary, in August 1932, he would have also taken up the appointment of director general of the Italian Work Abroad⁸.

Immediately after his appointment as head of the Italian Fasci Abroad and persuaded of the need to supplement the press agency «I Fasci italiani all'estero. Bollettino della Segreteria generale», which has become «Il Legionario»⁹ since 1925, with a periodical publication mainly intended for children and teenagers coming from the Italian communities abroad for the purposes of «patriotic education», «promotion of Italian feeling» and «open Fascist propaganda»¹⁰, Piero Parini commissioned the writer for children, Giuseppe Fanciulli, to give life to the project of a journal able to not only act as a tool of communication and link among the «Youth Groups of Italian communities abroad», but also to provide «Italian children» who lived outside Italy with «the consolation and the incentive of a very pure Italian feeling», teaching them «to love the Duce who gave Italian people, inside and outside the borders, the national passion and the aspiration to a greatest destiny for the country and the race»¹¹.

Moreover, the fact of choosing Giuseppe Fanciulli was not casual. In fact, Piero Parini well remembered Luigi Bertelli/*Vamba*'s old companion and close collaborator, having been one of the most loyal and passionate readers of the periodical, the lively and amusing writings he printed in «Il Giornalino della Domenica» (1906-1924)¹², when he was a teenager, as well as he clearly

⁷ R. Cantalupo, *Racconti politici dell'altra pace*, Milan, Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, 1940, pp. 302-306.

⁸ About Piero Parini (Milan 1894-Athens 1993), please see E. Colombo, *Parini, Piero*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014, vol. 81, <www.treccani.it> (last access: 12.02.2019).

⁹ An analytical study is still missing on this important periodical publication. Some quick references are in B. Garzarelli, «Parleremo al Mondo Intero». *La propaganda del fascismo all'estero*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2004.

¹⁰ P. Parini, *Gli italiani nel mondo*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939, pp. 21-22.

¹¹ P. Parini, *Saluto alla voce*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 1, January, 1930, p. 1.

¹² About «Il Giornalino della Domenica» (1906-1924), founded and edited by Luigi Bertelli

remembered the undisputed reputation of a prolific and brilliant writer for children and teenagers, which the Florentine scholar had been acquiring in more recent years, thanks to the publication of a series of valuable and innovative works for children and young people¹³.

Moreover, the ready and convinced adhesion to Fascism and the full sharing of the regime directives¹⁴ made Giuseppe Fanciulli the ideal executor of a project which aimed at joining Mussolini's propaganda towards Italian young people abroad to an organic and effective program of patriotic education and creation of a national consciousness. Much more if we keep in mind the vigorous Catholic faith, which inspired the Florentine writer, and the peculiar Fascist-clerical sensitivity¹⁵, which he had impressed on his literary production for childhood¹⁶, a sensitivity where it was not difficult to grasp a clear harmony with the conciliatory aspirations which animated the Fascist leadership in those years¹⁷.

1. *Between children's literature and regime propaganda: Giuseppe Fanciulli and the periodical «Aquilotti d'Italia» (1928-1930)*

Inspired to «Il Giornalino della Domenica» (1906-1924)¹⁸, of which – as we have already mentioned – Giuseppe Fanciulli had been one of the main editors

under the pseudonym of *Vamba*, and the Giuseppe Fanciulli's collaboration, please see: A. Ascenzi, «Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia». *Luigi Bertelli/Vamba tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile*, 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, 2009, pp. 181-217.

¹³ By way of example, we point out: G. Fanciulli, *Gente nostra. Novelle*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1918; Id., *Il nostro tesoro, e altre commedie*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1924; Id., *Teatrino della scuola. Scelta di monologhi, dialoghi e commedie di facile recitazione*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1924; Id., *Alla sorgente. Novelle*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1925; Id., *Creature. Quadri di vita per la gioventù*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1926; Id., *Fiore. Romanzo per ragazzi*, Florence, Bemporad, 1928.

¹⁴ Cf. Montino, *Le tre Italie di Giuseppe Fanciulli. Educazione e letteratura per l'infanzia nel primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 97-99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶ On this regard, please see the uplifting biographies of the «Italian Saints» printed for the use of children in this same period: G. Fanciulli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1925; Id., *S. Luigi Gonzaga*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1926; Id., *Santi d'Italia*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1929; Id., *S. Giovanni Bosco. Il santo dei ragazzi presentato ai ragazzi*, Turin, Società Editrice Internazionale, 1934.

¹⁷ Cf. R. De Felice, *Mussolini il Duce. 1: Gli anni del consenso, 1929-1936*, Turin, Einaudi, 1974.

¹⁸ The references to this authoritative model contained in the periodical published by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero are very varied and numerous. On the pages of «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», you can find the recovery and the repetition of the AIDAI, *Associazione Indissolubile di Anime Italiane [Indissoluble Association of*

and which he had also edited after the death of the founder and the first editor Luigi Bertelli (*Vamba*)¹⁹ in November 1920, at least from the point of view of the editorial approach, the fortnightly publication «Aquilotti d'Italia» was characterized as a remarkable periodical for children and young people from the beginning, in the late 1928, whose high cost of its yearly subscription – 15 liras in Italy and its colonies and 20 liras abroad – seemed largely justified both by the richness and the originality of its articles and its fiction texts published in each issue and the large number and the notoriety of its writers and its illustrators who animated the editorial staff and were the team of the collaborators of the newspaper.

In fact, besides Fanciulli and a small group of executives and officials from the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero, first of all Piero Parini, we can find a large number of men of letters, men of school and writers for children and young people among the editors and the most assiduous collaborators of «Aquilotti d'Italia», including: Ettore Allodoli, Luigi Bottazzi, Milly Dandolo, Guglielmo della Noce, Ettore de Zuani, Camilla Del Soldato, Fernando Gemina, Bianca Gerin, Beppino Guidotti, Cesarina Lorenzoni and Elena Luce. As we have already mentioned, there was also a patrol of designers and illustrators, including Francesco Carnevali, Filippo Maria Marini, Giuseppe Arrighi and Enrico Castello (*Chin*).

Each issue was composed of 24 richly illustrated pages, which contained a series of fixed columns, in addition to novels, stories and plays for children: besides the one called «Per i più piccini» [For the little ones], «Pagine vostre» [Your pages], «Vita sportiva» [Sports life], «Pagina umoristica» [Humour page] and, since 1930, «I Libri» [The Books].

The issue was completed by a series of information columns, explicitly addressed to Italian young people abroad. Finally, there was the column «Corrispondenza» [Correspondence], where the editor published a wide selection of letters sent by young readers to the periodical, adding his own comments and reflections and providing answers to any questions they might have asked.

First of all, a quick look at the fiction production for children and young people on the pages of «Aquilotti d'Italia» reveals the constant attention to satisfy different readers' expectations and interests: in fact, besides fairy tales, fantastic novellas, dialogues and short stories for the little ones, we can find a

Italian Souls], established by Luigi Bertelli «Il Giornalino della Domenica» in 1919 and coordinated by Giuseppe Fanciulli, who intended to provide «for the free circulation of the Journal in all the social classes» and to «promote direct contacts between these young people and the members of the bourgeois classes». Cf. *Corrispondenza*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 1, 1930, pp. 21-22.

¹⁹ Cf. C. Gallo, *Vita morte e resurrezione del «Giornalino della Domenica»: da Bemporad a Mondadori (1906-1927)*, in L. Finocchi, A. Gigli Marchetti (edd.), *Editori e piccoli lettori tra Otto e Novecento*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 317-338.

wide choice of exotic and adventure stories for boys and sentimental novels for girls in each issue.

So, for the youngest readers there are lively and funny fantasy texts, in addition to others where there are a lot of references to love of country and national feeling²⁰.

The context of fiction production for boys and girls is more complex. The prevailing genre for the first ones is a fantastic adventure story²¹, but there are also a lot of fictional and compelling reconstructions about the most famous events of the homeland history and the biographies of the great Italian people of the past, where we can often find themes and issues dear to nationalist and Fascist propaganda²².

Even in the numerous and compelling stories about homeland history published in 1930, the thirst for adventure, the love of country and the great heroic and chivalrous virtues are the focus of a message which aims at educating national conscience and encouraging the identification of young readers with the ideals and the models conveyed by Fascist propaganda²³.

Novels and short stories devoted to family life and the exaltation of female virtues and good feelings²⁴ prevail for girls, but there are also a lot of fiction texts focused on the painful experience of emigration abroad, reread in Fascist terms.

In the novel for young girls, *Il viaggio di nozze di Rosalina* by Laura Chiari Guardabassi, for example, the exciting story between the Lucanian farmer Rosalina and Antonello, Don Ciccillo's son, who emigrated to America and became rich for having created a factory of photographic objects with two partners, offers the author the opportunity to reiterate a concept particularly dear to Mussolini's regime, that is, far from being assimilated by the culture and the traditions of the countries where they had moved and now lived, Italian immigrants abroad should have tried to preserve their language and their cultural identity, aiming at marrying to their compatriots rather than to foreign people and fostering the hope of being able to return to Italy one day²⁵.

²⁰ Cf. *Italia nostra!*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 3, 1930, p. 9.

²¹ On this regard, please see: M. Staffa, *Portatore di fuoco*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 4, 1930, pp. 7-8; E. Luce, *Paru e i fringuelli del Batusolan*, vol. III, n. 6, 1930, pp. 6-8; and G. Fanciulli, *Racconti di Natale*, vol. III, nn. 10-12, 1930, pp. 16-19.

²² Cf. U. Gozzano, *Il corsaro genovese*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 1, 1930, pp. 6-8.

²³ Cf. E. Allodoli, *L'assedio di Firenze e Ferruccio*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III n. 3, 1930, pp. 2-4; R. Uberti, *Alberto da Giussano e Giovanni dalle Bande Nere*, vol. III, n. 6, 1930, pp. 3-5; U. Gozzano, *Un Balilla Dalmata*, vol. III, n. 6, 1930, pp. 8-10; F. Castellino, *Un ragazzo italiano all'estero*, vol. III, nn. 10-12, 1930, pp. 6-9.

²⁴ Cf. B. Gerin, *Il bacio di Viola*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 8, 1930, pp. 10-12.

²⁵ L. Chiari Guardabassi, *Il viaggio di nozze di Rosalina*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei

In the face of the relevant references to Fascist ideology in the above-mentioned fiction texts and articles, in order to fully grasp the characteristics and the goal of the ideological message conveyed by «Aquilotti d'Italia» between 1928 and 1930, there is no doubt that reference should be first made to the *editorials* signed by the editor of the magazine, Giuseppe Fanciulli, and placed at the beginning of each issue with the aim at offering young readers an opportunity to reflect on the challenges and the responsibilities inherent Italian young people who were born and grown outside the national borders and expressing the exquisitely educational purpose («of frank patriotic and Fascist education») of the publication; as well as to the contents conveyed in the various above-mentioned columns and, in particular, in the «Correspondence» with the young readers who lived in Italian communities abroad.

As for the *editorials* signed by the editor, with which most of the issues from «Aquilotti d'Italia» were launched, it must be emphasized that, far from focusing on contingent questions or indulging in literary matters or cultural issues in a broad sense, they were largely focused on the complex relationship between Fascist regime and young people and, more particularly, the new increasing responsibilities which Italian young people, including the ones living abroad, were called to have in the «new Italy under Mussolini».

In the late 1920s, even with reference to Italian children and teenagers living abroad, Giuseppe Fanciulli claimed the principle of a sort of identity between Fascism and youth which, far from being only a mere registry category²⁶, should have been considered as the «expression of a positive absolute» and the synthesis of «a wide range of civic, moral and aesthetic values». Not surprisingly, as the editor of «Aquilotti d'Italia» would have repeated on several occasions, the Fascist regime had chosen to make young people «the focus of its action», aiming at making «the wonderfully young people's image»²⁷ concrete.

On this regard, it is not surprising that there is a wide space in the *editorials* signed by the editor and appearing on «Aquilotti d'Italia» in this period for the so-called «debate on young people» and the creation of a new authentically Fascist ruling class, held since 1927 on the columns of «Critica Fascista», the magazine edited by Giuseppe Bottai, and then culminated with Benito Mussolini's intervention entitled *Punti fermi sui giovani* [Fixed points on young people]²⁸ in the early 1930.

Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 3, 1930, pp. 6-8.

²⁶ See L. Malvano, *Il mito della giovinezza attraverso l'immagine: il fascismo italiano*, in Levi, Schmitt (edd.), *Storia dei giovani. 2: L'età contemporanea*, cit., pp. 311-314. E.M.A. Ledeen, *Italian fascism and youth*, «The Journal of Contemporary History», vol. 4, n. 3, 1969, pp. 137-154.

²⁷ G. Fanciulli, «...Siamo sempre vicini!», «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 1, 1930, pp. 2-3.

²⁸ See P. Nello, *Mussolini e Bottai: due modi diversi di concepire l'educazione fascista dei giovani*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. VIII, n. 2, 1977, pp. 335-366; and L. Passerini, *La giovinezza metafora del cambiamento sociale. Due dibattiti sui giovani nell'Italia fascista e negli*

For example, in February 1930, Giuseppe Fanciulli just referred to this intervention in the *editorial* entitled *Il posto dei Giovani* [The place for Young people], where he stated: «The fresh vitality of Fascism is demonstrated by the care with which the regime is lavish for young people's education, with the aim at transmitting the posts of command to intact and fully prepared forces»²⁹.

As already mentioned, the «high function of civil and virile education, [...] arousing the noblest courage in the youthful minds», which the magazine edited by Giuseppe Fanciulli intended to pursue, was also systematically practiced through various columns in each issue and, in particular, through the one relating to the editor's «Correspondence». It must be said that the result of a careful selection aimed at identifying and bringing out exemplary testimonies of «bright Italian feeling», «authentic love of country», «convinced and total identification with the Fascist values» and «sincere feelings of gratitude for the Duce» are the letters sent by young subscribers and reproduced by Giuseppe Fanciulli on the columns of «Aquilotti d'Italia», which tended to draw a sort of *ideal reader*, who was able to live and to fully witness the qualities belonging to «Fascist young people», the «*new fascist man*» on the one hand, and to be a formidable tool of identification/mirroring for actual readers and indirect confirmation of the good proposal of «patriotic and Fascist education» conveyed by the periodical on the other hand, as much as the letters sent to the editor ended up by reaffirming and legitimizing the guidelines and the basic choices supported by the periodical – and carried out by the same addressees of the educational and propaganda message³⁰.

Besides being a privileged space for the diffusion of attitudes and lifestyles based on the authentic «Fascist spirit» among Italian children and young people living abroad, the «Correspondence» of «Aquilotti d'Italia» also fulfilled the important function to consolidate the bonds and to strengthen the identification of its young readers with the Italian homeland. So, for example, in June 1930, the little boy Giovanni Franchini, who lived on the island of Coo in the Aegean, could say: «I am proud to be Italian and I do not hide my pride to my foreign companions». Ennio Depinguente and Pietro Gigli, who lived in the German town of Konstanz and proudly claimed their close connection with their distant homeland, expressed in the same way: «We promise to be always good and

Stati Uniti degli anni Cinquanta, in Levi, Schmitt, *Storia dei giovani*, cit., pp. 386-421.

²⁹ *Il posto dei Giovani*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 2, 1930, p. 1.

³⁰ The letter sent to the periodical by the young girl Ines Vella, a pupil from the Scuola Italiana Statale di Atene said: «Dear *Aquilotti*, you fly with your voice of faith and love, you fly towards every shore, you praise our beautiful homeland for all its beauties, great of all grandeur, you sing the joy of a serene and industrious life. You, *Aquilotti*, come from Rome invincible, your strong wing beats every wind to bring to the Italian Sons living under other skies the love of the Homeland and to say to every heart: Alalà! We are strong, we are great, we are brothers, we love each other! We crown our homeland with glory in the name of the King, in the name of the Duce» («Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 1, 1930, p. 12).

clever and to love our dear and beautiful Italy. Long live Italy! Long live the Duce!»³¹.

Despite the collaboration of numerous and qualified writers for children and the considerable efforts made by the founder and the editor Giuseppe Fanciulli to promote its diffusion and to increase its number of readers³², the fortnightly publication «Aquilotti d'Italia» was destined to reveal a partial failure, not managing to go beyond a thousand of subscribers and, above all, disappointing the expectations of those who had aimed at this journal, such as the secretary general of the Fasci Italiani Abroad Piero Parini, in order to systematically make Italian young people abroad Fascist³³.

In spite of the numerous and incisive references to Mussolini's ideology and the constant reference to themes and topics dear to the regime propaganda, «Aquilotti d'Italia» was far from embodying the model of an 'integrally Fascist' periodical publication desired by Piero Parini and other Fascist hierarchs, with its prevailing attention to the literary dimension and the supremacy bestowed on the educational purpose rather than on the propaganda one – like «Il Giornalino della Domenica» by Luigi Bertelli³⁴.

Hence the sudden and unquestionable decision of the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero to proceed with the suppression of the journal founded and edited by Giuseppe Fanciulli; a decision which the Florentine writer for children made known to his young readers through a laconic statement where he affirmed: «*Aquilotti d'Italia* suspends its publications with this number and our dear square remains empty. However, the heart will not remain empty after

³¹ Column «Correspondence», «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 6, 1930, pp. 22-24.

³² See column «Correspondence», «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, n. 5, 1930, pp. 20-22; and n. 8, 1930, pp. 17-19.

³³ Please see the polemical references in the editorial with which the first issue of the periodical «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero» was opened and destined to replace «Aquilotti d'Italia» by Giuseppe Fanciulli: P. Parini, *Abbasso la noia!*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 1, 15 January, 1931, p. 2.

³⁴ The story of the periodical «Aquilotti d'Italia» by Giuseppe Fanciulli has a singular analogy with the choices made by the Fascist regime for the textbooks in primary schools in that same period. We intend to refer to the decision to suppress the Central Commission for the examination of textbooks, created by Giovanni Gentile in 1923 and accused of approving textbooks which appeared far from the correspondence «to the historical, political, juridical and economic needs» affirmed in Italy «on the day after the March on Rome» – because they were totally «unsuitable to the spiritual education for Italian children and weak in national and Fascist spirit» – and to proceed with the introduction of a single state textbook into the primary schools of the kingdom since the school year 1930-1931. See A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiori (1923-1928)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2005; M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1986, pp. 164-187; and M.C. Morandini, *Fascismo e libro di Stato. Il caso dei sussidiari*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008, pp. LV-LXXIV.

the good friendship we have had for these two years. I wish you all every good and, first of all, you must always serve your country with fidelity and honor. I do not say to you farewell: but goodbye, because I am confident that we will meet at another Italian square sooner or later»³⁵.

2. *Educating «the New Italian people as Mussolini likes»: the first season of «Il Tamburino» (1931-1934)*

Published by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero for the Società Anonima Tipografia Luzzatti in Rome³⁶, the new fortnightly publication with the title «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero» was launched on January 15th, 1931³⁷. Unlike «Aquilotti d'Italia», the new periodical included no longer well-known men of letters and writers for children among its editors and collaborators, but rather journalists, PNF propaganda officers and officials from the Italian consulates abroad³⁸.

An obscure party official, such as Carlo Bonciani, who would have been later replaced by the journalist Attilio Frescura from April 1935 and the translator of literary and theatrical works, Liana Ferri, from September, was placed under the direction of the new journal, in the place of the writer for children, Giuseppe Fanciulli.

³⁵ G. Fanciulli, *Annuncio*, «Aquilotti d'Italia. Rivista dei Gruppi giovanili all'Estero», vol. III, nn. 10-12, 1930, p. 28.

³⁶ Starting from August 1932, the fortnightly publication would have been printing at the Società Anonima Poligrafica Italiana (Rome) and, from January 1934, at the «Europa» printing plant (Rome).

³⁷ During its ten-year history, the periodical recorded a series of partial changes with title and subtitle. In January 1935, for example, it became «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», in order to assume the new title «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero» in May and «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero» starting from January 1938.

³⁸ Among the most regular editors and collaborators of the fortnightly publication, there were: Piero Parini, Marcellina Cappelli, Vittorio Curti, Cesare Cavara, Guido Gozzano, Edoardo Antonelli, Giovanni Comisso, Lina Della Torre, Liana Ferri, Giulio Santangelo, Mario Fierli, Daisy di Carpenetto, Ugo Zano, Marisa Cavalletti, Ettore De Zuani, Dante Giromini, Giovanni Quaglia, Giuseppe Frascetti, Duilio Arrighi, Francesco Stocchetti, Giulio Fano, Nello Pinerolli, Mario Pinerolli, Lina Pietravalle, Gina Vaj-Pedotti, Bianca Gerin, Gian-Maria Cominetti, Angelo Flavio Guidi, Federico Bonazzi, Dante Benedetti, Enrico Discoli, Guido Vitaletti, Dante Giromini, Angelina Andreoli, Luigi Rossi. A significant part of the articles is not signed or sees the use of the most frequent pseudonyms, including: *Nano Nero* [Black Dwarf], *Un vecchio Balilla* [An old Balilla – member of the Fascist Youth Movement], *Patatrac* [Crash], *Panciaquadra* [Squared Belly], *Hedda* [Hedda], *Il Tamburino* [The Drummer], *Zietta Liù* [Little Aunt Liù], *Penma d'Oca* [Goose Quill], *Nonna Caterina* [Grandma Caterina], *Atelio* [Atelio], *Pim Pum* [Pim Pum]. Among the illustrators and the cartoonists, we can find: Chin, M. Guerri, Al.Tri, G. Bacchelli and P. Morbiducci.

Characterized by the same format and number of pages like «Aquilotti d'Italia»³⁹, «Il Tamburino» included lower subscription costs than the ones which had characterized the previous publication⁴⁰, confirming the will of the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero to expand its potential readership and, thereby, to increase the number of subscribers to the new periodical.

The latter one was a strategy destined to give extremely significant results in a short time, also in virtue of the parallel mobilization of the Italian consulates and the Italian Fasci abroad to support the diffusion of «Il Tamburino». Not surprisingly, after one semester from its first publication, the new periodical recorded a real change for the better, due to the number of reached subscriptions compared to the ones previously obtained by «Aquilotti d'Italia», settling on a very relevant total of subscriptions at the end of the first year: «On this regard, in December 1931, the anonymous editorial with the title *Constatazioni e propositi* [Observations and intentions] stated: – Today, [...] on the threshold of the New Year, the 'Tamburino' has almost 6,000 subscribers and 15,000 readers all over the world»⁴¹.

Characterized by a large number of illustrations, drawings and photographs and a modern and captivating graphic language, which was able to attract attention and to meet its small readers' tastes, «Il Tamburino» had a selection of serial novels, short stories, comedies, nursery rhymes and comic strips for children and teenagers like «Aquilotti d'Italia», but also a series of fixed columns, to which the delicate and fundamental task of «helping Italian young people abroad to think and to operate in an Italian way» was especially entrusted, as Piero Parini wrote in the editorial opening of the first issue⁴².

Among the most interesting fixed columns, it is worth mentioning: «Su e giù per lo stivale» [Up and down Italy], later called «Laboratorio» [Workshop], containing current news from Italy; «Adunata» [Parade], where news and reports about the activities and the initiatives of the Italian Youth Groups abroad were provided; «Cronache vostre» [Your chronicles], later entitled «Notizie da tutto il mondo» [News from all over the world], which had correspondences and short news written by readers; «Le grandi scoperte» [The great discoveries], where excellent Italian scientists and inventors were introduced and their main discoveries and inventions were illustrated; «Le città d'Italia» [The Italian cities], containing a wide introduction of a city or a large village in Italy, which was

³⁹ Each issue of «Il Tamburino» included 12 pp. printed on 3 columns with numerous illustrations (drawings, cartoons, photographs) in b/w.

⁴⁰ Compared to «Aquilotti d'Italia», whose annual subscription was 15 lire for Italy and the colonies and 20 lire for foreign countries, in January 1931 «Il Tamburino» had an annual subscription cost at 10 lire (supporter: 50 lire). Starting from December 1934, the annual subscription was raised to 25 lire (supporter: 150 lire).

⁴¹ *Constatazioni e propositi*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 17, December 25th, 1931, p. 1.

⁴² Parini, *Abbasso la noia!*, cit.

often enriched by illustrations and photographs and whose repeated purpose was to make «the beauties of the Homeland» known to those who lived far from it and had never «visited it»⁴³.

A quick analysis of fiction texts (serial novels, short stories, comedies, nursery rhymes, comic strips, etc.) and interventions and articles in various fixed columns, which appeared on «Il Tamburino» in the first half of the 1930s, allows us to evaluate the basic guidelines and the training proposal of the new journal, as well as to throw light on the reasons for its continuity and discontinuity in comparison to «Aquilotti d'Italia» by Giuseppe Fanciulli.

As far as the rich and varied fiction production proposed through the pages of «Il Tamburino», it could be said that, as regards genres and themes, it did not differ so much from the one offered on the columns of the previous periodical, of which it reiterated the commitment to satisfy the expectations and the interests of various readers, offering texts primarily aimed at the youngest people (novels, fairy tales, dialogues, short stories, etc.) in each issue, besides other ones destined to older people (serial novels, short stories, comedies, comic strips, etc.), and the commitment to offer different readings for male and female people: heroic, adventurous, exotic and patriotic writings for the first ones and sentimental short stories and comedies focused on exquisitely female themes for the second ones.

There was no lack of adventure and heroic stories, which were often set in colonial contexts and exotic scenarios and had Italian children and young people as their protagonists⁴⁴.

For the little ones, «Il Tamburino» offered fantastic novels and amusing short stories, as in the case of the exhilarating *Le memorie di Pik Nik poliziotto dilettante e dilettevole* and other writings of the same genre⁴⁵.

⁴³ The column «Le città d'Italia» [The Italian cities] was placed on the last page (p. 12) of each issue and was devoted to the description of a city or a large village in Italy. Among the urban centres, there are: Venice, Vicenza, Florence, Palermo, Orvieto, Pisa, Bari, Udine, Catania, Trapani, Asiago, Perugia, Siena, Lecce, Arezzo, Aquila, Naples, Ancona, Lecco, Cagliari, Taranto, Chieti, Fiume, Milan, Verona, Messina, Turin and Sabaudia.

⁴⁴ Please see, for example, G. Gozzano, *Sole pallido. Ragazzo d'avventura*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 6, March 31st, 1931, p. 9; *L'anello del capitano Kus Kus*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 17, December 25th, 1931 p. 3; P. Parini, *Le piccole avventure di un allievo aviatore*, vol. I, n. 17, December 25th, 1931, p. 5; and *La medaglia del Sergente Motorista. Episodio vero d'eroismo avio-coloniale*, vol. II n. 12, August 1st, 1932, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁵ See *Le memorie di Pik Nik poliziotto dilettante e dilettevole*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I n. 6, March 31st, 1931, p. 5; *Le memorie di Pik Nik poliziotto dilettante e dilettevole*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 8, April 30th, 1931, p. 7; *Come Bardo Barbaccia vinse l'assedio di Papacapoli*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. III, n. 3, February 1st, 1933, pp. 8-9; Nonna Caterina, *La veridica istoria del balilla Pinco Pallina*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. III, n. 4, February 15th, 1933, p. 8; G. Frascchetti, *La giornata di Gino Poltroncino*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. III, n. 6, March 15th, 1933, p. 4.

All the readers of the periodical could have the choice for certain texts aimed at celebrating the great Italian saints and the founders of religious institutes engaged in missions and pastoral care for immigrant communities on the one hand, and to recall aspects and moments of Italian emigration abroad and to exalt the work of the Fascist regime towards the «compatriots living in a foreign land» on the other hand.

For example, this is the case of the work devoted to *Santo Giovanni Bosco*, of whom the anonymous drafter traced a clear clerical-Fascist profile, getting the idea from the recent canonization of the Piedmontese priest⁴⁶.

It is also the case of the profile devoted to *La Santa degli emigrati* by Enrico Discoli, where Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini, founder of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, was celebrated for «her indomitable spirit», «her will to do good» and «the great program which she had proposed» as «the saint of Emigrants» and the authentic icon of an Italy «renewed under the sign of the Lictor»⁴⁷.

As we have already seen, the numerous and varied literary texts on the pages of «Il Tamburino» during the first half of the 1930s did not differ so much from the ones on the journal «Aquilotti d'Italia». Indeed, as far as fiction contributions for children and teenagers, it could be said that the new magazine for Italian young people abroad published since 1931 has moved in substantial continuity with the one founded and edited by the writer for children, Giuseppe Fanciulli, some years before.

On the contrary, a clear discontinuity with the past was recorded in the editorials, with which each issue of «Il Tamburino» was opened, as well as in the articles within the fixed columns of the periodical. In fact, when the task of 'entertaining' and 'delighting' young readers was entrusted to literary contributions, both the editorials and the interventions published in various information and current columns of the fortnightly publication edited by Carlo Bonciani took on the clear function to spread the Fascist ideology and to convey the slogans and the main issues of the regime propaganda among Italian young people abroad.

On this regard, various editorials published by Piero Parini and several collaborators of the periodical between 1931 and 1934 were a sort of special 'Fascist catechesis' destined for an audience with particular characteristics,

⁴⁶ *Santo Giovanni Bosco*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. IV, n. 7, May 14th, 1934, p. 3. About the attempt made by the Fascist regime to exploit Don Bosco's canonization process (1934) in an ideological and political point of view, please see P. Stella, *La canonizzazione di don Bosco tra fascismo e universalismo*, in F. Traniello (ed.), *Don Bosco nella storia della cultura popolare*, Turin, SEI, 1987, pp. 359-382.

⁴⁷ E. Discoli, *La Santa degli emigranti*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. IV, n. 3, February 5th, 1934, p. 3. About the attempt also made by the Fascist regime to accredit a strongly nationalist and clerical-Fascist interpretation of Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini's work, please see: G. Dall'Ongaro, *Francesca Cabrini. La suora che conquistò l'America*, Milan, Rusconi, 1982.

such as the one composed of Italian young people, who were born and grown up outside Italy and, therefore, needed to know «the renewed face of their Fatherland» and to be incorporated within «the Italian people on the march» under the direction of «the Man of Destiny»⁴⁸.

In the real 'Fascist catechesis' carried out through editorials and basic articles, with which the issues of «Il Tamburino» were opened, there was also reference to the great and controversial theme to safeguard the *Italian feeling* and the necessity to assiduously cultivate with pride the feeling of belonging to the «Italian nation» for Italian young people living abroad, resisting by contrast to any attempt made by the governments of foreign countries where they lived to promote the assimilation of immigrants⁴⁹.

3. *The foundation of the Empire and the mobilization of Italian young people abroad in «Il Tamburino» in the second half of the 1930s (1935-1938)*

In 1935, «Il Tamburino» recorded a series of significant changes compared to the previous phase, of which we can find confirmation not only in the sudden change of two editors in a few months – first, the journalist Attilio Frescura in April 1935 and, later, the translator and writer Liana Ferri in September – at the head of the magazine, in replacement of Carlo Bonciani; but also in the partial renewal of a group of redactors and collaborators of the magazine and, above all, in the assumption of an editorial line, in accordance with the new instances of the Fascist foreign policy and the incipient Italian transformation into a colonial and imperial power under Mussolini⁵⁰.

Indeed, the changes introduced within a few weeks were evident: while retaining the same number of pages as in the previous phase (12 pp.), the periodical, which had been having a circulation of over 20,000 copies since June 1931⁵¹, now had a larger format and was printed no longer on 3 columns, but on 4; the number of illustrations (photographs, drawings, etc.) was also extended on every page. Instead, the cost of the yearly subscription (25 liras) was unchanged compared to 1934, while the prizes (books, teaching aids, etc.) for those young readers, who made themselves propagandists of «Il Tamburino»

⁴⁸ L'Aviatore, *Le Aquile d'Italia pei cieli del Mondo. La crociera transoceanica di Italo Balbo*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 1, January 15th, 1931, p. 3.

⁴⁹ See Penna d'Oca, *Gioventù italiana all'estero*, «Il Tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 16, November 15th, 1931, p. 1.

⁵⁰ See R. De Felice, *Mussolini il Duce. 1: Gli anni del consenso, 1929-1936*, Turin, Einaudi, 1996.

⁵¹ La Direzione, *Parole per i grandi*, «Il tamburino della giovinezza italiana all'estero», vol. I, n. 12, June 30th, 1931, p. 11.

between relatives and friends through the sign of further subscriptions, were considerably increased and differentiated.

In the face of specific columns⁵² and rich and varied contributions aimed at young male readers⁵³ and young female readers⁵⁴, the literary production on the columns of «Il Tamburino» starting from 1935 was characterized by the increasing attention paid to short stories and adventure novels which had

⁵² As for the column «La pagina per i piccoli» [The page for the little ones], please see the funny series of stories for the little ones by N. Leonelli, *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo*, published between January and September 1935: *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. I. – Alla ricerca di una sella*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 1, January 1st, 1935, p. 9; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. II. – Birba non ha fortuna*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 2, January 15th, 1935, p. 9; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. III. – Bello la scampa bella...*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 4, February 15th, 1935, p. 7; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. IV. – La giustizia di Mastro Pignacca*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 5, March 1st, 1935, p. 9; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. V. – Bello... parla!*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 7, April 1st, 1935, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. VI. – Tonio non si dà per vinto*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 8, April 15th, 1935, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. VII. – Perché il Campanile di Pisa è pendente*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 9, May 1st, 1935, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. VIII. – Non tutti gli uomini sono cattivi*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 13, 1935, July 1st, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. IX. – Disgraziato incontro con Bello*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 15, August 1st, 1935, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. X. – Elda piange*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 16, August 15th, p. 6; *Scricchiola, bimbo di circo. XI. – La stella della felicità*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 18, September 15th, 1935, p. 6.

⁵³ See Pim Pum, *Con i miei filibustieri alla caccia dell'Aquila Nera*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 2, January 15th, 1935, p. 2; L. Spaventa Filippi, *Storia di due paperi di legno*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 3, February 1st, 1935, p. 9; Nano Nero, *Quanto chiasso, che fracasso e che sconquasso...*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 8, April 15th, 1935, p. 9; R.C. Storti, *L'omino dall'impermeabile verde*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 18, 1936, September 15th, p. 9; Hedda, *Storia di Bicetta. Il «Mao»*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 20, October 15th, 1936, p. 1; *Il mago in erba*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 21, November 1st, 1936, p. 5; D. Giromini, *Il Re turchino*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 22, November 15th, 1936, p. 8; *La strega stella e il mago barbuto*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 23, December 1st, 1936, p. 6; Pinolo, *La fiaba della campana*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 24, December 15th, 1936, p. 3; T. da Sepino, *Strabiliante avventura di Pipino che diventò Re*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 1, January 1st, 1937, p. 10; Floriana, *Le chiavi d'oro*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 3, February 1st, 1937, p. 6.

⁵⁴ By way of example, in addition to the texts published on the opening page of the column «Una Pagina per le Piccole e Giovani Italiane» [A Page for Italian Small and Young Girls] («Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 9, May 1st, 1935, p. 3), we point out: Floriana, *Una bambola*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 4, February 15th, 1937, p. 3; and *Donne italiane*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 4, February 15th, 1937, p. 6.

Italian young people engaged in extraordinary events and animated by heroic spirit and patriotic ardour as protagonists: a genre destined to meet further fortune between 1936 and 1937, in conjunction with the war developments in Ethiopia and the foundation of the Empire.

On this regard, since August 1935, the periodical published by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'Estero welcomed a series of reports devoted to Ethiopia, where the ineptitude, the privileges and the corruption of its government and its ruling class were denounced, considering them the reasons why the country was underdeveloped and people were held in serious conditions of exploitation and misery⁵⁵.

The day after the end of the Ethiopian war, there was a series of articles on the columns of «Il Tamburino» to highlight Benito Mussolini and to celebrate this «Saviour of the Homeland» and this «Founder of the Empire»⁵⁶. Confirming the extraordinarily systematic and pervasive nature of the press campaign aimed at promoting and fostering the real cult of the «Duce of Fascism» among the ranks of Italian young people abroad, it is worth mentioning that the only advertising bill on the columns of the journal and in each issue for over a year was the one devoted to the new edition of the «Duce's prodigious life, which was told and illustrated for Italian children» and printed by the Milanese publisher Ulrico Hoepli with the title *Una favola vera* [A real fairy tale] in 1937⁵⁷.

Furthermore, during the period between the end of the Ethiopian war and the outbreak of the Second World War, the periodical edited by Liana Ferri significantly changed its literary offer, focusing in a more organic and incisive way on novels and adventure stories, largely set in the Italian colonial possessions in Africa and often focused on the heroic vicissitudes of Fascist young people, who were committed to fight against dangerous and aggressive «enemies for Italy» and to prevent the success of international intrigues and plots and the triumph of obscure interests by foreign powers⁵⁸.

Moreover, most of the fiction production (novels, short stories, dialogues, etc.) on the pages of the periodical during 1938 would have been devoted to the

⁵⁵ See *Sul trono dei «Leoni di Giuda»*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. V, n. 16, August 15th, 1935, p. 7.

⁵⁶ For example, please see the issue of «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», May 15th, 1937 (vol. VII, n. 10), which was entirely devoted to the exaltation and the celebration of the «Duce, Founder of the Empire», on the occasion of the first anniversary of the foundation of the Empire (May 9th, 1936-XIV / May 9th, 1937-XV).

⁵⁷ Advertising bill of the book *Una favola vera* [A real fairy tale], Ulrico Hoepli, published in Milan (second edition increased in size and reduced in price), «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 9, May 1st, 1937, p. 14.

⁵⁸ See M. Guerri, *Il filtro magico. Romanzo di avventure di terra di mare e di cielo*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VI, n. 19, October 1st, 1936, pp. 6-7; G. Maurizi, *Terra nostra. Romanzo della Guerra d'Etiopia*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 9, May 1st, 1937, pp. 2-3; M. Guerri, *Nel regno del mistero*, «Il Tamburino. Quindicinale della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 18, September 15th, 1937, p. 7.

exaltation of the «heroic youth» and the «distinguished gifts» (courage, tenacity, spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, fidelity, obedience, etc.), which characterized «children and teenagers living inside and outside Italy under Mussolini»⁵⁹.

Moreover, after the creation of the Italian Youth of the Lictor (G.I.L.), the new organization of the young forces of the Fascist regime, who was born from the fusion of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (O.N.B.) with the Fasci Giovanili di Combattimento (FF.GG.C.)⁶⁰ on October 29th, 1937, the periodical edited by Liana Ferri partially changed its title in «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero» and placed the G.I.L. motto: «Believe – Obey – Fight»⁶¹ on the title page of this journal in January.

The creation of the Italian Youth of the Lictor, which would be soon enriched and completed with the creation of a special section for Italian young people living abroad (G.I.L.E.), was destined to accelerate the process of a real militarization for «Il Tamburino» and war mobilization for its young readers, which were already started on the occasion of the Ethiopian war.

This was a process which found a symbolic and eloquent prefiguration in the awards offered by the magazine to those readers who had distinguished themselves in getting further subscribers to «Il Tamburino», besides renewing their subscription to this periodical edited by Liana Ferri in 1938. On this regard, as stated by the emphatic announcement published in the last issue in December 1937, if «a trip to Italy (a round-trip train ticket from the borders to Rome and board and lodging in the City for three days)» was given to those who got fifty new subscribers, the prestigious award of «a complete GILE uniform» to be chosen among the ones belonging to the different sections where the children and the teenagers of the Italian Youth of the Lictor were organized – «Figlio della Lupa, Balilla, Avanguardista, Piccola Italiana e Giovane Italiana» [«Son of the She-Wolf, Balilla, Avant-gardist, Small Italian and Young Italian»]⁶² – was given to those who had managed to reach the most contained and easy threshold of the new ten subscribers.

As evidenced by numerous letters of appreciation sent by young readers in the following weeks, this prize was destined to register a wide acclaim, but it was not fortuitous or impromptu, when the representation of *young people in uniform* was destined to become the characteristic and constant feature of

⁵⁹ As an example, please see S. Cozzi, *Amicizia eroica*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 23, December 1st, 1937, p. 8.

⁶⁰ R.D.-L. October 27th, 1937, n. 1839 – *Istituzione della Gioventù italiana del Littorio*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», November 12th, 1937 – XVI, n. 267, first part, pp. 4057-4059. On this regard, please see N. Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo, 1926-1943*, «Storia Contemporanea», vol. XIII, n. 5, 1982, pp. 569-633.

⁶¹ For the change of the title and the modification of the title page with the insertion of the Italian Youth of the Lictor slogan «Believe Obey Fight», please see the cover of the issue in «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. VII, n. 1, January 1st, 1938.

⁶² *Attenzione! Attenzione!*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana all'estero», vol. VII, n. 24, December 15th, 1937, p. 9.

the periodical published by the Segreteria Generale dei Fasci Italiani all'estero during the years of the Second World War, as we shall see.

4. «*Il Tamburino*» goes to war: from the outbreak of the Second World War to the fall of Fascism (1939-1943)

It is not easy to describe the growing and significant changes recorded by «*Il Tamburino*» during the years of the Second World War or, better to say, during the period between the outbreak of the war, on September 1st, 1939, and the fall of the Fascist regime, on July 25th, 1943. A first aspect to be noted is undoubtedly the drastic reduction of fiction texts and varied contributions of literature for children and young people (novels, short stories, fairy tales, poems, theatrical plays, etc.), which had characterized the columns of the periodical edited by Liana Ferri in the previous phase.

In fact, except for a series of «short stories of war and daring», directly taken from the ongoing war experience and aimed at glorifying the courage and the self-denial of the Italian soldiers engaged on different war fronts⁶³ on the pages of «*Il Tamburino*», propaganda articles and reports on the initiatives carried out by the sections of the Italian Youth of the Lictor Abroad (G.I.L.E.)⁶⁴ prevailed throughout the world.

⁶³ See Perseo, *La terza squadriglia*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XI, n. 8, April 15th, 1941, pp. 7-8; Romanus, *Il dodicesimo non ritorna*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XI, nn. 19-20, 1-15 October, 1941, pp. 6-7; R.G., *Il Camerata*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XII, nn. 7-8-9-10, April 1st-May 15th, 1942, p. 12; *Questi diavoli di Italiani*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XII, nn. 11-12-13-14, June 1st-July 15th, 1942, p. 4; *L'assalto al fortino*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XII, nn. 15-16-17-18, August 1st-September 15th, 1942, p. 2; L.B., *Le stelletto*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XIII, n. 2, February 1st, 1943, p. 1; *Il soccorso dell'Idro*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XIII, vol. 4, March 1st, 1943, p. 1; Esse, *La vittoria dei «Marsupiali»*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XIII, n. 5, April 10th, 1943, pp. 1-2; *Giovanni Del Vento – Medaglia d'Oro*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XIII, n. 6, May 10th, 1943, pp. 1-2; *Salvi per miracolo!*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. XIII, n. 9, July 15th, 1943, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴ As an example, please see: *Corrispondenza dal Cairo. Gita alle piramidi*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. X, n. 5, March 1st, 1940, p. 12; *Corrispondenza da Charleroi*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. X, n. 7, April 1st, 1940, p. 5; *Corrispondenza da Zurigo*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. X, n. 8, April 15th, 1940, p. 7; *Atene. Attività culturali e corsi*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. X, n. 9, May 1st, 1940, p. 7; *La giornata degli italiani nel mondo*, «*Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero*», vol. X, n. 10, May 15th, 1941, p. 1.

A second aspect upon which it is worth dwelling is the surreal silence maintained in regard to the war events and the real absence of news and references to the current European conflict, which is found up to June 1940, that is until Fascist Italy came to war. A silence which surprises a lot, given the growing mobilization of Italian young people and the real militarization of the periodical during the second half of the 1930s (1935-1938).

Once partially renewed the editorial staff with the addition of a series of prestigious collaborators – including Grazia Deledda, Ezio Maria Gray and Onorato Fava⁶⁵ – and introduced a series of new columns instead of the previous ones⁶⁶, «Il Tamburino» was ranked on a line of prudent reticence and substantial extraneousness towards the conflict from September 1939 to the mid-1940s, focusing its attention on the initiatives carried out by Mussolini's regime in Italy and multiple activities carried out by Fascist youth organizations within the Italian communities abroad. In fact, what characterizes this phase is: numerous reports on winter gatherings, various sporting events (skiing, fencing, gymnastics, etc.) and G.I.L.E. recreational activities (Fascist Epiphany presents, etc.), which were rich in photographs about children and young people immortalized in their respective regulation uniform or in sportswear⁶⁷.

A few months later, in addition to these reports, there was also a series of chronicles related to the activities in the G.I.L.E. Colleges, established in Italy for those Italian children living abroad – about 5,000 young people of different ages – who, after attending a summer camp in Italy, had not been able to come back to their countries and be returned to their families, after that Italy came to war and the war events aggravated⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ Among the editors and the main collaborators during this phase, there were also: Maria B. Pasini, Dante Giromini, Sergio Burzi, Antonio Meluschi, E. Carratello, M.B. Rebor, Ugo Fischetti, Francesco Salandri, Ettore Basevi, Agostino Poma, Laura Tuccimei, Lina Ruppi, Giuseppe Rigotti, Eros Belloni. However, the articles published anonymously or only with the initials of the authors or, finally, with a pseudonym (*Romanus*, *Zietta Liù*, *Il poliglotta*, *Vitalba*, *Il pittore*, *L'ufficiale di giornata*, *Donatello* [*Romanus*, *Little Aunt Liù*, *The polyglot*, *Vitalba*, *The painter*, *The day's officer*, *Donatello*], etc.) were not a few.

⁶⁶ Among several new sections introduced in «Il Tamburino» starting from this phase, we point out: «Lezioni di computisteria» [«Accounting courses»], «Economia domestica. Lezioni in cucina» [«Home Economics. Cooking lessons»], «La rubrica del medico» [«The doctor's column»], «La nostra lingua» [«Our language»], «Notizie sportive» [«Sports news»], «Lettere a Tamburino» [«Letters to Tamburino»] and «Corrispondenza» [«Correspondence»] (which actually proposes reports and chronicles from the G.I.L.E. sections in various European and non-European countries).

⁶⁷ As an example, we point out: *Befana Fascista Anno XVIII*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, n. 3, February 1st, 1940, pp. 1-7; *I figli degli italiani all'estero al VI Raduno Sciatorio e I Raduno Schermistico a San Martino di Castrozza*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, n. 4, February 15th, 1940, pp. 1-7; *Befana Fascista Anno XVIII*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, n. 5, March 1st, 1940, pp. 1-5; *Raduno Sciatorio al Sestriere*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, n. 6, March 15th, 1940, pp. 3-7.

⁶⁸ See *Collegio G.I.L.E. – Castiglion Fiorentino*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del

As already mentioned, the context was destined to suddenly and radically change with the issue published in June 1940 and entirely devoted to the fact that the Fascist Italy decided to abandon the state of «non-belligerence» and to come to war with Hitler's Germany. On this regard, in the presentation editorial, the fact that Italy came to the Second World War was motivated by the typical topics of the regime propaganda⁶⁹.

Starting from 1942, the emphatic propaganda and the triumphant tones characterizing the chronicles of the conflict and the reports from various war fronts, which had appeared on the pages of «Il Tamburino» in the two previous years, were destined to give way to a growing perplexity and uncertainty regarding this situation and the possible outcomes of the conflict. For example, in an editorial, which had appeared in May, while wearily reaffirming full confidence in an «inevitable victory», disconcertment and unease were expressed about the unprecedented 'planetary' turn taken by the conflict⁷⁰.

However, from the previous months, «Il Tamburino» had recorded a significant change regarding the way of telling the increasingly tragic Italian war events and the dramatic experience of Italian people. Once the emphatic and martial tones of the warlike rhetoric had been definitively no longer used, the articles which had appeared in the periodical edited by Liana Ferri were destined to give more and more importance to pain and sadness for the real «massacre» produced by war and the suffering and the unease aroused in each child and teenager and within each family unit, after the worsening of the economic situation and the living conditions, as well as the absence of the head of the family engaged as a soldier at the front or interned in some prisoner-of-war camps in most cases.

In fact, if we look at the articles, which had appeared in this period, we are surprised by the calm and almost resigned tone – which was light years away from the emphatic and martial style used in the past – with which we evoke war events with the Italian soldiers as protagonists⁷¹, as well as the vicissitudes experienced by Italian families and young people wrestling with the high cost

Littorio all'estero», vol. X, nn. 22-23, November 15th – December 1st, 1940, pp. 5-9; *Collegio G.I.L.E. di Mentone*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, n. 24, December 15th, 1940, p. 8; *Collegi G.I.L.E. di Chianciano, Forte dei Marmi, Pesaro*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, nn. 4-5, February 15th-March 1st, 1940, pp. 3-7; *Impressioni sul Collegio G.I.L.E. di Rocca di Papa*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, nn. 13-14, July 1st-July 15th, 1940, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁹ See *La consegna*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. X, nn. 11-12, 1-15 June, 1940, p. 1.

⁷⁰ E.E., *Vincere*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XII, nn. 7-8-9-10, 1 April-15 May, 1942, p. 1.

⁷¹ As an example, please see: F. Vallino, *Lettere ai combattenti*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XI, nn. 21-22, 1-15 November, 1941, p. 5; *Un prigioniero*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XII, nn. 3-4, 1-15 February, 1942, p. 1; M.R., *L'attesa*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XII, nn. 7-8-9-10, 1-15 April – 1-15 May, 1942, p. 16.

of living, the bombings of the allies and the anxiety for the fate of their loved people engaged at the front.

On this regard, a war story, which was published in March 1942, stated: – Marinella has already decided: she is not celebrating her name day this year. Too much sadness is in her soul... her father at the front; her mother at the Hospital treating wounded people; her grandmother knitting from morning to night to make socks and balaclavas⁷².

We are equally surprised by the considerable importance reserved for the publication of prayers (*La preghiera per i soldati*, *La preghiera della madre del caduto*, *Preghiera di bimba* [The prayer for soldiers, The prayer for the fallen man's mother, Prayer for the little girl], etc.)⁷³, which were written and sent by the subscribers and the readers of the periodical, as in the case of the naive and curious *Preghiera al Bambino Gesù* [Prayer to the Infant Jesus] written by the very young G.I.L.E. member Caterina Regnicoli, coming from Deutschath in Lorraine, where the worries and the fears for the fate of her brother soldier inevitably intertwine and get mixed up with the motifs of war propaganda:

Protect my brother who is a soldier in Italy, because he can go to the front at any moment. You do not have to protect only him, but all the soldiers fighting on the battlefields to defend their homeland. Oh, my Jesus, let the Axis troops win, so that my loved people and I will be able to go back to Italy. [...] Oh, Jesus, give me the grace to make our beautiful country win⁷⁴.

In this scenario, now marked by the disappearance of any remaining hope for a turnaround of the war situation and the awareness of the imminent and irreversible collapse of the ideological principles and instances, which had fostered the cultural and educational proposal of the Italian Youth Organization of the Lictor Abroad, «Il Tamburino» suddenly took its leave of the readers without any warning with the issue on July 15th, 1943.

A letter sent by an Italian Little Girl, coming from the Canton Ticino, Franca Bolis, with her naive and affectionate reference to a world of good feelings and 'love of country', which was not necessarily supported by warlike spirit and fostered by racism and hatred for foreign people, was almost prophetically indicating the end of a season and the opening of a new historical period in it:

⁷² L.G., *Per i Soldati*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XII, nn. 5-6, 1-15 March, 1942, p. 1.

⁷³ See L. Barmar, *La preghiera per i soldati*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XI, nn. 21-22, 1-15 November, 1941, p. 8; A.M. De Cicco, *La preghiera della madre del caduto*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XI, nn. 23-24, 1-15 December, 1941, p. 5; R.G., *Preghiera di bimba*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XIII, n. 3, February 15th, 1943, p. 4.

⁷⁴ C. Regnicoli, *Preghiera al Bambino Gesù*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XIII, n. 4, March 1st, 1943, p. 8.

The very young reader wrote: – My dearest Tamburino, this is an Italian Little Girl from the IV elementary class in Mendrisio writing you. I am one of your readers and, whenever you cross the borders, I read you with pleasure and enthusiasm. I am attending the Italian school and I am very proud of it. Our teacher tells us a lot about our dear Italy: he teaches us, above all, to love it and to know it. Attending it, it seems to me to be in an oasis of peace and Italian feeling. We, who are children abroad, always follow our soldiers with affection. We are anxious and we pray for them⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ F. Bolis, *Lettera a Tamburino*, «Il Tamburino della gioventù italiana del Littorio all'estero», vol. XIII, n. 9, July 15th, 1943, p. 8.

*Scuole italiane all'estero: a study on reading books circulating in Italian ethnical schools in Brazil (Late 19th and early 20th Century)**

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to look into Italian nationalist politics and educational proposals taken to Brazil. Its goal is to investigate the values prescribed for the promotion of Italian identity and ties to the Motherland in students living in the colony of Sao Caetano, SP. Based on references of Cultural History and adopting document analysis as a procedure, it takes as sources the books *Cuore*, by Edmondo de Amicis, and the *Libro di letture Piccolo Mondo, letture per le scuole elementar*, by Fanny Romagnoli and Silvia Albertoni, which can be comprehended as cultural tools that establish links and bonds between mental structures and social figurations.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Ethnical schools; Italian immigrants; Elementary school; History of school; Brazil; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

*Introduction*¹

De Nardi, Dal'Mas, Veronesi, Perrella, Biagi, Braidó, Buso, Zambotto, Garbelotti are the last names of some of the 76 children, boys and girls, who studied in 1923 at the school maintained by the *Società di Mutuo Soccorso*

* This text comes from the research *O processo escolar entre imigrantes italianos e seus descendentes: a escola italiana em São Paulo (fins do século XIX e início do século XX)* [The schooling process among Italian immigrants and their descendants: the Italian school in São Paulo (late 19th and early 20th century)], funded by São Paulo Research Foundation – FAPESP, file 2018/15168-8.

¹ The Italian texts have been translated by me and they appear herein as footnotes.

Principe di Napoli and who, in addition to the classic *Cuore*, by Edmondo de Amicis, have learned the lessons in the *Libro di letture Piccolo Mondo*.

Such books are likely to have integrated the set of textbooks produced in Italy and sent for free to *le scuole italiane all'estero*, that means, the Italian schools abroad, a denomination adopted by the Italian government to approach ethnical schools.

The subvention sent to schools could come as money or books. In order to receive it, according to the document Rules for the operation of Italian schools in the state of Sao Paulo², signed in 1904 by General Consul Gherardo Pio di Savoia, it was necessary that the school accepted supervision by the General Consulate for the definitions of school life. That included the determination of a program to be followed, distribution of materials and subsidies and inspections in the schools.

Strongly disputed amongst school owners, always insufficient due to the currency devaluation when exchanged in Brazil and to the usual high costs of rent, money subventions were granted according to some criteria:

a) le qualità didattiche e i precedenti del maestro (patentato, non patentato, ecc); b) le sue benemeritenze e la storia della sua scuola; c) il numero degli Scolari; d) la decenza dei locali; e) il risultato delle visite del console alle scuole lungo l'anno; f) gli esami³.

Another way of supporting the schools, probably the most common one, was by sending school materials, such as books. For example, in the report sent by General Consul Gherardo Pio di Savoia, under the title *Italian Schools in Sao Paulo in 1905*, a list is presented, indicating six authors and their works for elementary schools, among which there is *Cuore*, by Edmondo De Amicis.

From the late 19th century to the first three decades of the 20th century, it is possible to find evidence of the distribution and circulation of Italian books among immigrants and their descendants⁴. Following the school program that

² Regio Consolato Generale D'Italia in San Paolo, *Norme pel funzionamento delle scuole italiane nello stato di S. Paolo, 1904*, in Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero Degli Affari Esteri (ASMAE), Archivio Scuole (AS), 1889-1910, CAT III B, Brasile, b.341, f. San Paolo fino al 1910.

³ a) the teacher's didactic quality and background (graduated, not graduated etc.); b) the teacher's merits and the history of the school; c) the number of students; d) the decency of the places; e) the result of the consul's visits to the schools along the year; f) the tests (Regio Consolato Generale d'Italia, Dispaccio del Regio Console Gherardo Pio di Savoia del 6 Gennaio 1906, *Scuole italiane in S. Paolo nel 1905*, in ASMAE, AS, 1889-1910, CAT III B, Brasile, b.341, f. San Paolo fino al 1910.

⁴ T.À. Luchese, *Produção, circulação e preservação de livros escolares italianos no Brasil (1875-1945)*, in *Anais do X Congresso Luso Brasileiro de História da Educação*, Paraná, Curitiba, 2014, pp. 1-15; C. Panizzolo, *Livros de leitura, dizeres e fazeres da escola primária étnica italiana no Brasil entre fins do século XIX e início do século XX: o estudo do livro Piccolo Mondo, letture per le scuole elementari*, in *Anais do XI Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação*, Porto, Centro de investigação transdisciplinar cultura, espaço e memória, 2016; Ead., *Piccolo mondo letture per le scuole elementari: mutualismo e educação em uma escola étnica italiana*

was current in Italy, books of reading, religion, arithmetic, national history, geography, songs and literature excerpts, among others, have crossed the ocean to be distributed to students of the Italian ethnical schools.

As cultural artifact that produces sense and meaning, the textbook, school book, reading book or handbook (terminology varies depending on the period and on the book structure) is, according to Choppin⁵, a privileged source for the History of Education, for it lies in the articulation between the prescriptions imposed by official programs and the individual discourses of teachers. In this sense, reading books can be taken as cultural tools that establish links and bonds between mental structures and social figurations, or, as Elias (1994)⁶ puts it, between psychogenesis and sociogenesis.

Based on references of Cultural History and adopting document analysis as a procedure, this text takes as privileged sources the books *Cuore*, by Edmondo de Amicis, and the *Libro di letture Piccolo Mondo, letture per le scuole elementari*, by Fanny Romagnoli and Silvia Albertoni. The longevity of both publications must be highlighted, as the two were last edited in 2018. The most recent edition of *Cuore* was published by Einaudi and the one of *Piccolo Mondo*, by Forgotten Books.

The proposal of this text is to think about the History of Education, emphasizing the investigation about Italian nationalist policies and the educational proposals that were taken to Brazil. Its goal is to investigate the values conveyed and prescribed to promote the Italian identity and the bond with the motherland in students, children from Italy or with Italian parents, that belong to a group of immigrants who settled in the colony of Sao Caetano, SP, Brazil.

This text is organized in three parts: in the first one, inspired by the writings of Duby⁷, we search to locate «debris of writings that pour from the depth of the ages, as remains of a complete wreck» [our translation], aiming at a first approximation with the school process among Italian immigrants and their children in Sao Paulo. In the second one, we carry out a study about the materiality of the pieces being studied, seeking to know and unveil the educational proposal and values prescribed in these books. In the third part,

em São Paulo, in D. Mazza, K. Norões (edd.), *Educação e migrações internas e internacionais: um diálogo necessário*, Jundiaí, Paco Editorial, 2016, Vol. I, pp. 80-100; Ead., *Italianizar os brasileiros, paulistanizar os italianinhos: um estudo sobre os livros de leitura que circularam nas escolas em São Paulo no início do século XX*, in C.A. Castro, S.L.V. Castellanos (edd.), *História da escola: métodos, disciplinas, currículos e espaços de leitura*, São Luis, EDUFMA, 2018, pp. 579-604.

⁵ A. Choppin, *O historiador e o livro escolar*, «História da Educação», vol. 6, n. 11, 2002, pp. 5-24.

⁶ N. Elias, *O processo civilizador: uma história dos costumes*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar, 1994.

⁷ G. Duby, *A história continua*, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar-UFRJ, 1993, p. 28.

we make considerations about the construction of national identity through reading.

1. *The school of the Mutual Support Society*

The Colony of Sao Caetano was founded in 1877, in a recently acquired Farm with the same name, that used to belong to the Sao Bento Abbey. In July 1877, while Venetian emigrants recruited by Brazilian government were already travelling in the steamship «Europa», the deed of Sao Caetano Farm was officially transferred from the Sao Bento Order to the Imperial Government⁸.

These immigrants are part of a much larger contingent of emigrants that left from the Italian Peninsula to Brazil, most of them to Sao Paulo. There are many reasons for what became known as the Great Italian Emigration, that occurred between the milestone-dates of Italian unification (1861) and the end of World War I (1918), with peaks by the end of the 1870s and becoming a mass phenomenon between 1887 and 1902. Trento⁹ and Cenni¹⁰ point misery as the main reason. The description made by Puccini¹¹ is quite illustrative:

Siamo nel 1874, da pochi anni l'Italia è fatta; è, almeno politicamente a posto, ma no socialmente: soprattutto nell'estremo sud d'Italia, il paesaggio morale è dei più torbidi e incerti: tutto o quasi è ancora da fare, l'analfabetismo, la malária, il latifondo, questi tre mali allora profondi e, si pensava, fors'addirittura insanabili nel nostro paese, rendono difficilissima la vita; non soffrono le decine, soffrono le migliaia¹².

Italian emigration was also an important trade factor. Piccarolo (1913)¹³ states that in 1911 the importation tax of Italian products, only in the state of Sao Paulo, was in fifth place, preceded by Great Britain, Germany, United States and Argentina. Also to be highlighted, there is the increment of the navigation

⁸ J.de S. Martins, *Subúrbio: vida cotidiana e história no subúrbio da cidade de São Paulo: São Caetano, do fim do Império ao fim da República Velha*, São Paulo/São Caetano, Hucitec/Prefeitura de São Caetano do Sul, 1992.

⁹ A. Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1988; Id., *In Brasile*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina, *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana: II Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, pp. 3-23.

¹⁰ F. Cenni, *Italianos no Brasil: Andiamo in Merica*, 3^a ed. São Paulo, EDUSP, 2003.

¹¹ M. Puccini, *Nel Brasile*, Rome, Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri, 1940.

¹² We are in 1874, it is been a few years since Italy was made, at least politically, but not socially: above all in Southernmost Italy, the moral landscape is one of the most dim and uncertain ones: everything or almost everything still needs to be done; illiteracy, malaria, latifundia, those three harms still deep and maybe incurable in our country make life very hard, there are not dozens who suffer, but thousands.

¹³ A. Piccarolo, *Interessi italiani nel Brasile*, São Paulo, La Rivista Coloniale, 1913.

industry, that was rapidly developing due to the transoceanic migration flow in the ports of Genoa, Naples and Palermo.

No less importantly, Italian emigration was an important phenomenon for socioeconomic balance, as it relieved the pressure and reclamations on cities and the yet infant industry, but also because expats¹⁴ sent money to their relatives and that minimally contributed, in a certain way, to keep away or postpone a social rebellion.

Probably, Venetians who disembarked in the port city of Santos and were taken to the Sao Caetano Colony faced difficult economic conditions like the ones described above. The first years of the Colony were marked by a fight for survival; construction of houses; planting in the land; grass preparation; revindication of that which Brazilian government had committed to, like providing food and payment of daily fees; in addition to the unceasing struggle for life, threatened by illness and death and above all by child mortality¹⁵. As a way to soothe afflictions and sufferings, they searched for consolation in religion and created a network of mutual support and solidarity¹⁶.

This way, Catholic religion and Italian identity were unifying elements, that outlined an identity for immigrants: catholic and Italian. However, these two identities did not coexist so peacefully at the time, for the Italian Risorgimento placed State and Church in conflicting and hostile bases. As Martins¹⁷ explains it, the conflict was between the State and the Pope, and thus very distant of daily issues of emigrants.

The second generation of immigrants that arrived coming from Mantua, between 1878 and 1892, in addition to illness and death, found even more adverse conditions. Differently of the first wave, these ones did not receive lots of land in the Colony and consequently, did not receive any funds from the government for the first six months of settlement. Immerse in so many difficulties, immigrants created the *Prince of Naples Mutual Support Society*¹⁸, guided by secular principles of solidarity from the Italian *Risorgimento* revolution.

¹⁴ Remittances start to be regulated by Italian government. An example of that is the Law number 24, from February 1st, 1901, that ruled shipments and remittances sent by Italian emigrants from abroad.

¹⁵ Child mortality in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was caused by yellow fever, malaria, typhoid fever, variola and whooping cough, but also by the lack of medical assistance, in addition to malnutrition. For more about that, see: F. Verona, *Vida e morte dos operários de Schio em São Paulo: uma leitura dos Registros Obituários do Cemitério do Brás, de 1893 a 1895*, in M.L.T. et al. (edd.), *História do trabalho e histórias da imigração*, São Paulo, Edusp-Fapesp, 2010, pp. 267-298.

¹⁶ Martins, *Subúrbio: vida cotidiana e história no subúrbio da cidade de São Paulo: São Caetano, do fim do Império ao fim da República Velha*, cit.; E. Mimesse, *As aventuras e desventuras cotidianas das crianças em São Caetano no início do século XX*, in Ead. (ed.), *Bambini brasiliani: a infância das crianças italianas e italo-brasileiras*, Jundiaí, Paco Editorial, 2013, pp. 19-54.

¹⁷ Martins, *Subúrbio: vida cotidiana e história no subúrbio da cidade de São Paulo: São Caetano, do fim do Império ao fim da República Velha*, cit.

¹⁸ *Società di Mutuo Soccorso Principe di Napoli*. About that, see C. Panizzolo, *A escola da*

The *Società di Mutuo Soccorso Principe di Napoli*¹⁹, founded in 1892, was created in the middle and as consequence of several economic, social and cultural changes that impacted Italian immigrants and led to the creation of several mutual support associations, in many places²⁰.

The *Società*²¹ had very well-defined functions, mainly regarding medical assistance, such as paying a subvention to the ill, some amount for hospital expenses, paying for medical appointments, for medicines and accompanying the ill, which was done by the partners, in shifts. Besides that, the society committed to pay for funeral expenses for partners whose families could not afford it.

In its headquarters, the *Società* hosted a *Scuola Italo Brasileira* (Italo-Brazilian School), about which very little is known. Permeated by silences and fragments, the documents located do not tell us about its foundation, curricular structure, organization of time and space, methods or school culture. Amidst traces, we find clues that it was founded between 1911 and 1923. Up to 1911, there is nothing in the *Società* Minutes about a school. The Minutes from 1911 to 1929 have disappeared! That indicates that files have often been kept inappropriately. In 1923, there is a photograph that shows the existence of the school. In the Minute of September 9th, 1931, there is deliberation to «officialise to Teacher Cunha to be kind and leave our Social Headquarters, as he is not punctual with payments».

The photograph of the teacher and his students brings up several questions. Was it a one teacher school or were there others? What was his training? We know very little about him. His name was Giovanni Cardo, born in Cologne Veneta, in the Verona province, and he owned another school in Sao Paulo, called «Dio e Popolo».

As for *Scuola Principe di Napoli*, it probably offered the so-called elementary course, which was organized in ‘under’, composed by 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades, and ‘high’, by 4th and 5th grades. According to the data obtained in the document

Sociedade de Mútuo Socorro Principe di Napoli: o que nos contam os documentos?, «Raízes», vol. 2, 2017; Ead., *Livros de leitura, dizeres e fazeres da escola primária étnica italiana no Brasil entre fins do século XIX e início do século XX: o estudo do livro Piccolo Mondo, lecture per le scuole elementari*, cit.; Ead., *Piccolo mondo lecture per le scuole elementari: mutualismo e educação em uma escola étnica italiana em São Paulo*, cit., pp. 80-100.

¹⁹ About that, see the chapter O mútuo Socorro no nascimento da classe trabalhadora in Martins, *Subúrbio: vida cotidiana e história no subúrbio da cidade de São Paulo: São Caetano, do fim do Império ao fim da República Velha*, cit.

²⁰ For more on that, see L. Biondi, *Classe e nação: trabalhadores e socialistas italianos em São Paulo, 1890-1920*, Campinas, UNICAMP, 2011, who found, between 1878 and 1924, the existence of 44 mutualist societies in Sao Paulo and the peripheral urban centres of Santo Amaro, Sao Bernardo and Sao Caetano.

²¹ Art. 1. – It is constituted, in Sao Caetano, a society for mutual support, under the name «Principe di Napoli», aiming at union, instruction, morality and mutual support amongst Italians. Its symbol is the national flag with the motive «Principe di Napoli». *Società di Mutuo Soccorso Principe Di Napoli, Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso Principe di Napoli di San Gaetano*, São Paulo, 1922, p. 3.



Pic. 1. *Scuola Principe di Napoli*

Source: Sao Caetano *Pro-Memoria* Foundation.

*List of Italian schools in the state of Sao Paulo in 1905*²², most of the schools in Sao Paulo offered the elementary course until third grade, some offered from first to fifth and a few created some kind of hybrid, composed by the under elementary plus fourth grade. We do not know about the Prince of Naples school, but the photograph suggests a great range of ages, allowing to suppose that it offered the complete elementary course.

It is reasonable to suppose that the school followed the curriculum structure defined by the document *Program for Italian elementary schools in the state of Sao Paulo*²³, from 1904, composed of Italian Language (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th grades); Portuguese Language (3rd, 4th and 5th grades); Practical Arithmetic (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th grades), History, Geography, Rights and Duties – Brazil and Italy (2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th grades); Calligraphy (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th grades);

²² Ministero Degli Affari Esteri, *Elenco delle scuole italiane nello stato di S. Paolo, 1905*, in ASMAE, AS, 1889-1910, CAT III B, Brasile, b. 341, f. San Paolo fino al 1910.

²³ Regio Consolato Generale D'Italia in San Paolo, *Programmi per le scuole elementari italiane dello stato di S. Paulo (Brasile) 1904*, in ASMAE, AS, 1889-1910, CAT III B, Brasile, b. 341, f. San Paolo fino al 1910.

Varied Notions (focus in Brazil); Drawing; Singing; Gymnastics; Handworks – those five without grade indication. In addition to Portuguese Language, it seems that some patriotic symbols were taught and worshiped in class, as Novaes²⁴ records, about a visit of the director of the Sao Caetano school to the Prince of Naples Society school:

O nosso professor fez todos os alunos ficarem de pé e cantar o Hino Nacional brasileiro, e dezenas de vozes vibrantes encheram a grande sala de aula. Terminado o hino, o nosso mestre, inflado de satisfação e orgulho, voltou-se para o professor Perrenoud, cabeça erguida, queixo lançado para a frente, como a afirmar: aqui também são cultuados os símbolos nacionais brasileiros, embora a escola seja italiana!²⁵

Nothing is known about furniture, physical space of the school, teaching methods adopted, but we do know about disciplining ‘methods’. Teacher Giovanni Cardo, just like many at the time, used a stick²⁶, as written in the back of the only photograph located. According to the 1915 *Rules for Italian schools abroad*²⁷, in article 62, it was forbidden to use disciplinary means that were not consented by the good pedagogical standards. Would the use of the stick be approved by such good practices?

This same document brings regulations about the school year, which, according to article 10, should not be longer than ten nor shorter than nine months, with weekly holidays of no more than two days.

Would the children in the photograph be in the same class? Did classes happen in a co-education regime? All children are wearing uniform and shoes. Was it subsidized by the *Società*? Were the immigrant families already settled and prospering, which allowed to keep children at school, far from work and with conditions of affording for it? About the teacher’s salary, who paid for it? Was there subvention from Italy’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs? Did families pay for teacher Cardo’s salary themselves? These questions remain unanswered. In the *Rules*, we find some clues. According to article 27, students of colonial²⁸

²⁴ M. Novaes, *Nostalgia*, São Paulo-São Caetano do Sul, Meca-PMSCS, 1991.

²⁵ «Our teacher made all the students stand up and sing the Brazilian National Anthem and dozens of vibrant voices have filled the large classroom. When the anthem finished, our master, filled with satisfaction and pride, turned to teacher Perrenoud, head up, with his chin thrown forward, like he stated: here, national Brazilian symbols are also worshiped, even though the school is Italian!», *ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁶ In the iconographic collection of Sao Caetano’s Pro-Memoria Foundation, the following description is found: «Director was Teacher Giancarlo Cardo and his daughter Maria Cardo was the secretary. The handbook for the advanced students was *Il Cuoro* (sic), edited in Italian. Pedro (Pierim) Matielo took the quince sticks to the teacher but was the first one to have them used on him, as a punishment for misbehaving». File 3917- A1 V5 P261.

²⁷ Regolamento per le scuole italiane all’estero-1915, in A. Orani, *La legislazione fascista sulle scuole italiane all’estero*, Rome, G.B. Paravia & C., 1928, pp. 23-70.

²⁸ According to the *Rules*, Italian schools abroad were of three types: State schools in foreign countries; secular or confessional colonial schools; foreign schools in which Italian was taught as an element of culture and business tool.

elementary and middle schools should contribute with enrolment fees, monthly pays and diploma fees, whereas books and materials were distributed for free or on payment, according to possibilities.

Next, we will present the book *Cuore*, used at the *Principe di Napoli* School and probably received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to contribute with the instruction of Italian children or children of Italians living out of the Italian peninsula.

2. *Cuore*: letteratura per ragazzi

Edmondo De Amicis, egress of Military Academy, has dedicated some years to military service, was a member of the Socialist Party and has worked with press, as the editor of the journal *L'Italia Militare* in 1867; correspondent from 1871 on for *La Nazione*, Firenze's main newspaper; and for magazine *L'Illustrazione Italiana*, by publishing house Fratelli Treves²⁹.

His dedication to literature, that started with the publication of *La vita militare* (1868), was strongly stimulated by his correspondent work, inspiring him to publish *Spagna* (1873); *Olanda* and *Ricordi di Londra* (1874); *Marocco* (1876); *Costantinopoli* (1878); *Alle porte d'Italia* (1884); *Sull'oceano* (1889), among others. The work that has projected him both nationally and internationally, however, was the one in which he approached educational issues, the book *Cuore*³⁰, published in 1886, by publishing house *Treves*, from Milan.

In 1899, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published the *List of books with mandatory texts for Italian schools abroad*³¹, among which there was *Cuore*, approved for fifth grade. In the list of books approved for primary school by the Provincial Commission founded through the Ministerial Circular number 18 on March 1st, 1905, *Cuore* appears a single time, approved to be used in the

²⁹ W. Cesana, *Edmondo De Amicis negli anni cuneesi-1848-1862*, Turin, Nerosubianco, 2008; P. Boero, G. Genovesi, *Cuore. De Amicis tra critica e utopia*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009.

³⁰ About *Cuore*, see the article M.H.C. Bastos, *Cuore, de Edmundo de Amicis (1886): um sucesso editorial*, in *Anais XXVII Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação*, Porto Alegre, Comunicação, acontecimento e memória, 2004; M.D. Belo, *Amigos do coração; representação de criança, infância e educação na obra de Edmodo De Amicis*, Lecture Master, Educação (Supervisor: C. Panizzolo), Universidade Federal de São Paulo, Academic Year 2017.

³¹ Ministero Degli Affari Esteri, *Elenco dei libri di testo obbligatori per le Regie scuole italiane all'estero*, Rome, Tipografia del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 1899, in ASMAE, AS, 1889-1910, CAT DG, b.537, f. Libri di testo, cit. in A. Barausse, *Livros didáticos e "italianidade" nas escolas italianas do Brasil: entre liberalismo e fascismo*, in *XI Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de historia da educação*, Lisboa, CITCEM, 2016.

fifth grade in Potenza province³². In the document *Italian schools in Sao Paulo in 1905*, *Cuore* is one of the books to be distributed to schools.

Years later, the Central Commission headed by the General Director of Elementary Instruction, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice (1923-1924), analysed, approved and extolled the values in *Cuore*, as a book to be applauded for its artistic and didactic value³³.

Such clues point to the structural issue of this work, that means, *Cuore* was probably considered not exactly as a reading book, exclusive for schools or for a certain school grade, but as a book of literature for children, to be used beyond school walls.

Cuore is written in a pretty original way, in the form of a diary, having as its leading figure Enrico Bottini, a student, from a bourgeoisie family, that goes to third grade at a Turin school. The boy tells about daily events of his school and family life, presenting, in each tale, his classmates, teachers, and family, composed of his father, mother, older sister Silvia and a younger brother. It must be highlighted that the boy's narrative is sometimes interrupted by comments inserted by his parents in the diary. These comments are marked by a strong moralist tone and refer to warnings, reprimands, advices and ponderation about a given situation.

In addition to the class teacher, Perboni, other eight teachers participate of the story, as well as the school director, a man presented as kind to children. Garrone, Franti, Nobis, Coretti, Robetti, Garoffi, Precossi, Coraci, Stardi, Crossi, Nelli, Rabucco, Derossi, Votini are Enrico's classmates, introduced along the narrative, with descriptions of their characteristics and behaviours.

It is Enrico Bottini's voice that announces what happens. The text presentation follows the exact model of a diary, with information about month, date, day of the week and a title.

Ottobre, 17, lunedì. Il primo giorno di scuola. Oggi primo giorno di scuola. Passarono come un sogno quei tre mesi di vacanza in campagna! Mia madre mi condusse questa mattina alla sezione Baretta a farmi iscrivere per la terza elementare: io pensavo alla campagna, e andavo di mala voglia. Tutte le strade brulicavano di ragazzi; le due botteghe di libraio erano affollate di padri e di madri che comprano zaini, cartelle e quaderni, e davanti alla scuola, s'accalcava tanta gente, che il bidello e la guardia civica duravano fatica a tenere sgombra la porta. Vicino alla porta, mi sentii toccare una spalla; era il mio maestro di seconda, sempre allegro, coi suoi capelli rossi arruffati, che mi disse: – Dunque, Enrico, siamo separati per sempre? – Io lo sapevo bene; eppure mi fecero pena quelle parole. Entrammo a stento [...] La mia maestra della prima superiore mi salutò di sulla porta della classe e mi disse: – Enrico, tu vai al piano di sopra, quest'anno: no ti vedrò nem più passare! – e mi guardo

³² 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)*, Macerata, Alfabetica Edizioni, 2008, p. 562.

³³ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo: l'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchioni (1923-1928)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2005, p. 14.

com tristeza [...] Alle dieci eravamo tutti in classe: cinquantaquattro: appena quindici o sedici dei miei compagni della seconda, fra i quali Derossi, quello che ha sempre il primo prêmio. [...] Io dicevo tra me: Ecco il primo giorno. Ancora nove mesi. Quanti lavori, quanti esami mensili, quante fatiche!³⁴

In each new diary entry, Enrico introduces the characters that participate of his life and his school year. Little by little, he describes his house, his classmates' houses, the school and all the places he passes by and where he plays. He describes the experiences he lives and his processes of socialization and interaction with other children, teachers and family members.

In *Cuore*, De Amicis presents a family structure in which each member has a very well defined role. Among several assignments of his mother, emphasis is on educating and taking care of the house and the children, teaching them values and behaviours such as patience, obedience, kindness, charity and others. It is Enrico's mother who dedicates to the education of his character, teaching, through advices, to obey, be kind, benevolent, patient and to study, like in this example:

Senti, figliuolo. Non abituarti a passare indifferente davanti alla miseria che tende la mano, e tanto meno davanti a una madre che chiede un soldo per il suo figlio. Pensa che forse quel bambino aveva fame, pensa allo strazio di quella povera donna!³⁵

Enrico's father has assignments that refer to his son's moral education, giving him advice, for example, about the importance of family, labour and the love of the homeland:

Sì, caro Enrico, lo studio ti è duro, come ti dice tua madre: non ti vedo ancora andare a scuola con quell'animo risoluto e con quel viso ridente, ch'io vorrei. Tu fai ancora il restìo. Ma senti: pensa un po' che misera, spregevole cosa sarebbe la sua giornata se tu non andassi a scuola! A mani giunte, in capo a una settimana, domanderesti di ritornarci, roso dalla

³⁴ «October 17, Monday. First day of school. Today, first day of school. Those three months of vacation in the country have gone by like a dream! My mother took me this morning to the Baretti section to enrol me in third grade elementary: I thought about the country and went unwillingly. All the streets were filled of boys; the two bookstores were full of fathers and mothers buying backpacks, briefcases and notebooks; in front of the school, so many people crowded that the janitor and the police officer struggled to keep the door clean. Close to the door, I felt someone touching my shoulder; it was my second grade teacher, always glad, with his tangle red hair, and he said: – So, Enrico, are we separated forever? – I knew well and those words made me feel sorry. We hardly went in [...] My teacher of first grade greeted me and said: – Enrico, you are going upstairs this year, I won't even see you pass by! – and looked at me sadly [...] At ten o'clock, we were all in the classroom: fifty-four: only fifteen or sixteen of my classmates of second grade, including Derossi, the one who always wins first place [...] I said to myself: This is just the first day. Nine months to go. How many works, how many monthly exams, how much to be done!» (E. De Amicis, *Cuore*, Rome, Newton Compton Editori, 2010, pp. 26-27).

³⁵ «Listen, my little boy. Don't you get used to pass by indifferently to the misery that reaches out to you, even less facing a mother who asks for money for her child. Think that this child is maybe hungry and think of the torture it is for this poor woman!», *ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

noia e dalla vergogna, stomacato dei tuoi trastulli e della tua esistenza. Tutti, tutti studiano ora, Enrico. Pensa agli operai che vanno a scuola dopo aver faticato tutta la giornata; alle donne, alle ragazze del popolo che vanno a scuola la domenica, dopo aver lavorato tutta la settimana; ai soldati che mettono mano ai libri e ai quaderni quando tornano spossati agli esercizi; pensa ai ragazzi muti e ai ciechi, che pure studiano; e fino ai prigionieri, che anch'essi imparano a leggere e scrivere [...] –Se questo movimento cessasse, l'umanità ricadrebbe nella barbarie; questo movimento è il progresso, la speranza, la gloria del mondo. – Coraggio dunque, piccolo soldato dell'immenso esercito. I tuoi libri sono le tue armi, la tua classe è la tua squadra, il campo di battaglia è la terra intera, e la vittoria è la civiltà umana³⁶.

It is also up to the father to teach the value of labour and the love of the homeland. The father's advices include the valorisation of studying and the school, presented as an extension of the family and fundamental condition for the progress and success of oneself and the homeland.

De Amicis presents the teacher as an authority, worthy of deference, a wise person that must be loved and respected, whose main role is to instruct and guide students on the path of good. Teacher Perboni is presented as loving, kind, good and always available to his students. He reprehends them, when it is necessary, but knows how to stimulate, advice and compliment his students.

The characterization of the school is also notable, through descriptions of elements that form its daily life, such as the starting and ending hours, the times of recreation, vacation etc.; furniture and materials, like clocks, maps, boards, bell etc.; rules of conduct and discipline; exams; awards and punishments; celebrations etc.

De Amicis, throughout the narrative, emphasizes the relevance of school and reading for children to become good people and good citizens, as for him, school seems to be the ideal place to create national identity, where children and young live together in the midst of social, regional and physical differences, in a place that welcomes everyone. On October 22nd, there is an entry about the diversity of Italian people, called *The Calabrian Boy*:

Oggi entra nella scuola un piccolo italiano nato a Reggio di Calabria, a più di cinquecento miglia di qua. Vogliate bene al vostro fratello venuto di lontano. Egli è nato in una terra gloriosa, che chiede all'Italia degli uomini illustri, e le dà dei forti lavoratori e dei bravi soldati;

³⁶ «Yes, dear Enrico, studying seems hard to you, as your mom has said: I don't see you go to school with a happy mood and face, like I would like to. You still resist. But listen: think a little about how miserable, despicable your day would be if you didn't go to school! With your hands together, by the end of one week, you would ask us to go back, tormented by boredom and shame, tired of your toys and your existence. Everyone studies today, my Enrico. Think of the workers that go to school, after working the whole day, of the women, of the people ladies who go to school on Sundays, after working the whole week, of the soldiers who grab books and notebooks after returning exhausted from exercises, think of the mute and blind boys who also study and even of the prisoners who also learn to read and write [...] If this movement ceased, humanity would fall into barbarism, this movement is progress, hope, the world's glory. – Courage, then, little soldier of an immense army. Your books are your gun, your class is your battalion, the battle field is the whole Earth and victory is human civilization», *ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

in una delle più belle terre della nostra pátria [...] Vogliateli bene, in maniera che non s'accorga di essere lontano dalla città dove è nato; fategli vedere che um ragazzo italiano, in qualunque scuola italiana metta il piede, ci trova dei fratelli [...] Perché questo fato potesse accadere, che um ragazzo di Torino fosse come a casa própria a Reggio Calabria, il nostro paese lottò per cinquant'anni, e trentamila italiani morirono. Voi dovete rispettarvi, amarvi tutti fra voi...³⁷.

The promotion of values like personal effort, dedication, sense of duty, respect for authorities, family and the homeland is ensured in *Cuore*, in a way to model the future Italian citizen. The theme of national identity, as well as tolerance and good coexistence, are caught in different entries of Enrico's diary. Along the diary, the boy transcribes stories that his teacher tells the class each month. «Every month, he said, he will write one and hand us, and it will always tell about a true and beautiful deed, done by a boy»³⁸. These are the *Monthly tales*, nine short stories in the book, with the titles: *The little patriot from Padua*; *The little Lombard watch-tower*; *The little fiorentino clerk*; *The Sardinian tamborim*; *Tata's nurse*; *Roman blood*; *Civil value*; *From the Apennines to the Andes*; and *Shipwreck*³⁹.

The main characters of the stories are children from different regions of Italy's unified territory. An example is the first one, named *Il Piccolo patriota padovano*, that presents the story of a humble boy, son of peasants from Padua, sold by his parents to a *Saltimbanco* company. After years of abuse, the boy escapes and in a boat to Genoa, he meets three travellers who for «per compassione, un poco perchè eccitati dal vino, gli diedero dei soldi»⁴⁰. But soon they start to criticize Italy. For them, nothing went well, the hotels, the railroads, the people's ignorance and lack of hygiene etc. Then, in a rebel act, the boy throws the coins on the ground and says «Ripigliatevi i vostri soldi indietro, io non accetto l'elemosina da chi insulta il mio paese»⁴¹.

The monthly tales are marked by the values of *Risorgimento* and mostly they emphasize the abnegation and the sacrifice for the homeland. The children portrayed come from different regions of Italy, which can be interpreted as a strategy to value local and regional aspects that, however, are connected

³⁷ «Today a little Italian born in Reggio di Calabria, more than five hundred kilometres far from here, starts school. Welcome your brother who came from far away. He was born in a glorious land, who asks Italy for illustrious men and gives it strong workers and good soldiers; in one of our country's most beautiful regions [...] Welcome him, so that he does not notice he is far from his hometown; show him that an Italian boy, in any Italian school where he sets his foot, will find brothers [...] For this to happen, of a boy from Turin to feel at home in Reggio di Calabria, our country has fought for fifty years and thirty thousand Italians have died. You must respect and love each other», *ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁹ [Il piccolo patriota padovano]; [La piccola vedetta lombarda]; [Il piccolo scrivano fiorentino]; [Il tamborino sardo]; [L'infermiere di Tata]; [Sangue Romagnolo]; [Valor civile]; [Dagli Appennini alle Ande]; and [Naufragio].

⁴⁰ «Compassion, a little excited by the wine, give him some money», *ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴¹ «Take your money back, I do not accept money from those who insult my country», *ibid.*, p. 36.

through the feeling of belonging to a same country, with the same language, the same heroes and the same monuments. *Cuore*, then, plays an important role in teaching about the nobility of fighting for the homeland, by presenting national unification heroes, like Garibaldi, Cavour, Mazzini, and the first king of Italy after unification, Vittorio Emanuele II.

It seems like De Amicis, in *Cuore*, searches to respond to the challenge proposed by Massimo D’Azeglio in his famous statement: «we have made Italy, now we must make Italians». This way, he spends significant efforts on teaching children and young not to be undisciplined, irresponsible, dishonest and pusillanimous, flaws pointed as roots of Italy’s decline, that the *Risorgimento* intend to replace by the so-called virile gifts; and at once, on building, in the recently unified Italy, the idea of a country, that means, of a common place, where citizens can share habits, language, history, memory and the birth of a State, created by a collective wish.

3. Piccolo mondo, letture per le scuole elementari

Between 1888 and 1916, as Barausse (2016)⁴² elucidates, there was a period of interest and attention to the production of books destined to Italian schools abroad, which is materialized in a list of books authorized to be used, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in collaboration with the Ministry of Public Instruction.

One of these many books produced in Italy for the Italian schools abroad is *Piccolo Mondo, letture per le scuole elementari*, for both male and female schools, composed of 7 books: syllabary; complement to syllabary; first reading book; second reading book; third reading book; fourth reading book; and fifth reading book, all by authors Fanny Romagnoli, a teacher, member of the Bologna’s Teachers Society, and Silvia Albertoni. It was published by the important Fiorentino publishing house Bemporad, which, alongside with Mondadori Publishing House, had the highest number of books approved by the Ministry⁴³.

Piccolo Mondo had also been approved to be adopted at the schools in the Italian Peninsula. According to Barausse (2008)⁴⁴, the Ministry Circular number 75 on September 24th, 1900, approved the complement to syllabary book, highlighting its illustrations. In 1905, the books were also indicated to specific provinces, as specified in the table below.

⁴² A. Barausse, *Livros didáticos e “italianidade” nas escolas italianas do Brasil: entre liberalismo e fascismo*, in *Anais do XI Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Educação*, Porto, Centro de investigação transdisciplinar cultura, espaço e memória, 2016.

⁴³ M. Galfré, *Il regime degli editori: libri, scuola e fascismo*, Bari-Rome, Laterza, 2005.

⁴⁴ Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall’unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla Riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, cit., p. 562.

Table 1. Books of the *Piccolo Mondo* series approved by the Ministry Circular number 18 on March 1st, 1905

Region	Books adopted					
Palermo, Genova, Ascoli- Piceno, Arezzo, Pisa, Como, Parma, Firenze, Catania	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 3 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 4 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 5 ^a classe
Venezia	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe		Piccolo Mondo – Per la 4 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 5 ^a classe
Caserta	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 3 ^a classe		
Reggio Calabria	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario				
Massa-Carrara Siracusa	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario				
Cuneo		Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 3 ^a classe		
Potenza Piacenza Pesaro-Urbino						
Chieti Ancona	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario		Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 3 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 4 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 5 ^a classe
Cremona	Piccolo Mondo – Sillabario					
Lecce		Piccolo Mondo – Compimento al Sillabario	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 2 ^a classe		Piccolo Mondo – Per la 4 ^a classe	Piccolo Mondo – Per la 5 ^a classe

Source: 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)*, 2 vols., Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008, pp. 498-681.

Although there is still no information on the number of editions, the copy located with the *Società* documents and that is object of study in this article, dates from 1910 and refers to the volume indicated for teaching fourth grade boys and girls.

The book, with a small format (10 cm of width and 17 cm high), is composed of 311 pages, over which 156 short stories and poems are distributed and of which more than one third are illustrated. Texts are mostly produced by the authors themselves, but there are excerpts taken from other Italian authors. *Piccolo Mondo*'s central core is the Rosati family: the father, Mister Rosati, railway engineer; the mother, Mrs. Clotilde, an educated woman who provides education to her children; and the three children, Alberto, 13; Isabella, 11; and Giorgio, 9. Stories develop around the family, relationships between father, mother and children; and in the scope of socialization that its members take part on, the school and the circle of friends. A smaller part of the texts can be considered as single, not linked to the universe described above.

Piccolo Mondo shows concerns with scientific teaching and the appreciation of Natural Sciences. In the short stories, we find themes such as hygiene, health, children and adult deaths, nutrition, medicines, vaccines and plants. Through descriptive texts that aim to provide the reader with basic notions, nature is presented harmoniously organized and classified, with an eminently practical functioning. Some examples are the tales about big and small elements of the vegetable world, specific types of plants and also plants of gardens and woods.

There are short stories regarding Geography, so that the authors continue to teach Natural Sciences, through contents that approach several environmental aspects. Texts provide little readers with some simple notions, especially about water and its different forms. Children are also taught to respect and value the seasons of the year and their respective weather and temperatures, in addition to the different types of relief and land cultivation. In what concerns the contents that privilege man, *Piccolo Mondo* describes human experiences such as hunt, fishing, agricultural and industrial work and inventions such as the train and the ship.

Regarding contents that privilege living in society, authors present a report about the 1898 Expo, that happened in Turin, to explain the different human races: Caucasian, Aethiopian, Yellow, American and Malay. For that, they categorize⁴⁵ human beings by highlighting observable physical traits in children,

⁴⁵ According to Schwarcz from 1870 on, several theories, among which evolutionism and Darwinism, searched to produce, in their own way, a theory about race. So, if, on one side, monogenists defended a single origin for mankind and the possibility of «hierarchizing races and people according to their different mental and moral levels»p. 55, on the other, polygenists, even though they believed in the «existence of common ancestors in prehistory, stated that different human species had separated long enough to configure different heritage and aptitude». L.M. Schwarcz, *O espetáculo das raças: cientistas, instituições e questão racial no Brasil*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2002, p. 55. Darwin's *On the origin of species* has risen several

using adjectives such as beautiful, ugly, thick, straight, curly, and introducing for the readers a true hierarchy among human beings, as we can read below:

I bimbi di Terrasanta, gli Arabi e le fanciulle dell'alto Egitto, colla pelle quase Bianca, col profilo regolare, cogli occhi bellissimi, somigliavano molto al tipo europeo, appartenendo infatti anch'essi alla razza caucasica; invece Le piccole Galla ci presentavano il perfetto tipo della razza negra o etiopica: labra grosse, naso schiacciato, capelli crespi e lanosi: erano brutine davvero [...]. La razza gialla era rappresentata da ragazzetti cinesi; i piccoli avevano l'aria furba e non erano bruttissimi; ma i più grandicelli ispiravano poca simpatia, com quella pelle giallastra, tirata sugli zigomi sporgenti, com quegli occhi obliqui e di strana espressione, e quei capelli Neri e lisci, stretti in um lungo e sottile codine [...] Erano venuti all'Esposizione anche alcuni rappresentanti della razza americana o rosso-rame, che erano partiti dalla loro Terra del Fuoco, al sud dell'America Meridionale [...] Non vidi alcuna rappresentanza della razza malese, e non credo ce ne fosse⁴⁶.

These texts about life in society allow to understand how a social reality is built and thought of from social representations determined by interests of the groups that create them, thus, they are not neutral, quite the opposite, they are conducted by strategies that aim to legitimize their discourses. Chartier defines them as a set of «collective representations that incorporate in individuals the divisions of the social world, and structure schemes of perception and appreciation from which they classify, judge and act»⁴⁷.

The teaching of History, and especially the History of the Motherland, is highlighted in the pages of *Piccolo Mondo*, as was probably considered by the intellectual elite who planned education in Italy as a fundamental subject for the recently unified nation and for the construction of the Italian people's patriotism and nationalism (inside and outside of Italy). It offers the reader a trip around the country through descriptions and images of Italy's most important places and monuments: the *Del Farneto* in Bologna; channels and gondolas, the *Scala dei Giganti*, the *Bridge of Sighs*, the *Rialto Bridge*, the churches of *Our Lady of Deliverance*, of *San Giovanni and Paolo*, the *St. Mark's Basilica*, the *Watch*

interpretations of the famous concepts of evolution and heredity, selection of the strongest ones and competition, which have been triggered in different ways by different groups to guide debates at the time, about issues on civilization and progress.

⁴⁶ «The children of the Holy Land, the Arabs and the girls from Upper Egypt, with their almost white skin, a regular profile, beautiful eyes, looked a lot like the European kind and as a matter of fact, they also belonged to the Caucasian race; while the little attractions were the perfect kind of the black or Aethiopian race: thick lips, flat nose, curly hair that looked like wool: they were indeed ugly [...] The yellow race was represented by Chinese boys, with an astute appearance and not very ugly, but the older ones did not inspire much sympathy, with their yellowish skin stretched over protruding cheekbones, oblique eyes and a strange expression and those black straight hair tied in ponytails [...] Some representative of the American or red race coming from the Land of Fire in Southern South America came to the Expo [...] I did not see any representation of the Malay race and I think there wasn't any indeed». See F. Romagnoli, S. Albertoni, *Piccolo Mondo: letture per le scuole elementari*, Florence, Bemporad, 1910, pp. 42-45.

⁴⁷ R. Chartier, *A história hoje: dúvidas, desafios, propostas*, «Estudos Históricos», vol. 7, n. 3, 1994, p. 104.

Tower, in Venice; the *Piazza dell'erbe* and the *Santa Maria in Organo Church* in Verona; the *Dome* dedicated to *San Ciriaco*, the *Saint Francis and Saint Augustine Church*, the streets and squares of Ancona; the *Via Nacional*, the *Via Roma*, the *Vesuvius* in Naples; the *Etna* in Catania; the *Roman Forum*, the *Arch of Titus*, the *Arch of Constantine*, the *Trajan's Forum*, the *St. Peter's Basilica*, the *St. Peter's Square* and the *Vatican*, the *Fontana dell'acqua Paola* in Rome etc.

Along the stories, national heroes are also presented, in order to unify the country through the construction of an idealized image, a representation that aims to congregate several spaces and times and, above all, to unite the people of different regions of the peninsula, just like the *Risorgimento* dreamed. The description of virtues, as well as images, of King Umberto I, Queen Margherita, King Vittorio Emanuele III and Garibaldi are present in *Piccolo Mondo*.

Last but not least, *Piccolo Mondo* presents a civilization project. Authors dedicated quite some space to teach civility, searching, according to Revel «at the same time, to discipline souls through coercion over their bodies and to impose collectively to children a standard norm of social behaviour»⁴⁸, which is carried out by passing on values like kindness, charity, patience, work, respect for the elderly, as well as by holding children off of pride, attachment to material values, sloth, greed and other feelings.

The reading book pages are filled with children and adults who feel pleasure to do good to others and help the needy. The feeling of responsibility towards their belongings and the commitment to others are also promoted, that means, in addition to having good attitudes, children are expected to behave and have habits that are according with the significant values of the society in which they are living. Stories emphasize that knowledge, understanding and practice of good behaviours and virtues are necessary to live well or, as Revel puts it, the stories aim, above all, to mould children for the need of a general civility code.

The book can be seen in the light of what Elias asserts about the non-naturalness of attitudes that is imposed by society to children, so that, as natural as the tenderness and shame standards seems to adults and as much as «civilized control of instinctive cravings is accepted as natural, the more incomprehensible it becomes for adults that children do not feel such tenderness and shame 'by nature'»⁴⁹. This way, children are called to develop self-control and turn into automatic «the socially desirable behaviour, a matter of self-control, making it seem, in the individual's mind, like a result of their free will» and thus being «of interest of their own health or human dignity»⁵⁰.

From the short stories in *Piccolo Mondo* emerge rules for social living and standards for individual and collective conducts that were considered at the

⁴⁸ J. Revel, *Os usos da civilidade*, in P. Ariès, R. Chartier (edd.), *História da vida privada: da Renascença ao Século das Luzes*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1999, p. 178.

⁴⁹ Elias, *O processo civilizador: uma história dos costumes*, cit., p. 168.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

time as pillars of a 'modern' society, so the authors intended to, instead of describing society, transform it. In this sense, childhood and children are seen as idyllic, revealing an image that is more desired than true, of a child that is strong, studies hard, is adapted to the family environment, attends school, follows rules, is well-behaved and clean⁵¹.

4. *Some considerations about the construction of national identity through reading*

The Italian school maintained by *Prince of Naples Mutual Support Society* was important to preserve the language, teach writing, worship Italy as the homeland of immigrants and their children and also to create a sense of belonging, of sharing habits and culture, an Italian identity, an *italianità*, supporting the formation of an Italian *piccolo mondo* within the Sao Caetano Colony, that had monuments, heroes, language and Italy as a homecountry.

Cuore shows up as fit to the proposal of a new educational model, convenient for an Italy that needs to be united, regardless of regional, economic, social and linguistic differences. Edmondo de Amicis breaks up with the usual structure of disconnected lessons and creates a new religion, one of the homeland, having as its apostles the heroes Vittorio Emanuele II, Garibaldi, Mazzini etc., and as its epic, the *Risorgimento*.

Piccolo Mondo provides, throughout its books, basic knowledge on reading, writing, hygiene, natural science, history and geography, in addition to dedicating nearly half of its pages to moralizing texts, which intend to inculcate moral conducts and values, to civilize the little ones.

Cuore is a literature for those who already know how to read. Both highlight the children's resignation, the acceptance of social inequality, the ethics of duty, labour and family values. Both express the same concern of those who defended the creation of an Italian identity, through the press, the institutions and associations of Italian immigrants and above all, of Italian school.

To achieve the goal of forming the soul, the character and the faith of children and young, Italian school should keep and improve the Italian ethnical characteristics, by preserving close ties with the recently unified motherland, through teaching Italian language, history and heroes, in addition to a civility code, by imposing rules of sociable behaviour. The stories and the daily narratives are, then, approached as «direct tools of conditioning or modelling, of adapting the individual to these behaviour modes necessary in the structure and situation of the society in which one lives»⁵².

⁵¹ Choppin, *O historiador e o livro escolar*, cit., pp. 5-24.

⁵² Elias, *O processo civilizador: uma história dos costumes*, cit., p. 95.

For Elias (1994), the gradual change of behaviours and the gradual change of external control is part of the civilizing process. In the long run, the imposition of control over behaviours displaces the weight, from the group to the individual, who becomes the main controller of his own behaviour. That is the most powerful tool for changing behaviours from which emerges the modern western man. We can state that the authors of the books studied herein have used that in their lessons.

In this process of building civility, obedience must be learned and apprehended through self-control, which disciplines one's will. According to Leão (2007)⁵³, the precise act of reading can be considered as «a permanent exercise of self-control». In this sense, when learning to read the texts, lessons and short stories, children would inscribe themselves in a certain social lesson of mastering their own emotions.

The civility models presented in these books that have circulated in Italian ethnical schools have disseminated the arts of driving oneself well at home, at school, in the streets, that means, in society in general. A good reading of such books, through a fluid, flowing, expressive and chained reading already implies a great mastering of one's emotions, leading to transformations, always towards greater control and restrictions.

The ensemble of the knowledge to be taught and conducts to be incorporated gains materiality in the books *Cuore* and *Piccolo Mondo*, thus, studying them allows to understand the social concerns of that time, the ideological affiliations, as well as to apprehend the educational practices of school, social and moral orders and the representations of society and of children. From their pages, emerges a project for both civilization and construction of Italian identity, specifically an Italian identity built outside of the peninsula, at a *scuola all'estero*.

To compose the scenery of Italian schools in Sao Paulo and in the colonies around, to bring up teachers, curricular proposals, furniture, pedagogic materials, books studied, that means, to study the school materiality in the context of the schooling of Italians and their descendants, still intrigues and evokes investigations which may help to reveal and understand what was said and done in primary school in Brazil between the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

⁵³ A.B. Leão, *Norbert Elias e a educação*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2007, p. 64.

«...libriccini, tutto l'amore che nutro per l'infanzia». Syllabaries written and printed in Brazil to the Italian ethnic schools (1906-1907)

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ABSTRACT: To analyze textbooks published in Brazil within the years of 1906 and 1907 that were used by students who attended the Italian schools, to perceive their production and materiality is the aim of the present article. The subject is part of a larger research project called «History of school culture at Italian schools in Brazilian lands (1875-1945)». The empirical corpus consists of five books, cross-checked with other documents such as newspapers, consular reports, correspondences, and photos, based on a historical documentary analysis that explored shreds of evidence, signs, and recurrences from the object of investigation, in light of Cultural and Educational History. The time cut corresponds to the years of publication of the works. Considering that with these books the immigrants' children or children who immigrated and lived in Brazil were alphabetized in the Italian language, we can think about this single experience with the mediation of the works, these dialogue artifacts between Italian culture and the context lived in Brazilian lands.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Italian schools; Syllabaries; Brazil; XXth Century.

Initial considerations

In a small fragment registered in the *Cinquantenario della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sul* (1925) dealing with an invention to teach numbers is where the attention to this article writing lies. A small shred of evidence that informed,

E ricordo anche il compianto Giacinto Targa che a Nova Trento spese del pari tutta la sua esistenza nell'insegnamento. Egli era anche inventore di un apparecchio che permette

al bambino, con pochissime lezioni, di leggere correttamente i numeri sino al trillione. Per l'ingenua invenzione il Targa era stato felicitato dal governo e dal Re d'Italia¹.

A past clue, a short reference that elicited questions that accompanied me for many years in the research work: which other inventions would have been created by teachers who worked in the Italian schools existent through all Brazilian' states and that received immigrants from the Italian Peninsula between the end of 1800 and the first three decades of 1900? Additionally, I found the advertisement about the invention of professor Targa, published in the newspaper «A Federação»:

Advertisements – Targa Counter – Useful instrument for schools. In 5 lessons any student reads, with the maximum of easiness, any number, limited in the counter to trillions. By sending five thousand Réis to the undersigned, one receives back by post the teaching method, printed in Portuguese, Italian and French, and the respective counter drawing. Nova Trento (state of Rio Grande do Sul). Jacintho Targa².

Fifteen publications of this advertisement were localized in this same journal. The referred invention was accompanied by an informative note about its functioning:

This instrument serves to help students to read numbers; and with the maximum facility, a boy may in the brief course of four or five lessons read frankly and promptly any number limited to trillions in the counter. Easy, it will be for the teacher, to make his students understand that the counter is divided into five distinct classes; and that the 1st class comprises the units; the 2nd, the thousands; the 3rd, the millions; the 4th, the billions and the 5th, the trillions. Each class is subdivided into three parts: U – units; D – dozens and C – hundreds. The numbered tablets are fifteen. Reaching the million, the teacher should explain to the students that a unit of this class corresponds to a Conto, a name used in the Brazilian currency³.

In order to teach with the referred Targa Counter, the proposal was that teachers would choose any of the tablets, as example the one with number 1 and would put it in the first place, under the letter U (Units); next, he would explain to the students that 1 corresponds to a unit. Later, he would orient them to use another tablet, for example, the number 2, under the letter D (Dozens) and, as a dozen is equal to 10 units, as anyone knows, so two dozen corresponds to twenty units that added to the first tablet, will make 21. Successively, the teacher would put in place C (Hundreds) the tablet with number 3; then he

¹ «I also remember the mourned Giacinto Targa, who in Nova Trento spent all his life in teaching. He also has been an inventor of this device that allowed the child, with few lessons, to read correctly the numbers until the trillion. For his ingenious invention, Targa was congratulated by the government and by the King of Italy». *Cinquantenario della Colonizzazione Italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud: 1875-1925*, Porto Alegre, Arte & Cultura, 2nd ed., 2000, vol. I, p. 402.

² *Anuncios*, «A Federação», vol. XXII, n. 271, 23 November 1905, Thursday, p. 3.

³ «A Federação», vol. XXII, n. 273, 25 November 1905, Saturday, p. 2.

would explain that a hundred corresponds to 10 dozens or 100 units; anyone would guess that 3 hundred corresponds to 300 units that added to 21, will make 321. Like this, the teacher would employ the same method for higher numbers: thousands; millions; billions; and trillions.

In the face of this evidence, and comparing Italians with other ethnical groups of immigrants, as Germans and Polishes for example, who produced their didactic material for their schools in Brazil, the main question is around the possibility of other teachers, who immigrated from Italy and were teaching in public and/or Italian ethnical schools, produced any material and textbook. If professor Targa created such a teaching instrument and even received a distinction for his invention, in reason of the difficulties of access to schoolbooks would it not be possible that other teachers who were teaching in Italian schools would have written books for their students?

The lack of studies and records on the theme continued to instigate me, in particular when I read that «...gli insegnanti, numerosi, pazienti, infaticabili, che tengono vivo nelle lontane terre il ricordo e l'amore d'Italia, insegnando ai figli dei compatriotti nostri l'idioma gentile che ne riveli l'origine e ne dica la nobile speranza»⁴. In this manner, which other materialities and which other tactics, as mentioned by Certeau⁵, were mobilized by the teachers while teaching in the Italian schools?

Moved by this set of research questions, the present article results of a partial answer to this matter as recently I found a group of books written by Italian teachers that, working in Brazil, published for these schools. So, the objective is to share the analysis of the instructive books published in Brazil and used by students of the Italians schools, with particular attention to their production and materiality. The text derives from the research «History of school cultures in the Italian schools at Brazilian lands (1975-1945)» that counts with the financial support of the CNPq⁶. The empirical corpus is composed of five books cross-checked with newspapers, consular reports, correspondences and pictures, taken from the historical documentary analysis that explored shreds of evidence, signs, and recurrences from the object of investigation, in light of the Education and Cultural History. The temporal cut corresponds to the years of publication of the works. The text signalizes in a first moment the issue of the Italian immigration to Brazil and the schooling processes derived from this movement and, in a second moment, analyzes the production and materiality of the referred books.

⁴ «Teachers, numerous, patients, tireless, who keep alive the memory and the love to Italy in distant lands, teaching the children of our countrymen the gentile idiom that reveals their origin and noble hope», Fanfulla, *Il Brasile e gli italiani*, Florence, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1906, p. 754.

⁵ M. de Certeau, *The invention of the quotidian 1 Artes do Fazer*, Petrópolis, RJ, Vozes, 1994.

⁶ National Council of Technologic and Scientific Development (CNPq).

1. *The migratory flow of Italians to Brazil and its education process*

Since the beginning of the XIX century, we keep a record of the migratory process of Italians to Brazil and Latin America. However, it is in the XIX century last quarter and in the XX century first three decades that the flow intensifies in a growing manner. The capitalism expansion with the modernization of the agricultural practice, and the industrialization, combined with Italy unification wars, explains, in large part, the emigration⁷. By the other side, in Brazil, the migratory stimulus is related to the process of slavery abolition, with the lack of labor for the coffee farms and for the agriculture, the urban activities with the borne industrialization, as well as the colonization of the returned lands, besides the «whitening of the population»⁸. In table 1, in spite of the differences between the Italian and Brazilian records, the crescent flow of immigrants from the Italic peninsula and established in Brazil is noted, remaining the figures expressive until 1914, when the First World War began.

Table 1. Italian migratory flow to Brazil within 1875-1902

Years	Italian Statistics	Brazilian Statistics
1875-1879	12.532	43.654
1880-1884	35.626	53.895
1885-1889	169.773	222.829
1890-1894	248.047	312.074
1895-1900	348.410	397.962
1901-1902	122.593	91.980

Source: adapted from Trento, 1988, p. 34.

According to Trento⁹, «between 1887 and 1902 Italians constituted 60% of the total of the immigrants received by Brazil» and the provinces of São Paulo

⁷ About the emigration process in Italy, see E. Franzina, *A Grande emigração: o êxodo dos italianos do Vêneto para o Brasil*, Campinas, Unicamp, 2006. Also P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. 1 Partenze*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009 and P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. 2 Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009. Another reference is E. Franzina, *L'America gringa. Storie italiane d'immigrazione tra Argentina e Brasile*, Reggio Emilia, Diabasis, 2008.

⁸ About the immigration process in Brazil, there is an extended production. See A. Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico. Um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1989. Also T.Â. Luchese, *Relações de poder: autoridades regionais e imigrantes italianos nas colônias Conde d'Eu, Donas Isabel, Caxias e Alfredo Chaves, 1875 a 1889*, Curitiba, CRV, 2009. Plus, the classic O. Manfrói, *A colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul: implicações econômicas, políticas e culturais*, Porto Alegre, Grafosul, 1975. Besides de T. de Azevedo, *Italianos e gaúchos: os anos pioneiros da colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, A Nação, Instituto Estadual do Livro, 1975. And the three volumes organized by L.A. De Boni (ed.), *A presença italiana no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1987.

⁹ A. Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico. Um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1989, p. 34.

and Rio Grande do Sul were the places they mostly went to and established themselves. It is necessary to note that already in the first years after their establishment the immigrants and their descendants for «the absolute lack of public schools in Brazil would force the settler to look for people capable of teaching to read, write and arithmetic to all that youth»¹⁰. So, in a couple of years, the Italian schools emerged, being some of them maintained by families; some by mutual help associations; others by religious congregations, which was the case of Scalabrinians and Salesians; and even some secular and parish schools existed¹¹. Amid them, as a common wish the pursuit of a school that would meet the educational needs for the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and prays. The Italian government provided support, which varied in time and amount spent, such as books, teachers and financial aid for many of these schools.

For the Italian Government, the migratory phenomenon was an issue of the intricate and large table of Crispi's project, which viewed the construction of a powerful state and an external policy that provided new emigration rules for the restructuring of the Italian schools abroad¹². The modernization of Italy diplomatic policy under the leadership of Francesco Crispi, first minister and minister of External Relations then, passed through Law Nr. 5866 of 30 of December of 1888, which established new forms of protection for emigrants. The *Crispian* nationalism considered emigration as a factor of Italy expansion force in the field of commercial relations too, while the restructuring of schools as part of the reorganization of the national education, which revolved about patriotic values, and the construction of a collective imagination founded on the worship of the homeland. It affirmed that «dovendosi per mezzo della scuola alimentare nel cuore de' nazionali emigrati il recirdevole affetto verso la patria lontana [...], la virtù educatrice doveva scaturire liberamente della coscienza degli stessi italiani»¹³. With such finality, the Royal Decree Nr. 6566 of 1889 reorganized the Italian schools abroad by creating the conditions for the direct management of school institutions by the Ministry of External Relations. Cervo states that Crispi:

¹⁰ J. Lorenzoni, *Memórias de um emigrante italiano*, Pelotas, RS, ed. Ponto de Vista, 2011, p. 105.

¹¹ In relation to the school process in the context of Rio Grande do Sul, see T.Á. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2015 and G. Rech, T.Á. Luchese, *História das escolas italianas no Rio Grande do Sul. Pesquisa e documentos*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2015.

¹² It is important to see G. Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero. Cento anni di storia*, Rome, Armando Editore, 1974.

¹³ «It should nurture through the school the hearts of the national emigrants with notable affection for the distant homeland [...], the educative virtue should flourish free from the conscience of the own Italians». Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Annuario delle Scuole Coloniali per l'anno finanziario e scolastico 1890-1891*, Rome, Tipografia delle Mantellate, 1891, p. 5.

Crispi stimulated the Italian spirit, favoring the creation of schools, hospitals, newspapers and benefit societies. The census of 1889 indicated the existence of 352 Italian friendships, three hospitals (London, Buenos Aires, and Lima) and numerous other projects abroad. Crispi considered schools' regulation and divided them into two categories: government and subsidized schools. In 1890, there were 92 of the first category with 12.109 students and 35 of the second category. In 1990, there were around two hundred Italian newspapers published abroad¹⁴.

In order to subsidize pedagogical organization, direction, and supervision of the schools, a General Direction was created for which Crispi nominated a general inspector, Gorilamo Nisio, whose profile the Public Education Ministry indicated. Within the different functions of the Consuls were the tasks of keeping 'alive the interest of the colonies for the schools', making all effort to increase the knowledge and esteem for the Motherland, managing the resources use, reviewing budgets, dealing with specific needs, proposing to the minister the changes in the school pedagogical organization, helping the central director. In relation to the consular work, the Colonial Schools Yearbook of 1889-1890 affirmed that «nell'anno passato si vennero accuratamente esaminando le relazioni che i consoli più diligenti sull'andamento pedagogico di esse scuole avevano mandate, ed ai mali notati furono suggeriti i rimedi opportuni»¹⁵. In this way, the following-up, reports elaboration, and news about the Italian schools abroad began to be part of the obligations and attention of Consuls.

Besides these intentions, the Ministry of External Relations published in 1889 the rules for the review of the pedagogical system of elementary schools abroad in order to adapt them to the new didactic programs approved for the Italian primary schools through the Decree of 25 of September of 1888. Later, other indications by the Central Inspection in September of 1889 to favor the introduction of the intuitive method in the Italian schools abroad too were made. With the objective of teaching the Italian language and the proposal of 'maintaining straight the links of the colony with the Motherland, schools should stick to the government programs, but some were reorganized in reason of some territory circumstances.

Considering the data published in the Italian Schools Yearbooks of the Ministry of External Relations, in the case of Brazil, the number of students who attended Italian schools for the period established for this study can be observed in the system presented by Barausse and Luchese (2017) in the table 2.

¹⁴ A.L. Cervo, *As relações entre o Brasil e a Itália: formação da italianidade brasileira*, Brasília, UnB, 1992, p. 12.

¹⁵ «In the last year, checking carefully the reports sent by the more diligent consuls about the pedagogical tendencies of these schools, they suggested appropriated medication to the noted infirmities». Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Annuario delle Scuole Coloniali per l'anno finanziario e scolastico 1889-1890*, Rome, Tipografia delle Mantellate, 1890, p. 12.

Table 2. Students of Italian Schools in Brazil – 1890 a 1930

Federative Unit	Period									
	1890-1891	1896-1897	1904-1905	1909-910	1913-1914	1921-1922	1922-1923	1924-1925	1927	1930
Bahia	20	–	–	250	–	–	–	–	–	–
Minas Gerais	–	–	–	296	330	307	333	301	267	321
Paraná	–	–	752	596	786	704	1644	708	568	708
Santa Catarina	–	–	1681	1132	2261	1477	3195	2915	1032	2010
Pará	–	–	–	–	–	30	30	30	–	–
Pernambuco	–	–	–	424	424	656	656	656	409	61
Rio Grande do Sul	1468	2250	3213	2492	4310	3199	4628	4085	3315	3686
Rio de Janeiro	50	95	214	411	438	774	1072	901	334	101
São Paulo	515	1200	7275	6724	13307	5642	8248	10626	7012	6934
Espírito Santo	–	–	138	1053	1355	–	–	–	785	0
Mato Grosso	–	–	–	180	201	–	–	–	180	0
TOTAL	2053	3545	13273	13558	23412	12789	19806	20222	13902	13821

Source: Barausse e Luchese, 2017, p. 449¹⁶.

At the table above, it is noteworthy the high number of students that attended São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul Italian schools, the two provinces with the more significant number – of schools and students. For sure these data are incomplete, the accounting of typologies of different schools, the lack of continuous follow-up by consular authorities in reason of distances, ended by generating deficient data. However, it is relevant to note the importance that Italian schools reached while overcoming 13 thousand students, precisely in the period that matches to the one of this analysis, arriving at more than 20 thousand between 1924 and 1925.

It is worth mentioning that despite the historical-educational researches production that was realized about this subject in Brazil, this is still an investigation field that deserves deepening and more attention from the historians. The six theses of doctorate, which include the studies of Luchese

¹⁶ A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 443-475.

and Rech¹⁷ about Rio Grande do Sul, Maschio¹⁸ on Paraná, Gomes¹⁹ on Minas Gerais, Corrêa²⁰ on São Paulo, and Otto²¹ on Santa Catarina, as well as the dissertations of Mimesse and Franchini²² about São Paulo and Pagani²³ regarding Rio de Janeiro, with diversified perspectives of analysis, show that we are still too far from exhausting this singularity of the History of Education, manifestly transnational.

Another relevant point to understand Italian schools' development and differences is to comprehend the Brazilian educational policies, as well as the provinces', once the decentralization and freedom of actions for the elementary school characterized this historical moment at the beginning of the XX century in Brazil. Also, it is necessary to consider the conditions lived by immigrants in distinct contexts. Living in rural or urban areas; as landowners or farm tenants; as employees or owners of small/big business; as immigrants living with so many cultural groups or colonizing communities where the majority emigrated from the Italic peninsula; within others – are fundamental points to understand the different movements in favor of education. Still, the relevance in considering the subject under a cross-checked perspective of the documents produced locally in Brazil and those stored in Italy. While deepening the analysis, the research findings indicated, recurrently, the importance of textbooks and materials, in the viability of this ethnic-educational process.

¹⁷ T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes na Região Colonial Italiana do Rio Grande do Sul, 1875 a 1930. Leggere, scrivere e calcolare per essere alcuno nella vita*, Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Education, Posgraduate Program (Supervisor: Lúcio Kreutz and Attico Chassot) São Leopoldo, Unisinos, 495 fl., Academic Year 2007. G.L. Rech, *Escolas étnicas italianas em Porto Alegre/RS (1877-1938): a formação de uma rede escolar e o fascismo*, Pelotas, Doctoral Thesis, Posgraduate Program Education (Supervisor: Elomar A. Callegaro Tambara), Pelotas, UFPEL, 449 f., Year 2015.

¹⁸ E.C.F. Maschio, *A escolarização dos imigrantes e de seus descendentes nas colônias italianas de Curitiba, entre táticas e estratégias (1875-1930)*, Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Education, Postgraduate Program (Supervisor Marcus Aurélio Taborda de Oliveira), Curitiba, PR, UFPR, Year 2012.

¹⁹ M.R. Gomes, *Sob o céu de outra Pátria: imigração e educação em Juiz de Fora e Belo Horizonte, MG, 1888-1912*, Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Education, Posgraduate Program (Supervisor: Cynthia Greive Veiga), Belo Horizonte, MG, UFMG, Year 2009.

²⁰ R.L.T. Corrêa, *Conviver e sobreviver: estratégias educativas de imigrantes italianos (1880 a 1920)*, Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Education, Posgraduate Program (Supervisor: Esmeralda Blanco Bolsanaro de Moura), São Paulo, USP, Year 2000.

²¹ C. Otto, *Catolicidades e italianidades: jogos de poder no Médio Vale do Itajaí-Açu e no sul de Santa Catarina*, Posgraduate Program History, (Supervisor: Artur Cesar Isaia), Florianópolis, UFSC, Year 2005.

²² E. Mimesse, *A educação e os imigrantes italianos: da escola de primeiras letras ao grupo escolar*, 2^a ed., São Paulo, Iglu, 2010; F. Franchini. *Entre Vargas e Mussolini: a nacionalização do Instituto Médio Ítalo-Brasileiro Dante Alighieri*, Master's in Education, Posgraduate Program Education (Supervisor Diana Vidal), Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, USP, Year 2015.

²³ C. Pagani, *A imigração italiana no Rio de Janeiro e em Petrópolis e a educação para os filhos dos imigrantes, 1875-1920*, Master, Faculty of Education, Posgraduate Program (Supervisor Maria Celi Chaves Vasconcelos), Petrópolis, RJ, UCP, Year 2012.

2. Italian books produced in Brazil

The schoolbooks shipment for the Italian schools abroad was part of the policy that the Italian government undertook. In different moments these policies changed, the mapping of delivered books, how they were produced²⁴, and it is possible to scrutinize the geography of their distribution and some signs of their consumption. It is important to consider the double condition of the book: as a material object and as a discourse addressed to the public²⁵. The production of a book is made in a singular context and in this way it is relevant to consider what Magalhães proposes while affirming that

The school integrates a structural complex constituted by binomials: reading/reader; regulation/market; pedagogy/knowledge order; editorial technic/didactic environment; authorship/registration. Independently of the didactic specificity, the schoolbook is a mean of reading-form, orientation, but also determined by the reading capacity of the individual to whom it is destined²⁶.

For Magalhães, still, schoolbooks are part of the school materiality and allow us to think of the cultural finalities of the school, as

There is a school culture (a ritual, a gesture, socialization, a formation) not inserted into the manual, but that, however, tends to be, direct or indirectly, approved, contextualized, meta projected by it. The school guide is one of the entrance doors to life and culture²⁷.

By thinking of these schoolbook production and appropriation conditions, it makes sense to undertake a search for books produced and published in Brazil, beyond those sent by Italy. Recurred signs of the importance and value attributed to books in the school teaching-learning process exist. Consul Enrico Perrod mentions in his report of 1883 while referring to the Italians colonies of the Gaucho mountains that the costs to the acquisition of books²⁸ were

²⁴ About the schoolbooks production in Italy, see A. Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità all Fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla Riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, Macerata, Alfabetica edizioni, 2008. Also A. Ascenzi, R. Sani. *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2005 and G. Chiosso. *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale: dal primo ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2013.

²⁵ See R. Chartier, *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP, 2014.

²⁶ J. Magalhães, *O livro escolar como memória da educação*, in M.J. Mogarro (ed.), *Educação e patrimônio cultural: escolas, objetos e práticas*, Lisboa, Colibri, 2015, pp. 135-140 [p. 135].

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁸ About the production, circulation and distribution of Italians schoolbooks, see A. Barausse, *I libri scolastici come strumenti di promozione dell'identità nazionale italiana in Brasile nei primi anni del fascismo (1922-1925)*, «História da Educação», vol. 20, n. 49, 2016, pp. 81-94. Also A. Barausse, *Livros didáticos e italianidade no Brasil nos anos 1920-1930*, in T.Á. Luchese (ed.), *Escolarização, culturas e instituições: escolas étnicas italianas em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2018, pp. 29-74. And T.Á. Luchese, *Da Itália ao Brasil: indícios da produção, circulação e consumo de livros de leitura (1875-1945)*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, 2017, pp. 123-142.

high, being an ABC price 500 réis (1.25 pounds), a grammar 1000 réis (2.50 pounds) and a simple reading book between 2.50 and 5.50 pounds²⁹. On the same report, Perrot informs, for comparative ends, that a 60 kg bag of beans was sold by 5 pounds, which means that to buy a grammar 30 kg of beans was necessary, in average. In this way, it is perceptible that the delivery of books by the Italian Government was always dear to the families. By relevance and in a game of guarantees and stimulus for the continuity, the receipt of books was motive for the publication of a notice in the newspaper «A Federação» of Porto Alegre, thanking the Consul Pascoale Corte. Below, the published note:

Statements – The Italian Society of Mutual Help Regina Margherita – Dona Isabel. The undersigned president of this charitable fellowship, constituted four years ago in D. Isabel Colony, while receiving a few days ago, from the Honorable Gentleman P. Corte, Royal Italian Consul in Porto Alegre, books and other school materials that the Royal Minister of Italy sent to these Italian schools abroad, would like to proffer our gratitude in name of the whole Society, as for all the attention and care that the honorable representative has obtained to the intellectual and moral improvement of our Colony, as for the multiple advantages received by this Society, in particular, the Italian School. We wish the gentleman to have a long stay in this Capital, with health, prosperity and happy days. Dona Isabel, the 12th of October of 1886. The president, Loss, Domenico and the secretary, Giulio Lorenzoni³⁰.

It is worth pointing out that this publication was not an exception. Besides the publicity of books receipt and distribution from consuls and, as well, with the help of the Mutual Help Associations, it is clear the importance of books as a support for teaching practices, which is a recurred evidence in many consular reports and correspondences. Dealing with the Italian schools in Caxias, Rio Grande do Sul, the teacher, and consular agent, Umberto Ancarani affirmed:

E non sarebbe difficile trovare nei vari traversoni qualcuno che si incaricasse dell' insegnamento dell' italiano, dandogli, naturalmente, una piccola retribuizione mensile, che sarebbe pagata dagli alunni; e bisognerebbe pur dargli um sussidio in libri, quaderni e penne, e um compenso in fin d'anno a titolo d' incoraggiamento³¹.

²⁹ Perrod, *Le colonie brasiliane Conte D'Eu e Donna Isabella*, 1883, p. 310, cit. in V.B.M. Herédia, G. Romanato (edd.), *Fontes diplomáticas: documentos da imigração italiana*, Caxias do Sul, RS, EDUCS, 2016, Vol. I, p. 131.

³⁰ *Declarações – Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Regina Margherita*, «A Federação», vol. III, n. 240, 20 October 1886.

³¹ «And it would not be difficult to find in the numerous bearers someone that would assume the charge of teaching Italian, providing him, naturally, a small monthly salary, which would be paid by students; and it would be necessary to give him a subsidy in books, notebooks and pens, and a compensation at the end of the year as an incentive». See Ancarani, *La colonia italiana di Caxias in Rio Grande del Sul, Brasile*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione», 1905, p. 27 cit. in V.B.M. Herédia, G. Romanato (edd.), *Fontes diplomáticas: documentos da imigração italiana*, Caxias do Sul, RS, EDUCS, 2016, Vol. IV, p. 639.

For Ancarani, small Italian schools opened in rural areas, many of them working next to small local churches, had a «short life» and, he justified that one of the main motives was the lack of school material and support. He mentioned that many of the rural teachers were «improvised teachers», but it was common that they would accomplish their job with «true interest and love»³². Another teacher and a consular agent sent by the Italian government to Bento Gonçalves, Rio Grande do Sul, in the same year of 1905, registered within the imported items of the newly created municipality – books, paper, fountain pen, and toys. For the schools, he manifested that «questi poveri paria oltre al lottare contro grandi difficoltà causate all'assoluta mancanza di materiale scolastico, e specialmente dei libri di lettura, considerati dai coloni come oggetti di lusso, devono spesso spogliarsi anche dell' autorità di insegnanti dinanzi ai propri scolari»³³.

In the same year of 1905, the consul of Porto Alegre, capital of Rio Grande do Sul, Ciapelli, solicited the creation of Italian schools and Italian teachers, as the experience with Acarani and Petrocchi, teachers and consular agents, was recognized as relevant, and suggested to the Italian Government the opening of children's schools and the furnishing of school material.

Gioverebbe quindi istituire delle scuole italiane, mandandovi dall'Italia maestri onesti e capaci, ai quali si potrebbero affidare anche le funzioni di agenti consolari, provvedendo in tale modo anche alla tutela dei connazionali, oltre che alla loro istruzione. Una prova in questo senso è stata fatta ed há dato buoni risultati sembra che sai stato deciso estenderla ad altre località. Utilissimo sarebbe pure l'aprire scuole infantili³⁴.

Not a children's school opened, but the presence of Italian schools with elementary education was recurrent, though the majority had a short duration. Plus, there had been the initiative of publishing books. The first schoolbook published in Brazil that I located was an Italian Grammar that came to light at 1896 in Rio Grande do Sul. In the cover, the title and addressing of the work *Grammatica Italiana per le scuole italiane dello stato di Rio Grande del*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ «These poor outcasts, besides the fight against the great difficulties generated by the absolute lack of school material, and especially the reading books, considered by the settlers as lux objects, many times they need to divest the authority as teachers in front of their students», L. Petrocchi, *Le colonie italiane nel distretto di Bento Gonçalves, Rio Grande del Sud, Brasile*, «Bolletino dell'Emigrazione», 1906, p. 28, cit. in Herédia, Romanato (edd.), *Fontes diplomáticas: documentos da imigração italiana*, cit., p. 661.

³⁴ «It would be, then, a good idea to establish Italian schools, sending teachers from Italy that are honest and capable, who would also be in charge of the consular agents' duties, assuring like this the countrymen protection, as well as their education. A test in this sense was done with good results, and it seems it was decided to expand it to other locations. The opening of children schools would be very suitable», Ciapelli, *Lo stato di Rio Grande del Sud (Brasile)*, «Bolletino dell'Emigrazione», cit., p. 82.



Pic. 1. «Sempres Avanti Savoia» school, run by professor Pedatella, São Paulo, 1906
Source: Parlagreco, 1906, p. 803³⁵.

Sud (Brasile). The little grammar, result of a compilation realized by G.B [G. Bizzari] from the «best modern grammars» was published by João Mayer Júnior and Company of Porto Alegre. By analyzing the work materiality, as «no text exists out of the materialities that give it to read and listen»³⁶. I found that it was a relatively simple publication, in newsprint, with 96 pages, including the errata at the end. No illustrations. The copies located were all of the first edition, not being possible to affirm if other versions existed, and no mention about the number of books existed as well³⁷.

In São Paulo, province that received the higher flow of immigrants of the Italic peninsula, the education had developed considerably, being some events marked by particularities and specificities, many of them to be investigated still. For example, it is worth attending to the fact that São Paulo had two associations – The Socità Protettrice delle Scuole Italiane in San Paolo and the Federazione delle Scuole Italiane in San Paolo, being this second one ran by

³⁵ C. Parlagreco, *Le Scuole Italiane*, in Fanfulla, *Il Brasile e gli italiani*, Florence, R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1906, pp. 796-810.

³⁶ R. Chartier. *Inscrever e apagar. Cultura escrita e literature*, São Paulo, editora UNESP, 2007, p. 13.

³⁷ The complete analysis of this work is in the process of publication by the author of the present article.



Pic. 2. Italian school «Alessandro Manzoni», São Paulo, 1906

Source: Parlagreco, 1906, p. 807³⁸.

professor Francesco Pedatella and the number of associated schools was 35. Professor Pedatella kept the school with a boarding school, «Sempre Avanti Savoia», as presented in Picture 1.

Pedatella's school was located at 350, Consolação Road, and was one of the eldest schools of São Paulo city. Professor Francesco Pedatella ran the school in 1905 and had the help of his daughters Assunta and Rafaella Pedatella. The school offered complete primary education and followed the school programs of the Italian Government, besides offering an evening course for adults with teachings of the Portuguese language. According to Parlagreco³⁹, the school had a rich patrimony and was frequented by 80 students, divided into three classes. The library counted with nearly 300 books. Pedatella was recognized as the founder of 14 other schools, apart from being invited for conferences and for promoting celebrations, marches, gymnastics championships, awards... For his intense activity, according to Parlagreco, he was proclaimed as an "instruction benefactor". Besides him, many others acted in favor of instruction for many years in the Paulista context, all them being at the forefront of important school institution. By mode of example, I still mention 'Alexandro Manzoni' school, founded in 1900 and ran by Professor Antonio Pratola, graduated in the Training School of Avellino. He acted as a teacher for many years in Ariano Irpino, Puglia (Avellino Province). The school location was at 2, Anhaia Road and 7, Silva Pinto road, in São Paulo city. It offered elementary education and

³⁸ Parlagreco, *Le Scuole Italiane*, cit.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 803.

had annexed to it a children's school, with the Froebelian system and under the care of teacher Maria Intonti Pratola. The location had still an evening course. Between males and females, the total of students was 140, divided into three classes. Other two graduated teachers worked at the school too⁴⁰. In the picture 2, a record of the «Alessandro Manzoni» school.

São Paulo counted with numerous school initiatives of Italian teachers, but also with those linked to mutual help associations, private teachers, Italian schools of coffee farms and in the colonies. It is worth to highlight that São Paulo was the first province to promote the obligation of school frequency in 1894 (Decree Nr. 248, of 26/07/1894, public schools internal Statute), what generated an expansion of schoolbooks production according to Fanfulla in 1906, which informed that «la riforma dell'istruzione pubblica ha prodotto una vera rivoluzione nel nostro campo letterario, fino al punto da non aver noi più bisogno d'importare libri didattici, tale la quantità di produzione letterarie nel paese, destinata a facilitare l'istruzione e l'educazione dei Giovani paulisti»⁴¹. This school attendance obligation in São Paulo mobilized, beyond the production of schoolbooks, the necessity and conditions to an industry that begins to meet the demand such as furniture and an entire set regarding the school material culture⁴².

The importation of books from France, Germany, and the United Kingdom appeared with a certain regularity, even along the first decades of the XX century. Concerning books importation from Italy to Brazil, in 1905 the Italian schoolbooks were a few – besides those that were delivered by the Italian Government to subsidize the schools. The cut below affirms:

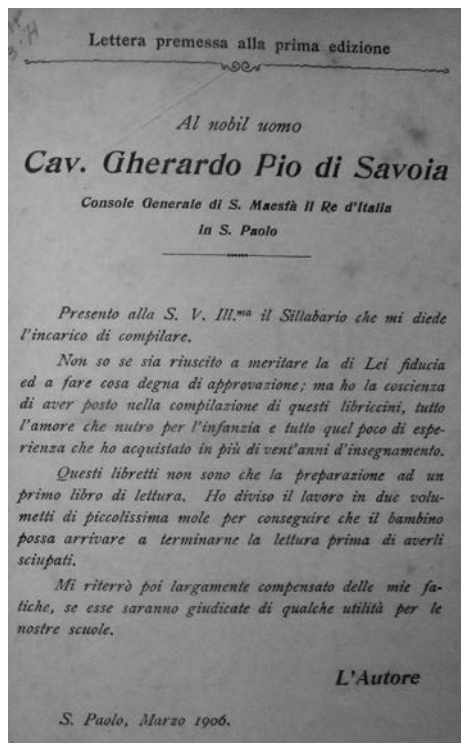
che di trato in trato manda qui il Governo Italiano per queste scuole private coloniali, e quando anche si vogliamo tenere in conto tutti i libri che vengono qui rimessi a mezzo postale alle librerie italiane e ad altre case librerie brasiliane, e volendo fare uno sforzo, portare la cifra dei libri qui importati a 300 mila lire, ogni italiano residente al Brasile corrisponderebbe alla madre patria, pel suo pane intellettuale, circa 15 – diciamo quindici – centesimi a testa!⁴³

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ «The public education reform produced a real revolution in the literary field, in such a way that we don't need to import didact books anymore due to the quantity of literary production in the country destined to facilitate in the instruction and education of São Paulo's young people», *ibid.*

⁴² About the school material culture, in special the furniture and other school material, see theses of W.R.R. Alcântara, *Por uma história econômica da escola: a carteira escolar como vetor de relações* (São Paulo, 1874-1914), 2014, 339 f., Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Education, Posgraduate Program (Supervisor Diana Vidal), Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, Year 2014.

⁴³ «that from times to times the Italian Government sends to these colonial private schools, and when we also want to take into account all the books that are sent here by post to Italian libraries and other Brazilian libraries, and wishing to make efforts, to bring the figure of the books here imported to 300 thousand pounds, each Italian resident in Brazil would correspond for the motherland, for his intellectual bread, about 15 – lets say, fifteen – cents by person!», Fanfulla, *Il Brasile e gli italiani*, cit., p. 790.



Premise letter to the first edition

To the nobleman
Gent. Gherardo Pio di Savoia
General Consul of Your Majesty the King
of Italy in São Paulo

I present hereby the syllabary that I was in charge of compiling.

I am not sure if I deserved your confidence and if I was worthy of your approval, but I have the conscience that I have put in the compilation of these little books all the love that I nurture for childhood and all the little experience that I acquired in more than twenty years of teaching.

These little books are not the preparation of a reading first book. I divided the work into two volumes of small size and extension in order children could finish the first reading before having them worn.

I will feel deeply compensated by my fatigue if they are considered of any utility to our schools.

The author

São Paulo, March f 1906

Pic. 3. Author's letter to Consul Pio de Savoia at the *Syllabary introduction*
Source: Erielo, 1907, s/p⁴⁴.

It is in this educational context that in the years of 1906 and 1907 a set of 4 books, whose author was professor L. V. Erielo, was published. It was not possible to locate who this author was through the way he is identified. Through some signs, L.V. Erielo is probably a pseudonym. In the first book, a syllabary, there is a letter to the Consul where Erielo affirms that the production of the books had resulted in the nomination of the author by the General Consul of São Paulo, Gherardo Pio de Savoia, for this production. The small books, according to Erielo raised from «tutto l'amore che nutro per l'infanzia e tutto quel poco di esperienza che ho acquistato in più di vent'anni d'insegnamento»⁴⁵. In the picture 3 the letter to Consul Pio de Savoia in the introduction of the syllabary:

As explained in the letter, the author decided by organizing the books in small volumes, considering that in this way they would be better used by students.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ «All the love that I have for the childhood and all the little experience that I acquired in more than twenty years of study», L.V. Erielo, *Syllabario* (parte prima), São Paulo, N. Falcone, 3^a ed., 1907, s/p.

Erielo believed he would be compensated if the Italian schools would use the book, and signed the letter in March of 1906. It was not possible to track the number of copies of each edition, but considering that the 1907 edition is the third one, as table 3 shows, it is almost explicit that the syllabary was well received and used by the Italian schools in São Paulo, and maybe in other provinces. In table 3, I present a synthesis of the organization of Erielo books that I analyzed:

Table 3. Professor L. V. Erielo school books, São Paulo

Book	Author	Editor	Edition	Year	Nr. of pages	Local	Illustration Number
Syllabary (parte prima)	Prof. L. V. Erielo	N. Falcone Editore	3 ^a	1907	24	São Paulo	Sim 26
Sillabario (parte seconda)	Prof. L. V. Erielo	Tip. Ideal Fili Canton Editori	2 ^a	1907	31	São Paulo	Sim 11
Raccontini per la prima classe elementare	Prof. L. V. Erielo	N. Falcone Editore	1 ^a	1907	47	São Paulo	Sim 46
Lezioncine di aritmetica	Prof. L. V. Erielo	N. Falcone Editore	1 ^a	1907	44	São Paulo	Não -

Source: author's organization.

Calls attention, immediately, that the books have the same author, Professor L. V. Erielo, about who, until the moment, I could not obtain much information. However, it is necessary to recognize that they were books – at least the syllabaries were – reprinted, what probably stimulated the author to produce other works, with readings for the first class and arithmetic lessons. At the syllabary back cover, it was announced that the author produced and published through the same editor *Il Manualetto* for elementary classes I and II, and would come soon *Il Manuale*, for elementary classes IV and V, for the Italian schools in Brazil. So, from the same author, four other works were published.

As a whole, the four books investigated are from 1907 and present a few pages. Three of them have illustrations, almost in all pages. While analyzing these books, I sought to examine the plurality of the actions mobilized in the publication, thinking that «they are the result of multiple operations that imply a wide variety of decisions, technics, and skills» as Chartier⁴⁶ affirms.

Mostly of Professor L. V. Erielo works were printed by N. Falcone, publisher and bookstore located at São Bento Road in São Paulo capital, and as already mentioned the books were small, with few pages. With 13 centimeters wide

⁴⁶ R. Chartier, *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*, São Paulo, editora UNESP, 2014, p. 38.



Pic. 4. Cover of Professor L. V. Erielo books

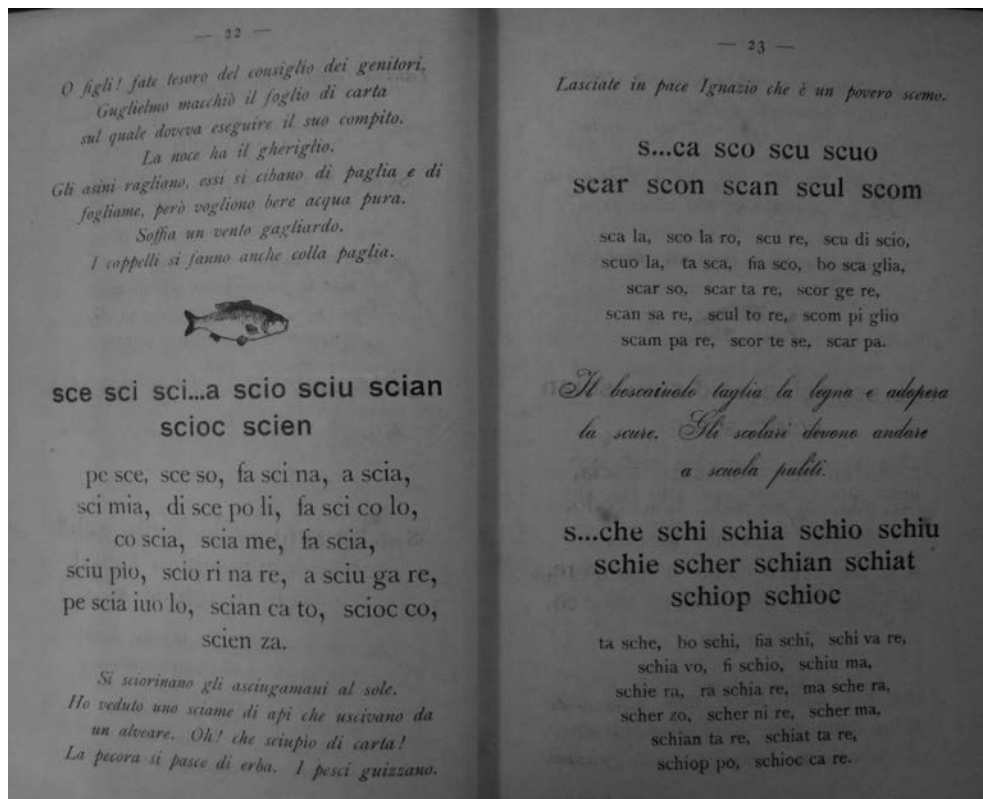
Source: covers of Erielo 1907; Erielo, 1907a; Erielo, 1907b and Erielo, 1907c⁴⁷.

and 18 centimeters high, they consisted of a proposition that kept within the volumes the idea of a continuous study, a sequence with enlargement and deepening of the subjects. In picture 4, I present the covers of the books, being noticeable the use of plain paper but colored and adorned, revealing some editorial care with the book's aesthetic. The «multiple, mobile and unstable relations established between the text and its materialities, between the work and its inscriptions»⁴⁸ need to be taken into the analysis, as they are the covers that present the books, and combine verbal and visual communication, creating a cross-checked narrative with the work identification data and the significance they wish to produce in the reader.

Leafing through the syllabary enables the comprehension of the pedagogical didactic proposal of its conception. The syllabary is organized in conformity with the alphabetization synthetic method, and specifically with the alphabet, which is the oldest one. It offers the minimal parts of the alphabet, letters gradually combined between them forming the syllables. In the first page, the syllabary presents the vowels and later each of the consonants, combining them with the vowels to gradually introduce the syllables, but in an aleatory way, with no link to a sense. To form the first words, spaces are regularly kept between the syllables to guide the oral diction and promote the spelling.

⁴⁷ Erielo, *Sillabario* (parte prima), cit.; Id., *Seguito al Sillabario* (parte seconda), São Paulo, Tip. Ideal-Fili, Canton editori, 2^a ed., 1907; Id., *Raccontini per la prima classe elementare*, São Paulo, N. Falcone, 1907b; Id., *Lezioncine di aritmética per le classi prima e seconda elementare*, São Paulo, N. Falcone, 1907c.

⁴⁸ Id., *Inscrever e apagar. Cultura escrita e literatura*, São Paulo, editora UNESP, 2007, p. 13.



Pic. 5. *Interior of the Syllabary* (second part), 1907

Source: Erielo, 1907a, p. 22 e 23.

That is what happens in the syllabary first volume, which practically dedicates a page by letter and introduces their graphic representations. I observed that the final of the pages includes the numbers and their correspondent quantity through drawings. Only the last three pages present an essay of some words and phrases, highlighting the syllables, and space to split them. It is clear that learning to read is related to spelling: learning the alphabet letters name and how to spell them; spelling the names and memorizing syllables tables to form words and phrases next. The second part of the syllabary presents the consonants and how to spell them too, the upper and lower cases, and finally syllables, words, and phrases composition, as shown in picture 5.

According to the previous image, it is possible to note the different types of fonts presented. The use of a pattern in the graphic organization of the information facilitates its understanding, highlighting the objective of graphically displaying the different types of fonts. Again, at the second part of the book, blank spaces are maintained between the syllables what brings

an idea of stability, continuity and simplicity for the book usage, after all it is worth to remember that the text signification «depends on forms that make it possible of reading, in other words, of different characteristics of the written word materiality»⁴⁹.

The book *Raccontini* begins by introducing the character Gigino, who was happy as he received a new book from his teacher. In the first pages, the author through the character of Gigino approaches the love for the studies, the importance of reading, the necessary care with the book, including its cleanness and, finally, he represents the book as the entry door to learning. At each page, a little story is told. In the end, the author highlights the «small lessons» where the objective of the story or the focus of learning is evident. As examples, on page 6 the lesson is about the duties of the student, followed by bipeds animals, flying animals, and their benefits (p. 7), cleanness and hygiene (p. 8), parts of a plant (p. 9), how we can not complain about our situation as there are many people unhappier than us (p. 10), the sad effects of gluttony on our health (p. 11), many species of dogs – guard and hunting ones, and hydrophobia (p. 12), a teacher who instigates the maxim – first the duties, then pleasures (p. 13), and so on. In each page, a text and a little lesson to be learned.

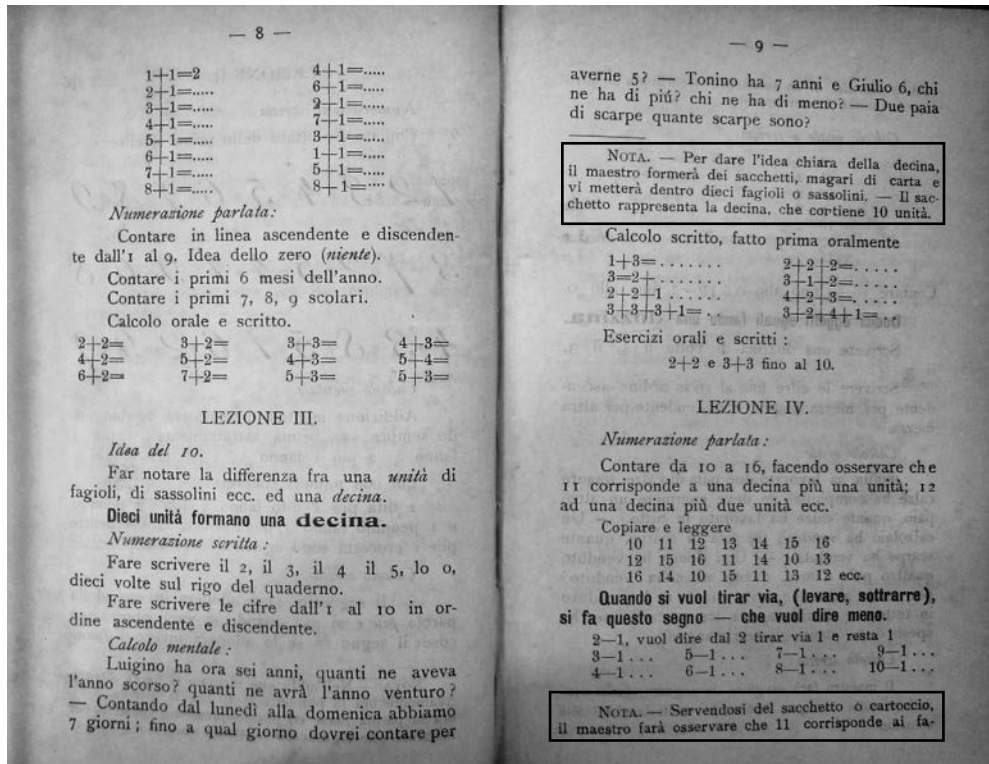
Besides the short stories, the book presents some poems, letters, Italy map example and many informative texts. Within the topics treated were Italy national symbols, as examples, Italy national flag, ‘our kings’, with particular attention to Italy king and queen, Vittorio Emanuele III and Elena di Montenegro, the importance of the consul as representative of ‘Italians’ who live away from their homeland and Italy as the distant homeland that needs to be loved by her ‘sons’ abroad. Further, it treated themes related to nature as flora and fauna, means of transportation, Catholic celebration dates as Easter and Christmas, as well as the students and families obligations. Hygiene habits and behavior prescription announced with recurrence: «prima il dovere e poi il divertimento»⁵⁰; «anche nei giochi bisogna essere moderato»⁵¹, within others. The few relations established with Brazil through the stories are the farms’ scenery where coffee, sugar cane, bananas, and pineapples are mentioned. However, they are punctual and almost irrelevant in the face of the set of references that presents to the reader the cultural universe of the motherland, Italy.

The last book of Prof. Erielo *Lezioncine d’Aritmetica*, addressed to the first and second elementary classes, began with a preface style note. In it, the author affirms that the most difficult of all is restarting. That the first step for teaching arithmetic is considering that counting cannot be mechanical but comprehensive, and the represented numeric value understood. It is interesting to highlight that

⁴⁹ Chartier, *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*, cit., p. 20.

⁵⁰ First duties, then pleasures.

⁵¹ In games too, it is necessary to be moderate.



Pic. 6. Interior of the book *Lezioncine di aritmetica*, 1907

Source: L.V. Erielo, *Lezioncine di aritmetica per le classi prima e seconda elementare*, São Paulo, N. Falcone, 1907c, p. 8 e 9.

Prof. Erielo affirms that many students arrive at school knowing numbers and realizing simple mental calculation, but he recommends teachers to ignore these notions to level the instruction and discipline it. He incites teachers to motivate students to use their fingers like an “abacus”; to take concrete examples; to let instruction have an intuitive character. The book has two parts: the first deals basically with the four basic operations; the second, with the monetary system and numbers until a thousand. It presents oral and written exercises proposals; stimulates mental calculation and the resolution of problem situations. Calls attention that in the second part, the author mentored teachers to give exercises with questions where the oral answers includes them. Exemplifies «quante scarpe ci vogliono per farne un paio?» and the students’ answer should be «per fare un paio di scarpe, ci vogliono due scarpe»⁵². He reminded the teacher that

⁵² «how many shoes are necessary to make a pair?» and the students’ answer should be «to make a pair of shoes are necessary two shoes». L.V. Erielo. *Lezioncine di aritmetica per le classi*

arithmetic teaching it was proved the truth of the saying: «Chi ha fretta vada adagio»⁵³. In the extension of the book, through notes, the author points out short recommendations about how to teach, and in most of them, he stimulates the use of concrete materials. The author ‘conducts’, ‘guides’ the teacher in his pedagogical practice, emphasizing how he should teach oral and written exercises, and speaks about possible resources to be mobilized in class. In the example to the side, Prof. Erielo suggests the use of beans or small stones to represent the dozens.

The publisher of three of Prof. Erielo books was N. Falcone and one of them, which is surprising, as it is part two of the Syllabary, was printed at the Tipografia Ideal, whose owners were the «Fratelli Cantoni», whose address in 1907 was 1A, Santa Iphigenia Road, at São Paulo, the capital⁵⁴. A hypothesis to understand this situation is that the Tipografia Ideal had the service sublet by N. Falcone as they had very close locations. Regarding N. Falcone, it is worth to mention that beyond publishing schoolbooks, they market them, as well as other school articles. They also imported books, especially from France, but also from Germany, Italy, and England. We know that education propitiated the expansion of publishers as Francisco Alves, who between the final of the XIX century and the first decade of the XX century acquired many other publishing houses, beyond opening branches, as the case of Belo Horizonte in 1906. According to Hallewell,

The firm had grown fast from the mid-decade of 1890, and soon almost held a monopoly in the Brazilian didactic book field. That was achieved, in part with the concurrence supplantation through the practice of larger print runs, which decreased prices and, in part with concurring firms’ acquisition. In São Paulo, they bought the N. Falcone firm⁵⁵.

It was not possible to investigate if Prof. Erielo books production continued after the sale of the publisher, but it is relevant to consider the question for further understand the instability of book production processes; as we know,

prima e seconda elementare, São Paulo, N. Falcone, 1907c, p. 20.

⁵³ «Who is in a hurry, slows down». See Id., *Lezioncine di aritmética per le classi prima e seconda elementare*, cit., p. 20.

⁵⁴ The Tipografia Ideal opened in 1904 by the brothers Ettore, Attilio e Umberto Cantoni, Trevisan, who since very young were employed by typographies and, with their experience, established their own. The eldest brother, at the time of the foundation, was 24 years old and the youngest 18. According to Fanfulla’s publication «they do not only print very nice three colors products, but records, stamps, and books and etc. Annexed to the establishment, a shop to sell articles for offices and schools, illustrated cardboards, etc». The machines moved by electrical power are the most improved ones, with beautiful fonts and friezes: thus this is a model establishment. See Fanfulla, *Il Brasile e gli italiani*, cit., p. 1052.

⁵⁵ L. Hallewell, *O livro no Brasil, sua história*, São Paulo, Editora da USP, 3rd ed., 2012, p. 317.



Pic. 7. Image of the *Sillabario Italiano* cover and images of its interior

Source: *Sillabario Italiano Illustrato*. São Paulo, Livraria Magalhães, n.d, Cover and p. 04 and 05.

the editorial practice involves a «collective process that requires numerous players and does not separate the text materiality from the book materiality»⁵⁶.

Finally, the *Sillabario Italiano Illustrato* indicated on the inferior section of the cover that the book was ‘for the first male and female elementary class, and use of the Italian schools in Brazil’. The work does not present any mention of the publishing date or author. It was edit and sold by Livraria Magalhães, located in 27, do Comércio road, in São Paulo, the capital⁵⁷. Ornate and illustrated, it was a small book of 12 centimeters large by 18 centimeters high, with 40 pages, besides the catalog extract of Livraria Magalhães, which added other 8 pages. Hallewell, when mentioning the editor in the years of 1920, classifies Livraria Magalhães primordially as a mass book editor⁵⁸. The cover employs colors in green and red shades, showing an aesthetic concern. I present in the picture 7 the cover and an image of the syllabary interior.

It is relevant to observe how Prof. Erielo’s book, the *Sillabario Italiano Illustrato*, works with the alphabetic method. Page to page, the number of illustrations is higher and presents words and single phrases formation. Some pages display numbers and propose different spelling exercises. In the phrases,

⁵⁶ Chartier, *Inscrever e apagar. Cultura escrita e literatura*, cit., p. 13.

⁵⁷ It is relevant to inform that the Tipografia Ideal, N. Falcone, and the Livraria Magalhães were a few blocks of distance one from the other, and all were localized where today is the historical center of São Paulo, the capital.

⁵⁸ Hallewell, *O livro no Brasil, sua história*, cit., p. 369.

the emphasis is in valuing Italy as Motherland «sono italiano», the Italian royal family, represented in the pictures, and the Catholicism, «adoriamo Dio»⁵⁹. It is sure that the presence of such records does not print the final signification produced by the readers, after all, the «the construction of text meanings between transgressed restrictions and curbed freedom»⁶⁰ requires much more than the analysis of the materiality, like the one realized by this text and, at the end, the «appropriation always creative, the production of a difference, the proposition of a meaning that can be unexpected»⁶¹ are elements to be still investigated. For such action, the documental collection must be much more diversified, in order to be possible to consider the «private and inventive appropriations of readers, audience or spectators [that] depend upon the combination of the effects of the meaning sought by texts, uses, senses imposed by the forms of their publication and competencies and expectations that govern the relation of each interpretative community with the written culture»⁶².

Final considerations

The instructive books are part of the cultural patrimony of education history and, as objects of the material culture of the Italian school were thought in the cross-checking of their production and contextualization. The analysis specificity of schoolbooks is in considering them, as suggests Anne-Marie Chartier, «a guide to follow in the classroom or at home, generally under the supervision of a teacher»⁶³. As such, they are configured as an «editorial product, ephemeral and then, particularly fragile», what can explain the difficulty in finding the higher number of examples as mentioned at the beginning of the text.

Considering the schoolbook as an essential cultural artifact and as a pedagogical tool is significative to think school cultures and quotidian modes of how the education happened, how teachers and students interacted and with which materials. Interesting it would be to have the conditions to analyze ordinary records present in the copies, in case they existed – as this was not the situation of the located books.

Deserves attention, at the continuation of the research, the strength in locating the other books that by the signs found were also published by Prof. Erielo. Besides, cross-checking them with other findings regarding the Italian schools in the Brazilian context. It is also worth to collect more information about the

⁵⁹ *Sillabario Italiano Illustrato*, São Paulo, Livraria Magalhães, s/d, capa e p. 11.

⁶⁰ Chartier, *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*, cit., p. 46.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶³ A.M. Chartier, *Prefácio*, in E. Peres, C. de A. Ramil (edd.), *Produção e circulação de livros didáticos no Rio Grande do Sul nos séculos XIX e XX*, Curitiba, Appris, 2018, p. I.

authors of these books and who knows to find signs of their circulation – after all, were the books restrict to São Paulo or were them in a consumption circuit larger than this provincial border?

Numbers and letters spelled in full voice; the unison sounds of letters, consonants, and vowels; the composition of syllables, words, then – progressively, phrases. Reading, writing, and counting, presented by the pages of these ‘little books’ produced in Brazil to alphabetize in Italian. Doing and saying of students (and teachers) who followed the teaching/learning in the interior of Italian schools classrooms. From one side, practices complied with the presence of such books, from the other these works being creative, inventive and plurally appropriated and meant by each of their readers. Considering that with these books the immigrants’ children or children who immigrated and lived in Brazil were alphabetized in the Italian language, we can think of this singular occurrence as a mediation of these works, artifacts of the dialogue between the Italian culture and the context lived in Brazilian lands.

Preparatory courses addressed to «special» teachers for training Italian migrants in the early twentieth century

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ABSTRACT: After the initial disregard that the phenomenon of migration received from both the public opinion and the Government, in 1901 was established the General Committee for Migration [Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione], which developed a number of interventions aimed at protecting and supporting migrants before their departure, during their journey and upon arrival to each final destination. This contribution will analyze some little-known pages of the migration policy enacted by the Government in Italy in the early twentieth century to support migrants, both via compulsory course addressed to those who were about to expatriate, and via preparatory courses addressed to teachers who were entrusted with the «social support» of migrants.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Migration policies; Migrants' training; Teaching profession; Teaching culture; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

Educating migrants! Here's a noble and hard duty that the Nation wants to entrust to teachers and that, in this particular moment in time, becomes extremely important¹

The importance of training migrants in popular schools in Italy in early twentieth century was closely connected to the revival of the idea of national conscience, which was «dormant» at that time, and that had to be, instead,

¹ A. Saraz, *L'emigrazione e la scuola*, Pesaro, Premiata Officina d'Arti Grafiche del Cav. Gualtiero Federici, 1914, pp. 8-9.

vividly impressed in our young generations. The Law of 31 January 1901 no. 23 provided for new protection entities²: an idea of migration based on police control and charity actions had to be overcome in favor of fresh perspectives on migrants and the development of new policies where the State³, in line with the direction that school was generally taking in the Giolittian age, would take on the responsibility to support, protect and inform those who were about to expatriate.

In 1901 was established the General Committee for Migration [Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione]⁴, a special office for the protection of migrants under which were finally grouped all those services that until then were spread among different Ministries (of the Navy, of Internal and of Foreign Affairs)⁵; however, the difficult relationships between the officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and those of the Committee (as described by Ostuni and Orsini) were resulting in «conflicts of competence» (Cabrini) that would end up with the Committee's suppression in 1927, when the Law 1.6.1927 gave birth to the Directorate General of Italian residents abroad. Nevertheless, the General Committee for Migration left the tangible mark of a serious commitment in managing migration as an «emergency» of the time, both at theoretical and practical level⁶. The Committee was, in fact, relevant for the legislation on this particular

² L. Bodio, *Dell'emigrazione italiana e della legge 31 gennaio 1901 per la tutela degli emigranti*, Rome, Direzione della Nuova Antologia, 1902.

³ The new law of 1901 replaced that of 1881, which proved inadequate as it only established police regulations; this law, instead, envisioned a «Special Office on migration as a mainly technical body which must not be involved into political and parliamentary competitions and, at the same time, could unify all services related to migration which were spread out among various Ministers»: cf. *Il Commissariato Generale della Emigrazione. Origini, funzioni, attività*, Rome, Grafia, 1924, p. 9.

⁴ Very few studies have been so far dedicated to the Committee; most of them come from pure historians, as they have interested the historical-educational historiography: cf. M.R. Ostuni, *Momenti della "contrastata vita" del Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione (1901-1927)*, in B. Bezza (ed.), *Gli italiani fuori d'Italia. Gli emigrati italiani nei movimenti operai dei paesi d'adozione (1880-1940)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1983, pp. 101-118; F. Grassi Orsini, *Per una storia del Commissariato dell'Emigrazione*, «Le carte e la storia. Bollettino semestrale della Società per gli studi di Storia delle istituzioni», vol. III, n. 1, 1997, pp. 112-138.

⁵ On the «special action of the State» in response to the social phenomenon of migration in early twentieth century, in such a way that «juridical-social provisions were required to regulate and manage it effectively», and on the parliamentary debate that accompanied the Law of 1901 which established the Committee as the «supreme moderator of migration in Italy», see *Il Commissariato Generale della Emigrazione. Origini, funzioni, attività*, cit., pp. 5-13.

⁶ The Committee was composed by: a Central Office that set out the guidelines on migration and watched over their application, in accordance with rules and regulations in force; the Superior Council on migration, an advisory body composed of 30 members; a number of executive offices at Home and abroad. The functions carried out by the Committee were referred to Service I of General Affairs, Service II of Internal Affairs and Transportation of migrants, to Service III concerning migrants' employment abroad. The institutional activities of the Central Office included the monthly publication and diffusion of the Migration Bulletin (*Bollettino della emigrazione*), which contained studies and researches, overviews on the regulations in force

subject⁷, which was perceived at the time as «the most significant feature of our life as a nation», in the effects and consequences that its «constant and often overwhelming progress» was causing in the Country. The former law provisions (from the circulars to the legislative proposals that appeared from 1883 to 1888) started from the same basic principle, which was «to support migrants before their departures and defend them from speculations», by selecting recruiters wisely, by supervising the recruitment processes, and providing for safe ships; however, these provisions were limited to the «police» control and were not adequate to respond to other needs that the situation required and that were mainly of political, economical and juridical nature.

The Law of 1901 was the first comprehensive law on migration, thanks to its specifically social and economic character, and in its putting the migration issue on the same level as other international issues. It provided for a form of intervention and protection by the State before the migrants' departure, during their journey and upon arrival to each final destination. In 1902 the first Commissioner General Luigi Bodio said

the new Italian law intends to protect migrants in every stage of their journey, from the very moment they leave home, while they stand at the ports of departure, on board of the transoceanic ships and, finally, in the Country of destination⁸.

By recognizing the freedom of movement, the provision wanted to ensure in the first place the safeguard of the individual, that was reflected on the interests of the homeland as a whole⁹.

abroad, various info on foreign markets and other official acts; also, the Office was in charge of the free distribution of guides, manuals and newsheets with useful info for migrants on foreign countries. The functions of «national utility» carried out by the Committee for the protection and assistance to migrants were multifold, and they covered the migrants' protection at home and abroad. On the organization and functions of the Committee see the introductory note by Fabio Grassi Orsini, in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Directorate on migration and social affairs, historical-diplomatic Archives, *Il fondo archivistico Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione (1901-1927)*. Inventory by Piero Santoni, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991, pp. 9-75 (specie da p. 23). See also E. Primiceri, *Il Consiglio Superiore dell'Emigrazione dalla prima guerra mondiale all'avvento del fascismo. Problemi e prospettive di ricerca*, «Historical Bulletin of Basilicata», vol. 24, 2008, pp. 257-272.

⁷ Cf. General Committee on Migration, *L'emigrazione italiana dal 1910 al 1923. Relazione presentata a S.E. il Ministro degli Affari Esteri dal Commissariato Generale sull'emigrazione*, vol. 1, Rome, Edizioni del Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, 1926.

⁸ Bodio, *Dell'emigrazione italiana e della legge 31 gennaio 1901 per la tutela degli emigranti*, cit., p. 11. Senator Luigi Bodio was the first Commissioner General in charge from 1901 to 1904; he was followed by: Admiral Leone Reynaudi from 1905 to 1908; Parliamentarian Luigi Rossi from 1908 to 1911; State Counsellor Pasquale Di Fratta from 1911 to 1912; Senator Giovanni Gallina from 1912 to 1918; Senator Mayor des Planches Baron Edmondo from 1918 to 1919; Prof. Giuseppe De Michelis from 1919 to 1927. For info on the bureaucracy of the Committee see F. Grispo (ed.), *La struttura e il funzionamento degli organi preposti all'emigrazione: 1901-1919*, Rome, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1986.

⁹ A. Micci, *L'emigrazione. Testo destinato ai maestri, agli allievi maestri, ai sacerdoti e a tutti*

A crucial role at this respect was played by the new ruling body of the General Committee of Migration¹⁰ which, in the framework of the migration policies of the host countries, as well, performed its action on three different levels of «migrants' recognition»¹¹: the basic education and cultural, professional and general training for migrants in their home country; the professional training and the initiatives aimed at favoring the migrants' employment abroad; the specialization courses addressed to the migrants' instructors.

1. Literacy, migration and teachers: State policies in the early twentieth century

The State implemented a number of major initiatives during the first two decades of twentieth century to promote migrants' training. Other than providing «external» protection to migrants by means of safeguard and defense organisms, it also facilitated a form of «self-protection» that could only be achieved by offering cultural and professional training to the expatriates¹².

It is necessary that migrants

are fully aware that their decision to leave their home country is a conscious and well-thought one [...]. Furthermore, they need to be well-informed on what they are about to do; they need to know what are the aids and supports they can receive at Home, during the journey and abroad, in order to overcome any obstacle and fulfill all the required paperwork¹³.

The intervention plan aimed in the first place at opening new schools especially in the towns of Southern Italy with the biggest number of migrants. Four hundred and fifty new schools were opened in 1904, in addition to the 3000 night schools and Sunday schools for adults established by the Orlando Law in the same year; to this purpose, the Committee contributed L. 50.000

coloro che si occupano dell'istruzione degli emigranti, Rome-Milan, Mondadori, 1925, p. 91.

¹⁰ After establishing the body of services to migration within the Committee, the new Law provided to subsidize such services by means of the «Fund for migration» which regulated the income coming from migrants and carriers: «The Fund for migration represented the device through which the social protection of migrants, taken on by the State through the Committee, could benefit of an insurance-based criterion from the financial point of view». Cf. *Il Commissariato Generale della Emigrazione. Origini, funzioni, attività*, cit., p. 12.

¹¹ «The Commissioner General of migration had to provide for the valorization of migrants by means of education and professional training, as a factor of efficiency in the program of migration policies»: cf. *La preparazione culturale e professionale dell'emigrante in Patria*, Rome, 1924, p. 6.

¹² Cf. P. Di Fratta, *La tutela dell'emigrante. Conferenza detta l'11 febbraio 1912 per l'inaugurazione del Corso magistrale romano dell'emigrazione*, Rome, Tipografia dell'Unione Editrice, 1912.

¹³ *Il Commissariato Generale della Emigrazione. Origini, funzioni, attività*, cit., p. 37.

for the payment of teachers appointed by the Ministry of Public Education for training adults in towns significantly affected by migratory flows¹⁴.

The commitment in providing support even by means of information tools led to the publication of *brochures*, *guides* and *handbooks* which became widely spread¹⁵. They illustrated geographical and economic facts of the host countries and, at the same time, provided useful information on issues such as expatriation documents, means of transportation, ticket prices and on the various shipping Companies and their officers; their aim was to warn migrants against any sort of scam or speculation they could face and to inform them on what to do before leaving Home. These guides were pocket-sized, of poor typographical quality, printed in large letters to facilitate the reader, and were a precious contribution to the diffusion of practical info and advice. Several samples of this «guide-books» are available today; they were printed especially by the Committee but also by other secular or religious institutions. They served as instruction manuals and, at the same time, as guides aimed at providing that level of culture that the modern society required to fulfill a «condition of self-defense and self-preservation». This helped to overcome the social constraints linked to a condition of illiteracy (especially harmful since the Burnet Bill Law of 1917 had denied access to illiterate migrants into the United States¹⁶), and, at the same time, had proved useful for the professional life and for the creation of a social and class awareness.

Useful reference at this regard is the catalogue of the 2003 exhibition of the collections kept at the Public Library of Lucca¹⁷. Also valuable is the brochure edited by the very Committee that lists all the relevant publications till the year 1910¹⁸: statistical yearbooks, reports by diplomatic and consular officers, discussions, international agreements, behavioral guidelines for migrants, health-keeping advice, laws and provisions on citizenship, rules for legal protection, principle of international legislation in social and labor matters in the various host Countries.

¹⁴ S. Gallo, *Educare chi se ne va: i corsi statali di alfabetizzazione e formazione professionale per gli emigranti in Italia (1920-1926)*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 3, n. 1, 2016, pp. 177-192.

¹⁵ On this topic see the contributions by C. Lupi, *Qualche consiglio per chi parte. Le guide per gli emigranti (1855-1927)*, «Movimento operaio e socialista», nn. 1-2, 1981; Ead., *Partano pure ma senza imprecare: le guide per gli emigranti fra ideologia e consigli pratici (1855-1927)*, in E. Franzina (ed.), *Un altro Veneto. Saggi e studi di storia dell'emigrazione nei secoli XIX e XX*, Abano Terme, Francisci, 1983, pp. 168-174.

¹⁶ Q.C., *L'ostracismo agli analfabeti negli Stati Uniti*, «Rivista coloniale», vol. I, n. 4, Rome, 16-28 February 1913, pp. 113-124.

¹⁷ I. Manfredini (ed.), *“In viaggio all'estero”: le guide dell'emigrante del primo Novecento nelle collezioni della Biblioteca Statale di Lucca*, Lucca, Catalogo della Mostra, Biblioteca Statale di Lucca, Just in time, s.l. s.d., [2003?].

¹⁸ Cf. *Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, Elenco delle pubblicazioni del Commissariato dell'Emigrazione fino a tutto l'anno 1910*, Rome, Cooperativa tipografica Manuzio, 1911.

Along with this production of practical nature reporting the Committee's activity, from 1921 other documents were being published thanks to the contribution of anti-illiteracy entities¹⁹ that promoted several initiatives pro migrants: instructions manuals for migrants of significant editorial value, as well as some educational textbooks like the Primer [Sillabario]²⁰ specifically designed to educate migrants²¹. In Northern Italy was particularly significant the intervention of the Humanitarian Society of Milan [Società Umanitaria di Milano]²², which had among its members Angelo Cabrini²³, especially with respect to the migratory flows of the late nineteenth century. In Southern Italy the most relevant associations were ANIMI²⁴, born after the painful event of Messina earthquake in 1908, and elected in 1921 as anti-illiteracy entity in the regions Basilicata, Calabria, Sicilia and Sardegna, and the Migration and Labour Consortium [Consorzio Emigrazione e Lavoro], born in 1916 to support the regions Apulia and Abruzzo-Molise²⁵.

¹⁹ Minister Baccelli issued the R.D.L. of 2 September 1919 n. 1723 which established the National Body for the education of illiterate adults, aimed at unifying in one independent entity all initiatives for fighting illiteracy. The R.D. of 28 August 1921, n. 240 gave rise to the *Opera* against illiteracy.

²⁰ Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione, *Sillabario per gli alunni delle scuole per emigranti organizzate dal Commissariato generale dell'emigrazione*, Rome, Scuole per i contadini dell'Agro Romano e delle Paludi pontine, [19?].

²¹ «A new primer (composed according to the phonic method), made of 46 single sheets, collected under one cover, [...] proved to be very useful, by giving the learner the possibility to read again, review, and copy the words or sentences illustrated during classes at any time they wanted, or during breaks from work»: cf. *La preparazione culturale e professionale dell'emigrante in Patria*, cit., p. 15.

²² Established in 1893 by Prospero Moisè Loria, the Humanitarian Society worked from the very beginning for the educational and socio-cultural development of the working class and migrants. Among its most relevant projects, the organization promoted social housing and annexed educational structures, workhouses and employment offices, libraries and associations for the support of farmers. Thanks to the collaboration of politicians and intellectuals, such as Turati, Caldara, Ravizza and Montessori, the Society had a significant role in the political, social and educational life of Italy in the early nineteenth century. Cf. M. della Campa (ed.), *Il modello Umanitaria: storia, immagini, prospettive*, Milan, Raccolto, 2003.

²³ Angiolo Cabrini (Milan 1869-Rome 1937), a socialist activist, parliamentarian from 1900 to 1919 dealt with issues of social legislation and migration, and was highly committed to the issue of migrants' training.

²⁴ Cf. M. D'Alessio, *L'ANIMI "per la scuola rurale". Un settennio di attività contro l'analfabetismo in Basilicata (1921-1928)*, in A. Barausse, M. D'Alessio (edd.), *Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Itinerari ed esperienze tra oblio, rappresentazione, propaganda e realtà*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2018, pp. 155-190.

²⁵ The National Consortium for migration and labour, led by the Senator of the Popular Party Luigi Montresor, which was engaged in the moral and civil assistance to migrants, was established in December 1916 and became charitable trust after the R.D. of 26 October 1919, n. 2146. On account of the work done in favour of education and training (by means of the diffusion of books and culture, the establishment of libraries for teachers, the support to kindergartens, the assistance to teachers), the Consortium was entrusted with the management and foundation of day schools, evening schools and Sunday schools in the regions of Campania, Molise and Puglia. Cf. Consorzio Nazionale di Emigrazione e Lavoro, *Tredici anni di attività scolastica (Per delega del Ministero*

2. Migrants' training and the teachers' work

Providing some training to those who were about to leave Italy in early twentieth century was strongly perceived as a need by the interpreters of the phenomenon of migration.

The subject focused on two different aspects: training migrants, also by means of professional schools (courses in both agricultural and manual jobs were offered in training centers such as the «Cement workers school» in Veneto); training migrant's teachers.

This latter aspect refers to the training of a special team of teachers, who were called to fulfill a «task of high social protection», as Bernardo Attolico recalled in his inaugural speech to the Course of Teachers' Conference in 1912 in Bari:

The teachers' role is going to be more and more significant in the support to migrants; teachers are the very core of popular schools, and will prove themselves capable in choosing the right set of knowledge that migrants need to possess to cope with this new challenge represented by labour migration²⁶.

Teachers soon appeared to be the principal mediators between State and migrants, despite all the local Committees, about 4.000, established by the Law of 1901 for the assistance to migrants and that were doomed to rapidly extinguish for lack of financial support:

by perfecting their knowledge in this area by means of these courses, teachers will be able to describe to migrants their future host countries and warn them about all the issues related to migrations; they will remove illusions and correct mistakes, and take on themselves the migrant's complaints about any scam or fraud suffered either at Home or abroad²⁷.

The debate around the teachers' work started in Milan in 1906 at the first Congress on Popular Education and went on during the Congresses on the secular assistance to migrants and the Congress of Friulian migrants in 1911. The topic of migrants' education, so dear to Cabrini, was also presented at the first Congress of Italians abroad in 1908, but it was not debated. Nonetheless, alongside with this signals of public concern around the teacher's role in the cultural and intellectual training of migrants, especially in rural areas, new initiatives were taken to solve the issue. In particular, on the private initiative of Mrs. Angelica Devita Tommasi, in 1909 started in Rome the first teachers'

della Educazione Nazionale), Rome, Tip. Consorzio Nazionale, 1934 and for an analysis of the Consortium's work in Molise, see A. Barausse, *Le scuole rurali in Molise tra idealismo e fascismo (1922-1938)*, in Barausse, D'Alessio (edd.), *Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, cit., pp. 93-137.

²⁶ Attolico, *L'Emigrazione e i maestri. Prolusione al Corso di Conferenze magistrali sull'Emigrazione, detta in Bari addì 8 settembre 1912*, cit., p. 22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

course for migrants²⁸ with the purpose of disseminating a «specific culture with regard to migration among all Italian teachers, especially in less central provinces which, nonetheless, were giving the biggest contribution in terms of number of migrants». This initiative was supported by the Commissioner for Migration Vincenzo Giuffrida²⁹, then by Cabrini and Di Fratta, who was at the time Commissioner General³⁰, in the same offices³¹.

After a while, Cabrini himself became the promoter of local courses for migration; he was supported in this endeavor by both the Directorate General for Primary Education and the Committee for Migration. Attolico retraces the life of the course that took place in Rome, and of its local «competitors», «intensive» 8-day courses that took place in some designated locations, and that were paid with a daily allowance to the respective teachers. In 1913 Attolico points out that, in spite of the good intentions of their promoters, and of his own support, these intensive courses have

killed the central and more systematic course established in Rome in 1909, longer but less paid, which therefore lost value even to the effects of competitions for teachers³².

Some of these local courses on migration were organized for rural teachers in the first part of twentieth century, especially in Southern regions with a bigger number of migrants.

Noteworthy were the Conferences organized in Abruzzo on the initiative of the Humanitarian Society, thanks to the support of very active local teachers. The report written by the teacher Postiglione after the third Teachers' Congress in Chieti in September 1909 informs us about the work of local teachers against illiteracy. These teachers had expressed right away the need to organize courses aimed at making migrants aware of the political, social and economic bodies of the host countries, and, also, at teaching values such as solidarity, decency and respect of the rules in force in those countries. They were therefore requiring a bigger involvement of the Government in the protection and support to migrant workers. Likewise, it was stated that teachers, «inspired by their educational and social mission, had to provide migrants with all the necessary civil assistance»³³.

²⁸ Cf. Di Fratta, *La tutela dell'emigrante. Conferenza detta l'11 febbraio 1912 per l'inaugurazione del Corso magistrale romano dell'emigrazione*, cit.

²⁹ Vincenzo Giuffrida (1878-1940) was nominated Commissioner for migration in 1910.

³⁰ Pasquale Di Fratta, State Counsellor, appointed Commissioner General from 1911 and 1912, later became Member of the Council for Migration, in charge from 1911 to 1917.

³¹ Cf. B. Attolico, *Dei Corsi magistrali per l'Emigrazione*, Rome, Tipografia dell'Unione Editrice, 1913, pp. 1-2.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Postiglione affirms the crucial role represented by education, and states that the teachers' work is fundamental for transferring useful notions to migrants, and especially «proletarian migrants», by means of preparatory training and support in and out of the Country. Postiglione brings as evidences the beneficial work of training and support provided by the Humanitarian Society of Milan that, ever since the year 1904, had granted financial support to schools and Secretariats, as well as opening libraries and publishing guides and handbooks to prepare migrants in Northern Italy. The main objective of this activity is to make migrants «aware of places and their respective rules, and of the principles of solidarity with local workers».

In the wake of the actions promoted by the Humanitarian Society, that in the meantime had started to pay attention to Southern regions, as well, in 1909 was enacted the Statute of the Secretariat for migration in l'Aquila, containing guidelines for teachers involved in the support to proletariat. The action of the Secretariat started from organizing a number of conferences on hygiene, society and legislation held by important speakers; later on, it was addressed to raising funds from local bodies and drafting monthly information bulletins. The specific work of teachers in schools and secretariats resulted in a dense program for migrants, with over 150 lessons and more than 1000 auditors, public conferences, advocacy works, support in paperwork processing. Teachers, therefore, add to their «mission as masses redeemers» this «new role of practical usefulness for the economic good of the outcasts»³⁴. In response to this educational impulse in favor of migrants, Postiglione expressed the importance to establish evening or Sunday courses for training migrant workers on a yearly basis, which had to be mandatory for the very issue of passports and other fundamental documents.

A set of interventions was planned to eradicate illiteracy, namely: a greater attention to primary schools, pay raises for the teachers involved in this new task, prompting State interventions in favour of popular education, which is in fact considered «the keystone of social structure».

However, if we exclude the conferences of l'Aquila on the fight to illiteracy, which became a much more relevant topic in relation to migration and the need of teaching workers how to manage in foreign countries, very few were the initiatives carried out in other southern regions. For this reason, Cabrini promoted a set of crash courses on migration in order to create opportunities for the «special» teachers of migrants even in the South.

³⁴ A. Postiglione, *Le scuole per gli emigranti. Relazione fatta al 3° Congresso Magistrale Abruzzese tenuto in Chieti il 5 settembre del 1909*, Sulmona, Premiata Tip. Angeletti, 1909, p. 19.

3. *Courses for the «special» teachers of migrants*

We are able to know in details the organizational modalities of these special courses thanks to the retrieval of a number of booklets that were published to report the experiences carried out in some towns of Southern Italy, like Ariano in Puglia³⁵. It is read in the preambles of the Ministerial Order of 1913 that: having regard to the Laws of 15 July 1906, no. 383 and 30 June 1910, no. 464; taking into account the views of the central Committee established by the Article 73 of the said Law 15 July 1906; having ascertained «whether it is advisable to equip primary school teachers with the essential knowledge for dealing with migrant's education effectively»; it is set forth in Article 1:

This September, on the dates that will be hereinafter specified, will be held courses on migration addressed to teachers in the following sites: Frosinone, Fabriano, Avezzano, Ariano di Puglia, Aversa, Matera, Taranto, Monteleone calabro, Cagliari and Caltagirone.

The course lasted 8 days and consisted of «speaking classes, held by Ministerial appointees, writing exercises and other tests supervised by the said appointees». Each course was chaired by a Royal School Inspector appointed by the Ministry. Two teachers chosen by the Inspector acted as secretaries and were duly remunerated. The course program was illustrated in details.

During the opening speech of the Conference on migration, Inspector Raffio addressed all those teachers who «were giving proof of their dedication [...] to popular education and School in general, to which the Nation owed a big part of its economic, cultural and moral greatness». The Inspector recalled the complex issue of popular education, which had been dealt with by the Laws of 1903, 1904, 1906, and 1911; at this respect, he underlined the relevance of the «normal school reform» topic and linked it to the issue of improving teachers' training, «which was crucial to make school more effective». The Inspector therefore mentioned the Ministry of Public Education and the Central Committee for Southern Italy which had been organising courses on hygiene and migration to the purpose of enriching the teacher's culture. In fact, in concurrence with the Ariano Conferences, a number of courses in pedagogy and hygiene were taking place in 25 towns of Central and Southern Italy, and special courses on migration were taught in other ten sites. The editor of the journal «La vita italiana all'estero» [Italian Life Abroad], Dr. Preziosi, in his capacity as chairman of the Ariano Conference, said:

Consider that over 6 million of Italians are scattered worldwide and that every year about 300.000 of our fellow citizens migrate across Europe and the Mediterranean basin and other 500.000 migrate overseas. Nowhere's too far for an Italian workman, though. Minister

³⁵ *Corso magistrale sull'emigrazione in Ariano di Puglia (20-27 September 1913)*, Ariano di Puglia, Prem. Tip. Raffaele Mariano and sons, 1913.

Credaro, in celebrating our migrants during the last «Dante Alighieri» Congress, pointed out that «in the Argentinian *estancias*, in the Brazilian *fazendas*, in the mines of Pennsylvania and Colorado there is a whole network of Italian workforce. From Australia to Labrador, from Persia to Brazil, our migrants have worked hard to transform the wilderness into lands thriving with products, which today we can find in markets worldwide. Italians have contributed in improving transports, industry, trades. The New York subway, the Sempione tunnel, and the Loeschberg tunnel, are due to the Italian labour. [...] We need to turn our constant and brotherly thought to these human energies, so that they may represent abroad an intellectual and moral force, other than just physical.

He therefore celebrates all the teachers in the room:

To you, teachers, this noble and difficult duty is assigned; the Ministry of Public Education and the Central Committee for Southern Italy – worthily represented by Commissioner Camillo Corradini – have introduced these courses on migration to the purpose of extending your knowledge even to this complex field of human activity. At work, then, with courage, because your work is made of faith and sacrifices, for the sake of thousand Italian workers!³⁶

Preziosi covers all the topics related to migration, defined as the «most complex phenomenon that shakes the third Italy», and clarifies that he won't deal with the issue by wondering whether this is good or bad, because this is what literature did so far, regarding the issue as a cause, and not an effect. Instead, he speaks about the laws providing for the migrants' protection, and links this topic to that of training migrants at Home, in order to enable them to use those laws to protect themselves against abuse and oppression. The problem of migrants' ignorance is in fact relevant; it is not likely to be solved in the short term, but the plague of illiteracy can be defeated by working on the youngest generations. The courses have been organized to the very purpose of containing the consequences of this situation; the courses

should train teachers on how to prepare migrants to expatriate, by providing them with the ground literacy, and informing them on the economic and social conditions of the countries they are headed to, as well as on the regulation in force; teachers must as well be able to caution them against various systems of exploitation and teach them how to perform their rights and duties³⁷.

Preziosi underlines that the final aim of those Conferences is to «prepare teachers to provide cooperation by setting up secretariats³⁸ and corresponding

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁸ N. Mazzoni, *Che cosa è il segretariato dell'emigrazione e come funziona*, (Società umanitaria, Ufficio dell'emigrazione), Milan, Tip. Degli Operai, 1908. For further reference see also the Secretariat for Migration of Belluno, *Commissione per le scuole degli emigranti. Relazione sulle scuole invernali per gli emigranti istituite nell'inverno 1908-1909*, Belluno, Tipografia commerciale, 1909.

offices³⁹ to replace the unsuccessful action of district or town committees». He argues:

It is a new field of human solidarity that teachers shall embrace, since they have so far demonstrated a spirit of sacrifice and fondness for the humble.

Preziosi highlights the relapse that migration has on education, by triggering a need for literacy promoted from abroad:

In every letter they send to their wives, migrants urge them to send children to school, and their pleas have proven to be more effective than every law on compulsory education. Migrants demonstrate to have understood the practical value of education in the fight for life.

In conclusion:

It is undeniable that illiteracy is decreasing in the South, and this is due to migration much more than to politics⁴⁰.

Other scholars express the same ideas on migration as «the best friend of literacy». In fact:

The migrant embodied the usefulness of primary education, in a more effective way than the same old moral exhortations or the penalties imposed to the violators of school duties for themselves and their children⁴¹.

4. *The courses contents*

The Ministerial Orders reveal the contents of the local special courses, thanks to the reports that were printed before the classes and that have been retraced for many towns of Central and Southern Italy⁴².

³⁹ Id., *Vademecum pei corrispondenti*, (Società umanitaria, Ufficio dell'emigrazione), Milan, Tip. Degli Operai, 1908.

⁴⁰ *Corso magistrale sull'emigrazione in Ariano di Puglia (20-27 settembre 1913)*, cit., pp. 36-37.

⁴¹ Cf. F. Coletti, *Dell'emigrazione italiana*, Milan, U. Hoepli, 1912, p. 257.

⁴² Attolico, *L'Emigrazione e i maestri. Prolusione al Corso di Conferenze magistrali sull'Emigrazione, detta in Bari addì 8 settembre 1912*, cit.; *Corso magistrale di conferenze sulla emigrazione transoceanica tenuto dal prof. Francesco Carlucci in Barletta, maggio-giugno 1912*, Bari, Società tip. Editrice barese, 1912; *Corso magistrale sull'emigrazione in Benevento (17-24 settembre 1912)*, Benevento, Tip. Nazzareno Borrelli, 1913; *Corso magistrale sull'emigrazione in Ariano di Puglia (20-27 settembre 1913)*, cit.; C. Petrocchi, *Riassunto delle conferenze sull'emigrazione tenute in Salerno dall'8 al 15 settembre 1912*, Salerno, Tip. Fratelli Jovane, 1912.

Other than being informed on the courses' objectives and modalities, it is important to know their contents in details⁴³. From the documents found we learned that these courses were organized in two levels: the first covered general notions on labour migration. The following topics were part of this module: Italian migration and its progress; international and internal migration; overseas and continental migration; the balance of Italian migration and related figures and opinions. A lot of room is given to the impact of migration on national economy, in demography, in social and family life, in military defense.

The second level concerns more specifically «what needs to be taught to migrants» which mirrors the specific «culture» that migrants' teachers had to possess. The main topics are the following: overview of the necessary paperwork before departure (passport, assistance, handbooks for migrants, information on travel and medical check-up); information on the sea transportation; arrival to destination (Italian authorities, assistance bodies⁴⁴, Italian schools); sending money home; information on the preferred destinations; dangers and traffics; economics fundamentals. A particular attention is given to the issue of social morals. Reference is made to the defense of national dignity, to the importance of maintaining a sense of belonging and a patriotic spirit as a «cement» for all migrants. It is also underlined the importance of solidarity with the other workers coming from the same country. The program also provides for written and oral tests on the foreign country's language, job training and worker's life.

It is stated that teachers who attend such courses are entitled to a daily allowance of 8 *lire* to cover for travel, room and board. Also, it is specified that at the end of the course an attendance certificate is issued and that this can be valued as an «advantage in the selection of teachers for migrants' schools».

From the introductory speech to the lectures that took place in Benevento in September 1912⁴⁵, we learn that, in accordance to the ministerial order, the courses sites of Spoleto, Campobasso, Chieti, Teramo, Benevento, Salerno, Bari, Cosenza and Caltanissetta shall host a maximum number of 100 attendants which does not include female teachers; such a provision was subject of discussion and debate. Under the direction of the Inspector Guglielmo Ciarla, the speaker's role was taken by Professor Valar, a representative of the Humanitarian Society of Milan of German heritage.

The major of Benevento insists on the importance of giving training to these «voluntary exiles», because «the more educated are our fellow countrymen abroad, the more they stand out from the citizens of other countries»; he therefore stresses the need to instill in migrants the value of national dignity and attachment to the distant birthplace, with its traditions and religions. For

⁴³ Particularly relevant is the possibility to trace back the names of all the teachers who came to attend the courses from the various southern districts.

⁴⁴ L. Bodio, *Sulla emigrazione italiana e sul patronato degli emigranti* (Relazione al Primo Congresso Geografico Italiano, Genova 1892), Genova, Tip. del R. Istituto sordo-muti, 1894.

⁴⁵ *Corso magistrale sull'emigrazione in Benevento (17-24 settembre 1912)*, cit.

this reason, he underlines the crucial task that teachers have to fulfill by means of these courses on migration:

If the State has political duties, teachers have moral duties. And these lectures on migration are more important for the fate of our Country than any other course on hygiene, pedagogy, or school illnesses [...]⁴⁶.

He finally expresses the conviction that it is «a highly patriotic and moral duty to liberate our fellow countrymen from ignorance so to make them fit to the fight for life»⁴⁷.

The same ideal is shared by Attolico who expresses the urge to «build in migrants a conscience of dignity, honesty and bravery at the same time» by means of these courses. These reflections are particularly relevant as they help to understand what is the cultural and moral role entrusted to teachers, regarded as «the ministers of one of the highest forms of social protection». Teachers are addressed to as the «apostles» of culture for migrants, according to a vision where school comes into direct contact with people and responds to the social needs and conditions of that time.

5. *The criticism to local course*

Some examples of secondary literature (such as reflection booklets on study programs, teachers and migrants) offer interesting considerations as to the evaluation received by these courses. Although their primary function of arousing the teachers' interest, «by working as a driving force», is generally praised, a few critical aspects are taken into account as well.

Attolico himself addresses the topic by highlighting critical points and possible solutions. The course's length, limited to just eight days, is deemed too short compared to the vastness of the program, and it's thought that it should be brought to ten days minimum. Also, study materials on practical issues, such as statistical and legal documentation, as well as Committee reports on migration, should be provided to teachers. Another critical point is represented by the necessity of delivering final tests, so that teachers may receive special teaching appointments on the basis of successful outcomes rather than their mere attendance to the course.

Another sensitive issue is represented by the unjustified absence of female teachers. Moreover, it is suggested that specialized libraries should be set up and that the program should be integrated with elements of social security. It is furthermore proposed to arouse the teachers' interest in the cause by issuing

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

study grants and free travel tickets. All these elements are not only aimed at improving the quality of teacher's preparation, but also at regulating their relations with local administrations: in other words, they are enabled to reach «a higher level of independence, that makes teachers the real guardians of migrants' rights», in replacement of town Committees.

6. *Manuals and textbooks for migrants' teachers*

A useful field of investigation, in connection with the preparation of migrants' teachers, is the analysis of the textbooks in use. If recently the attention has been focused especially on the textbooks addressed to migrants, thus confirming the fecundity of the study field represented by school manuals, on the other hand, the research focus shifts on the production of manuals aimed at the preparation of migrants' teachers. We have hereby the occasion to name a few of those, starting from the one whose very title anticipates its destination: *Il maestro degli emigranti* [The migrants' teacher] by Angelo Cabrini⁴⁸. In his introduction to the manual, Credaro expresses the urge that to such teachers is given a «special» preparation, of political, cultural and didactic kind, to enable them to carry out a difficult but socially relevant task.

The *Maestro degli emigranti* is a real handbook for teachers, and especially rural teachers, as it illustrates teaching objectives, teaching methods, contents and references to relevant books, as well as references to educational bodies and complimentary books published by the Committee. Published in 1912, the book put together ideas and contributions collected by Cabrini as a parliamentarian, journalist, and man of culture, in some of his writings on curricula, schools and teachers that were presented at the Conventions of the National Teachers Union (for example, in Rome and Ancona in 1910). During these congresses it was underlined that «the issue of migrants' protection was closely connected to the education of migrants' themselves»⁴⁹. Illiteracy appeared as the major cause of weakness of migration policy. It is therefore stated that:

The real education, the one that can transform the masses, has to be taught in here, at Home, by operating on the migrants of today and tomorrow⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ A. Cabrini, *Il maestro degli emigranti (Guida per lezioni e conferenze a preparazione degli emigranti italiani)*, Imola, Coop. Tip. Edit. Paolo Galeati, 1912.

⁴⁹ Id., *La preparazione dell'emigrante italiano. Programmi, scuole, maestri. Relazione e proposte dell'on. Angiolo Cabrini*, Milan, Stabilimento "La Compositrice", 1911 (Congresso dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale di Torino, 5, 6, 7 september 1911), p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

On this basis, a need of cooperation arises between the State and the teachers to cope with the general problem of fighting illiteracy with education.

In his contribution, Cabrini goes through the very first experiences of secular assistance to migrants: in particular, the secular secretariats related to the Humanitarian Society of Milan, opened schools and training courses for migrants especially in Northern Italy, with very few exceptions like the school of l'Aquila, that we have mentioned before with reference to the work *Il Maestro degli emigranti*.

In particular, other than reaffirming the importance of training the expatriates, Cabrini illustrates two formats of lectures, of 12 hours each, to be held in towns where migration is massive, and divided into overseas and continental migration. He therefore explains the contents of the training program which, on the one hand, aims at persuading migrants on the importance of knowing the laws and regulations in force at Home, and, on the other hand, proposes a series of readings on the customs and traditions of hosting countries, without losing sight of «the Italian spirit and the sense of solidarity with fellow countrymen».

The objective of these courses is to fill in the gaps of popular education and, even more, to «equip migrants with a necessary set of knowledge to help them find their way, avoid middlemen, and assist themselves in each host country».

On such basis a debate arises about the disparity between North and South in terms of assistance to migrants; the South «is a desert»: it lacks Committees, Secretariats, schools and courses. Although in 1910 the biggest number of migrants come from the South with a percentage of 46,6%⁵¹, which makes migration primarily a phenomenon of the South, all the measures provided for by the Law are lacking. It is therefore necessary to start an orderly training action for these migrants, especially those coming from rural areas, as well as requiring the State intervention for the dissemination of culture and consolidation of popular schools in their practical aspects, like providing proper training to migrants.

A task of primary importance is therefore entrusted to teachers, but they need to be well trained for this. Hence the urge:

the teacher's preparation must be our first concern⁵²,

in accordance to what the Central Committee of Southern Italy had already expressed in 1909, when it requested new schools for migrants to the Ministry

⁵¹ Statistical data on the migration phenomenon, which analyses the departures from the various Italian towns towards European and trans-oceanic countries, can be found in the very lessons of the «intensive» courses we are dealing with: see, for example, the data on territorial distribution provided by Petrocchi, *Riassunto delle conferenze sull'emigrazione tenute in Salerno dall'8 al 15 settembre 1912*, cit., especially the table at p. 13.

⁵² Cf. Cabrini, *La preparazione dell'emigrante italiano. Programmi, scuole, maestri. Relazione e proposte dell'on. Angiolo Cabrini*, cit., p. 12.

of Public education to the purpose of filling their «educational deficit». Hence the decision of the Minister Credaro to nominate a Commission for drafting the teaching programs of such schools. It is proposed that the teacher's training should be pursued through three main strands: male and female normal schools, with lectures on migration and migrant's training to be carried out during the last year of course; pedagogic school and summer/fall school for upgrading the teacher's culture; special courses on migration.

The program of the latter, based on the model of the social legislation schools in London, Berlin and Milan, it is very similar to the one that was carried out in the special Course on migration organized in Rome by Mrs. DeVito Tommasi and assigned to valuable figures such as Giuffrida and Petrocchi. From this source we therefore find out that the program covered by the ministerial orders of 1911 and 1913 is modelled on the first courses that were promoted in Rome by private initiative, as a result of Cabrini's constant concern and encouragement.

These proposals are followed in 1912 by a few State decisions that provide for the opening of some schools for migrants in about 200 provinces of the south, by appointing the same teachers that, in September 1911, attended the intensive courses on migrants' training in Umbria, Abruzzi, Lazio, Campania, Basilicata and Calabria.

The training work of the General Committee terminated in 1921 when other bodies involved in the fight against illiteracy took over.

At that time, about 800 evening courses were opened; they consisted of 100/110 lessons of 2 hours each in 580 towns of the South and the islands (with 15.184 successful students over 29.953 attendants). A «specialized team» of teachers was created in 1922 on the proposal of the Credaro Commission, which included Cabrini himself, Mr. Corradini, representing the Minister of Public Education, Vincenzo Giuffrida on behalf of the Office for Migration, the parliamentarian Mendoza, professor Osimo on behalf of the Humanitarian Organization and *Commendatore* Pironti for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The related courses were addressed to the about 10000 senior students of normal schools, or graduate students (about 6.000).

However, the commitment to popular and migrants' education, as well as to teachers' training, would finish at the end of this favorable season of the early twentieth century, when the concern to migrants was paramount. Shortly thereafter, in 1927, the General Committee, whose work had been «so successful in the past» was converted into the General Direction of Italians Abroad, of political nature, coming out of the Minister of Foreign Affairs⁵³.

⁵³ On the final hours of the Committee see Grassi Orsini, *Introduction* to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Directorate on migration and social affairs, historical – diplomatic Archives, *Il fondo archivistico Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione (1901-1927)*, inventory by Piero Santoni, cit., especially pp. 62-63.

7. *Conclusions: historiographical themes and future investigation pathways*

As a conclusion, it seems relevant to highlight a few historiographical themes that deserve further investigation by the historians of Education.

The relation between literacy, migration and teachers represents a very promising new pathway for the historic-educational historiography, in particular as it contributes to illustrate the State policies with regard to «the need for training» and protection for migrants, especially in the early twentieth century when the «migration flow» was at its highest.

- From the analysis of sources thus far unexplored or considered of minor importance, it is possible to shed some light on the policies connected to the phenomenon of migration in Italy, especially with reference to the preparation of teachers and migrants at Home and abroad; particular attention is given to Southern Italy that put in place some attempts to «keep up» with the new social emergencies.

- Moreover, it seems appropriate to give a more detailed profile of the protagonists of politics and education who contributed to the cultural, pedagogical and political debate around the process of migration, in and out of the Country.

- The theme of a specialized culture for teachers aimed at training migrants adds further elements to the investigation on the teaching profession in the South, in particular for what concerns teachers' training and recruitment, and the need to equip them with appropriate tools; moreover, it was important to make them aware of their social duty in the situation of emergency that hit the beginning of twentieth century, when, by quoting Andreina De Clementi, migration rushed down like an avalanche and grew like a river⁵⁴.

- It is worth analyzing the theoretical strategies and the practical implementation of the services managed by the General Committee on Migration in relation to the equipment provided to expatriates, with a baggage of moral advice and useful warnings.

- Also, it would be necessary to regulate the specialized editorial production which includes guidebooks, handbooks and manuals on migration.

- Finally, it would be interesting to analyze the textbooks aimed at training the teachers of migrants, in and out of the Country.

In conclusion, we can say that the historians of school and education have at their disposal a number of investigation pathways, with regard to the relationship between the dissemination of knowledge and human mobility.

⁵⁴ A. De Clementi, *Di qua e di là dall'oceano. Emigrazione e mercati nel Meridione (1860-1930)*, Rome, Carocci, 1999.

Orphaned and abandoned children in the city of São Paulo: the crucial understanding to create the Scalabrinian orphanage

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ABSTRACT: The large number of children wandering around the city captured the attention of the passers-by. The city of São Paulo took in many new inhabitants in the final years of the 19th century. They came from various ethnic backgrounds, but mainly from the Italian Peninsula. The peaceful city became a metropolis and its factories attracted unemployed people from the state's countryside. Since many families caught diseases and did not withstand the long trips, their children became orphans. Many orphanages, day cares and vocational schools were created in order to take in these children and youngsters. However, a Catholic orphanage of social welfare and vocational nature, supported by a Catholic philanthropist, stood out. He was a Scalabrinian missionary who, with many difficulties and through donations, founded the Cristovão Colombo orphanage in order to take in orphans of Italian immigrants.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Abandoned children; Catholic philanthropism; Cristovão Colombo orphanage; São Paulo; XIXth Century.

1. *Children and youngsters in the city of São Paulo*

There were orphaned and abandoned children in the city of São Paulo for several reasons, not always associated with the absence of parents. Many children were sent to one of the several orphanages in the city due to the absence of one parent, and their stay was not always temporary. The society looked favorably upon mothers who left their very young children in the care of a religious orphanage in order to work and provide for them; or fathers who were not able

to take care of their young children and did not have older daughters to look after the younger ones. Parents also died from diseases, accidents at work or outside work, and natural death. Children were orphaned by misfortune, they did not have other options. When this situation was unbearable, running away would be the solution. There were accounts of youngsters who had escaped from social welfare institutions for being mistreated and restrained. Many of them were children that used to live on the city streets.

The main sources for this research were notes, news stories and articles from the following newspapers: *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Correio Paulistano*, and legislations, regulations, property deeds, decrees and documents organized and produced by the governmental secretariat named Instrução Pública, which dealt specifically with education in the state of São Paulo; and bibliographic sources. The use of several documents and testimonials may be appropriate in order to broaden the perspective of the analysis and give voice to the people depicted. Since «everything men say or write, everything they manufacture, everything they touch may and must give information about them»¹. We searched for clues in order to tell the story of orphaned and abandoned children until they arrived at the charity organizations of the city that was in the process of becoming a metropolis.

It was in this context that children were taken from the streets during the 19th century. The city took in a great number of new inhabitants. The population growth was boosted by several different elements: the spontaneous arrival of immigrants from several ethnic groups, who landed in the port of Santos and were sent to the state's capital city looking for better conditions of life; groups of immigrants, usually from the same ethnicity, who were at the coffee farms in the state's countryside, did not adapt to farming and moved to the capital city looking for jobs at the new factories; and there were also some groups of immigrants who were only passing by the capital city and were sent to the countryside, to the coffee farms or settlements, since they signed a contract with the government to become settlers².

All the immigrants that landed in the port of Santos had to take a train that rode along the *São Paulo Railway Company*³ railroad. The passengers

¹ M. Bloch, *Apologia da História ou o ofício de historiador*, [Trad. A. Telles], Rio de Janeiro, J. Zahar, 2001, p. 79.

² The settlements for immigrants in São Paulo started in 1820, during the imperial government, and remained until 1933. More information on the colonial centers from the empire, the province or the state can be found in the chapter about public schools and their teachers, in the centers for foreigners in the state of São Paulo, see E.M. Prado, *Acondicionamento das escolas de Primeiras Letras paulistas no período que compreende os anos de 1877 e 1910*, in T.A. Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2014, pp. 185-212.

³ The railroad *São Paulo Railway* (SPR) was known as *Inglesa*, since it was built by English engineers, and also by the name *Santos-Jundiaí*, since it connected the cities of Santos and Jundiaí. More information on this can be found at E. Mimesse, *A educação e os imigrantes italianos: da escola de Primeiras Letras ao Grupo Escolar*, 2 ed., São Paulo, Iglu, 2010.

landed at the train station next to *Hospedaria dos Imigrantes*, a lodge in Brás neighborhood. The station had been specially created to facilitate the passengers' access. The immigrants were lodged there for forty days and then went on to their destinations in the state's countryside, to the coffee farms or the settlements⁴. People whose destination was not certain could stay at the lodge some days longer than the mandatory time, until they found a job.

São Paulo was provincial and small before these new residents arrived. It experienced a major setback with the excessive number of people that routinely arrived on its streets. «[...] Many of the more than 750 thousand immigrants that entered the state between the years 1886 and 1899 took up residence in the city»⁵. The small farms that surrounded the downtown area were gradually subdivided and urbanized due to the need to accommodate the city's new population. An electric tramway system operated in the city in order to transport the large population.

There was a population growth never seen before: from 30 thousand inhabitants in 1870 to 286 thousand inhabitants in 1907. There were urban and economic changes, a true demographic explosion combined with the industrial growth. The number of new retail stores multiplied. However, housing conditions did not keep pace with the economic growth, «it was estimated that one third of the housing available was made up of tenements, probably the prevailing type of housing in the city, since they lodged a great number of people in each unit»⁶.

The precarious situation of the habitations and the population increase in the capital city promoted the construction and rental of new residences, which led to exorbitant rents in the tenements⁷. There was a temporary expansion of affordable housing in the central neighborhoods, in the lowlands and wetlands. Lands at the worst locations were more affordable; consequently, habitations charged lower rents there. In some neighborhoods, people from the same region would stay together⁸. This configuration created several other infrastructures demands for the city, including affordable housing and transportation. There

⁴ Prado, *Embates acerca do ensino nas escolas elementares paulistanas nos anos iniciais do século XX*, «Revista Angelus Novus», vol. 6, n. 10, 2015, pp. 87-104; Id., *Obstacles to portuguese language teaching in elementary schools of the city of São Paulo (Brazil) in the early 20th century*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 411-425.

⁵ H. de F. Cruz, *São Paulo em papel e tinta: periodismo e vida urbana 1890-1915*, São Paulo, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo, 2013, p. 46.

⁶ M.A.C. dos Santos, *Criança e criminalidade no início do século*, in M. del Priore (ed.), *História das crianças no Brasil*, 2 ed., São Paulo, Contexto, 2000, p. 212.

⁷ B. Fausto, *Trabalho urbano e conflito social (1890-1920)*, 4 ed., São Paulo, DIFEL, 1986.

⁸ Nowadays, the groups still gather as they did in the beginning of immigration: when there are celebrations honoring the Catholic saints in the central neighborhoods of the city of São Paulo, where the congregation gets together in the old churches from the Italian communities. The celebrations bring together thousands of people: Nossa Senhora Casaluce and São Vito Mártir in Brás neighborhood, Nossa Senhora Achirópita in Bela Vista or Bixiga and San Gennaro in Mooca. The parishes use websites to inform their congregation.

was also lack of employment in the factories, and a demand to increase the number of vacancies at public schools in order to take in all the students⁹.

Actually, many factories were built in the city during those years. However, they were gradually taking in the workforce made up of men, women and children. We can also take into account the major production of coffee in São Paulo between 1906 and 1907. That crop contributed towards the displacement of the farm workers from the countryside since it was no longer possible to grow new coffee plantations, as a consequence, a great number of foreign and local farm workers were dismissed. Between 1900 and 1915, the number of cotton factories, wheat mills, hat and shoe manufacturers, carpentry shops, and ceramic industries increased in the city of São Paulo. Therefore, the population and the selling of goods increased too¹⁰.

With the movement of people back into the city, there was a tendency towards reurbanization. The new urban order affected the price of property, increasing the price of the lands located in the downtown area, where the factory workers had taken up residence. Many streets needed to be expropriated and it was on the central streets of the old downtown area that the real estate speculation was on the increase. The new capital city's *Código de Posturas Municipais*, the municipal code, came into effect with the intent to actually re-urbanize the city. Winding streets would not be accepted anymore, buildings would have to follow exact measurements in each floor and, most important, factory workers' habitations – the rooms in the tenements – would have to conform to new regulations regarding sanitary conditions and internal size. Usually, several people shared the same room in a tenement. Each room would take in a whole family, with five or more members. The rooms were possibly used only for sleeping. The adults worked all day and the children probably attended public school¹¹.

Schools hours were from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. at public schools, according to the *Regulamento da Instrução Pública* from the Province of São Paulo, or conformed to article 103, which stated that «if an alteration is demanded due to public convenience reasons, the general inspector shall authorize it»¹². The children used to play and walk around the re-urbanized city streets, which seemed to be an unpleasant sight for the upper class. The abovementioned

⁹ Regarding Italian subsidized elementary schools in the city of São Paulo, see Prado, O *convívio concomitante e frugal das escolas elementares públicas e privadas paulistanas*, «Educar em Revista», vol. 58, 2015, pp. 183-198, regarding the Italian teachers's associations in the Italian schools, see Mimesse, *A questão da nacionalização do ensino, escolas italianas na cidade de São Paulo no início do século XX*, «Revista Histedbr On line», vol. 12, n. 48, 2012, pp. 286-295.

¹⁰ R. Pereira, *Washington Luís na administração de São Paulo (1914-1919)*, São Paulo, Edunesp, 2010.

¹¹ São Paulo, *Código de Posturas do Município de São Paulo*, 1886.

¹² School hours could be altered to start at 11 a.m. and end at 4 p.m., matching with the train hours, as it had been approved at São Caetano settlement (Mimesse, *A educação e os imigrantes italianos: da escola de Primeiras Letras ao Grupo Escolar*, cit.; São Paulo, *Regulamento da Instrução Pública da Provincia de S. Paulo*, 1869).

children were dirty and wore shabby clothes, which contrasted with the beauty and modernity of the 20th century city.

The researches carried out on the newspapers *Correio Paulistano* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* showed that the upper classes used to complain about the number of children on the streets. Their complaints indicated concern regarding those children's future. And also, the inconvenience they caused: making disturbances, committing petty theft, causing trouble and rushing around. These are the reasons why places were created to confine children and youngsters, as a way to protect and punish them.

Similarly, the upper-class women made donations and promoted charity events on behalf of the children and the orphanages from the capital city. All the properties and funds raised were donated to these institutions, and were often sorted on lists published on newspapers. The donors were praised, their full name and amount donated were clearly mentioned. In fact, these benefactors intended to keep the downtown area clean and renovated, with good sanitary conditions and without beggars, regardless of their age.

Some children, sons and daughters of immigrants from the Italian Peninsula, worked at the factories with their parents. They were seven, eight years of age or older¹³. The same happened to the sand miners from Tietê river, whose children helped them with the extraction of the sand used in construction. These children certainly did not attend school, since night schools were only legally created in 1901, with Act n. 1184¹⁴.

In contrast, children with different kinds of jobs, who did not have to remain in a single place, were acquainted with the downtown area. They lived, worked, played and attended school there. Children and youngsters who had special working hours worked as shoe shiners, delivery boys, and assistants to newspapermen and wagon drivers¹⁵.

The working children were able to attend school since several types of elementary school coexisted in the city. In the attempt to mitigate the lack

¹³ L. Biondi, *Imigração italiana e movimento operário em São Paulo: um balanço historiográfico*, in M.L.T. Carneiro, F. Croci, E. Franzina (edd.), *História do trabalho e História da imigração: trabalhadores italianos e sindicatos no Brasil (séculos XIX e XX)*, São Paulo, EDUSP, FAPESP, 2010, pp. 23-48.

¹⁴ After Act 1184, fifty schools were implemented; however, only eight were authorized since the others did not conform with the legal standards. Night schools would be implemented only when there were thirty students interested in attending them. They would be attended by boys and men over fourteen years of age and would open every night from 6:30 p.m. to 9 p.m. E. Mimesse, *A educação e os imigrantes italianos: da escola de Primeiras Letras ao Grupo Escolar*, 2 ed., São Paulo, Iglu, 2010; São Paulo, *Lei n. 1.184*, 3 dez. 1909, *Collecção das Leis e Decretos do Estado de São Paulo*, Typ. Diario Oficial, 1911.

¹⁵ The newspaper boy's role must be further explained, since it was a very common task, mainly for Italian immigrant boys. The newspaper boy was a newspaper street vendor. There were schools in which most of the students were newspaper boys and that, for this reason, opened on special hours. Prado, *Embates acerca do ensino nas escolas elementares paulistanas nos anos iniciais do século XX*, cit.

of vacancies, teaching literacy and educating the highest possible number of students, there were public elementary schools, private elementary schools subsidized by the Italian government, secular and non-secular private elementary schools. In the downtown area, location chosen for this study, primary public schools prevailed: all-boys, all-girls, co-educational, and also *Grupos Escolares*¹⁶ and the elementary schools subsidized by the Italian government¹⁷. According to the *Regulamento da Instrução Pública*, «children under 5 years of age»¹⁸ were allowed to register, giving grounds for children older than 5 years of age to register and attend school.

Therefore, every child above 5 years of age was allowed to attend a public elementary school. However, attending a school was not mandatory. The registration assured that the students would eventually attend school. Nevertheless, when analyzing the data gathered on the statistical map from *Inspetoria do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo*, the students registered always outnumbered the students who were actually attending school. Attendance was not mandatory because there were not enough vacancies for every student at school age. The schools subsidized by the Italian government had to abide by the same rules as public schools, and helped to make up for the lack of vacancies in public schools. Data from the *Annuario de Ensino* show the number of students registered at the schools and institutions in the city of São Paulo¹⁹.

Students enrolled at schools and institutions in the city of São Paulo

<i>Schools and institutes</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>Students registered</i>
Schools Subsidized by the Italian Government	77	6.537
Isolated Public Schools ²⁰ : for girls, for boys and co-educational.	129 (43 for boys, 52 for girls, 34 co-educational)	4.332
Elementary Schools supported by the state of São Paulo	17	7.111
Vocational and social welfare institutes	11	2.901
Total	234	20.881

Source: São Paulo, *Annuario do Ensino do Estado de S. Paulo*, Inspetoria Geral do Ensino, São Paulo, Typ. A. Siqueira & C., 1907-1910.

¹⁶ Regarding «Grupos Escolares» in the city of São Paulo, see Prado, *O convívio concomitante e frugal das escolas elementares públicas e privadas paulistanas*, cit.

¹⁷ The elementary schools subsidized by the Italian government aimed at educating the Italian citizen outside the Kingdom of Italy. They received money and materials from the Italian government. *Ibid.*

¹⁸ São Paulo, *Regulamento da Instrução Pública da Provincia de S. Paulo*, cit., p. 3.

¹⁹ São Paulo, *Annuario do Ensino do Estado de S. Paulo*, Inspetoria Geral do Ensino, Typ. A. Siqueira & C., 1907-1910.

²⁰ Regarding Isolated Public Schools in the city of São Paulo, see Prado, *O convívio concomitante e frugal das escolas elementares públicas e privadas paulistanas*, cit.

According to data from the early years of the 20th century, it was found that other institutions also started to take shape, such as the schools for children under 5 years of age, referred in the table as «Vocational and social welfare institutes». The *Anuario de Ensino* mentioned the Associação Feminina Beneficente e Instructiva, founded in the city of São Paulo in the end of 1901 by Anália Emília Franco and twenty other women. It accounted for 17 nursery schools, one all-girls lyceum, one night school for factory workers, one day care (or *crèche*) for girls and boys. The education was free and became operational as of 1902. However, this initiative was not enough to take in most of the neglected children.

2. Schools and Institutions for children under seven years of age

Since there were still many children on the downtown streets, several institutions had been created to take them in. The young children had very little survival chance on the streets. The institutions would take in children from various ages, or the ones considered delinquents. Many day cares (or *crèches*), orphanages and vocational schools were opened in the city of São Paulo in the final years of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century. Some of the institutions were created through private initiative: by planned giving, donations from religious institutions and from several benefactors, aiming mainly at neglected orphans, particularly concerned at preventing the abandoned girls from becoming «streetwalkers», by teaching them a trade²¹.

The institutions can be sorted in two categories: social welfare and vocational. The social welfare institutions looked after newborns until they turned seven years of age. After seven, the children were taken to another facility, usually a vocational institution, where they would learn a trade. When the *Foundlings Wheel* was created at *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* in 1825, in the city of São Paulo, the nuns took the babies in and looked after them until the age of seven. Once they turned seven, the girls were sent to *Seminário de Educandas da Glória* and the boys to *Seminário de Educandos de Sant'Anna*, then to *Instituto de Educandos Artífices* when it closed, and to *Lyceu de Artes e Offícios*²², when the former shut down.

²¹ According to analysis carried out on the newspapers «Correio Paulistano»: republican agency in the years 1895 until 1904; and «O Estado de S. Paulo», daily newspaper in the years 1895 until 1904.

²² W.R. Borges, *A profissionalização feminina: uma experiência no ensino público*, São Paulo, Loyola, 1980.

The *Lyceo de Artes e Officios* adhered to new standards and was subsidized by the factories' owners, the previous institutes were supported by the state government. This *Lyceo de Artes* intended to train youngsters for the work carried out in the factories. The *Lyceo Coração de Jesus*, administered by the Salesian Brothers, also aimed at educating the boys for factory work. Both institutes leaned towards specialized training aimed at the qualified workforce of the future. Similarly, there was *Instituto Dona Anna Rosa* that took in poor boys and trained them for work using its own funds²³. In 1880, the institute reported that they had been able to train carpenters, tailors, metal workers, painters, bakers, bricklayers. Finally, the school *Dona Carolina Tamandaré*, that educated underprivileged girls for household work, supported by donations and by her family's own resources, was also a hostel²⁴.

Other institutions were founded during this time. They were associated with the following religious congregations: the Salesians, the Vicentians, the Scalabrinians, the Sisters of Mercy, the Divine Providence and the *Soeurs du bon pasteur*. There were also private institutions, such as Orphanato de Santa Anna and Abrigo Santa Maria, founded by benefactors who were real estate owners and earned enough income to take in and support neglected children. These institutions, religious or private, of social welfare or vocational nature, received donations resulting from parties, balls, bazaars, auctions, not to mention the money donated by the influential members of society.

The girls who attended vocational institutions learned sewing, cooking and how to be good housewives and mothers. When there were vacancies, the boys learned a profession at school. That way, they would become assistants to shoemakers, woodworkers, blacksmiths, tailors, barbers, bakers, among other occupations. The table below shows the year each institute was founded, the type of education they offered and if they were religious, private or public.

Institutions in the city of São Paulo (1825-1897)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Type of education</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
1825	Casa dos Expostos da Santa Casa de Misericórdia	Boys Girls	Social Welfare	Irmandade de Misericórdia
1825-1868	Seminário de Educandos de Sant'Anna	Boys	Vocational	São Paulo State Government
1825	Seminário de Educandas da Glória	Girls	Vocational	São Paulo State Government
1869-1880	Instituto de Educandos Artífices	Boys	Vocational	São Paulo State Government

²³ J.V. dos Santos, *As contribuições de Horace Lane na instrução pública paulista (1890-1910)*, Marília, UNESP, 2011.

²⁴ São Paulo, *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de S. Paulo*, cit.

1873	Lyceu de Artes e Ofícios	Boys	Vocational	São Paulo State Government
1875	Instituto Dona Anna Rosa	Boys	Vocational	Private
1885	Lyceu Sagrado Coração de Jesus	Boys	Vocational	The Salesians
1890	Instituição da Sagrada Família do Ypiranga	Girls	Social Welfare	Metropolitan Curia
1892	Orphanato de Santa Anna	Girls	Social Welfare	Private
1892	Colégio Dona Carolina Tamandaré	Girls	Vocational	Private
1892	Abrigo Santa Maria	Boys Girls	Social Welfare	Private
1894	Externato Casa Pia de São Vicente de Paula	Boys	Social Welfare	The Vicentians
1895	Orphanato Christovam Colombo	Boys Girls	Social Welfare Vocational	The Scalabrinians
1896	Asylo de Orphãos Desamparados Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora do Ypiranga	Boys	Social Welfare Vocational	The Salesians
1896	Asylo Sampaio Vianna	Boys Girls	Social Welfare	Irmandade de Misericórdia
1897	Asylo do Bom Pastor	Girls	Social Welfare	<i>Soeurs du Bon Pasteur</i>
1897	Casa da Divina Providência da Mooca	Girls	Social Welfare	Divina Providência

Source: São Paulo, *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de S. Paulo*, Inspectoria Geral do Ensino, Typ. A. Siqueira & C., 1907-1910.

Sadly, the boys would always make the news, since they were arrested for loitering or for getting into fights, as their innocent games ended up in fierce fights²⁵. These, in addition to children and youngsters wandering along the deserted streets, annoyed the upper class, allowing for the creation of foster institutions.

The newspapers reported the upper class' complaints regarding the great number of children on the streets. They informed that they were concerned with the children's future and with the inconvenience caused by them, making disturbances, committing petty theft, causing trouble and rushing around. There were places to keep children and youngsters in order to protect and punish them. The public authorities helped the way they could, donating land, with tax exemption, lowering tariffs, with lottery, with real estate tax exemption.

²⁵ «Correio Paulistano», 4 April 1902; *Noticias Varias*, «O Estado de S. Paulo», February 9, 1898; December 25, 1900; February 4, 1903.

However, the number of troublemakers was excessive, and public and private facilities were created to keep the deemed offenders. The private institutes for youngsters were related to the religious congregations or to the businessmen. The government created correctional institutes aimed at the youngsters who lived on the streets, who did not have a job or who were not registered at school, consequently for the young beggars. Depending on the violation, these youngsters could be tried according to the articles in Decree n. 847, which indicated the responsibility according to age. Children under nine years of age were always considered not responsible; children from nine to 14 might or might not have power of judgement; youngsters from 14 to 17 were always presumed to have power of judgement; and youngsters from 17 to 21 required lighter penalties²⁶. Only with Act n. 844, was the *Instituto Disciplinar* created in a neighborhood more distant from downtown. It was a facility specifically created to take in youngsters forwarded by the court or captured by the police on the city streets. The Act also created a correctional center at Ilha dos Porcos, in the seaside town of Ubatuba, that should take in offenders under the age of 21 that were considered only «tramps» or «vagrants»²⁷.

3. *The Scalabrinian orphanage*

It was in this urban scenario of the city of São Paulo, that the idea of creating a Scalabrinian orphanage occurred to Father Giuseppe Marchetti, at the time of his second trip to Brazil, one month after returning from the first one. In the end of November 1894, Father Marchetti was on a ship towards Brazil when he witnessed the death of a mother and the despair of the father, who threatened to jump overboard into the sea due to his wife's death, feeling helpless with a young child on his arms. Confronted with this situation, Father Marchetti took the responsibility to look after the child once they landed. When the ship arrived in Rio de Janeiro, Father Marchetti got off the ship intending to look for the Italian consulate, where he believed he could find a place to leave the child. However, he did not get any help there. He ended up finding support at a religious orphanage, where he left the child. Afterwards, he went to the city of São Paulo, his final destination²⁸.

The priest noticed the excessive amount of orphaned children, whose parents died during the Atlantic crossing to Brazil or few days after landing. Many of

²⁶ São Paulo, *Decreto n. 847*, 11 out. 1890, «Código Penal», Coleção de Leis do Brasil, Fasc. X, 1890.

²⁷ São Paulo, *Lei n. 844*, 10 out. 1902, authorizes the government to create a correctional institute and a colony correctional center. *Diário Oficial do Estado de S. Paulo*, 14 out. 1902.

²⁸ M. Francesconi, *Giovanni Battista Scalabrini vescovo di Piacenza e degli emigranti*, Rome, Città Nuova, 1985.

these immigrant children lost only the father. Their mothers were supposed to look after them because they were very young. Even when they had a mother, they were considered orphans, since the father was responsible for supporting the family. In the letters sent to his superior, the priest explained what was happening in the city and promoted the idea of creating an orphanage for the children of Italian immigrants²⁹.

After taking up residence in the city of São Paulo, Father Marchetti sought information and looked for people who could help him fulfill his ideas regarding the construction of an orphanage that would take in the children of immigrants from the Italian Peninsula living in the state. He talked to the dioceses' bishop and with fellow members of other congregations, for example, the Jesuit André Bigioni³⁰.

Father Marchetti followed Bigioni's advice and brought the idea to the attention of Count José Vicente de Azevedo. The Count was a journalist, a politician and an educator. But he was also a «Roman Catholic and member of a coffee producer and entrepreneurial oligarchy family in the province, he acted in several different directions to restore the Roman Catholic Church's supremacy in the Brazilian society, a significant project carried out between the years 1870-1930»³¹. The Count attended pilgrimage regularly, was devotee of popular saints, was in charge of lay fraternities, was the founder of chapels and pious works. The Count was concerned with the former slaves and their descendants; therefore, he donated day cares (or *crèches*) and charitable work to the population that had been forgotten by «Republican attitudes that insisted on ignoring and forgetting them, foreseeing the fierce, however restrained and concealed, racism of the Brazilian society»³².

Count Vicente de Azevedo intended to build a School of Arts and Crafts at the Ipiranga hillside, inspiration he took from a vocational school created some years before in the Luz neighborhood³³. However, this one would be aimed

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ L.M. Signor, *João Batista Scalabrini e a imigração italiana: um projeto sócio-pastoral*, Porto Alegre, Pallotti, 1986, p. 163.

³¹ M.C.C. de Souza, M.L.S. Hilsdorf, *Entre oligarquias republicanas e igreja ultramontana, um olhar para os esquecidos: José Vicente de Azevedo e a educação das meninas negras*, in H.H.P. Rocha (ed.), *Personagens, estratégias e saberes na construção da escola brasileira*, Bragança Paulista, EDUSF, 2006, p. 58.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³³ Here, I mean the *Lyceo de Artes e Offícios* of São Paulo created by the province government in the capital city in 1873. Count Vicente de Azevedo's memoirs also refer to the *Reais Oficinas de São José*, devised by Father Sebastião Leite de Vasconcelos in Porto, Portugal, that was active since 1883, and could have influenced Vicente de Azevedo to create a school of arts and crafts. The *Reais Oficinas* was dedicated to teach a profession to underprivileged boys, and was mentioned at *Boletim de S. José*, founded and written by Vicente de Azevedo. (M.A.V. de A. Franceschini et al., *Conde José Vicente de Azevedo: sua vida e sua obra*, 2 ed., São Paulo, Fundação Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora do Ipiranga, 1996).

specifically at poor children. Vicente de Azevedo was the perfect benefactor to ask for support since he was a practicing Catholic, compassionate and concerned with the abandoned children.

He owned a large piece of land at the Ipiranga region, next to the museum. In November 1889, he purchased 16 hectares of vacant land in order to build the day care (or *crèche*) for orphaned girls and the school of arts and crafts. Soon after that, in January 1890, he acquired 30 hectares more for religious and educational charitable work for the neglected children. Vicente de Azevedo and his wife, Cândida Bueno Lopes de Oliveira Azevedo, had donated a piece of land and building materials for the construction of a «daycare for orphaned and neglected girls, under the protection of Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora, in Ypiranga, for the Salesian Brothers». The construction work started in July 1889, but due to problems regarding the limits between the daycare's land and the museum, the beginning of the construction was postponed³⁴.

The construction of the school of arts and crafts actually started in the beginning of March 1891, supervised by Domingos Delpiano, Salesian Coadjutor Brother. However, «the death of Dom Luiz Lasagna, on the November 6, 1895 suspended the work, and his successor did not honor the previous agreement»³⁵. The construction was interrupted. Upon request from Father Marchetti to build a Catholic orphanage, the pending matters were easily solved.

Father Marchetti's meeting with Count Vicente de Azevedo was helpful. The Count would be able to end the construction of the school and help those most in need. The priest arranged a housing building that would take in the neglected children, who would have a place to live. The priest received the materials at the end of 1895, and the grand construction continued, as it had been planned by Count Azevedo, projected by the renowned constructor Luigi Pucci³⁶.

The orphanage's original name was changed. The name Cristovão Colombo was chosen by Father Marchetti in reference to the immigrants, who had crossed the ocean and travelled long distances³⁷. This name substituted the original name, *Lyceu de Artes e Ofícios São José*, «with approval from the donors, he named the abovementioned institute *Orphanato Christovão Colombo*, under the protection of Saint Joseph»³⁸.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁵ L. Etchebéhère Júnior, L. Mazzali, R. Viegas, *Educação e filantropia na cidade de São Paulo, no final do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX, um estudo da obra do conde José Vicente de Azevedo no bairro do Ipiranga*, «História da Educação», vol. 11, n. 22, 2007, p. 174.

³⁶ Pucci had built several buildings for the city's aristocracy, had won a public bid to build the Museu Paulista da Universidade de São Paulo, also known as Museu do Ipiranga. For more information, please check the museum's webpage.

³⁷ São Paulo, *Escritura de Doação entre Partes*, de 20 abr. 1928, Tabela de Notas da Comarca da Capital.

³⁸ The original spelling found in the 19th century was Orphanato Christovam Colombo. A document from April 20, 1928 has the spelling Orphanato Christovão Colombo. Only after the subsequent spelling reforms in the 20th century was the spelling modified, when the name became

Therefore, the requests for donations in order to build the orphanage increased. There were donation requests since the idea was devised. Since Father Marchetti had started a construction work on the land adjacent to the chapel where he practiced his ministry, he bought some thousands of bricks, hired construction workers and started to prepare the place. However, after a week, a municipal authority visited the place and verified that the land belonged to the city. The construction work could not continue, but the fund raising proceeded³⁹.

In a short note on the newspaper «Correio Paulistano»⁴⁰, there was the information that the idea of creating a Catholic orphanage to educate and teach a trade to orphaned children «was being embraced», due to the donations and other contributions – construction and finishing materials – that the institutions received. In addition, the abovementioned newspaper and others that were read in the city published monthly lists with full names and donations, both money and materials.

Donations for the construction of Orphanato Christovam Colombo

<i>Name</i>	<i>Donation</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Doctor José Vicente de Azevedo	One piece of land; 20 thousand bricks; Capella S. José	Not mentioned
Mrs Veridiana Prado	700 doors made of different types of wood	2:000\$000
Company Mecânica	Part of a bell	59\$000
Roberto Mateucci	Lime (two railcars)	Not mentioned
Company Impressora	Free printed material	Not mentioned
O Estado de S. Paulo	Free publication	Not mentioned
Tribuna Italiana	Free publication	Not mentioned
Company Agrícola Damon	Money	3:100\$000
Farm Martinho Prado	Money	1:127\$000
Farm Francisco Schmidt	Money	1:868\$000
Farm Count do Pinhal	Money	1:100\$500
Farm Santa Veridiana	Money	5:850\$000
Joaquim da Cunha Bueno	Money	5:850\$000
Guimarães & Genros	Money	1:153\$000
Mr Antonio Penteadó	Money	1:562\$000
Countess de Brichanteau	Money	100\$000
Commander Duarte Rodrigues	Money	100\$000
A citizen from Itatiba	Money	5\$000
Natale Cristofani	Money	50\$000
Mrs Gabriela de Andrade	Money	100\$000
An anonymous woman	Money	100\$000

Orfanato Cristovão Colombo.

³⁹ Franceschini *et al.*, *Conde José Vicente de Azevedo: sua vida e sua obra*, cit.

⁴⁰ *Orphelinato de Artes e Offícios*, «Correio Paulistano», March 9, 1895.

Widow Emerenciana da Cunha	Money	459\$000
Mr Colonel Monteiro de Barros	Money	1:257\$000
Mr Major Serafim Leme	Money	700\$000
Mr Lieutenant Bicudo de Almeida	Money	600\$000
Mr Bastos & Brothers	Money	196\$000
Manoel Gonzaga de Souza Meirelles	Money	296\$000
Mrs Francisca de Paiva Baracho	Money	306\$000
Doctor Feliciano Rocha	Money	303\$000

Source: *O Estado de S. Paulo*, daily newspaper, free section, 1895.

The donation lists published daily in the newspapers were endless. People contributed the way they could towards the construction of the orphanage. The table above lists, in order of importance, the owner of the land; the lady from the coffee oligarchies that had denied to help the priest a few months before for not knowing him, and who donated wooden doors instead of money; factories and printing companies that contributed with their work at no charge; noblemen and noblewomen, as the Countess and the Commander; farmers from the state's countryside; some military authorities, members of society and other anonymous people.

In order to increase the amount of donations aimed at building the orphanage, besides the trips that the priest used to take to the countryside, there were other ways to contribute: bazaars sponsored by clubs on behalf of the orphanage, masquerade balls, vocal and instrumental concerts. A short note was published on «*O Estado de S. Paulo*» newspaper informing the readers about the fund raising in order to build the orphanage. «The orphanage's director, Father Giuseppe Marchetti, to whom we owe the creation of this charity home, intends to ask for donations on the city main streets today, on behalf of the orphanage»⁴¹. According to this note, the priest would go door to door asking for donations for a noble cause: rescue and provide moral education to orphans.

A project signed by Father Marchetti showed his original intention, which was to take in only orphans of immigrants from the Italian Peninsula. However, due to the great number of children who needed to be taken in, children from all ethnicities were accepted⁴². The project was published on the newspaper and advertised the idea that the orphanage would prepare good workers and citizens, «the orphans of the unfortunate immigrants who had deceased on the sea or on the settlements; and also to take in the abandoned children, even though they were not orphans»⁴³. The orphanage was created and then separated into two

⁴¹ *Notas e informações*, «*O Estado de S. Paulo*», April 30, 1895.

⁴² A comprehensive project for the orphanage's operation and the children's future was signed by Father Marchetti and published on «*O Estado de S. Paulo*», March 30, 1895.

⁴³ L. Bondi, *Madre Assunta Marchetti: uma vida missionária*, Brasília, Centro Scalabriniano de Estudos Migratórios, 2011.

wards, one for girls and another for boys, under orientation of the dioceses' bishop, Monsignor Joaquim Arcoverde de Albuquerque Cavalcanti. There was the idea of keeping the girl's ward next to «capella de São José, on the whereabouts of Ypiranga», and of building the boy's ward in Vila Prudente, «where Father Marchetti has already chosen a piece of land, which is very appropriate and has a splendid view of the downtown area»⁴⁴.

Father Marchetti was in charge of the boy's ward and the «Servas dos Órfãos e dos Abandonados no Exterior», a female branch of the missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, the Scalabrinians, were in charge of the girl's ward. It was at first directed by madam Carolina Marchetti, Father Marchetti's mother, appointed as the first director of the «Servas» or «Colombinas» in their first years⁴⁵. The position was passed on to Mother Assunta Marchetti, one of Father Marchetti's sister. The nuns looked after the girls and the very young children, both boys and girls⁴⁶.

The children sent to the orphanage originated from several situations; from the farms in the state's countryside⁴⁷, by law enforcement agents, or taken from the port of Santos for getting off without their parents. When they came from the countryside, they were brought by Father Marchetti himself, who visited the farmworkers and the colonial centers for religious purposes. When they were sent by law enforcement agents, they were assigned by judges to remain in these institutions since they had been living on the streets or under inhumane conditions. Finally, when they were brought straight from port of Santos, it was because Father Marchetti waited for the immigrants to get off the ships. In case any child had become an orphan during the journey, the priest was prepared to look after them⁴⁸.

The children taken in by the orphanage were usually in very poor health conditions. They were «brought from the farms by Father Marchetti, the poor children arrived at the orphanage looking terrible: their heads looked disgusting, their hands and feet were numb due to the amount of parasites that deformed their small fingers and toes. Wash off all the dirt, they were wearing rags»⁴⁹. The children would learn to read and would have a profession when they left the institution.

⁴⁴ *Orphelinato de Artes e Offícios*, «Correio Paulistano», March 9, 1895.

⁴⁵ Bondi, *Madre Assunta Marchetti: uma vida missionária*, cit., p. 76.

⁴⁶ Signor, *João Batista Scalabrini e a imigração italiana: um projeto sócio-pastoral*, cit.

⁴⁷ In one of the situations described, Father Marchetti was visiting families in the state's countryside when he arrived at a ranch. When he was near the house, he heard the sound of a child. He found the decaying corpses of the parents next to a child looking very prostrated. (C.M. Bove, E.G. Bellinato, *Sancti Pauli in Brasilia Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Iosephi Marchetti Sacerdotis Professi Congregationis Missionariorum a Sancto Carolo (1869-1896)*, 2 vols., 2003).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Bondi, *Madre Assunta Marchetti: uma vida missionária*, cit., p. 73.

A news story from «O Estado de S. Paulo» informed that the orphans produced bread daily for their own consumption and for *Hospital da Misericórdia*, in the city of São Paulo. It was still a «small production», but it would increase when they became more skilled at the craft⁵⁰. Many institutions and schools encouraged orphaned children and youngsters to learn a trade. For the upper class, child labor was seen as a way to «prevent and limit» the excessive amount of children on the streets, which were «the place for beggary, vagrancy, an environment full of opportunities for offenses and crime, with incentives beyond legality»⁵¹.

Even though endless lists of donations were published on the newspapers, the orphanage still did not have enough funds to complete the construction and to support the children. An article from «O Estado de S. Paulo» informed that the construction had not been completed, and that the workshops were not totally in place. Furniture was still missing, mainly beds, so the children had to share them. The orphanage «does not have bedclothes or clothes for the residents to wear»⁵².

São Paulo's city hall contributed by exempting some municipal tariffs. It established a financial allowance in the early years of the 20th century. In addition, it started «distributing annual financial support to charity organizations, exempting them from municipal tariffs and creating a charity tariff connected to the gaming business, replicating the pattern of using charity work as an alibi for violations»⁵³. Below are the schools and institutions that received the city hall's financial allowance in 1907, along with the number of students enrolled during the year. It was found that they were the same schools and institutions that continued to provide their services in the city, most of them belonging to religious congregations, except for *Lyceu de Artes e Offícios*, *Orphanato de Santa Anna* and *Abrigo Santa Maria*, the last two were private institutions.

Schools and institutes subsidized by the state of São Paulo

Year	Institution	Sex	Type of education	Registered students
1873	Lyceu de Artes e Offícios	Boys	Vocational	1440
1885	Lyceu Sagrado Coração de Jesus	Boys	Vocational	698
1894	Externato Casa Pia de São Vicente de Paula	Boys	Social Welfare	120

⁵⁰ «O Estado de S. Paulo», 28 January 1896.

⁵¹ E.B.B. de Moura, *A História sem as crianças e as crianças sem História: por que o trabalho infantil?*, in L. Lionetti, I. Cosse, M.C. Zapiola, *La historia de las infancias en America Latina*, Tandil, Universidad Nacional del Centro de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2018, p. 41.

⁵² «O Estado de S. Paulo», 4 May 1901.

⁵³ A. Sposati, *Parceria da Igreja com o poder público*, in *Seminário da Caridade, Presença da Igreja na Cidade de São Paulo: ação social e testemunho de caridade e solidariedade*, São Paulo, Loyola, Comissão Central do Seminário da Caridade, 2002, p. 72.

1896	Asylo de Orphãos Desamparados Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora do Ypiranga	Boys	Social Welfare Vocational	50
1890	Instituição da Sagrada Família do Ypiranga	Girls	Social Welfare	30
1892	Orphanato de Santa Anna	Girls	Social Welfare	49
1892	Abrigo Santa Maria	Boys Girls	Social Welfare	96
1895	Orphanato Christovam Colombo do Ypiranga e Villa Prudente de Moraes	Boys Girls	Social Welfare Vocational	187 boys 76 girls
1897	Asylo do Bom Pastor	Girls	Social Welfare	96
1897	Casa da Divina Providência da Mooca	Girls	Social Welfare	58

Source: São Paulo, *Anuario do Ensino do Estado de S. Paulo*, Inspectoria Geral do Ensino, São Paulo, Typ. A. Siqueira & C., 1907-1910.

Final words

The orphanage had many obstacles to overcome regarding its construction and Father Marchetti's tireless search for donations. Even with all problems, it was inaugurated in 1896, in the same month Father Marchetti died. The priest had been sick for some months, he used to travel to the countryside to visit parishioners and caught a disease in one of these trips. His death caused a huge commotion, many newspapers in the city published articles on the funeral procession, the mass at Sé cathedral and the funeral. Some of them wrote about the crowd of people who were present at the funeral and others transcribed the mass sermon. The city would hardly have a dedicated priest like him again⁵⁴.

His successor, Faustino Consone, had a difficult role: substitute a priest who was worshipped by the community⁵⁵. The donations were not received on a regular basis. Father Consone published a letter on the newspapers requesting for donations, explaining to the readers the orphanage's conditions and the reasons why it needed donations⁵⁶. It seems that these actions brought results in

⁵⁴ «Correio Paulistano», December 16, 1896; «O Estado de S. Paulo», December 16, 1896.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ The letter calling for charity was published between 1901 and 1906, the priest asked for donations from the «noteworthy and renowned people from the state of São Paulo». There had been a certain decrease in the amount of donations due to the «significant economic crisis the country is suffering», according to the priest. («O Estado de S. Paulo», March 5, 1901).

the first years, since in 1904 the girls housing building was inaugurated in Vila Prudente de Moraes, with materials donated by the community.

The amount of foreign and local children orphaned or abandoned on the city streets was very large in the final years of the 19th century and in the early years of the 20th century. Due to the infrastructure changes that occurred with the arrival of many new inhabitants, it was necessary to create day cares (or *crèches*) specifically aimed at very young children, as well as vocational schools for children older than seven. The problem is that these institutions did not always have enough vacancies for all the neglected children and youngsters, and many of them remained on the streets. The Scalabrinian orphanage innovated for taking over both the social welfare and the vocational roles, and for taking in both boys and girls, children and youngsters. At the same moment, the Salesian brothers were in charge of a day care (or *crèche*) with the same roles; however, it only accepted boys.

Schooling of italian immigrants in Porto Alegre/RS (1928-1938)

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ABSTRACT: The article discusses elements of the school process between Italian immigrants and Italian descendants established in the city of Porto Alegre, capital of Rio Grande do Sul, highlighting the period from 1928 to 1938, in which there is the restructuring of schools and the creation of new schools maintained by Italian Societies and by the Italian General Consulate in Porto Alegre. The formation of an ethnic Italian school network was identified in the 1930s, with about five hundred pupils, five schools, a common didactic program and a school culture aligned with the model of the Italian fascist school. These schools were closed in 1938 under the allegation of non-compliance with the laws of nationalization and no longer reopened.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Fascism; Italian schools in the abroad; Italian ethnic schools; Italian consuls; Porto Alegre; Brazil; XXth Century.

Introduction

The presence and dissemination of initiatives to educate the children of Italian immigrants goes back to the second half of the 19th century. Research carried out to date has allowed us to enrich the structure of the data in our possession. In fact, a more careful and systematic use of various sources, including consular ones, is enabling us to broaden the heuristic framework¹. Today we know that

¹ See T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul,

there were different types of initiatives aimed at the education of the children of the Italians who arrived in the south of Brazil. Italian ethnic schools were differentiated between rural initiatives, from families in a community who chose the most enlightened person and, generally in an improvised space, opened a class for the teaching of reading, writing, calculations and catechism. They were ephemeral and rudimentary schools, mostly. Numerous families, in community, when they were able to do so, constructed a building, equipped the room with furniture and pressured the municipalities to subsidize the teacher, who was in many cases indicated by the families themselves². At the same time, there were also parish schools promoted by the parish priests and, finally, schools subsidized by the Italian government, designed after the reform of the Italian schools abroad carried out by Francesco Crispi, to reinforce the presence of schools supported by the Italian State³. The analyzes carried out to date have identified an orientation and strategy by the consular authorities in the period between the beginning of colonization and the first decade of the twentieth century, characterized by characteristic elements to compensate for the deficiencies of the Brazilian education system: among these the involvement of mutual associations in the promotion of schools and a different attitude between urban and rural schools⁴. Indeed, even the creation of an Italian school in the urban context of Porto Alegre is due to the support offered by the consul Pasquale Corte⁵, who worked to secure the patronage of the Mutual Relief Society «Vittorio Emanuele II» instituted since 1877⁶ at the [mixed] primary

Uducs, 2015; A. Barausse, *Le scuole italiane nel Rio Grande do Sul attraverso le carte consolari tra la fine dell'Impero e l'inizio della Repubblica (1875-1893)*, in A. De Ruggiero, V.B.M. Heredia, A. Barausse, *História e narrativas transculturais entre a Europa Mediterrânea e a América Latina*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 195-248; A. Barausse, *Chamas da educação nacional e do sentimento pátrio: as escolas italianas no rio grande do sul da colonização ao final do século 19 (1875-1898)*, «História da Educação», vol. 21, 2017, pp. 41-85; G.L. Rech, T.Â. Luchese, *Escolas Italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2018; Rech, *Escolas étnicas italianas em Porto Alegre/RS (1877-1938): a formação de uma rede escolar e o fascismo*, PhD thesis in Education, Pelotas, Universidade Federal de Pelotas, 2015. On the use of consular sources see A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Uma história da educação dos (i)migrantes italianos entre o local e o transnacional: entrecruzando documentos e olhares investigativos*, in A. Karsburg, M. Vendrame (edd.), *Variações da micro-história no Brasil: temas, abordagens e desafios*, São Leopoldo, Oikos Editora E-book, 2018, pp. 171-203.

² On this see the study of T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, Uducs, 2015.

³ On the reform of Italian schools abroad introduced by Francesco Crispi see P. Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina, *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana: Arrivi*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, vol. 1, pp. 535-549.

⁴ Barausse, *Chamas da educação nacional e do sentimento pátrio: as escolas italianas no rio grande do sul da colonização ao final do século 19 (1875-1898)*, cit., p. 41 and following.

⁵ See the Report by the royal Consul P. Corte of July 15, 1884, in ASMAE, AS 1868-1888, Cat. 451 b. 218 P-S, f. Porto Alegre.

⁶ *Le Associazioni*, in *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte e Cultura, 2000, pp. 364-397.

school founded by Professor Adele Lazzari Bianchi which had a regular license and was much appreciated by Italian families⁷ because, for several years, she privately taught Italian language to the girls of the Porto Alegre bourgeoisie. It was following the intervention of the consular authority, therefore, that in 1884 the teacher started an Italian mixed school with the participation of 26 students to meet the demand for education after the growth of Italian immigration in the capital⁸.

During the following decades the development of Italian schools in the capital, however, followed alternate phases. After a growth recorded in the mid-1890s, the new century saw a fluctuating trend, but which, for the most part, still needs to be reconstructed analytically⁹. The research conducted to date, however, reveals the persistence of a basic concern that encouraged many who were engaged in defending and promoting the character of Italianity within the Italian masses who immigrated to Rio Grande do Sul. The consular authorities observed the progressive establishment of schools promoted by foreign religious orders, favored by the country's freedom of education policies, fervently defended by the gaúchos positivists¹⁰. In a 1906 report, Consul De Velutiis noted that schools were going through «a very critical period», due not only to the economic crisis that accompanied Rio Grande do Sul during the first years of the new century, but also to the «invasion of French institutes», instituting schools of both sexes in the colonies, which made great competition with the Italians «because they admit poor and free students, making them pay only what they can»¹¹. The very political reform of the Italian schools abroad presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and approved in 1910¹², emphasized the importance of the role of associations and maintained a benevolent orientation towards religious congregations, useful for the defense

⁷ MAE, *Relazione al Parlamento sulle scuole italiane all'estero*, Rome, 1880, pp. 227-228.

⁸ P. Corte, *As colonias agrícolas italianas da Provincia do Rio Grande do Sul*, 1884, in R. Costa, L.A. De Boni, N. Salvagni, E.C. Grison, *As Colonias italianas Dona Isabel e Conde d'Eu*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1992, pp. 25-33.

⁹ For a first approach see Barausse, *Chamas da educação nacional e do sentimento pátrio: as escolas italianas no Rio Grande do Sul da colonização ao final do século 19 (1875-1898)*, cit., p. 41.

¹⁰ L.A. Kreutz, *A educação dos imigrantes no Brasil*, in E.M.T. Lopes, L.M. de Faria Filho, C.G. Veiga, *500 anos de educação no Brasil*, Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2003; T.Â. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2015.

¹¹ Report by the royal consul F. De Velutiis «*Escolas italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*», May 6, 1906, in ASMAE, AS 1889-1910, CAT. III B, b. 343, f. Rio Grande do Sul. See also *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud e la crisi econômica durante l'ultimo quinquennio. Rapporto del cav. Francesco De Velutiis*, R. Console di Porto Alegre, February 1908, in MAE, *Commissariato dell'Emigrazione. Emigrazione e Colonie, Raccolta di rapporti dei RR. Agenti Diplomatici e consolari*, Rome, 1908, vol. III, Brazil, p. 345.

¹² On the law n. 867 approved on December 18, 1910 see G. Ciampi, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in V. Pellegrini (ed.), *Amministrazione centrale e diplomazia italiana (1919-1943): fonti e problemi*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1998, pp. 115-122.

of Italian culture; but derisory was the contribution of the reform to schools subsidized by the Italian government whose resources were to be «mostly viewed as moral support and encouragement»¹³. At the beginning of World War I, the educational processes of the children of emigrants or descendants of Italians residing in Porto Alegre were assured by various channels: the slow growth of Brazilian public schools, the more pronounced development of schools promoted by religious congregations, and also by the schools promoted by the social networks of the Italians in the state of Rio Grande do Sul¹⁴. However, it was noted that the Italian ethnic school initiative in the capital became very fragile. The school of Società Unione Meridionale «Vittorio Emanuele III», founded in 1904, closed down in 1907; the school of the Società «Giovanni Emanuel», founded in 1902, closed between 1914 and 1916, being no longer reopened; the initiative of the Italian Società «Vittorio Emanuele II», also closed its school activities in an uncertain date, but before 1916. The Italian ethnic schools were only guaranteed by Società di Beneficenza ed Istruzione «Umberto I», founded in 1902 and, since 1898, by Società Italiana di Beneficenza ed Istruzione «Principessa Elena di Montenegro»¹⁵.

Still limited was the repercussion of two new facts that occurred during the period of war and intended to affect the following years. The foundation of the «Dante Alighieri» Society, in 1914, which gradually leads the construction of the identity of immigrants in the capital and later will have its elementary school in the 1930s¹⁶. In the context of the educational offer for Italians and Brazilians, the educational proposal at the time of the world conflict was enriched by the opening of the Italian-Brazilian Institute Augusto Menegatti, an elementary and lower secondary school located in the center of Porto Alegre, attracting students from several parts of the state, lasted until 1930 and was led by a couple of teachers trained in Italy, Augusto and Linda Menegatti¹⁷.

¹³ T. Tittoni, *Sei anni di politica estera (1903-1909). Discorsi pronunciati al Senato del Regno ed alla Camera dei Deputati*, Rome-Turin, Nuova Antologia, 1912; Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, cit., p. 547.

¹⁴ A. Barausse, *From the Mediterranean to the Americas. Italian Ethnic schools in Rio Grande do Sul between emigration, colonialism and nationalism (1875-1925)*, «Sisyphus – Journal of Education», vol. 4, 2016, pp. 144-172; Rech, Luchese, *Escolas Italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*, cit.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25 and following.

¹⁶ The interest of the first president of «Dante Alighieri» school, Doctor Cini, was to «[...] gather the whole colony in a single beam and form a true planetary center around the *Dante Alighieri*. Let it continue in its noble work of Italianity and we all shall follow it». See *La Dante Alighieri*, «D'Artagnan Coloniale», June 6, 1915, p. 3. References to the origin of the «Dante Alighieri» Society in *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana in the Rio Grande del Sud*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte e Cultura, 2000 (I^a ed. 1925), vol. I, p. 374.

¹⁷ On the occasion of the installation of this school, the Newspaper *Città di Caxias* said: «The Colony lacked a school of its own, an internal school that could receive its children and where they could experience brotherly union, a school that could meet the needs of most of the Italians who attend the trade», see *Una Bella Iniziativa*, «Città di Caxias», January 15, 1917, p. 4. About this

The boarding school had an elementary school and a three-year technical course in which accounting and languages were taught, such as Italian, Portuguese and French, and optionally English and German. With a teaching proposal «eminently practical with programs based on the model of technical schools in Italy, France, England and Germany»¹⁸.

1. *The development of Italian schools in the 1920s in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul: between the rise of fascism and the decline of the old republic*

The processes of ethnic schooling in Porto Alegre in the period between the end of World War I and the rise of fascism in Italy are conditioned by multiple factors, among them the growth of nationalist accents that accompanied the development of Brazilian society throughout the course of the last years of the old republic¹⁹. The nationalization campaign had begun since World War I, motivating the state to encourage the suppression of ethnic schools and to expand free public education²⁰. In Italian schools in Brazil, more generally, the attention of the Italian government is given when, in the 1920s, the Italian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs attempted the resumption of Italian schools in Brazil. Through the activity developed by the General Direction of the Italian Schools Abroad (DGSIE), directed in the 1920s by Ciro Trabalza, and the work of a specific commission for the reorganization and surveillance of Italian schools in America, Brazil and the Italian schools called attention to promote a radical reorganization of Italian schools abroad, seeking a reinvigoration of them²¹. The perspective within which the ministry intended to support the revival attempt and a new affirmation of the national ethnic identity attributed a more significant role to the associative world both to that connected to the secular society «Dante Alighieri» and, above all, the Catholic one linked to the «Itálica Gens» Federation to promote initiatives aimed at ethnic education. In this perspective, the State of Rio Grande do Sul

school see Rech, *O Instituto Ítalo-Brasileiro Augusto Menegatti de Porto Alegre*, in T.A. Luchese (ed.), *Escolarização, culturas e instituições: escolas étnicas italianas em terras brasileiras*, Caxias do Sul, Educs, 2018, pp. 245-279.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ A. Barausse, T.Â. Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (Rs, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 443-475.

²⁰ See L. Giron Slomp, *As sombras do littorio: o fascismo no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Parlanda, 1994; Id., *Colônia Italiana e educação*, «Revista História da Educação», vol. 2, n. 3, Sempember 1998, pp. 87-106.

²¹ A. Barausse, *Os livros escolares como instrumentos para a promoção da identidade nacional italiana no Brasil durante os primeiros anos do fascismo (1922-1925)*, «História da Educação», vol. 20, n. 49, 2016, pp. 81-94.

and even Porto Alegre, were the object of a specific mission of a trustee of the Catholic association *Italica Gens*, Luigi Seghetti, to identify strategic lines of re-launching ethnic predominantly confessional schooling²². However, the new initiatives that emerged in the years prior to the early 1920s did not produce significant results in the medium term and, above all, did not change the basic concern that encouraged many of those who have engaged in advocacy and promoting the character of Italianity within the Italian masses immigrated to Rio Grande do Sul. The consular authorities and the various subjects involved continued to observe and record the uncontrollable decline of school initiatives of a purely ethnic nature in the face of the growth of the nationals proposed by the Brazilian government and foreign religious orders²³. Exemplifying what was pointed out by the first consul, Luigi Arduini, the expression of the new Italian political regime was what he defined as the denationalization process²⁴. In the reserved communications transmitted by Consul Arduini to the General Directorate of the Italian Schools of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one spoke of a true and proper «debacle» [collapse], of the «disastrous situation» of Italian schools. In particular, the Italian consul in Porto Alegre denounced «under current conditions, Italian schools continue to flourish», but it marked the state of «abandonment», of «neglect», in which were all the small secular schools maintained with subsidies by the Italian government and present in the regions of the colonial area as «small bastions of Italianity!». At the same time, he reiterated the scarce «efficacy, usefulness and training» offered by education, especially by the actions promoted by the institutes maintained by religious congregations in which «prevailing those of French origin and mentality» made it difficult to promote the national language. The data presented in the report by the Italian Consul of Porto Alegre, Luigi Arduini, show a decrease in the total number of members, which from the 3094 registered in 1921, became 2767. In Porto Alegre, the two primary schools in operation – Umberto I and Principessa Elena di Montenegro, did not serve more than 86 students²⁵. The consul's relationship, which was intended to provoke alarming reactions within the Ministry, revealed the loss of national feeling among Italian immigrants, especially those living in urban areas, since those living in certain conditions of isolation had some resistance to the brazilianizing process²⁶.

The denationalization process is naturally much easier in cities than in rural areas, but it is a fact that even in the latter, with the opening of roads and new communication pathways,

²² To further investigate the role of the Catholic federation «*Italica Gens*» attention is drawn to the text of Barausse contained in the monographic issue itself.

²³ Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, cit.

²⁴ Report by the royal consul L. Arduini of September 3, 1925, in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ See the note of Ciro Trabalza of December 3, 1925, in ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 637, f. Porto Alegre.

with the intensification of trade between colonies and more inhabited centers and, above all, by the works that are developed by the local authorities, who do not welcome the foreign schools no matter how modest, trying to supplant them²⁷.

Arduini saw no room for «advancement», but rather the necessary demand for a genuine «reform work» through a series of measures, including the expansion of financial investment, the support of schools run by lay teachers in colonial areas, the establishment of religious denominations of Italian origin and the greater diffusion and circulation of school material and textbooks.

Also, the next Consul, Chiostrì, between 1928 and 1930 did not fail to remember the ministry about the problems that affected the Italian schools in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and the capital in particular, in the more general framework of the resumption of schooling processes in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In the report prepared on January 7, 1930, Consul Manfredo Chiostrì wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs highlighting the worsening presence/absence of schools with teaching in Italian. The old ethnic-community schools that had been opened in the colonization process were all closed. He took into consideration the various elements that led to the fall in numbers of Italian schools, marking the lack of teachers, the death of some of them or of the educators, the loss of parish priests²⁸, the linking of masters to public schools, the presence of confessional schools, on which there was still much discussion. In addition, the consul highlighted the context of the expansion of the commitment of the State and local Brazilian authorities to a more significant development of schooling processes:

The primary education was in full development, having made great progress throughout the State, which sought to be assiduous and vigilant so that, however remote it may be, it had a municipal, state or federal elementary school, and that the Secondary schooling offers fast and modern courses, preparing students with a certain eclecticism in which spirits and minds of youth are formed and the practical results must be recognized²⁹.

²⁷ Report by the royal consul L. Arduini of September 3, 1925, cit.

²⁸ Chiostrì's Report, 7 January 1930, pp. 5-6, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Parte Generale.

²⁹ «Together with this scholastic, federal, state and parastatal organization there were religious orders, predominantly French and German, providing primary and even secondary education, and in the German region there were several rural schools run by professors of German nationality, employed by their own government. In our area, unfortunately, there are predominantly foreign religious orders, the Italians are only four in the whole state and not very numerous, and the old rural schools that emerged with the progress of our colonization almost disappear. Italian education, by religious orders of Italian origin leaves much to be desired and Italian is not taught in all the high school subjects. In general, although secondary courses are held in some order, Italian education is only taught in lower-level courses and it is limited to the teaching of reading and writing, with very few notions of history and geography. Only in the Colégio dos Capuchinhos there is a more complete instruction of the Italian language, which is also compressed in the higher courses, but this college is limited only to the instruction of beginners. As a result of this scarce education, favored also by the apathy of our settlers and the difficult means of communication, we

In most cases, the given instruction continued to be quite limited. There were few schools located in the few rural municipalities that, along with those in the capital such as the middle institute of prof. Menegatti and those supported by the «Umberto I» Society and the «Principessa Elena di Montenegro» Society appeared to be:

[...] schools which, in addition to an elementary education of our language, take care of the teaching of other notions such as history, geography and, above all, prepare the hearts and minds of our little ones for the love of their homeland, [...] continuing to prepare our youth for professional life, so that they complete the courses with a rooted sense of homeland³⁰.

The consular authority of Porto Alegre, in the early 1930s, despite the gradual decline in the number of schools and the level of schooling considered important to support the few remaining schools, since they contributed to «delaying the phenomenon of complete denationalization». In the same line of the consul Luigi Arduini, he detected a process of «[...] denationalization that unfortunately hangs over our collectivities, of which not even the German groups were exempt from, which, from a school point of view, are better organized»³¹. Chiostrri, in fact, sought in various ways to foster an Italian culture and language and encouraged the coming of Italian religious congregations.

2. *The Italian schools in Porto Alegre in the Vargas era: the relaunch for an Italianity in fascist style*

The reinvigoration of schools in the capital was effected, in part, mainly in Rio Grande do Sul, between the end of the 1920s and, above all, the 1930s. The premises are put in the general change of fascism into totalitarianism and in the exchange of the top of the Foreign Affairs Ministry with the appointment of Piero Parini, head of the General Directorate of Schools and Italians Abroad and Plenipotentiary Minister³². An amendment that accompanied a new address

can say that in all our colonies we end up speaking neither Italian nor Portuguese, but a dialect of Veneto mixed with many Brazilianisms», *Ibid.* Between 1930 and 1937, Flores da Cunha adopted several measures to expand the network of schools and their physical structures as well as the attention to students and the appointment of teachers. See M.H. Câmara Bastos, E.A. Tambara, *A nacionalização do ensino e a renovação educacional no Rio Grande do Sul*, in C. de Quadros (ed.), *Uma gota amarga: itinerários da nacionalização do ensino no Brasil*, Editora UFSM, 2014, pp. 86-87.

³⁰ Report by the royal consul M. Chiostrri of January, 1930, cit., pp. 4-5, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Regarding Parini, we refer to M. Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, Bologna, Clueb, 2010, p. 34; B.M. Knox, *Parini Piero*, in P.V. Cannistraro (ed.), *Historical Dictionary of Fascist Italy*, Westport-Connecticut, 1982, pp. 393-394; Regarding the new direction, cf. P. Parini,

for the development of ethnic schools to promote the regime's propaganda abroad³³. The definition of the post of DGSIE to Piero Parini³⁴, secretary of the «Fasci italiani all'estero» (Italian Fascists abroad)³⁵, would mean the politicization of the emigration sector, including that of the schools. But the reinvigoration of Fascism in Porto Alegre coincides precisely with the arrival of a new generation of consuls, more aligned with fascism that are installed in the Consulate General of Italy in Rio Grande do Sul, namely: Manfredo Chiostrì, Mario Carli, Guglielmo Barbarisi and Santovincenzo Magno. Historiography generally represented the role of the consuls as quite similar. In fact, their approaches were quite different, as we shall see³⁶.

The new consuls followed the process of identity development between immigrants and Italian descendants more in tune with the ideological orientations of fascism. Over time, changes in the Italian state system, such as the introduction of fascism, had an important influence on their formation and constitution and sought to ensure fascistisation by encouraging the institutionalization of the «Fasci italiani all'estero», the «Dopolavoro»³⁷, the establishment of a socialization space for the Italian collectivity, the *Italica Domus*, as well as the promotion of major events such as parades, greetings, intonation of war songs such as

Italiani nel mondo, Milan, 1935, pp. 35-37; G. Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero: cento anni di storia*, Rome, Armando Editore, 1974, pp. 76-77; B. Garzarelli, *Fascismo e propaganda all'estero: le origini della Direzione generale per la propaganda (1933-1934)*, «Studi Storici», vol. 202, n. 2, pp. 481-482.

³³ On the new Italian advocated by Fascism see E. Gentile, *Fascismo, Storia e interpretazione*, Rome-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, n. 9, 2002, pp. 51-58.

³⁴ On the change of the new «General Directorate of Italians and Schools Abroad» see Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero: cento anni di storia*, cit.; Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, cit., p. 34 and following; A. Barausse, *The construction of national identity in textbooks for Italian schools abroad: the case of Brazil between the two World Wars*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 2, 2015, p. 441.

³⁵ About groups that organized propaganda and diffusion of fascist ideology in Italian communities abroad, trying to co-opt them. They also carried out assistance and cultural activities, ceremonies to defend Italianity and fascism, see Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, cit., p. 33; E. Franzina, M. Sanfilippo (edd.), *Il fascismo e gli emigrati. La parabola dei fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1943)*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2003; J.F. Bertonha, *Emigrazione e politica estera: la diplomazia sovversiva di Mussolini e la questione degli italiani all'estero 1921-1945*, «Altretalia», n. 23, 2001, pp. 39-60; Id., *O fascismo e os imigrantes italianos no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, EdiPUCRS, 2001.

³⁶ On a first look at this issue, see J.E. Bertonha, *O fascismo e os imigrantes italianos no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2001, and F. Grassi Orsini, *Diplomazia e regime*, in Pellegrini (ed.), *Amministrazione centrale e diplomazia italiana (1919-1943): fonti e problemi*, cit., pp. 63-87. See also Barausse, Luchese, *Uma história da educação dos (i)migrantes italianos entre o local e o transnacional: entrecruzando documentos e olhares investigativos*, cit., pp. 171-203.

³⁷ The *Dopolavoro all'estero* were associations aimed at the workers abroad who became «a very effective means of approaching, through recreation, sport and culture, Italians from abroad to fascism», Bertonha, *O fascismo e os imigrantes italianos no Brasil*, cit., p. 46.

Giovinazza, soirées, football games, the inauguration of monuments and a whole set of fascist rituals celebrated in different spaces of socialization, as will be explained later. However, it should be noted that «[...] only a small minority of emigrants were converted into members of the ‘Fasci italiani all’estero’, and that most of them were members of the bourgeoisie and the local Italian middle classes»³⁸. Constantino observed that «[...] the great fascist offensive in the colonies abroad brought about a reinforcement in the construction of a new identity, using evident symbols drawn from the new homeland in its modern, orderly and progressive model»³⁹. Thus, a new Italy was being spread and the emigres of that nation were made ‘Italians abroad’⁴⁰. Among the demonstrations involving the diplomatic political authorities and the Italian community in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and, in particular, that of Porto Alegre in the 1930s, special attention was given to the visits made by Piero Parini in December 1931 during the last phase of the consular mission of Manfredo Chiostrri and of Ambassador Cerruti in 1932: both were intended to have a resonance also in what concerns the impulse for the reorganization of the schools and the courses of Italian language⁴¹.

Having been received at the headquarters of the «Dante Alighieri» Society, Piero Parini made a speech defending the fascist proposal. He emphasized the new logic with which he saw the Italians, now no longer as mere immigrants, but «Italians abroad», an aspect that showed a direction of the policy and the tutelage of the immigration. In his speech, he emphasized the greatness of the fascist vision regarding the emigrants, the need for the resumption of Italianity and efforts to spread the Italian language.

Immigrants, on account of other governments before Mussolini, had been forgotten, consisting of a historical and truly criminal error, the work of other governments of their homeland, because in the space of 40 years they forgot all their children scattered throughout the various parts of the world. It was a historical mistake that the Fascist government now tries to remedy, and Benito Mussolini, on the day he took the reins of government, also turned his sights on the Italians abroad, causing them to stir their feelings for the distant homeland. For this reason, the fascist government considered it a real duty to verify and ascertain the situation of Italians residing abroad. [...] and if in Brazil Italianity declined on the terrain of its culture, it was only the fault of the Italian government and the Italians from here [...]. So the government worried about Italians living abroad. [...] It is the duty of all Italians to work for the expansion of the Italian language, and to honor it as much as possible. [...] There is no doubt that in Brazil there are hospitals, colleges and industries

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁹ N.S. de Constantino, *A construção da identidade no Brasil Meridional: italianos na capital do Rio Grande do Sul*, «Revista Cordis», n. 2, 2009, p. 11.

⁴⁰ L.S. Giron, *As sombras do littorio: o fascismo no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, Parlanda, 1994, p. 83.

⁴¹ On the repercussion of the visit of Cerruti see Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., in partic. p. 452.

that honor the Italian name. But we must not look at Italianity only in this field, but also in the spiritual, so that in 20 years or two generations nothing has disappeared from Italianity among us. One must therefore be sure that the Italian name will continue to be an up-to-date standard for its bearers. [...] We therefore ask the Italians of Brazil to love this land as their second homeland, that their children be Brazilian, but we ask that they be collaborators of our effort, of the work that the people of the peninsula have been doing⁴².

The articulator of the news, an interpreter of the various speeches of the Italian collectivity that took place at the *Italica Domus*, pointed out that the commander could «[...] be sure that the loyal consul here and the colony would attend to him, so that Italy will have the world's leading position it deserves»⁴³. The minister's message was clear: the need to combat the decline of Italianity or the denationalization process. With this task of resumption of Italianity the «Fasci italiani all'estero» and the consuls were entrusted.

In this context the consuls see the school as an ally of their ideal of forming perfect *balillas* and good Italians in the fascist fashion. The cultural propaganda strategy of fascism has, especially, in the school a door of entrance for the convincing of the world view of the regime. Fascism wanted a school that would form the perfect fascist, a school that could immediately interfere with student behavior⁴⁴. In this perspective, he endeavored to fill the school with ceremonies and rites in order to arouse emotions and passion. With this, the school could not prove efficient for its purpose, but adequate to the ideological proposal. The solemn vow of teachers to love the motherland would be a demand. For teachers abroad another requirement would be compulsory membership of the National Fascist Party, starting in 1932.

In this scenario, the organizational renaissance of the Italian schools of Porto Alegre took shape. The process that matured in the light of the alarming considerations of the consul Chiostrri who, however, considered the reorganization of schools useless and inopportune, if not counterproductive, and asked to maintain the *status quo*. The timidity of the consular action was justified by the request to avoid questions that could raise in the Brazilian political authorities the idea that the instruction in Italian schools was harmful or «dangerous for the formation of a [Brazilian] national conscience»⁴⁵. One of the greatest fears, in fact, was related to the possible negative reactions of the Brazilian authorities to the possible activism of the Italians, similar to what had happened against the Germans. In fact, the consul in a note sent to Rome recalled:

⁴² See *A chegada do diretor geral dos fascios italianos no exterior*, «Correio do Povo», December 16, 1931, p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ On the new Italian advocated by Fascism see Gentile, *Fascismo, Storia e interpretazione*, cit.; La Rovere, «*Rifare gli italiani*»: *l'esperienza di creazione dell'uomo nuovo nel regime fascista*, cit., pp. 51-58.

⁴⁵ Report by the royal consul M. Chiostrri, of January 7, 1930, cit., p. 9.

This was a tangible proof of this possibility in the last discussion in this assembly of representatives where several deputies strongly attacked the German school organization, declaring that it was dangerous for the formation of a compact national consciousness, when this same instruction, although made by German authorities, essentially aims to teach the language of Brazilian history and geography⁴⁶.

The process of reorganization coincided with the change at highest of the Italian consulate positions and with the arrival of Consul Carli in 1932, a figure closer to the orientations of fascism after Piero Parini's visit to Brazil in 1931. It is with Carli, who arrived in March 1932, that the position of fascist politics in relation to schools in Porto Alegre was well evidenced.

The impulse for the development of schools was inscribed in the framework of a more organic strategy which, as we shall see from the first half of the 1930s, saw the Italian consuls of Porto Alegre move towards centralized control of all organizations in the proposal of fascistization – Associations of Mutual Aid, «Fasci italiani all'estero», «Dopolavoro», «Dante Alighieri» – and for the promotion of Italian schools and their restructuring, newspapers, Italian language and culture courses, radio programs, construction of monuments and promotion of festivities – all together, all diffusion strategies of fascist discourse. Strategies for building a sense of belonging to the 'great' Italy, to Italianity, and therefore to fascism⁴⁷.

The orientation of the new consul was characterized by the central tendency that the representative authority of the State and of the Italian government in the Rio Grande do Sul State intended to apply to reorganize the whole life of Italian social and cultural structures and guarantee the most effective control of fascism⁴⁸. In the urban context of the Capital, the consular authorities favored and allowed a process of reorganization of the current schools and linked to the associations of mutual aid⁴⁹. They were endowed with diverse characteristics from the curricular point of view, or in relation to the proximity to the consulate, they were reorganized under the tutelage of the Consulate, guided by a single didactic direction. The central figure in the process of reorganization was that of Professor Luigi Ledda, who was directly appointed in Rome by the General Director Piero Parini⁵⁰, assisted the consul after reorganization and assumed

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* On the assessments of Consul Chiostrri see Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaicho people (Rs, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., p. 458.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 459 and following.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Rech, *Escolas étnicas em Porto Alegre/RS (1877-1938): a formação de uma rede escolar e o fascismo*, cit. See also *As escolas ítalo-brasileiras em Porto Alegre. Origem, organização, atividade*, «La Voce d'Italia», September 17, 1936.

⁵⁰ Luigi Ledda arrived in Brazil at the age of 29. In fact, the young teacher was born in Nuoro, Sardinia, on July 12, 1903. After getting his primary teaching degree in the normal school of Nuoro, he enrolled in 1920-21 specialization course established at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Rome, but probably failed to follow the lessons. In that same school year, in fact, he had been

the position of director of the Italian school in Porto Alegre, a post he held from January 1st 1934 until his [departure] from the gaúcha capital in year of 1938⁵¹.

Consul Carli, with the support of Ledda, went to the Italian Ministry and the government of Rio Grande do Sul to approve reorganization programs. The reorganization project consisted of several steps. In the first place, it was established the institutionalization of a didactic direction to centralize and unify under a single structure the coordination of activities. The new structure was accompanied by the prospect of an increase in the number of schools; the consolidation of a calendar to ensure the effective exercise of the school year and a school schedule with the distribution of the weekly workload; the uniform use of textbooks; the increase of the number of students and the accompaniment to guarantee the attendance at school; the regular inspection service and pedagogical guidance for teachers; the provision to schools of the educational material necessary and appropriate for the teaching work; the organization of a calendar of celebrations and joint festivities with the Brazilian authorities. To support this perspective, Carli suggested «[...] not to save money on school supplies, which should not be limited to textbooks of the five grades», to which others should be added⁵². The consul added that they should also send «[...] great photographs of the Sovereigns and of the *Duce* to distribute in the Schools and in the groups of fascias, at least thirty of each. Maps of Italy and colonies and photographs of heroes and martyrs of War and Revolution»⁵³. Together, it was defined the structuring of a common curriculum that provided for the teaching of Italian and Portuguese⁵⁴. The new *curriculum* envisaged «putting

appointed temporary teacher at the school of a village of Berruiles in the province of Nuoro and the following year at the school of the municipality of Ussana in the province of Cagliari. In 1923 he won the competition as titular professor of the municipality of Terranova Pausania in Sassari. That same year, he began military service, winning in 1924 the title of official student. Between 1924 and 1927 he taught in the schools of the municipality of Terranova Pausania and, in the following two years, in the supplementary course and in the school of initiation to work. After winning the contest announced in 1929, with a score of 8 out of 10, he was sent to Tunis, where he arrived on September 1, 1929. He stayed there for three years. The general direction of the schools and the Italians abroad actually assigned him to the Americas, and on July 18, 1932, he left Genoa for Brazil. See the teacher's personal folder in ASMAE, AS 1920-1955, Personale docente cessato dal servizio, b. 305, f. Ledda Luigi.

⁵¹ After his experience in southern Brazil, Ledda passed through Paraguay from where, however, due to disciplinary reasons, he was dismissed in 1939. (Note of the Legation of 1939). Returning to Rome, not without controversy, Ledda was then sent to Germany, to Bremen, where he remained until September 1941, when, after an explicit request for him to resign as a primary school teacher abroad, he would return to the role of the national school on Frosinone's board of directors. *Ibid.*

⁵² Report by the royal consul M. Carli of October 4, 1932, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre, s.f. Scuole italiane, p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ Mario Carli, in accordance with Ledda's suggestions, stated that «[...] every Italian school should have an Italian teacher to develop the entire teaching program established by the Royal Government». According to him, the consulate could bear the expenses of three schools with about

Italian schools in a position to keep the mother country's language, history and customs»; to this was added the request for the compulsory education of Italian in lower gyms, as was the case with French and at the same time to allow the second and third generation the possibility of «not feeling uncomfortable, ignoring the indigenous cultural elements», indispensable to a career and that allowed the continuity of the studies in the courses that did not foresee the teaching of Italian. The process was carried out through the involvement of the *gaúchas* authorities who provided, free of charge, teachers to teach Portuguese in those schools.

But the consul's interest in ensuring the diffusion of the Italian language in Porto Alegre led him to negotiate with the leaders of the Rio Grande do Sul state the possibility of introducing the teaching of Italian in the middle institutes of the capital, as was already the case with French. At the same time, to extend the curriculum, it was planned to hire teachers for teaching music, choral singing and physical education⁵⁵.

The reorganization project was supported by an incisive press campaign, be it ethnic or Brazilian⁵⁶, and to strengthen the centralizing character of the project, the creation of a new federative association capable of bringing together the eight existing Italian societies in the capital and thus to be able to assert a more direct control and conquer more financial resources⁵⁷. For a better adaptation of the physical space in terms of classrooms, Carli suggested that houses be rented for the exclusive use of schools, placing them in strategic positions, in which there would be greater density of Italians. After almost a year of negotiations, the schools thus reorganized, changed nature and assumed the name of Italian-Brazilian schools⁵⁸; they were inaugurated on March 6, 1933⁵⁹ and the event was emphasized by the local press⁶⁰.

50 students each. He emphasized, therefore, that each school should have, besides Italian teachers, a «Brazilian teacher for the teaching of the Portuguese language and the little local knowledge that, added to our program, can give the primary student a complete elementary education. Report by the royal consul M. Carli of October 4, 1932, cit., p. 1; Telegram by the consul M. Carli of May 20, 1933, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre, s.f. Scuole italiane.

⁵⁵ Report by the royal consul M. Carli of October 4, 1932, cit., p. 2.

⁵⁶ The reorganization was accompanied by an incisive press campaign led by the consulate. See, for example, the articles *La nuova organizzazione* [The new organization], «Nuova Italia», March 25, 1933; *Le nostre scuole* [Our schools], «Nuova Italia», March 27, 1933; On March 23, at the headquarters of Dante Alighieri, the four Italian schools of Porto Alegre were officially inaugurated, see in «Nuova Italia», March 29, 1933; in other news published in the newspapers, it is observed that they are interconnected with the note transmitted by Parini, in ASMAE, AS (1929-1935), b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35.

⁵⁷ Report by the royal consul M. Carli of May, 1933, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35.

⁵⁸ Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit.

⁵⁹ Classes began on March 6, 1933, and the official solemnity occurred a few days later, on March 23, 1933.

⁶⁰ *A reorganização radical das Escolas Italianas*, «A Federação», March 1, 1933, p. 4.

The drive for the development of schools has also been accompanied by other types of extracurricular interventions aimed at maintaining schools. Among the many planned actions was the creation of the School Patronage led by the wife of the consul, Maria Carli. Another important creation was the school medical inspection service, starting in 1933. The medical activity was provided free of charge by compatriot doctors and such health care came to meet the hygienist vision present in the fascist ideology of education. Also, the *Campo Sportivo Italo Balbo* (Italo Balbo Sports Field) was held in the capital for the practice of sports and physical activities of the students; creator of the summer camps, the famous *campeggi Mussolini*, in which students from the schools of Porto Alegre and the countryside of the state who took part of the school holidays participated in activities of discipline, recreation and sports. Everything was inscribed in the framework of a more organic strategy which, from the first half of the 1930s, after Piero Parini's trip to Brazil in 1931, saw the Italian consuls of Porto Alegre move towards establishing new forms in order to ensure, together with a more direct control of the process of fascistization, the obtaining of greater financial resources⁶¹. In this perspective were placed the mobilization of Italian companies for renovations and adjustments in the buildings of the companies, and the supply of didactic material. The organization of the consensus was fomented by the inauguration of new newspapers for more incisive propaganda⁶² campaigns, the use of radio, the organization of events commemorating new monuments and festivities. Everything aimed at building a sense of belonging to «Great Italy», the idea of Italianity that was identified with fascism⁶³.

The process of reorganization, pointedly reported by Ledda⁶⁴, however, progressed with some slowness during the first half of 1933. By the contribution of the «Dante Alighieri» Society – a new school was inaugurated in 1933. For the 247 enrollees of the four schools, the unified calendar was introduced. Meanwhile, alongside verbal guarantees, the Brazilian authorities guaranteed the beginning of Italian language courses – still in optional form – in two of the city's private gyms, the Colégio Anchieta, and the Bom Conselho; Gino Battocchio, ex-consular agent of the city of Bento Gonçalves, was the chosen teacher⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Report by the royal consul M. Carli, May 1933, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35.

⁶² Throughout the decade the newspapers «Nuova Italia» and «La Voce d'Italia» appeared as an expression of the consulate.

⁶³ *Il Regio Console Generale d'Italia Comm. Guglielmo Barbarisi lascia Porto Alegre*, «La Voce d'Italia», April 30, 1937, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Report by L. Ledda, Telegram of May 20, 1933, *Sistemazione scolastica Porto Alegre*, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b.785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35, s.f. Scuole italiane.

⁶⁵ Report by the royal consul M. Carli of May 1933, cit. On Italian classes in the capital see G.L. Rech, E.A. Tambara, A. Callegaro, *Professor Gino Battocchio e as aulas gratuitas de italiano nos ginásios da capital do RS*, 21º Encontro da Associação Sul-Rio-Grandense de Pesquisadores em

But the consul had to face a strong internal resistance when the process of centralization took him to the point of dissolving the committee of the «Dante Alighieri» Society and send a special commissioner of the body accused of maladministration of the Italica Domus Society and of social patrimony⁶⁶. The local «Dante Alighieri» Society did not hesitate to attack the consular authority and the tones of the confrontation were so heated that they determined a public position of the Italian companies that, on the occasion of the visit to Rio Grande do Sul of the Cantalupo ambassador, the invitation for a meeting with the highest political diplomatic authority was decided, «to the exclusion of the interference and presence of Comm. Mario Carli to the colonial ceremonies, due to the state of irreparable incompatibility created between the Consular Authority and the Italian Colony and the very Brazilian population with whom we live»⁶⁷. A tension that hurried the return of the consul to Italy⁶⁸.

The idea of a more organic and systematic strategy was entrusted to the leadership of consul Guglielmo Barbarisi, whose action was presented by the Italian-Brazilian press as the man who managed to gather and weld the Italian community «in a single disciplined block», after arriving in the capital of the Rio Grande do Sul state at the moment in which the relations between the Italian community and the consular authority had reached high levels of tension. Progressively he managed to alleviate the conflicts generated, especially by the difficult relationship with the local «Dante Alighieri» Society and to frame the whole world of the associations in the consular orbit, he reorganized the Fascio and the National Association of combatants. In this perspective, it was incumbent upon the consul Guglielmo Barbarisi to also guarantee the provisions and resources for the consolidation of the schools. Upon his arrival, he had to face a still rather precarious situation: few teachers and underpaid wages, poverty of means and classrooms. A few days after taking office, having passed the didactic direction, from June 1, 1934 the consul changed the general framework of local teachers; but, above all, he obtained from the ministry the appointment of four permanent teachers⁶⁹. By the end of 1934, the four

História da Educação, 2015; R. Radunz (ed.), *140 anos da imigração italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, Educs, 2015, pp. 116-133.

⁶⁶ The decision was taken on the occasion of the organ assembly in July 1933. The consul was inspired by the new statute of the central committee of Dante Alighieri of Rome and standardized himself to the «fascist centralizing criterion» to advocate the right to appoint the leaders of the sections abroad. But the act of association was judged «violent and arbitrary». B. Crocetta, *Per una questione morale. Le vicissitudini della Dante Alighieri culminano con l'atto violento e arbitrario del 23 luglio 1933*, «La Verità», January 27, 1934, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *Le Società Italiane di Porto Alegre hanno destituito della dignità di Console il comm. Mario Carli*, «La Verità», February 24, 1934, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Telegram by the royal Ambassador Cantalupo of February 6, 1934, in ASMAE, Personale, Serie II, Posizione P 12 Porto Alegre Parte Nuova.

⁶⁹ The permanent teachers who arrived in Porto Alegre were Elvezio Marini and his wife Natale Giuseppa Marini and Aniello Calabrese. Their services, however, started only a few years later. The two spouses, in fact, entered service in Porto Alegre on February 1, 1937, while Aniello

Italian-Brazilian schools, namely: «Dante Alighieri», «Umberto I», «Elena di Montenegro» and «Vittorio Emanuele II» – reactivated – were functioning according to what had been outlined. In addition to intervening to improve the four existing schools, in 1936 he created another nucleus in the capital, in the Menino Deus neighborhood⁷⁰. The new school was named «Rosa Maltoni, august mother of our beloved Duce»⁷¹. The school was not linked to the Italian companies of the capital, but it was maintained exclusively by the consulate. As Ledda asserted, «[...] it is the first school entirely, exclusively ours, which was instituted by this didactic direction, not counting *Dante Alighieri*, in 1933»⁷². The school began its activities on April 21, 1936, with 68 first, second and third grade students. At the beginning of the 1937 school year, Porto Alegre was able to count on 5 primary schools, which represented the largest number of 7 Italian schools present in the State of Rio Grande do Sul⁷³. According to the consul, the school institutes present in the capital's context seemed to respond to the needs of the government: both the Italian schools present in the urban space and that of Caxias do Sul were presented as «born with the sacrifice of our charitable Societies, small and modest institutions where discipline and order are model»⁷⁴. Before leaving the facility for the next task, Barbarisi offered a better quantitative picture than that of the early 1930s. The consul was pleased to note that the number of those enrolled during his tenure had more than quintupled, from 120 in 1933 to 625 at the beginning of the 1937 school year⁷⁵. Teachers became 12, of which 4 were permanent and 8 were temporary. To these were added 6 Brazilian teachers to teach Portuguese. The same Rio

Calabrese took over the service from the same date in Caxias. See the personal files of teachers held at ASMAE, AS Personale cessato dal servizio, 1920-1955, b. 99, f. Calabrese Aniello. The teacher Iolanda Ferrari was sent to the new school Rosa Maltoni. Full-time teachers were added to so-called temporary and local daily teachers, whose working conditions were characterized by greater precariousness, subject to confirmation of annual contracts.

⁷⁰ *As escolas ítalo-brasileiras em Porto Alegre. Origem, organização, atividade*, «La Voce d'Italia», September 17, 1936, p. 3.

⁷¹ Quarterly report by L. Ledda. Telegram of December 31, 1935, p. 7, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷³ Two other schools were in Caxias do Sul and Pelotas. Contextually, the consular authorities also tried to intervene in the colonial areas, the most significant moment being that of the institution of a new Italian school, the «Príncipe de Piemonte», which was inaugurated in Caxias in August 1936. *L'inaugurazione della sede della nuova scuola italiana in Caxias*, «La Voce d'Italia», August 27, 1936, p. 3.

⁷⁴ *As escolas ítalo-brasileiras em Porto Alegre. Origem, organização, atividade*, «La Voce d'Italia», September 17, 1936.

⁷⁵ Telegram by the royal consul Barbarisi, March 24, 1937, *Inizio dell'Anno scolastico*, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63. The number of participants was distributed as follows: 168 at «Dante Alighieri» primary school, 101 at «Umberto I» primary school, 102 at «Rosa Maltoni» primary school, 40 at «Elena di Montenegro» primary school, 36 at «Vittorio Emanuele II» primary school, 128 at the elementary school of Caxias and 50 in the elementary school of Pelotas. *Ibid.*

Grande do Sul government authorities expressed a tolerant appreciation for the progress of the activities, as the local press had the opportunity to emphasize on the occasion of the official visit of the State Secretary of Education, Otello Rosa, to the schools in July 1936⁷⁶.

One of the interesting aspects of the Italian schools of the capital was the data on social composition and the general profile of the students. Ledda's July 1936 report revealed that most of them were poor and only «Dante Alighieri» pupils were distinguished by wealth.

The mass of our students belongs to the class of workers, small traders, artisans. A number of rich students and distinct families attend the «Dante Alighieri» school. The school funding of this school that provides assistance to poor students in all schools is actually subsidized by these same families. And it is only in this way that this direction can provide the school supplies, especially notebooks to 120 students, free bus tickets to 30 poor students, and paying the rent of two pianos for the singing teaching in two schools in which it was not available⁷⁷.

Constantino noted that, at the end of the nineteenth century, an elite had emerged among the Italians and descendants of Porto Alegre. Possibly, a part of these groups composed the segment of «Dante Alighieri» and sent their children to that school. But as pointed out Constantino (1991; 1997), there were Italians and descendants that «did not work», that is, the great majority was not wealthy⁷⁸. Ledda's analysis of the 1936 student profile remained unchanged in relation to his other 1935 Report. In his evaluation of 1935, he described that the Italians residing on the continent were mostly poor. Thus, he stated that:

The famous riches of America are simply a dream when you want to take into account the innumerable legion of losers. Our schools are mostly attended by poor students. [...] For Duce to win the holy battle he commanded in America, it is necessary that our schools be of the assistance type⁷⁹.

In the perspective of securing penetration in the working classes and in the petty bourgeoisie during the management of Barbarisi, a meal was created for the students of the Porto Alegre schools⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ Cf. *A visita do secretário da Educação aos colégios Dante Alighieri e Rosa Maltoni*, «Jornal da Manhã», August 1, 1936; O Secretário da Educação do Estado visitou, ontem, pela manhã, os institutos de ensino italo-brasileiros desta capital, «Diário de Notícias», August 1, 1936; Note by the royal consul Barbarisi, August 10, 1936, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b.63, f. Porto Alegre 1936-37.

⁷⁷ Quarterly Report (April-May-June) 1936, cf. L. Ledda of July 2, 1936, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

⁷⁸ N.S. de Constantino, *Italianos meridionais em Porto Alegre: estudo para a História Social*, in L.A. De Boni (ed.), *A presença italiana no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1990, vol. 2, p. 479.

⁷⁹ Quarterly report by L. Ledda of September 10, 1935, p. 6, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

⁸⁰ Telegram by the royal consul Barbarisi of August 28, 1934, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b.

3. *Teaching as a «civil and patriotic apostolate beyond the borders of the Kingdom»: school initiatives for Italianity as fascist regimentation*

The Italian schools in the capital have also undergone a change in content and teaching practices. The ‘professional writings’ of their teachers also guide us better in the evolution of teaching practices⁸¹. From those of Ledda who had arrived in Porto Alegre with strong credit⁸². His general culture was considered «remarkable» and his teaching skills «remarkable» as well: Ledda was able to maintain discipline by observing «the canons and dictates of fascist ethics»⁸³. Already after only nine months he was proposed by the consul for appointment as didactic director⁸⁴.

He soon followed the process of reorganization aware that the schools of the capital did not «[...] enjoy, unfortunately, of good fame»⁸⁵. The professor expressed strong criticism of the teaching model and structure of the schools adopted in the two schools fostered by mutual aid societies, the «Umberto I» and the «Principessa Elena di Montenegro» School. The first reports, particularly those produced at the end of 1932, after only six months of their arrival, point out the limitations on school supplies; the limits of the school space being not «[...] suitable for forming souls»; the absence of «detailed instructional programs and that the instructional inspectors, as they are usually called, are incompetent when they are not illiterate»⁸⁶. Ledda’s remarks resemble the strong organizational and disciplinary precariousness of urban schools in the city’s capital, perhaps the tones were accentuated by the need to mark the work done for the purpose of reorganization, but Ledda does not give up using a rather negative representation of the situation:

In order to have a clear idea of the real conditions in which these two schools are found, before my hiring in service [...] it is necessary to know that the students who were assigned to me, a true mirror of the school situation in general, were undisciplined, did not observe

785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35; «A Federação», July 11, 1935, p. 2.

⁸¹ On ‘professional writings’ as sources for further investigation in the area of Italian schools in the abroad see Barausse, *Le fonti per una storia delle pratiche educative nelle scuole italiane in Brasile: dalla colonizzazione al fascismo*; S. González, J. Meda, X. Motilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, memoria y patrimonio*, Cabrerizos (Salamanca), FarhenHouse, 2018, pp. 996-1010.

⁸² Stato di servizio di Ledda Luigi, in ASMAE, DGIE AS, *Personale docente non più in servizio (1920-1955)*, b. 305, f. Ledda Luigi.

⁸³ Annual Report by the royal general consul M. Carli of June 27, 1933, in ASMAE, DGIE AS, *Personale docente non più in servizio (1920-1955)*, b. 305, f. Ledda Luigi.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Report by L. Ledda of September 30, 1932, p. 1, in ASMAE, AS (1929-1935), b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35 p. 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

the schedule, deserted the school during the rainy season, did not attend regularly at other periods, and did not justify their absence. In the notebooks and in the books, they were in great turmoil, a varied world of drawings and puppets, a joyful and overwhelming explosion of life that urgently demanded its place in the legal activity of the school⁸⁷.

The new teacher indicated the need for an alignment with the model of the fascist school that was wanted to be established and to make the pupils «[...] love fascist Italy with which they will be led to establish intellectual and economic relations»⁸⁸. In this perspective Ledda expected a different donation of supplies and school assistants «[...] making it available before the period of school enrollment. [...] Schools must have the decorous pictures of His Majesty the King, Her Majesty the Queen and of the *Duce*»⁸⁹.

From the sources, in fact, the centrality attributed by Ledda to the teaching of language understood as the fundamental pedagogical value, a professional exercise moved by the «firm conviction in the teachers that our schools abroad place, as the first reason of its existence, the teaching of the mother tongue»⁹⁰. In the criteria to verify and to illustrate the advance in the linguistic discipline, the use of the Italian language in the quotidian is always put forward:

In the outings, in the courtyard, in the sports field, the spoken language begins to be normally Italian. In class, no one dares to express himself in Portuguese. [...] It is common ground in the Community that many parents, who have abandoned the use of our language at home, have returned to do so thanks to their children [...] After three years of work, the school environment of the local schools has become exquisitely Italian: the new pupils now follow the former ones who reconquered Italy, though they love and have noble feelings for the lands where they were born. The environment is a decisive factor for the spiritual formation of the child [...] In all schools, the first group of students was already prepared to speak Italian whenever and wherever during their stay in school; others, newcomers, must settle in and do it without much difficulty. The first and second year of human respect was the most serious obstacle. Now, eyes at first distracted, timid, or even hostile, in a short time become enlightened with love for the master and pride for the distant homeland, whereas before it seemed impossible⁹¹.

Ledda's reports highlight organizational work and the diversity of didactic approaches designed to introduce more and more active didactics that seemed to be completely unknown to temporary local teachers. In teacher reports, his masterful culture is reflected. In the beginning, the teacher was forced to move in a homogeneous school environment, where he observed between «a student and

⁸⁷ Final report by teacher L. Ledda for the 1932 school year, of December 16, 1932, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35, s.f. Scuole italiane.

⁸⁸ Report by L. Ledda of September 30, 1932, cit., p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁰ Quarterly report by the didactic director L. Ledda of September 12, 1937, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

⁹¹ Quarterly report by the didactic director (September-October-November) 1935 of December 31, 1935, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1936, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre 1934-35, p. 4.

the other enormous differences» detectable by schoolbooks filled with «dry and dead grammatical analysis exercises, while students did not know how to read, speak»; and «asphyxiating copy exercises», while in contrast «fourth graders did not know the combinations between two letters». Or operations «with fabulous numbers, and the best pupil in school could not read a number within the limits of the program»⁹². From this context, the teacher tries to introduce the innovations of an «activist» nature that the idealistic master culture, led by Lombardo Radice, tried to spread among the teachers. In this sense, in the teacher's reports, for example, the introduction in the first elementary classes of new tools to promote a faster and more efficient learning of reading and writing as the mobile alphabet, over which, since the end of the decade, 1920 the interest of some teachers attentive to methodological innovation was pointed to. The reduction of written exercises in favor of the oral ones to increase the conversation: a work to contrast the presence of several problems dictated by «difficult environmental conditions [...]» by the lack of cooperation of the families and the habit of speaking in dialect or Portuguese⁹³. Likewise, specific attention was given to the teaching of oral calculus to enable a less abstract and more conscious and concrete learning of numbers. In the same direction of a modernization of teaching techniques was the program of action, physical education, developing through the promotion of those initiatives designed to nourish and support the fascist educational model. Among these, for example, gymnastic competitions organized on May 24 and 28, singing, interscholastic correspondence, monthly awards for the students who made the best drawings or who kept the notebooks in order, the special prizes for the history competitions and geography or drawing, participation in contests as promoted by the fascist children's newspaper abroad «Il Tamburino», by which in 1935 it obtained the third place in the world ranking⁹⁴. The continuous promotion of games and the organization of summer camps «Benito Mussolini»⁹⁵.

The didactic director reflects this model of teacher, dear to the rhetoric of the fascist hierarchy that had to play the role of bridge and mediation between the mother country and the Italians abroad. On the teachers and principals of the Italian schools abroad they exercised the expectations of the fascist ruling classes, for whom they represented the «advanced sentinel of the distant homeland» and their task was «to keep alive the memory and the adoration» in contexts marked by problems such as differences in language, religion, the confusion caused by the presence of original dialects in Italian communities, the absence of local traditions from which to live with the teaching of other languages, and to ask the teachers to carry out a professional practice and an

⁹² Final report by teacher Luigi Ledda for the 1932 school year, of December 16, 1932, cit.

⁹³ Quarterly report by the didactic director L. Ledda of December 12, 1937, cit.

⁹⁴ Quarterly report (April-May-June) by L. Ledda of June 15, 1936, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

⁹⁵ Quarterly report by the didactic director L. Ledda of December 12, 1937, cit.

adequate way of being in the host society for these purposes⁹⁶. Tasks even better specified by Parini in 1930⁹⁷. Here, then, the traits of the teacher and the didactic director will be those «of the civil and patriotic apostolate beyond the borders of the Kingdom», which will be very close to those of the propagandist, so that the school could be a «very powerful means of maintaining the Italian ideals in the community of South America»⁹⁸. And the reports of the didactic director have a participatory style, one sees the involvement, a reflection of a way of conceiving the job, the profession itself as true militancy, until it leads to an open ideological commitment. «To educate the pupils about the cult of Italy and of the Duce»⁹⁹. Teachers are asked to harmonize educational programs with the contents of fascist culture¹⁰⁰.

But teachers such as Ledda are called for by an assiduous and global commitment, a commitment not only contained in working hours, but addressed to the entire Italian community with an unprecedented dynamism full of politicization which, however, must be exercised with great caution so as not to disturb the Brazilian authorities. The reports thus reveal Ledda's commitment to better organize and recruit the young children of emigrants. Since April 1933, he had been working for the creation of fascist youth organizations that should have replaced sponsorships in accordance with the provisions of the general administration. From 1934 to 1937 he was the leader of the O.G.I.E. also reaching the qualification of great, so much that in 1937 and 1938 he assumed the qualification of deputy commander of G.I.L.E. But the practices of fascistization, too, went through the rites and ceremonies envisaged by the new course from the feast of the flag or the closing of the end-of-year activities.

A routine was identified that will be observed until 1938: on Saturday, there was the flag salute during which the best students of each grade were called to recite songs and hymns. As for this aspect experienced by the students, Luigi

⁹⁶ *Nuovi orari e Programmi per le scuole italiane all'estero*, Ordinanza del 1° ottobre 1924, in A. Oriani, *La legislazione fascista sulle scuole italiane all'estero*, Torino, Paravia G.B. e C., 1926.

⁹⁷ Programmi didattici per le scuole elementari Roma 18 ottobre 1930-Anno VIII Dispaccio circolare n. 10592-Direz. Gen. Degli Italiani all'Estero e Scuole - Uff. III, in A. Toscani (ed.), *Raccolta delle circolari e istruzioni ministeriali*, vol. VIII, dal 1 gennaio 1930-VIII al 31 dicembre 1933-XII.

⁹⁸ Notice by Piero Parini of February 16, 1935, in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 785, s.f. Brasil 1934-35, cat. III-1.

⁹⁹ Quarterly report by the didactic director (September-October-November) 1935 of December 31, 1935, cit.

¹⁰⁰ In those made in 1938 by the teacher of *Scuola Umberto I*, Ada Carignani, it was evident that «All the teaching subjects will have the purpose of developing in pupils love and attachment to the distant homeland; to the land where the parents were born; Great Fascist Italy; [along with] little compositions, drawings, readings, various notions about the life of the *Duce* and the most memorable dates of Fascism». Teacher Ana Carignani's program at Umberto I school in April 25, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 62, f. Porto Alegre.

Ledda stressed that «[...] this way, this direction is able to control practically the teaching of this other important subject»¹⁰¹.

In 1936, they began the monthly awards. They encouraged pupils to study. In Ledda's report of 1936, it is seen that the prizes were distributed to the pupils who had better studied the drawings, or had kept the notebooks in order. Ledda said that «[...] everything is done so that students grow perfect *balillas* and good Italians»¹⁰².

Rituals and ceremonies were then combined with calls to flank initiatives in support of the regime at different times, but in particular during the period preceding and following the occupation and conquest of Ethiopia and the consequent formation of the colonial empire:

Due to the exceptional moment that Italy is going through, the closing of the school year happened in a simple way. The school reports were distributed to the singing of the hymns of the Fatherland and the Revolution. All the Community's efforts now aim to raise funds and gold for the national resistance against the unjust sanctions of Geneva. In this highly educational campaign, modestly, but with enthusiasm, students participated by offering piggy banks, small sums, gold and silver objects and other metals¹⁰³.

The events of international politics centered on the Ethiopian colonial enterprise are read as events that facilitated the teaching and work of the teachers, giving rise to a completely new sense of pride and belonging to the fascists according to Ledda, who noted:

It is conscientious to add that the colonial war that Italy fights, nevertheless, facilitated the work of the teachers. However, it can be said that while until last year one of our students generally did not take pride in being Italian, now he screams in the square and questions everyone, often even at home, where he finds relatives indifferent or worried about being seen as much too Italian [...] The third, fourth and fifthgrader pupils are now perfect *balillas* who are not ashamed to greet their teacher romantically if they find him out of school¹⁰⁴.

Ledda is a teacher who knows and understands the changes that have taken place in the context of Rio Grande do Sul, in which nationalist tensions are increasing, aimed at hindering the teaching of foreign schools. However, he does not seem to give much credit to the real possibility that radical changes can be registered in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In his notes, like that of 1936, he reveals the optimistic, in some cases almost sarcastic, certainty about the possibility of continuing the fascist work of young Italians, a certainty that would soon have been denied by the facts:

¹⁰¹ Quarterly report (April-May-June) by L. Ledda of July 2, 1936, p. 7, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Quarterly report (September-October-November) by didactic director L. Ledda of December 31, 1935, cit.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The school regulations under study in all States of the Confederation are based exclusively on the Constitution of the country which does not prohibit the establishment of foreign schools. Several attempts at reform aimed at stopping the operation of foreign schools have so far failed. It is believed that many decades will pass before such an express idea can triumph, as the country is inhabited by respected and known foreigners and local schools still only exist on paper. In conclusion, our schools will always maintain a typically Italian, and therefore fascist, educational approach [...] our schools will always retain the Italian and therefore fascist orientation, observing the new laws that divide school time between teaching in Italian and in Portuguese, an obligation that is followed in our school¹⁰⁵.

Although the context was more problematic, determined by the measures that followed the inauguration of Vargas' Estado Novo, Italian-Brazilian schools seem to continue to be able to carry out the functions of fascist propaganda and education requested by the general direction led by Parini. Educational director Luigi Ledda, in his quarterly reports sent to the ministry, did not fail to guarantee compliance with these guidelines. Led five years of restructuring, Ledda highlighted the positive results regarding the development of educational programs and fascist education. The teaching of history and geography had borne fruit and did not conceal optimism for the future:

The upper-class students speak and write [Italian] discreetly, they love firmly and without any human respect Fascist Italy [...]. In short, the school year of 1938-XVI will see our schools better and much better schools. There is no lack of faith in it¹⁰⁶.

An image, therefore, very different from the one it presented in the previous years, which signaled with emphasis the presence in the five schools of «lively, beautiful, very clean six-year-old pupils»¹⁰⁷; or the quantitative growth of teachers who became 8 (3 of whom were permanent and 5 temporary) and those enrolled in schools:

The few dozen 1932 students, now multiplied and disciplined, neat, all in aprons, they attend our schools with enthusiasm and gain. They now reach the respectable figure of 367 students¹⁰⁸.

Finally, the director emphasized the involvement of the Italian community in the management of purchases for school aids¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁵ Quarterly report (April-May-June) 1936 by L. Ledda. Telegram of July 2, 1936, cit.

¹⁰⁶ Quarterly report by the didactic director Luigi Ledda, September 23, 1937, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

¹⁰⁷ Quarterly report (September-October-November) by didactic director L. Ledda of December 31, 1935, cit.

¹⁰⁸ Quarterly report (April-May-June) by didactic director L. Ledda of 1936, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

¹⁰⁹ Quarterly report by the didactic director Luigi Ledda of June 17, 1937, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

4. *The Estado Novo and the closure of Italian schools in the face of the campaign to nationalize education*

From 1937, the activity of the Consul Santovincenzo Magno began at the Consulate. He will be another defender of the Italian ethnic school, declaring, in the first months of his arrival in Porto Alegre that «[...] one of the main pillars of his consular activity would be the school»¹¹⁰. In that year, the total enrollment reached 482 students. The diplomat noted the need to finally solve the problem of the school premises by proposing a gathering of the five existing schools in one building. But Ministero Degli Affari Esteri reported the financial impossibility to do so¹¹¹. The new consul Santovincenzo, however, adopted a series of measures aimed at affecting, also, the functioning of schools. Ledda's presence at this time was considered to be detrimental to the interests of the Italian Porto Alegre community. His transfer would have been «beneficial to all». While acknowledging «good qualities» for the teacher as «discipline, disposition, etc.», his stay in Porto Alegre was counterproductive:

There are many reasons that lead me to request this change, but one especially is decisive, namely that Ledda's work in the colonial environment, given its lack of reflection and ease of expression, hampers (to use a soft word) every consular action also in fields that are not purely educational. I will also add that he has acquired a genuine antipathy in every circle, so much so that if in any matter Ledda seems to be enough to wreck any initiative¹¹².

At the end of the year 1937, Luigi Ledda left the Didactic Direction convinced of having done well the work for which he had been sent. Ledda identified that, in relation to previous years, students in the first grades were better and that teachers generally worked well. In addition, he explained:

I can announce that in these schools, this year, little is written and enough is said. Precisely the greatest concern is the teaching of language. Unfortunately the students at home, in general, speak Portuguese and dialect. The recitation, the songs, the games, the *Campeggio* are powerful means for the knowledge of the language. And our students sing whenever they go to *Campeggi*. One works for the preparation of the operetta [...]. The teaching of arithmetic is generally rational. Few written, ordered and clear exercises within the program. On the chalkboard, dialogue exercises. Enough oral calculation¹¹³.

Faced with new perspectives, the 'professional writings' of the didactic director are rather petty. In this case, they tell the silences that become more

¹¹⁰ Quarterly report by the didactic director L. Ledda of September 12, 1937, cit.

¹¹¹ See Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (Rs, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., p. 464 and following.

¹¹² Telexpress by r. Consul Santovincenzo Magno of January, 26, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-45, b. 62, f. Porto Alegre.

¹¹³ Quarterly report by the didactic director L. Ledda of December 12, 1937, cit. p. 3.

significant, along with the few words of farewell that reveal a controversial vein, when Ledda said goodbye writing:

Guided by this honorable General Direction to assume the new thirst, I am serene and calm, convinced that I have always done my duty. I am sure that my successor can do better than I did. Fascist salutes¹¹⁴.

The campaign for the nationalization of education relaunched by the Brazilian authorities since 1937 was destined to have a much more significant impact on the life of the Italian schools in Porto Alegre, after the changes introduced by Vargas and the launching of Estado Novo¹¹⁵. The first effects were felt more intensely with the beginning of the new school year. In fact, at the end of the school closure intervention, a report sent to the ministry underlined the sharp drop in enrollments due, according to the consul, to the reflexes of the harsh propaganda campaign of the Rio Grande do Sul press and political authorities¹¹⁶. Parallel to the consequences of the propaganda campaign, the factors that contributed to the decline in enrollment, the «demolishing work of the 9 Portuguese teachers, who stand behind the insinuation of foreign elements, who neglected the curative work of the fascist school, bearer of civilization and well-being». An action against which, opposed to that of the Italian teachers, «animated by the zeal and spirit of struggle, giving the colony tangible evidence that their children in our schools find all the moral, intellectual and material assistance that only the schools of regime know how to give bright example»¹¹⁷. The consul reiterated with some optimism the conviction that «a large part, in fact, the majority of Italian propaganda in these lands must be carried out by Italian educators, aware of the very delicate and important mission entrusted to them by the fascist government»¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹¹⁵ R.E. Gertz, *O Estado Novo no Rio Grande do Sul*, Passo Fundo, UPF, 2005; Camara Bastos, Tambara, *A nacionalização do ensino e a renovação educacional no Rio Grande do Sul*, cit.

¹¹⁶ About 200 students or fewer were enrolled in schools. Along with Brazilian nationalist propaganda, the didactic director also highlighted other factors that contributed to making enrollment in Italian schools less attractive. First, the absence of a middle institution in the capital or at least of an Italian-Brazilian one, the only capable of educating good Italians, inclined to love, exalt, defend Italy, its institutions, its culture, its history and everything which bears the Italian name and footprint. The absence of a supply chain from elementary to high school has led many parents to enroll their children directly in Brazilian schools in order to avoid the emergence of difficulties in the transition from one school to another at the national level. The didactic director then highlighted the work carried out by the thirteen teachers «as opposed to the demolishing work of the 9 Portuguese language teachers, who act behind the insinuation of foreign elements, despising the curative work of the fascist school, bearer of civilization and well-being». Prospect of students and teachers on April 20, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 63, f. Porto Alegre.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Despite the increasingly strong signals from the state's top management, especially the Secretary of Education, Coelho de Souza, aimed at recalling the inevitability of the process of nationalization of education, Italian diplomatic political authorities continued to show varying attitudes¹¹⁹. Those of the consul oscillated between the hope of non-approval, the skepticism about the ability of the Brazilian political authorities to apply the announced dispositions; the ambassadors, especially, to expect and to see, as exemplified in the instructions issued by Lojacono to Santovincenzo Magno in which he shared the idea that the measures should not «make substantial changes about us, in fact, on the other hand, to define and legitimize the existence of our schools». Regarding the problem of the symbols that reminded the Italian state, he wrote:

As for the pictures of 'Loro Maestá', His Excellency, the Head of Government, etc. It will not change anything to the state of existing things and increasing impositions of local authorities, on the one hand it will comply, and on the other will inform me immediately so I can take action with the Federal Government. As for the propaganda around teachers who arrive in Brazil with the status of envoys from the fascist government, the Royal Foreign Ministry will certainly take into account the need to avoid such qualifications also in passports, in the hope that they will not be interested in using them, as usually happens, because of the irresistible weakness of holding it dear¹²⁰.

Subsequently, he sent a telegram to all the consuls in which he provided the following instructions:

In interpreting the presidential decree no. 383, the worst that can happen is that we ourselves have become diligent in mutilating our schools, our symbols, in anticipating the measures that can be applied. In order to interpret and apply the decree, local authorities must take initiatives that can also be very flexible and can result in treatments not always equally severe, leading to discrimination of the fact that we also hope by our attitude always loyal to Brazil and by undeniable affinity. Your Lordships will therefore refrain from adopting measures of any kind for the interpretation of the decree, hoping to receive from the local Authority, directives, notices or warnings, which I would like to be informed of immediately. This will be to test the true attitude of the federal authorities towards us to dislodge positions we do not know if and to what extent they definitely want to evict us. In the meantime, the attitude of the community will continue to be, as always, marked by a spirit of loyalty and collaboration, avoiding reactions and campaigns that would provoke stronger counter-reactions and counter-campaigns by those who inevitably keep the knife by the doorknob¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ For further discussion of attitudes and times following Italian diplomatic decision-making in the last few months and subsequent to the nationalization measures, see Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between Italianity and Brazil, disputes in the education of the italian-gaúcho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., p. 469 and following.

¹²⁰ Telegram by the royal ambassador Lojacono of April 13, 1938 in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 62, f. Porto Alegre.

¹²¹ Telegram no. 5893 by the royal ambassador Lojacono of April 21, 1938 in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 64.

In fact, by the decree no. 7.212, of April 8, 1938, in articles 16 and 17, and the following of April 23, it became mandatory to register all private educational establishments and the prohibition of using more than one hour of school activity in the study and use of the foreign language. Precisely the Italian schools of the capital had not fulfilled this initial question. The measures were widely announced in the press and that the maximum deadline for registration was May 23, 1938. With a new telegram from Lojacono confirmed:

The obvious danger deriving from the attitude of some Consular Offices that have been well-advised to put some explicit question to Brazilian local authorities about the life of some of our institutions affected by decree no. 383. It is clear that any authority, even if it is prepared to close one or even two eyes on our organizations, cannot fail to comply with the strict application of the decree if invited by ourselves to open them to resolve an issue. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid such procedures and simply pull forward as if nothing had happened until an attack was pronounced. Against this latter eventuality, I prescribe that the Royal Offices reply in a consequent but evasive manner, saying that they reserve to communicate with Royal Embassy¹²².

In May 1938 the Italian ethnic schools were closed by determination of the Secretary of Education. The new director of the schools, Professor Mariano Berlingeri, received with surprise the measure on the 28th¹²³. According to the Secretary, they had not met the requirements of the State Department of Education. The headline in the *Correio do Povo* newspaper and the commentary that accompanied it summed up a tragic moment for Italian ethnic education: «Five foreign schools were closed yesterday in this capital. Since the provisions of the law on nationalization of education were not complied with, the Secretary of Education established that measure»¹²⁴. The second secretary of state, Dr. Ney Britto, discussed how he found the schools when he went to communicate the closure.

As I entered the classes, I immediately noticed that they, by their guidance, were not in accordance with the regulations, since, according to them, there could be no signs of homage to foreign leaders, nor on the walls, maxims and sentences in language other than ours. In all of them, however, I encountered numerous phrases from Mussolini, one of them saying «Mussolini is always right, Mussolini can not go wrong»¹²⁵.

Even in the months following the closure of schools, the Italian consular authority relied on the extension granted by the Brazilian authorities and

¹²² Telegram by the royal ambassador Lojacono of May 10, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 64.

¹²³ Notice by M. Berlingeri, May 25, 1938 in ASMAE, AS 1936-1945, b. 64, f. San Paolo, s.f. *Propaganda straniera contro nostre scuole nel Brasile*, in Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaúcho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., p. 469.

¹²⁴ «Correio do Povo», May 26, 1938, p. 10.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

continued to express the conviction that the provision would be temporary. While waiting for a clearer disposition of the Italian embassy, Santovincenzo tried to give assurances through interviews and communications whose tones, however, were increasingly pessimistic¹²⁶. After the closing of the five schools, Consul Santovincenzo Magno expressed his belief that «[...] everything would be satisfactorily resolved, since his wish was no other than taking all the necessary measures»¹²⁷.

Santovincenzo, in correspondence dated June 22, 1938, informed the embassy in Rio de Janeiro that the Rio Grande do Sul government had, after the schools closed, transferred the two Portuguese teachers to the Italian schools. The consul attributed this fact to two intentions of the Secretary of Education. The first tended to provoke a response on the registration of schools in the Department of Education, such as decree no. 7,212 required, and the second, interpreted the consul, «[...] tended, of course, to take from our schools, if they wished to reopen, one of the elements necessary for its functioning»¹²⁸.

For the consul, there was an alternative to Portuguese classes if the schools were to be reopened in the second half of 1938. He proposed to hire teachers of Portuguese among the children of Italians and pay their wages as he had already suggested in another correspondence to Ministero degli Affari Esteri. He recalled, however, that if schools were reopened, this should occur by the end of the winter break; otherwise, «[...] it would be disastrous, at least as far as the attendance of students this year, as none or almost none would return to our classes»¹²⁹.

In another correspondence of the Consul Santovincenzo Magno, of December 9, 1938, he reckons that, with regard to the maintenance of the schools in Porto Alegre, he had received no decision from the embassy or from the Ministero degli Affari Esteri. In the communication, the consul is concerned about the fate of the teachers he maintains: «[...] it is evident that the fate of the teachers depends on the maintenance of at least those schools, and on this point, as far as I can tell, no decision was made»¹³⁰.

In the same communication, the consul resumed the process of closing schools and informed Ministero degli Affari Esteri that the consulate at that time had requested the registration of schools from the Ministry of Justice in Rio de Janeiro, as requested by the Italian Ambassador based on the Federal

¹²⁶ Also for the reactions of the Italian consular diplomats in the months following the measures produced until the end of 1938, see Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and braziliness, disputes in the education of italian-gaucho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., pp. 469 and following.

¹²⁷ «Correio do Povo», May 26, 1938, p. 10.

¹²⁸ Telegram by the royal consul Santovincenzo Magno of June 22, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1940, b. 62, f. Porto Alegre.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Telegram by the consul Santovincenzo Magno of December 9, 1938, in ASMAE, AS 1936-1940, b. 62, f. Porto Alegre, p. 1.

Decree no. 383. He added that he believed that even if the registration had been accepted by the federal authorities, it would be denied in Rio Grande do Sul.

[...] our schools would hardly have been authorized to function in Rio Grande do Sul, because the authorities of this State intended that the registration be done with the Secretary of Education on the basis of the State Decree no. 7.212 of April 8, 1938 and its relative regulation as it had already informed in correspondence no. 1.520 dated 25 May last¹³¹.

With this communication, Santovincenzo placed himself in wait of Ministero degli Affari Esteri for referrals for the year 1939, being available to know the directives that the Ministry intended to give to the school matter in Rio Grande do Sul. He goes on to point out in his correspondence that «[...] if primary schools are reopened, all staff, day laborers, local or career, will have their jobs; on the contrary, if they remain closed, a part of this staff will be superfluous and therefore set free»¹³². In fact, the schools were no longer opened. A cycle had reached its end. It remained to the Didactic Director, Professor Berlingeri, the accompaniment of the courses of Italian.

Final considerations

The documentary analysis shows that the reorganization initiative initiated in 1932, proposed by Mario Carli, had five schools, almost five hundred students and about two-thirds of the students belonged to the Italian Youth Organization Abroad and that the consuls engaged in maintenance of the school in tune with the fascist ideology they served. For a significant part of the society of Rio Grande do Sul, attention was drawn to the political function of Italian-Brazilian schools reorganized by fascism. In the newspaper *Correio do Povo* of November 3, 1936 we read an excerpt from a long and unsigned article, the belief of fascism in educational activity:

Fascism sees it far away: it shapes the children of today who will form the people of tomorrow, a people of workers, of employees, of peasants, a sane people, conscious of their duties to which the future of Italy has been entrusted. The school is a fertile field where luxuriant plantations can be born and prosper. The Fascist regime is a good farmer and will have an abundant harvest of what he sows today¹³³.

The actions of nationalization by the Brazilian government put an end to a school trajectory that, by its activities and organization, stood out as an articulated and representative initiative in the state capital and that was in the

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ See *As escolas italianas*, «Correio do Povo», November 3, 1936, p. 6.

process of expanding its organization to other cities of the state as it had already done in Caxias do Sul and Pelotas.

Trento has observed that despite the fascist effort, particularly in the 1930s, the phenomenon of the decline of the Italian ethnic schools of Italian-Brazilians did not only occur in Rio Grande do Sul, but seems to have been a trend in the whole country¹³⁴. In addition to those related to nationalization, several factors helped to understand this phenomenon, not least the development of the Brazilian state school system that offered the option of public and free school, as demonstrated by Luchese¹³⁵. But the closure process was not homogeneous and linear. There is much to be investigated to highlight the different evolution of the Italian or Italian-Brazilian schools in the states of the Brazilian Federation, as was already evidenced¹³⁶.

¹³⁴ A. Trento, *Do outro lado do Atlântico: um século de imigração italiana no Brasil*, São Paulo, Nobel, 1989.

¹³⁵ Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no Rio Grande do Sul*, cit.

¹³⁶ Barausse, Luchese, *Nationalisms and schooling: between italianity and brazility, disputes in the education of italian-gaicho people (RS, Brazil, 1930-1945)*, cit., and in partic. pp. 474-475.

Italians in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul: social networks and ethnic associationism (1870-1914)*

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ABSTRACT: This article presents the primary results of a wider study relating to Italian immigration in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil). It analyses the social networks that were formed due to the professional insertion of Italians in urban contexts, as well as the organization of education, culture, and leisure among them, from the first arrivals in the nineteenth century, until the first decades of the twentieth century. In particular, besides broadening the interpretative perspectives relating to the capital Porto Alegre, the study addresses the analysis of ethnical associationism in the territorial realities that remained stranger to the process of colonization organized by Brazilian authorities, including cities on the Argentinian and Uruguayan border, which became welcoming places for numerous groups of Italians in the period prior to the 'great immigration' to Brazil.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of immigration; Urban immigration; Ethnic associativism; Social networks; Brazil; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *Italian immigrants and urbanization*

When looking at the great theme of Italian immigration in Brazil in the period before the World War I, thought goes directly to the agricultural sphere: to the colonization of southern states and to the farms in the coffee regions. Studies on the repercussions of immigration and colonization processes in Brazilian cities remain few and fragmented. An article by the historian Vittorio Cappelli,

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regarding the migratory phenomenon of Italians in Brazil, provided more precise data on the dynamics of urbanization that took place in the country during the most intense years of European migration flow, showing how this new presence was decisive in achieving an exponential demographic growth¹.

In fact, inquiries have always favored the case of Sao Paulo, which became the stereotype of immigration in Brazil because of its massive labor force flow towards coffee plantations and the preponderant “Italian” characterization of its capital, overshadowing the importance of other states². There are cities that are almost forgotten by Italian immigration historians, even though they have recorded a notable presence of Italian immigrants, such as those from the North, the Northeast and the Midwest of Brazil.

Although Rio de Janeiro, then capital of Brazil, has attracted thousands of Italian immigrants, to the point in which Sidney Chalhoub states that the marginalization of black workers was, in part, a result of the presence of these foreigners³, research about that matter is still lacking. Giralda Seyferth also mentions these Italian immigrants, highlighting certain activities carried out by the *Calabresi* in Rio⁴. Publications relating to the cities from the North are rare. Even if the numeric expression of Italian presence in these cities is small, the importance of their economic and cultural influence is recognized⁵.

The same thing can be said about the southern regions of Brazil, specially the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In fact, starting in 1875, after an experience with German settlers, the Brazilian Imperial Government encouraged a large demographic policy through emigration agencies that recruited Italian settlers – mostly from Veneto, but also from Lombardy and Trentino – who have become the icon of an almost exclusively rural immigration. In a few years, over 100,000 Italians gave life to a nucleus of the so-called «Italian Colonial Territories» that today are true urban centers with industrial qualities, which being situated not far from the capital have preserved and claimed, through their ancestors, their own identity recalling their ‘Italian’ origin. Indeed, we cannot forget that this experience represented the main agrarian reform carried

¹ See V. Cappelli, *Immigrazione e urbanizzazione. La presenza degli italiani nelle “altre Americhe”*, «Passato e Presente», n. 71, 2007, pp. 21-44.

² See A. Trento, *L’immagine di São Paulo come città italiana (1890-1920)*, in C. Giorcelli, C. Cattarulla, A. Scacchi (edd.), *Città reali e immaginarie del continente americano*, Rome, Associate, 1998, pp. 557-570.

³ See S. Chalhoub, *Trabalho, lar e botequim: o cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da belle époque*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1986.

⁴ See G. Seyferth, *Imigração e cultura no Brasil*, Brasília, Universidade de Brasília, 1990.

⁵ A few exceptions in recent publication: V. Cappelli, *La “belle époque” italiana di Rio de Janeiro. Volti e storie dell’emigrazione meridionale nella modernità carioca*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2013; M.F. Emmi, *Italianos na Amazônia (1870-1950): pioneirismo econômico e identidade*, Belém, UFPA, 2008; M.I. Mazini, *Nelle vie della città: os italianos no Rio de Janeiro (1870-1920)*, Master Dissertation (Supervisor: I. De Lima Martins), Department of History, Rio de Janeiro, Federal Fluminense University (UFF), 2012.

out in Brazil, having a significant reflection on the whole political, social, and economical physiognomy of the southern regions⁶. However, the importance of this process of rural settlement ended up with most of the immigrants to be confused with settlers.

As of 1990, Constantino was undoubtedly the major interpreter in the renewal of studies concerning the presence of Italians in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul. Her works insisted on the need to fill some gaps in this sense, since the majority of Italian immigration researchers in Rio Grande do Sul were traditionally attracted by the experience of agricultural colonization, which was more relevant under the quantitative profile and success since it was strategically guided by governmental purposes⁷.

However, many cities of Rio Grande do Sul were renewed in this period. In addition to having a great attraction on immigrants for offering a diversification of professional activities, they also became places of cultural interest, always more dynamic and cosmopolitan. These cities changed its own traits, expanded and participated in a change of the society structure and even of its mentality. In the case of the Italians, many urban centers in the southernmost state of Brazil, and not only its multiethnic capital, witnessed a dialectic between diverse social and regional components, considering that the Italian population was large and heterogeneous, with an effective presence since the early nineteenth century. Throughout the tortuous phases of Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian political history, the Italians, and successively their descendants, maintained for a long time the characteristics of their original identity, their models, values and customs linked more to the «small local homelands» than to the homeland in general, both in the colonies and in the cities.

⁶ To mention some classical works in both Brazil and Italy, see: O. Manfroï, *A colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul. Implicações econômicas, políticas e culturais*, Porto Alegre, Grafosul, 1975; R. Costa, *Antropologia física da imigração italiana do Rio Grande do Sul e suas implicações religiosas*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1977; L.A. De Boni; R. Costa, *Os italianos no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre-Caxias do Sul, EST/EDUCS, 1982; L.A. De Boni, *A Itália e o Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre-Caxias do Sul, EST/EDUCS, 1983; L.A. De Boni, R. Costa, *Gli italiani del Rio Grande do Sul*, in *Euroamericani*, vol. 3: *La popolazione di origine italiana in Brasile*, Turin, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1987; L.A. De Boni (ed.), *A presença italiana no Brasil*, 3 vols., Porto Alegre, EST/Fundazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1987, 1990 and 1996; L.S. Giron, V.B.M. Herédia, *História da Imigração Italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, Porto Alegre, EST, 2007. To an updated and general historiographic balance about Italian and Brazilian studies in the earliest Italian agriculture emigration in the South of Brazil, see the recent publication: E. Franzina, *La terra ritrovata. Storiografia e memoria della prima immigrazione italiana in Brasile*, Genova, Stefano Termanini, 2014.

⁷ See N.S. Constantino, *Italiani a Porto Alegre: l'invenzione di un'identità*, «Altreitalie», n. 25, july-december 2002, pp. 76-90.

2. *In Porto Alegre*

Regarding the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Núncia Constantino had the merit of analyzing through her pioneering doctoral thesis – that became a book in 1991 – the formation, organization, and construction of an identity within the Italian collectivity in Porto Alegre. As it is evident in the text, if it is true that urban immigration was strengthened thanks to the internal migrations of those who entered the country through official colonization after having spent some time in settlement colonies, we cannot forget that since the first half of the nineteenth century there was a large number of immigrants who arrived directly from Italy or from bordering countries in Latin America, particularly from the neighbors Uruguay and Argentina. This second group was characterized by its social heterogeneity, which emphasized the different dialects, habits and customs, due to the different regional provenance⁸.

Therefore, we can say that the date of 1875, chosen regarding the process of agricultural colonization as the official beginning of Italian immigration in Brazil, is misleading if we consider the existence of a premature urban immigration. That process was consolidated in the first half of the nineteenth century, not only in Porto Alegre, capital of the then province of São Pedro, expanding and diversifying in the successive years, until the so-called «great immigration» period. It is worth mentioning the participation of Italians in the independentist «Farroupilha» Revolution. In addition to consolidating the myth of the greatest Italian national hero, Giuseppe Garibaldi, their participation allowed the displacement of a large number of Italian political exiles residing in Rio de Janeiro, where there was a «Congrega mazziniana», towards the cities of Rio Grande do Sul and especially Porto Alegre. Others arrived from different parts of the southern Region, after having joined the *Garibaldi Legion*, which participated in the struggles for Uruguayan Independence⁹.

The capital represented an attractive goal for being the main commercial center of the province due to its location in the junction of five navigable rivers that crossed the entire territory of Rio Grande do Sul. As early as 1840, advertisement for commercial establishments and deaths can be found in the local press. Likewise, additional studies on parochial records in Porto Alegre have also demonstrated the existence of a permanent collectivity of Italians who, in 1850, had at least 41 families within a population of only 16.000 individuals. This number considerably increased in the following years, much

⁸ See N.S. Constantino, *O italiano da esquina. Imigrantes na sociedade porto-alegrense*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1991; Italian transl. *L'italiano di Porto Alegre. Immigrati meridionali nella capitale del Rio Grande do Sul*, Cosenza, Pellegrini, 2015.

⁹ See: E. Franzina, *Emigrazione, esilio e unificazione italiana: i primi gruppi immigratori in America Latina e il Risorgimento*, «Studi Emigrazione», n. 49, 2012, pp. 566-592; O. Barros Filho, R.V. Seeling, S. Bojunga (edd.), *Os caminhos de Garibaldi na América*, Porto Alegre, Laser Press Comunicação, 2007.

because of the commercial reinforcement in the city due to the war against Paraguay, promoting a stimulus to its production and the emergence of new industries feeding an unprecedented phase of urban modernization¹⁰.

Already around 1870, we notice Italian individuals who distinguished themselves in arts and in commerce, especially in Porto Alegre. We are still in a phase prior to the 'great immigration', when the Italian presence was small compared to that of the Germans, who arrived in Rio Grande do Sul from the 1820s onwards. But this Italian group was starting to gather and become a community well entwined by identity ties. As I have attempted to demonstrate in a study about Italian marble workers, there was already an early urban presence of skilled labor in the major South American centers prior to the great mass flows, which could offer interesting employment opportunities¹¹. Favorable conditions were often created to build social fields linking the country of origin with that of destiny thanks to these vanguards that established commercial enclaves. Using the category of «transnationalism», the Italian Historian Paola Corti has shown the tendency to reinforce such ties, which resisted the restrictions imposed by political-institutional barriers¹², since the most ancient Italian migrations. From these pioneers in the urban contexts, forms of communication were created that facilitated the birth of the first «business networks», always maintaining a transnational link with the originating headquarters. Not coincidentally, in the successive years many Italians affirmed themselves in the «ethnic commerce» of foodstuffs, as well as they established «dispatch houses», true warehouses of products originating from Italy¹³.

Those individuals gradually formed a local elite of merchants and artisans who began to develop significant instances of articulation in the defense of an Italian identity, which became ever more heterogeneous and plural with the new arrivals in later years. In 1877, the oldest immigrants joined «Vittorio Emanuele II», the first Italian society of Porto Alegre, founded by a group of Italians sponsored by the Vice-Consul Alessandro Weingarttner, with Garibaldi as honorary president. It was a society composed by prominent individuals in urban activities. The associates were mostly merchants, self-employed, and craftsmen who manifested a 'national' political consciousness and supported the Italian Unification, with some sort of cultural knowledge, leaving aside the

¹⁰ See N.S. Constantino, *Imigrantes italianos: partir, transitar, chegar*, in A.L.S. Reckiegel, G. Axt (edd.), *História geral do Rio Grande do Sul. República Velha (1889-1930)*, Passo Fundo, Méritos, 2007, vol. 3, pp. 395-418.

¹¹ See A. de Ruggiero, *Os empreendedores toscanos do mármore nas cidades brasileiras (1875-1914)*, in C.M. Fay, A. De Ruggiero (edd.), *Imigrantes empreendedores na história do Brasil: Estudos de casos*, Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 2014, pp. 75-90.

¹² See P. Corti, *Famiglie transnazionali*, in P. Corti, M. Sanfilippo (edd.), *Migrazioni: Annali Storia d'Italia*, Turin, Einaudi, 2009, vol. 24, pp. 303-316.

¹³ See A. de Ruggiero, *A saudade dos sabores e o comércio étnico dos imigrantes italianos no Brasil (1875-1914)*, «Revista Práxis», n. 1, 2018, pp. 121-138.

excessive regionalism that by contrast happened in the successive migratory fluxes. Originally, the association was simply called «Mutuo Soccorso e Benevolenza», but in March of 1878, after the death of the Italian king Vittorio Emanuele II, its members decided to pay homage to the sovereign, who was a protagonist of the Italian Unification, with the name change. Thanks to private donations made by Brazilians, the society obtained a plot of land to develop an ambitious project: the construction of an Italian hospital called *Regina Margherita*, whose realization was instigated by the compatriots and sponsored by the Italian Consul Pasquale Corte starting in 1884. In 1888, formal solemnities were organized with the presence of civilian and ecclesiastical authorities to put the foundation stone of the building that remained a utopia. The dream of those notable men never came to life due to the struggle to gather funds among compatriots in the state¹⁴. In 1892, the society already had around 400 registered members and established itself as the main institution representing Italian identity in Rio Grande do Sul¹⁵. It was always in the command of organization of patriotic civic festivities. From 1904 it officially instituted the celebration of Giuseppe Garibaldi's birthday on the 4th of July. The day before, the new headquarter was inaugurated, built with the collaboration of Italian technicians and architects in a sumptuous mansion in the center of the capital. On the building's façade there was a marble bust of the King *Galantuomo*, and underneath it, the busts of Garibaldi, Cavour and Mazzini, the most important souls – very different from each other – of the Italian *Risorgimento*, that now lived together ideally in peace and in agreement.

As of 1890, the own city of Porto Alegre was the stage of the proliferation of several other associations, as well as what was happening in every other location affected by the arrival of Italians in the state.

Already in 1892, the consul in Porto Alegre highlighted the importance of the work of several Italian mutual aid associations in Rio Grande do Sul and also in the most peripheral cities, which assisted and provided their members with doctors and medicine in case of need. At the same time, the diplomat denounced the excessive dispersion among the associations and aspired to the formation of a charitable society in the state that, as in other American countries, could «overcome the limitations of mutual assistance among members, to indistinctive help all fellow compatriots»¹⁶.

¹⁴ See *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud 1875-1925*, vol. 1: *La cooperazione degli Italiani al progresso civile ed economico del Rio Grande del Sud*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte & Cultura, 2000 (1925), p. 366.

¹⁵ See *Rapporto del R. Console cav. Avv. Edoardo dei conti Compans de Brichanteau* (25 marzo 1892), in Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Emigrazione e colonie. Rapporti di RR. Agenti diplomatici e consolari*, Rome, Tip. Bertero, 1893, p. 113; now in G. Romanato, V.B.M. Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul brasiliano (1875-1914). Fonti diplomatiche*, Ravenna, Consiglio Regionale del Veneto, Longo Editore, 2018, p. 199.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

In 1895 his successor, Angelo Legrenzi, referred to the presence of nine Italian associations in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul founded since 1877, to meet the demands of approximately 7.000 Italians who were present in the urban center. Among them, four had mutual aid as its finality, two of them were focused on entertainment, two in the dramatic arts, and a last one was the Masonic shop *Ausonia*, founded in 1894 with 84 members¹⁷. In the following year, the Regent Italian Consul in Porto Alegre, Dall'Aste Brandolini, showed a certain pessimism due to the unfortunate fact that the numerous associations that included instances of mutual aid, beneficence and education were, in fact, characterized by excessive dispersion caused by the defense of particularisms and regionalisms. They had a small capital invested and little numerical strength. He also regretted the lack of a single large association dedicated to beneficence, and another one with directed towards education only¹⁸,

that should bring together the best elements of the colony to achieve the noble goals of helping brothers who are in economic difficulty and to keep the Italian culture and education alive. But the character and courageous Italian genius in enterprises, persistent in work and economy, hardly provides here to the association and cooperation. That is why the Italian population living in Rio Grande do Sul, while strong in number and capital, elected by moral qualities, cannot form a community that lives for its own life [...] ¹⁹.

The dynamics that accompanied a strong *Calabresi* immigration in the urban centers have already been clarified regarding the period of transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, when the entry of Italians in Porto Alegre increased significantly. These southern Italians did not meet the rural activity, going immediately to the cities. The largest group, the one that characterized most of all the identity of the Italian collectivity in the capital, in particular, came from Morano Calabro, a small mountain center near the city of Cosenza. The *moranesi* occupied «Cidade Baixa» neighborhood, soon defined as «the Italian neighborhood», and started activities at Andradas street, the main commercial vein of the city. At the onset of the twentieth century they were undoubtedly the dominant group, which was beginning to take a strong lead in the Italian colony, ever more marked by regionalisms and internal divisions. The Italian Consul Ciapelli describes the capital, in 1905, as a dynamic and almost frenetic center where Italians dedicated to small businesses are found «everywhere»:

¹⁷ See A. Legrenzi, *Istituti italiani nello Stato del Rio Grande del Sud (Brasile)*, «Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri», 1896, p. 69; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 223.

¹⁸ *La colônia italiana nello Stato di Rio Grande do Sul (Brasile)*. (Rapporto del signor A. Dall'Aste Brandolini, reggente il regio consolato in Porto Alegre), «Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri», n. generale 120, n. di Serie 49, february 1898, pp. 174-177; now in Romanato, Herédia, *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., pp. 232-235.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

There is no street in or around the city that does not have one or more stores owned by Italians, and there are vendors selling foodstuffs and fruits, and especially lottery ticket sellers, who form a real army. Hoteliers, textile workers, barbers, cobblers, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, masons and porters are plentiful and in the market almost all the stands are occupied by Italians, who probably appear to be in greater numbers than they really are, for they keep moving around, which contrasts with the calm and measured behavior of the rest of the population; in any case they are in number certainly relevant and nobody is idle. There are several dealers, four doctors, three pharmacists, some professors, many shop assistants, and commercial staff²⁰.

The community grew progressively thanks to the migratory chains and the dynamics of welcoming relatives and friends, besides the internal mobility from the inland into the city. At the end of 1893, a new ethnic-Italian brotherhood named *Bella Aurora* emerged in the capital, work of a group of laborers who initially claimed recreation and learning activities with the employment of an Italian teacher. Three years later, it took the name of «Principessa Elena di Montenegro», and it also included mutual aid in its main goals. With the increasing number of partners and with the passing years, the association managed to collect the necessary funds to build its own headquarter, which opened in 1908, not coincidentally on the 20th of September, date in which was celebrated the main Italian civic event at that time²¹.

On the 6th May 1900, a new association was formed, the *Palestra di Recitazione*, with the purpose of being an educational and theatrical organization for Italian youth, where almost all the children were of workers residents in the first industrial districts of the capital. Three months later, the name was changed to *Umberto I*, immediately after the murder of the Italian king. In 1904 they were able to establish their own headquarter and concretely define their identity as a «Society of Charity and Education»²².

In the same period, more precisely in 1902, the «Giovanni Emanuel society» was formed, with the purpose of scholastic and theatrical education. On the outskirts of Porto Alegre already existed since 1895 the «Giuseppe Mazzini association», which focused on medical assistance and mutual aid among members²³.

At the same time, smaller regional groups, but still socially influential in the city, also claimed their associative autonomy, creating in 1899, for example, the association «Unione Lucchesi», anticipating a regionalist tendency that would strengthen in the successive years²⁴. In addition, the presence of sports circles

²⁰ *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud. (Rapporto del cav. E. Ciapelli, R. console in Porto Alegre)*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione», n. 12, 1905, p. 937; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 561.

²¹ *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, cit., pp. 367-368.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 368-369.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 371-372.

²⁴ See De Ruggiero, *Os empreendedores toscanos do mármore nas cidades brasileiras (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 90.

such as the Club Italiano Canottieri «Duca degli Abruzzi», which had a clear goal of defending their identity and was already active in the early twentieth century, was very important. On a historiographical field more attentive to the dynamics of pedagogical organization in the urban core of Italians, the recent researches of Gelson Rech and Terciane Luchese, show us how many Italian associations in Porto Alegre have had as a significant element the presence of a school subsidized by the Italian government since the beginning. This is the case of the best known and already mentioned societies such as «Vittorio Emanuele II», «Principessa Elena de Montenegro», «Umberto I» and «Giovanni Emanuel»²⁵. But there are others that have been ignored until now by historiography, perhaps because of their fleeting existence, on which we know that a specific space was devoted for ethnic education and formation: a little known one, the «Società Unione Meridionale» that – in 1905 the Italian traveler and writer Vittorio Buccelli said – had «the sole purpose of education, and was very well-regarded by the Brazilian and the Italian authorities»²⁶; and the «Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Fratellanza Italia», which – as the journalist Alfredo Cusano informed in a travel account from 1920²⁷ – maintained for a time period a night school for Italian immigrants. These communications confirm the considerations made by the Italian Consul De Velutiis, who in 1908 had called attention to the decisive role of the Italian societies, under whose aspiration such schools were created, taking benefit from the place and the necessary structure. He also mentioned the numerous schools of the traditional agricultural colonies, as well as the «urban» ones that were created, for example, in Porto Alegre, Pelotas and Bage²⁸.

In a few years, new charity societies were formed for either sports or leisure, which increased its amount in the same rhythm as the number of Italians in the city, powering new diversions and dissent in the community.

Along with the numerous northerners, in large part from the agricultural colonies, and with the *Calabresi* from Morano, in 1908 there was also in Porto Alegre a great number of «workers, small traders, and industrialists from Tuscany, in special from Lucca, Romagna and a from a few southern provinces, such as Salerno, Avellino e Potenza»²⁹.

²⁵ See G.L. Rech, T.Â. Luchese, *Escolas Italianas no Rio Grande do Sul*, Caxias do Sul, EDUCS, 2018, pp. 22-37.

²⁶ See V. Buccelli, *Un viaggio a Rio Grande del Sud*, Milan, Pallestrini, 1906, p. 201.

²⁷ See A. Cusano, *Il paese dell'avvenire. Rio Grande do Sul*, Rome-São Paulo-Buenos Aires, L'Italo-Sudamericana, 1920, pp. 2-20.

²⁸ See *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud e la crisi economica durante l'ultimo quinquennio. (Da un rapporto del cav. Francesco De Velutiis, R. Console in Porto Alegre) (Febbraio 1908)*, in Ministero degli Affari Esteri – Commissariato dell'Emigrazione, *Emigrazione e Colonie. Raccolta di rapporti dei RR. Agenti diplomatici e consolari. vol. III – America, Parte I - Brasile*, Rome, Manuzio, 1908, pp. 344-345; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., pp. 732-733.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

With a conciliatory tone, in 1905 Buccelli wrote, regarding his compatriots in the capital of Rio Grande do Sul:

they are, in fact, somewhat divided among them, but the several groups are well regarded by fellow citizens, who do not get into the internal affairs of their organizations, and appreciate the spirit of progress and the main goal that guides those associations, namely solidarity and education³⁰.

Much more realistic are the considerations of the Italian consul, who emphasized the main weaknesses of the associative system, which was unable to achieve an aggregating goal among the Italians. In addition to the lack of a centralized charitable society, he highlighted the inexistence of an credit institute or a chambers of commerce that would guarantee the interests of merchants and artisans, who were always numerous in the «urban colonies», even though the economic weight of the direct imports and exports with Italy had significantly reduced in the later years. The diplomat reinforced the great intentions of mutual aid societies when it came to philanthropy and reciprocal help among members, the organization of a cultural life and entertainment, and the organization of the most important patriot festivities. At the same time, however, he regretted that the proliferation of Italian associations, which was more than forty in the state, had in fact cultivated the «focus points of discord and struggles among the compatriots»³¹:

In general, the spirit of association is not very pronounced among our emigrants, who arrived over twenty years ago from small towns, which at that time had not understood the importance and usefulness of cooperatives and people's societies; and the associations that emerged in these centers failed to achieve the goal by which they had been established [...]. In any case, few of our associations give us a sign of vitality. They arise, unite and decay easily, depending on the energy and goodwill of those who manage them, the partners' tempers, and the economic conditions of the locality³².

In De Velutiis's analysis, the main motivations for understanding the critical points of the whole Italian associative system should be sought in two significant elements. The first cause was related to the abandonment of the «remarkable» pioneers, the earliest «magnates» of the Italian community, who stopped participating willingly in the colony life. Arriving in the city with the first fluxes of urban migration, little by little they were «relating with the locals» and «infiltrating themselves into the indigenous societies» until they became a fully part of it. With their absence, the fundamental role of a «leading element» was lacking. The emptiness left by them led to the second great

³⁰ See Buccelli, *Un viaggio a Rio Grande del Sud*, cit., p. 200.

³¹ See *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud e la crisi economica durante l'ultimo quinquennio. (Da un rapporto del cav. Francesco De Velutiis, R. Console in Porto Alegre) (Febbraio 1908)*, cit., p. 346.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.

question. The leadership of the Italian association was now occupied by clearly willing and hardworking people, who were small merchants or industrialists, «serious people with common sense», but certainly not very well educated and not prepared for the function. The exponential increase of Italians in the urban centers of the state was mostly due to the insertion of new professionals such as: «doctors, pharmacists, dentists, health workers, music and singing teachers, priests, etc.» and various craftsmen such as tailors, cobblers, sculptors, carpenters, typographers, goldsmiths, umbrella manufacturers, leather workers, and painters. There were also numerous retailers of all kinds and street vendors; several labors designated to work in countless public works performed in the beginning of the new century; few capitalists entrepreneurs who owned small factories that manufactured straw hats, umbrellas, beer, liqueurs, pasta for the Italians, and some lard refineries. In smaller numbers, workers scattered over factories in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande, and Pelotas. There were no major industrialists, except for the great «Compagnia Italo-Brasiliana», which manufactured textiles in Rio Grande, a city in the South of the state, and employed hundreds of Italian immigrants³³. In his long and detailed report, the consul underlined the important «moral» progress of Italian community in the urban centers of Rio Grande do Sul, which after the end of the subsidized immigration in 1885, was even healthier, hard-working, and subdued. Also, the workers in general were able to save money, as well as the craftsmen, who were mostly self-employed. Many had made a fortune, «even bought properties»³⁴. Such dynamics, however, had allowed the rise of an ambitious but unwise bourgeoisie, unprepared to lead under one single flag the general interest of the present Italian community.

Undoubtedly, the efforts of prominent members of the community were valuable, such as of the Milanese journalist Adelchi Colnaghi, who was the director of the most important bi-weekly ethnic newspaper circulating in Rio Grande do Sul since 1902, the «Stella d'Italia». In the first issue it reported that it was published «Under the auspices of the Italian Societies of Rio Grande do Sul: – Porto Alegre: Vittorio Emanuele II, Principessa Elena di Montenegro, Lecture Umberto I, Ausonia, Circolo Filarmonico Italiano; – Tristeza: Giuseppe Mazzini; – Caxias: Principe di Napoli».

The newspaper became an advocate for the formation of an extensive program for a «civic spirit of solidarity» among individuals of the Italian community. It criticized individual and isolated patriotism. It also considered that the Italian immigrant abroad should not belong to any party other than that of the Motherland. It was a project to standardize and regulate the patriotism of immigrants «so that the masses can be invincible»³⁵. Colnaghi also explained

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-344.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

³⁵ See *L'ideale della Stella d'Italia*, «Stella d'Italia», March 30th, 1902, p. 1.

that he intended to «build a collectivity with a homogeneous identity as of its Motherland, in order to contrast with the dispersion and isolation in which the Italian community of Porto Alegre and of the state found itself». It sought to promote an Italian identity among the new generations born in Brazil, who were more susceptible to the assimilation of Brazilian culture. It defended the nationalization of immigrant masses, being directed towards a growing liberal bourgeoisie in the ethnic community, reflecting the new orientation of Italian politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this perspective, he emphasized the importance of celebrating Italian national civic festivities as a vehicle for constructing an imaginary collective identity based on the traditions of the Motherland. The real mission, however, was to integrate the many individual societies in a single Federation. Therefore, he became the sponsor of a specific committee that worked for that matter³⁶.

Thus, on September 20th 1911, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Italian Unification, the representatives of 17 Italian associations in the entire state gathered in the headquarter of the Vittorio Emanuele II association, in the presence of the Consul Beverini. Other memberships arrived by telegraph, coming from several locations of the inland, to officially constitute the «Federation of Italian Societies», which they should, according to the high-sounding words of the consul:

keep alive in the heart of the Italians the love for their homeland; educate one's children about respect for this Great Mother of civilization that was the birthplace of their parents; maintain firm ties of solidarity and affection among the Italians, helping the new brothers who arrive here, and those already established who are in need; care for the instruction and education of our colony and look out for its several material and moral interests; encourage ever more the Italians and the people of this land to a relationship of fraternal affection and mutual regard³⁷.

As the journalist of «Stella d'Italia», Benvenuto Crocetta, wrote in 1925, the Federation ideals and hopes were, however, soon disrupted by personalism and individual egotisms, which immediately led to a fruitless and unproductive torpor. Complained about the «ignorance» and corruption of some of the leaders, who had not understood the great opportunity that such social cooperativism could also offer as a key to defend common political interests within Brazilian society.

Faced with the growth of the Italian population, the same associations had weakened their own forces and lost their members. When the colony conditions subsequently improved and the processes of assimilation were strengthened,

³⁶ See A. Barausse, M.H.C. Bastos, A. de Ruggiero, *O jornal Stella d'Italia (1902-1925)*, <<http://transfopressbrasil.franca.unesp.br/verbetes/o-jornal-stella-ditalia-1902-1925/>> (last access: 20.05.2019).

³⁷ See *La costituzione della Federazione delle Società italiane*, «Stella d'Italia», September 24th, 1911.

either by the logic of mutual aid or by the teaching of the language, the associations lost much of their appeal among the co-nationals³⁸.

3. *The cities in the inland*

If the framework of Porto Alegre was progressively broadening regarding the social insertion aspect and the formation of defense and ethnic solidarity networks³⁹ and associations, much still needs to be done to understand the social composition and the migratory dynamics in the smaller urban centers. Faraway from the capital, they received an Italian immigration not necessarily related to the internal exodus of the agricultural colonies towards the city, and they became the scene of a phenomenon of spontaneous immigration that quickly transformed their own social status.

I agree with the perceptions of the historian and diplomat Ludovico Incisa de Camerana when he says that many assessments of Italian migratory processes have fueled the great misconception in which the peasant is often confused with the immigrant. The ambition to conquer land and the possibility of acquiring colonial plots cannot obscure that which has been a secular mercantile vocation of the Italians⁴⁰. If in the larger capitals they had not always manage to obtain a commercial predominance, in the inland cities they often surpassed other immigrants. It was not by chance that the journalist Francesco Bianco, on a visit in 1922, wrote that «the stable trade, the internal trade of all Latin America

³⁸ See *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, vol. I, cit., pp. 396-397.

³⁹ Besides the studies of the already cited education historians as Barausse, Rech and Luchese, see: S. Borges, *Italianos: Porto Alegre e trabalho*, Porto Alegre, EST, 1993; R.F. Brum, *Uma cidade que se conta: imigrantes italianos e narrativas no espaço social da cidade de Porto Alegre nos anos 20-30*, São Luis, EDUFMA, 2009. New approaches includes also the more qualified occupation of Italians, such as the professionals of architecture, marble workers or musicians: R. Menegotto, *Cultura arquitetônica italiana na construção de residências em Porto Alegre (1892-1930)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: N. Constantino), Porto Alegre, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), 2011; L. Conedera, *Músicos no Novo Mundo: a presença de musicistas italianos na Banda Municipal de Porto Alegre (1925-1950)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: C.M. Fay), Porto Alegre, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), 2017. Concerning the insertions of Italian men and women in the urban labor market, even in periods lacking studies, as the second post-war see: E.B. Charão, *Mulheres italianas e trabalho em Porto Alegre/RS (1945-1965). História de uma migração esquecida*, Master Dissertation, Department of History (Supervisor: A. de Ruggiero), Porto Alegre, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), 2015; L. Conedera, *A Imigração Italiana no pós-guerra em Porto Alegre: Memórias, Narrativas, Identidades de sicilianos (1946-1976)*, Master Dissertation, Department of History (Supervisor: N.S. Constantino), Porto Alegre, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), 2012.

⁴⁰ See L. Incisa di Camerana, *Il grande esodo: storia delle migrazioni italiane nel mondo*, Milan, Corbaccio, 2003, pp. 223-224.

is in the hands of Italians. The retail commerce, the one in which the direct contact with the great mass of consumers happens, both in large cities and in small towns and remote fields, is absolutely in the hands of Italians»⁴¹. This was because they were able to build social networks of ethnic protection, which find in associationism one of the most favorable fields.

A report of the Italian Consul Compans of Brichanteau in 1892 highlighted the existence of an spontaneous emigration of subjects from various provinces of Italy to the many urban centers of Rio Grande do Sul, evidencing the fact that only a few worked for employers, outlining a scheme of social division and categorization among them: 1) a very limited number of large wealthy traders, «colony magnates» who frequently held the presidency of major Italian companies and provided work to a considerable number of street vendors; 2) these street vendors replenished merchandise in the main urban trade houses and worked carrying trunks full of merchandise to sell in the state inland before returning to the city. They were called *mascatés* and, if in some cases they were the protagonists of a temporary immigration, most of them became small businessmen. Among them were several Italians from the South, Genovese, Tuscan and Lombardi; 3) another class analyzed is that of artists, as music and singing teachers, who «often made good deals» in urban centers, where a taste for European artistic and cultural representations began to develop; 4) the last category consisted of artisans in a considerable number: marble craftsmen, tailors, cobblers, blacksmiths, masons, gardeners, chambermaids or even hotel owners, traveling musicians, etc.⁴²

The statistics of Consul Legrenzi for the year 1893 confirmed an increase in spontaneous immigrants in the urban centers, with a corresponding growth of the Italian charitable societies which developed an important control function over the ethnic schools financed by Italian authorities. The diplomat estimated a figure of about 18.000 Italians present in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul. The numbers are credible if we consider that as early as November 1876, in the beginning of the agricultural colonization process, his predecessor, Gerolamo Vitaloni, estimated at least 5.000 Italians present in the state, to which the same number of co-nationals arrived without registration «from the regions of the River Plate, and from other parts of Brazil itself» should be added, in addition to the newly arrived and not yet counted, not to mention those who went directly to the colonies in the preceding year⁴³. With the necessary caution

⁴¹ See F. Bianco, *Il Paese dell'Avvenire*, Rome-Milan, A. Mondadori, 1922, p. 195.

⁴² See *Rapporto del R. Console cav. Avv. Edoardo dei conti Compans de Brichanteau (25 march 1892)*, cit., p. 111.

⁴³ See *Alcuni cenni statistici sulla provincia di San Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul e sulla condizione dei coloni che vi si dirigono ad invito e a spese del governo del Brasile. Del Cav. Gerolamo Vitaloni, R. Console a Rio Grande do Sul (Novembre 1876)*, «Bollettino Consolare», v. XIII, parte II, luglio e agosto 1877, pp. 156-165; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., pp. 82-91.

in considering these numbers, also pondering the difficulties of registration, he presents a list (elaborated from the Legrenzi data) that gives us a general idea of this distributed presence in the different municipalities in 1893⁴⁴:

<i>Municipality</i>	<i>N° of Italians</i>
Porto Alegre	6000
Pelotas	5000
Rio Grande	600
Bagé	1000
D. Pedrito	200
São Gabriel	100
Livramento	100
Urugaiana	300
Alegrete	200
São Borja	300
Itaqui	300
Cruz Alta	250
Cachoeira	400
Encruzilhada	1000
Santo Antônio da Patrulha	800

The Italian diplomat Dall'Aste Brandolini, who was regent at the Consulate of Porto Alegre in 1897, confirmed a number of about 20.000 Italians, out of 160.000 total in the state, who did not respond to the logic of agricultural colonization and who dispersed voluntarily in cities and villages, in many cases asserting themselves with their commercial activities⁴⁵.

These quantitative and qualitative considerations made by Italian authorities, which started to show an interest that until then was almost non-existent in the «urban settlers», who progressively grew in parallel to the processes of agricultural colonization, in my opinion, justify the need for new studies and investigations about the phenomenon. Consul Ciapelli, in August 1901, highlighted the growth of the so-called «urban colonies». Some 200.000 Italians were estimated throughout the state, considering that many, around 15.000, added to the population of the capital, while an equal number would

⁴⁴ See *L'immigrazione nello Stato di Rio Grande del Sud (Brasile)*, «Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri», Anno 1895, Indice, pp. 84-86; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., pp. 216-217.

⁴⁵ See *La colonia italiana nello Stato di Rio Grande do Sul (Brasile)*. (Rapporto del signor A. Dall'Aste Brandolini, reggente il regio consolato in Porto Alegre), «Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri», vol. 120, n. 49, february 1898, p. 175; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 233.

have settled in the perimeter of the cities of Rio Grande, Pelotas, Bagé, Santa Maria, and Uruguaiana⁴⁶.

Even more interesting is the analysis of how the cities of the bordering regions also welcomed Italian immigrants in significant numbers, which can be observed through the data presented in the table.

The pioneering studies by Sérgio da Costa Franco showed the participation of Italians who controlled the internal navigation and the trade of cabotage in the border regions with Uruguay, a long time ago. This would explain why the first Italian societies of the state were born in these places that are erroneously considered peripheral to the immigration of Italians. The existence of traces of active ethnic associations in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul since the 1870s has helped us a great deal to understand this selected presence that distinguished itself well before the consolidation of mass immigration in the state further south of Brazil. For example, the oldest in the state, the «Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Beneficienza», was born in Bagé in 1870; later, in Pelotas, the «Unione e Filantropia» (1873); in Sant'Ana do Livramento, the «Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Giuseppe Garibaldi» (1873); in Uruguaiana, the «Società Unione e Beneficienza» (1879); «Società Benevolenza», in Santa Victoria do Palmar, in 1880; three years later «Società di Mutuo Soccorso Unione Italiana» was inaugurated in Alegrete⁴⁷. In the same period smaller associations were also in the cities of Quaraí, Jaguarão, São Gabriel. Many others were born in later years in other cities of the state, when migratory flows became intense. These societies, whose headquarters were often situated in elegant palaces with refined architectural tastes (unfortunately almost always destroyed in successive years), as can be seen in the images of the main almanacs celebrating Italian immigration, represented the identity soul of these small but incisive communities of Italians spread throughout the region. It would be opportune to explore new sources (as we are actually doing through the ethnic press, consular sources and ministerial sources, as well as travelers accounts or journalists reports on the migratory experience) to investigate more about the organizational dynamics inherent in these spaces of sociability, which often became educational centers for the children of Italian immigrants distributed in the various localities far from the main colonial centers.

These processes often responded to different dynamics related to agricultural colonization and can be understood only within the broader context of an intertwined mobility to neighboring countries of the Southern Cone. Perhaps the most interesting interpretation of this phenomenon can be found in a report

⁴⁶ See *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud (Brasile) e l'immigrazione italiana. (Da un rapporto del R. Console a Porto Alegre, cav. E. Ciapelli, agosto 1901)*, «Bollettino dell'Emigrazione», n. 4, 1903, p. 57; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 305.

⁴⁷ See *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud*, vol. I, cit., pp. 364-397.

that the Italian Consul Pasquale Corte compiled in 1884⁴⁸. The diplomat recalled that after having favored the introduction of thousands of Italian settlers in Rio Grande do Sul with an advertisement directed to the agricultural centers of Veneto and Lombardy, the contractor Serpa Pinto, hired by the Brazilian government, also turned to Montevideo and Buenos Aires in 1874 and 1875, that were going through an economic and commercial crisis, in order to attract Italian immigrants with less expense. Pasquale Corte was then consul in Montevideo and recalled having issued thousands of passports for Italian immigrants residing in Montevideo and Buenos Aires to go to Brazil, and especially to the State of Rio Grande do Sul. These immigrants, which in many cases were not farmers, «came out unskillful to the deforestation and field growing, (and) they ended up dispersing by the towns and cities of the hinterland [...]. Thus, the first nuclei of some importance in Porto Alegre, Pelotas, Bagé, Rio Grande, Cachoeira, Rio Pardo, etc. were originated»⁴⁹. The diplomat evidenced the large number of Italian workers, mainly traders who, besides Porto Alegre, uplifted the commercial life of Pelotas, Rio Grande, Bagé, Jaguarão, Santa Vitória do Palmar, Alegrete, Uruguaiana, Santana do Livramento, São Jeronimo, Cachoeira and other smaller locations. About these urban centers of the Argentinian and Uruguayan border, the consul wrote:

There are Italian charities and mutual aid societies that currently have a small capital and many members. Some have stable assets, and they are all in process of development⁵⁰.

At the same time, he emphasized the importance of building a railroad that would connect the inland centers among them and with the capital. Some of the engineers were Italians and employed almost exclusively compatriot workers, paid on a contract basis. In 1884, a number of «no less than 10.000» Italians dispersed in the various non-agricultural centers was calculated; difficult to account for, since «most of them do not have fixed address or permanent stay». He highlighted, however, the good conditions of the great majority of workers in the cities, comparing with the Uruguayan case:

That our emigration finds here fruitful occupation, it is deduced from the fact that, with a colony no smaller than the number that exists in the Republic of Uruguay, this Consulate does not spend in subsidies and repatriation the fifth part of which it spends on average the Consulate of Montevideo⁵¹.

⁴⁸ The quotations relating Consul Pasquale Corte were taken of a report from 1884, concerning the Italian rural settlements in Rio Grande do Sul, which was partially published in A.I. Battistel, R. Costa, *Assim vivem os italianos. Vida, história, cantos, comidas e estórias*, Porto Alegre-Caxias do Sul, EST/EDUCS, 1982, vol. I, pp. 28-60.

⁴⁹ See Battistel, Costa, *Assim vivem os italianos. Vida, história, cantos, comidas e estórias*, cit., p. 29.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

The urban nuclei of the inland, and particularly of the Rio Grande do Sul boarder region, unfortunately yet insufficiently researched, present peculiar characteristics in relation to the classic phenomenon of urban immigration in the other Brazilian States. In these places there was a European and mainly Italian presence that began to have a certain weight already before 1875, attracted by the commercial relations that had always registered privileged conditions at the border. Specially artisans could find extensive possibilities of insertion within communities enriched through livestock or the *charque* industry⁵², but where at the same time almost all other products were lacking. In the face of this rapid urbanization process, the demand for consumer goods increased⁵³. A recent doctoral thesis by Márcia Solange Volkmer focused on the French who occupied the western border of the state, shows the existence of European immigrants in the region between Brazil and Argentina in the years of our interest. This population became the economic intermediate of the flows between the two countries, in a period of great commercial development in the entire region. Among them was abundant the amount of Italians present in the three most representative villages, Uruguaiana, Itaqui and São Borja⁵⁴. Such indications are confirmed by the research of Antônio Marçal Bonorino Figueiredo, who evidenced this dynamic of circular mobility of the Italians, who traveled from the River Plate Basin to Paraguay and to the borders of Rio Grande do Sul⁵⁵.

In Itaqui, mainly, they represented almost 40% of the present foreigners. In this small center, capitalized on a very active and busy river port that favored commercial traffic from Rio Grande do Sul to Argentina, a core of compatriots managed to build enormous fortunes⁵⁶. Most of them, however, were able to benefit from «excellent economic conditions». From the early years of the twentieth century the Italian community had as its associative reference point the «Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Itaquiense». This association was considered one of the richest in the whole state. Besides having as its headquarter

⁵² *Charque* industry refers to the industrial drying process of the meat, typical of Rio Grande do Sul, state with an extensive cattle breeding.

⁵³ See S.C. Franco, *Imigração italiana na fronteira rio-grandense*, «Boletim da Biblioteca Pública do estado», vol. 1, n. 2, 1975, p. 11.

⁵⁴ See M.S. Volkmer, *Compatriotas franceses ocupam a fronteira: imigração e comércio na fronteira oeste do Rio Grande do Sul (segunda metade do século XIX)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: S. Bleil de Souza), Porto Alegre, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), 2013.

⁵⁵ See A.M.B Figueiredo, *Italianos e descendentes via rio da Prata na Tríplice Fronteira: São Borja, Itaqui e Uruguaiana, RS 1834-1968*, Curitiba, Editora CRV, 2012.

⁵⁶ Alfredo Cusano says in 1920 about Italians who started out in commerce had become millionaires, like Attilio Mondadori, Salvatore De Grazia e Andrea e Bernardo Schenini; see Cusano, *Il paese dell'avvenire*, cit., p. 90.

an elegant and expensive building, had as an annex a private chapel that could accommodate associates⁵⁷.

The same could be said of Uruguaiana, a small town located on the left bank of the Uruguay River, where the Italian colony was one of the oldest and most numerous in the state and had benefited from the rich local commercial possibilities since the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1879, the «Società Italiana Unione e Beneficienza» was created, in a beautiful mansion that differed by the European architectural style, in the center of this city *molto graziosa*⁵⁸. Consul Ciapelli estimated in 1903 a population of 600 Italians besides the numerous children of these immigrants. Most were artisans and workers, such as cobblers, tailors, masons, marble workers, loggers, painters, laborers, and day rate workers; a good number were merchants or self-employed professionals. In the same year the mentioned association had 130 members, while about sixty encouraged the activities of the «Circolo Demoratico», born in 1897⁵⁹.

Also, in neighboring Alegrete, the «few hundred Italians» present gave life to a mutual aid association, the «Società Unione Italiana».

On the border with Uruguay, we cannot forget the center of Bagé, where the first Italian association of the state was erected in 1870. With its own headquarter, the «Società Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso Beneficienza» always maintained a high number of members and, for a while, a «good Italian school». Already in 1877, the city obtained an Italian consular agency to serve the wide region of the border. In 1903, the Italian jurisdiction met the demands of some 700 compatriots, including many merchants and workers⁶⁰. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, inside the Italian nuclei, the Nocchi brothers of Pisa distinguished themselves with a large house of direct import and export with Italy⁶¹.

Also interesting is the center of Santana do Livramento, which registered a significant number of Italian merchants, mainly from Liguria but also from Salerno, who arrived in America well before the beginning of colonization in Rio Grande do Sul, having as point of entry the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo⁶². In the Twenties of the last century, about a thousand Italians were counted among the 11.000 inhabitants of the urban nucleus. In Cusano's

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵⁹ See Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud (Rapporto del cav. E. Ciapelli, R. console in Porto Alegre), «Bollettino dell'migrazione», n. 12, 1905, p. 945; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 569.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 922.

⁶¹ See *Cinquantenario dela colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud 1875-1935, vol. II. I Municipi dello Stato e le Industrie ed i Commerci degli Italiani e loro discendenti*, Porto Alegre, Posenato Arte & Cultura, 2000 (1925), p. 282.

⁶² See I. Caggiani, *100 anos de comércio: Sant'Ana do Livramento*, Sant'Ana do Livramento, Edigraf, 1991.

words, this community was economically very prosperous due to its pioneering and long-standing presence in the state, which allowed the development of small commercial and industrial activities. The «Società Italiana de Mútuo Soccorso» was also ancient, entitled with the name of the hero of the two worlds, Giuseppe Garibaldi⁶³.

In Santa Vitória do Palmar, a municipality located in the extreme south of the state, near Chuí, a city on the border with Uruguay, there was a group of Italians mostly from southern Italy. Anselmo Amaral points out that fifty percent of the current population of the city are of Italian origin. In 1869 the Calabrian pioneer Antonio Rotta arrived in Santa Vitória do Palmar, who established itself with its own commerce in the city and started a chain of Calabrian compatriots. The 1870s and 1890s were recorded as the period of the greatest mobility of Italians towards the locality. The great majority of the pioneers who arrived at the place were «Calabresi» who initially moved to Montevideo or Rio Grande, and «made the America» beginning as peddlers⁶⁴. The majority of this nuclei came from the Commune of Pedace, in the province of Cosenza. Other families came from the neighboring village of Maione in the municipality of Grimaldi. From the «Mezzogiorno»⁶⁵ there were still the presence of Italians from Campania (provinces of Avellino and Salerno) and Basilicata. From northern Italy, there were individuals from Liguria and Lombardy. Most were engaged in trade, although some were involved with handicraft activities such as carpenters, tailors, or mechanics in the so-called «Block of the Italians», that is, an ethnic neighborhood that today has completely lost the peculiar aspects of an Italian neighborhood⁶⁶.

In addition to these “smaller” border cities, the center of Rio Grande also received Italians. In this maritime port, which will become an important industrial center, there is already a record of an Italian nucleus in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1867, a consular agency was established and became a consulate in 1871. In 1884, the «Società Mutua Cooperazione» was founded by merchants and factory owners⁶⁷. The society brought together representatives of ancient families living in the city, mostly from southern Italy, such as Raffaele Anselmi, a pioneer from the province of Cosenza, who managed to build a great industrial fortune. The same thing can be said about the Ligurian Santo Becchi, who founded in 1894 the Italo-Brazilian Weaving

⁶³ See Cusano, *Il paese dell'avvenire*, cit., p. 85.

⁶⁴ See A.F. do Amaral, *Santa Vitória do Palmar: 150 anos*, Santa Vitória do Palmar, Liberal, 2006, pp. 131-139.

⁶⁵ With the Italian expression *Mezzogiorno* it indicates the southern geographic regions of Italy.

⁶⁶ See S. Borges, *Imigração italiana em região de fronteira: Dom Pedrito e Santa Vitória do Palmar*, in A. Suliani (ed.), *Etnias & Carisma*, Porto Alegre, Edipucrs, 2010, pp. 1060-1064.

⁶⁷ See J. Zamberlan, G. Corso, G. Pinto, R. Colvara, *Passagem de Dom João Batista Scalabrini na cidade portuária de Rio Grande (1904): os relatos da imprensa*, Rio Grande, Solidus, 2012.

Company, based in Genoa, which employed about 100 workers in Rio Grande at the beginning of the century, reaching 700 workers and 15 administrators in 1925, many of whom were compatriots⁶⁸. The statistics of Consul Ciapelli in 1903 give us a far greater number than that of ten years before. Italians would now be around 2.000, many working in the great Italian factory, and others in the thriving national textile industry Rheingantz⁶⁹. In 1920, Cusano highlighted the solid presence of approximately 3.500 Italians, many of whom, unlike in other Rio Grande do Sul municipalities, worked in industrial establishments. By its own port condition, the city also favored the insertion of a large number of merchants who exported and imported directly from Italy, such as Raffaele Marsiglia, who in a few years had built a remarkable economic fortune⁷⁰. The two most prominent circles were «Società Italiana Mutua Cooperazione» (1884) and «Società Gioacchino Rossini», which in 1890, with its band, rescued the cultural importance of Italian music throughout Rio Grande do Sul.

Another neighboring port city that should be highlighted is Pelotas. This urban center, as well as the state capital, had a cosmopolitan society with a significant number of foreign residents since the nineteenth century. It was a strong locality from the economic point of view due to the production and commercialization of *charque*. The city also had access to the world through its port, which connected it with Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Argentina, Uruguay, United States and Europe⁷¹. It registered an immigration that was destined in part for the colonies created in the rural areas, and especially another one, “spontaneous”, older that settled in the urban environment throughout the nineteenth century. Just in the urban perimeter it was counted, in 1900, 24.000 inhabitants, of which much more than a thousand would be Italians. In a report by the Italian Vice-Consul Enrico Acton in the city defined as «The Princess of the South», he spoke of a quiet and working Italian urban colony, «devoted entirely to the practice of arts and crafts»⁷².

Among the immigrants who joined Pelotas society, Italians were second in quantitative terms, with Portuguese being the first. The Italian element, besides being quantitatively outstanding in the population, also had notoriety in the commercial sector of the city. In the urban census of the year 1899,

⁶⁸ See *Cinquantenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud 1875-1925*, cit., Vol. II, p. 317.

⁶⁹ See *Lo Stato di Rio Grande del Sud*, cit., 1905, p. 67.

⁷⁰ See Cusano, *Il paese dell'avvenire*, cit., p. 77.

⁷¹ See M.H. dos Anjos, *Estrangeiros e modernização: a cidade de Pelotas no último quartel do século XIX*, Master Dissertation, Department of History (Supervisor: N.S. Constantino), Porto Alegre, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), 1996, p. 36.

⁷² See *La città di Pelotas – Rapporto dell'avv. Enrico Acton, r. vice console a S. Francisco di Pelotas, trasmesso dal nob. Avv. Cav. Mario dei conti Compagnoni Marefoschi, r. console a Porto Alegre (Pelotas, 10 novembre – Porto Alegre, 25 novembre 1889)*, «Bollettino del Ministero degli Affari Esteri», vol. 28, n. 1, 1890, p. 165; now in Romanato, Herédia (edd.), *L'emigrazione italiana nel Rio Grande do Sul Brasiliano (1875-1914)*, cit., p. 191.

there were 352 Italian settlements in urban perimeter out of a total of 1.909. That is, at the end of the nineteenth century, Italians owned approximately 18% of the commercial establishments of the city, with an emphasis on hotel activity from the mid-nineteenth century⁷³. There was no lack of self-employed professionals such as tailors, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, organized in numerous mutualistic or recreational ethnic associations, such as «Circolo Garibaldi», «Società Cristoforo Colombo», «Corale Italiana», «Corale Savoia», «Filodrammatica Dante Alighieri», «Banda Bellini»; and still more in the second oldest Italian society of Rio Grande do Sul, called «Unione e Filantropia», founded in 1873⁷⁴.

There is also a presence of Italian architects who marked the urban landscape of Pelotas through the new techniques and stylistic tastes⁷⁵. They were joined by other qualified professionals in marble sculpture who, in a scenario of great transformation, conditioned the construction, architecture and the arts, bringing to the city new European models⁷⁶.

Conclusions

In conclusion, I believe on the existence of all the elements to affirm that the Italian migratory phenomenon in the cities of Rio Grande do Sul, even in those geographically more peripheral and not directly influenced by the planned agricultural colonization, had a significant relevance, but still very little clarified by historiography. Different available sources may help us to better understand the characteristics of these spontaneous flows, often precocious and internal to the Southern Cone regions, directed to territories and marginal cities to those privileged by mass immigration. These streams are largely made up of immigrant flows from small areas of Italy, which perpetuate mobility experiences, mainly related to the activity of small commerce and handicrafts, making a significant contribution to the construction of modern urban networks in Latin America.

⁷³ See Dos Anjos, *Estrangeiros e modernização*, cit., pp. 83-85.

⁷⁴ See *Cinquantesenario della colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud 1875-1925*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 287-306. Recent works by Alberto Barausse and Renata de Castro, have entered much more and with new sources in the analyses of these associations that created school projects in part financed by the Italian government, to meet the demand of the numerous native populations. See: A. Barausse, R. Brião de Castro, *Algumas considerações sobre as escolas italianas em Pelotas (RS) entre o final do século XIX e o início do XX*, in *24 Encontro ASPHE. História da Educação: sensibilidades, patrimônio e cultura escrita*, pp. 341-359, <<http://aspheunisinios2018.wixsite.com/historiadaeducacao/anais>> (last access: 02.03.2019).

⁷⁵ See R.M. Peres, *Legado da tecnologia construtiva de imigrantes de italianos ao patrimônio arquitetônico de Pelotas*, Doctoral Thesis, Engineering Department (Supervisor: F. de Paula Simões Lopes Gastal), Porto Alegre, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), 2008.

⁷⁶ A. Damasceno, *Artes plásticas no Rio Grande do Sul (1755-1900)*, Porto Alegre, Globo, 1971.

As Emilio Franzina has recently pointed out, it would be useful to go deeper into what has become, also in historiography, an idealized and conciliatory representation (often a self-representation) of Italian immigration based on the model of agricultural colonization. In many cases, almost heroic historical reconstructions have been made with the constant exaltation of hard-working, capable and courageous people. These images are often reprinted also in the urban areas, where, on the contrary, the presence of Italians was quite diversified and with dynamics parallel to those of the countryside⁷⁷.

In this sense, we cannot ignore the participation in the nineteenth century of these migratory avant-gardes of Italians, who together with the political exiles managed to establish the first commercial bases throughout the region of River Plate and the extreme South of Brazil. From these pioneers, the first migratory networks and social circuits were created, which found in the associationism of the successive years a more oriented articulation to respond to the lack of social institutions and policies that could provide minimal support to immigrants in economic, health and social terms and education for children. This is the origin of the initially mutualistic character of most associations – along with the desire, of course, for the recognition of the group in the new society, in the defense of a “consciousness of Italian identity” that transformed itself from the first decades of the twentieth century into an effort by Italian local elites to construct an idea of Italian cultural and linguistic unity among Italians that came either directly from Italy or from the neighboring states of Uruguay and Argentina. Finally, there remains the question of the conflicting dynamics and strong internal divisions in the community, which have been accentuated by the increase in migratory flows and by the increasingly clear definition of the different regional and ideological characteristics that accompanied the Italian associative life in these localities throughout Giolitti period and beyond.

⁷⁷ See Franzina, *La terra ritrovata*, cit., pp. 81-94.

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

Teaching turkish to Germans in 1910s in Istanbul and Berlin: Bolland's Book *Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*

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ABSTRACT: The present study aimed to introduce and analyze the book *Türkisches Lesebuch Für Deutsche* (Turkish Reading Book for Germans) authored by W. Bolland. The first volume was published in Istanbul in 1915. It was authored for use as a textbook for primary school students attending the school where the author was employed. The second volume, published in Stuttgart in 1919, is an anthology that provided information about the development of Turkish language and literature to adults learning Turkish. In the analysis of the book, certain information will be provided about the content, methodology and suitability of the book for the target group. As a result of this analysis, it was expected to contribute to the quality of teaching Turkish as a second language in Turkey and in other countries in the 20th century and to provide information about the advantages and disadvantages of a Turkish textbook authored by a foreigner.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Teaching Turkish as a second language; W. Bolland; German High School; Reading; Germany; XXth Century.

Introduction

Individuals decide to learn a new language due to several factors. It can easily be argued that the most important factors were the establishment of various commercial, political and military partnerships between the nations, cooperation with other nations and to be ready for future events in previous ages. Foreign language courses and foreign schools established in various countries during the last couple of centuries are known to serve the above-mentioned purposes.

Foreign schools were opened in several cities in the Ottoman Empire, especially in Istanbul and several studies were published on these schools¹. It is also a known fact that there were courses organized to fulfill the language learning needs, which were very urgent especially during the periods of war. However, although the Turkish grammar books written by foreigners were investigated², topics such as the instruction of Turkish language and the material used in Turkish language courses in foreign schools in Turkey and in Turkish courses abroad were neglected and there are insufficient number of documents on these topics. Although various problems that stemmed from the impossibilities of the period were effective on this neglect, it is necessary to examine certain textbooks written to teach Turkish to foreigners at the beginning of the 20th century. Although studies on teaching Turkish to foreigners increased in recent years, studies on the history of this field are still insufficient. The historical experiences in Turkish language instruction as an academic field is important to observe its historical development. Thus, textbooks written by foreigners with different pedagogical requirements and instructional methods have a special significance.

In the present study, two books published in 1915 and 1919 by W. Bolland, who instructed Turkish language to Germans both in Turkey and Germany, were analyzed based on content and methodology. It is worth presenting the life and works of the author as a further contribution to the present study.

1. *Life and Works of W. Bolland*

In several books he wrote and in documents that provided information about him, his name was given as Wely Bey Bolland, Bollandzade Veli, Veli Bolland, Villi Bolland or even Wilhelm Bolland and certain information on his life is available in the life history obtained from Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives³ and an article by Ünver⁴ on the author's book titled *Praktisches Türkisches*

¹ O.N. Ergin, *Istanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri -Dolayısıyla-Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* Cild 1-4, İstanbul, Eser Kültür Yayınları, 1977, pp. 1479-1482; M. Ergün, *II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Eğitim Hareketleri (1908-1914)*, Ankara, Ocak Yayınları, 1996, pp. 385-395; T. Özcan, *Merkezî ve Modern Eğitim Kapsamında Osmanlı Gayrimüslim Cemaat ve Yabancı Okulları*, İstanbul, Gece Kitaplığı, 2017.

² H. Ersoylu, *Türk Dili Üzerine Yazılmış İngilizce Gramerler*, «Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları», vol. 10, 1981, pp. 114-142; S. Doğan, *XIX. Yüzyılda Batı'da Yabancılara Türkçe Öğretimi Çalışmaları – W. B. Barker Örneği*, Master's Thesis, Elâzığ, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2011; E. Yeşilyurt, *Osmanlı Döneminde İngilizlere Türkçe Öğretimi*, Doctoral Thesis, Çanakkale, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2015.

³ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Hariciye Nezareti Hukuk Müşavirliği İstişare Odası (HR.HMŞ.İŞO) Dosya n. 48, Gömlek n. 21, Tarih, 20 Eylül 1325 (3 September 1909).

⁴ Ş. Ünver, *Alman Askerlerine Türkçeyi Öğretme ve Türkiye'yi Tanıtma Amacıyla Yazılan Bir Kitabın İncelenmesi*, «Millî Folklor», vol. 100, 2013, pp. 190-191.

Lehrbuch. According to these documents, the author was born in Istanbul in 1862 as the son of the merchant Charles Boland, an Ottoman citizen, and attended Bürgerschule (German primary school) in Istanbul and graduated from the school of commerce in Germany. He spoke Turkish, German, English, French, Swedish and Danish. In 1883, he was appointed to Chamber of Imperial Secretary as a translator in 1898 and to Mekteb-i Sultani as a German teacher in 1898. Bolland, who was employed as a translator for 26 years, and a German teacher for 16 years in the Mekteb-i Sultani⁵, was employed as a German teacher for a short period of time at Commercial High School, and according to the manuscript on cover of the books investigated in the present study, he also worked as a Turkish teacher in his alumnus high school. The above-mentioned archive document also includes the decorations that Bolland received. According to this document, he received Order of Medjidie of the fourth rank on September 25, 1883 and of the third rank on October 5, 1885; Order of Distinguished of the third rank on August 17, 1888, of the second rank on May 7, 1891; High Order of Osmani of the first rank second class on January 17, 1893, of the third rank on June 26, 1893; Greek War Medal on December 29, 1896; and first rank first class on August 1, 1899. On January 28, 1890, the German State awarded him a strophe of the fourth rank of the Crown de Prussia Medal.

It was attempted to make a list of the author's works by scanning the databases of various libraries and websites that publish classic works. It is possible to access further works with new research and queries.

The oldest accessed work dated back to 1887 and titled *Dayı ve Yeğen* (Uncle and Nephew)⁶. The work is Bolland's translation of a three-act play by French Picard from its German translation by Schiller. Bolland stated his name in this work that he translated when he was 25 as *Bolandzade Veli*.

The second work of the author was the translation of *Sefaretnâme* by Ottoman statesman and ambassador Ahmed Resmî Efendi⁷, written during his mission at Wien after his appointment in 1757 into German⁸. In the book titled *Eine Türkische Botschaft an Friedrich den Grossen von Ahmed Ressmi Effendi* and published in Istanbul on 1903, he added his title in the palace as *Willi Bey-Bolland Uebersetzer S. K. M. des Sultans* in addition to his name.

After this date, it was observed that the author mostly focused on teaching Turkish or German. He published *Gaspey Oto Zaver Usulü Almanca Küçük*

⁵ Abdurrahman Şeref, *Mekteb-i Sultaninin Ellinci Sene-i Devriye-i Tesisi Münasebetiyle Neşrolunmuştur*. İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 [1918], p. 86; V. Engin, *Mekteb-i Sultani*, İstanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları, 2016, p. 197.

⁶ Bolandzade Veli, *Dayı ile Yeğen*, Kostantiniye, Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1304 [1887].

⁷ B. Kütükoğlu, *Ahmed Resmî*, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yay., 1989, vol. 2, pp. 121-122.

⁸ Bey-Bolland, *Eine Türkische Botschaft an Friedrich den Grossen von Ahmed Ressmi Effendi*, cit.

Sarf / Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Kleine Deutsche Sprachlehre für Türken (Turkish Language Lessons with Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Method) in 1904⁹. The author was mentioned on the initial page as *Müellifi Mabeyn-i Hümayun Cenab-ı Mülûkâne mütercimlerinden Mekteb-i Sultani Almanca Muallimi Veli Bolland* in Turkish and *Bearbeitet für das Türkische von Weli Bey Bolland, Sekretär=Interpreter S. K. M. des Sultans und Lehrer des Deutschen am Kaiserlichen Lyzeum von Galata Serai in Konstantinopel* in German, inscribing both his office as a translator in the palace and lecturer in *Mekteb-i Sultani*.

In 1910, the author published a book for Turks who desire to learn German titled *Almanca Kıraat Kitabı / Deutsche Lesebuch* (German Reading Book)¹⁰ and stated his name and title in the book as *Ticaret Mekteb-i Âlisi ve Mekteb-i Sultani Almanca Muallimi Veli Bolland, Bearbeitet für das Türkische von Weli Bey Bolland, Lehrer des Deutschen an der Handelsschule in Stambul un am Kaiserlichen Lyzeum von Galata Serai in Konstantinopel*. Based on this expression, it could be concluded that his duty as an interpreter was ended and this information is consistent with the archive documents. Bolland Willi and Villi Bolland Bey were registered among the teachers of the School of Commerce in 1909¹¹.

Erstes Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche, one of the books scrutinized in the present study, was published in Istanbul in 1915¹². The author provided his name and title only in German: *W. Bolland Lehrer Der Türkischen Sprache An Der Deutschen Oberrealschule Zu Konstantinopel*.

In the exercise book that aimed to teach the *riqa* script *Türkische Schreibschule mit Mustervorlagen: Praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung der Riq'a=Schrift* published in Stuttgart in 1916¹³, the author used the name Wely Bey Bolland and the title *Lehrer des Türkischen am Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin*. Thus, it is possible to recognize that the author had left Istanbul and started teaching Turkish to Germans in Berlin. In 1916, Bolland published the second edition of the book *Erstes Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche* in Stuttgart¹⁴. It can be suggested that this book, which can only be accessed in library catalogs, expanded the content in the first edition. In the same year, he published a similar book titled *Praktisches Türkisches Lehrbuch zum Gebrauch im Selbstunterricht und Lehranstalten*¹⁵. The book was credited to Wely Bey

⁹ V. Bolland, W. Bey Bolland, *Gaspey Oto Zaver Usulü Almanca Küçük Sarf / Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Kleine Deutsche Sprachlehre für Türken*, Heidelberg, Yulyus Gros, 1904.

¹⁰ Idd., *Almanca Kıraat Kitabı / Deutsche Lesebuch*, Heidelberg, Yulyus Gros, 1910.

¹¹ A. Erdoğan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk Ticaret Mektebinden Marmara Üniversitesi'ne Hamidiye Ticaret Mekteb-i Âlisi*, İstanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları, 2018, p. 100 and p. 132.

¹² W. Bolland, *Erstes Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*, Konstantinopel, F. Lefler, 1915.

¹³ W. Bey Bolland, *Türkische Schreibschule mit Mustervorlagen: Praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung der Riq'a=Schrift*, Stuttgart, W. Violet, 1916.

¹⁴ Bolland, *Erstes Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*, cit.

¹⁵ Bey Bolland, *Praktisches Türkisches Lehrbuch zum Gebrauch im Selbstunterricht und Lehranstalten*, cit.

Bolland, and his title was mentioned as *Lehrer des Türkischen am Orientalischen Seminar zu Berlin*. The same year, he also published *Schlüssel zum Praktischen Türkischen Lehrbuch*, which primarily aimed reading instruction¹⁶. The book was credited to Wely Bey Bolland, however his title was not mentioned.

The author published *Türkisches für Offiziere und Mannschaften: Gespräche, Wörtersammlung und Grammatik zum Selbstunterricht: Mit einem Anhang: Gespräche mit Verwundeten und Kranken* that focused on speech, vocabulary and grammar instruction for military personnel and officers stationed in Turkey in 1917¹⁷.

In 1919, the author published the second volume of the book that he published in 1915, which was scrutinized in the present study and included only the sample reading texts¹⁸. The name of the book was both in German (*Zweites Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*) and in Turkish (*Almanlar İçün Türkçe İkinci Kıraat Kitabı – Second Turkish Reading Book for Germans*). Furthermore, the author's name was written as *Veli Bolland* in Arabic letters, and in Latin alphabet as *Wely Bey Bolland* and his title was mentioned only in German as *Lehrer des Türkischen am Seminar Orientalische Sprachen, Lektor am der Univesität Berlin*. Leipzig University Library Catalog mentioned that he published a book entitled *Praktisches Lehrbuch für Neutürkisch* with his own means in the same year¹⁹.

In 1924, the author published another book titled *Gaspey Oto Zaver Usulü Almanca Küçük Sarfın Miftahı / Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Schlüssel zur Kleinen Deutschen Sprachlehre für Türken*²⁰. The book was credited to *Berlin Darülfünunu ve Elsine-i Şarkiye Mektebi Muallimlerinden Veli Bolland* and *Bearbeitet von Weli Bey Bolland, Lektor an der Universität und Lehrer am Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin*. The same year, he published the second edition of *Gaspey Oto Zaver Usulü Almanca Küçük Sarf / Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Kleine Deutsche Sprachlehre*, firstly published in 1904²¹. The book was credited to *Müellifi Dersaadet Mekteb-i Sultani ile Ticaret Mekteb-i Âlisi sabık Almanca muallimlerinden Berlin'de Darülfünun ile Elsine-i Şarkiye Mektebi Türkçe Muallimi Veli Bolland* in Turkish and to *Bearbeitet für das Türkische von Wely Bey Bolland, Srüher Lehrer des Deutschen an der*

¹⁶ W. Bey Bolland, *Schlüssel zum Praktischen Türkischen Lehrbuch*, Stuttgart, W. Violet, 1916.

¹⁷ Bey Bolland, *Türkisches für Offiziere und Mannschaften: Gespräche, Wörtersammlung und Grammatik zum Selbstunterricht: Mit einem Anhang: Gespräche mit Verwundeten und Kranken*, cit.

¹⁸ V. Bolland, W. Bey Bolland, *Almanlar İçün Türkçe İkinci Kıraat Kitabı / Zweites Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*, Stuttgart, W. Violet, 1919.

¹⁹ W. Bey Bolland, *Praktisches Lehrbuch für Neutürkisch*, Selbstverl, 1919, <<https://katalog.ub.uni-leipzig.de/Record/0000817959>> (last access: 10.08.2018).

²⁰ Bolland, Bey Bolland, *Gaspey Oto Zaver Usulü Almanca Küçük Sarfın Miftahı / Methode Gaspey-Otto-Sauer Schlüssel zur Kleinen Deutschen Sprachlehre für Türken*, cit.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Handelshochschule und am Lyzeum von Galata Serai in Konstantinopel, jetzt am Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen und Lektor an der Universität zu Berlin in German. Thus, it could be deduced that the author had left Istanbul and started to work in Germany.

As could be derived from the above-mentioned works, W. Bolland was quite focused on instruction of Turkish to Germans and was active in this field.

2. *The Book* Türkisches Lesebuch Für Deutsche

The work that was investigated in the present study by Bolland included two volumes. The first volume published in 1915 was *Erstes Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche* and the second volume published in 1919 was *Almanlar İçin Türkçe İkinci Kıraat / Zweites Türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche*. The first book was 13.8 X 20 cm and had 64 pages, and the second book was the same size and had XVIII + 184 pages. In the Turkish sections of the first work, naskh and rika scripts were used, Gothic letters were used in the German sections, while only naskh script was used in sample texts.

The publication of the first volume should be related to the Bylaw of Private Schools enacted in 1915 and the employment of Bolland as a Turkish teacher at the German school *Oberrealschule. Oberrealschule*, which we understand from the cover of the first volume that the author was employed there, was a Private German High School in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Founded on May 11, 1868, School for German and Swiss Citizens (*Deutsche und Schweizer Bürgerschule*) commenced its educational services with 2 teachers and 23 students²². According to the school charters published in 1911 and 1915, the school included primary (ibtidâî), secondary (sultânî) and high (âlî) branches, as well as a school of commerce and a school for girls²³. The medium of instruction was German except the foreign language courses. According to the 1911 curriculum, there was no Turkish language course in 3-year-long primary branch, however this course was introduced as an elective for middle and high school branches (4-12th grades) and girls' high school (1-10th grades) for 2 hours on every grade. In the 5-year-long school of commerce, there was an elective Turkish language course

²² <<http://www.ds-istanbul.net/tarihce>>; <<https://tuerkei.diplo.de/blob/1542638/00fc418e6c4a22683da13a53be73ec4d/datei-daheim-in-konstantinopel-artikel-muench-data.pdf>> (last access: 10.08.2018); E. Esenkal, *Yabancı Ülkeler Tarafından Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Açılan Okullar*, Master's Thesis, Edirne, Trakya Üniversitesi, 2007, p. 100; S. Kılıç, *Türkiye'deki Alman Okulları (1852'den 1945'e Kadar)*, Master's Thesis, İstanbul, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi 2004, pp. 3-4.

²³ *Ticaret Şubesini Havi Alman Oberreal Mektebi ve İdadî İnas Kısmı Mektep Nizamnamesi*, İstanbul, F. Lefler Matbaası, 1911; *Ticaret Mektebini Havi Alman Oberreal Sultanisi ve İnas Kısmı Nizamnamesi*, İstanbul, F. Lefler Matbaası, pp. 1331-1915.

for two hours in every grade. It can be suggested that Turkish language course was not significant in the school based on the limited course hours. In the 1915 curriculum, it was observed that Turkish language course was compulsory for three hours in 2nd and 3rd grades in 3-year-long primary school and primary school for girls, for three hours during the first three grades and for two hours during the remaining grades in the middle school (4th-9th grades), for three hours during the first three grades and for two hours during the remaining grades in the middle school for girls (4th-10th grades), for two hours in the high school (10th-12th grades), for two hours in each grade in 5-year-long preparatory class and the school of commerce, in addition to a Turkish Communications course in the final two grades. In both curricula, it was observed that Turkish language courses made up approximately 5% of the total education. Without doubt, the difference between Turkish language course content between 1911 and 1915 was due to Article 6 of the Foreign Schools Bylaw, which was adopted on September 2, 1915 and made Turkish languages courses mandatory in foreign schools²⁴. Thus, probably the school, which did not have a Turkish teacher before, commissioned Bolland to write a book or Bolland felt the need to write a book due to an assignment.

Between 3rd and 27th pages of this volume, there are 11 chapters titled *lektion*. In the general plan of these chapters, initially the topic is explained and followed by a reading exercise under the title of *leseübung*, and finally a writing assignment was included with the title of *aufgabe*. The author focused on instruction of the alphabet in the first five chapters. In each chapter, he introduced some letters of his choice. Initially, he demonstrated the letters with *naskh* script with large size, then with *riqa* script again with large size, followed by a sample text where both *naskh* and *riqa* script were used in small size. It is obvious that this would provide a convenience for students in learning to read. In the following chapter, certain grammar rules, reading and handwriting were emphasized.

In the first chapter, the letters ا, آ, د, ذ, ر, ز, ژ, و, ۋ and ى are given in *naskh* script. It can be easily stated that the author especially preferred to teach the uniform non-confluent letters in the first chapter. To indicate the sound value of each letter, a single letter or a letter in a German word was demonstrated and letters that correspond to different sounds such as ۋ, ۋ and ى were explained. Then, isolated forms of all letters were given with *riqa* script. In the following *leseübung* section, meaningful / meaningless syllables that contained these letters were given. Although there were no instructions, it can be considered that the students would read aloud and write these syllables and perhaps convert them to Latin letters. It was observed that a rough order from the easiest to the most difficult was followed when presenting these units that included two, three,

²⁴ Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, *Mekâtib-i Hususiye Talimatnamesi*, İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1331 [1915], pp. 3-4.

four and five letters, respectively. It is also noteworthy that the letters و and ى were not connected. Here, the author must avoid presenting the two forms of the same letter and multiple sounds at the same time in accordance with the principle of providing one structure at one time. In the *Aufgabe* section, the students were asked to write the syllables given in Latin letters using Arabic letters. It is also possible to argue that here, an order from the easiest to the most difficult was followed.

In the second chapter, the letters, ب , ت , پ , ث , ن were given in naskh script. For the sound values of these letters, a Latin letter or a German word was presented. After the letters are presented in rika script, explanations that the letters و and ى correspond to both vowels and consonants, pronunciation of compounds such as اى ile او at the beginning of the words, different forms of the letters based on agglutination were made, and it was stated that the letters learned in the previous chapter did not agglutinate, however the letters that will be learned after this chapter can agglutinate. The forms of the letters scrutinized in this chapter when they are at the beginning of the word and their forms when agglutinated with ا were presented with both naskh and rika script. It was observed that the author presented only the forms of the letters in the beginning of the word to make sure that he presented one structure at one time. In the following *leseübung* section, mostly meaningful words that included at least two syllables and presented in this and the previous chapter and sentences that included three or four words were presented. It was observed that the author was careful to associate the topic with previous topics. In the *Aufgabe* section, three or four-word sentences were given in Latin letters, and the students were asked to write these sentences using previously learned Arabic letters.

In the 3rd chapter, the letters ج , چ , ح , خ , س , ش , ص , ض , ط , ظ were presented in naskh script and their sound values were indicated using a letter or word, and short explanations were given about the letters ح , خ and ض . Then, the words presented only in form with rika script were presented with their forms at the beginning of the word in naskh and rika script, respectively. It is noteworthy that the author presented only the forms of the letters at the beginning of the word. Then, the author found it appropriate to present the forms of the letters ا , و , ى and ى instructed in the previous chapter at the end of the word. In the *Leseübung* section, the forms taken by the letters ا , و , ى and ى when combined with certain letters instructed until this chapter were presented in syllables, followed by sentences that included a few words instructed until this chapter. In the *Aufgabe* section, some syllables were presented in Latin letters, followed by sentences that included a few words.

In the 4th chapter, the letters ع , غ , ف , ق , م , ن , ه , ل , ك were presented in naskh script and detailed explanations were provided for the letters ع and ك , and the fact that letter ع is a consonant present only in Arabic and the letter ك corresponds to k, g, ġ, and ñ sounds was explained with examples. Then, the letters were given in rika script, followed by the forms of the letters at the beginning of

the words in both naskh and rika script. Furthermore, the special form in the combination of the letters ل and ا, and when the letter ك was combined with ل and ا were presented. In the *Leseübung* section, two-four-word sentences that included the letters instructed until this chapter were given, and in the *aufgabe* section, few words in Latin letters were listed.

In the 5th chapter, the whole alphabet was presented. The forms of the letters were presented in naskh script initially, and then in rika script in the alphabetical order, and the fact that the letter ا corresponded to the o, ü and i sounds at the beginning of the words was explained with examples. Then, the fact that the letters ا, ب, ز, ر, د, و instructed in the first chapter do not agglutinate with the preceding letter was demonstrated in both naskh and rika script. Then, the forms of the letters when isolated, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the words were presented in both naskh and rika script in the alphabetical order. In this chapter, there was no *Leseübung* section, and the students were asked to write the letters provided in mixed order and in the isolated, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the word forms in the *aufgabe* section.

Furthermore, they were asked to write the examples پپ, جج, بسس practice writing the same letter twice, however the author provided the به agglutination by mistake, which is non-repetitive.

In the 6th chapter, the vowels were divided into back and front vowels and it was stated that the letters د, س, ك and ه were used with front and the letters ح, خ, ط, ظ, ص, ق and غ were used with back vowels. In the *Leseübung* section, two-four-word sentences, where the previously instructed letters were used, were presented, and in the *aufgabe* section, sentences with a few words were listed in Latin letters. Furthermore, the samples ججج, ششش, غغغ, ففف, ققق and بيب were listed for the practice to write the same letter thrice.

In the 7th chapter, the topic of vowel harmony was instructed. It was stated that the vowel in the first syllable would assimilate the vowels in the subsequent syllables. As examples, the words «parmaghy», «eldiwenin», «borussu» and «köprüssü» words were given. The *leseübung* section was longer than the previous chapters. It was noteworthy that the sentences presented in previous reading texts were unrelated, but in this chapter, few consequent sentences were continuous. Thus, it could be argued that the author attempted to provide longer semantics for the students and to follow a sequence from the easiest to the most difficult text. In the *Aufgabe* section, the students were asked to write the following expressions: لما, عفو, يكس. It could be suggested that the author attempted to develop the letter writing skills in this section.

In the 8th chapter, the topic of numbers was scrutinized. The numbers are written one by one from one to fourteen, and in tens from twenty to ninety, and then irregularly as ninety-five, ninety-seven, one hundred, one hundred eight, two hundred, one thousand, three thousand, and one million. Then, after the numbers were presented, various numbers were given with Arabic numerals

and corresponding numbers in German were presented. In the *Leseübung* section, various numbers were presented in writing, and in the *aufgabe* section, the students were asked to write the given numerals in Arabic numerals in both words and numerals.

In the 9th chapter, the topic of *hareke* (i.e. diacritic; the sign denoting short vowels) was instructed. After explaining the function of *hareke*, it was stated that the words could be read as «gel», «gül», «kil» ve «kel» based on the sign and the example of ك compound was provided. Then the functions of *sükûn* (sukun), *üstiin* (fathah), *esre* (kasrah) and *ötre* (dammah) were explained with various examples and different signs that letter ك takes to reflect different sounds. In the *Leseübung* section, the words were written with *hareke*, while in the *aufgabe* section, certain words were given in Latin letters and the sounds with *hareke* were indicated in parentheses.

In the 10th chapter, the topic of *hareke* was continued and explanations were given about the signs of *şedde* (shaddah), *hemze* (hamza) and *tenwin* (tanwin). Furthermore, *vav-i madule*, which is written in certain Persian words, but not pronounced, *elif-i maksure* ی, which is the «a» sound in Arabic, and ة, which is called *ta-i tenis* or *ta-i merbouta* in Arabic, were explained and examples were provided. In the *Leseübung* section, sample words and short sentences for *hareke* were provided. *Aufgabe* section was not included in this chapter.

In the 11th chapter, topics such as «al» harf-i tarif and şemsî and kamerî letters were mentioned. All three concepts were described using examples and German translations of the examples were provided. *Leseübung* and *aufgabe* sections were not included in this chapter.

It was clearly observed that the information and the rules provided in the chapters did not aim to teach grammar, but to allow the students to acquire and improve their reading skills.

In Ottoman Turkish, because of the morphological orthography, some short vowels is not written. However, in the book, while writing the Turkish words in Arabic letters, the author preferred to use all the vowels: “اوزاقده دیر”, “بیر”, “که دی”, “که چی”, “ده ویره مه دی”. Similarly, some words were always written based on pronunciation: “سانا”, “قزانی”. Furthermore, the dative suffix, which is always written with “ه”, was written with “ا” in certain words where it is pronounced as a back vowel. Although it can be argued that this was preferred as a facilitator in the initial reading, however the students might experience in the future when the vowels are omitted in the text. In fact, it was observed that morphological orthography was adopted in the reading texts in the second volume of the book. There were certain spelling discrepancies, albeit a few: “عارایا”, “آرایا”. In some sentences, there were critical grammatical and logical errors: «Baba taşu cama atana dayağı adadı», «Dadı ağacı yaramadı», «Baba çiviye duvara takamadı», «Çuha baba aldı», «Kız parmağı ezildi». It is likely that the author, who prepared the texts, ignored the meaning of the text and avoided the use of the letters that he did not instruct and aimed fast-reading,

although this could lead to reading problems among the students. In writing practices in Latin letters, it was observed that the author listed sentences with similar grammatical and logical errors: «Bojadschi chane ßatschaghi bojadi», «Baba bojadschiije tawani bojadi», «ßu dschanawarije ßopa ata», «Kusch gagassi aghadsche dajadi», «Ana chamuri karamadi», «Para babaja wara». Also, there are some inconsistencies in the phoneme-letter equivalencies: «Dadi maschaji udschaghe aßamadi», «O tasé hawudschi jejemedi», «Bassusi büjüdi», «dar üss ssenā». These types of errors could be recognized and corrected if the teacher or a student could notice them in class, however it is clear that this could lead to challenges and confusion among the primary school level students.

After the above-mentioned chapters, reading texts were provided between the pages 28 and 47 in a section titled *Leseübungen*. The pages were written from left to right similar to Latin texts. It can be suggested that this would create a difficulty for the elementary school students because of the different page layout they would encounter in the future. There were a total of 24 texts, all of which were written in naskh script and syllables that were not inscribed in letters had hareke signs on top. Although there was an order in the use of hareke, there were also inconsistencies. Especially the *sükûn hareke* was sometimes used and sometimes not used: “کوزلیر” “کوچوکیر”. A similar situation was true for *üstün hareke*: “اوطه لر” “چوجوقلر”. Furthermore, both “ک” and “گ” were used for the “g” sound: “کوزل” “بوگون”. There were also differences in using hareke signs in certain words: “موسمیدر” “موسمیدر”. Certain words were misspelled: “شباط”. Some words are also misspelled: (*senden*) “سن دن”, (*benim*) “بن ایم”. It was observed that in hareke signs on certain words with Arabic and Persian origins were used based on the current Turkish pronunciation: “مردیون”, “مطبخ”. Furthermore, in some Turkish words, it was observed that the old spelling was preserved: “ایچروسینده”, “ایروجه”, “قارشویه”. Except the texts 1, 2, 3, 19, 20, 21 and 22, all texts were titled. Topics or titles of the reading texts were as follows:

1st Reading: No title: noun clauses that include a few words

2nd Reading: No title: days and months

3rd Reading: No title: Simple noun and verb clauses that include 3-7 words on family, school and seasons

4st Reading: *Hane* (House): introduction of the house and its parts

5st Reading: *Oda* (Room): the concept of room, its types, function and the articles in a room

6st Reading: *Mabat* (Continued): various rooms in the house, their functions and the articles in these rooms

7st Reading²⁵: *Elbise* (Clothing): the function, types and material of clothing

8st Reading: *Gıda* (Food): food, beverages and their types

9st Reading: *Hayvanat-ı Ehliye* (Domestic animals): animals such as cats, dogs, horses, cows, oxen, lambs, goats, chicken, and colts and their functions

10st Reading: *Kadın ile Tavuk* (Woman and Chicken): a story that narrates the inability to lay eggs of the chicken of a woman that she fed more to lay more eggs

²⁵ There were two «7th reading» sections in the original text.

11st Reading: *Köpek Gölgesi* (The Shadow of a Dog): narrates the story of a dog, who sees its reflection on water and thinks that it is another dog, but then recognizes the truth

12st Reading: *Arslan, Tilki ve Merkep* (Lion, Fox and Donkey): a story that narrates a hunt by a lion, fox and donkey, where the lion eats the donkey because the lion did not like its share of the game and fox giving the lion's share to the lion to save his own life

13st Reading: *İki Keçi* (Two Goats): a story where two goats meet on a bridge and fell to the river and die due to an argument about who would go first

14st Reading: *Akıllı Sığırcık Kuşu* (The Wise Starling): a story about a starling who tried to drink water from a bottle and finally succeeds

15st Reading: *Arslan Derisine Girmiş Merkep* (The Donkey in a Lion's Hide): a story about a donkey who tried to deceive its owner by wearing a lion's hide and got caught

16st Reading: *Türkçe Darb-ı Meseller* (Turkish Proverbs): Several idioms and proverbs were listed. *Hoca Nasrettin Efendi'nin Hikâyeleri* (Stories about Nasreddin Hodja): A preliminary text that included basic information on Nasreddin Hodja for subsequent texts. It was noteworthy that the text was more complex when compared to previous texts.

17-22nd Readings: No title: a Nasreddin Hodja anecdote

23rd Reading: *İstanbul*: An informative text on the districts and villages of Istanbul. The language was complex when compared to other texts.

24st Reading: *Mabat* (Continued): An informative text on the geography of Istanbul. The text was more complex when compared to other texts.

General analysis of the titles and content of the reading texts demonstrated that the topics were adequate for primary school students. In fact, certain texts were within the context of today's social studies course, certain others were to teach the current vocabulary, and others were didactic texts in the form of stories and fables. When it is considered that the texts included Turkish proverbs and Nasreddin Hodja anecdotes, it could be argued that the level was appropriate for children. Furthermore, considering the fact that the author was employed in Oberrealschule, and the Turkish language courses became compulsory in 1915, the Turkish language course should have been instructed from the primary school, thus the author should have authored the book as a primary school textbook. The initial texts included sentences without consecutive meanings. For example, the first reading text was as follows: *Peder ve valide iyidir. Çocuk küçüktür. Köpek sadık hayvandır. Kuş güzeldir. Kedi fare tutar. Kız mektebe gidiyor. Erkek çocuk mektepte çalışır. Bahçede ağaçlar ve çiçekler var. Bugün hava pek sıcaktır. İlkbahar, yaz, sonbahar ve kış senenin dört mevsimidir.* (Father and mother are well. The child is young. The dog is a loyal animal. The bird is beautiful. The cat catches the mouse. The girl goes to school. The boy studies at the school. There are trees and flowers in the garden. Today, the weather is very hot. Spring, summer, autumn and winter are the four seasons.) It can be argued that the author tried to allow the students to practice reading and to keep the comprehension level of the students at the meaning of the words and sentences. Considering the fact that the consecutive reading pieces were the texts on a single subject, it can be argued that the author established an order from the easiest to the most difficult reading texts.

After the reading texts, a vocabulary that included the words in the reading texts and titled *Vokabeln zu den Lesestücken* was included. Between the pages 48 and 64, the dictionary was based on the list of words in each reading text under the relative heading and sequence number. Thus, words were listed based on their appearance on the texts and not in alphabetical order. For example, since the first sentence in the first reading text was «Peder ve valide iyidir» (Father and mother are well.) in the vocabulary presented under the title 1. *Lesestück* the words were listed as follows: *peder: das Water, ve: und, valide: die Mutter, iyi: gut, dir: ist* (father, and, mother, well, are). The vocabulary did not only include base of words, but conjugated words and phrases as well: *tutar: fängt* (holds), *gidiyor: geht* (going), *çalışır: arbeitet* (works), *var: es gibt* (there is), *kalup: bleibt und* (stays and), *mürekkep: besteht aus* (consisting of), *girilir: man tritt ein* (is entered), *bulunan: sich befindende* (found in), *girildiği zaman: beim hereinkommen* (when entered), *serinlemedikçe: bevor nicht abge* (without cooling), *bereket versin: es ist nur gut* (this is only good), *zararı yok: es schadet nichts* (no harm done), *buyurun / buyurunuz: höflichkeitsformel entsprechend dem deutschen «bitte», «befehlen», «belieben»* (welcome/come in). Synonyms or homoionyms were attempted to be provided next to each other: *merkep / eşek: esel* (donkey), *netice / son: der Ende* (end), *pay / hisse: der anteil* (share), *Devlet-i Aliyye / Türkiya: Türkei* (Turkey). Plural forms of certain Arabic words were also shown: *sefine* (Pl. *sefain*): *das Schiff* (ship), *harf* (Pl. *huruf*): *der Buchstabe* (letter), *mahalle* (Pl. *mahallat*): *das stadtviertel* (district).

It is obvious that the main objective of the author was to improve the reading and reading comprehension skills of the students in Turkish. Alphabet and grammar instruction and copying of the texts in Arabic letters and the writing in Arabic letters while reading in Latin letters were used as the supplementary areas that served the primary objective mentioned above. The author developed content that was consistent with the title of the book. Although it could be considered that the book was authored with the grammar-translation method at first glance, it could be argued that it was more consistent with the lesser known method of reading-translation method of foreign language teaching since neither the grammar nor the translation was a direct objective. In this method, which argues that students can learn foreign languages in a text-centered manner, grammatical descriptions can be conducted on the texts translated by the teacher, however the courses are not listed in the order of the grammatical topics, but in the order of ease and difficulty of the texts. In this method, understanding of the text is in the fore. Translation is not conducted sentence by sentence, but with a holistic approach²⁶. Considering

²⁶ R. Günday, *Yabancı Dil Öğretiminde Yaklaşımlar, Yöntemler, Teknikler ve Multimedya Araç ve Materyalleri*, Ankara, Favori Yayınları, 2015, pp. 138-139; J. Yoneoka, *Choral reading vs. individual oral and silent reading: Relative validity of the alternatives in the English reading classroom*, «Kumamoto Gakuen Daigaku Bungaku Gengogaku Ronshu», vol. 1, n. 1-2, 1994, pp. 91-107; C.A. Tyre, *The Conversational Approach to Language Learning, an Evaluation and an*

that the method focuses on reading comprehension, although the lack of reading comprehension questions might be considered as a shortcoming of the book, it could also be considered that the author addressed this shortcoming by asking questions during the activities conducted in the classroom. Similarly, the fact that there were no direct translations of Turkish texts to German in the texts and the vocabulary section was used to assist the translation was not consistent with the above-mentioned method, however it could also be considered that the author could translate the texts in the classroom.

The second volume is primarily an anthology that aimed to introduce Turkish literature. The author summarized the history of Turkish language and literature between the 7th and 20th centuries from Central Asia to Ottoman Empire on pages VII-XVIII in the introduction section of the book. It could be observed that the superficial information included in this section aimed to provide preliminary information to the learners of Turkish language. Based on the provided information, Turkish was originally the language of a tribe living in the Altai region and it branched out into different dialects such as Yakut, Uyghur, Nogai and Kyrgyz due to the migration of these tribes to different areas in the 7th century. The author, who stated that these dialects were used in early 20th century as well, provided the population of the speakers. The Turks entered the Iraqi lands and further west through Iran starting from the 900s and have been influenced by Persian and Arabic languages, and this influence has genuinely improved the Turkish language. Bolland stated that the Persian language was very effective on Seljuks and also mentioned Mevlana and Masnavi. Author argued that Osman Bey, who was the leader of the Kayi tribe, founded the state which would later become the empire in 1230 after the collapse of the Seljuks. Obviously, the given date was wrong. The author mentioned Yunus Emre as a lyric poet in this period and stated that while the language of the period was influenced by Arabic and Persian, it preserved its essence. Bolland categorized the period until Suleiman the Magnificent as the first period and included Süleyman Çelebi: Mevlit, Şeyhi: Hüsrev ü Şirin, Gelibolulu Ahmet: Ahmediye, Ahmet Dai, Ahmet Paşa, Sinan Paşa, Nizami, Hamdi, Necati, Zati, İbn-i Kemal, Zeynep Hatun, Mihri Hatun as the most important authors and poets in this period and mentioned the literary works of Murat II, Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Cem Sultan, Yavuz Sultan Selim and Suleiman the Magnificent, who reigned after Yıldırım Bayezid. The author stated that Persian language was effective on Turkish after this period, and even Yavuz and Suleiman wrote poems in Persian and the popular language was excluded from this impact due to *Karagöz-Hacivat*, Nasreddin Hodja and encomiastic tradition. According to the author, the second period, which started with Fuzuli, Baki and Ruhi-i Bağdadi, lasted until the mid-19th century. Bolland described Fuzuli and Baki as the founders of literary Istanbul dialect in Turkish,

and praised Nefi, whom he described as intelligent. According to the author, there was a downfall in literature along with the collapse in the 17th and 18th centuries. The author mentioned Sadettin Efendi, Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, Koç Bey and Akif Paşa in prose and Naili, Nabi, Nedim and Galip Dede in verse and stated that Mütercim Asım Efendi had a great influence on the development of the Turkish language. According to Bolland, the last period commenced with Şinasi, who was the founder of the new Turkish language and literature. Ziya Paşa, Sadullah Paşa and Pertev Paşa followed his path. The author stated that the influence of Western and French literature were observed in this period and considered Turkish writers Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hamid as the founders of new literary language. In prose, he listed the works of İshak Hoca, Şemseddin Sami, and especially Cevdet Paşa and his works in the legal parlance and also mentioned Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem. He stated that Tevfik Fikret was very effective among the late period authors and considered him and Halit Ziya as the most important representatives of the new literature. Among the members of this movement, the author listed the names and works of Cenap Şahabeddin, Hüseyin Cahit and Mehmet Rauf and stated that authors İsmail Safa and Süleyman Nazif were not members of this group. Among the authors Bolland mentioned, there were Halide Edip, Ahmet Rasim, Hüseyin Rahmi, Fatma Aliye, Nigar Osman, Ahmet Haşım, Celal Sahir, Köprülüzade Fuat, Yakup Kadri, Mithat Cemal and Ömer Seyfettin. The author indicated that the nationalist movement emerged in Turkey after the Balkan Wars, and classified authors such as Ahmed Agaif, Yusuf Akçura, Mehmet Emin, and Ziya Gökalp as the Turan group, argued that transforming the Ottoman Turkish to resemble Central Asian Turkish would destroy 600 years of experience and would harm Turkish language; he also claimed that it was not possible for Turkish to acquire a regular orthography since it was influenced by the Arabic orthography.

After the above-mentioned introduction, sample texts in Arabic letters were included between the pages 1 and 184. The texts, which were quite current at the time, were as listed below in the order of the book:

Ziya Gökalp: Turan

Aka Gündüz: Ağla Bülbül (Cry Nightingale)

Mehmet Emin: Fener, Ey Türk Uyan! (Lantern, Wake up Turk!)

Celâl Sahir: Cünun (Crazyness)

Yakup Kadri: Şapka (The Hat)

Hüseyin Ragıp: Lisanımızın Adı (The Name of Our Language)

Halide Edip: Osmanlı Selamı, Kösem Sultan (Ottoman Greeting, Kösem Sultan)

Rıza Tevfik: Akşam Garipliği, Hususi Bir Ziyaret (The Oddity of the Evening, A Special Visit)

İzzet Melih: İlk Tebessüm (The First Smile)

Hamdullah Suphi: Annemin Derdi (My Mother's Affliction)

Ahmet Refik: Osmanlı Tarihinde Kadınlar (Women in Ottoman History)

Muhittin: Medine Yolunda (On the Road to Medina)

Ahmet Rasim: Sokaklarda Geceler (Nights on the Streets)

Ahmet Hikmet: Yeğenim, Padişahım Alınız Menekşelerimi Veriniz Gülümü (My Nephew, Dear Sultan Take My Violets Give Back My Rose)
 Hüseyin Cahit: Topal (The Gimp)
 Mehmet Rauf: Bir Yiğit, Mehtap (A Hero, The Moonlight)
 Cenap Şahabettin: Hac Yolunda (On the Road to Hajj)
 Yusuf Akçura: 1330 Senesi (The Year 1330)
 Mehmet Cavit: Bir Nutuk (A Discourse)
 Süleyman Nazif: İdris Çavuş
 Halit Ziya: Köşe Başında, Türk Sesi (Around The Corner, Sound of the Turk)
 Tevfik Fikret: Ferda, Ramazan Sadakası (Morrow, Ramadan Alms)
 Ekrem: Ah Nejat, Tahattur, Bir Mart (Ah Nejat, Rememberence, One March)
 Abdülhak Hamit: Tarık
 Namık Kemal: Sultan Selim-i Evvel, Sa'y, Tasvir-i Gurup, Cezmi, (Sultan Selim The First, Effort, Description of Sunset, Cezmi).

Bolland did not specify the resources for the information he included in the introduction and for the sample texts. In this compilation, where he included a total of 37 works by 25 authors (10 verse and 27 prose), the author provided a brief biographical information about the author or the poet of the text and literary assessments as footnotes. In his critic of the second volume, Luigi Bonelli stated that Bolland referred to the famous works by Horn and Hachtmann in these assessments²⁷. Literature review revealed that these resources which are not cited by Bonelli were the works by Paul Horn, *Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne*²⁸ and by Otto Wilhelm Hachtmann, *Die Turkish Literatur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*²⁹. The review of these studies³⁰ revealed that the statements in the footnotes and these works were similar. However, it should be noted that it is inevitable that the information on the life of a writer or poet would necessarily be the same or similar in different resources. It is clear, however, that Bolland resorted to other sources for sample texts for his summary information and assessments on pre-19th century Turkish language and literature since the works by Horn and Hachtmann did not include any texts in that period. It can be suggested that these resources were collected when Bolland lived in Istanbul. Furthermore, Bolland included texts by 6 authors and poets out of more than 50 writers and poets in Horn's work, and 10 out of the 13 writers and poets in Hachtmann's book and included texts by 9 authors and poets, who were

²⁷ L. Bonelli, *Zweites türkisches Lesebuch für Deutsche von Wely Bey Bolland*, «Rivista Degli Studi Orientali», vol. 8, ff. 1-4, 1919, pp. 687-690, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41923093>> (last access 20.07.2018).

²⁸ P. Horn, *Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig, C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1902.

²⁹ O. Hachtmann, *Die Türkische Literatur des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1916.

³⁰ S. Cengiz, *Alman Şarkiyatçı Paul Horn ve Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne (Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi) Adlı Eseri*, «Turkish Studies», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 1448-1454; S. Cengiz, *Alman Kaynaklarında Yeni Türk Edebiyatı. Otto Hachtmann ve «Die Türkische Literatur des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts» Adlı Eseri*, «Türkbilig/Türkoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi», vol. 11, n. 19, 2010, pp. 96-103.

not included in neither of these books, thus compiling a different and current collection. It can be argued that Bolland attempted to include a relatively simple samples in this compilation. For example, the fact that he did not include texts by Namık Kemal or Ziya Paşa could be explained with this factor. Furthermore, it is interesting to find the texts by unpopular individuals such as Muhittin, Izzet Melih, or by Mehmet Cavit, who was not known for his literary prowess, and the fact that a poet such as Mehmet Âkif was excluded should be considered as a disadvantage as Bonelli mentioned. Besides, it is noteworthy that authors such as Muallim Naci, Samipaşazade Sezai, Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Halide Edip Adivar, whom Bonelli did not mention, were also excluded. Furthermore, it should be noted that the compilation might not have aimed to reflect the Turkish literature at the time, Bolland might have had limited resources, and he might have included works only based on his personal literary taste.

Conclusion

As a result of the study, it was observed that although the titles of the two books written by W. Bolland reflected that they were two volumes of the same book, it could be suggested that they were separate books due to the differences in target audience and content and methodology. Because, the first volume is basically a textbook for elementary school students, and the second volume is an anthology for adults who speak Turkish. The main similarity between the two books was the inclusion of Turkish reading texts, however there were several differences between them. Thus, the findings of the present study should be presented in two sections.

The first volume topics were ordered as follows: instruction of the alphabet, initial reading and writing, certain grammatical rules and development of reading skills. Inclusion of content related to the world of children such as elements of Turkish culture, social studies, daily life and Nasrettin Hoca stories in provided texts demonstrated that the book was developed for elementary school students, especially those attending the Oberrealschule. In alphabet instruction, the fact that initially the non-agglutinative letters were presented could be considered as the reflection of the methodology that dates back to Selim Sabit³¹ and the concept adopted in the primary school curricula³². It was observed that the work included reading, spelling, Turkish and Arabic grammar

³¹ Selim Sabit, *Rehniüma-yı Muallimîn*, İstanbul, Darü't-Tıbaatü'l-Âmire, undated.

³² Mahmud Cevad İbnü's-Şeyh Nafi, *Maarif Nezareti Tarihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcraatı*, İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1338 [1920], p. 270 ff, 301 ff, 323 ff; Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, *Mekâtib-i İptidaiye Ders Müfredatı Altı, Beş, Dört ve Üç Derslane ve Muallimli Mekteplere Mahsus*, İstanbul, Matbaa-i Amire, 1329 [1913].

and vocabulary, while it omitted listening, speaking and writing. In reading texts, it is noteworthy to mention that there were descriptive and definitive sentences to comprehend the words and authentic texts were not used. Although it was observed that the grammatical content was complex and disorganized for primary school students, it should be considered normal since the author prioritized reading skills. Besides, it could be argued that the use of inductive method in the instruction of these topics that were considered to be easier to read, could lead to an instruction based on transfer of information instead of an applied course form. The vocabulary section included the translation of certain grammatical elements, as well as the meanings of the words included in each reading text. Thus, it can be argued that the book was authored based on the grammar-reading method. Especially in the spelling of the Turkish texts presented in Arabic letters, a tendency to include all vowels, which was not popular in that time, was observed. Although it can be argued that this was preferred to facilitate initial reading skills, the students could experience difficulties in reading in the future.

It was conceived that the second volume was developed for the students of Turkish as a foreign language, especially for the students of the University of Berlin and the Institute of Oriental Languages due to the brief information provided on Turkish language and literature in the introduction section, the current literary texts included and the lack of German translations. It would be more accurate to consider the book as an anthology of Turkish literature, not as a language instruction textbook. Although it was claimed that the information provided by Bolland on Turkish literature and authors, and his assessments were based on other resources, the fruits of his own research are obvious.

The work gives an idea about teaching Turkish language in Turkey and abroad during the late-Ottoman period.

Civic-patriotic celebrations in Brazilian schools. History and memory of the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* in Minas Gerais, Brazil (1930-1950)

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ABSTRACT: In this text, we analyze school practices developed around civic spirit and patriotism in Brazilian schools, particularly in the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* [Uberlândia State Secondary School] in Minas Gerais, Brazil, in the 1930s to 1950s. Our method of analysis is mainly based on the ideas of Escolano Benito, Julia, Souza, Bencostta and Candido. Sources included manuscripts, printed materials, iconography, and testimony of former students, teachers, and school directors. The results allowed a picture to be drawn of the historical-educational context of the period and the initiatives of a civic-patriotic nature that gave life to the school and the town.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History; Memory; School, Civic spirit; Patriotism; Brazil; XXth Century.

Introduction

In this article, we take up the theme of school practices that developed concerning civic spirit and patriotism in Brazilian schools, with a more detailed examination of the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* [Uberlândia State Secondary School] (GMU)¹ in Minas Gerais, Brazil, from the 1930s to

¹ The school institution examined in this investigation had different names over time, namely:

1950s. The approach used is based on the idea that what occurs in a location simultaneously expresses and gives life to a broader context that involves a region, a country, and even an international dimension, as highlighted by Nóvoa².

The text reports on consultation of the historical-educational bibliography of reference and of the teaching legislation of the time. Diverse other sources were used, notably manuscript, printed, and iconographic sources that are available in the collection of the school itself, but also in reports published in newspapers of the time and in abundant iconographic resources available in the Arquivo Público de Uberlândia (APU) [Uberlandia Public Archives]. Consultation likewise included examination of significant iconography available in the Centro de Documentação e Pesquisa em História (Cdhis) [Historical Documentation and Research Center] of the Universidade Federal de Uberlândia (UFU). Finally, the testimony of school directors, teachers, and students that attended the *Ginásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* at that time were examined. This made it possible for the information collected from these sources to be compared with the reference bibliography and with state and federal legislation that regulated secondary education in Brazil at that time.

Results are presented in four parts. In the first, a brief theoretical reflection is made regarding festivities and civic commemorations in school institutions. After that, in the second part, the historical-educational context from 1930 to 1950 in Brazil is taken up. In the third part, the relationship between creating schools, particularly the GMU, and the modernization process experienced in the town is outlined. In the fourth (last) part, the role of this school institution in promoting civic spirit and patriotism in the surrounding social milieu is analyzed. Finally, we present some conclusions.

Gymnásio de Uberabinha, from 1912 to 1929, when it was a private institution; *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberabinha*, in 1929, for a short period of time, already as a state public institution; *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia*, after the name of the town changed in 1929; *Ginásio Mineiro de Uberlândia*, after the Portuguese language spelling reform in 1943; *Colégio Estadual de Uberlândia*, after 1944, as a consequence of the changes required by the Organic Law of Secondary Education of 1942; and *Escola Estadual de Uberlândia*, since 1968, which is the name it maintains until now. However, in Uberlândia and in neighboring towns, the school institution was given the name of «Museu» [«Museum»], though it is unclear when this began, probably because of the monument-like characteristics of the building, which was inaugurated in 1921 and which accommodates the school until today. For the effects of this investigation, the designation chosen in presenting results is the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* (GMU) because it was the name used for the longest time in the period under investigation.

² A. Nóvoa, *La pédagogie, les enseignements et la recherche: réflexions en chantier (Parte III). Commentaires sur la place et l'état de la recherche en éducation*, «Cadernos de Educação», n. 29, 2007, p. 17. Available at <<https://periodicos.ufpel.edu.br/ojs2/index.php/caduc/article/view/1778/1655>> (last access: 20.09.2018).

1. *Regarding civic-patriotic commemorations in the scope of school institutions*

For Escolano Benito³, the school space is not neutral; on the contrary, it operates as a type of discourse that has instituted, in material form, a value system and a set of sensory and motor training activities and semiotics that encompass aesthetic, cultural, and ideological symbols. In this approach, the school space is a place in which certain practices and habits are disseminated within the school, denominated by Julia (2001) as the school culture: «a set of standards that define what to teach and the conduct to instill, and a set of practices that allow transmission of this knowledge and incorporation of these behaviors»⁴.

From this perspective formed by the ideas of school culture and school space in reference to school teaching institutions, it can be inferred that the republican ideals in striving for modernization involve both these elements. This is because it is necessary to disseminate this ideology. As the school gathered many «minds» to be fashioned in a single space, it would be the ideal instrument to perpetuate the new political directive, in which citizenship and the civic dimension contained in it gain the form of patriotism, in some political doctrines. In this direction, dissemination of patriotic feelings and of civic spirit will assume a central role in the school environment, as emphasized by Souza⁵:

Upon making civic events a school activity, the State makes primary school an instrument of perpetuation of national memory. School festivities, unlike parties of the social calendar, do not contrast free time and work time, for they consist of a time of educational activity, a time for learning.

In this perspective, civic celebrations are part of the school curriculum; they are activities that bring together students, teachers, and school direction because they are a cultural manifestation that provides identity to the school institution. Bencostta⁶ understands «patriotic parades of school groups as transmitters of a collective language capable of expressing multiple symbolic planes at the same time, which lead them to be identified as a big festivity».

³ A.A. Benito Escolano, *Arquitetura como programa. Espaço Escolar como Currículo*, in A. Vinão Frago, *Currículo, espaço e subjetividade*, RJ, DP&A, 1998, p. 26.

⁴ D.A. Julia, *Cultura escolar como objeto histórico*, «Revista Brasileira de História da Educação», vol. 1, n. 1, 2001, p. 10.

⁵ R.F. Souza, *Tempos da Infância, tempos de escola: a ordenação do tempo escolar no ensino público paulista (1892-1933)*, «Educação e Pesquisa», vol. 25, n. 2, 1999, p. 134. Available at <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/ep/v25n2/v25n2a10.pdf>> (last access: 20.09.2018).

⁶ M.L.A. Bencostta, *Desfiles patrióticos: memória e cultura cívica dos grupos escolares de Curitiba (1903-1971)*, in D.G. Vidal (ed.), *Grupos Escolares: cultura escolar primária e escolarização na infância no Brasil (1893-1971)*, Campinas, Mercado das Letras, 2006, p. 300.

Thus, it can be affirmed that these civic-patriotic events go beyond a simple celebration because they carry important intentions, notably the dissemination of content and behaviors associated with the new political conditions established in the country. Bencostta⁷ further observes that the civic festivities incorporated in the school calendar do not constitute a discontinuity of school time, but rather are interspersed in it and, for that reason, they suggest the participation and efforts of the protagonists, represented by teachers and students.

In this context, the school demonstrates the values diffused within it and extends them to the population through civic festivities so as to consolidate the model to be followed by the whole society. Ribeiro Jr.⁸ affirms that:

A festivity is a form of traditional ritual, of inculcating pedagogical principles elaborated by popular culture and that form a «*habitus-of-being-a-people*». This is reinforced through an implicit pedagogy that lives out, more than thematizes, its principles. A festivity is a true pedagogical activity that includes sanctions, authority, and a specific manner of inculcation.

Thus, the eminently pedagogical character of these civic events is in evidence because the incorporation of important dates to be commemorated can be seen on the school calendar, as well as in part of the school content, especially that disseminated in the school subject of Moral and Civic Education. This reinforces the conduct promoted for society in general in regard to civility and patriotism. According to Candido⁹,

In the festivities that occur in school institutions, one notices that the festivity is for the general population since it passively participates as an observer of the ritual and of the population, beginning at the time in which it actively grasps the meanings and significance attributed to each festive occasion.

The civic festivity occurs with the aim of reinforcing the political and patriotic dimensions for the purpose of legitimating the theme of reverence for social order, important for development of the ideal of modernity and progress in Brazil.

⁷ M.L.A. Bencostta, *Desfiles patrióticos: cultura cívica nos grupos escolares de Curitiba (1903-1971)*, III Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação, 2004. Available at <<http://sbhe.org.br/novo/congressos/cbhe3/Documentos/Individ/Eixo1/034.pdf>> (last access: 20.09.2018).

⁸ J.C.N. Ribeiro Jr, *A festa do povo: pedagogia da resistência*, Petrópolis, Vozes. 1982, p. 43.

⁹ R.M. Candido, *Culturas da Escola: as festas nas escolas públicas paulistas (1889-1930)*, Dissertação. Mestrado em Educação. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade de São Paulo, 2007, p. 38. Available at <<http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/48/48134/tde-29012008-163237/pt-br.php>> (last access: 20.09.2018).

2. *Historical-educational context in Brazil in the 1930s to 1950s*

From the Revolution of 1930 on, passing through the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932, up to implementation and the end of the *Estado Novo* [New State] from 1937 to 1945, Brazil lived through a process of political, economic, and social centralization involving the government of Getúlio Vargas. The Vargas government was fully attuned to a classical conception of modernity in which centralization of civil life in the State was imperative for the modernization process of society, in this case Brazil, with predominance of the collective consciousness over individual interests.

Brazilian schools thus became fundamental institutions for disseminating the new national-developmental ideology, centered on the proactive and assertive character of the *Estado Nacional* [National Union], in strategic alliance with the Catholic Church.

This assertion is corroborated by the fact that from 1928 to 1931, with a prominent role played by Francisco Campos, religious instruction was permitted in the regular period of the state schools, which first occurred by means of educational legislation approved in the sphere of the state of Minas Gerais and, after that, through national educational legislation approved during the Provisional Government of Getúlio Vargas.

The national political arrangement was reproduced in the school system through combining three factors that would come to be inseparable in the agenda of educational formation in Brazil at that time: civic spirit, patriotism, and Catholicism. This new legal reality was accompanied by educational legislation that advocated educational freedom, in which creation and operation of Catholic school institutions and those of civil society prevailed throughout Brazil in addition to the public institutions.

Clearly, movements of a governmental nature in the sphere of Brazilian education, similar to such movements in the United States, advocated education that was mandatory, science-based, and secular in the school environment. Thus, the *Associação Brasileira de Educação* (ABE) [Brazilian Education Association], which was founded at the beginning of the 1920s, was influenced by a group of Brazilian intellectuals that became known as the pioneers of *educação nova* [new education], among which were Anísio Teixeira, Lourenço Filho, and Fernando de Azevedo. They sought to influence the action of the State, which they did most notably in 1932 through publication of the important «Declaration of the Pioneers of New Education».

Nevertheless, Catholic intellectuals did not remain silent and they sought to maintain the relevance of the Church within Brazilian society, which they did by means of a movement known as the «Catholic reaction» that took shape not only through magazines such as «A Ordem», of 1921 and training centers such as the «Centro Dom Vital» of 1922, but also through maintaining school institutions.

Notable among school institutions were the «normal schools», which trained future primary school teachers, who were abundantly present in parochial schools, state schools, and civil society. From the 1940s on, Catholics also come to create and maintain university institutions in important Brazilian cities, focused on offering courses that educated teachers for junior high school and high school.

In this same direction, in the first half of the twentieth century, the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, particularly the *Triângulo Mineiro* [Minas Gerais Triangle] region, which includes the city of Uberlândia, had school institutions maintained by different bodies that promoted teaching: religious denominations, civil society, and the State. These school institutions put a series of practices in effect that elicited civic spirit and patriotism, placing value on the secular dimension of the State, but often also actively participated in manifestations of a religious nature, especially of the Catholic Church, in line with the institutional arrangements for coordinating power between the State and the Church in Brazil.

Thus, the activity of the Catholic Church in this region of Minas Gerais is seen through maintaining parishes and high schools (colégios). Some religious congregations established in the region maintained high schools and, in many cases, also normal schools: in the town of Ituiutaba, the Stigmatines (Colégio São José) and the Scalabrinians (Colégio Santa Tereza); in Uberaba, the Marists (Colégio Marista-Diocesano) and the Dominicans (Colégio Nossa Senhora das Dores); and in Uberlândia, the Irmãs Missionárias de Jesus Crucificado (Colégio Nossa Senhora das Lágrimas) and the Salesians (Ginásio Cristo Rei and Instituto Teresa Valsé).

Concerning the towns of Uberaba and Uberlândia, the activity of the Catholic Church stands out through the aim of providing higher education, above all through courses directed toward teacher training, namely, in Uberaba, the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras Santo Tomás de Aquino (Fista) [St. Thomas Aquinas College of Philosophy, Science, and Language Studies] in 1948, an initiative of the Dominicans with the support of intellectuals linked to the Brazilian Catholic reaction; and in Uberlândia, the Faculdade de Filosofia e Letras de Uberlândia (Fafi) [Uberlândia College of Philosophy and Language Studies] in 1960, from the request of the bishop of the region under the care of the Irmãs Missionárias de Jesus Crucificado as a preventive strategy in relation to propagation of liberal and communist ideas.

3. *Modernization and schooling in Brazil, in the Triângulo Mineiro region and in Uberlândia*

At the end of the nineteenth century, the urbanization process intensified in Brazil, driven above all by establishment of the Republic in 1889. In this new context, it was necessary to move the country in the direction of progress. Thus, a new concept arose of the urbanized, clean, sanitized, and civilized city. This new perspective was an attempt to wipe away the vestiges of rural style that had been experienced until then.

Veiga¹⁰ states that a mark of the mentality of the age was to associate material progress with progress of minds. Notable in this statement is that beyond the process of modernization of society in its material aspects, it was necessary to fashion the «new man» (reflecting terminology of the time) in the principles of education and civility, and this new man should represent the new social subject within the perspective of the Republic.

Thus, not only the republican city arises as a new proposal, but also the school, because it would receive the charge of constructing this new social subject. This indicates that the processes of urbanization and schooling were tied to the republican theme of reference of «Order and Progress» (the motto of the Republic), with the school to propagate these ideals.

The school therefore assumes an important role in development of republican towns/cities because it has responsibility for disseminating the civilized *habitus*, not only in regard to gaining knowledge, but also standards of conduct and essential values that should be present in the life of man in society.

The need to suppress backwardness in comparison to large metropolitan areas also spurred Brazil to consider architectural and urbanization projects that could replace the rural characteristics of that time. In this perspective, construction of monumental buildings, paving of streets, and sanitation projects became very important.

In this new project on behalf of modernization, the school took its place as the center point of the town and it was to be built as a space appropriate for disseminating knowledge and values important for civilized man. At that time, education was thought to be a central feature in striving for development of Brazilian society, to do away with improvised spaces and to gain better prepared professionals who would be able to achieve the republican objectives guided by reason and scientific knowledge.

The material nature of the monumental buildings for meeting educational demands and providing features of modernity to towns/cities also had another

¹⁰ C.G. Veiga, *Projetos urbanos e projetos escolares: aproximação na produção de representações de educação em fins do Século XIX*, «Educação em Revista», n. 26, 1997, p. 104.



Pic. 1. João Pinheiro Avenue (1914)

Source: João Quituba Collection of the CDHIS/UFU (JQ0044).



Pic. 2. João Pinheiro Avenue (1940)

Source: João Quituba Collection of the CDHIS/UFU (JQ0013).

important function – that of increasing the public profile of political groups of that time. In this respect, Bencostta¹¹ states that:

Construction of specific buildings for school groups was a concern of state administrators who had the urban area as the privileged space to build them, especially in capital cities and economically prosperous ones. In general, the location of the school buildings was to function as a point of prominence on the urban scene so as to become highly visible as a sign of a republican ideal, an architectural discursive grammar that exalted the new government regime.

In the perspective of the Republic, the school would be the instrument for awakening reason and driving man away from darkness and ignorance. School should inspire flashes of liberty and the pursuit of new social order and progress. To do so, it is necessary to do away with improvised spaces and pursue democratization of education. In this regard, Souza¹² states that «School represents light, the victory of reason over ignorance, a means of struggle against monarchy and, consequently, an instrument of consolidation of the republican system».

This republican enthusiasm was also present in the former town of Uberabinha, now the city of Uberlândia, located in the northern part of the Triângulo Mineiro region. The town, formerly called São Pedro de Uberabinha, was created by Law no. 602 of May 21, 1852. On June 7, 1888, by Legal Decree no. 51, São Pedro de Uberabinha was promoted to the category of a village. In the same year, on August 31, the village was promoted to the category of a municipality.

Upon becoming a self-governing municipality, the town experienced a series of improvements, and its urbanization proceeded at an accelerated rate. Among the improvements in the municipal area, construction of a railroad, the movie house in the São Pedro Theater, the telegraph, and a potable water system are notable. At that time, the population of the town was calculated at around 5000 people¹³.

Town leadership was eager for progress and modernity, the fruit of this new political movement that clamored for social order. A passage from the newspaper «O Progresso» of Uberabinha¹⁴ exemplifies this idealism:

¹¹ M.L.A. Bencostta, *Arquitetura e espaço escolar: reflexões acerca do processo de implantação dos primeiros grupos escolares de Curitiba (1903-1928)*, «Educar em Revista», 2001, p. 105. Available at <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/er/n18/n18a08>> (last access: 20.09.2018).

¹² R.F. Souza, *Templos de Civilização. A implantação da Escola Primária graduada no Estado de São Paulo (1890-1910)*, São Paulo, Editora da Unesp, 1998, p. 171.

¹³ G.C.V. Gatti, *História e Representações Sociais da Escola Estadual de Uberlândia (1929-1950)*, Dissertação. Mestrado em Educação. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2001, p. 49.

¹⁴ «O Progresso», 1907, p. 1.



Pic. 3. Partial view of the Uberabinha da Mogyana Train Station (n/d).

Source: Collection of the Companhia Paulista Museum in Jundiá, SP.

We cast an unpretentious view on the active and laborious life of this orderly and peaceful town – What do we see? Progress in all branches of human activity are manifest in its full initiative, always with trends, with aims, with the brightest and most hopeful perspective for this rich and flourishing zone... We look back on the economic, financial, and commercial movement of this town of Minas Gerais, comparing the monotony of 3 years ago with its active life, such as progress in its crops, its industries, and its trade, the true pride of this zone; through the honesty of its inhabitants, of discernment, the earnestness of this business class, which justifies the esteem and consideration of the public. People of Uberabinha! We, as children who have intruded on this land nevertheless sustain and nourish our love for her...! We desire her progress. Each of us works to build up this town, so ungratefully forgotten by public authorities! We call forth all that may be useful and advantageous and we go forward with our word, with our dignified and uninterested collaboration, to work diligently for the progress of this land, thus fulfilling a civic social and patriotic duty that will redound to our mutual advantage and the well-being of all its inhabitants.

This orderly discourse shows concern in overcoming the remnants of the past; it was necessary to transform the town, to bring it into modernity, and, for that reason, the work of all was necessary, dedicated labor so that the republican goals would be achieved and the town would rise in this new scenario.

Thus, society of the time also exhibited the need to set up schools as a manner of propagating knowledge, culture, and standards of conduct, which were necessary for growth and expansion of the town toward modernization. To achieve this goal, education would be the driving force and the instrument of moral and intellectual transformation of man, as shown in the following passage from the newspaper «Triângulo Mineiro» of 1926:

School is the temple on whose altar brightly burns the god of science writ small, but crowned by a shimmering diadem, whose signs evoke love, peace, religion, and progress. Science, in its first stage, emanates as a precious deity from the letters of the alphabet. Then increasing, increasing, always receiving new sources, it augments in torrents until it plunges through the precipices of mathematics to then gently glide in the great estuary of human knowledge. In this great estuary, the letters of the alphabet are mere dewdrops falling on the placid wellspring from which drift the vapors of great ideas, of thoughts. There being a passage from a line and from great discoveries, a great fire always occurs that terrifies timid souls, originating from a tiny spark. In the same way, this knowledge that peers into the heavens, the wonders of the land, and the depths of the ground was guided by the letters of the alphabet. They are adornments of knowledge, love, the commandment that must rule happiness on earth.

The elite, not only of the town of Uberabinha, later Uberlândia, but of many other towns far from large cities that sought to distance themselves from the rural model, emphasized the importance of schools in the process of training the new citizen. A fragment of a report placed on the first page of the newspaper «O Progresso» of October 19, 1908 shows this concern:

The great idea of grouping of local schools has arisen in our midst. School groups in accord with the guidelines for instruction, organized by the illustrious *secretario do interior* [Secretary of State] Dr. Carvalho Britto, will surely produce results that compensate all the sacrifices that may be made in implementation. The state of São Paulo, which in matters of teaching exceeds all others of the Union, has long since adopted school groups to replace isolated schools; new buildings arise every day directed to the creation of new groups. This confirms the good result that has been obtained in these teaching establishments. In Uberabinha, where there are more than four hundred children of school age, it is right to seek to provide the greatest latitude possible to teaching, using the medium that is most advantageous and least expensive, and that offers the greatest probability of success.

For the purpose of this discussion regarding the school, pictures follow that show how school was in an improvised space, and the building constructed to house secondary education. In the case of the town of Uberlândia, construction relied on support and funding from a local society known at that time as the Society for Progress of Uberabinha, which gathered together personalities of the town, thanks to whom it was possible to erect the building that functions yet today as a secondary school.

Thus, the space dedicated to education and the school culture disseminated in this location had the purpose of clearly showing the superiority of progress and of human activity over nature. It can be noted that the culture to be



Pic. 4. *Gymnásio de Uberabinha*, in 1919. República Square, currently Tubal Vilela Square

Source: João Quituba Collection of the CDHIS/UFU (JQ807).



Pic. n. 5 – Building of the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* (undated)

Source: Jerônimo Arantes Collection of the Uberlândia Public Archives (JA 374).

disseminated in the sphere of the school was closely bound to republican conceptions regarding the education of civilized man. All these nuances of the republican model in accordance with the important role the school assumes in this new political context then makes this space acquire greater centrality in the social context. Yet, this is not all, for, as we will see, the school in this period attracts all of society into it, and this space dedicated to access to knowledge also comes to gather events dedicated to civic spirit and to patriotism.

4. *The civic-patriotic events in the Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia (GMU)*

In the memory of students and newspapers of Uberlândia, nothing exceeded the commemorations of the Seventh of September. The schools formed marching bands and rehearsed practically the whole year for the monumental parade through the main streets and avenues of Uberlândia, an activity which significantly involved the school and the town. This was the day on which the civic-patriotic celebration achieved its high point and the school institution, the GMU, showed its central role and importance in the life of the town. It impressed another dimension of great importance upon the school besides the technical-scientific dimension that the school increasingly held through preparation of students for the work world and insertion in the modernization process of Brazil. This new dimension was bound up with the formation of national identity around a symbolism and celebration with civic-patriotic features, evidently without neglecting Catholicism.

In Uberlândia, not unlike what occurred throughout Brazil, the civic festivities carried out by schools had the active participation of students, with an extensive schedule of activities, speeches, artistic presentations, and sports events. These festivities were part of the daily life of the school, involving the participation of all school staff, administrators, teachers, and students. The events were times of gaining the favor of society, of externalizing the work developed by schools over a period of time, as well as of spreading the ideals of order, progress, and civility.

In this respect, the richest period of centrality of the GMU in Uberlândia was in the 1930s to 1950s, when the institution was used for civic-patriotic, social, and sporting events, as the town did not yet have its own site to carry out these events. Thus, most festivities, dances, and sports championships were carried out in this school institution.

In addition, the GMU was the place where its students met and socialized, not only among themselves, but also with fellow students from other teaching establishments from the town and the region that participated in the cultural and sporting events often promoted by the GMU itself. Many of these parties and dances were promoted by the *Associação dos Estudantes Secundários de Uberlândia* (AESU) [Uberlândia Secondary Student Association]. As Pacheco, a former student of the GMU, states, «[...] students really participated in the festivities; there was a great deal of integration and they were very united»¹⁵.

The civic festivities provided a high profile to schools, particularly to the GMU, as a way of showing and reaffirming their ideas and values before society,

¹⁵ Rondon Pacheco – Testimony taken by C. Giseli do Vale Gatti (2000) and published by the Museu da Pessoa (2004).



Pic. 6. Seventh of September parade of the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* (undated)
Source: Collection of the *Escola Estadual de Uberlândia*.

and this was important in constituting the culture of the town. According to Silva¹⁶:

The festivities, among other things, ended up constituting a way of creating and spreading national references and symbols not only among the students and teachers, but also the society in general, thus, becoming part of the collective memory. Anthems and raising the flag and school banner constituted decisive activities in creating the official collective memory.

The next picture shows the intense participation of the local population in the civic-patriotic events in Uberlândia. In many cases, dressed in their best clothes, men and women gather behind the roped-off area, and people in the upper part of small buildings watch the school parade. It is an important moment, with the boys and girls in lines and in uniform striking a tone of great formality to the civic festivity.

¹⁶ V.C. Silva, *Comemorações cívicas como instituidoras da unidade nacional no Estado Novo, I Semana de Ensino de História da Uern*, 2009, p. 3. Available at <<http://isemanadeensinodenhistoria.xpg.uol.com.br/arquivos/trabalhos/12.htm>> (last access: 20.09.2018).



Pic. 7. Seventh of September parade of the *Gymnásio Mineiro de Uberlândia* (undated)
Source: Collection of the *Escola Estadual de Uberlândia*.

The civic dates were of great value to the school, with wide participation of the students. Besides the Seventh of September (Independence of Brazil), which undoubtedly was the most important, the most intensely commemorated were the Thirteenth of May (Abolition of Slavery), the Twenty-first of April (Tiradentes), and the Fifteenth of November (Proclamation of the Republic).

The Seventh of September was commemorated in the town with mobilization not only of the GMU, but also of many other schools of the town. In this regard, Isolina Cupertino¹⁷, who was a student of the GMU from 1939 to 1942, remembers that the *Semana da Pátria* (Brazil Week) was the period that the students and, above all, the townspeople most looked forward to because, on the students' part, there was enormous expectation stemming from the responsibility of representing the ideals of civic spirit and respect for Brazil.

A big parade was carried out through the main streets of the town and, as told by Sônia Maria Miranda Vieira, who taught at the high school from 1949 to 1971, the high schools competed for best performance in the parade.

In this respect, Luiz Alberto Garcia, a former student of the GMU, nostalgically remembers the festivities that occurred there, also highlighting the

¹⁷ Isolina Cupertino – Testimony taken by C. Giseli do Vale Gatti in 2000 and 2008.



Pic. 8. Marching band of the *Colégio Estadual de Uberlândia* in the 1940s
Source: Collection of the *Escola Estadual de Uberlândia*.

festas juninas (commemorations of prominent saints in the month of June).

There were the *festas juninas* that happened in a covered court area. The *Gymnásio Mineiro*, at that time, had two court areas; I don't know if they still do. There was one for basketball where the *festas juninas* were held that was a partially covered court where there were really beautiful parties, dances. And there was a hall on the first floor where the graduation parties were held, the dances happened there. I hold this as a dear memory, with a lot of love. The whole society participated. The Seventh of September, for example, was interesting. It wasn't only the *Gymnásio Mineiro*, but all the schools of Uberlândia began to prepare around fifteen business days before the Seventh of September [...] in all the streets during the day they went out marching around the block, training for the Seventh of September. It was a festivity that all the schools of Uberlândia took part in; actually, the *Colégio das Freiras* (Religious Sisters High School) used the band from the *Colégio Mineiro*, the *Estadual*, to play in the *Colégio das Freiras* because the girls didn't play instruments. And the students went out in uniform. It was a khaki uniform. There was a khaki uniform, a yellow uniform, everybody was in uniform¹⁸.

¹⁸ Luiz Alberto Garcia – Testimony taken by C. Giseli do Vale Gatti in 2000.

The local press highlighted the civic festivities held in the town, as can be read in the report of the newspaper «O Repórter» of September 5, 1942, which highlighted the central role of the school institution under study:

The prominence of the part of the program of the *Gymnásio Mineiro* in the commemorations of the *Semana da Pátria* is undoubtedly noteworthy. Effectively, that reputable teaching establishment, under the didactic orientation impressed on it by its current School Director, the unwearied educator Oswaldo Vieira Gonçalves, began, from the first day, its enthusiastic expressions of patriotism in the period dedicated to evoking our past and its glories in the founding of the free nation with the resolution of Pedro I at the historic shores of Ipiranga. [...] This was the itinerary of those who conducted the Torch, the symbol of faith and heartfelt devotion of the youth to our great country: – leaving from the *Gymnásio*, through Avenida Cipriano Del Fáveto to the corner of Rua Getúlio Vargas, through it to Avenida João Pinheiro, from that to Avenida João Pessoa, Avenida Floriano Peixoto, Cel. Carneiro Square, Rua Tiradentes, Vigário Dantas, and then once more to the *Gymnásio*. [...] The numbers performed by the girl students, who were trained and received physical instruction from the competent and dedicated teacher Luiza Ribeiro Miranda, made an excellent impression on those who watched, through their confidence and magnificent performance, which was highly applauded.

The same newspaper, «O Repórter», in a new report on the *Semana da Pátria*, dated September 12, 1942, praised the magnificent displays of civic spirit in the town:

A festivity of singular splendor was the concentration of the youth of Uberlândia on the fifth day of this month at the Benedito Valares Square, the starting point chosen for the joint parade through the streets of the town. To the beat of drums and the tune of the marches by the bugle bands, the wholesome youth marched in triumph carrying dozens of Brazilian flags. In the dazzling and emotional grand finale of commemoration of Brazil, which affronted rises up demanding reprisal, the high school students well represented, in their healthy civic enthusiasm, the soul of Brazil, well aware of victory and fearless of the provocations of the barbarians eager to demolish in the world the millennial civilization that built imperishable monuments of culture, and from which free nations were born in the bright glow of democracies. We had never seen, as in the weeklong votive of historic commemorations in our marvelous nation, a spectacle of such inspiring beauty, a crystal-clear sign that gave us a glimpse of the work of Brazilian pride practiced in our educational establishments. Which teaching establishment best prepared for these days of reverence for Brazil could not be selected or distinguished because, in all of them, maximum care and effort in the organization of their student body was evident, both in overall impression and in details. Young men and women with the same elegance and uniformity of marching revealed the sincerity that inspired them in that ceremony of unparalleled nobility. The applause of the numerous and joyful public, on the balconies of buildings and on one side and the other on the sidewalks of the streets announced for the itinerary of the school parade, resoundingly proclaimed the impression caused by this parade of our schools through the excitement of all those who had the gratifying joy of seeing it. It is fitting to offer our exuberant congratulations to the school directors, teachers, and students of the establishments that take part in these festivities; their deep spiritual sense more highly exalts the age-old traditions of Minas Gerais and of Brazil.

Final considerations

In Brazil, the period from the 1930s to 1950s was marked by centralization of social life in the State, which led to the existence of what is called the *Estado Novo* (New State), from 1937 to 1945. However, this predominant role of the State did not come about without the collaboration of important social institutions, including the Catholic Church. This can be seen, for example, in the introduction of religious education in state public schools, first in Minas Gerais and then throughout Brazilian territory.

This alliance seems to show the predominance of a liberalism more concerned with maintaining the social order than with ensuring individual rights, as well as of a form of progress conducted by the State more than by private initiative in the sphere of society.

Educational freedom enabled the presence of diverse agents that promoted teaching at that time: civil society, the Church, and the State. However, all obeyed decisions regarding what to teach and the values to disseminate, which originated from governmental determinations.

This group of factors allows understanding of the way expansion of possibilities for schooling were involved with the processes of urbanization and modernization of towns/cities and of the country, uniting civic, patriotic, and Catholic ideals. The effort of the Catholic Church in maintaining «Normal Schools» and in creating Colleges related to teacher training exhibits a strategy that successfully maintained initial education within the Catholic ideological perspective in state public schools.

From this, it is understandable that students of the state public schools repeatedly collaborated with the students of the Catholic girl schools of the town in the civic-patriotic commemorations in the 1930s to 1950s, especially in the most important of these commemorations, the Seventh of September, the date on which Brazil commemorates its independence. This collaboration occurred in rehearsals and in the civic-patriotic parades through the streets of the town.

This study clearly shows that the schools of Uberlândia repeatedly and consistently bore an educational formation dimension of a civic and patriotic nature, in collaboration with Catholicism. This dimension went beyond the functions of acquisition of knowledge and preparation for the work world. In fact, the civic-patriotic parades are highly present in the memory of those who attended or participated in the school institution in the period covered by the investigation, and they assume a central position in relation to other important school experiences.

«Passons aux barbares» Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam, Catholicism and challenges of a modern industrial society in France in the first half of the nineteenth century*

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ABSTRACT: On the basis of a rich printed documentation, this article examines the complex and original reflection started by the Catholic historian and apologist Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam during the first half of the nineteenth century in France on the fatal effects produced by the advent of a modern industrial society and the triumph of a capitalist economy not only over material life, but also over Christian faith and religious customs of the working classes who lived in the outskirts of the main industrial cities of the country. Hence, Ozanam's denunciation of the need for a strong position by Church and Christians in the face of the massive and inexorable process of «de-Christianization» and loss of conscience between the industrial proletariat and the poorest and the most neglected ranks of urban people and, likewise, the appeal for a more vigorous commitment in favor of the improvement of the living conditions of working classes and the affirmation of a system inspired to the principles and the values of democracy from a social and political point of view.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853); Industrial society; Worker movement; France; XIXth Century.

* This article resumes and develops a series of issues already tackled by its writer in the Italian essay: R. Sani, *Ozanam e il problema della povertà nell'Ottocento*, in C. Franceschini (ed.), *Federico Ozanam e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio promosso dall'Istituto Luigi Sturzo di Roma, 12-13 dicembre 1997*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1999, pp. 137-158.

To the dear memory of prof. Guido Verucci,
a Master and a friend

Introduction

Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam's reflection on the problem of poverty – the new and dramatic face taken by poverty in France and other European countries which were marked by the process of industrialization and the deep socio-economic transformations in the first half of the nineteenth century – has already been examined by various scholars who have approached his biography and his vast and multi-faceted work¹, as well as by those historians – first of all, Duroselle – who have examined the origins and the first developments of social Catholicism in France².

I am going to refer to the significant results of these examinations several times during my analysis. Here, however, I believe it must be emphasized that these studies, mainly aimed at highlighting the most original and fruitful features and motives of Ozanam's «social thought» and outlining the precursory meaning of some of his intuitions and positions, have left some aspects and

¹ Please see in particular: L. Baunard, *Frédéric Ozanam d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, J. De Gigord, 1912; E. Duthoit, *La Pensée sociale de Frédéric Ozanam*, in *Ozanam. Livre du Centenaire*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1913, pp. 343-372; E. Galopin, *Essai de bibliographie chronologique sur Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853)*, Paris, Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1933; R.P. Guilhaire, *Lacordaire et Ozanam*, Paris, Alsatia, 1939; L. Celier, *Frédéric Ozanam 1813-1853*, Paris, P. Lethielleux, 1956; A. Romero Carranza, *Ozanam e i suoi contemporanei*, Florence, 1956; V. Conzemius, *Frédéric Ozanam. Solidarität statt Klassenkampf*, Imba Freiburg, Verlag, 1983; M. Bersani, *Il pensiero sociale di Federico Ozanam*, in C. Guasco (ed.), *Federico Ozanam un laico tra carità e cultura*, Rome, Edizioni Vincenziane, 1997; I. Chaireire (ed.), *Frédéric Ozanam. Actes du colloque des 4 et 5 decembre 1998 organisé par la Faculté de Théologie, Université Catholique de Lyon*, Paris, Bayard, 2001; G. Cholvy, *Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853): l'engagement d'une intellectuel catholique au XIX siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 2003; B. Barbiche, Ch. Franconnet (edd.), *Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853): un universitaire chrétien face à la modernité*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2006; and the most recent S. Blenner-Michel, Ch. Mercier, M. Brejon de Lavergnee (edd.), *Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853): facettes d'un itinéraire*, «Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France», vol. 100, 2014, pp. 7-255. But please also see the rich documentary materials collected in Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum, *Federici Ozanam. Disquisitio de vita et actuositate Servi Dei*, Rome, 1980.

² See J.-B. Duroselle, *Les débuts du Catholicisme social en France (1822-1870)*, Paris, P.U.F., 1951; P. Droulers, *Action pastorale et problèmes sociaux sous la Monarchie de Juillet chez Mgr d'Astros*, Paris, Vrin, 1954; F.A. Isambert, *Christianisme et classe ouvrière: jalons pour une étude de sociologie historique*, Paris-Tournai, 1961; S.H. Scholl, *150 ans de Mouvement ouvrier chrétien en Europe de l'Ouest 1789-1939*, Nauwelaerts, Luovain-Paris, 1966; F. Traniello, *Cattolicesimo e società moderna (dal 1848 alla «Rerum novarum»)*, in L. Firpo (ed.), *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, Turin, Utet, 1972, vol. V («L'età della Rivoluzione industriale»), pp. 551-652; P. Droulers, *Cattolicesimo sociale nei secoli XIX-XX*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1982.

motives in the background, which are very relevant for the purpose of a more adequate understanding of the complex reading offered by the French scholar about nineteenth-century pauperism and its consequences, as well as the forms of intervention proposed by him.

First of all, I intend to refer to spiritual and cultural matrixes which are in Ozanam's reflection on poverty and poor people and which we can find on the basis of his conception about charity and Christians' commitment in social life: – as I will try to clarify later – this is a conception where we can find some motifs proper to the piety and the new spiritual climate of the romantic age, together with contributions deriving from a passionate meditation on the history of Church and the influence of Catholicism on peoples in different eras.

But I also intend to refer to the most general meaning which the reflection on the problem of poverty has assumed in Ozanam's intellectual and cultural itinerary and the influence which this reflection has carried out both in relation to his religious and charitable choices, first of all the foundation of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, and the gradual achievement of a democratic conception from the point of view of the evolution of his political ideas.

1. *The problem of poverty in Ozanam: between the «social question» and the need for a Christian renewal*

It has been rightly observed that Ozanam's «precocious sensitivity» to the conditions of poverty and exploitation of popular classes and the new forms of pauperism produced by the first industrialization in France takes shape during serious social tensions which characterize Lyon, the city where he lives with his family and where he attends his pre-university studies, between the 1820s and the 1830s³.

In Lyon, the young Ozanam had had the opportunity to directly observe the dramatic effects produced by the new industrial production system on the living and working conditions of people. It is only appropriate to remember that here – even more than in Paris, Rouen, Lille and other centers in Northern France⁴ – a crisis in the agricultural sector and the growing difficulties of traditional artisan businesses had made possible to have a vast urban proletariat, mostly

³ Conzemius, *Al servizio dei poveri. Vincenzo De' Paoli e Federico Ozanam*, cit., p. 78.

⁴ On this regard, please see: A.M. Gossez, *Le Département du Nord sous la II^e République (1848-1852). Etude économique et politique*, Lille, G. Leleu, 1904; O. Festy, *Le Mouvement ouvrier au début de la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-34)*, Paris, Hachette, 1908; Id., *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Paris en 1840*, «Revue des Sciences Politiques», 1913, pp. 27-41; Id., *Le Vicomte Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont et la condition des ouvriers français au environs de 1830*, 1919, pp. 78-98 and 234-261; H. Rigaudias-Weiss, *Les Enquêtes ouvrières en France entre 1830 et 1848*, Paris, Alcan, 1936; G. Duveau, *La vie ouvrière en France sous le second Empire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1946.

composed of artisans and small employers, who were ruined by competition, and the weaker and marginalized rural class, who was attracted to city by the mirage of a stable employment and better living conditions during the 1820s⁵.

A massive low-cost labor force, without any form of protection and bargaining power, was undoubtedly among the causes of the precocious and impetuous expansion of the Lyon industry, first of all, the silk one, which had reached larger levels of development than the rest of the country within a few years (just think that in the early 1830s there were about 27 thousand looms in Lyon)⁶.

However, it is true that the hard working conditions and the gradual reduction of wages imposed by high competition and the prevalence of the iron logic of profit⁷, as well as the instability and the ever greater employment difficulties caused by frequent production crises and market fluctuations⁸ had contributed to determine a vast and deep uneasiness in the Lyon working classes and a social tension which would have then resulted in the workers' rising in 1831 and the general strike decreed three years later, in 1834, and roughly repressed by the army⁹.

The experience of intense social contrasts and the first dramatic manifestations of the class struggle during these years in Lyon will deeply mark the young Ozanam. Subsequently, a direct contact with an equally miserable and dramatic social reality, like the one of the Parisian workers¹⁰, and the examination of the heavy human and social costs produced by the wild and uncontrolled growth of the industrial system – through the writings by De Coux, Villeneuve-Bargemont and other scholars and economists¹¹ – will contribute to reinforce his awareness

⁵ See M. Buffenoir, *Le Mouvement social catholique à Lyon avant 1848*, «Revue des Etudes Historiques», vol. 88, 1922, pp. 541-556; F. Rude, *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Lyon de 1827 à 1832*, Paris, Domat-Montchrestien, 1944; R. Voog, *Les problèmes religieux à Lyon pendant la Monarchie de Juillet et la IIe République*, «Cahiers d'Histoire», 1963, pp. 405-421.

⁶ Rude, *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Lyon de 1827 à 1832*, cit., p. 22 and so on. Also, see H. Sée, *La vie économique de la France sous la Monarchie censitaire (1815-1848)*, Paris, Alcan, 1927 (especially, chapter II: «L'évolution industrielle, les progrès du machinisme et de la concentration»).

⁷ About these aspects, with particular regard to the Lyon and Paris area, please see data and news collected by L.R. Villermé, *Stato fisico e morale degli Operai nelle Manifatture di cotone, di lana e di seta*, in *Biblioteca dell'Economista*, s. II, t. III, Turin, Unione Tipografica Editrice, 1863, p. 638 and so on; P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Le travail des femmes au XIXème siècle*, Paris, Charpentier, 1888, p. 83 and so on; and the above-mentioned Rigaudias-Weiss, *Les Enquêtes ouvrières en France entre 1830 et 1848*, cit.

⁸ See H. Sée, *Histoire économique de la France*, Paris, A. Colin, 1948, Vol. II, pp. 170-186.

⁹ See Rude, *Le Mouvement ouvrier à Lyon de 1827 à 1832*, cit., p. 138 and so on; and P. Droulers, *Le cardinal de Bonald et la question ouvrière à Lyon avant 1848*, «Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine», 1957, pp. 282-301 (about the activities carried out by Catholic social organizations in favor of the insurgents and the sympathies expressed by workers in favor of religion and Church during the insurrections in 1831 and 1834).

¹⁰ See Duthoit, *La Pensée sociale de Frédéric Ozanam*, cit., p. 345 and so on.

¹¹ In particular, we intend to refer to: Ch. De Coux, *Essais d'Economie politique*, Paris, Aux Bureau de l'Agence Générale pour la Défense de la Liberté Religieuse, 1832; and A. De Villeneuve-

about the dangerousness of the ongoing process and the consequent need to act in order to limit its most serious consequences.

The image, which constantly appears in the letters sent by Ozanam to friends and relatives in the 1830s, is an imminent and dramatic conflict among social classes; a conflict achieved by «une haine irréconciliable», where a Christian conscience cannot remain indifferent. He writes to Emmanuel Bailly in autumn 1836:

À mesure que les jours s'ajoutent aux jours, on voit le mal s'ajouter au mal et la misère à la misère; le désordre profond qui est dans la société devient plus en plus visible; aux questions politiques se substitue la question sociale, la lutte entre la pauvreté et la richesse, entre l'égoïsme qui veut prendre et l'égoïsme qui veut garder. Et entre ces deux égoïsmes, terrible sera le choc, si la Charité ne s'interpose, si elle ne se fait médiatrice, si les chrétiens ne dominent avec toute la force de l'amour, les pauvres qui ont la force du nombre et [les] riches qui ont celle de l'argent¹².

The need to interpose between two lineups as Christians and to act for the reconciliation between classes and overcoming selfishness and serious injustices which characterize social life finds further clarification in a letter sent to Louis Janmot a few weeks later. In it, Ozanam lucidly emphasizes: «La question qui divise les hommes de nos jours n'est plus une question de formes politiques, c'est une question sociale, c'est de savoir qui l'emportera de l'Esprit d'Egoïsme ou de l'Esprit de Sacrifice; si la société ne sera qu'une grande exploitation au profit des plus forts ou une consécration de chacun pour le bien de tous et surtout pour la protection des faibles. Il y a beaucoup d'hommes qui ont trop et qui veulent avoir encore; il y en a beaucoup plus d'autres qui n'ont pas assez, qui n'ont rien: [...] d'un côté, la puissance de l'or, de l'autre, la puissance du désespoir»¹³.

As revealed in a letter of February 1840, «le désespoir des pauvres», that despair which he captures in the «population de soixante mille ouvriers» from Lyon «démoralisée par l'indigence et par la propagation de mauvaises doctrines!» which «exploitent les douleurs et les colères de cette multitude souffrante» drives Ozanam to social denunciation and commitment to improve the conditions of the working classes¹⁴.

But it is also necessary to specify that the point of view from which Ozanam looks at the drama of poor people and the new forms of exploitation and misery produced by industrialization is not the economist or the social scientist's one, nor even the philanthropist's one. The same language and the interpretative

Bargemont, *Economie politique chrétienne*, Paris, Hachette, 1834.

¹² A.-F. Ozanam to E. Bailly, Lyon, on October 22nd, 1836, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, published with the help of Ozanam's pupils by L. Celier, J.-B. Duroselle, D. Ozanam, Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1961, p. 236.

¹³ A.-F. Ozanam to L. Janmot, Lyon, on November 13th, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

¹⁴ A.-F. Ozanam to F. Lallier, Lyon, on February 15th, 1840, *ibid.*, p. 383.

categories with which he has faced the workers' question since the early 1830s attest to his concerns and needs only partially comparable to the ones belonging to the vast and multi-faceted literature specialized on pauperism and the social problems of the time¹⁵.

Behind the material poverty and the state of deprivation and destitution of people from the working-class suburbs and districts of the big cities, Ozanam clearly captures a broader and deeper drama, of which poverty and physical exploitation represent only the most evident, serious and painful aspect: it is the drama of men and women whom an economic logic based on the substantial disregard of human dignity and the assimilation of a worker to a machine made victims of a new modern form of slavery. Dealing with the working conditions during the course of Commercial Law held by Ozanam in Lyon in 1839-40, he states:

Les grandes fortunes industrielles sont comparables à ces royautés barbares qu'on élevait sur le pavois, et qui étaient portées sur des épaules d'hommes [...]. Le Maître considère l'Ouvrier non comme un associé, comme un auxiliaire, mais comme un instrument, dont il faut tirer le plus de service possible au moindre prix qu'il se pourra. Mais l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, c'est l'esclavage. L'Ouvrier-machine n'est plus qu'une partie du capital, comme l'esclave des anciens¹⁶.

In this position which crosses over the criticism for the ongoing economic and productive system which was becoming a real strong moral condemnation, Chateaubriand and Lamennais's warnings echo and, above all, – on the pages of the legitimist newspaper «Le Drapeau Blanc»¹⁷ and, later, on «L'Avenir»¹⁸ –

¹⁵ About this literature – which experienced a remarkable increase, especially in France, in the early decades of the nineteenth century –, please see the careful reflections by A. Monticone, *Lavoro, risorse e nuova società nell'età della Restaurazione*, in Id. (ed.), *La storia dei poveri. Pauperismo e assistenza nell'età moderna*, Rome, Studium, 1985, p. 259 and so on.

¹⁶ A.-F. Ozanam, *Notes d'un Cours de Droit Commercial*, in *Oeuvres complètes de A.-F. Ozanam avec une notice par le R.P. Lacordaire et une préface par M. Ampère de l'Académie française*, 11 vols., Paris, Librairie Jacques Lecoffre et Cie, 1855-1865, (I-II: *La civilisation au V siècle*; III: *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*; IV: *La Civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs*; V: *Poètes franciscains en Italie au XIII siècle*; VI: *Dante et la philosophie catholique*; VII-VIII: *Mélanges. Religion, Philosophie, Politique, Jurisprudence, Biographies, Discours, Voyages*; IX: *Le Purgatoire de Dante*; X-XI: *Lettres*), Vol. VIII (*Mélanges II*), pp. 586 and 589.

¹⁷ Please see in particular: F.-R. Lamennais, *Association de Saint-Joseph*, «Le Drapeau Blanc», November 20th, 1822; Id., *Sur L'Observation du dimanche*, May 24th, 1823: both published again in *Oeuvres complètes de F. De La Mennais*, revisited by the author himself, 2nd volume, Bruxelles, Société Belge de Librairie, 1839, pp. 169-171 and 190-192 (respectively). For a careful examination of Lamennais' orientations in this phase, see C. Marechal, *La Mennais au «Drapeau Blanc»*, Paris, H. Champion, 1946; and G. Verucci, *Félicité Lamennais, dal cattolicesimo autoritario al radicalismo democratico*, Naples, Istituto Italiano per gli studi storici, 1963, pp. 103-121.

¹⁸ See, above all, the following articles published by Lamennais, «L'Avenir», *Des Doctrines de l'Avenir* (December 7th, 1830), *Intérêts et devoirs des catholiques* (April 7th, 1831) and *De l'Avenir de la Société* (28th and 29th June 1831): all printed again in G. Verucci (ed.), *L'Avenir 1830-1831. Antologia degli articoli di Félicité-Robert Lamennais e degli altri collaboratori*, Rome, Edizioni di

Lamennais had denounced degradation and brutalization imposed on workers by industrial work; among the first people, he had evoked the image of the factory as a place of «esclavage moderne» and had pointed out to «free men from the yoke of men», this new form of slavery, as the new and fundamental task of the Christianity of his time. In 1832, Lamennais wrote:

La politique moderne ne voit dans le pauvre qu'une machine à travail, dont il faut tirer le plus grand parti possible dans un temps donné. [...] Vous verrez bientôt jusqu'à quel excès l'homme peut porter le mépris de l'homme. Vous aurez des ilotes de l'industrie, qu'on forcera, pour un morceau de pain, à s'enfermer dans des ateliers, et qui vivront et mourront sans avoir peut-être une seule fois entendu parler de Dieu, [...] sans autres désirs que ceux de la brute».

And he had concluded:

Je sais ce qu'on répondra: Au moins, ils sont libres. [...] Non, ces infortunés ne sont pas libre; la terrible domination que vous exercez sur eux le prouve assez. Leurs besoins les placent sous votre dépendance, la nécessité en fait vos esclaves¹⁹.

But it is possible to grasp other things in the strong position taken by Ozanam. He is lucidly aware of the close relationship between the dehumanizing industrial work and the loss of religious spirit among workers. It is a relationship already sensed by Lamennais²⁰ and two of the most significant collaborators of «L'Avenir», the economist Charles de Coux (later, editor of «Ere Nouvelle»)²¹ and the philosopher Philippe Gerbet²², whose ideas had a very remarkable influence on the young Ozanam's «social thought»²³, as it has been rightly pointed out.

However, in the latter one, the perception of the «nefarious effects» of the industrial system on spiritual life and Christian faith of poor classes finds its token in direct experience. In a letter to Léonce Curnier in October 1835, Ozanam notes with bitterness:

Nos pauvres gens sont d'une froideur et d'une indifférence désespérante. Ce son des natures usées par la civilisation matérielle, qui n'offrent plus de prise à la religion, qui n'ont plus le

Storia e Letteratura, 1967, pp. 169-174, 412-416, 554-566.

¹⁹ Lamennais, *Sur L'Observation du dimanche*, cit., pp. 191-192.

²⁰ See Duroselle, *Les débuts du Catholicisme social en France (1822-1870)*, cit., pp. 39-40.

²¹ About the economist Ch. De Coux and his work, in addition to the above-mentioned Duroselle's work, please see P. Thibeaud, *Le comte de Coux*, «Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée», 1864, pp. 234-261.

²² About him, please see: C. De Ladoue, *Monseigneur Gerbet, sa vie, ses oeuvres et l'école mennaisienne*, 3 vols., Paris, Toira et Haton, 1870; and J.-R. Derré, *Lamennais, ses amis et le mouvement des idées à l'époque romantique, 1824-1834*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1962.

²³ See Duroselle, *Les débuts du Catholicisme social en France (1822-1870)*, cit., pp. 56-57.

sens des choses invisibles, qui tendent la main pour recevoir le pain, mais dont les oreilles demeurent presque toujours closes à la parole que nous leur annonçons²⁴.

The meaning of these statements is clear. Within the «social question» there is a «religious question», which is a radical challenge for Christian conscience: the future of Christianity in modern society is enclosed in the destiny of that composite and sorrowful humanity of men, women and children, who are brutalized by poverty and inhuman work rhythms in a factory.

In my opinion, it is necessary to start from this awareness to grasp the most authentic and deep meaning of Ozanam's choices and actions starting from the early 1830s.

2. Christianity as a «law of charity»: poor people, Church and modern industrial civilization from Ozanam's spiritual point of view

When this young Catholic student was seventeen in Lyon, he had developed the idea of writing an apologetic history of religions, where he demonstrated the truth of Christianity as the confluence and the point of arrival of all the other beliefs, and had planned to give life to «une réunion d'amis travaillant ensemble à l'édifice de la science sous l'étendard de la pensée catholique»²⁵; he had actively taken part in the conferences about History promoted by the *Society of Good Studies* chaired by Bailly in Paris a few years later, involved to celebrate and to defend «l'immortelle union de la vraie philosophie avec la foi» and «surtout la portée scientifique et sociale de l'Évangile»²⁶ against the rationalists' criticism; and now he realizes that the challenge which modern society – modern industrial civilization – addresses to Christianity is quite another one; that this challenge passes through poor people and it is a challenge which can be faced not with the blunt weapons of traditional apologetics, but with the ones of charity.

But it is necessary to well clarify the meaning which Ozanam attributes to charity. He is well known for his distrust of the forms of charity and assistance inspired by laical philanthropy, which were so widespread in France in the first half of the nineteenth century²⁷. In February 1835, he writes to Léonce Curnier: «La philanthropie est une orgueilleuse pour qui les bonnes actions sont une

²⁴ Ozanam to L. Curnier, Lyon, on October 29th, 1835, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*, vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., p. 197.

²⁵ A.-F. Ozanam to E. Falconnet, Paris, on March 19th, 1833, *ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁷ See H. Louvancour, *De Henri Saint-Simon à Charles Fourier*, Chartres, Imprimerie Durand, 1913; L. Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Plon, 1958; G. Procacci, *Gouverner la misère. La question sociale en France (1789-1848)*, Paris, Seuil, 1993.

espèce de parure et qui aime se regarder au miroir»²⁸. Later, comparing the different spirit which can characterize assistance to poor and underprivileged people on the pages of «Ere Nouvelle», he will better specify the limits of a commitment which only partially captures poor people's needs and is sometimes animated by extrinsic reasons to such needs:

L'assistance humilie, quand elle prend l'homme par en bas, par les besoins terrestres seulement, quand elle ne prend garde que [...] à ce qui fait pitié. [...] L'assistance humilie [...] si, en nourrissant ceux qui souffrent, vous ne semblez occupé que d'étouffer des plaintes qui attristent le séjour d'une grande ville, ou de conjurer les périls qui en menacent le repos²⁹.

Ozanam sets a conception of Christian charity, which goes far beyond the occasional exercise of virtue and compassion, which has abandoned all the paternalistic connotations and it is no longer exhausted only in the practice of traditional works of mercy, against laical philanthropy and charity inspired by a vague humanitarianism or a spirit of social and political conservatism. A Christian charity which, far from supporting the fatalism and the spirit of resignation which also seems to take hold of some of the most committed Catholic-liberal spirits of its time – faced with the vast scourge of pauperism³⁰, urges Christian conscience to assume responsibility of the demand for social justice and redemption of the poorest and neglected classes.

And while Ozanam strives to clear the field of any misunderstanding about the believer's responsibilities and tasks in the face of misery and suffering of the last on the one hand (he writes: «La même autorité qui nous annonce qu'il y aura toujours des pauvres parmi nous est aussi celle qui nous ordonne de tout faire pour qu'il n'y en ait plus»)³¹, he points out that, from a point of view of Christian charity, the commitment in favor of poor people cannot be limited to the mere satisfaction of impelling material needs, but it must become a tool of liberation and human and civil promotion on the other hand. In fact, he underlines: – «L'assistance honore quand prend l'homme par en haut, quand elle s'occupe, premièrement de son âme, de son éducation religieuse, morale, politique, de tout ce qui l'affranchit de ses passions et d'une partie de ses besoins, de tout ce qui le rend libre»³².

²⁸ Ozanam to L. Curnier, Lyon, on February 23rd, 1835, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*, vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., p. 166.

²⁹ Ozanam, *De l'assistance qui humilie et de celle qui honore*, «Ere Nouvelle», October 1848 and now printed again in *Oeuvres complètes de A.-F. Ozanam*, cit., Vol. VII (Mélanges I), p. 292.

³⁰ On this regard, see Duroselle, *Les débuts du Catholicisme social en France (1822-1870)*, cit., pp. 198-209.

³¹ Ozanam, *De l'aumône*, «Ere Nouvelle», December 1848; later, printed again in *Oeuvres complètes de A.-F. Ozanam*, cit., vol. VII (Mélanges I), p. 299. Also, see Id., *L'attente et l'action*, «Le Correspondant», 1848, vol. I, pp. 799-800.

³² Ozanam, *De l'assistance qui humilie et de celle qui honore*, cit., pp. 292-293.

From Ozanam's point of view, charity is configured as the peculiar and all-embracing dimension of Christian life, which is able to merge personal asceticism, *sensus ecclesiae* and social apostolate in itself. It is the figure, the very essence of Christianity in modern civilization, in a century which «honors only charity among Christian virtues and yields only to the ascendancy of good works», as he writes³³.

The believer's duty to know and to heal the scandal of social imbalances, which take away so many poor people from the dignity of men and those who are saved, arises from this charity, which is no longer cultivated only inwardly, but lived as a «law» proper to Christian life.

Then, it is easy to understand as Ozanam's youthful apologetic intent, which is the will to demonstrate that Christianity does not belong to the things of the past and the doctrines occurred during the history (for example, his lively and harsh criticism of Sansonism³⁴), ends up coinciding and becoming only one thing with the apostolate of charity and his new point of view about the Christian's tasks as such, without a particular vocation, that is the Christian layman, matures starting from poor people and their material and spiritual needs.

A significant confirmation of this evolution can be seen in the above-mentioned letter to Léonce Curnier in February 1835, where Ozanam revisits the Gospel parable of the Good Samaritan. In it, the drama of the wanderer attacked by robbers and left half dead on the road rises to the metaphor of the condition of an entire social class, that miserable and derelict humanity of workers and poor people, who are not only despoiled of material goods, but also of «le trésor de la foi et de l'amour» and, therefore, unable to recognize «les chemins que le Christ lui a tracés», as he writes. Ozanam continues: – «Les prêtres et les lévites on passé, et cette fois, comme ils étaient des prêtres et des lévites véritables, ils se son approchés de cet être souffrant, et ils ont voulu le guérir. Mais, dans son délire, il les a méconnus et repoussés».

It is here, in the drama of a humanity made poor and unable to recognize and to accept salvation at the same time, that the apostolate of charity finds its reason for existence. Ozanam concludes:

A notre tour, faibles Samaritains, profanes et gens de peu de foi que nous somme, osons cependant aborder ce grand malade; [...] essayons de sonder ses plaies et d'y verser l'huile, faisons retentir à son oreille des paroles de consolation et de paix; et puis, quand ses yeux se seront dessillés, nous le remettrons entre le mains de ceux que Dieu a constitués les gardiens et les médecins des âmes. [...] Voilà la vocation sublime que la Providence nous a faite³⁵.

³³ A.-F. Ozanam, *Les Dangers de Rome et ses espérances*, «Le Correspondant», vol. I, 1848.

³⁴ Ozanam, *Réflexions sur les doctrines de Saint-Simon* (1831), printed again in *Oeuvres complètes de A.-F. Ozanam*, cit., Vol. VII (*Mélanges* I).

³⁵ Ozanam to L. Curnier, February 23rd, 1835, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*, Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse* (1819-1840), cit., p. 167.

Here, we can find the main reasons for a new spirituality of the Christian layman, called to become a living ferment in a society where Providence placed him, because it is in it, as well as for it, that he completes his edification. In October 1843, Ozanam writes to his wife: – «Puisque la Providence [...] m'a mis sur la brèche, je n'en descendrai pas»³⁶.

It is a spirituality which is far from supporting the age-long tendency of a Catholic laity to live in a condition of passivity – often mistaken for docility to hierarchy – and which feels all the limits of traditional piety, centered on an individual satisfaction of the obligations deriving from one's own state (profession, marriage, family life, etc.). In it, we can easily grasp the new vast horizon of the Christian's commitment traced in the famous *Conférences de Notre-Dame* and in *Lettres à des jeunes gens* by Father H.-D. Lacordaire³⁷, especially where he exhorted the believing young people: «What I ask you [...] is to embrace the world in your ambition. [...] Do not say: I want to save myself; but say: I want to save the world. This is the only worthy horizon of a Christian, because it is the horizon of charity»³⁸.

And it is precisely by looking at this broader and more demanding «horizon of charity» that Ozanam warns in a letter to Henri Personneaux in March 1840: «Dans les jours difficiles où nous sommes, [...] les engagements ordinaires du mariage et de la paternité ne suffisent plus aux âmes un peu généreuses...»³⁹.

The eminently spiritual point of view from which Ozanam's commitment in favour of poor people arises is nourished only by one main theological theme: love for Christ; and his conception of charity («Le propre de l'amour est de s'assimiler autant qu'il est en soi aux choses aimées», as he writes to Louis Janmont in November 1836⁴⁰) is rooted in the imitation of the suffering Christ. We are called to love «Jésus-Christ et ses plaies dans la personne des

³⁶ A.-F. Ozanam to his wife, Paris, on October 13th, 1843, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. II: Premières années à la Sorbonne (1841-1844), critical edition by J. Caron, preface by J.-B. Duroselle, Paris, Celse, 1971, p. 497.

³⁷ See H.-D. Lacordaire, *Conférences du Notre-Dame de Paris*, 5 vols., Paris, Garnier, s.d.; *Lettres du Révérend Père Lacordaire à des jeunes gens*, by M. Abbot Henri Perreyve, Paris, the Eleventh Edition, Ch. Douniol-H. Chapellier et Cie Libraires-Éditeurs, 1893. About this famous religious, restorer of the Dominican Order in France and then, in 1848, promoter of «L'Ere Nouvelle» with Ozanam and the Abbot Henri Maret and his work, please see: E. Vaast, *Lacordaire et les Conférences de Notre-Dame*, Paris, S.F.E.L.T., 1937; *L'Église dans l'oeuvre de Père Lacordaire*. Texts chosen by Yvonne Frontiere, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1963. The correspondence between Lacordaire and madame de Swetchine is also very interesting: *Correspondance du R.P. Lacordaire et de Madame Swetchine*, published by Count Folloux, the Eleventh Edition, Paris, Librairie Académique Didier Perrin et Cie, 1899.

³⁸ Quotation by A. Prandi, *Correnti e figure della spiritualità cattolica nei secc. XIX e XX*, in *La Chiesa cattolica nella storia dell'umanità. Volume quinto: Il mondo contemporaneo*, Fossano, Esperienze, 1966, p. 103.

³⁹ Ozanam to H. Personneaux, Lyon, on March 13th, 1840, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., p. 394.

⁴⁰ A.-F. Ozanam to L. Janmot, Lyon, on November 13th, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 243.

pauvres!»⁴¹, as Ozanam recalls and, then, he adds: «Nous ne voyons Dieu que des yeux de la Foi [...]. Mais les hommes, mais les pauvres, nous les voyons des yeux de la chair, ils sont là et nous pouvons mettre le doigt et la main dans leurs plaies et les traces de la couronne d'épines sont visibles sur leur front»⁴².

By imitating the suffering Christ, Ozanam rediscovers the most authentic meaning of the historical experience of the Catholic Church: fidelity to the vocation to seek and to serve God in poor people. It is a Church that has the face of the «immense effusion d'amour» of St. Francis of Assisi, «les mains secourables de S. Philippe de Néri, de S. Jean de Dieu et de S. Vincent de Paul»⁴³: it is the Church that highly exercised charity in the tormented events of human history, in imitation of its founder. In the invocation taken up by Ozanam: «My God, give us some Saints! We haven't had them for so long!»⁴⁴, there is all the sense of a recovery of the dimension of holiness as a charitable work towards poor people.

And, not by chance, the 'historian' Ozanam is inspired by Francis of Assisi in the choice of the models for the apostolate of charity among the poor people of his time.

Like Francis, who wanted to call poor and excluded people, who were ready for rebellion, to be part of God's people, Ozanam warns that the great task of the Christians of his time is to reintegrate workers, popular masses, underprivileged and humiliated people from the big industrial cities into society and Church. A difficult task, which involved a deep change of mentality, a renunciation of privileges and the overcoming of hierarchies and traditional behaviors.

But Ozanam also grasps another deep and decisive truth of the testimony by Francis of Assisi: in order to recover excluded people – hostiler and more distant they will be, the more they will feel in such a way –, it is necessary to be close to them, to share their sufferings and their condition of poverty and exclusion; and, furthermore, society is not really changed, nor the Church is renewed, if marginalized and rejected people and those whom the blindness and the injustice of men and institutions have made such as are not reintegrated into their body.

In the wake of Francis of Assisi and the other great witnesses in the previous centuries, Vincent de Paul understood the terrible drama of material and spiritual poverty («poor people are starving and damned»). He looked at poor people, the last in society, and at the first in Church («our masters and lords») at the same time, and he recognized their «eminent dignity» which derives from

⁴¹ A.-F. Ozanam to Father T. Pendola, Antignano, on July 19th, 1853, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam 1831-1853*, J. De Gigord, Paris, 1912 (the Eighth Edition), 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 523.

⁴² A.-F. Ozanam to Father T. Pendola, Antignano, on July 19th, 1853, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam 1831-1853*, J. De Gigord, Paris, 1912 (the Eighth Edition), 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 523.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

⁴⁴ Ozanam, *Les Dangers de Rome et ses espérances*, cit., p. 89.

the fact that Christ himself was poor⁴⁵. And, in showing the men of his time the way of charity, he had «une vision anticipée des maux et des besoins de notre époque»⁴⁶, as Ozanam writes.

3. «*Passons aux barbares*»: the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul and the commitment to the creation of a «social democracy»

It is from the above-mentioned concept of charity that we fully grasp the intimate link which unites Ozanam, promoter and animator of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul to Ozanam, convinced supporter of the creation of a social democracy and the need to take sides with the «barbarians» by Church and Christians – in the troubled events of the 1848 revolution –, that is, to side with the workers and «ces autres pauvres qui ne mendient point, qui vivent ordinairement de leur travail»⁴⁷.

At the basis of the two different experiences, there is a single fundamental requirement in the question asked to himself and his friends by the young Ozanam in a letter addressed to Ernest Falconnet in summer 1834: «Resterons-nous donc inertes au milieu du monde qui souffre et qui gémit?»⁴⁸.

This is an eminently religious question, which calls for a strong commitment to charity; a charity which is able to act as a measure and a criterion for judging politics, but also to call for an arduous and necessary renewal of Christian conscience and the work of the Church.

Ozanam's evolution from his primitive Catholic-liberal positions to his adherence to the democratic ideal in 1848 is configured as the result of an itinerary which gives only a little to theoretical analysis and comparison about

⁴⁵ For example, these issues are found in the conference held by Vincent de Paul to the Daughters of Charity on November 11th, 1657, in Saint Vincent De Paul, *Correspondance, entretiens, documents*, edited by P. Coste, J. Gabalda, 15 vols., Paris, 1920-1970, vol. X, 1923, p. 332. See P. Coste, *Le grand saint du grand siècle: Monsieur Vincent*, 3 vols., Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1932; A. Dodin, *Saint Vincent de Paul et la charité*, Paris, Seuil, 1975 (the Third Edition); M. Marcocchi, *Vincenzo de' Paoli e il servizio ai poveri*, in Id., *La spiritualità tra giansenismo e quietismo nella Francia del Seicento*, Rome, Studium, 1983, pp. 56-64.

⁴⁶ Ozanam to F. Lallier, Lyon, on May 17th, 1838, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., p. 309.

⁴⁷ Ozanam, *Aux gens de bien*, «Ere Nouvelle», September 1848; then, printed again in *Oeuvres complètes de A.-F. Ozanam*, cit., Vol. VII (*Mélanges I*), pp. 272-273. Also, see the letter by A.-F. Ozanam to Count F. De Champagne, Bellevue, on July 31st, 1848, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. III: *L'engagement (1845-1849)*. Critical edition under the direction of D. Ozanam with the collaboration of B. Barbiche, R.P.E. Diebold, Ch. Franconnet, M. Laporte, Paris, Celse, 1978, pp. 447-448.

⁴⁸ Ozanam to E. Falconnet, Paris, on July 21st, 1834, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., p. 143.

different political systems⁴⁹. Once again, it is the problem of poor people – a social and religious problem at the same time – that marks the stages of his political maturation.

In a letter to the above-mentioned Ernest Falconnet in July 1834, Ozanam had showed all his extraneousness with regard to politics intended as an alchemy of power, while reiterating his adherence to liberal principles and institutions or, rather, that «principe sacré de la liberté» which was necessary «revendiquer énergiquement» as a right. He wrote: «Quant aux opinions politiques, là aussi nous sommes d'accord. [...] Tout gouvernement me semble respectable en ce qu'il représente le principe divin de l'autorité».

In the same letter, however, he introduced a discrimination criterion with regard to political regimes to which he would constantly remain faithful even later. He still noted: – «Je ne nie, je ne repousse aucune combinaison gouvernementale, mais je ne les accepte que comme instruments pour rendre les hommes plus heureux et meilleurs. [...] Je pense qu'on doit avertir d'une voix courageuse et sévère le pouvoir qui exploite au lieu de se sacrifier»⁵⁰.

His adherence to democracy, matured in the context of the revolutionary events in 1848 – initially full of hopes, then changed into bitter disillusion – has its roots in the awareness that only the advent of a political system which is authentically representative of the needs of workers and popular classes can be a tool of justice and social equalization. In March 1848, Ozanam writes to his brother Alfonso:

Derrière la révolution politique il y a une révolution sociale; derrière la question de la république, qui n'intéresse que les gens lettrés –, il y a les questions de l'organisation du travail, du repos, du salaire. Il ne faut pas croire qu'on puisse échapper à ces problèmes. Si l'on pense que l'on satisfera le peuple en lui donnant des assemblées primaires, des conseils législatifs, des magistrats nouveaux, des consuls, un président, on se trompe fort: et dans dix ans d'ici, et plus tôt peut-être, ce sera à recommencer⁵¹.

⁴⁹ With reference to the experience of the magazine «Ére Nouvelle» and the positions taken by H. Maret and F. Ozanam within the newspaper, Andrea Riccardi rightly pointed out: «The *alliance* with the new order of things is not [...] a merely political operation, but a cultural turning point of the Catholic world in approaching political and social forces, culture and the problems produced by social transformations. [...] 1848, the political occasion of the republic foundation and the constituent assembly offer Maret the possibility of acting, in order to create a current of opinion in the Catholic world which tries to democratically revitalize the role of the Church and the Catholics in society. Perhaps, his position is clearer than Ozanam's one, because it is more sensitive to particular aspects of social problems» (A. Riccardi, *Neo-gallicanesimo e cattolicesimo borghese. Henri Maret e il Concilio Vaticano I*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1976, pp. 16 and 26).

⁵⁰ Ozanam to E. Falconnet, Paris, on July 21st, 1834, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. I: *Lettres de Jeunesse (1819-1840)*, cit., pp. 142-143.

⁵¹ Ozanam to A. Ozanam, Paris, 6-8 March, 1848, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. III: *L'engagement (1845-1849)*, cit., p. 388.

Hence, his full conversion to democracy, which he considers as «le terme naturel du progrès politique»⁵², although he does not hide the difficulties which such a choice implies. «Let us sacrifice our repugnances and our resentments to turn towards a democracy and people who do not know us. Let us support them not only with our sermons, but with our benefits; let us help them [...] with our efforts to get institutions that free them and make them better»⁵³.

But Ozanam has the lucid awareness that not even the most radical political turning point is enough to remove social injustice, to heal the conditions of poverty and exploitation of the weakest people and to create the premises for the creation of a more humane and sympathetic society.

Hence, the re-proposal of the question: «Resterons-nous donc inertes au milieu du monde qui souffre et qui gémit?», which becomes an appeal to the Church and the clergy to take care «des ouvriers comme des riches», because he points out: «c'est désormais la seule voie de salut pour l'Eglise de France»⁵⁴. Ozanam still writes:

Prêtres français [...] vous aimez les pauvres des vos paroisses, vous accueillez charitablement l'indigent qui frappe à votre porte. [...] Mais le temps est venu de vous occuper davantage de ces autres pauvres qui ne mendient point, qui vivent ordinairement de leur travail. [...] Le temps est venu d'aller chercher ceux qui ne vous appellent pas, qui, relégués dans les quartiers mal famés, n'ont peut-être jamais connu ni l'Eglise, ni le prêtre, ni le doux nom du Christ⁵⁵.

Hence, the need to widely act and to prepare that renewal of conscience which can only foster the most mature and conscious exercise of charity – in Church and civil society –.

Perhaps, this is the purpose with which Ozanam and his young friends have devoted themselves to a work, such as a home visit to poor people to bring them some help and comfort: a work which is as modest in its social purposes as ambitious – an ambition proper to evangelical charity – in its goals of spiritual renewal.

And, according to Ozanam, the way to educate conscience and to convert to a Christianity of charity and a sensitive and sympathetic humanism is understanding and sharing the drama of poor people. It is indeed a *pedagogy of compassion*, that is, «suffering together» with poor people, the one which Ozanam states in one of his last letters, the one sent to Father Tommaso Pendola of the Pious Schools a few months before his death, in July 1853, to support the institution of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul among young students in Siena.

⁵² A.-F. Ozanam to P. Dugas, Paris, Maech 11th [1849], *ibid.*, p. 495.

⁵³ A.-F. Ozanam, *Les Dangers de Rome et ses espérances*, cit., p. 103.

⁵⁴ Ozanam to A. Ozanam, Paris, 12-21 April, 1848, in *Lettres de Frédéric Ozanam*. Vol. III: *L'engagement (1845-1849)*, cit., p. 222.

⁵⁵ Ozanam, *Aux gens de bien*, cit., pp. 272-273.

Starting from the observation of the frivolous character and the selfishness of so many young people belonging to the affluent classes of his time, Ozanam writes in it:

Je m'assure qu'ils [these young people] sont ainsi parce qu'une chose a manqué à leur éducation; il y a une chose qu'on ne leur a point enseignée, une chose qu'ils ne connaissent que de nom. [...] Cette chose, c'est la douleur, c'est la privation, c'est le besoin... Il faut que ces jeunes seigneurs sachent ce qu'est la faim, la soif, le dénuement d'un grenier. Il faut qu'ils voient des misérables, des enfants malades, des enfants en pleures. Il faut qu'ils les voient et qu'ils les aiment. Ou cette vue réveillera quelque battement dans leur coeur, ou cette génération est perdue⁵⁶.

In conclusion, it seems possible to say that in Ozanam there is a deep unity among the Christian involved in social activities, the scholar and the indefatigable animator of works of charity. This unity is precisely given by letting himself be questioned by the problem of poor people and the choice to face with all his life the challenge inherent in the question asked to himself and his friends in 1834: «Resterons-nous donc inertes au milieu du monde qui souffre et qui gémit?».

⁵⁶ Ozanam to Father T. Pendola, Antignano, on July 19th, 1853, cit., pp. 523-524.

«Meeting Spain» and lessons the Soviet front-line generation learned from the 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the responses of Soviet schoolchildren to the Civil War in Spain and to the arrival of the children of Spanish Republicans to the Soviet Union. Perceived from the concept of «world revolution», the struggle of the Spanish Republicans engendered a variety of solidarity actions on the part of children and adolescents, starting with attempts to run off to Spain and ending with self-organization of paramilitary units for purposes of joining international detachments. These forms of activities of Soviet adolescents are considered against the backdrop of the similar transformation of children's play activity in countries that underwent a process of militarization. Soviet schoolchildren regarded their Spanish Republican peers as allies in the process of the world's revolutionary reformation and tried to develop relations with Spanish children evacuated to the Soviet Union. In their perception, those relations became the basis of interaction among members of the future universal Communist society.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Spanish Civil War; Education; Soviet teenagers; World revolution; Soviet schoolchildren; XXth Century.

In 1936-1939, the Soviet society reacted to the Civil War in Spain as to one of the most dramatic international events. The war made up the bulk of news reports and was widely discussed by all members of society. Besides, it evoked genuine feelings of solidarity with the struggling Republicans. Thus far, various aspects of the Soviet Union's involvement in the Spanish events have been thoroughly investigated, starting with military support to the Republicans and practicing certain military operations to perfection on Spanish territory, and ending with the granting asylum to nearly 3,500 Spanish children. Still, the perception of Spanish events by members of Soviet society has been researched

only partially¹. Even less studied are the responses of Soviet children and adolescents.

The study of adolescent responses makes it possible to reconstruct how the Soviet press and propaganda vehicles affected this age group's perception of Spanish events as well as what types of ideological filters were operating in the children's minds when they assessed the information. The emphasis on the children's reaction is important as it allows for moving beyond the one-dimensional approach that characterizes the bulk of childhood studies. Catriona Kelly defines this approach as «top-down». It is based on the analysis of information flow and educational activities that the children are subject to rather than on the children's immediate reaction and emotional experience². Dorena Caroli also writes about the need to amend the current research tradition. In her opinion, the authentic history of childhood and education may be reconstructed only if we let children of different generations speak for themselves while integrating their cultural, formative anthropology and day-to-day life into the subject fields of childhood studies³.

The available sources are mostly schoolchildren's letters from the Comintern (Communist International) Foundation at the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History. The sources also include high school students' diaries and statements of children living in the later 1930s that were recorded by their mentors. The latter examples compose the 2nd and the 3rd typological groups respectively, based on Dorena Caroli's classification of children's *writings* samples⁴. Memoirs and autobiographical sketches based on eyewitness accounts complete the bulk of documentary sources. Additional documents come from the Russian Academy of Education, the Russian State Archive, the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, and the Central State Archive of the City of Moscow. They include: printed media publications; letters with guidance and procedures issued by the People's Commissariat for Education to their subordinates; records from conferences; reports by education bodies and educators on students outreach and also the correspondence by various Communist Party and Komsomol (Young Communists' Union) bodies pertaining to school education.

To answer the questions raised, we need a methodological framework, which is provided, in part, by structural-functionalistic theories. According to

¹ The only exception is provided by the thesis paper, T.A. Mukhamatulin, *Formirovanie obraza Ispanii v sovetskom obshchestve 1936-1939 gg.*, Moscow, 2013.

² K. Kelli, *Malen'kie grazhdane bol'shoj strany: internacionalizm, deti i sovetskaja propaganda*, «Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie», n. 60, 2003.

³ D. Caroli, *Soviet Children's writings: school exercise books, letters to the authorities, personal diaries and war memoirs*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. VII, n. 1, 2012, pp. 202-204.

⁴ D. Caroli's classification includes: 1. school essays; 2. letters to the authorities; 3. diaries and other personal documents, unrelated to school assignments (*ibid.*, pp. 204-205).

these theories, the younger generation, and the very process of growing up, are considered to be subject to the socializing influences of family members, educators, and peer groups. The result of such influence is the internalization of common values «in the ego identity»⁵. The other part, however, consists of constructivist theories that view children and adolescents as an independent, creative, social age-group, capable of investing the social reality with their own meanings and of affecting the 'adult' society's culture⁶. Also, to identify the mechanisms and motives underlying the interaction between Soviet schoolchildren and their Spanish peers, we have to resort to conceptual ideas and analysis categories used by adherents of symbolic interactionism that explain an individual's behavior based on the individual's involvement in social and group relations.

Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union's official policy and the propaganda campaign that supported it were the main factors that initiated and defined the younger generation's attitude to the events in Spain. Still, researchers today are quite unanimous in assessing this policy as balanced and not aimed at the further revolutionizing of Spanish society. According to US researcher Stanley Payne, after the parliamentary elections of Feb. 1936, the Comintern strategy, strictly enforced by the Spanish Communist Party, suggested the consolidation of all forces supporting the People's Front and the support of the republican government by legal means. The strategy renounced the former insurrection plans; its goals were to set up a «new type of democratic republic» and to prevent a civil war. What's remarkable is that they adhered to that strategy even after the outbreak of war⁷.

In the opinion of Francis Lennon, a British historian, in 1936–1939 war the Soviet Union pursued two interrelated goals, namely to support the left-wing Republicans and the Republic and to lure England and France into the alliance against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. With those goals in mind, Soviet leaders tried by all possible means to convince Western democracies that the war in Spain was waged between a democratic regime and international fascism. As Lennon writes, «The agenda left no place for a socialist revolution»⁸. These evaluations at large also coincide with conclusions made by Frank Schauff, a German historian. Schauff believes that the Soviet Union actually sought peace on the Iberian Peninsula, not just declared such intentions, in order to ensure support of the Western powers. With this goal in mind, the Soviet State opposed revolutionary movements and upheld the policy of the People's Front that apparently was failing due to incompatible interests of all parties involved⁹.

⁵ T. Parsons, *The Social System*, ed. by B.S. Turner, London, 1991, pp. 145-156.

⁶ W.A. Corsaro, *The sociology of childhood*, New York, Rutledge, 2005, p. 18.

⁷ St.G. Payne, *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic 1933-1936. Origins of the Civil War*, New Haven, London, 2006, pp. 303-361.

⁸ D.Fr. Lannon, *The Spanish Civil War. 1936-1939*, Oxford, Osprey, 2002, p. 75.

⁹ F. Shtauff, *Proigrannaja pobeda. Sovetskij Sojuz, Kommunisticheskij Internacional i*

Modern Russian historians support these conclusions as well. For example, Michael Meltyukhov considers that for the most part, in the 1930s the attitude of Soviet leaders and the country's foreign policy acquired an imperial flavor. As a result, the attitude that advocated the stronger influence of the Soviet Union in the world and the expansion of socialist ideology replaced the old idea of world revolution. These formulas served to justify and, to a certain extent, to disguise the imperial policy in the same way as the concept of «defending the culture from the barbarians» served the ancient Romans, «the burden of the white man» helped the European powers in the colonial period, and «the defense of democracy» works for the US today¹⁰. As the Soviet Union's position on the world arena grew stronger and the expectations for cooperation with Western democracies in the field of collective security in Europe were on the rise, the call for the world revolution disappeared from Soviet papers. Likewise, in the later 1930s war movies that bore a significant impact on the younger generation, the Red Army no longer sought to form alliances with the world proletariat but alone crushed the enemy¹¹.

The Soviet press' coverage of the Spanish events may at best be described as ambivalent. On the one hand, the experience, imagery and symbols from the Russian Civil War of 1918-1921 were alluded to extensively and the continuity of the two wars was stressed; on the other hand, the presentation of events had to completely exclude the possibility to interpret them as an outbreak of the «world revolution», let alone to remind the readers of the so-called «permanent revolution». Republican Spain was defined as a «democratic state of a new type», and the civil war – as a conflict between the supporters of the Republic and fascist rebels¹².

It is possible to say that in the child's perception several superimposed factors affected the propaganda-fostered image. First of all, it should be noticed here that the main mediator between children and the authorities – the school – did not always respond consistently and efficiently to the changes in the State's ideology¹³. Despite the fact that as of the late 1920s the «Socialism

grazhdanskaja vojna v Ispanii. 1936-1939 gg., Moscow, 2017, p. 333.

¹⁰ V.I. Mihajlenko, *Novye fakty o sovetskoj voennoj pomoshhi v Ispanii*, «Ural'skij vestnik mezhdunarodnyh issledovani», n. 6, 2006, p. 35; M.V. Novikov, *Sovetskij Sojuz i grazhdanskaja vojna v Ispanii 1936-1939 gg.*, «Rossijskaja istorija», n. 5, 2009, p. 55; T.A. Muhamatulin, *Ispanii nuzhno svoe ChK: sovetskoe obshhestvo i grazhdanskaja vojna v Ispanii (1936-1939 gg.) v «pis'mah vo vlasti*, «Istoricheskij ezhegodnik», n. 7, 2013; M.I. Mel'tjuhov, *Upushhennyj shans Stalina. Shvatka za Evropu 1939-1941 gg.*, Moscow, 2008, pp. 316-317.

¹¹ M. Sharova, «Kontury grjadushhej vojny» v *sovetskoj literature 1930-h godov*, in *Pravda Viktora Suvorova-2. Vosstanavlivaja istoriju Vtoroj mirovoj*. Sost. D. Hmel'nickij, Moscow, 2007, pp. 242-271; A.V. Fedorov, *Virtual'naja vojna na jekrane: germenevticheskij analiz sovetskikh voenno-utopicheskikh fil'mov vtoroj poloviny 1930-h godov na zanjatijah v studencheskoj auditoria*, «Distancionnoe virtual'noe obuchenie», n. 12, 2011, pp. 38-40.

¹² Muhamatulin, *Formirovanie obraza Ispanii v sovetskom obshhestve 1936-1939 gg.*, cit., pp. 21-23.

¹³ This conclusion is consistent with L. Holmes' studies of the certain dissociation between

in One Country» ideologeme was instilled extensively and the idea of the world revolution was renounced, the latter concept continued to live in the school program.

The way history was taught at schools, students were led to believe that the fundamental problems of mankind could be resolved only by the proletarian revolution, and not by «developing new forms of a class-divided society»¹⁴. To cite but one example of such politicized teaching, we may mention here a demo history class for 4th graders at a Moscow school in 1939. The topic discussed in the class centered on the development of capitalism in Russia before the revolution, and the teacher's colleagues graded the teacher's work as *excellent*. At the end of the class, the teacher asked the students about the contemporary situation of working people in other countries. The students replied proudly that only in the Soviet Union workers and peasants lived well and children were taken care of properly. The teacher continued inquiring as to what major problem working people faced in capitalist countries and what help they needed. The students' unanimous reply was «the world revolution»¹⁵.

Second, certain public events supported the belief in the inevitability of the world revolution. A thematic international pioneers' congress may serve as an example of such an event. Initiated by the local Komsomol organization, the congress was held in Krasnoyarsk on May 2, 1936. Meeting at the local Culture Hall, schoolchildren acted as *delegates* representing different countries. They reported on the attitude and struggle of working people in the countries they 'represented'. For example, 'representing' Abyssinia, Borya Grigoriev assured the audience that by standing up to Italian imperialism, the people of 'his' country would continue their heroic struggle. In her turn, «Italian workers' delegate» Galya Ivanova condemned Italian intervention in Abyssinia and concluded her speech with the words, «Long live World October! Long live Soviet Italy!» The roar of applause drowned out her words¹⁶. Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks' All-Union Communist Party roundly condemned that event as failing to meet both the party line and educational goals¹⁷.

Likewise, military and patriotic activities also provided some basis that made it possible to identify the struggle of Spanish Republicans with «the Reds» operations in 1918-1921. In fact, many schools used for such activities certain «iconic figures» such as ardent revolutionaries, the Russian Civil War heroes

the instructions sent to schools by supervising bodies, the respective requirements, and the actual educational outreach, see L.E. Holmes, *School and Schooling under Stalin 1931-1953*, in B. Eklof, L.E. Holmes, V. Kaplan (edd.), *Educational Reform in Post-Soviet Russia*, London and New York, 2005, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴ NA RAO (Archive), f. 24 (Tarasov), op. 1, d. 3, l. 99.

¹⁵ NA RAO, f. 109 (Nikiforov), op. 1, d. 222, ll. 9-9 ob.

¹⁶ «Gudok», 6 May 1936.

¹⁷ RGASPI, f.17, op. 172, d. 57, l. 61.

and other stalwart defenders of the new regime. So, the Spanish Republicans were added to their ranks. For example, the Radischev School in Moscow organized several meetings at which the participants spoke of the struggle of the Spanish Republicans in the context of discussions about honesty, courage, and dignity. Just after the event, in March 1937, Spanish writers Rafael Alberti and María Teresa León visited the school and the students received them as most welcome guests. Ginzburg, the school principal, testified in his report that the meeting «made a deep impression on the students»¹⁸.

Third, children's literature of the 1930s fostered enthusiastic support of the world revolution in young people and adolescents, consistently implementing Maxim Gorky's message that stated, «In our country to educate means to revolutionize»¹⁹. For example, in the closing chapter of his novel *The Drummer's Fate* published in «The Pionerskaya Pravda» newspaper in 1938, Arkady Gaidar thus spoke of the future: «In years to come there will be no workers or peasants. When revolution's waves will sweep away all borders, there will be no class or wealth distinction. And with the borders the last traitor, the last spy and the enemy of happy people will be destroyed. Then all songs will be nobody's, but clear and simple, they will belong to all mankind»²⁰. These closing lines perfectly met the expectations of Soviet schoolchildren. It is no coincidence that in describing the period under consideration, books based on authors' observations or autobiographic material always mention the preparation for revolutionary struggle. Some characters even change their life plans, adjusting them to that goal. For example, Boris Balter's novel *Farewell to Boys* introduces us to four «A+ 10th-graders who dream of peaceful professions, yet accept the City Komsomol Committee's assignment in order to perform the mission of saving the world of human misery»²¹. Just as Balter's characters, high school students from Yuri Slepukhin's novel *The Crossroad* dream of sharing the benefits which the Soviet young people enjoy with their peers in other countries. Thus, Tanya Nikolaeva, the main character, fantasizes about proletarian revolution in Japan; her friend Serezha Dezhnev fancies himself an international detachment soldier in Spain, fighting the fascists; and their classmate Luda Zemtsova confides to her diary as a very personal thought the idea that Communism is the only condition to ensure true happiness for both the individual and for all mankind²².

Fourth, the coverage of the Spanish theme by the Soviet press included extensive references to the Russian Civil War, thus enhancing the students' belief that Republican Spain was following the Soviet Union's example. In one of his informal conversations with 5th-graders from a Leningrad school, Samuil

¹⁸ GARF, f. 2306, op. 70, d. 2603, ll. 68-69.

¹⁹ M. Gor'kij, *O temah*, in *Sobr. Soch. v 30 tt.* Moscow, 1953, vol. 27, p. 1.

²⁰ A. Gajdar, *Sud'ba barabanshchika*, Moscow, 2000, p. 27.

²¹ B. Balter, *Do svidaniya, mal'chiki!*, Moscow, 2013, pp. 23, 135.

²² Ju. Slepukhin, *Perekrestok*, Saint-Petersburg-Moscow, 2016, pp. 31, 51, 199, 356.

Marshak asked why they monitored the events in a far off country so closely. Surprised by the adult man's «obtuseness», the children replied simply, The people there fight the same way the people fought here²³. Spain was also present in the dreams of Soviet pioneers about the future. For example, in the latter part of 1937, students from the Moscow school 110 shared their futuristic forecasts with their favorite paper, *The Pionerskaya Pravda*. The forecasts predicted that the Civil War in Spain would end in triumph for the political left. As a result, a socialist state would be built and the capital of the Spanish Soviet Socialist Republic would house world congresses of progressive scientists on a regular basis²⁴.

Perceived from the viewpoint that asserted revolutionary ideals, the struggle of the Spanish Republicans resurrected the Soviet teenagers' dreams of great deeds and struggle to free mankind from the bonds of oppression. Children's culture almost immediately adopted the Republican struggle's symbols. In the Soviet Union, many children's communities used as passwords: the Republicans' slogan «No pasarán» [They shall not pass, accompanied by a raised right hand making a fist; a revolutionary greeting *Salud camaradas* [Hi Comrades]; and an expression *Muy bien camaradas* [All's well, Comrade]. The Republicans' headdress – a field service cap nicknamed *Ispanka* [The Spaniard] – enjoyed wide popularity and so did Michael Svetlov's poem *Granada*, read aloud, and the song *Bandiera rossa* [The Red Banner] that they sang in Italian, German or Spanish, depending on the combative spirit.

Samuil Marshak noticed that every day thousands of children buried themselves in newspapers to receive the latest feedback on the situation in the Tajo valley or in the region of Asturias. On the first attempt, the children memorized such hard-to-pronounce names as Sierra de Guadarrama, Guadalajara, Villanueva del Luca²⁵. For three years, they forgot about their usual games and argued themselves hoarse, discussing passionately the Republicans' tactics over maps and newspapers brought into the yard²⁶.

At schools, many students kept a separate board in the class to mark the front line daily. Not a few students put together albums dedicated to Spanish events and their heroes²⁷. Often children outmatched the adults in their knowledge of Spanish events. To cite but one example, we mention here a 3rd-graders' pioneer meeting held at Moscow school 26 late in 1937. The Spanish events were the topic under consideration and when the Pioneer leader declared the meeting opened, she was assailed with questions, such as «Why did they transfer the government from Valencia to Barcelona?» «Is there a country where workers do not suffer persecution?». Those children who themselves followed newspaper

²³ S. Marshak, *Boevaja geografija*, «Pravda», 7 October 1936.

²⁴ «Pionerskaja Pravda», 28 December 1937.

²⁵ Marshak, *Boevaja geografija*, cit.

²⁶ V. Bejlinson, *Sovetskoe vremja v ljudjah*, Moscow, s.e., 2009, p. 68.

²⁷ NA RAO, f. 17, op. 1, d. 440, ll. 78-81, 91.

and radio reports on military operations, announced confidently «The Spanish are winning the war»; «The Spanish are fighting for freedom». The Pioneer leader had to back down: «Well children, I wanted to tell you about these events in a few words but you seem to know about them more than I do»²⁸.

Locally, teachers reported that schoolchildren initiated fundraising campaigns to send money to Spain; many children were willing to give up entertainment and even breakfast at schools to increase the financial aid to the Republicans²⁹. At Moscow school 149, teachers spoke of a miraculous transformation when the 7th grade that used to fall behind topped the list in both academic performance and discipline, and successfully kept their position until the end of the school year. This transformation occurred because of the classroom teacher's trip to Odessa in September 1936. The teacher was a member of the team that had to dispatch the first ship with parcel freight for revolutionary Spain. This event made the students so proud of their teacher that they wanted to excel at school to maintain his strong reputation³⁰.

However, as the conflict on the Iberian Peninsula escalated, many teenagers grew dissatisfied with being just passive observers. For example, in their novel *The Arrows' Scarlett Feathers* based on the authors' memoirs, Sergei and Vladislav Krapivin tell the story of boys aged 12-13. The boys take to heart the news about the bombings of the Republican battleship *Jaime I* and of a university campus, and feel bitter about the siege of Bilbao, the capital of the Basque Country in Spain. They don't want to sit around but can't find any way out of this situation. Then one of the boys suggests that they should learn to shoot and form their own squad. He says, «We must have a real squad. And when the time comes, we'll immediately». The sentence is left open. Yet, it's meaning is clear to everyone: when their actions are needed, the boys will live up to expectations. Moreover, one of the main characters decides to proceed and act: he provides himself with dry rations, a map, a dagger made from a broken saw and a makeshift gun, and prepares to run off to Spain. The plan is thwarted by the boy's parents³¹. But that happens in the book. The reality could be different: hundreds of teenagers from different parts of the country, starting with Leningrad and ending with the Caucasus, left their homes to join the defenders of the Spanish Republic. They traveled a long way, sometimes reaching Odessa and other seaport towns where they hoped to board a ship bound for Spain³². The police removed from trains even younger children who sped off to unknown destinations, following their Spanish dream³³. In 1937, in Moscow's Tagansky district a large group of teenagers was discovered as

²⁸ RGASPI, f. 17, op. 120, d. 328, ll. 4-5.

²⁹ «Metodicheskij bjulleten' MOONO», n. 8, 1937, p. 32.

³⁰ CGAM (Archive), f. r-528, op. 1, d. 500, ll. 27-28.

³¹ V. Krapivin, *Alye per'ja strel: povesti, scenarii, ocherki*, Moscow, s.e., 2007, p. 35.

³² GARF, f. 2306, op. 69, d. 2357, l. 68.

³³ A. Barto, *Zapiski detskogo pojeta*, Moscow, 2006, p. 69.

they prepared for a collective flight to Spain. As part of their combat training, youngsters from different schools had spent at least an hour on sports exercises and twice traveled to the country to practice rafting. To buy pioneer spades for future military operations, they stole and sold laundry that had been put out to dry in the lofts³⁴. Needless to say, all such attempts to join international detachments in Spain were doomed to failure.

On the surface, it seems that Soviet children reacted to the events in Spain in the same way as their peers from other countries reacted to wars. These reactions had certain characteristic manifestations noticed by writers, historians and anthropologists researching childhood back at the time of World War I. These manifestations include: exaltation, excitability, exponentially growing interest in various military insignia and attributes, as well as endless war games³⁵. However, the responses of Soviet children had their own special characteristics that could be explained by a systematic nationwide training for an all-out war. This concept permeated the lives of Soviet people in the later 1930s. In the Soviet Union, children's books and periodicals described the world as a battlefield where fighting continued unabated. Both classes and extra-curricular activities consistently molded children into «little soldiers». In this case, joining fighters' ranks would be tantamount to initiation³⁶. Describing a restricted-access city as a model and metaphor of the Soviet society, Igor Kondakov believes that it formed «a soldierlike personality». This personality manifested itself both in time of war and in time of peace, and its characteristic features included «excited stubbornness» and «ultimate responsibility»³⁷. Against this backdrop, quasi-military games developed that predictably represented children's imitation of actual military operations in the seat of war.

This transformation of the children's world may be compared with the transformation of both mind and lifestyle of children in the Third Reich although the ideological roots of the latter are radically different. Nicholas Stargardt, a British historian investigated the topic. He noticed that long before the children actually saw the war, it penetrated their imagination to the full and loomed large there. In fact, educational programs at the Nazi schools and the Hitler's Youth's quasi-military training promoted this mindset formation. Besides, the children's entire life was organized around the war theme: colorful maps hung in classrooms; military reports on the radio; adult conversations; letters to

³⁴ CGAM, f. r-528, op. 1, d. 504, l. 143 ob.

³⁵ K. Chukovskij, *Deti i vojna*, «Niva», n. 51, 1915, pp. 949-950; R. Coles, *The Political Life of Children*, Boston, New York, 1986, p. 88.

³⁶ M.A. Litovskaja, *Vojushhie deti v russkoj literature pervoj poloviny XX veka*, in *Homo militaris. Literatura vojny i o vojne. Istorija, mifologija, pojetika*, Kaluga, 2010, pp. 93-99; M.A. Litovskaja, *Arkadij Gajdar (1904-1941)*, «Detskie chtenij», n. 2, 2012, pp. 89-94.

³⁷ N.I.V. Kondakov, *Fenomenologija zakrytogo goroda*, in M.R. Balinoj, V.G. Bezrogova (edd.), *Konstruiruja detskoe; filologija, istorija, antropologija*, Moscow-Saint-Petersburg, s.e., 2011, p. 530.

fathers and brothers fighting in the field; replies to these letters; interaction with military servicemen stationed next door; and many other day-to-day activities³⁸. They also restructured the children's play activity. Keeping old form and rules, traditional games of thieves and gendarmes, cops and robbers, cowboys and Indians were modified to reflect realities of the new life, including new enemies. Franka Maubach, a German researcher, mentions by way of example an old game of cops and robbers. In the Third Reich, it changed into «an SS squad hunting Jews». The game of hide-and-seek underwent similar transformation, turning into an imitation of ghetto roundup³⁹. Against this backdrop, the traditional war game also acquired a new quality, namely «an imitation of the soldier's heroism, stimulated by adults and intended for future practical application»⁴⁰.

Both in the past and today, children often play games, reconstructing certain events based on their perception. It may be a movie plot; a book story; or an actual event, with assignment of respective roles. US psychiatrist Robert Coles researched political socialization of children of the 1960s–1980s and defined these types of games as «occasional games». If these games involved children from fighting paramilitary groups, they reconstructed actual combat scenes and easily changed into a real fight with the same children's participation. For example, in Northern Ireland, children voluntarily participated in urban warfare, either as supporters of the IRA (the Irish Republican Army) or supporters of the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Forces)⁴¹. Likewise, at the final stage of World War II, paramilitary sport games and field exercises of the Hitler Youth saw children offer themselves in voluntary self-sacrifice in the spirit of the Gothic Romanticism cultivated by the Nazis. Dressed in soldier's uniform that did not fit, German teenagers bravely attacked Soviet tanks, armed with faustpatrones and rifles⁴².

The development of military activity among Soviet children in 1936–1939 followed the same reasoning. On their own, teenagers formed paramilitary units and carried out field training that imitated international detachments' operations on the Iberian front as perceived by the adolescents. These activities testified to the younger generation's desire to actively help the army in case of a future war. The running off to war on a large scale also proved how deeply children were affected by military and political topics. Of course, these facts did not represent any new phenomena in the history of childhood: for example, some statistics for World War I claimed that over 2,500 Russian teenagers ran

³⁸ N. Stargardt, *Witnesses of War. Children's lives under Nazis*, London, 2005.

³⁹ F. Maubach, *Der Krieg im Spiel – Kindliche Aneignung Kriegerischer Gewalt 1939-1945*, in *Kinder des Krieges. Materialien zum Workshop in Voronez 11-13 März 2008*. Deutsches Historisches Institut, Bulletin n. 3, Moskau, 2009, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴¹ Coles, *The Political Life of Children*, cit., pp. 88-89.

⁴² Stargardt, *Witnesses of War*, cit.; G. Knopp, «Deti» Gitalera, Moscow, 2004, pp. 280-281.

off to war; another estimates spoke of a slightly less figure – 1,700 teenagers. These youngsters justified their actions by patriotic feelings. However, the actual motives were different: children fled from dull and monotonous lives, from family troubles, from problems at school, and oftentimes – from hunger⁴³. Speaking of their counterparts of 1936-1939, we cannot totally exclude similar motives. Still, we dare suggest that these motives were elective compared to sympathy for the Republicans and an ardent desire to participate in their struggle. These motives were shaped by the significant politicization of Soviet children and by the entire structure of their emotional experiences that made them sympathetic to the fate of both the Spanish Republic and its children.

Both adult and younger Soviet readers were captivated by *The Spanish Diary*, Michael Koltsov's collection of essays. The Diary's images stirred their imagination: the fallen Republicans carried by their comrades to the cemetery in vertically positioned coffins so that they kept the combat formation until laid to rest; murdered children with gaping wounds left in their bodies by shells and bullets. In cinemas around the country, the Spanish war documentary filmed in 1937 by Roman Carmen and Boris Makaseev gave rise to emotions of incredible intensity. When the viewers saw children of the fighting Republicans bidding farewell to their mothers before sailing off to the Soviet Union, the entire auditorium sobbed unashamed⁴⁴. The works by Samuil Marshak, Agnia Barto and Alexander Fadeyev made it possible for Soviet children to meet their Spanish peers even before they actually arrived in the USSR. Published in 1937, Yelena Kononenko's book *The Little Spaniards* was of enormous popularity among Soviet children. Young readers got acquainted with the everyday lives of Spanish children. It told the young Soviet reader of everyday realities: fascist bombings wreaking death; children participating in fighting at the barricades, «on hand» to their parents. For a while, the images of little martyrs of the Spanish war even superseded Soviet pioneers included in the pantheon of immortal heroes⁴⁵. Soviet teenagers held sacred the stories of young hand bomber Torres who joined the Republican fighters when his parents were killed; of the two girls executed by enemies of the Republic: Francisca Solano and Aida Lafuente, a 19-year old activist of the Spanish Young Communist League; of a boy from the Madrid orphan asylum: the fascists cut off his fingers with a

⁴³ A. Astashov, *Deti idut na vojnu: iz istorii «detskogo voprosa» v Rossii v gody pervoj mirovoj vojny*, in *Kakoreja. Iz istorii detstva v Rossii i drugih stranah. Sb. st. i materialov. Trudy seminara «Kul'tura detstva: normy, cennosti, praktiki»*, vyp. 1, Moscow-Tver, 2008, pp. 104-106; K. Kelli, *Ob izuchenii istorii detstva v Rossii XIX-XX vv.*, in *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁴ V. Smirnova, *Marshak u ispanskih detej*, in «*Ja dumal, chuvstvoval, ja zbil*». *Vospominanija o S. Ja. Marshake*, Moscow, 1971, p. 316.

⁴⁵ Maslinskaja (Leont'eva), *Zhizn' posle smerti: pionery-geroi v sovremennoj mul'tiplikacii*, cit., pp. 259-260.

razor as a punishment for wearing a red scarf⁴⁶. And they dreamt of avenging the martyrs' blood.

Together, these experiences paved the way for the enthusiastic reception of the children of the Spanish Republicans. Twenty children's homes provided accommodation for the children who arrived in 1937. Fifteen of them were located in the Russian Federation and five in the Ukraine⁴⁷. Junior-class teachers from upcountry reported that their students were fascinated by the possibility of meeting even one Spanish child. The Krapivin brothers in the abovementioned novel also touched the subject. In the book, when the school principal tells the students that six Spanish boys will study at their school, the students' loud «hurrahs» literally send him flying from his desk to the blackboard⁴⁸. In reality, however, Spanish and Soviet children studied together quite rarely. Foreign students lived and studied at boarding schools, and they were taught mostly in their mother tongue. Still, they were frequent guests of their Soviet peers and participated in many joint activities. For example, in late October 1937, a «pioneer bonfire» was organized in Moscow's Kominternovskiy district. Students from the Spanish children's home attended the event that offered a circus performance and treats as a part of the entertainment program. To return the hospitality, the Spanish children, on their premises, gave a party for their Soviet counterparts⁴⁹. In fact, there were a lot of *bonfires* and *return visits* in the areas that offered accommodation to foreign guests. Local schools invited Spanish children to attend their students' meetings and parties. Little Spaniards were given an honorable treatment, similar to that given to October Revolution veterans; veterans of the Russian Civil War; members of polar expeditions; pilots; and workers-stakhanovites. Oftentimes, Spanish children were received together with those Soviet people of merit⁵⁰.

However, contacts between Soviet and Spanish children went beyond official receptions. Out of school, they met quite regularly at youth clubs and Young Pioneer centers; at music schools; at children's sport meets and quasi-military games. Together, they attended concerts and plays in theaters and clubs, participated in guided tours, camping trips and even in parades on Red Square. In cases of continuous communication when children spent more time together, such as in summer camps and health centers, the Soviet children took care of their Spanish peers, sharing with their guests their favorite toys and treats. We see an example of this interaction in Yelena Ilyina's documentary *The Fourth Height*. Gulya Korolyova, an actual person and the narrative's main character, stayed together with Spanish children at a health center at the town of Kholodnaya Balka near Odessa. She earned the nickname «madresita», «a

⁴⁶ «Leningradskaja Pravda», 24 October 1936.

⁴⁷ G.V. Kasabova, *V nih bilos' serdce Don Kibota*, «Zhurnalist», n. 9, 2013, p. 92.

⁴⁸ Krapivin, *Alye per'ja strel*, cit., p. 22.

⁴⁹ CGAM, f. r-528, op. 1, d. 508, l. 8.

⁵⁰ CGAM, f. r-528, op. 1, d. 507, l. 141 ob.

little mother», for looking after little Spaniards. Gulya bought for her «charges» tangerines; candies; postcards with landscape scenes; necklaces made of shells, and other small gifts. By the end of her stay in the center, she spent all the money she received from her mother for the return trip.

Memoirs left by former Soviet school students who visited their Spanish peers in children's homes speak of living conditions, totally different from those of their own. For example, in the town of Pushkino, Zhdanov's dacha was turned into a children's home to accommodate 60 young Spaniards. The new children's home received an enormous Persian carpet; gold-painted Khokhloma furniture to match the décor; china vases; chandeliers; and toys in such quantities that the Soviet children never seen. This opulence, however, did not stir up envy or resentment on the part of the latter as Soviet children considered the situation normal. Even years later, they remembered with joy how they took photos of their Spanish peers or rode with them on a bicycle⁵¹. Here we should say that at the time, most Soviet children did not even dare to dream of cameras and bicycles as they were so out of the reach. At Obninsk, students from the local commune named after Shatsky readily helped in furnishing a new boarding school for Spanish children, opened in the vicinity. They carried furniture, made beds, set tables for a light breakfast with sandwiches, cocoa, and oranges – fruits they never saw before. When the young guests arrived in cars (!), Soviet children welcomed them with flowers⁵².

Apart from organizations acting as sponsors, the State allocated sufficient funds to Spanish children's homes. Calculated per capita, the money exceeded by three times the respective sums allocated to ordinary orphanages. That is why the living standards of foreign children were by far higher than those of their Soviet counterparts. Still, there was no envy. For example, the students of Obninsk commune did not feel deprived of anything despite the fact that their Spanish neighbors enjoyed expensive things, such as furniture, toys, dinnerware, clothes, and sports equipment. At the boarding school, the Spanish had their own workshop and pedal cars. Their food was plentiful and tasty. However, what was said about the Obninsk commune members, was true in general with regard to how other Soviet students reacted when visiting such a 'paradise' arranged for foreigners. They did not feel envious or cheated. A teacher at the Leningrad school 6 wrote about her students' magnanimous attitude toward the Spanish children's 'privileges'. Her 5th-graders visited the students of a Spanish children's home and were enthusiastic about what they saw. As the teacher wrote, «In the Soviet Union the Spanish pioneers receive the utmost affection and care; their life is so interesting and well arranged». In her words, the State's

⁵¹ Ispanskije deti v Pushkine, <<http://tsarselo.ru/yenciklopedija-carskog-sela/obrazovanie-uchebnye-zavedenija-carskogo-sela/ispanskije-deti-v-pushkine.html>> (last access: 05.08.2018).

⁵² I.L. Efimova, *Shkola-kolonija «Bodraja zhizn'». Ispanskij detskij dom*, Kaliningrad, s.e., 2012, pp. 184-185.

generosity towards foreign guests filled the hearts of her students with pride for the Soviet government and «strengthened their patriotic feelings»⁵³. The young members of the Spanish Diaspora were fully aware of their Soviet counterparts' magnanimity, given that most Soviet children could only dream of the living standards the Spanish enjoyed. That is why one of them, Manuel Arce, many years later could confess without hesitation, «Since our first days in the Soviet Union, both the authorities and the people at large treated us with the utmost care and affection. They gave us the best they could arrange and paid more attention to our needs than to the needs of their own people»⁵⁴.

There is no doubt that the Soviet teenagers' hospitality was defined by their sympathy with the fate of their Spanish peers, the war survivors who had to leave both their homeland and their families. But it was not the only determining factor. Soviet children's gestures of goodwill may also be considered as meaningful symbols. According to George Herbert Mead, a pioneer of symbolic interaction theory, the person making symbols expects the recipient to respond to them in the same way as he would have responded himself⁵⁵. To put it differently, by demonstrating boundless altruism and selfless friendship, Soviet teenagers implicitly anticipated similar reactions from their Spanish counterparts, namely the feelings of kinship and solidarity with the host country with regard to lifestyle and value system. Regardless of the initiators' degree of reflection, this communicative scenario focused on the development of supranational brotherhood that would unite all mankind under Communism as teenagers believed. In fact, the union with young Spanish Republicans was the first application of this scenario. For the same reason, a former Soviet student referred to Spanish girls as her «best friends» although she played with them only occasionally on the balcony of Pushkino children's home. She did not know the girls' last names. As for the first names, she probably misspelled them (Marukha, Clara, Helen)⁵⁶. We dare suggesting that in the minds of Soviet children their Spanish peers' lifestyle, with all its material and cultural amenities, was associated with life under Communism. They perceived it as a pilot project and as good hosts, let their guests enjoy it first.

We should mention here that the earlier precedents did exist. The children of German anti-fascists or Austrian Shutzbund members who lived and studied in the Soviet Union, were treated the same way. On the street, at school, at a summer camp they enjoyed the utmost attention and friendliness of their Soviet peers. The foreign children's grateful response, indeed, contributed to their *Sovietization* and quite often even to naturalization⁵⁷. Still, we are talking

⁵³ RGASPI, f. 78, op. 1, d. 745, l. 67.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ G.H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of Socialist Behaviorism*, Chicago, Chicago University press, 1992, p. 38.

⁵⁶ *Ispanskije deti v Pushkine*, cit.

⁵⁷ V. Leongard, *Revoljucija otvergaet svoih detej*, Parizh, s.e., 1984, p. 22.

here about singular and isolated episodes. In case of a rather large group of Spanish children domiciled in 20 permanent children's homes located in the European part of the country, these relations became a system. As a result, part of the young Spanish Diaspora sincerely embraced Communist ideals and Soviet lifestyle. The Pioneer leader from Obninsk home for Spanish children provided a good example of this attitude. He said that once, six of his 'charges' left home on their own initiative. The children broke into a column, unrolled a red banner and marched off to Moscow, following the railroad. They wanted to see Comrade Stalin in the Kremlin to complain about their 'loungers' lifestyle and to report about their willingness to work⁵⁸. Two factors indeed proved the acceptance of the Soviet lifestyle. First, the march was styled in accordance with visual representations of Soviet childhood as portrayed in the press and in books. Second, the children's prepared statement of willingness to earn their living refers us to the promulgated labor cult and to the maxim «the one who does not work, shall not eat», integrated into the Stalin Constitution. *Sovietization* is also confirmed by the fact that a number of Spanish boarding school graduates voluntarily participated in the Great Patriotic War. At least a hundred of them volunteered to join the Red Army. Of these volunteers, one out of three died in action, defending their adopted country. Three of them received the highest Soviet military awards⁵⁹. Several hundreds joined the people's militia. It is quite interesting to know that during the 'thaw' period a number of the Spanish chose to stay in the Soviet Union rather than return to Spain. For some, the decisive factors that tied them inextricably to the Soviet Union was the kind and sympathetic attitude of the Soviet people, together with new family connections formed with relatives of wives or husbands⁶⁰.

The set of mentioned facts disagrees with the theory of some modern authors' that progressively, as Stalin's «state patriotism» policy strengthened and the model of the Soviet Union as a miniature world gained popularity, the internationalist feelings and sentiments of Soviet children grew weaker and the images of young foreign martyrs were driven from their minds. (Under this theory, a certain revival of internationalist trends in Soviet policy refers only to the late 1940s, provided the foreign party would agree to being «Russified»)⁶¹. The interaction of Soviet children with their Spanish counterparts does not fit this model. Similarly, it does not fit the model formed by the Soviet children's literature of the 1920s-1930s that defined stereotypes with regard to people of

⁵⁸ D. Gunin, *Respublika neugomonnyh*, Moscow, s.e, 1984, p. 235.

⁵⁹ A.V. Elpat'evskij, *Ispanskaja jemigracija v SSSR. Istoriografija i istochniki, popytka interpretacii*, Moscow-Tver, 2002, p. 175.

⁶⁰ F.M. Karames, *Pasynok. Ispanskie deti v Sovetskom Sojuz*, «Kolomenskij al'manah», n. 17, 2013, pp. 382-383.

⁶¹ Kelli, *Malen'kie grazhdane bol'shoj strany*, cit.; N.G Barannikova, V.G Bezrogov, "Vse razdelilos' vdruz na chuzhoe i nashe". *K voprosu o lokal'nom/global'nom v uchebnike nachal'noj shkoly 1900-2000-h gg.*, in *Konstruiujuja detskoe*, cit., p. 157.

other countries for many years to come. In Marina Balina's opinion, several generations of Soviet children perceived people of other countries as «foreigners» based on two types. The first type was a «hostile foreigner», representative of the capitalist West. The second type was a «friendly foreigner», representative of the colonial nations of the East. The perception of the latter was based on patterns identical to those that existed in imperial England and was fostered by English children's literature of the period. A child from the parent country identified himself as the «elder brother» with regard to his peer from the colony and as such, had to guide and instruct the latter. (According to Balina, it explains a half-contemptuous attitude to «wogs» and «chocolate faces», deeply rooted in the Russian mind)⁶². However, in the minds of their Soviet peers, the status of Spanish children did not conform to either position of the above classification. The Spanish were not perceived as «hostile foreigners» despite the fact that they came from a capitalist country, albeit of a second tier⁶³. At the same time, they were not seen as «friendly foreigners», like natives of the East whom you could pat on the shoulder condescendingly and convince to accept an alien identity. It would be more accurate to say that Soviet children perceived their Spanish counterparts as equals and potential allies in the revolutionary transformation of the world. In other words, relations were permeated by the proletarian internationalism that Soviet children imbibed from history textbooks and also from books like *Carl Brunner* by Béla Balázs and *The Little Children in Great Need* by Kurt and Jarmina Hausner. These books portrayed children of Western workers as willful aides to their parents in their struggle against capitalism and fascism. If, however, a Spanish teenager had to be instructed by his Soviet counterparts, they did it with the utmost respect to avoid hurting his national dignity. The Soviet children's letters to their Spanish peers demonstrate this tendency to the fullest extent.

On November 10, 1936 «The Pionerskaya Pravda» newspaper published a letter that Madrid schoolchildren addressed to their Soviet peers. It immediately elicited responses from all over the country⁶⁴. Assisted by the Young Communist International and the Komsomol Central Committee, Soviet children tried to forward their letters to Spain and to enter into correspondence with their peers living there. Authorship regardless, all these letters looked alike in terms of content, composition, and even phraseology. Every letter contained the expressions of earnest solidarity with the Spanish working people's struggle against *capitalists* and *fascist beasts*.

As one author put it, the fascists tried to «get their claws into Spain». Another author wrote that they (the fascists) wanted by all means to colonize

⁶² M.R. Balina, *Vse flagi budut v gosti k nam: jevoljucija obraza rebenka-inostranca v sovetskoj detskoj literature 1920-1930-h godov*, in «Gul'aj tam, gde vse». *Istorija sovetskogo detstva: opyt i perspektivy issledovanija*, Moscow, 2013, pp. 158-164.

⁶³ Payne, *The Collapse of the Spanish Republic 1933-1936*, cit., p. 79.

⁶⁴ RGASPI, f. M-1, d.241a, l. 19.

the free country and turn its free people into slaves to exploit them as the fascist law required. All letters expressed confidence in the Republicans' ultimate victory. For example, Vitya Mudrov, a thirteen-year-old boy from Moscow, wrote, «I am sure that the Spanish people will bring into action their slogan 'No pasarán!'. Their brave, head-on attack will destroy fascism. Onwards to victory! And when this hoped-for victory comes, you, the children of honest Spanish people, will enjoy the same happy and joyful life as we, the Soviet children whose parents shook off the yoke of capitalism in 1917, enjoy in the Soviet Union»⁶⁵.

All communicating parties described in glowing terms their studies, out-of-school activities, hobbies, and future prospects. When writing about their parents' work and free time, the Soviet children often compared them with people's life before the revolution. The pioneers from Krasilovsky district of the Vinnitsa region wrote, «We live in a country, free of exploitation. The working people are building socialism, a happy life. We aspire to replace our fathers and brothers, and finally build a communist society. At school, we study biographies of our beloved leaders and take military training. We have a drama club and a sports club. We organize sport meets, play chess and checkers»⁶⁶. The pioneers from Merefa station in the Kharkov region, among other things, shared vivid impressions of a Pushkinian event, organized at their school. The event included poems reading and staging a play based on Pushkin's *Ruslan and Lyudmila*. Pioneers – members of the Negidal ethnic minority from the Far East Lower Amur region told how their home area changed after the revolution. They wrote, «Our people lived a wretched life. They were illiterate and stayed in the taiga for years. People hunted animals and brought them home but the hoodoo priests came and cheated our people out of their kill, paying nothing. Visiting merchants brought vodka and trinkets to give to people in exchange for fur. The Negidals' efforts went to waste. Under Soviet rule, we, the Negidals, enjoy our life. People are paid fairly for their efforts: you get what you earned. The children today are literate; they can read and write. Our parents work at a collective farm. They meet and exceed their quotas. In their free time, they can visit reading and recreation rooms; play chess, checkers, pool; read books. A booth cinema comes and we can watch movies. We also put on plays and entertain our parents»⁶⁷.

Many letters contained instructions to the addressees. For example, Vitya Mudrov whom we already cited, urged the Spanish pioneers, «Help your fathers and brothers fight the horrible hornets' nest and the victory will be yours. Then your life will be the same as ours – the happy life of pioneers in the wonderful country, the Soviet Union». The Komsomol members of an industrial school at

⁶⁵ RGASPI, f. 533, op. 10, t.3, d. 2619, ll. 20 ob.-21.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 7-8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 15-16.

Yudino station on the Kazan railroad called their Spanish peers «the advance guard in the struggle against fascism in Spain», referring to fascism as «the worst enemy of the international proletariat» that would bring «destruction, poverty, and hunger». They insisted that «in the capitalist countries young people did not know the happy life that the Soviet young people enjoy in their socialist homeland», and prompted the addressees to «take courage in the fight against fascism»⁶⁸.

Just as in Mead's symbolic interaction theory, the meaning of communication manifested itself in the «context of relations between a motion of a certain human body and subsequent behavior of the said body addressed to another human body by means of the said motion»⁶⁹, the meaning of letters to Spanish peers became apparent as the text proceeded. They started with citing slogans – symbols of the Spanish people's struggle, and ended with wishes to attain a happy life, the same as in the Soviet Union. The entire style of the letters prompted the addressees to take even an more pro-active approach. («Help your fathers and brothers fight»; «Take courage in the struggle against fascism»). In fact, the representation of Soviet lifestyle and happy childhood in the Soviet Union served the contemporary tactical purpose. The ideological and practical orientation gave the letters a proclamation flavor. Also, it suggested the formation of a certain collective identity or, as Mead put it, of one whole «generalized other», with the young Republicans. Unable to physically participate in the revolutionary struggle in the Iberian Peninsula, the Soviet young people made efforts to enter into correspondence with their Spanish peers, as a partial compensation.

In terms of external strategy, this behavior could be compared to an attempt to break through the wall that isolated the Soviet people from the rest of the world. The intention coincided with the desire to expand both a contact zone and an area of knowledge. Such behavior is typical for all young people, regardless of time and place of residence. We would mention only one feature, characteristic of the Soviet school students, namely the ideological solidarity with their counterparts. For example, O. Trapeznikova, a school student from Leningrad, thus described an idyllic future, «We will travel around the world just as we travel inside the country. Everywhere people look happy. We see smiling faces. Nobody cries. Nobody starves. Nobody lives in poverty». However, the girl believed that this prosperity could be achieved only after the world revolution when «the proletarians had won»⁷⁰. V. Leongard, an Austrian brought up and educated in Moscow, admitted that he, as well as his Soviet and foreign fellow students, wanted a closer and more free interaction with their

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 32.

⁶⁹ Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, cit., p. 37.

⁷⁰ *Zhizn' ne po pravilam... Deti revoljucij. Dnevnik odnoj piterskoj sem'i 1921-1939*, Moscow-Saint-Petersburg, 2016, p. 131.

peers from other countries. Yet, none of them could imagine such interaction outside the Soviet system⁷¹. When the Great Patriotic War had just begun, some Soviet children spoke of visiting socialist Germany after the war⁷². The union with young Spanish Republicans, coming from working class families, conformed to the strictest selection criteria and seemed the proper beginning for the joint revolutionary development of the world. The general symbolic background strengthened these feelings and helped in overcoming the language barrier. The symbolic actions included: military greetings and revolutionary songs; participation in parades on revolutionary holidays; exchanging of red banners, the most honored items, between the Soviet and Spanish pioneers as an act of twinning; etc.⁷³

Thus, we may say that the attitude of Soviet children to their Spanish peers was shaped by two great myths: the universal community and the world revolution that paved the way to the former. The official ideological attitude of the 1930s embraced these myths only as abstract strategic goals, infinitely removed from daily cares. However, teenagers and young people adopted these myths as guidelines to immediate action, urged by the Spanish events. These actions included running off to Spain; attempts to influence children of the Republicans by letters; and approbation of communist relations in their interaction with the Spanish students of boarding schools. Typologically, this children's activity traced its origin to the long-standing tradition of game-playing, or improvisation in fantasy worlds, that operated on the same principle. The principle suggested the creation of a reality, parallel to the "adult" world that had its own code of conduct⁷⁴. However, it also differed radically from the mentioned tradition. First, it had accentuated communist semantics. Second, it focused on practical goals and actions. To this effect, the Soviet children's responses to the Spanish events preceded another, highly socialized game, that gained popularity after the publication of Arkady Gaidar's story, *Timur and His Team*, in 1940⁷⁵. In both cases, we speak of children's self-organized paramilitary units that intended to participate in the future warfare. We also see the practical application of the communist myth. In the first case, the myth was applied within the context of brotherly interaction with the Spanish; in the second – as a part of the voluntary, unadvertised help that the Timur teams rendered to families of Red Army soldiers.

⁷¹ Leongard, *Revoljucija otvergaet svoih detej*, cit., p. 126.

⁷² L. Fedotov, *Dnevnik sovetskogo škol'nika*, Moscow, s.e., 2015, p. 328.

⁷³ Barto, *Zapiski detskogo pojeta*, cit., p. 69; RGASPI, f. 78, op. 1, l. 69.

⁷⁴ S.M. Lojter, *Detskie utopii, ili igra v stranu-mechtu kak javlenie detskogo fol'klora*, in *Russkij škol'nyj fol'klor. Ot «vyzyvanij» Pikovoj damy do semejnyh rasskazov*, sost. A.F. Belousov, Moscow, 1998, pp. 608-617; A.S. Obuhov, M.V Martynova, *Fantazijnye miry igrovogo prostranstva detej megapolisa: strana KKR Antona Krotova i ego družej*, in *Kakoreja. Iz istorii detstva v Rossii i drugih stranah*, cit., p. 233.

⁷⁵ See D. Dimke, *Sovetskie detskie igry: mezhdju utopiej i real'nost'ju*, «Antropologičeskij forum», n. 16, 2012, pp. 316-317.

However, the actual habits and attitude of the young Spanish failed to comply with idyllic expectations of their Soviet peers. At least, we can say that about a larger part of older children. Classified documents, with circulation restricted to party and government agencies, reported numerous cases of deviant behavior. For example, an inspector sent by the People's Commissariat of Education to check the Spanish children's home in Yevpatoria, mentioned in his report numerous instances of disorderly conduct and theft. (The children sold government property in the market and spent the received money on alcohol and cigarettes.) Even with inflated grades, the academic performance did not exceed 84 percent. Two classes got out of control totally, refusing to subordinate to their teachers. Many teenagers harshly criticized the country that gave them asylum and a chance to get an education. The inspector concluded his report, «Our state spends millions on this children's home and we don't need to nurse people with anti-Soviet views and anti-socialist behaviour»⁷⁶. Yelena Vicense researched the stay of Spanish children in the Soviet Union and noticed that to some extent, in every Spanish children's home anti-Soviet sentiment was present. Also, many of the young Spanish refused Soviet nationality when they reached the age of majority⁷⁷. However, the Soviet people, children included, were blissfully unaware of the situation and did not change their attitude towards struggling Spain and her young envoys.

In April 1939, the Soviet people, children in particular, suffered severe disappointment when enemies of the Republic won. Alexander Rekemchuk described the Republic's end in his *Comrade Hans*, an autobiographic story about his childhood days before the World War II, «On the map, the front line wavered and moved back. Then it broke in two; braced up; shrank and shook in the death struggle. And nobody looks up for the column 'On the Spanish Fronts' anymore because there is no such column. And there aren't any fronts»⁷⁸. For a great many Soviet children the Republicans' defeat became the death of their hopes and a personal tragedy. Besides, fascism's victory on the Iberian Peninsula strengthened the feeling of impending danger, threatening the entire world, and foreshadowed the imminent battle with the deadly enemy. No wonder that Yuri Baranov, a young poet, wrote about these events with bitterness and anxiety. As of the winter of 1939, the 10th-grade student marked in his diary all maneuvers of the German Reich and its allies that sped up the world catastrophe. When Barcelona fell under the rebels' attacks, Yuri wrote his poem «Today They Invade Barcelona» that ended in a prophesy:

The fascists' troops tread down the land.
And the world impassively stares.

⁷⁶ RGASPI, f. 17, op. 126, d.2, ll. 1- 1ob.

⁷⁷ E. Visens, *Neizvestnaja pravda ob ispanskih detjah v SSSR*, «Russkaja mysl'», n. 4177, 4178, 4182, 1997.

⁷⁸ A. Rekemchuk, *Mal'chiki. Dve povesti*, Moscow, 1970, p. 97.

Today they invade Barcelona,
 Tomorrow they'll take over Paris.

Margarita Aliger, a Soviet poet, wrote about Zoya Kosomodemyanskaya in 1942. In her poem, Aliger spoke about the girl's actual but, unfortunately, shattered dreams before the war:

And I wish the fierce people won
 At the mountains of Sierra-Guadarrama,
 And the news, the hopes, and the dreams
 Were together melted all around⁷⁹.

Diary entries by an anonymous 9th grader from Kuibyshev also date back to the same period, the end of the Spanish war. The boy spoke about plans, made by his classmate Myra, «She hated fascism and was infuriated by the barbarous war in Spain so she decided to go there and poison all fascist rebels. Her father told her that her plans were impracticable but he could not convince her». The author of the diary also burned with justifiable anger and dreamed of wreaking vengeance on those who helped the rebels win. When Franco's supporters took over Cataluña in February 1939, the boy wrote in his diary, «It's terrible... Those fascist bastards should be poisoned. And Hitler, this snake of a man, should be fed poison from a cannon muzzle. Who bred these scumbags?»⁸⁰. Apparently, the feelings of hatred and furious rejection experienced while living up to the Spanish scenario were projected onto German fascism, resulting in the readiness to oppose it in the most ruthless forms. Accordingly, we may say that the Spanish Civil War became the most important issue-related platform that provided both emotional and motivational training for the Soviet war generation, making them fully capable to resist the enemy in the future.

The reassessment of balance between «the forces of reaction» and «revolutionary movements» in the world was one of the main lessons of the Spanish war. From this time onward, most young people saw the future of the communist project only in the context of a total war. In this war, the Soviet Union would have to fight both imperialists and fascists, with the support of the international progressive community playing only a limited, and not the key, role in that struggle. Soviet young people strongly believed that their country would emerge victorious from the war but they had no illusions about the price of the victory. In this respect, the younger generation's approach was oftentimes more realistic than that of the more experienced adult population

⁷⁹ Ju. Baranov, *Goluboj razliv. Dnevnik, pis'ma, stihotvorenija. 1936-1942*, Jaroslavl, 1988, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁰ *Dnevnik devjatiklassnika (g. Samara, 1938-1939) in Gorodok v tabakerke. Detstvo v Rossii ot Nikolaja II do B. El'cina. 1890-1990. Antologija tekstov. Vzroslye o detjah i deti o sebe*, ch. 1, Moscow-Tver', 2008, p. 384.

that succumbed to a gung-ho attitude, quite popular before and in the early days of the Great Patriotic War.

The young people's insights were directly related to the passionate 'living' through the experience of two civil wars, in Russia and in Spain respectively. This scenario was the 'grindstone' of the communist upbringing and self-improvement. The first civil war (in Russia) taught that a great idea required a sacrifice. As Alexander Zinoviev said, the willingness to give up one's life for communism (or, in words of his early poems, «to leave oneself wide open to gunfire») was a part of the mindset of younger people before the war⁸¹. The second civil war (in Spain) attuned the attitude, suggesting that a great idea would require a great sacrifice. It is worth mentioning here the talk that Samuil Marshak had with children in the fall of 1936. At the time, hopes ran high. Yet, when Marshak asked the kids who, in their opinion, would win the war, they were hesitant to answer. Later, they answered the question, but their answer shocked the writer, «Of course, the rebels have planes. Germany, Italy and Portugal help them. And this war is not a quick one. It will take time»⁸². Of course, in the end they predicted the victory of «the working people». However, it was apparent that the children did not succumb to wishful thinking with regard to time and cost of the conflict's resolution.

Given the fact that their ideas of the future total war were amended by the Spanish events, many Soviet teenagers believed that they would inevitably die if they fought in the war. For example, P. Sagaidachny, a 9th-grade student, long before June 1941 worked on a play about heroes dying in a desperate battle. When the war started, he was eager to join the army and to «die a hero's death»⁸³. As a school student, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya took an interest in the biography of Tatyana Solomakha, a young hero of the Russian Civil War tortured to death by the royalists. Zoya 'applied' that image to herself⁸⁴. L. Fedotov, a talented 9th-grader, dreamed of a scientific career. However, due to the «historical destiny of people born in the 1920s, he did not hope to see his dreams come true or to witness grand changes in the post-war world»⁸⁵. In his diary entry dated early March 1941, Yuri Baranov predicted a war to break out in May or June and his death in the war. He wrote, «It has to be this way»⁸⁶. Assessed from a deeper psychological perspective, such pessimistic expectations apparently may relate to the destruction of one of the basic patterns that a fairy tale instills into the mind of a child. Namely, in a fairy tale the main character always came out of the most unthinkable trials unscathed. However, due to a

⁸¹ A. Zinov'ev, *Russkaja sud'ba. Ispoved' otshhepenca*, Moscow, 2000, p. 109.

⁸² Marshak, *Boevaja geografija*, cit.

⁸³ *Dnevnik Peti Sagajdachnogo, uchenika moskovskoj shkoly №211*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 53, 250.

⁸⁴ L.T Kosmodem'janskaja, *Povest' o Zoe i Shure*, Moscow, 1978, p. 23.

⁸⁵ Fedotov, *Dnevnik sovetskogo shkol'nika*, cit., p. 322.

⁸⁶ Baranov, *Goluboj razliv*, cit., p. 86.

traumatic war experience, this scenario often changed irreversibly for the child, and ultimately for the adult, becoming its opposite. So, instead of a miraculous escape the main character died in the end⁸⁷.

Finally, we may say that indirect and surrounded by myths and illusions as it was, the experience of the Spanish Civil War contributed to the moral and psychological strengthening of the younger Soviet generation before the trials of the 1941-1945 war.

⁸⁷ O. Mjajeots, *Vojna kak igra*, «Detskie chtenija», n. 2, 2015, p. 122; F. Maubah, *Skazki, igry, rolevoj obmen: detskoe osvoenie voennogo nasilija (1939-1945)*, in A.Ju. Rozhkov (ed.), *Vtoraja mirovaja vojna v detskih «ramkah pamjati»*, Sb. st., Krasnodar, 2010, pp. 163-164.

Graphic and cultural press as school's place of memory. «Céltiga» (Buenos Aires) and «La Esfera» (Madrid) as contrasting examples in the early 20th century

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ABSTRACT: Here we deal with the study of the different representations of school that appear in two relevant media of written and cultural press in the first third of the twentieth century: the magazine «Céltiga» – published by Galicians from the emigration in Buenos Aires-, and the renowned Madrid publication «La Esfera». From the critical observation of their texts and images, taking into account the historiographical observations regarding the written press, we investigate the existence of models and expectations – to some extent opposed and conflicting among themselves – about school, school education and childhood which, in turn, respond to representations of a centralist and Europeanist upper bourgeoisie located in Madrid, on the one hand, and of an emerging Galician nationalist petite bourgeoisie that expresses itself from the transoceanic emigration in Buenos Aires, on the other.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Journals; School's place memory; Spain; Argentine; XXth Century.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, the press consolidated itself as a means of disseminating intellectual and cultural production in the West, enjoying a growing influence among the middle and upper classes and thus contributing to the creation of public opinion. As communicative and cultural medium, periodical publications, through their varied images and texts and from plural

orientations, appeal to and construct memories, «common sense» and shared sensibilities, granting cohesion and legitimacy to different identities. That is why graphic and cultural magazines are privileged symbolic spaces, as «places of memory», valuable for us as in some cases they have reflected and embodied «the existing school», and also perhaps more vaguely «the desired school»; a mirror in which contemporaries were observed, contrasting their memory, meanings and projections, and a necessary repository for those of us who, from a distance and from the present day, can appreciate valuable traces to investigate and analyse.

Through the analysis of the content of all the published issues of «Céltiga» (Buenos Aires, 1924-1932) and the illustrated magazine published in Madrid «La Esfera» (1914-1931), we can observe, learn about and compare the social representations that these media offered in relation, in particular, to the material culture of the school. We are faced with (partially) different representations, conditioned but also influential in the various educational and political discourses that underlie each press body. In this regard, through a detailed and meticulous process of critical observation – carried out in several stages, as we will indicate later on – we reviewed and analysed the 182 issues published in «Céltiga», which in turn comprise 6.382 pages, as well as the total of 810 issues published by «La Esfera», made up of 12.500 pages.

«Céltiga», a publication promoted from Buenos Aires by a progressive *intelligentsia* among the very numerous colony of Galician emigrants (several hundred thousand people), of a similar number as the Italian colony, in dialogue with the modernity and internationality of the world present in Buenos Aires, wanted to represent an emerging territorial cultural and political identity – a nationality with its own language – partially alternative to the canonical discourse of the centralist Spanish and Europeanist bourgeoisie, represented in the pages of «La Esfera», which reflected a unitary *Spanishness*.

The qualitative analysis of the content of both media allows us to delve into the differences and similarities that we see between these media with respect to the vision of the school, school education and also childhood, as indications of both the socio-cultural expectations of their publishers, in the interaction with their readers, and the projective ‘images’ that they ‘construct’ about the desired social horizon.

1. *Written and cultural press as a place of a memory of schools*

The concept of *place of memory* (*lieux de mémoire*) coined by Pierre Nora in the eighties of the twentieth century, through his great work *Les Lieux de mémoire*, is defined by him, in the first instance, as «the set of places where collective memory is anchored, condensed, crystallised, sheltered and

expressed»¹, and is understood as «every significant unit, of material or ideal order, of which the will of man or the work of time has made a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community»². In this sense, Allier³ points out that what makes up a place of memory «is both its condition as a crossroads where different paths of memory are cut off and its capacity to endure and be incessantly remodelled, re-approached and revisited»⁴. The written and cultural press, in fact, responds to this notion and to these characteristics and is therefore a *place of memory*, as tangible and intangible heritage of education and, in particular, of schools.

Against this background, the knowledge and analysis of the media, and specifically of the press as a source to study history, «is undoubtedly unquestionable»⁵ because, as Tuñón de Lara⁶ pointed out, it is the subject of both history and source. Without dwelling here on the issue of the «extent to which» the press is the «expression» of public opinion⁷, it is appropriate to refer to the reflections of historians on its use as a source, which range from «a total rejection of indiscriminate acceptance, to a position of balance in which the press is accepted critically, in connection with traditional historical sources and modern research methods and instruments»⁸. Its value as a historical source was recognised fundamentally from the 1950s onwards, when it began to be considered as a reflection of immediate history, a place in which to find the most varied information transmitted by a journalist: a specific person who is a witness of a specific time and place, who is conditioned by the context of the production and broadcast of information, who has their own history full of ideals that are reflected in their opinion assessments and in the way in which information is transmitted. Moreover, this information is provided in a broader generic framework, characterised by certain values and ideologies: the specific medium in which it is published.

With these considerations in mind, the importance of the press as a source and as a support for the recovery/revision of memory (as a *place of memory*) is currently shared in the field of historical discipline, without, however,

¹ E. Allier, *Los Lieux de mémoire: una propuesta historiográfica para el análisis de la memoria*, «Historia y Grafía», n. 31, 2008, p. 166.

² Id., *Entre mémoire et histoire*, in P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, La République, Paris, 2001, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Allier, *Los Lieux de mémoire: una propuesta historiográfica para el análisis de la memoria*, cit., p. 167.

⁵ M. Sáiz, *Nuevas fuentes historiográficas*, «Historia y Comunicación Social», n. 1, 1996, p. 131. Recovered from <<http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/HICS/article/viewFile/>> (last access: 10.09. 2018).

⁶ M. Tuñón de Lara, *Prensa y sociedad en España (1820-1936)*, Madrid, Edicusa, 1975.

⁷ Sáiz, *Nuevas fuentes historiográficas*, cit., p. 132.

⁸ *Ibid.*

cluding the complexity of analysing social representations through the different languages that can be found in the press.

2. Social representations through the written and cultural press. Conceptual and methodological approach

Heir to the conceptualizations proposed by Durkheim, Berger and Luckmann, Piaget and Freud⁹, the concept of social representation proposed by Moscovici (1961), almost six decades ago, has enjoyed a prolific trajectory in the field of social sciences, from the initial approaches to its re-elaboration as a complex conceptual system, which was translated into the theory of social representations¹⁰.

This re-elaboration has involved multiple disciplines and specialities that have brought different proposals, both methodological and epistemological, which, however, coincide in trying to «understand the dynamics of production, transmission and transformation of social representations, understood as an organised set of judgements, attitudes and information that a group develops about a social object and as a result of its historical process of appropriation of reality and the symbolic reconstruction of this»¹¹.

Thus, many authors¹² agree that it was Émile Durkheim who, starting both from his concern for the categories of thought¹³ and for the «moral life» of society, and from his methodological proposal to study it as a «social fact», coined the expression «collective conscience», and with it he referred, on the one hand, to the set of beliefs, images, schemes, models and symbols transmitted by a society, and, on the other, to the realities that reflect the life of the community (symbols, religions...) or to language itself: such a common consciousness develops in the particular consciousness of the members of the society in which it is presented.

⁹ I. Alfonso, *La teoría de las representaciones sociales*. Recovered from <http://www.psicologia-online.com/articulos/2007/representaciones_sociales.shtml> (last access: 14.08.2018).

¹⁰ L.H. Rodríguez, *Representaciones sociales y metáforas sobre la escuela: un análisis contrastivo*, «Enunciación», vol. 18, n. 2, 2013, p. 113.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² R. Farr, *De las representaciones colectivas a las representaciones sociales: ida y vuelta*, in J. Castorina, *Representaciones sociales. Problemas teóricos y conocimientos infantiles*, Barcelona, Gedisa, 2003, pp. 153-178.

¹³ According to J. Varela, *Categorías espacio-temporales y socialización escolar: del individualismo al narcisismo* [Monographic], «Revista de Educación», n. 298, 1992, p. 7, the categories are essential notions that govern our way of thinking and living, forming the «skeleton of intelligence», understood as the abstract framework that structures and organises collective and individual experience.

From this observation, he referred to «collective representations» as those norms and values of specific groups, such as those found in the family and in educational institutions. Thus, it is understood that social representations vary according to the different cultures and historical periods, constantly rebuilding themselves and also being in relation to the forms of social organisation and the ways in which the functioning of power and knowledge adopts in each society¹⁴.

As we know, Roger Chartier takes up this notion of «collective representation» formulated by Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, as he considers that it «enables us to think in a more complex and dynamic way about the relations between the systems of perception and judgement and the frontiers that cross the social world»¹⁵. The author states that, incorporating the divisions of society (which cannot be reduced to a single principle in any way), the schemes generated by the representations must at the same time be considered as producers of the social.

Alluding specifically to the representations of the school, we value – taking into consideration the postulates of Alzate Piedrahita¹⁶ – that the conceptions or images that we form around it are, in addition, closely linked to the representations of childhood and its education, the study is therefore linked to historical changes and to the socio-economic and cultural organisation of the various societies (Ariès, Becchi, Julia, Gélis), to the forms or patterns of upbringing (DeMause), to socio-political interests (Varela), and to the development of psycho-pedagogical theories (Escolano, Narodowski, Saldarriaga). They are also linked to the recognition of children's rights in Western societies and to the development of social policies in this regard – influenced by all of the above –, thus influencing the social representations we make of what school, childhood and education mean as socially accepted¹⁷ consensus.

We must also point out that these representations are 'structured' or determined by a set of implicit of everyday knowledge, which is resistant to change that has a body of psychosocial reality, because they not only exist in minds – in a cognitive way –, but also generate social processes (interrelations and interactions) that impose themselves and condition the lives of children and adults, determining to a large extent the possibility of experiences or the perspectives of analysis outside this logic. Social representations thus constitute an excellent projection of the system of values and aspirations of a society

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ R. Chartier, *El mundo como representación. Historia cultural: entre práctica y representación*, Barcelona, Gedisa, 1992, p. IV.

¹⁶ M.V. Alzate Piedrahita, *La infancia: concepciones y perspectivas*, Pereira (Colombia), Papiro, 2003.

¹⁷ F. Casas, *Infancia y representaciones sociales*, «Política y sociedad», vol. 43, n. 1, 2006, pp. 27-42.

because they characterize the person expressing them, also conditioning, in a certain way, to what or whom they represent.

In this way, discourse is generally conceived as the means par excellence through which social representations are produced and reproduced, since, as Rodríguez points out¹⁸: «reality is known and evaluated in a certain way, to a large extent, by the participation of the subjects in thousands of communication processes that energize organizations of affective, cognitive and symbolic content. From these processes, individuals construct a special type of knowledge, the basis of representations, which is known as common sense. This practical knowledge is the compass that helps the subjects to rank reality, to orientate themselves in their daily practices and to assume positions of respect for their own and others' actions»¹⁹. It is for this reason that the analysis of the content of the discourses present in the media – and particularly written and cultural press, for the period to which we refer – is fundamental for investigating social representations, always bearing in mind the «problematic relationship» that can occur between these and ideologies, due to the very «ideological horizon» of the representations²⁰.

Based on these considerations and focusing on the methodological process of content analysis developed in this case for the study of the school's representations, it should be noted that we proceeded to review all the pages of «Céltiga» (published between 1924 and 1932) and «La Esfera» (published between 1915 and 1936). Referring to the different stages that make up this process, we can highlight that at the moment of pre-analysis we established the analysis plan, selected the primary sources – with the consequent delimitation of criteria and categories predisposed for such purpose – and proceeded to their digitalization and/or classification. Then, we stopped at the formation of the categorical system destined to the analysis of the representations of the primary sources; for its elaboration, we investigated in the bibliography that we value to be of greater relevance to respond to our purposes, we consulted and contrasted diverse standardised models and, after carrying out diverse essays and modifications, we proceeded to lay down the system of categories in diverse theoretical educational-school models, that respond to the following perspectives: traditional and anthropological-religious; naturalist, and, finally, sociological-political²¹.

¹⁸ Rodríguez, *Representaciones sociales y metáforas sobre la escuela: un análisis contrastivo*, cit.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ J.A. Castorina, A. Barreiro, *Las representaciones sociales y su horizonte ideológico. Una relación problemática*, «Boletín de Psicología», vol. 86, 2006, pp. 7-25.

²¹ We delve into each of these perspectives in: M.E. Bolaño Amigo, *Representacións textuais e icónicas da infancia, da primeira adolescencia e da súa educación en revistas culturais e en prensa gráfica galega (Galiza, Bos Aires e A Habana) e madrileña: 1915-1936. Entre o naturalismo, a socialización e a distinción social* [Tese de Doutoramento], Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2017.

After the establishment of the categorical system, we proceeded to determine the various units of analysis and recording, which made it possible to subsequently select, extract, collect and systematize the data and, finally, carry out the analysis of the representations of the primary sources. The previous establishment of the system of analytical categories allowed us to prepare digital records to individually analyse the sources, which in turn facilitated the comparison and contrast between the representations of the sources handled.

3. Representations of the school in «Céltiga» (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1924-1932): The importance of moral education and of the school as a factor of social progress²²

The «Céltiga» magazine was started up in Buenos Aires (Argentina) on 30 September 1924, founded by Domingo Rial Seijo – who had been a former leader of the Casa de Galicia – and by the illustrator Ramón Peña. It was initially subtitled as: *Galician magazine of art, criticism, literature and current affairs. Published fortnightly by Editorial Céltiga*. The literary direction of the magazine initially included Adolfo Vázquez Gómez²³ and later Eduardo Blanco Amor, Ramón Suárez Picallo and Eliseo Pulpeiro, all of them intellectuals of reference for Galician culture.

This media body was configured as a space for exchange and meeting of the Galician *intelligentsia* resident in Argentina due to emigration, acting as a bridge between Galicia and Latin America. Guided by a Galician ideology and feeling (perceptible and accentuated by the appearance of the section *Idearium galeguista* as of October 1925, in which the main work of Vicente Risco is reproduced, *Teoría do nazionalismo galego*), it filled its pages with praises to the Galician homeland, favouring mutual knowledge and exchange between the territorial Galicia, the emigrant Galicia and, particularly, Argentina. In its pages you can read chronicles with news and information about the Galician societies of emigrants, questions to which the sections *Motifvos de Crónica* or *El momento de Galicia*, which analyse the current situation of Galicia and

²² In the preparation of this section we have the work in mind of: M.E. Bolaño Amigo, *Representaciones de los espacios escolares a través de la prensa gallega de la emigración: Eco de Galicia (1917-1936) y Céltiga (1924-1932)*, in P. Dávila, L.M. Naya (edd.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo*, Donostia, Universidad del País Vasco, 2016, pp. 775-794.

²³ Adolfo Vázquez Gómez, journalist and writer, was, in particular, an ideologist and promoter of social justice and freedom. As a Mason, he achieved the 33rd grade of the traditional Scottish rite and fought constantly from the perspective of free thought for the social future of the popular sectors and for children. His life's journey takes place between Galicia, Portugal, France, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. He corresponded, among others, with Miguel de Unamuno and Jean Jaurès, the renowned French socialist reformer. He promoted chairs of thought, media and the press and was the author of several texts on social struggle.



Pic. 1. Saúl Borobio. *Back from the meadow*, «Céltiga», n. 21, 10-11-1925, p. 1

the emigrant community, are spatially addressed. There are also many texts of literary creation and cultural affairs; photographs of landscapes and Galician cities are shown; as well as a wide and varied material composed of comic strips, drawings, cartoons, engravings and photographs. Practically in all the issues of «Céltiga» there is room for notes or biographical notes (both from illustrious Galician and Argentine authors, in *Firmas sudamericanas* or in *Poetas argentinos*, among others), stories, theatre, the treatment of Argentine motifs and figures, and sections devoted to humour, among other matters that are usually present. The magazine's illustrations made a point of being appreciated for their aesthetic and artistic quality, as well as for the intellectual relevance of their collaborators. The illustrated material that appears is careful, multiple and heterogeneous: cartoon

strips, engravings, drawings, oil paintings and caricatures, flood the pages of reproductions of the most recognised Galician artists.

The line of ideological thought that «Céltiga»²⁴ maintained throughout its journey, varied with certain nuances of intensity, but walking in the steps of the republican ideology and nationalist²⁵ Galicianism with an «ideological strategy of an enabling and moderate character»²⁶. With the passage of time, the magazine established relations with the Galician people of Europe, with Vicente Risco's *Irmandade Nazionalista Galega* and with the *Irmandade da Fala* da Coruña; in addition, it began to take sides in South American politics, showing great sympathy for the Mexican revolution and criticising US policy in Latin America. In any case, and taking into account the considerations of Núñez Seixas, the moderation of the message and the quality of the publication

²⁴ The name alludes to the *Celtic* characterization of the inhabitants of Galicia, «differentiating» them from the 'Iberian' characterization of the majority population of Spain. Another representation today examined with caution.

²⁵ L. Alonso, É. Abal, A Cilleiro, *Céltiga (1924-1932)*, «Revista Gallega de Arte, Crítica, Literatura y Actualidades. Xunta de Galicia: General Secretariat of Linguistic Policy», pp. 1-28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.



Pic. 2. *Galician child*, «Céltiga», n. 22, 25-11-1925, p. 11

meant that «Céltiga» achieved a great success and a notable diffusion among the Galicians of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile.

As regards the linguistic matter, «Céltiga» constituted a bilingual magazine with greater prominence of Spanish in its first years of publication, although with the incorporation of new collaborators, the presence of the Galician language would increase. The contributions of Evaristo Correa Calderón, Portela Pérez, Vicente Risco, Ramón Suárez Picallo, Antonio Noriega Varela, Luis Porteiro, Leandro Carré and Luguís Freire, went in this direction. The magazine was published fortnightly, usually on the 10th and 25th of each month (although other dates may be seen, such as the 15th and 30th), and its number of pages varies between 32 and 40, which increase notably in the extraordinary issues.

In «Céltiga» we can observe multiple texts of criticism of the present school (prescribed, real and lived, according to the notions referred to by Viñao²⁷) accompanied by the sketches of a school that, more than desired or dreamed of, is claimed as a necessity for the «social progress» and «cultural development» of Galicia. The pages of the illustrated publication highlight the importance of a «moral education» which, taught and experienced in schools, seeks to «awaken people's humanity». As the numbers advance, there is a greater focus on the idea of education for the future of the «Supreme Galician Homeland»,

²⁷ A. Viñao, *Escolarización, edificios y espacios escolares*, «CEE Participación Educativa», vol. 7, 2008, pp. 16-27.



La escuela que en Cristiñade sostiene esta sociedade

Pic. 3. «Céltiga», n. 41, 10-09-1926, p. 15

fundamentally linked to the knowledge of the nearest environment, represented by excellence, both through texts and images, in the determinants and broad rural contexts of Galicia.

In this respect, in «Céltiga» there is a section specifically devoted to pedagogical issues, which is called *Apuntes Pedagógicos* and, in *Páginas infantiles*, issues related to education are also dealt with, which is given a crucial role in training future adults. Among them, moral education in schools, conceived in the Kantian and positivist perspective, occupies a singular protagonism by the hand of various texts by José Guixé, who speaks of the «necessary moral education» in order to inspire noble principles in a child, which, if germinated, produce healthy morals. This must be independent of ideas and opinions²⁸.

Along these lines, the intention is that a will that is «well directed and turned into habit» should develop «virtue» (conceived in opposition to «vice»²⁹); therefore, both in school and at home, children should be taught to «be good»³⁰.

²⁸ J. Guixé, *Apuntes Pedagógicos*, «Céltiga», n. 13, 1925, 32.

²⁹ As depicted in the oil on canvas by the Italian painter Paolo Veronese, painted around 1580, *Allegory of Virtue and Vice*, also known as *Hercules' Choice*.

³⁰ Following the recommendations of multiple treaties and «guidelines for education»

It is hoped, therefore, that the educational process in schools will develop certain qualities in children that are dear to them as future adults, «such as: activity, openness and sincerity, discretion, benevolence, civility and obedience. And we must do all we can to combat the selfishness from which sensuality, interest and greed, envy and laziness emanate; and in the child, presumption, pride, vanity, anger, hardness and cruelty, stubbornness and wilfulness and lies»³¹.

The importance given to the connections between the family and the school is reflected above all in the first numbers, where it is interpreted that the school should be «the extension of the Galician home, and the home, the extension of the school»³²; for this reason, the classroom, like the home, «is a forge that should never be without fire»³³. In this scenario, the teacher is a key actor who must know how to guide and graduate learning, assuming a role for which it is necessary «not to be either prodigal or greedy (because) the skill is the best balance to be measured in order to obtain artistic and even perfect works»³⁴.

There are many criticisms in «Céltiga» regarding the existing school, its spaces and resources, especially in relation to those centres located in different Galician rural contexts that do not respond to the expectations and needs of students:

Rural schools, in addition to being insufficient in number compared to the children who should be educated in them, do not have the necessary teaching materials or adequate premises, as required by the laws and regulations on the subject. The higher authorities also do not show a greater interest in carrying out their duties, and so the inspectors do not carry out the visits that are obligatory in those establishments where the virtues and character of the child and the intelligence of the future citizens of the Nation must be cultivated³⁵.

There are also several and extensive texts criticising the absence of schools, claiming the need for their presence to «fight against illiteracy», contributing to «raising of the cultural level of the people»³⁶ and guiding the «Galician nation» towards progress. For all this, the contributions made by Galician emigration

published in the 1920s, such as: *Los hijos bien educados. Guía práctica para la educación de los niños en la familia*, written by Dr. Saimbraum; or *Cómo se crían sanos nuestros hijos. Para las madres, para los preceptores, para la juventud*, by Dr. Vázquez Yépes.

³¹ J. Guixé, *Apuntes Pedagógicos*, «Céltiga», n. 13, 1925, p. 32.

³² A.A. Abasolo, «Céltiga», n. 8, 1924, p. 34.

³³ C.S. de Pandolfini, *Páginas infantiles*, «Céltiga», n. 7, 1924, p. 12. The Argentine Carmen Sonda de Pandolfini, who writes these lines, probably of the Masonic creed and related to the National Council of Women, is one of *Céltiga's* collaborators in the 1920s, as is the declared Mason José Ingenieros, son of an Italian family, a positivist thinker and essayist, a defender of a secular/neutralist morality, influential in the 1910s in various centres of normalist training for primary school teachers, as was the case of Las Mercedes. It is plausible to think that the prominent Galician Mason Adolfo Vázquez Gómez was invited to write in *Céltiga* by the literary director at the time of publication.

³⁴ De Pandolfini, *Páginas infantiles*, cit., p. 12.

³⁵ «Céltiga», n. 15, 1925, p. 14.

³⁶ «Céltiga», n. 42, 1926, p. 21.

are praised, consisting of the abundant sending of economic resources to Galicia for the construction of schools in rural areas, which, nevertheless, are not exempt from criticism.

Among the resources of the schools, what is most valued in «Céltiga» is the external space of the school, since it is the most important environment for the development of certain learning, such as those linked to agriculture, since this:

taken only in the classroom, does not lead to any practical end, since it is only reduced to the contemplation of the different graphic tables used for these cases, and to learning a multitude of names that after some time are forgotten; but if this theoretical knowledge is applied in practice, and the school could have a field where the child could develop such teaching, then it would be perfect, contributing at the same time to their physical development, to awaken in the small farmer the love of this science³⁷.

In «Céltiga», images linked to the school environment, especially those related to festive or recreational activities (festivals, carnival parties or parades, among others) that took place in Buenos Aires, in the community of Galician emigrants, enjoy a considerable prominence. Likewise, there is room in «Céltiga» to attend to initiatives that are an indication of «both the active presence of the spirit of the New School in Galicia and the founding of a pedagogical project linked to the project of a new Galician society»³⁸; this is the case of the attention paid to the Galician movement of children's colonies, as reflected in the extensive article that responds to the title *Una institución admirable. Las colonias escolares del Rebullón*, included in the magazine. This text highlights how the Rebullón school colony (located in Mos, nine kilometres from the city of Vigo) had a splendid building built on the proposal of the member of the Colonial Commission of the Caja de Ahorros Emilio Martínez Garrido³⁹, to house the permanent school colony. Of the building, Leonardo de la Peña pointed out in «Céltiga»:

a magnificent, cheerful and very clean dining room, with twenty-five tables with four seats each, where two boys and two girls eat together; but always watched over by the two young ladies to avoid possible incidents of child coeducation. And there everything is in order, everything is white, without any breakages or chips, without any sign on the walls, remarkable!⁴⁰

³⁷ Guixé, *Apuntes Pedagógicos*, cit., p. 39.

³⁸ A. Costa, *Escolas e mestres. A educación en Galicia da Restauración á II República*, Santiago de Compostela, Servizo de Publicacións da Xunta de Galicia, 1989, p. 305.

³⁹ He became the mayor of the city in the last period of the Second Republic's existence, being assassinated on 27 August 1936 by the Franco military who had carried out the coup d'état in 1936.

⁴⁰ L. de la Peña, *Una institución admirable. Las colonias escolares del Rebullón*, «Céltiga», n. 164, pp. 13-14.

On the other hand, in this magazine we can see the constant call against illiteracy and the need to face this reality in practice, both through the creation of schools and through the provision of resources to “educate” girls and boys, as we can see in the following paragraphs:

We all cry out against illiteracy, but we do nothing to eradicate it. Education, which they call compulsory, is being thwarted by the lack of schooling [...]

And if we know the benefits and we know the results, how can we not put the means in place? It is not the work of a moment, but of a long time; but if this is neglected, if apathy continues to reign by those called to remedy it, we will always be in the same circle and we will never end the repeated illiteracy⁴¹.

The complaints expressed in «Céltiga»'s pages were in some way in line with the various actions undertaken by the emigrants on the Galician educational reality: in some cases, the idea was to provide financial support to existing schools by sending remittances to Galicia and, on other occasions, new educational centres were created. This work by Galician emigrants left its mark on the magazine, and a good example of this is the pages devoted to the schools of the Federation of Galician, Agrarian and Cultural Societies, such as the texts and images for the School of the Society of Emigrants of Tomiño, Aurora del Porvenir Pro Instrucción, built in the 1920s under the supervision of the pedagogue Antón Alonso Ríos. In addition to its pedagogical principles (centred on the child, rational, secular, graduated, with influences from the most progressive Argentine school and innovative currents in Spanish pedagogy), it is committed to the context in which it is situated and, therefore, to the Galician⁴² language and culture.

Critical observations are made, however, when the material aspects and school facilities were often taken care of, but the pedagogical aims linked to human and social development rooted in the immediate surroundings were neglected. Thus, the criticisms of the schools promoted from America that are observed in «Céltiga» run along the following lines:

The considerable number of schools established in Galicia, created and sustained with the money of Societies and individuals based in America, is brought to our attention, leading us to meditate on the education system of these schools and the one that would need to be adopted in order to provide children with knowledge that is appropriate for their physical and spiritual development, in the sense that their future activities would lead to a greater knowledge and appreciation of our values.

[...] Almost all the schools founded in Galicia with the support of emigrants suffer from a serious defect that must be corrected as a matter of urgency, since their mission is somewhat negative. These schools educate men for the purpose of preparing them for emigration, instead of orienting their inclinations towards agriculture, cattle raising or the sea, the

⁴¹ Guixé, *Apuntes Pedagógicos*, cit., p. 18.

⁴² X.M. Malheiro, *As escolas dos emigrantes e o pensamento pedagógico: Ignacio Ares de Parga e Antón Alonso Ríos*, Sada, A Coruña, Edicións do Castro, 2006.

product of which will give rise to the progress and wealth that they are seeking in other countries⁴³.

In 1936, «Céltiga» proposed by the poet of the *Irmandades da Fala* Ramón Cabanillas from Galicia to develop an extensive campaign in favour of financing and economic support for the development of a school book in Galician, with the idea of distributing it among the Galician primary schools financed by the emigrants, among other objectives: «To provide our children with a book in which they can learn about our history, our language, our literature and, in short, how much it helps us to become more aware of our own worth»⁴⁴; although this question did not become effective⁴⁵.

The representations of the school in «Céltiga» are, therefore, strongly conditioned by the precariousness existing in the reality of the schools in Galicia, as well as by the purposes of the publication itself, which, as Núñez Seixas⁴⁶ has stressed, involved modernising and enriching Galician culture through its dissemination, expansion and openness to dialogue with other cultures; to defend the postulates of Galician nationalism in a moderate and “pragmatic” way, acting also as a spokesperson for emerging Galician nationalism; and to create a quality editorial product, both aesthetically and in terms of content, contributing to increasing the prestige of the immigrant community among the receiving society. To these questions was added the will to recognize oneself in the construction of the Galician national identity, often re-appropriating even stereotypes that are constructed under the prevailing idea of centre-periphery that places Galicia in a subaltern plane.

4. *The school represented in «La Esfera» (Madrid, Spain, 1914-1931). The importance of «pedagogical advances» and «model schools»*

The illustrated magazine «La Esfera» began to appear in January 1914 edited by Prensa Gráfica Española⁴⁷, owner of other relevant illustrated publications such as *Mundo Gráfico*, *Nuevo Mundo*, as well as newspapers such as «El Sol» and «La Voz». From its origins, the magazine, which appears in the midst of the development of written journalism in Spain, was promoted and financed by the kings of Spain Alfonso XIII and María Cristina, a fact that had

⁴³ «Céltiga», n. 81, 1928, p. 17.

⁴⁴ «Céltiga», vols. 27-28, 1926, p. 73.

⁴⁵ S. Pulpeiro, P. Rodríguez (edd.), *Eliseo Pulpeiro. As letras galegas entre dúas ribeiras (Ribadeo e Río da Prata)*, Santiago de Compostela, Consello da Cultura Galega, 2016.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ J.M. Sánchez Vigil, *La documentación fotográfica en España. Revista La Esfera (1914-1920)* (Tese de Doutoramento), Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

repercussions on its initial strength and development possibilities. The creation of «La Esfera» was the initiative of the journalist and businessman Nicolás María de Urgoiti, who had among his business aspirations, to dominate the news sector through periodical⁴⁸ publications, in addition to continuing to maintain paper production at La Papelera Española⁴⁹.

Urgoiti, as president of «La Esfera», placed the journalists Francisco Verdugo Landi (1878-1959) as director and Mariano Zavala (1865-1944) as manager. Verdugo was the director of the publication throughout its entire existence and, in addition to being a cartoonist, was recognised as an innovator in journalistic design, and Zabala remained as managing director of *Prensa Gráfica* until his death.

«La Esfera» is luxuriously published on *couché* paper, with a modernist design and in large format. It was launched on the market at a very high price for its time – initially 50 cents, ten times more than a daily newspaper and more than twice as much as the rest of the magazines of its kind – a cost that increased as the number of pages increased, reaching 60 cents in 1917 and, later on, to the price of 1 peseta. The 60,000 copies with which the publication began to be sold were sold out without difficulty.

In the magazine, the very high quality image, acquires capital importance, both in terms of photographic material and pictorial reproductions and/or illustrations. Its pages published articles and chronicles related to current events, as well as numerous texts related to: theatre, cinema, fashion, sports, industry, geography, history, travel, art, literature, among other aspects. Also appearing in the publication are poems, short stories and excerpts from novels and plays. Most of its texts and images focus their attention on the Spanish context and on the stages of the European capitals.

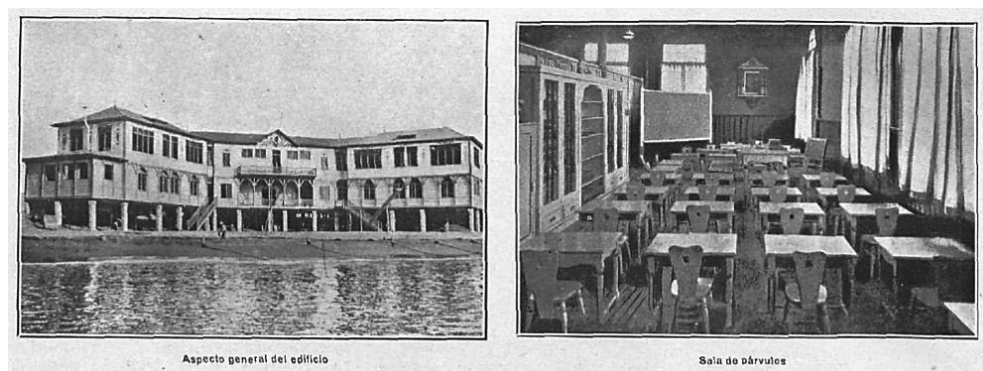
Directed at the social elites – fundamentally at the middle and upper bourgeoisie –, it is ideologically plural (with nuances determined by the



Pic. 4. Joaquín Sorolla, «La Esfera», n. 1, 03-01-1914, p. 1

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ This paper mill was put into operation in December 1905 founded by Nicolás María de Urgoiti and Rafael Picavea after the merger of nearly ten companies, acquiring control of the paper market in Spain for much of the 20th century.



Pic. 5. *Sea School*, «La Esfera», n. 605, 08-08-1925, p. 10

people who express themselves in each case and who vary from reformism to conservatism, prevailing, in any case, a bourgeois outlook) and, although it paid little attention to partisan politics, it did support Primo de Rivera's dictatorship⁵⁰. The magazine is therefore aimed at «an audience interested in politics, culture, business, economic decisions, a more analytical, informative and independent journalism, 'elite' but also with a vocation to reach a large audience»⁵¹. Among the journalists of «La Esfera» should be mentioned, due to their influences and their presence in the pages of the magazine: José María Carretero Novillo, author of the section for the magazine of people linked to the cultural field *Nuestras visitas*, under the pseudonym «El Caballero Audaz»; or Dionisio Pérez Gutiérrez, who under the nickname «Pedro Reaño de Tirteafuera» signs the section *De la vida que pasa* and who was considered one of the best writers of his generation.

During the existence of «La Esfera», 889 issues were published (in addition to commemorative extras of anniversaries and special issues for some Spanish cities), with the last issue of the magazine that we are currently aware being on 17 January 1931. The publication is considered a milestone in that it «marked an era in written journalism»⁵², and even «a display of 'good taste'»⁵³ due to the «variety and quality of its collaborations, the audacity of its colour prints and the richness and multiplicity of its engravings»⁵⁴.

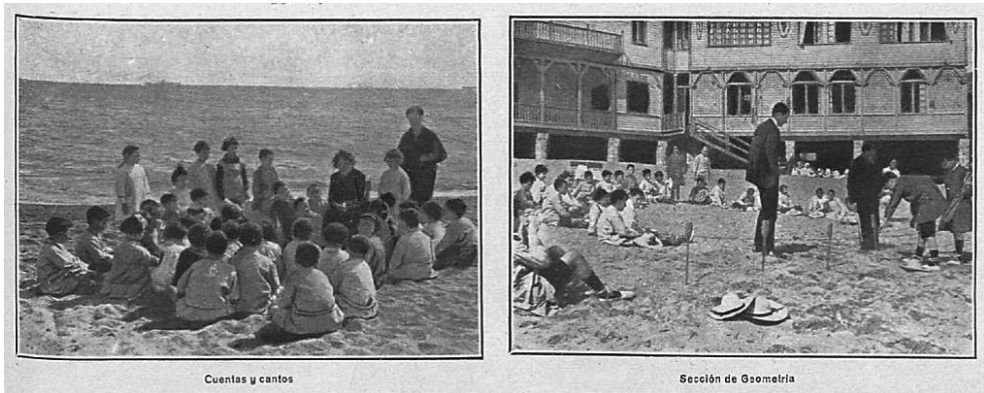
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ M. Cabrera, *La industria, la prensa y la política. Nicolás María de Urgoiti (1869-1951)*, Madrid, Alianza, 1994, pp. 97-98.

⁵² M.D. Sáiz, M.C. Seoane, *Historia del periodismo en España*, Madrid, Alianza, 1996.

⁵³ P. Gómez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español. De las guerras coloniales a la Dictadura*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1974.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*



Pic. 6. *Sea School*, «La Esfera», n. 605, 08-08-1925, p. 11

There are many pages in «La Esfera» that deal with pedagogical issues, both in terms of the educational processes that take place inside the home and in the school. The magazine highlights the interest in new schools and methods⁵⁵, as it is considered that:

the more educated and evolved we become, the more pressing is the desire for education in every country. New schools are emerging everywhere, and the old ones are being given the most progressive organisations and means of action to make them effective⁵⁶.

The school references presented in «La Esfera» are usually located in Germany, France, Switzerland and London; although appreciated in the magazine are «the efforts made in recent years by Barcelona in the field of public education. It always seemed to us that it was the best example that could be presented to the other Spanish cities of the power of the well-directed will»⁵⁷.

Among the educational institutions in Barcelona, the Forest School⁵⁸ and the School of the Sea⁵⁹ stand out in the publication as ‘exemplary’ ones, which, with one character:

⁵⁵ With a reference, at times direct and at other times indirect, to the gradual development of the international movement of the New and Active School.

⁵⁶ «La Esfera», n. 630, 1926, p. 35.

⁵⁷ «La Esfera», n. 605, 1925, p. 10.

⁵⁸ «La Esfera», n. 134, 1916, p. 7. The Escola del Bosc was created at the initiative of the Barcelona Town Council, under the influence of pedagogical movements such as the Modern School, in 1914. Most of the classes took place outdoors, and both body language and music played an important role.

⁵⁹ «La Esfera», n. 605, 1925, cit. The School of the Sea, inaugurated in January 1922, was a municipal initiative that, founded by the pedagogue Pere Vergés, placed the child at the centre of the educational process. The centre, located in a wooden building designed by Josep Goday, was bombed in 1938 by the aviation of fascist Italy during the Civil War. His work continued on



Los pequeños alumnos de la Berthold School trabajan alegremente en el jardín de su escuela

Pic. 7. *The small students of the Berthold School work happily in the school garden*, «La Esfera», n. 825, 26-10-1929, p. 34

Mainly medical [in it] work is reduced to two and a half or three hours, at most in short sessions, with play and rest intervals. The rest of the day is spent by the students playing, resting, singing, doing rhythmic exercises and in a special way receiving the complete treatment of naturopathy on the beach, taking the air, sun and sea baths with preponderance of one or the other, according to each specific case and following the doctor's prescriptions. Most classes are held on the beach⁶⁰.

Among the «pedagogical advances», open-air education is particularly valued⁶¹, because «the current trend among hygienists, doctors and pedagogues is precisely the school, in the open air, and there is hardly any country, except

Montjuïc Mountain and, later, in the Guinardó neighbourhood.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ «La Esfera», n. 134, 1916, cit.

our own, where we do not know how to get rid of routine, where open-air school is not considered to be the preferred solution, in every sense»⁶².

The resources available elsewhere in comparison to Spain are also often commended:

In Swiss towns, the best home is the school. Neither palaces nor temples ever equal it in splendour; teaching is a religion; the education of the child is a priesthood: for the teacher, at school; for the parents, at home.

What great sadness invades the spirit when after the beautiful spectacle that public primary education offers in most educated countries, one turns one's eyes to the Spanish education.... Before you turn them away again, you get the urge to become blind [...].

Gardens around the school for the relief and comfort of the students, how many schools have them in Spain?

Teachers with the freedom, capacity and independence to apply modern pedagogy in their classrooms, how many are they?

Ministers, statesmen and politicians who have seriously and honestly dealt with the problem of national education, how many were or are there?⁶³

Another 'exemplary' example referred to in several different pages and issues of the magazine was the new German school of Berthold Otto⁶⁴, «established under the principle of the most absolute freedom» where:

Children, by virtue of their own instinct, find the instruction most suited to their special abilities. Dr. Otto is not only an opponent of compulsory education, but he does not even admit to a general teaching plan. Teachers have the sole duty of observing with attention the instinctive tastes of each student, stimulating their development [...]. The school, whose classes are usually held in the forest next to the building, is like an extension of the home⁶⁵.

«La Esfera» therefore advocates a modernised school, with the keys that had been emerging from the New Education League, protected by Ferrière or Beatriz Ensor, in this case from the Anglo-Saxon world, in the conviction that:

In general, modern schools are cheerful, full of life; the children are very satisfied in them, and far from that war cry of childhood: 'I don't want to go to school', which even parrots used to say fifty years ago, has been completely forgotten by children, even by the youngest and most pampered, where school is now generally a place of pleasure, and this makes the work of the educator and the teacher infinitely easier⁶⁶.

With this in mind, the publication calls for an increase in the number of open-air schools:

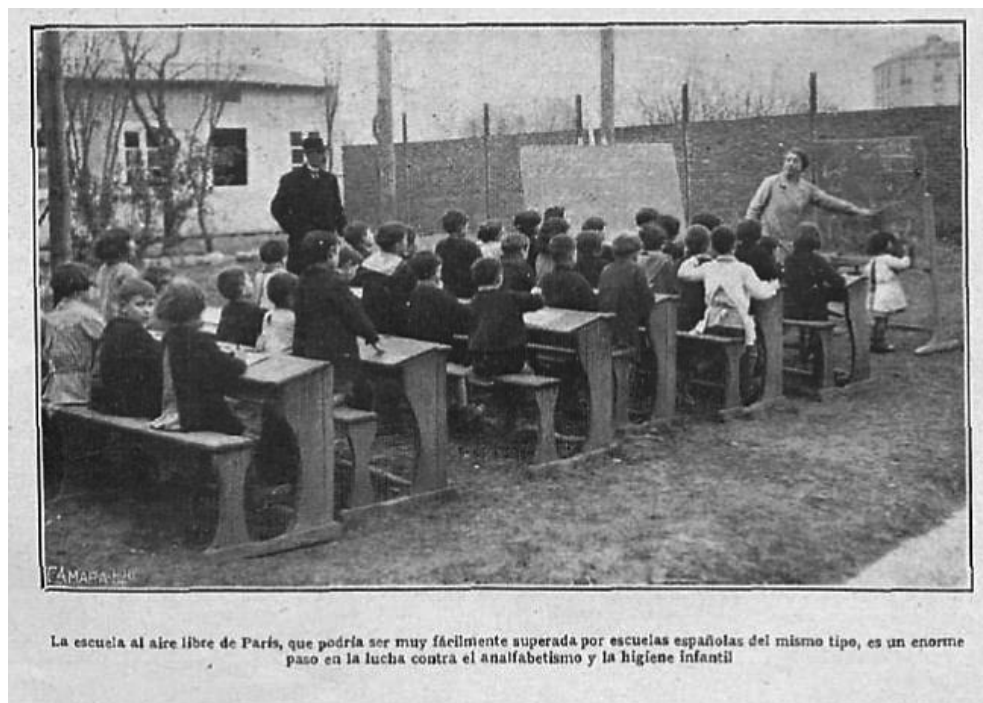
⁶² «La Esfera», n. 844, 1930, p. 31.

⁶³ «La Esfera», n. 134, 1916, cit.

⁶⁴ «La Esfera», n. 320, 1920, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ «La Esfera», n. 880, 1930, p. 41.



Pic. 8. *The outdoor school of Paris*, «La Esfera», n. 844, 08-03-1930, p. 31

like that of the Bosque in Barcelona, like that of the Glorieta in Valencia, where the children, under a canopy of flowers and green leaves, that show the indigo of the firmament, oxygenate their lungs, give solidity and flexibility to their muscles, at the same time as they educate their conscience and nourish their understanding, guided and initiated in the teachings of life by a teacher who knows how to be even more than a friend, a gentle comrade – with all the tenderness of a mother and all the contagious joys of a child⁶⁷.

Findings

From the analysis of the content of the journals handled, we value that periodical publications contribute to the construction and appeal, in a plurality of ways, to collective memories and shared sensibilities, granting cohesion and legitimizing diverse identities, including national ones. Thus, the press is

⁶⁷ «La Esfera», n. 134, 1916, cit.

a symbolic space of great interest for historical re-construction and its critical examination, and even more so for the history of education.

We can emphasize that we appreciate in «La Esfera» a continuous interest in new schools and methods «beneficial for the child and for the aggrandizement of the nation»⁶⁸ seeking references especially in Germany, France, Switzerland and London, as well as appreciating the hygienic tendencies of the moment that advocate a modern and open-air education. In this magazine, a naturalistic pedagogical vision prevails, which prioritizes the contact with nature and outdoor play among the needs of children; a childhood conceived as a phase of innocence and susceptible to protection, where school education must prioritize the natural development of the capacities of each person.

As in the texts and images of «La Esfera», the importance of an open-air school education is also reflected in «Céltiga», although in this case its interest as a relevant environment for the development of certain practical learning, such as those linked to agriculture, is highlighted, while the Madrid magazine emphasizes its psychopedagogical potential as a hygienist trend. Thus, in «Céltiga», a sociological-political perspective stands out that characterizes education as a necessary process for social progress and the transformation of social reality, in which schools play a fundamental role in the promotion of knowledge linked to the socio-cultural environment considered a reference point.

In this way, we can see various expectations of schools, school education and children among the media that has been examined. In one case they respond to representations of a centralist and Europeanist high bourgeoisie located in Madrid, which transfers its representations through «La Esfera», and in the other to those of an identity nationalist petite bourgeoisie that expresses itself from the transoceanic Galician emigration in Buenos Aires. Their projections of childhood and education are different, and their expectations of intervention in social construction are also partially different, as are the scope, orientation and most immediate aims of their educational and school proposals.

The role of the Galician press of emigration, and particularly of «Céltiga», is key in the sedimentation of ideological tendencies, political and cultural movements considered crucial today in the process of developing the Galician territory and the legitimisation of the idea of Galicia as a collective project. Thus, the magazine would exceed the objectives – so often highlighted in studies related to the Galician emigration press – of keeping the communication between the Galician community alive and guaranteeing supports to disseminate and exchange information from both sides of the ocean. It forms an agora in the construction of the foundations of the socio-political idea of Galicia, its symbolism and its Galician identity, with representations that are not exempt from stereotypes that have repercussions on this construction of identities and, therefore, on the representations we examine.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Formazione dell'uomo e teoria della personalità in Antonio Gramsci

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Formation of Man and Theory of Personality in Antonio Gramsci

ABSTRACT: the contribution intends to explore some of the themes, in the writings of Antonio Gramsci, which contributed to the development of his complex theory of personality. From the critique of positivist marxism that can be found in his early articles which appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century in the socialist press, to the prison notes in which his stance against sociological marxism à la Bukharin is present, the Sardinian thinker brings out a vision of the formation of man that is completely original. Gramsci's particular theory of education – which is also affected by multiple influences, from the early twentieth-century avant-gardes to the late nineteenth-century French vitalism and Anglo-American pragmatism, up to the activism of Lombardo-Radice – can be traced back to a dialectic vision of social relations in which the subjective elements of action are interrelated and interwoven with the material and objective ones, so that it is never possible to reduce one side of the action to another, as subject and object are always in a dynamic relationship aimed at the construction of social action.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Education; Formation of man; Positivism; Antonio Gramsci; Italy.

1. Il ruolo della formazione nel giovane Gramsci

Per comprendere la centralità della riflessione educativa, nel pensiero di Antonio Gramsci, andrebbero riletti molti dei suoi articoli giovanili, in particolare quelli relativi agli anni 1916-1918, quando egli compiva il suo apprendistato giornalistico per la pagina torinese del quotidiano socialista l'«Avanti!» e per il settimanale il «Grido del popolo». Molto precocemente egli mostra un'attitudine verso una concezione in cui l'educatore è il formatore di «coscienze critiche», disvelatore agli occhi dei ceti subalterni, vittime delle

operazioni di falsificazione sistematica dei fatti, delle menzogne delle classi dominanti¹.

In particolare, in numerosi articoli del periodo, egli si fa portavoce della necessità di istruire le masse. Del resto nel tornante storico tra la fine dell'Ottocento e i primi del Novecento, come noto, gli Stati nazionali sono alle prese con programmi di riforma e diffusione dell'istruzione pubblica di base generalizzata. Lo sguardo di Gramsci si rivolge ai problemi dell'educazione dei lavoratori, del proletariato, di tutte quelle classi sociali che non hanno goduto del «privilegio di istruirsi». Egli guarda alla necessità che il proletariato costruisca una propria cultura, base essenziale per lo sviluppo di una coscienza rivoluzionaria. Ad esempio sostiene la necessità di preservare la scuola classica. Bisogna combattere – sottolinea già il giovane Gramsci, stabilendo in questo modo un filo diretto con quanto verrà poi affermando, come vedremo, nella riflessione carceraria – quella concezione aristocratica che considera il patrimonio letterario umanistico ambito riservato a ristrette élites, secondo una visione astratta e snobistica nei confronti della pratica e che vede la formazione disgiunta in due ambiti, quello teorico, volto alla formazione della futura classe dirigente e l'altro regno della formazione tecnico-professionale, riservata alle classi subalterne.

In una serie di articoli risalenti al 1916 egli affronta il tema della complessità connessa all'educazione se intesa appunto come ricerca di una sintesi tra «cognizione» e «applicazione». Nell'articolo *La scuola del lavoro*², apparso

¹ Cfr. A. D'Orsi, *La passione educativa*, in Id., *Gramsciana. Saggi su Antonio Gramsci*, Modena, Mucchi Editore, 2014, pp. 156-178. Sul periodo del «Gramsci torinese» dello stesso autore vedi pure: *La cultura a Torino tra le due guerre*, Torino, Einaudi, 2000; imprescindibile anche L. Rapone, *Cinque anni che paiono secoli. Antonio Gramsci dal socialismo al comunismo (1914-1919)*, Roma, Carocci, 2011.

² Cfr. A. Gramsci, *Cronache torinesi, 1913-1916*, a cura di Sergio Caprioglio, Torino, Einaudi, 1983, pp. 440-1. Tutti gli articoli di Antonio Gramsci – relativi al periodo dal 1915 fino al 1919, anno in cui si situa la nascita de «L'Ordine Nuovo», prima settimanale (1919-1920), poi quotidiano del neonato PCd'I (1921-1922) – sono stati ripubblicati dalla casa editrice Einaudi in tre volumi: *Cronache torinesi* inaugura la nuova edizione di scritti precarcerari che viene a sostituire la precedente edizione einaudiana apparsa in cinque volumi fra il 1954 e il 1971. I successivi volumi sono: Id., *La Città futura*, a cura di S. Caprioglio, Torino, Einaudi, 1984; Id., *Il Nostro Marx*, a cura di S. Caprioglio, Torino, Einaudi, 1984. Se si eccettua l'intervento su «Il Grido del popolo» del 31 ottobre 1914, relativo al dibattito sulla posizione del Partito socialista italiano di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale – articolo di grande rilievo per la sua biografia politica – occorre attendere la fine del 1915 per veder nascere il giornalismo di Gramsci (Cfr. S. Caprioglio, *Premessa a Gramsci, Cronache torinesi*, cit. p. 22. Sugli esordi giornalistici del giovane Gramsci ora vedi anche M.L. Righi, *Gli esordi di Gramsci al «Grido del popolo» e all'«Avanti!» (1915-1916)*, «Studi Storici», n. 3, 2014, pp. 727-55.) Gramsci dirà: «sono entrato nella redazione dell'«Avanti!» il 10 dicembre del 1915 [...] quando il Psi era ridotto agli estremi [...] mosso da una fede e da una convinzione profonda» (cfr. *Un agente provocatore, «Falce e martello»*, 4 giugno 1921, ora in Id., *Scritti 1915-1921*, a cura di S. Caprioglio, Roma, Moizzi, 1976). Le rubriche fisse tenute da Gramsci sull'«Avanti!» erano due: di critica drammatica nella rubrica «teatri» e di 'trafilettista' nella rubrica «Sotto la mole», ma la sua collaborazione si estendeva senza distinzioni rigide di compiti a tutto il resto del giornale. Spesso, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la rubrica

sull'«Avanti!» il 18 luglio 1916, ad esempio, sottolinea come di fatto lo Stato italiano, «con quella cecità che è caratteristica delle borghesie latine arretrate e misoniste», non ha fatto altro che accentuare la divaricazione tra scuola *classica*, e quella del *lavoro*; cosicché non si è fatto nulla «per dare al proletariato la possibilità di migliorarsi, di elevarsi»³. In un altro articolo, sempre del 1916, e dal titolo *Uomini o Macchine?*⁴ egli ribadisce la necessità di una prospettiva unitaria nei metodi d'insegnamento, che sappia tener insieme teoria e prassi; bisogna infatti ricordare – argomenta – «che prima dell'operaio vi è l'uomo, al quale non bisogna precludere la possibilità di spaziare nei più ampi orizzonti dello spirito, invece di asservirlo subito alla macchina»⁵. Al proletariato «è necessaria una scuola disinteressata [...]. Una scuola che non ipotechi l'avvenire del fanciullo e costringa la sua volontà, la sua intelligenza, la sua coscienza in formazione a muoversi entro un binario a stazione prefissata»⁶.

In merito alle questioni riguardanti i problemi dell'educazione, inoltre, occorre specificare come la formazione del giovane Gramsci, risente anche di 'contaminazioni' provenienti dalla cultura di inizio Novecento, la così detta «cultura delle riviste». Agli inizi del secolo, in particolare, due avvenimenti intendevano mettere in crisi il mondo filosofico 'ufficiale', diversi per intendimento ed ispirazione, eppure, almeno inizialmente, collaboranti in una comune attività rinnovatrice: «la spregiudicata e promiscuamente iconoclasta polemica che su «Leonardo» vennero conducendo Papini e Prezzolini, e l'opera

«Sotto la mole», si sono incontrate difficoltà di attribuzione. Come ha messo in luce Leonardo Rapone, curatore del nuovo volume di scritti relativi al 1917, nell'ambito del progetto di Edizione nazionale di tutto il *corpus* delle opere gramsciane per l'Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana e sotto l'egida della fondazione Gramsci, «soltanto 11 sono contrassegnati in modo evidente da Gramsci: 5 con pseudonimi sicuramente riconducibili a lui (Alfa Gamma o Raksha), 6 con le iniziali a.g. o A.G. Il primo scoglio è stato dunque quello dell'attribuzione a Gramsci di una messe di scritti assolutamente anonimi, rispettosi per questo aspetto di una regola etica che la Direzione del Psi aveva stabilito nell'ottobre 1914 dopo le dimissioni di Benito Mussolini dalla carica di direttore dell'«Avanti!» (L. Rapone, *Nota al testo*, in A. Gramsci, *Scritti (1910-1926)*, Vol. 2: 1917, a cura di L. Rapone, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015, pp. XI-XII) Per quanto riguarda le note in corsivo della rubrica «Sotto la mole» è stata assunta come punto di riferimento una affermazione dello stesso Gramsci: l'essere lui l'autore di «quasi tutti i «Sotto la mole» pubblicati dopo il primo maggio 1916» (A. Gramsci, *Cronache della verità*, «Falce e martello», 11 giugno 1921. Si deve a Renzo Martinelli questa nuova attribuzione: cfr. *Articoli sconosciuti di Antonio Gramsci del 1921 e del 1915*, «Critica Marxista», n. 5, 1972, pp. 158-160). Sulla base di questa indicazione nella nuova Edizione nazionale degli scritti gramsciani «tutti i 'Sotto la mole' anonimi del 1917 sono stati conseguentemente attribuiti a Gramsci» (Rapone, *Nota al testo*, cit., p. XX), mentre le note di critica teatrale, l'altra rubrica fissa, come si è detto, tenuta da Gramsci, non hanno posto difficoltà di attribuzione. L'analisi dei testi infatti «dà sostegno alle testimonianze, confermando l'esistenza dietro quelle note di una mano che traccia con continuità e coerenza un percorso argomentativo unitario sia per il modo di intendere l'ufficio della critica sia per i gusti che si rivelano attraverso i giudizi espressi sulle opere» (*ibid.*, p. XXI).

³ Gramsci, *Cronache torinesi*, cit., p. 440.

⁴ Cfr. *Ibid.*, pp. 669-671.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁶ *Ibid.*

di critica profonda estesa ad ogni settore delle cosiddette scienze morali da Croce e Gentile»⁷.

Ciò che accomunò, provvisoriamente, la rivolta della rivista napoletana, «La Critica» e la scapigliatura dei fiorentini fu l'aspra critica rivolta alle chiusure della accademia italiana, la quale veniva accusata di essersi irrigidita nelle secche di un positivismo ormai tramutato in dogmatismo della peggior specie, in cui il richiamo all'empiria si era tramutato in «religione del fatto», in piatta metafisica gabbellata per scienza⁸.

Tale temperie di inizio secolo ebbe il merito anche di immettere nella cultura italiana temi e problemi propri del coevo dibattito filosofico europeo.

Per sconfessare la metafisica positivista, ma anche per superare le anguste secche di una cultura avvertita ormai come provinciale, infatti, gli autori del «Leonardo» cominciarono al principio del Novecento ad immettere nel dibattito culturale italiano temi e problemi propri del contesto europeo. Fu così che avvenne anche l'incontro con il pragmatismo di Henri Bergson e George Sorel, ma anche con quello anglo americano, specie con Ch. Alexander Peirce e William James⁹.

Soprattutto il pragmatismo italiano intendeva criticare lo scientismo positivista avvertito come una forma di «larvata teologia»¹⁰. Al suo interno ebbe non poche differenziazioni; ad esempio la logica di Peirce affascinò il

⁷ E. Garin, *Cronache di filosofia italiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997, vol. 1, p. 22. Occorre sottolineare come sul finire del diciannovesimo secolo, nel panorama filosofico della cultura ufficiale italiana, il vigore speculativo caratteristico delle metafisiche ottocentesche sembrava essersi affievolito. In aggiunta a ciò si andava diffondendo un certo malessere, da parte del ceto intellettuale, che traeva origine dal deperimento della funzione fino ad allora rivestita e che, ora, difficilmente riusciva a trovare una nuova collocazione nel contesto politico e sociale post-unitario. Frequenti erano le posizioni di 'estraneità' di cui l'«esangue spiritualismo che faceva capo a Terenzio Mamiani» (*ibid.*, p. 2), rispecchiava la difficoltà da parte dell'intellettualità ufficiale a trovare nuova collocazione nel contesto civico. Proprio in opposizione a tale «andazzo professorale e accademico» (*ibid.*, p. 4), sul finire del secolo si era animata la corrente del positivismo guidata in particolar modo da Roberto Ardigò sia l'hegelismo meridionale di Bertrando Spaventa e Francesco De Sanctis, che, seppur da posizioni diverse, cercarono di scalzare la cultura dominante.

⁸ Bisogna dire che il positivismo, specie quello italiano, fu movimento composito, nutrito al proprio interno di distinzioni non di poco conto. Inoltre la filosofia positiva aveva trovato una entusiastica accoglienza in Italia, nella seconda metà dell'800, come espressione 'culturale' di una prima coscienza della profonda trasformazione economica e sociale del Paese; è altrettanto vero però che avendo attecchito su un tronco ancora troppo fragile – un'industrializzazione appena nascente in una piccola parte del paese – si era tramutata inevitabilmente «nel positivismo ufficiale scolasticizzato degli ultimi decenni del secolo», volgendosi in una filosofia senza radici nella società, nonostante il fervore «dei neofiti e il prestigio del loro patriarca, Roberto Ardigò» (N. Bobbio, *Profilo ideologico del Novecento italiano*, Torino, Einaudi, 1986, p. 7).

⁹ Sulla questione vedi M. Dal Pra, *Studi sul pragmatismo italiano*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 1984. Vedi anche G. Papini, *Sul Pragmatismo. Saggi e ricerche (1903-1911)*, Milano, Libreria Editrice Milanese, 1913.

¹⁰ In merito a questo aspetto del pragmatismo italiano vedi E. Garin, *Note sul pensiero italiano del '900*, «Leonardo», vol. XV, 1946, pp. 22-32 e L. Pedrazzi, *Il Pragmatismo in Italia 1903-1911*, «Il Mulino», 1952, pp. 495-520.

pragmatismo logico di Vailati e Calderoni, mentre l'intuizionismo di Bergson e la filosofia dell'azione di Sorel furono assorbite maggiormente da Papini e Prezzolini. Intenso fu lo scambio intellettuale anche tra Papini e James¹¹. Di quest'ultimo già nel 1900 circolava la traduzione dei suoi *Principi di psicologia* curata da Giulio Cesare Ferrari. In particolare lo *stream of consciousness* contenuta nei *Principi* – questi ultimi definiti dallo stesso Gramsci in una lettera alla cognata Tatiana Schucht «il miglior manuale di psicologia»¹² – quindi l'esame delle facoltà cognitive, della volontà e delle emozioni, furono associate alla polemica contro le filosofie speculative «che iniziavano i giovani del gruppo vinciano alla ricerca di un'epistemologia su base psicologica»¹³.

A questo proposito, proprio per evidenziare la consonanza del giovane Gramsci con il clima culturale delle avanguardie primo novecentesche – ad esempio in un articolo apparso sulla pagina torinese dell'«Avanti!» egli sottolinea l'enorme contributo apportato da «La Voce» di Papini e Prezzolini «nel cercare di svecchiare e di isnellire la cultura italiana accademica e in gran parte vaniloquente»¹⁴ – possiamo far riferimento anche alla testimonianza di Palmiro Togliatti. Quest'ultimo ha sottolineato, in più occasioni, come la formazione di Gramsci fosse profondamente diversa da quella dei vecchi esponenti del movimento socialista e come in lui trasparisse un'interpretazione del socialismo «storicamente concreto», profondamente radicato nel contesto nazionale, capace di far propria la critica della società italiana uscita dal Risorgimento, che era stata formulata dagli elementi più avanzati non soltanto della corrente socialista, ma di tutte le correnti liberali e democratiche»¹⁵. La visione complessa della realtà confermava a Togliatti il fatto che Gramsci non provenisse «dal positivismo [...] piuttosto dagli studi filologici e filosofici e la sua formazione mentale era soprattutto paragonabile a quella dei grandi fondatori del pensiero marxista; proveniva piuttosto dalla filosofia hegeliana»¹⁶.

¹¹ James nel «Journal of Philosophy» del 21 giugno 1906 dedica a Papini e al «Leonardo» lo scritto *G. Papini and the Pragmatist Movement in Italy*. In esso il filosofo americano considerava il gruppo dei giovani scrittori fiorentini, un gruppo di fervidi, liberi capaci di sperimentare nuove possibilità espressive del pensiero e del linguaggio (cfr. A. Santucci, *Il Pragmatismo in Italia*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1963, pp. 70-71).

¹² A. Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, a cura di A.A. Santucci, Palermo, Sellerio, 1996, p. 249 (Lettera del 29 marzo 1929).

¹³ P. Casini, *Alle origini del Novecento. «Leonardo», 1903-1907*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2002, p. 17.

¹⁴ A. Gramsci, *Per la verità*, «Avanti!», 16 maggio 1916, ora in Gramsci, *Cronache torinesi*, cit., p. 251.

¹⁵ P. Togliatti, *Discorso su Gramsci nei giorni della liberazione* (discorso tenuto al Teatro San Carlo di Napoli il 29 aprile 1949), «l'Unità», 1° maggio 1949, ora in Id., *Scritti su Gramsci*, a cura di G. Liguori, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 2001, p. 111.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112. Si è soffermato su questo retroterra idealistico della formazione gramsciana Leonardo Rapone secondo il quale il disprezzo per il socialismo positivista va riferito alla questione nodale «dell'intersecazione tra la volizione e la necessità, della storia come unità di economia e spiritualità, che persino nella loro formulazione lessicale rimandano implicitamente ora a Gentile

Fu anche grazie a questo retroterra culturale che, molto probabilmente, il giovane intellettuale sardo cominciò ad appassionarsi di questioni che non erano presenti nel dibattito marxista coevo¹⁷.

La convinzione circa il fatto che la soggettività non vada considerata come un elemento presupposto all'indagine sociale, oltre a rappresentare una critica nei confronti del marxismo economicista, caratteristico dell'impostazione secondointernazionalista, è altresì confrontabile con quella visione dinamico-relazionale della soggettività, di cui la filosofia pragmatista a partire dal rifiuto della metafisica classica e dell'essenzialismo filosofico di matrice cartesiana, si fa interprete. Ciò che viene proposto consiste in una visione anti-intuizionistica del soggetto che, prima con Ch. Peirce nella valorizzazione della linguisticità del pensiero, poi con W. James e i suoi *Principi di psicologia*, può essere confrontata con il marxismo di Gramsci soprattutto per l'attenzione che egli riserva al «movimento molecolare» dell'intrapsichico, tale per cui nella riflessione gramsciana, l'individuale non è mai il residuale dell'indagine sociale¹⁸.

2. Educazione e scuola nei Quaderni del carcere

Volendo, dunque, insistere su questo aspetto della riflessione gramsciana, presente anche nelle note carcerarie, e incentrato sul nesso individuo-società, possiamo soffermarci sull'importanza accordata alla funzione educativa del soggetto. Ma subito occorre chiarire cosa si intende per «centralità» della pedagogia nel progetto gramsciano. Come egli argomenta in un luogo dei *Quaderni del carcere*¹⁹, il rapporto pedagogico non può essere limitato ai rapporti specificatamente 'scolastici' in quanto «questo rapporto esiste in tutta la società nel suo complesso e per ogni individuo rispetto ad altri individui, tra ceti intellettuali e non intellettuali, tra governanti e governati, tra élite e seguaci, tra dirigenti e diretti»²⁰.

ora a Croce» (Rapone, *Cinque anni che paiono secoli*, cit., p. 280).

¹⁷ Sul tema mi si consenta di rimandare a C. Meta, *Il soggetto e l'educazione. Formazione dell'uomo e teoria della personalità in Gramsci*, Roma, Boredeaux, 2019.

¹⁸ Cfr. D. Ragazzini, *Leonardo nella società di massa. Teoria della personalità in Gramsci*, Bergamo, Moretti-Honegger, 2002, pp. 24-25.

¹⁹ A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, a cura di V. Gerratana, Torino, Einaudi, 1975 (§ 44, p. 1331).

²⁰ *Ibid.* Gramsci inizia a svolgere la sua riflessione educativa a partire dai problemi impostati nel *Quaderno I*, connettendolo al tema dell'egemonia e al ruolo di mediazione fondamentale svolto dagli intellettuali in particolare nella storia italiana nella quale, a partire dal XIX secolo, egli analizza «i motivi della supremazia dei moderati sugli altri gruppi e la loro capacità di direzione delle masse popolari»; in tale contesto la questione dell'educazione e della *scuola* risultò per essi fondamentale. In buona sostanza «i moderati seppero imporre nel Risorgimento la propria supremazia anche sulle funzioni educative, elaborando il principio pedagogico fondato sull'idea

Un aspetto inoltre emerge come tratto caratteristico della pedagogia gramsciana, ovvero quello di essere fondata su una visione storicizzata dell'umano. Nel trasformare, in un passo specifico del *Quaderno 10* § 54, la domanda «che cosa è l'uomo?» nell'altra «che cosa l'uomo può diventare?», c'è sicuramente uno spunto antikantiano, il quale rifiuta l'idea una natura umana originaria; la naturalità di cui l'uomo dispone, infatti, è inglobata nella storicità e nella socialità delle sue azioni ed è in funzione di esse. «L'uomo» – scrive ancora Gramsci nel *Quaderno 10* – «è l'insieme dei rapporti sociali non è l'individuo psicologicamente e speculativamente inteso»²¹.

Come ha evidenziato Valentino Gerratana²², anche se è vero che tutti gli scritti di Gramsci sono attraversati da tentazioni autobiografiche – nella scrittura gramsciana ricorre infatti con frequenza l'uso di ricordi e annotazioni di questo genere – vi è tuttavia una netta presa di distanza da un certo tipo di autobiografia, vista come atto narcisistico, frutto di un'inutile tentazione solipsistica.

In una nota del *Quaderno 14* § 59, intitolata *Giustificazione delle autobiografie*, Gramsci ribalta il presupposto di una presunta 'originalità idiota': proprio perché si percepisce la propria vita simile a quella di mille altre vite, l'autobiografia «può essere concepita 'politicamente'»²³, mostrando ad altri come «svilupparsi secondo certi modi e verso certi sbocchi»²⁴; e proprio perché «si descrive in atto ciò che altrimenti si deduce logicamente»²⁵, essa

di lasciare libere le forze psichiche del fanciullo di svilupparsi (recuperando così elementi della pedagogia di Rousseau) per contrastare l'egemonia gesuitica sull'educazione»; in tal modo essi si presentarono, in un primo momento, come forza progressiva soprattutto per gli intellettuali laici «ai quali dava nella scuola una propria personalità» (C. Meta, *L'altra educazione*, in A. Gramsci, *Quaderno del carcere n. 12*, a cura di C. Meta, Roma, Edizioni Conoscenza, 2018, p. 23). Inoltre, nel delineare le sue idee educative, le *Lettere* svolgono un ruolo centrale. Sono, infatti, le corrispondenze epistolari con i familiari a fornirgli il materiale pedagogico su cui sviluppare le sue argomentazioni. Le *Lettere* spesso contengono il primo spunto e la prima stesura di pensieri che ricompariranno in forma più distesa e meditata nei *Quaderni*. In esse il ragionamento verte sin dagli inizi sull'utilità o meno della coercizione. Nel 1930 Gramsci scrive alla moglie Giulia, parlando dell'educazione del figlio Delio: «finché la personalità sia giunta a un certo grado di sviluppo un po' di pedanteria sia necessaria indispensabile» (Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, cit., p. 345). Nello stesso anno, scrivendo al fratello Carlo dell'educazione della nipote Mea, esprime una concezione della vita e dell'educazione – in accordo con le marxiane *Tesi su Feuerbach* – viste come «lotta per adattarci all'ambiente ma anche e specialmente per dominarlo e non lasciarcene schiacciare»; in conseguenza di ciò, Gramsci pensa che se nel rapporto educativo si rinuncia a «intervenire [...] usando dell'autorità che viene dall'affetto e dalla convivenza familiare facendo pressione in modo affettuoso ed amorevole ma tuttavia rigido e fermo inflessibilmente, avverrà senza alcun dubbio che la formazione spirituale [...] sarà il risultato meccanico dell'influsso casuale di tutti gli stimoli di quest'ambiente» (*ibid.*, pp. 350-352).

²¹ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1337.

²² V. Gerratana, *Saggio sulla dissoluzione del soggetto*, in Id., *Problemi di metodo*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1996, pp. 120-148.

²³ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1718.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

assume «un grande valore storico, in quanto mostra la vita in atto e non solo come dovrebbe essere secondo le leggi scritte o i principii morali dominanti»²⁶.

Gramsci in sostanza rifiuta una concezione della storia e della politica che muova da un soggetto presupposto già istituito autonomamente dalla sola produzione materiale²⁷. In questo modo ripudia anche l'ipostatizzazione della soggettività collettiva propria della tradizione del marxismo economicista. In un paragrafo intitolato *Quantità e qualità* del *Quaderno 11*, § 32, il pensatore sardo argomenta emblematicamente che il passaggio individuo-società non è un processo cumulativo, in quanto «ogni società è qualcosa di più della mera somma dei suoi componenti individuali»²⁸. Per questa ragione la dialettica quantità-qualità non va schiacciata su uno dei due termini, come fanno idealismo e materialismo volgare che compiono due ipostasi arbitrarie.

Assorbendo influssi provenienti dal vitalismo francese di fine Ottocento, in particolare da Bergson²⁹, Gramsci interpreta la storia come «processo organico», per tanto, non indagabile «attraverso causalismi 'semplificatori' che occultano la complessità e la materialità della trasformazione»³⁰.

Egli inoltre utilizza per descrivere il rapporto dialettico che intercorre tra singolo e collettività il concetto di «trasformazione molecolare», in numerosi luoghi dei *Quaderni*, proprio per evidenziare un approccio antimoralistico alla tematica della persona.

Si tratta, da questo punto di vista, di un pensiero eminentemente 'relazionale' che si manifesta in ogni ambito da quello politico (il riferimento va all'elaborazione del concetto di egemonia come costruzione del consenso) a quello appunto pedagogico: per Gramsci rimane centrale l'insegnamento dell'attivismo e la lezione di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice per cui esiste sempre un rapporto bilaterale e reciproco tra maestro e allievo.

In sostanza il compito fondamentale che Gramsci assegna alla scuola, come istituzione, è proprio quello di promuovere un modello educativo rivolto a sviluppare conoscenze che rendano ogni individuo contemporaneo alla sua epoca.

In virtù di questa ragione egli critica la riforma della scuola promossa dal ministro dell'istruzione del governo fascista, Gentile, nel 1923, perché espressione di un modello di società legato ad una oligarchica partecipazione

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ R. Finelli, "Farsi soggetto". *Contro la metafisica del soggetto del "Manifesto" del '48*, in Id., *Tra moderno e postmoderno. Saggi di filosofia sociale e etica del riconoscimento*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2005, pp. 149-52.

²⁸ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1446.

²⁹ In merito all'influsso esercitato dalla filosofia francese di fine Ottocento su Gramsci è da vedere: A. Di Meo, *La tela tessuta nell'ombra arriva a compimento. Processi molecolari, psicologia e storia nel pensiero di Gramsci*, «Il Cannocchiale. Rivista di studi filosofici», vol. 3, 2012, pp. 77-141.

³⁰ E. Forenza, *Molecolare*, in G. Liguori, P. Voza (edd.), *Dizionario gramsciano 1926-1937*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, p. 551.

della politica ormai tramontato e incapace di cogliere la novità di fondo della società moderna, ovvero l'irruzione delle masse nella vita politica. Questo dato impone un ripensamento strutturale delle modalità di istruzione e di trasmissione dei saperi. Si tratta di un percorso che, lungi dal configurarsi come una parossistica divaricazione in indirizzi specialistici (che non fanno altro che ripetere nella pedagogia la divisione cristallizzata della società in classi) promuova invece una riforma organica capace di interpretare a fondo ciò di cui una moderna società fondata sulla democrazia ha bisogno, ovvero la dilatazione della funzione dell'intellettualità. Paradossalmente ciò accade in una forma, quella appunto della moltiplicazione delle specializzazioni, opposta a quello che dovrebbe essere il fine, il coinvolgimento degli individui «come partecipi di un comune progetto, perché li ammette solamente in quanto portatori di una qualifica lavorativa che definisce in modo rigidamente unilaterale la loro personalità storica»³¹.

È questa la contraddizione che Gramsci esplora lungo tutto il *Quaderno 12*, mettendo in evidenza come essa, temporaneamente risolta sul finire dell'Ottocento dalla legge Casati, tramite la creazione di scuole tecniche volte alla formazione e qualificazione di nuove figure professionali, richieste dall'ammodernamento dell'industria italiana, sia esplosa nuovamente nel Novecento e abbia ricevuto una sistemazione puramente conservativa dalla riforma Gentile³². Questa infatti, riservando la formazione umanistica solo ad una ristretta élite della società, apre la strada ad una moltiplicazione enorme di scuole professionali. La paradossalità, inoltre, di questa situazione si evidenzia nel fatto che mentre tale 'dicotomia' viene spacciata per un atto democratico,

³¹ F. Frosini, *Gramsci e la filosofia, Saggio sui Quaderni del carcere*, Roma, Carocci, 2003, p. 191.

³² La legge Casati del 1859, promulgata per il Regno di Sardegna e poi estesa dopo il Sessanta a tutta l'Italia unita, fu la prima legge che stabiliva l'obbligo scolastico per le classi elementari, anche se trascurava completamente i problemi economici e sociali che sempre vanno preliminarmente risolti per rendere operante un simile principio. Essa inoltre organizzava il sistema scolastico secondo principi liberali: delineava un'amministrazione centralizzata con il compito di programmare e controllare la vita scolastica nel suo insieme, divideva l'istruzione scolastica in classica e tecnica, fissava i due gradi – inferiore e superiore – dell'istruzione elementare delegata ai Comuni, realizzava inoltre le scuole normali per la formazione dei maestri e sanciva l'obbligo scolastico per il grado inferiore elementare, che restò largamente evaso. Nel 1923 Giovanni Gentile in nome del «criterio Casati», intende rinnovare radicalmente la scuola italiana, chiudendo ogni spazio di mobilità sociale e favorendo solo il canale formativo liceale. Viene fissato in questo modo un sistema scolastico rigido e internamente differenziato che separa le scuole secondarie umanistiche (per le classi dirigenti) da quelle tecniche (per le classi subalterne). (Sul tema, tra i tanti: 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; G. Talamo, *La scuola dalla legge Casati alla inchiesta del 1864*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1960; E. De Fort, *Storia della scuola elementare in Italia*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1979; R. Sani, *Scuola e istruzione elementare in Italia dall'Unità al primo dopoguerra. Itinerari storiografici e prospettive di ricerca*, in Id. (ed.), *Sub specie educationis, Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, p. 339 e pp. 345-359).

in quanto permette comunque, anche a diversi livelli, un'istruzione accessibile a tutti, in realtà «non solo è destinata a perpetuare le differenze sociali, ma a cristallizzarle in forme cinesi»³³.

La battaglia per la conquista di una nuova civiltà, di un progresso intellettuale esteso a tutte le classi sociali, si misura, inoltre, anche con la capacità, non solo della scuola, ma anche di tutte quelle strutture che compongono la fitta rete della società civile, di diffondere lo spirito pubblico, l'educazione alla «socialità» la chiama Gramsci. Per questa ragione di fondamentale importanza è favorire la diffusione dello «spirito scientifico», al fine di superare l'elemento magico e folklorico, tipico delle classi sociali subalterne. Per Gramsci le nozioni scientifiche in particolare servono «a introdurre il bambino nella 'societas rerum'»³⁴, in quanto esse entrano «in lotta con la concezione magica del mondo e della natura che il bambino assorbe dall'ambiente impregnato di folklore, come le nozioni di diritti e doveri entrano in lotta con le tendenze alla barbarie individualistica e localistica, che è anch'essa un aspetto del folklore»³⁵.

Bisogna allora preoccuparsi di educare tutte le coscienze ad un nuovo *abito critico*, il quale deve essere coltivato senza differenza di età né di classe. Per realizzare questo progetto occorre contrastare l'astrattismo, di stampo illuminista.

Proprio, infatti, l'accettazione dei presupposti dell'attivismo pedagogico, di derivazione idealistica fondato sulla rivendicazione dello sviluppo libero e autonomo delle facoltà del fanciullo, considerato giusto quando si rivolge contro il nozionismo e l'autoritarismo, diviene pericoloso quando si traduce nell'«idoleggiamento»³⁶ della spontaneità del fanciullo. A questo modo di concepire l'educazione Gramsci oppone una concezione dell'uomo come «formazione storica ottenuta con la coercizione (intesa non solo nel senso brutale e di violenza esterna)»; diversamente si cadrebbe in una forma di «trascendenza o di immanenza»³⁷.

Allo stesso tempo però occorre sollecitare l'interesse dell'allievo, onde evitare che l'insegnamento si tramuti in una ripetizione di formule astratte.

Alla luce della dialettica esistente tra spontaneità e direzione consapevole all'interno di ciascun individuo, il monito gramsciano è quello di educare ad una nuova forma di conformismo, sociale appunto, che sia in grado di esprimere le esigenze di una società, quella democratica, in cui tutti sono potenzialmente governanti, quindi necessariamente devono acquisire abiti e comportamenti che siano in grado di disciplinare i loro impulsi individualistici. La democrazia è infatti una società nella quale opera una comunicazione orizzontale e reciproca fra le parti che la compongono, tra società civile e società politica.

³³ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1547.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1540.

³⁶ A. Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, cit., p. 301 (Lettera a Giulia, 30 dicembre 1930).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Comunicazione non gerarchica, ma osmotica; Gramsci porta spesso l'esempio negativo della comunicazione tra i ranghi dell'esercito e la denota col termine dominio o «cadornismo»³⁸, per indicare una forma di comunicazione e di organizzazione della società piramidale, basata appunto più sulle differenze individuali, che sulle 'conformazioni' sociali. Egli disprezza l'originalità *idiota*, e si fa fautore di un conformismo inteso come socializzazione organizzata.

Nel *Quaderno 22*, inoltre, dedicato ad *Americanismo e Fordismo*³⁹ il tema del conformismo si salda alla riflessione sui problemi legati alle nuove forme assunte dall'industrializzazione, i quali inducono ad una forma di conformazione tecnica dal basso. Nella formazione dell'uomo nuovo se da un lato Gramsci ribadisce la sua concezione umanistica, dall'altra accentua le esigenze pratico-organizzative di una cultura che sia proletaria per il ruolo autonomo e responsabile che il proletariato vi esercita e per questa ragione, in essa, la scuola deve puntare allo sviluppo completo delle facoltà mentali⁴⁰.

Egli, diversamente ad esempio dagli esponenti della Scuola di Francoforte, non si limita alla denuncia della demolizione istintuale e politica dell'individualità, né della introduzione del taylorismo e della meccanizzazione della vita. Intanto si tratta di un processo che è anche di avanzamento, di sviluppo, che prelude ad un mutamento antropologico di massa. Il disagio del presente verrà infatti superato se interverrà la creazione di un nuovo nesso psico-fisico di tipo differente da quelli precedenti e che trasformi la coercizione presente in libertà, in una sorta di seconda natura.

³⁸ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1753.

³⁹ All'indomani della crisi del capitalismo mondiale, avvenuta in seguito al crollo della borsa di Wall Street del 1929 che darà esito, come è noto, alla ristrutturazione dell'economia degli anni trenta del Novecento, componente essenziale nell'analisi della 'stabilizzazione'- che segna l'economia mondiale degli anni Trenta – per Gramsci diviene la valutazione da dare ai processi avviati «di riorganizzazione tecnico-produttiva (la razionalizzazione) in rapporto alla prospettiva di sviluppo del capitalismo» (F. De Felice, *Introduzione ad A. Gramsci, Quaderno 22. Americanismo e fordismo*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975, p. XXII) che in America conoscono una fase senza precedenti, nella storia dell'occidente, e rispetto alla quale le risposte dell'Europa, sia nella 'variante' del corporativismo fascista sia del collettivismo sovietico risultano, ai suoi occhi, del tutto inadeguate a comprendere la nuova 'fase' segnata dall'avvento della produzione di massa su larga scala.

⁴⁰ Ha insistito sul nesso tra il conformismo inteso come acquisizione di abiti 'sociali' che disciplinano le spinte individualistiche presenti all'interno di ciascun individuo e educazione, M.A. Manacorda nel suo *Il principio educativo in Gramsci. Americanismo e conformismo*, Roma, Armando, 1970. Massimo Baldacci ha recentemente ricordato questa interpretazione di Manacorda, a suo avviso eccessivamente «economicista», ponendola a confronto con altre interpretazioni del tempo, di Giovanni Urbani e Angelo Broccoli, più tese a leggere le questioni educative in connessione con l'elaborazione del concetto di egemonia e, specie per quanto riguarda Broccoli, con quello di «blocco storico». Ricordando in particolare la posizione di Broccoli, Baldacci scrive: «il problema dell'egemonia è di carattere pedagogico, sia a livello individuale sia a livello delle masse, dove si pone in connessione con l'elaborazione di una teoria della comunicazione sociale» (M. Baldacci, *Oltre la subalternità. Praxis e educazione in Gramsci*, Roma, Carocci, 2017, p. 128).

In Gramsci resta centrale la questione, come ha sottolineato Nicola Badaloni⁴¹, dalla separazione tra «produzione» e «rapporto proprietario» che la tecnica non può risolvere da sé; di qui la necessaria saldatura operata dalla «volontà collettiva» in diretto rapporto con lo Stato e con le trasformazioni da operare in questo. Sinteticamente: la «razionalità» non può essere accumulata, indipendentemente dalla sua socializzazione, partecipata dal basso, altrimenti non solo si ripeteranno le condizioni di sfruttamento delle classi che storicamente hanno favorito la privatizzazione dei mezzi di produzione, ma anche si interromperà l'intero processo di democratizzazione della società, innescato dal progresso tecnologico.

⁴¹ Cfr. N. Badaloni, *Gramsci: la filosofia della prassi come previsione*, in *Storia del Marxismo*, Vol. III, *Il Marxismo nell'età della terza Internazionale*, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, pp. 321-334.

The ordinary and the extreme: Second World War in young adult fiction set in Asia

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ABSTRACT: Scholars of children's and young adult fiction have argued that traumatic subjects might inflict psychological stress on the young readers which they might not be equipped to deal with. Hence much of children's literature scholarship in the field of Trauma Studies is preoccupied with the question: how do we tell the children about the traumas of history? This study turns to two young adult novels set during the Second World War in Asia – *When my Name was Keoko* (2002) and *Year of Impossible Goodbyes* (1991) which narrate catastrophic events in war-torn Korea. Written in first person, the two novels set war trauma against the ordinariness of everyday life. The two elements – the real and the extreme – at times, merge and at times, challenge each other, hence shaping the narratives of coming-of-age of the protagonist as well as the reader.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Second World War; Young adult fiction; Korea; Asia; XXth-XXth Centuries.

Poststructuralist paradigms locate the roots of trauma in a psychological breach: «an unbridgeable abyss, an inherent gap of knowing» that defies linguistic referentiality or narrative representations»¹. In her seminal text on Trauma Studies, Cathy Caruth insists that «trauma is not locatable in the simple

¹ C. Caruth, *Unclaimed experience: trauma, narrative, and history*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 39.

violent or original event in an individual's part, but rather in the way its very unassimilated nature – the way it was precisely not known in the first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later on»². Hence no form of representation can preserve or narrate trauma or do justice to the experience. Trauma, in poststructural theory, can be represented only as an aporia: it is «not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor»³. Several theorists and scholars have focused on this literal return of a traumatic experience in nightmares or flashbacks⁴.

This conceptualization of trauma has led to the central paradox of Trauma Studies. Given its inherent intangibility, trauma is impossible to represent except in a cycle of repetition that mimics the traumatic experience by returning incessantly to the site of suffering. Instead of «working out» the trauma, the victim is confronted with it repeatedly, through such painful intrusions. In the context of children's and young adult fiction, such representational mimicry raises a greater ethical dilemmas. Scholars like Epstein have cautioned the authors and teachers against the dangers of representing trauma in children's literature, particularly the fiction depicting war atrocities and suffering. Epstein argues that such representations might inflict psychological stress that the young readers might not be equipped to deal with⁵. Moreover, if the task of young adult fiction is to guide the protagonist and thereby, the reader into adulthood⁶, the portrayal of war atrocities might make the young readers vulnerable to psychological trauma intrinsic to Second World War literature and negatively impact the very purpose of the genre.

Hence much of children's literature scholarship in the field of Trauma Studies is preoccupied with the question: how do we tell the children about the traumatic events of history? How does one pass on the memories with historical accuracy without passing on the trauma? Writers of Holocaust fiction for young adult readers have embraced the tropes of imaginative storytelling to bear the legacy of the Holocaust⁷. Tropes of fantasy, time travel, and fairy tales have emerged as a means for the young protagonist, and through, them

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ D. La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 211-212; J. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, New York, Basic Books, 1992, p. 33.

⁵ B.J. Epstein, K. Andrews, M. Gray, A. Maws, *Discussion Forum Inflicting Trauma: The Ethics of Writing and Teaching the Holocaust for Children*, «Holocaust Studies», vol. 19, n. 1, 2013, pp. 101-120.

⁶ R.S. Trites, *Disturbing the Universe: Power and repression in adolescent literature*, Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 2000; R. McCallum, *Ideologies of identity in adolescent fiction*, New York, Garland, 1999; V. Saxena, *The Subversive Harry Potter*, Chicago, McFarland, 2012.

⁷ V. Saxena, «Live. And remember»: History, Memory, and Storytelling in Young Adult Holocaust fiction, «Literature and History», vol. 28, n. 1, 2019; P. Lasner, D.M. Cohen, *Magical Transports and Transformations: The Lessons of Children's Holocaust Fiction*, «Studies in American Jewish Literature», vol. 33, n. 2, 2014, pp. 167-185.

for a generation of young readers, to come to terms with the memories of Nazi genocide and embrace the injunction to remember.

This study turns to two young adult novels set during the Second World War in Asia to trace a different form of narration. *When my Name was Keoko*⁸ (2002) and *Year of Impossible Goodbyes*⁹ (1991) narrate catastrophic events in war-torn Korea in a matter-of-fact manner with an emphasis on day to day life. Written in first person, the two novels, unlike the young adult Holocaust fiction, are imbued with documentary-style realism. Linda Sue Park's *When My Name Was Keoko* (henceforth called *Keoko*) tells the story of ten-year-old Sun Yee and her older brother Tae Yul, growing up in Japan occupied Korea during the Second World War. Born in a proud Korean family, Sun Yee and Tae Yul's story recounts the experiences and struggles of the Koreans as they lived through the years of Japanese occupation. The children learn Japanese language and go to a Japanese school; the families take on Japanese names and adapt; mothers learn to run the household with meager resources, and proud Korean men like Sun Yee's father and uncle, learn to mask their resentment and be subservient. The novel is an account of complex internal conflicts that blend with external circumstances which frames the bildungsroman of the two Korean children growing up under the shadow of war. Told alternately by the sister and the brother, the novel presents the years of Japanese occupation of Korea and the Second World War from multiple perspectives of gender, age, and point-of-view. Similar realistic style of narration marks Sook Nyul Choi's *Year of Impossible Longings* (henceforth called *Year*). Choi's novel is an account of the years of Japanese occupation, the Second World and the subsequent Russian takeover of North Korea. Told by its ten-year-old protagonist, Sookan, the novel explores the real and the ideological warfare through the eyes of a child.

Instead of a breach then, the war trauma in the two novels is set against the ordinariness of everyday life. As much as they are a works of fiction, the novels are also historical accounts of life in Korea under Japanese occupation. Realism answers to the need to document and preserve the past but it also has its shortcomings, especially if one considers the above mention paradox concerning the representation of trauma: «The problematics of representing and coming to terms with an extreme historical event push the realist project – based, as it tends to be, on the depiction of modern, everyday life – to its limits»¹⁰. Hence it can be argued that while the realism in the texts serves the purpose of documenting the past, it falls short of capturing the trauma of the experience in its entirety.

⁸ L.S. Park, *When my name was Keoko*, New York, Clarion Books, 2002.

⁹ S.N. Choi, *The Year of Impossible Goodbyes*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991.

¹⁰ M. Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. 99.

In an effort to integrate realist portrayal of everyday life with the extreme experiences of trauma, Michael Rothberg puts forward the idea of traumatic realism where the two elements – the real and the extreme – at times, merge and at times, challenge each other. The narrative strategies of traumatic realism collapse the barrier between the ordinary and the extreme, placing them in a continuum – trauma emerges and is embedded in the structures of everyday life. The narratives of Park's and Choi's novel unsettle precisely because of this juxtaposition of the real and the extreme, especially when presented through the eyes of a first person – a child narrator – whose growth is framed within the environment of existential precarity and vulnerability.

The paper argues that, in the two novels, the strategies of traumatic realism work by a simultaneous movement towards familiarization and distancing built within the realistic modes of representations. Despite calling for a close bond between the first person narrator and the listener, the novels continuously disrupts the attachment, creating a critical distance that enables empathy without identification with the victim of trauma. Finally, the paper argues, this distance shapes the growth in the novel – not just of the character-narrator but more significantly of the reader-listener. Instead of growing with the protagonist, the reader grows through the act of witnessing trauma and listening to the testimony. Hence the distance between the listener-reader and the character-narrator creates a space for a critical engagement with history, its traumas as well as an empathic response that preserves the barriers between the reader and the protagonist, the witness, and the victim.

1. *The Ordinary, the Extreme and the Traumatic*

Recent scholarship in the field of Trauma Studies insists that the poststructuralist preoccupation with the intangible and incomprehensible nature of trauma fails to capture the experiences of those who are subjected to endemic and structural violation. For instance, postcolonial studies has called for more inclusive and specific paradigms to encompass the multiple social fractures that trauma inflicts in a colonial setting¹¹. Similarly Laura Brown has argued that psychological definitions of trauma that emphasize the irregular and unusual event over the 'everyday' have served to obscure experiences such as sexual violence which are 'usual', frequent and which so many women suffer¹².

¹¹ S. Craps, *Linking Legacies of Loss: Traumatic Histories and Cross-Cultural Empathy in Caryl Phillips's Higher Ground and The Nature of Blood*, «Studies in the Novel», vol. 40, n. 1, 2008, pp. 191-202.

¹² L.S. Brown, *Not outside the range: One feminist perspective on psychic trauma*, in C. Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in memory*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 101-102.

On the other hand, philosophers like Hannah Arendt have emphasized the ordinariness or «the banality of evil» insisting that evil is never «radical»; instead, it is a case of extremity that possesses neither depth nor any demonic dimension. Zygmunt Bauman in *Modernity and the Holocaust* argues that genocide is explainable with reference to ordinary sociological structures of the modern world. In contrast to images of an abyss, a traumatic catastrophe is a systemic manifestation a play of socio-political forces drawn to their limits.

More recently, Michael Rothberg has conceptualized trauma as «the peculiar combination of ordinary and extreme elements»: «Extremity here is not something that breaks with the ordinary dimensions of the modern world but exists on a continuum with it»¹³. Derived from Hal Forster's conceptualization realism in context of Avante Garde nineteenth century art, traumatic realism points to a deep imbrication of ordinary with the extreme that underlies the experience of trauma. This complexity, according to Rothberg, is the reason that trauma blocks the claims to knowledge or comprehension. Derived from a study of Holocaust testimony and focusing attention on the intersection of ordinary and extreme in the experience of the survivors, Rothberg's conceptualization of traumatic realism «provides an aesthetic and cognitive solution to the conflicting demands inherent in representing and understanding genocide»¹⁴; «a form of documentation and historical cognition attuned to the demands of extremity»¹⁵.

Realism holds an important position in the documentation of the extremities that are incomprehensible by nature. On the one hand, realism answers the call for accuracy of representation which «gives an illusion of exact correspondence with reality in its limited aspects... the fragmented, flawed world of quotidian experience that literary realism seems to refer»¹⁶. With respect to traumatizing events and their representation, it is a form of realism that fulfills the need for reference. However, the traumatizing extremities problematize the realist referentiality. Traumatic realism, in other words, encompasses the characteristics of both elements present in its name, since it shows «the distance between everyday reality and extreme situations»¹⁷.

This emphasis on realism situates the traumatogenic stimuli in a constellation of historical, political and cultural configurations. Critiquing the poststructural trauma discourse and its focus on transcendent loss, in *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, LaCapra distinguishes between loss happens at a historical level and absence that is transhistorical. While losses are material and historical events, absence is an existentialist notion devoid of historical specificity: «The

¹³ Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, cit., p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶ M. Slattery, *What Is Literary Realism?*, «The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism», vol. 31, n. 1, 1972, p. 55.

¹⁷ Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, cit., p. 139.

historical past is the scene of losses that may be narrated as well as of specific possibilities that may conceivably be reactivated, reconfigured, and transformed in the present or future»¹⁸.

A significant aspect of traumatic realism is its orientation to the future and to the reader sitting a comfortable spatial and temporal distance away from the sites of the past. Instead of miming its effect, traumatic realism seeks to present trauma as an object of knowledge and hence forces the reader to acknowledge their relationship to the posttraumatic culture¹⁹. This performative aspect of the traumatic realism echoes LaCapra's insistence on a writing that not only embodies the «acting out» of trauma (synonymous to repetition compulsion) but also the «working through» trauma by «developing articulations that are recognized as problematic but still function as limits and as possibly desirable resistances to undecidability»²⁰.

Thus the imbrication of epistemological, pedagogical and political aspects in traumatic realism creates narratives that unsettle as well as engage with the experiences of historical trauma. The simultaneity of the real and the extreme in a text creates a space for critical reflection that helps one to view the suffering of the other without subsuming the difference between the victim and the reader. It allows the reader/listener to empathize without identifying with the victim thus preserving his/her radical difference. The framework creates a vision of empathy that is «a dual structure, a movement both towards and away, which forms a simultaneous gesture of proximity (identification, subjectivity) and distance (objectivity, critical understanding)»²¹. LaCapra refers to it as «empathic unsettlement», a more «desirable empathy»²² that «allows for a tense interplay between critical, necessarily objectifying reconstruction and affective response to the voices of victims»²³. He defines empathic unsettlement as a «feeling for another without losing sight of the distinction between one's own experience and the experience of the other... it involves virtual, not vicarious experience – that is to say, experience in which one puts oneself in the other's position without taking the place of – or speaking for – the other, or becoming a surrogate victim who appropriates the victim's voice»²⁴. Hence it is distinct from «crude empathy [which] appropriates the experience of the other, reduces it to familiar frames of reference and therefore violates its singularity»²⁵.

Despite their realist setting, the two novels under consideration are marked by a critical awareness of ordinariness and extremities. It is evident if one closely

¹⁸ D. LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, cit., p. 49.

¹⁹ Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, cit., p. 140.

²⁰ LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, cit., p. 22.

²¹ L. Ward, *Simultaneous Gesture of Proximity and Distance: W.G. Sebald's Empathic Narrative Persona*, «Journal of Modern Literature», vol. 36, n. 1, 2012, pp. 1-16.

²² LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, cit., p. 102.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁵ Craps, *Linking Legacies of Loss*, cit., pp. 195-196.

looks at the titles of the two books. The title, *Year of Impossible Goodbyes* invites the reader by its lyrical and emotionally charged quality that one would associate with goodbyes and partings, the adjective “impossible”, hints at their unbearable aspect. The call for emotional investment is accompanied by a distance established in terms of time and setting. It is the «year» – a period bound within a duration of a beginning and an end; «year» which is already in the past. Hence the account of «impossible goodbyes» is neither contemporary nor within the limits of present possibilities. It is a story of unbearable partings set in a distant past. Similarly *When my Name was Keoko* talks directly to the reader. It refers to the person who was once called Keoko; the use of past tense hints at identity shifts and temporal changes. Hence it establishes a boundary between «I» the person who experienced it all and «you» who exist in time and space far removed from that narrative. This simultaneous gesture of invitation and distancing creates a critical distance between the narrator and the reader. Simply put, empathic unsettlement preserves the singularity of experience that evokes empathy; instead of identification, it produces unsettlement that is necessary to create a critical space in which several narratives of trauma can co-exist in a dialogic relationship.

2. *Second World War fiction set in Korea and the Young readers*

The novels under consideration explore an arena of Second World War fiction that critics and scholars of children’s and young adult fiction have paid scant attention to. While most of the discussion on the Second World War fiction centers on the terrifying accounts of the Holocaust of the European Jews, fiction set beyond Europe, especially in Asia, is, to a large extent, an uncharted territory in the field of children’s literature scholarship.

Though Park’s and Choi’s novels often find a place in the curriculums designed for teaching multicultural literature²⁶, the novels go beyond the designated task of acquainting the young readers to the multicultural trends in literature. They provide an account of the Second World War that is rare in young adult fiction. The rapid advance of the Japanese imperial army in the mainland Asia and the violent years of Japanese Occupation over East and South-East Asia constitute the memories of Second World War in Asia. Just as most of the scholars of the Holocaust fiction agree that it is important, indeed a moral duty of the future

²⁶ T. Martin, T. Brown, *Backwards in Time and Forward in Spirit: Teaching Year of Impossible Goodbyes*, «The ALAN Review», vol. 29, n. 2, 2002; B.Y. Louie, *Unwrapping the ‘Pojagi’: Traditional Values and Changing Times in a Survey of Korean-American Juvenile Literature*, «Education Publications», n. 1, 2005; K.G. Short, *Critically Reading the Word and the World: Building Intercultural Understanding through Literature*, «Bookbird: A Journal of International Children’s Literature», vol. 47, n. 2, 2009, pp 1-10.

generations to remember the past²⁷, there is a need to preserve the memories of the war on the Asian continent. Not only do they bring to fore the trauma during the war, but these stories also extend the memory-scape of the Second World War beyond the Euro-American experiences, calling to attention the global and the unprecedented scale of the violence and suffering it engendered.

In other words, a deeper engagement with Asian Second World War fiction has the potential to create a discursive space within the genre of Second World War fiction where the memories and traumas from different groups, communities, and regions exist in a network, connected to each other, even as they remain distinct in their experiences and accounts. This empathic yet differential sharing of traumatic memories highlights what Rothberg calls the «multidirectional» orientation of memory that is, «subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative»²⁸; it «draw[s] attention to the dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance»²⁹.

What makes each of these accounts unique is not the nature of trauma but the political and historical conditions in which it is embedded. The Second World War literature set in Asia reflects the complex negotiations between the contemporary politics and socio-cultural shifts as well as its complicated colonial and war history. East Asia, including North and South Korea, is a region shaped by the Second World War and later the Cold War politics where the regimes of knowledge and ideologies incorporated themselves into the political, social and cultural formations of the region. Korea became Japan's second colony (first being Taiwan) in 1910. The years of Japanese imperialism were marked by protests and resistance particularly in 1919 when millions of Koreans took to the streets to protest a decade of colonial occupation. These protests movements were transnational in nature as they shared links with other movements in the region. For instance, in *Year*, Sookan's family was involved in the resistance movement in China before they were exiled to Korea. The ambivalent identity positions created by transnational migrations, colonial domination and Japanese hostilities in the region in the 1930s were subsequently complicated by United States-Soviet Occupation in 1945-1948. These post-war framed the North-South cultural divide in Korea setting the stage for Cold War contestations, not only in the field of politics but also in the arena of art, literature and cultural exchange. According to Hughes «the South Korea

²⁷ A. Kertzer, *Do you know what Auschwitz means. Children's literature and the Holocaust*, «The Lion and the Unicorn», vol. 23, n. 2, 1999, pp. 238-256; L. Kokkola, *Representing the Holocaust in Children's Literature*, New York, Routledge, 2003; N. Sokoloff, *Review of the book Representing the Holocaust in Children's Literature by Lydia Kokklola*, «The Lion and the Unicorn», vol. 30, n. 1, 2006, pp. 139-143.

²⁸ M. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

literary field has always organized itself around the contestations over unstable borders that often take the name of ‘national division’, itself largely an effect of the post-1945 break in which Hot War pan-Asianism was dispensed with in favor of the Cold War pitting of socialist bloc versus free world liberalism»³⁰. Dafna Zur, in her study of South Korean children’s fiction, notes that «each (North and South Korea) has told their national birth story – the story of division and war – in historical narratives for children»³¹. Park’s *Keoko* set in South Korea focuses on the conflicts between Korean self-determination and Japanese imperialism while Choi’s *Year* a greater temporal and spatial conflict, beginning with the years of Japanese occupation followed by the arrival of the Soviet army in Phnom Penh and the spread of communist ideology. The latter part of the novel recounts Sookan and her brother’s flight to South Korea where her older brothers and her father await her.

These complex socio-political shifts occur against the ordinary setting of home, family, and school. The effects of the Second World War and later the Cold War effect the everyday routines as the characters look for ordinary, livable life. Even as the novels invite the readers to immerse themselves in the Sookan’s and Sun Yee’s routine, they use subtle strategies that the point to the unbridgeable gap between the reader and protagonist.

3. *First Person Narration and Defamiliarization Techniques*

As mentioned earlier, in the two novels under consideration, the representation of the extremities of trauma emphasizing their continuity with the ordinary is undertaken by a simultaneous movement towards familiarization and defamiliarization. Choi, as well as Parks, present the events through the eyes of a first-person narrator. *Year* begins on an early day of 1945 spring. The description of the seasonal changes, the onset of spring, the mundane information about the household and its members alternates with the ominous descriptions of war-torn Korea. The war impinges on the ordinary routine to the extent its oppressiveness has become a part of the routine: «For the people in Kirimni, this day was no different from the bitter gray days of winter. The warmth of the spring sun and the thawing of the icy snow brought no respite from the oppressiveness that engulfed us»³². As she watches her grandfather meditate under the tree in the courtyard, ten-year-old Sookan is aware that

³⁰ T. Hughes, *Korean Literature across Colonial Modernity and Cold War*, «PMLA», vol. 126, n. 3, 2011, p. 676.

³¹ D. Zur, *Whose War Were We Fighting? Constructing Memory and Managing Trauma in South Korean Children’s Fiction*, «International Research in Children’s Literature», vol. 2, n. 2. 1999, p. 192.

³² Choi, *Year of Impossible Goodbyes*, cit., p. 1.

such simple tasks are an act of defiance against the Japanese soldiers. Over a decade of foreign occupation has inured the Koreans to accept and live through the unlivable; the anxiety, fear, and subterfuge have become an ordinary part of everyday routine.

While Choi's Sookan describes what she observes and learns about the world around her, Park's Sun Yee is a subversive and clever ten-year-old who knows that she shouldn't be eavesdropping on men's conversation. Yet every day after dinner, she dawdles over the table to learn more about the war. The topic of war is «men's business». Sun Yee shares her resentment and her tactics of gathering information with the reader: «*When was easy*. I was supposed to be quiet most of the time. The youngest in the family was never supposed to talk when older people were talking. And girls weren't supposed to talk much anyway, not when men or boys were around. So listening was easy for me; I'd done it all my life»³³.

But Sun Yee, as well as the reader, learn about the war, not only by eavesdropping on the «men's talk» but also through Omni, Sun Yee's mother who runs household in face of war-time adversities. Mediated through Sun Yee's consciousness, the war is presented as a part of everyday life reaching beyond the battlefield and men's conversation and affecting the domestic sphere. Her narration alternates with that of her brother Tae Yul who, though involved in the discussions about the war, simmers in anger at Abuji, his father for submitting to the Japanese.

Presenting the war through narrators marginalized from the discourse of war – by age as well as gender enables a perspective from the margins. Sun Yee and Tae Yul, as well as Sookan, begin as vulnerable and, to a large extent, passive subjects who are under the protection of adults who, though powerless in the external sphere, still wield more power and voice in the household. The use of the first person point-of-view in the two novels creates space for character identification for the young readers – a common characteristic of first-person accounts: «The reader's ability to identify with the central protagonist or narrator draws the reader into the text and helps him or her possess imaginatively the experiences the book represents»³⁴. Mieke Bal in his discussion on narratology, points out that 'a narrator of this type is a witness. The question whether the story that it tells is invented can no longer be asked. The text is full of indications that the story must be considered 'true'³⁵. This veracity is the implied claim of the first person narrator as it imbues the text with the quality of a testimony.

³³ Parks, *When My Name was Keoko*, cit., p. 1.

³⁴ C. Ross, *Young Adult Realism: Conventions, Narrators, and Readers*, «The Library Quarterly», vol. 55, n. 2, 1985, p. 84.

³⁵ M. Bal, C. Boheemen, *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 28.

This claim to veracity is further strengthened by the immediacy of the events that are narrated. Apart from the titles as discussed earlier, there is no lapse of time between the events and narration. Wylie, in her discussion of first-person narration, qualifies such narration as immediate-engaging in contrast to distancing narration, where the events are recreated from the memory³⁶. The later creates space a between the narrator and the narratee as time-lapse and fallibility of memory challenge the truth of the events. On the other hand, immediate-engaging first-person narration reveals events as well as the character of the character-narrator by emphasizing the immediacy of their subjective experience. Sun Yee's resentment at being kept out of the men's conversations and her subterfuge in gathering information or Sookan's acceptance of her mother's and her aunt's half-truths and silences when she asks about the war reveal not just the events but the way in which such resentments have been accepted and internalized by the protagonists as a way of life.

By sharing their intimate thoughts and fears, Sun Yee and Sookan draw the narratee in confidence. According to Wylie, «this drawing in of the narratee, as if he or she were the listener *in* the story rather than a reader *outside* the story means that in the process of reading, the narrated events are, to some degree actualized»³⁷. Aiden Chambers points out this shift from the implied to the implicated reader: «one so intellectually and emotionally given to the book, not just its plot and character but its negotiation between author and reader of potential meanings, that the reader is totally involved»³⁸. Such actualization that enables empathy by committing the narratee to the embrace and trust the first person narrator is a characteristic of children's and young adult fiction³⁹.

However, while it enables empathy, such close engagement with the protagonist raises the some significant concerns. Firstly, the first person narrative without distancing techniques imposes a narrowness of vision where the reliability of the narrator often passes unchallenged. The narrative voice demands an absolute trust, a complete suspension of disbelief. This leads to the second concern in the context of stories dealing with traumatic subjects. The identification with the character and the close engagement with what happens to her puts the young readers at a considerable risk of psychological stress or trauma⁴⁰.

³⁶ A. Wylie, *Expanding the View of First-Person Narration*, «Children's Literature in Education», vol. 30, n. 3, 1999, pp. 185-202.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³⁸ A. Chambers, *Booktalk: Occasional Writing on Literature & Children*, London, Bodley Head, 1985, p. 46.

³⁹ R. McGillis, *The embrace: Narrative voice and children's books*, «Canadian Children's Literature», vol. 63, 1991, pp 24-40.

⁴⁰ Epstien, *Discussion Forum Inflicting Trauma: The Ethics of Writing and Teaching the Holocaust for Children*, cit.

Parks and Choi employ subtle techniques of distancing to interrupt character identification in the two novels. Both the novels use multiple embedded narratives to create space for perspectives different from that of the narrator. On his deathbed, Sookan's grandfather ensures that she sees the photographs and learns about her missing family and their involvement in the resistance efforts against the Japanese. Similarly, as Sun Hee contemplates her new Japanese name Keoko, she remembers her Uncle telling them of the Korean runner won in the Olympics, but under the Japanese name and banner. These embedded narratives not only comment on the current situation of the character-narrator, they further complicate the narrative by providing the reader with a glimpse of the events beyond the immediate world that character-narrator inhabit.

Moreover, Choi's *Year* frequently refers to the incomplete and limited nature of first-person narrators. Coupled with reader's historical knowledge, this incomplete knowledge of the character-narrator distances the narrator and reader. The reader with his knowledge of history has access to the larger picture in which the character-narrator is implied. In *Year*, the deliberate gaps in the narrative created by the limited nature of Sookan's knowledge persist, inducing the reader to fill them with their own awareness about the Second World War. For instance, the text repeatedly gives us a glimpse of Sookan's friendship with the girls who work at her mother's sock factory. She is also aware of the tiring and tedious nature of their work as they make socks for the Japanese soldiers from dawn to midnight, dreading the visit by Japanese commander, Captain Narita – «the girls were entangled in machines that would never set them free»⁴¹. Despite their misery, Sookan can sense the unknown but dangerous repercussions if the girls ceased making socks: «I had always had a vague notion that something horrible might happen if the girls did not produce enough socks, but I was never sure what it might be»⁴².

Her fears come true when Narita claims the girls «to help our soldiers fight better». Despite anticipating danger, Sookan is surprised by her mother's anxiety: «Her face was pale and her eyes were filled with tears. I could not believe that she was bowing so humbly and desperately before this cruel little man. She seemed willing to do almost anything to change his mind... I wished I knew what they were talking about. I did not understand why Mother was so frightened»⁴³. Her anxiety about the unknown fate of the girls is accompanied with an emphasis on her own helplessness and ignorance: «I wished they would tell me what was happening. What did 'spirit girls' mean? Why were they being sent to the front? I was terribly afraid for the sock girls and yet I didn't even

⁴¹ Choi, *Year of Impossible Goodbyes*, cit., p. 9.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

know why [...] But I felt it was silly to ask. Wherever they were being taken, I could tell it was a fate even worse than death»⁴⁴.

Sookan's questions are never answered. She never learns about what happened to the sock girls after they were taken away by Narita and his men. For the readers, the clues are adequate. They know what Sookan does not – that the sock factory was not only meant to keep their household running but also to protect the girls from sexual slavery and enforced prostitution committed by the Japanese Army against the young Korean women during the World War II.

What happened to the sock girls? Sookan deliberates on the question time and again but the narrative does not answer her question. It is meant to be answered by history and the reader who is aware of the traumatic history of World War II in Asia is painfully aware of the fate of the sock girls. Choi uses this strategy repeatedly in the course of the narrative, inducing the readers to fill the narrative gaps with their greater historical knowledge. Grandfather's missing toenails surprise Sookan as she hears the story of his arrest by the Japanese army and exile from China. Once again it is left to the reader to make the connections. As Sookan undergoes the confusion of witnessing the abduction of the sock girls and her grandfather's death, the reader, distanced by his/her greater awareness of the course of history as well as the socio-political dimensions of the events that lie beyond the knowledge of the character-narrator.

Park's novel, on the other hand, uses two-person narrative. While Sun Yee is the major narrator, her voice alternates with that of her older brother Tae Yul. Unlike Sun Yee who is marginalized by her gender and age, Tae Yul's position is more complicated. Privileged in the house by the virtue of being the elder child and a boy, Tae Yul takes his position amongst the men of the household. His opinions and presence are sought out by their father and uncle. However, once outside the house, as a Korean boy, Tae Yul has no agency or voice. He is expected to submit to Japanese rules and regulations. The warnings and threats issued by the Japanese authorities are routine and unquestioningly tolerated by their father, Abuji with a passivity that enrages Tae Yul. While the adults are able to accept and live under the conditions, they chaff Tae Yul who not only resents his father's pacifism as a betrayal of Korean identity and culture but also sees Sun Yee's zeal to do learn at Japanese school as reflection of the same. When Sun Yee performs well in her class, her friends accuse her of being «*chin il pa*», «the lover of the Japanese». The accusation is echoed by Tae Yul leaving Sun Yee confused till Abuji explains the cultural continuities between the Korean Hangul and Japanese Kanji script.

The constant interchange of the narrative between two first-person narrators disrupts the identification with either of the characters and enables the readers to engage critically with each. Sun Yee's doubts and Tae Yul's growing resentment are held up for critique as the two narrators reflect on their own feelings and

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

the behavior of the other. They also challenge the illusion of ordinariness into which the world around them has fallen. To the reader, the adolescent doubts and anger reveal the conditions of injustice and wartime atrocities that the adults in the novel have learned to tolerate as a part of their everyday routine.

Thus, the familiarization enabled by the first-person narrator is repeatedly interrupted and challenged by narrative techniques that create a critical distance from which the reader can perceive and understand the incomplete nature of the story told by the character-narrator. While there is no time lapse between the events and narration, the historical distance between the protagonist-narrator and the reader is filled by the reader's knowledge of the war, its aftermath, and repercussions.

According to Rothberg traumatic realism «is marked by the survival of extremity into the everyday world and is dedicated to mapping the complex temporal and spatial patterns by which the absence of the real, a real absence, makes itself felt in the familiar plenitude of reality»⁴⁵. Rather than the character, these encounters with the absence of the real and the limits of understanding are aimed at the reader. For Sookan, Sun Yee and Tae Yul, crisis flows between the traumatic and the ordinary. The beatings in the school, abduction, and torture of the family members, constant hunger and shortage have become familiar and livable. On his death, Sookan's grandfather ensures that Sookan is made aware of the family's sacrifices and trauma. While Sookan imbibes and accepts this painful heritage, for the reader distanced by time, space and narrative strategies, this ordinariness is constantly disrupted by an unsettling awareness of the traumatic circumstances that have normalized the extremes and integrated them with the mundane practices of everyday life.

4. *(Un)Heroic Journeys and Trajectories of Growth*

Talking about the context of her Jewish education, Judith Butler in her essay *Ethical Ambivalence* talks about the question that was posed endlessly to set the scene for thinking of ethicality; «what you would have done in those circumstances [...] whether you would have stayed brave and fierce and agreed to die, whether you would have become cowardly, sold out, tried to live, and betrayed others in the process»⁴⁶. The question calls for an identification with the victim, the subject of trauma, asking the listener to place oneself in a similar position. The effect, she says, was «generally paralysis, guilt with occasional moments of hallucinatory heroism».

⁴⁵ Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, cit., p. 140.

⁴⁶ J. Butler, *Ethical Ambivalence*, in M. Garber, B. Hanssen, R.L. Walkowitz (edd.), *The Turn to Ethics*, New York-London, Routledge, 2000, p. 16.

The questions raise a deeper dilemma for young adult fiction. If the task of young adult fiction is to guide the protagonist and thereby the young reader out of adolescent solipsism into maturity adulthood⁴⁷, one needs to consider templates of growth available in the socio-cultural ecosystem where trauma and suffering are commonplace and its impact on the project of growth of the young reader that the fiction at hand is meant to affect.

To a large extent, Parks' and Choi's text pose similar questions by holding up the young protagonists and their diverse trajectories of growth. In *Keoko*, Sun Hee moves from the position of marginalization to the center of events in the household. Unlike Tae Yul, she chooses to learn Japanese at the school while she diligently learns Korean alphabet at home with her father. When the Japanese soldiers destroy the diary in which she has been recording day-to-day events, she starts another insisting that «If words weren't so important, they wouldn't try so hard to take them away»⁴⁸. Tae Yul, in contrast, decides to join the Japanese kamikaze pilots as a gesture of defiance – to indulge his love for flying while he sabotages Japanese war efforts by deciding to plunge the plane into the sea. As he prepares for his final flight, Tae Yul is ready to sacrifice himself instead of living under the shadow of the Japanese. Sookan, in Choi's novel, now separated from her mother during their bid to escape to South Korea, looks after her brother single-handedly for days as they search for the mother. At the end, she decides to give up on her search and the two children cross the 37th parallel into South Korea.

While the reader responds to Sun Yee's stoicism, Tae Yul's defiant sacrifice or Sookan's courage, the distancing effected by the narrative calls for a reflection on the way these choices are framed by the social and historical reality of war. These are the trajectories of growth available for the character-narrators caught in wartime hardships. Discussing the Holocaust narratives, Claudia Eppert insists on narratives that unsettle the heroism that is an endemic feature of contemporary Western social imaginary⁴⁹. This is especially true of adolescent or young adult fiction where the story of growth is often articulated in the form of the heroic narratives: scholars like Northrop Frye and Margery Hourihan⁵⁰ have pointed parallels between the structure of the hero monomyth and the adolescent-to-adulthood transition in young adult fiction. While these narratives make identification with the protagonists «easy and desirable», in

⁴⁷ R.S. Trites, *Disturbing the Universe: Power and repression in adolescent literature*, Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 2000; V. Saxena, *The Subversive Harry Potter*, Chicago, McFarland, 2012.

⁴⁸ Parks, *When My Name was Keoko*, cit., p. 107.

⁴⁹ C. Eppert, *Entertaining History: (Un)heroic Identifications, Apt Pupils, and an Ethical Imagination*, «New German Critique», vol. 86, 2018, pp. 71-101.

⁵⁰ N. Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973 [1957]; M. Hourihan, *Deconstructing the hero: Literary theory and children's literature*, London, Routledge, 1997.

context of trauma narratives, they fail as «we invariably come to experience not only the limits of our understanding but also the limits of our faith in ourselves: we experience the dissolution of the belief that we can rescue the past from its inhumanity»⁵¹.

Traumatic realism, on the other hand, is concerned with narratives that interrupt the heroic imaginary with confrontation between the real and the extreme. Though Tae Yul is able to fulfill his dream of flying a plane, it can come true only at the cost of self-sacrifice. Similarly, though Sookan is able to cross the border into South Korea, her sense of safety is tempered by the knowledge that her aunt and cousin Kisa died 'as traitors did' for helping them flee. Instead of a victory or a life-affirming conclusion associated with the heroic narratives, the endings disrupt the narrative of growth by linking it inextricably with loss and trauma.

For the reader of the novel, growth is accompanied with an awareness of historical traumas as well as their social and political dimensions. The narrative gaps, as mentioned earlier, encourage the readers to employ the historical knowledge available to them by the virtue of their location in the present. Unlike the emotional response of the character-narrator to a given situation, the defamiliarization invites a response that is detached and engaged at the same time. This empathic involvement becomes a significant element of intersubjective relationships as the young reader grows into adulthood and maturity. The testimony-like quality of narration in Parks' and Choi's novels calls for a break rather than a bond between the narrator-testifier and the listener-reader. Felman and Laub's 1992 study on ethics of witnessing emphasizes a bond between the listener or reader and the testifier in a «common struggle to release the testimony»⁵². Though response of listener-reader encourages responsibility as well as emotional engagement, it is the condition of trauma that one must engage with. While it is an ethical task to «to release testimony» by bonding with the testifier and her account of suffering, it is the trauma as manifestation of specific socio-political formations that must concern the listener and reader, and not the incomprehensible experience of pain and degradation.

According to Rothberg, traumatic realism is «counter-ideological precisely because it does not produce an imaginary resolution, but rather programs readers to recognize the absence of the real»⁵³. On the one hand, in contrast to the humanist paradigms of young adult literature, traumatic realism in the two novels evokes a posthumanist response that is answerable to difference and responsibility. At the same time, subtle narrative strategies arouse empathy and yet curtails the affective response that absolute identification with the protagonist

⁵¹ Eppert, *Entertaining History*, cit., p. 82.

⁵² S. Felman, D. Laub, *Testimony: Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*, New York, Routledge, 1992, p. 72.

⁵³ Rothberg, *Traumatic realism: The demands of Holocaust representation*, cit., p. 104.

would entail. Such empathic unsettlement becomes a means of bearing and communicating the memories of the trauma to the generations distanced by time and space. As realism emphasizes the accuracy of representation and documentation, the fictional texts emerge sites of memories that can effectively educate the young readers, broadening their perspectives beyond the textbook realms and opening dialogic spaces to engage with individual and collective memories and their relevance to the present.

Conclusion

An immersive identification with the text and the characters endangers the independent position of the reader/listener: «adopting another person's point of view is a dangerous thing. It creates feelings and attachments. It leads us to think of this other person in moral terms»⁵⁴. The twin techniques of familiarization and defamiliarization situate the reader at an unsettling distance from the narrative. Hence instead of appropriating the suffering and trauma of the characters, the juxtaposition of the real and extreme in the given novels enables an empathy that is responsive to the suffering of the other.

In young adult trauma fiction, such empathic unsettlement becomes an integral part of the narrative of growth. In contrast to the narratives of heroic victory, the trajectory of growth is oriented towards the other – the fictional character whose pain and degradation invites an emotional response as well as a reflection on the social, political and cultural structures of the past and the present. Through the oscillation between distance and engagement, or between an intellectual questioning and an emotional identification with the suffering of the fictional others, young adult narratives like *When My Name was Keoko* and Choi's *Year of Impossible Goodbyes* unsettle the humanist trajectory of young adult fiction by offering an ethical reading that invites solidarity without necessitating identification with the past or emotional attachment to its pain and suffering.

⁵⁴ P. Hogan, *The mind and its stories: Narrative universals and human emotion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 139-140.

Humboldt and the written word: on the media conditions for *bildung*

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ABSTRACT: This article treats Wilhelm von Humboldt and the concept of *Bildung* [self-formation]. It starts out in a general discussion of literacy, media history and German culture towards the end of the eighteenth century. Humboldt's time is characterized by what has been called a «media revolution». Literacy and extensive reading became increasingly common and the medium of writing gained a cultural dominance it did not have before. It is argued that the concept of *Bildung* in Humboldt can be understood in close relation to conditions shaped by these changes. The discussion focuses on the most important and famous work of Humboldt's youth, *The Limits of State Action* (1792). This text does not deal with the medium of writing on a manifest level, but with the relationship between the individual and the state. On closer examination, however, it is possible to interpret the text as a clear expression of the increasing cultural dominance of writing.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Self formation; Humboldt; Germany; XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries.

But how can the German idealist tradition, starting with Kant and expressing itself in many later forms, come to terms with the proposition that the intellect of man, as distinct from his other psychic properties, was only 'discovered' or at least fully realized as an 'existence' at the end of the fifth century B. C. and that this also was in effect a linguistic event?¹

¹ E.A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to write: reflections on orality and literacy from antiquity to the present*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986, p. 121.

Introduction

As Eric Havelock approached the end of what would be his last book – *The Muse Learns to Write* from 1986 – his argument brought him to the point quoted above. It was prompted by his reflections on the fact that a prolonged engagement with the themes of classical antiquity had awakened doubt and censure alongside the abundant praise. With his epoch-making study, *Preface to Plato* (1963), Havelock had already joined the motley band of scholars interested in the significance of various media in differing cultures. The early 1960s had seen a number of renowned thinkers and writers – Albert Lord, Marshall McLuhan, Claude Lévi-Strauss, André Leroi-Gourhan, Ian Watt, and Jack Goody – direct attention above all to the fundamental differences between orality and literacy. Their work was often perceived as a provocation.

Why? Havelock's own research illuminates the question. He concentrated on ancient Greece, demonstrating in several important studies the central importance of the transition from a largely oral to a written culture². The step from Homer to Plato was crucial. According to Havelock, a range of phenomena in classical culture, which we in later years have come to regard as natural, were in fact the consequences of a shift in media. One of his most controversial theses was that the human intellect, as it was perceived and understood in the West, must be seen as the corollary of the introduction of the true alphabet, with vowels as well as consonants. With the alphabetization of culture came new conditions for the codification, storage, and incremental accumulation of knowledge; with the introduction of written vowels came the possibility of extensive abstraction and a dispassionate analytical stance.

It is no coincidence that in the passage quoted above Havelock chose German Idealism as his example. The Idealist current has on occasion been regarded as the epitome of a media-blind philosophy; however, as a characterization this is misleading, for many of the Idealists' key works display considerable sensitivity not least to the significance of the written word, as the media-historical research of recent decades has shown³. For some of the leading German thinkers at the turn of the nineteenth century, their engagement with the medium of the written word was appreciable. This was especially true of Wilhelm von Humboldt. True, Humboldt was not one of the system-making Idealists of the day, neither was he in the first rank of philosophical thinkers. His texts were often little more than fragmentary outlines. However, his ideas are nevertheless comparable with those of German Idealism in several important ways⁴. Kant,

² The most well known work is E.A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963.

³ A germinal work in this respect is F.A. Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, München, Fink, 1987 [1985].

⁴ Compare for instance G. Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur: Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1996, pp. 147 ff.

for example, was a profound inspiration, while Humboldt shared much of his way of thinking with his peers on the intellectual scene. Many of his ideas were shaped by his exchange of ideas with contemporary Idealists.

Many of Humboldt's best-known writings address the nature of the communicative media, yet this is something that has not been fully appreciated in the literature. A number of scholars have of course discussed the function of writing in Humboldt's philosophy of language⁵. Others have taken a deconstructionist approach and attempted to elucidate his place in a phonocentric tradition, with its roots in the Western history of ideas⁶. Humboldt the public official has also been glimpsed in passing, because of his role as an exponent of the sweeping transformation of information technology that characterized his age⁷. However, the precise significance of written media in Humboldt's writings has been little addressed. For example, his texts play an entirely marginal role in the extensive work of the educationalist Stephan Sting on the written word, education, and subjectivity, despite his detailed treatment of a wide range of works from the turn of the nineteenth century on⁸.

In view of this neglect, I would like to reflect here on the media-historical situation and its significance for Humboldt's lasting intellectual legacy. In the first instance I will concentrate on his use and understanding of a term that permeated the whole of German Idealist thought: *Bildung*, the process of self-education and cultural development. The term appears countless times in Humboldt's writings, and there is probably no other concept that is so strongly associated with his name. The notion of *Bildung* recurs continuously, from his early political writings to the efforts of the mature public official to reform the school system and the universities. Here, however, I will concentrate on his famed early text on the limits of the State, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu Bestimmen* of 1791-1792⁹. This text is not explicitly concerned with the media aspects of *Bildung*, but rather with the relationship between the individual and the State. However, I would argue that one possible interpretation of the text serves to illustrate how it also functions as a form of media-historical seismograph, registering several continual processes of change and making them intelligible. In other words, one could say that Humboldt's work on the limits of the State should be read as an allegory of a change in media dispensation.

⁵ See for example C. Stetter, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und das Problem der Schrift*, in T. De Mauro, L. Formigari (edd.), *Leibniz, Humboldt, and the origins of comparativism*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1990, pp. 181-197.

⁶ J. Trabant, *Traditionen Humboldts*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1990, pp. 202 ff.

⁷ See Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, p. 60 f, p. 65, p. 162 och p. 164.

⁸ S. Sting, *Schrift, Bildung und Selbst. Eine pädagogische Geschichte der Schriftlichkeit*, Weinheim, Beltz, 1998, pp. 161-329.

⁹ W. V. Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu Bestimmen*, in *Werke. Band 1. Schriften zur Anthropologie und Geschichte*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010, [1792], pp. 56-233.

The focus of my deliberations, then, is the relationship between the written word and the concept of *Bildung* as it was two hundred years ago. But by extension, they also revolve the fate of *Bildung* in our own time, though that theme falls outside the scope of this essays manifest level. If the Idealists' concept of *Bildung* was linked to a specific media situation, how should we best approach the legacy of the concept, given today's racing pace of technological change? The answers to this must be sought above all in the prerequisites for the transfer of meaning, context, and experience between generations, and between the dead and the living.

Before we look more closely at Humboldt's text on the limits of the State, it is worth making a further aspect of his background clearer: some detail is needed on the media-historical conjunction from which Humboldt's work on the limits of the State emerged.

1. *The media revolution 1800*

Eric Havelock proceeded from the belief that the decisive breakpoint in the media history of the West could be localized to ancient Greece. Others, however, have regarded the history of information technology rather differently. Numerous scholars, for example, have followed Marshall McLuhan in choosing to accentuate the decline of the chirographic writing culture, the breakthrough of printed books, and the rise of the so called typographic man¹⁰. Many have emphasised the effect of the Gutenberg Revolution on the mechanisms of change in culture and science during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹¹.

Yet while there is every reason to concentrate on the early modern period, there are also good grounds for regarding the changes of the German Idealist era as equally radical. This, after all, was the period that first saw literacy break through on a broad front and become culturally dominant. The change came first, and most markedly, in the German states. This can be illustrated with quantitative facts. The publishing industry, for example, grew very rapidly during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the number of titles printed increased dramatically¹². Newspapers and periodicals also underwent

¹⁰ Compare M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy. The Making of the Typographic Man*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962.

¹¹ The most well known example is E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

¹² See for instance R. Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels. Ein Überblick*, München, Beck, 1991, p. 111 ff; H.E. Bödeker, *Die bürgerliche Literatur- und Mediengesellschaft*, in Hammerstein, Herrmann (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte. Band 2. Vom späten 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuordnung Deutschlands um 1800*, München, Beck, 2005, pp. 505 ff.

a remarkable expansion. Many more people than before had the opportunity to learn to read and write. According to one estimate, literacy among the German-speaking peoples increased from fifteen to forty per cent between 1770 and 1830¹³. New groups of readers emerged in the process, not least women. Moreover, in a new departure, it was possible to access printed texts in new contexts and in new places. Reading societies and lending libraries became increasingly common during the period¹⁴.

That these changes had significant consequences was already clear to contemporaries. There are countless statements that witness to this dramatic course of events. Later scholars have spoken of a *Medienrevolution* when putting a name to the phenomenon¹⁵. There were many reports of the spread of the new reading habits and their dramatic effects. Indeed, one of the commonest topics of discussion in the emerging public sphere was *Lesewut*, as it was called at the time. The German Idealists likewise remarked upon the impact of reading or its effects as ‘narcotics’ (*narkotische Mittel*), in Fichte’s phrase¹⁶.

These effects were not only synonymous with a quantitative increase in the consumption of literature; no, both the reality of people’s relationship to the text and their experience of reading are also believed to have changed towards the end of the eighteenth century. The decline of the practice of reading aloud – common since antiquity – accelerated, and silent reading became ever more common¹⁷. At the same time, the way that texts were experienced was transformed into something more internalized, while the relationship between author and reader became more intimate. Reading material was no longer a limited set of mostly religious texts that were used over and over again – texts whose truth was irrefutable. Instead, the typical reader now consumed a much wider selection of works, whose contents expressed an equally broad range of opinions.

These changes have prompted scholars to talk of a transition from *intensive* to *extensive* reading, a transition that in the German Protestant states took place

¹³ R. Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770-1910*, Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1970, p. 444.

¹⁴ See A. Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek. Geschichte einer literarischen Institution (1756-1914)*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1990. On the reading societies see Otto Dann: *Die Lesegesellschaften des 18. Jahrhunderts und der gesellschaftliche Aufbruch des deutschen Bürgertums*, in I. Göpfert (ed.), *Buch und Leser. Vorträge des ersten Jahrestreffens des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreis für Geschichte des Buchwesens 13. und 14. Mai 1976*, Hamburg, Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co Verlag, 1977, pp. 160-193.

¹⁵ Y-G. Mix, *Schreiben, lesen und gelesen werden. Zur Kulturökonomie des literarischen Feldes (1770-1800)*, in A. Fauser (ed.), *Geselligkeit und Bibliothek. Lesekultur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, Wallstein, 2005, 283.

¹⁶ J.G. Fichte, *Grundzüge des Gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, in J. G. Fichte-Gesamtausgabe. Band I:8. *Werke 1801-1806*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Friedrich Frommann, 1991, [1804-1805], p. 262.

¹⁷ See E. Schön, *Der Verlust der Sinnlichkeit oder die Verwandlungen des Lesers. Mentalitätswandel um 1800*, Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1987, especially pp. 99 ff.

during the last decades of the eighteenth century¹⁸. Naturally, this transition – which in no way excluded the possibility that intensive reading still occurred – was related to the growth of leisure as an essentially new phenomenon¹⁹. The development meant that readers, who previously had often been guided by the self-appointed authority of the text and the traditions surrounding it, now found themselves in an open dialogue in which the task of interpretation to a far greater extent fell to them. A new sort of subjectivity took form, a subjectivity that meant that the relationship with the printed word became more individualized and took on the character of a dialogue. Interpretation was privatized, and the act of reading was distanced from social intercourse.

The consequence of this development was that the written word acquired a new and hegemonic position. The isolated instances of older oral and rhetorical culture that survived were assimilated in a process in which speech became more distinctly coloured and clearly regulated by written language²⁰. In the transition, the norms and patterns of the older Humanist culture of learning were replaced by a new ideal of a *Bildung* based upon written texts. And one of its most prominent advocates was Wilhelm von Humboldt.

2. *On the limits of the State*

Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu Bestimmen [On the limits of State action; hereafter, *Ideen*] was the most important work of Humboldt's youth. At the time of composition, the author was twenty-five years old and had previously written only a handful of smaller works. As the prosaic title indicates, he had now conceived a political-theoretical work on the role of the State and the limits on its actions. The text consists of a series of chapters that in their different ways illuminate questions about the nature of political community and the ideal relationship between State power and the individual. The State's concern for its subjects' happiness is addressed, as is its duty to protect them from external threats, while the role of religion, the guardianship of morals, and the function of legislation are all treated at length.

¹⁸ This distinction was initially developed in R. Engelsing, *Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit*, in *Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Mittel- und Unterschichten*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973 [1969], pp. 121 ff.

¹⁹ See W. Nahrstedt, *Die Entstehung der Freizeit. Dargestellt am Beispiel Hamburgs. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturgeschichte und zur strukturgeschichtlichen Grundlegung der Freizeitpädagogik*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972, especially pp. 33 ff.

²⁰ Compare W. Ong, *Romantic difference and the poetics of technology*, in *Rhetoric, romance, and technology. Studies in the interaction of expression and culture*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1971, pp. 261 f.

Yet its subject matter is not differing forms of government or the origins of the social contract – themes that were common in eighteenth century philosophy. Instead, Humboldt's book is pervaded with a pedagogical vision. If the text's content were to be summarized in a single phrase, it would be that the State must refrain from «all solicitude for the positive welfare of the citizens' and not proceed a step further than is necessary for their mutual security and protection against foreign regimes»²¹. In short, the State should refrain from almost all intrusion into the individual's life, for mankind's highest destiny is the free development of its talents and abilities, or – in the much-quoted phrase from the introduction – «the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole»²². According to Humboldt, this *Bildung* grows from within the individual. As he writes later in the text: all that does not «spring from man's free choice, or is only the result of instruction and guidance, does not enter into his very being, but still remains alien to his true nature»²³. Whatever extrinsic stimulus an individual receives can only be a "seed" that grows and flowers through the workings of the inner life²⁴. Everyone therefore must develop «himself from his own inmost nature, and for his own sake», as one passage puts it²⁵.

However, this development is threatened when the State assumes responsibility for the individual's well-being and prosperity. Dynamic self-development is impeded; intellectual and emotional potential weakened. There follows a degeneration of the morals cultivated in the interpersonal spirit of community, as well as a weakening of the individual's moral sense. In addition, the autonomy of the genuine *Bildung* process is lost. Therefore, the State should not interfere in the affairs of institutions, and neither should it be responsible for such things as education or religion. On this point Humboldt would come to change his opinion²⁶. In the course of time – and after Prussia's defeat by Napoleon – he was to find himself responsible for the Prussian state's reform of the school system and the founding of the new university in Berlin.

At first glance, it appears that Humboldt was writing as an apologist for negative freedom. *Ideen* seems to be a unilateral recommendation of what would later be called the night-watchman State. Yet this was not the case²⁷.

²¹ W. v. Humboldt, *The limits of state action*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969 (hereafter *Limits*), p. 27; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 90.

²² Humboldt, *Limits*, cit., p. 16; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 64.

²³ Humboldt, *Limits*, cit., p. 28; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 77.

²⁴ Humboldt, *Limits*, cit., p. 19; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 67.

²⁵ Humboldt, *Limits*, cit., p. 19; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 67.

²⁶ See for instance C. Lüth, *Der Übergang von der privaten zur staatlichen Erziehung bei Wilhelm von Humboldt*, «Informationen zur erziehungs- und bildungshistorischen Forschung», vol. 33, 1988.

²⁷ See D. Benner, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Bildungstheorie. Eine problemgeschichtliche Studie zum Begründungszusammenhang neuzeitlicher Bildungsreform*, München, Beltz, 2003, [1990], pp. 62 ff; I. Kawohl: *Wilhelm von Humboldt in der Kritik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wupper-

In *Ideen*, relations between the State and the individual are instead far more complex than commentators normally have admitted²⁸. For example, the overall objective of the State is said to be to guarantee and promote each and every person's possibilities for *Bildung*, while in addition seeing to the existence of free communities. Humboldt's ideal society was thus not a contractual association between isolated, atomic individuals. Instead, it presupposed strong, primal bonds between people. Liberals and conservatives, like the socialists critical of any State, could all draw inspiration from the text.

Ideen was not published in its entirety during the author's lifetime. Developments in Paris made it difficult to find a publisher. Humboldt soon realized that the text needed revision, but it was never to be. A portion of the text did make it to print in Schiller's *Neue Thalia* in 1792, and a couple more passages appeared in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* in the autumn of the same year, but while the full manuscript was rediscovered among Humboldt's effects after his death in 1835, it was not published until 1851²⁹. It was at this point that the text hit home among German radicals, who were under pressure following the revolutions of 1848. In time, *Ideen* also came to influence the development of liberal thought elsewhere in Europe. John Stewart Mill, for example, took the epigraph for *On Liberty* from his German predecessor's work³⁰.

Why did Humboldt write about the limits of the State? One reason that is usually given in the literature is Humboldt's personal circumstances³¹. Until the spring of 1790, Humboldt had lived his whole life without any real contact with the machinery of State: apart from a few terms at university in Frankfurt an der Oder and later in Göttingen he had had no direct dealings with the governments that ruled the independent German states. Nevertheless, thanks to his noble birth and the efforts of his tutors in his youth, he was well prepared for a career in public office. In February 1790 he applied for

tal, Henn, 1969, pp. 138 ff.

²⁸ Compare F. C. Beiser, *Enlightenment, revolution, and romanticism. The genesis of modern german political thought 1790-1800*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 111 ff.

²⁹ W. v. Humboldt, *Wie weit darf sich die Sorgfalt des Staats um das Wohl seiner Bürger erstrecken?*, in *Neue Thalia*, 2, 1792, pp. 131 ff.; W. v. Humboldt, *Ueber die Sorgfalt des Staates für die Sicherheit gegen auswärtige Feinde*, in *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 2, 1792, pp. 346 ff.; W. v. Humboldt, *Ueber die Sittenverbesserung durch Anstalten des Staats*, in *Berlinische Monatschrift*, vol. 2, 1792, pp. 419 ff.

³⁰ «The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity. – Wilhelm von Humboldt: Sphere and Duties of Government» (J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, Wellington, 2010, 1859, p. 1).

³¹ See for example P.R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt. A biography. Volume one: 1767-1808*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1978, pp. 83 ff. and p. 113; M. Geier, *Die Brüder Humboldt. Eine Biographie*, Hamburg, Rowohlt, 2009, pp. 137 ff.; H. Scuria, *Wilhelm von Humboldt. Werden und Wirken*, Düsseldorf, Claassen, 1976, [1970], pp. 110 ff.; C.M. Sauter, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und die deutsche Aufklärung*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1989, pp. 321 ff.

a position in the Prussian bureaucracy. From April that year he worked with success at the *Kammergericht*, the supreme court in Berlin, and quickly rose in rank³². However, only a year later – in May 1791 – he asked for permission to relinquish his post. His resignation was approved, and soon he was living the life of an independent, intellectual aristocrat. He underwent what has been called an «inward turn», abandoning the *vita activa* for a *vita contemplativa*³³. It was at this time that he married his fiancée, Caroline von Dacheröden.

Humboldt's work on the limits of State action was written immediately after these events, and the text has therefore often been seen as a reworking of experiences drawn from his personal life. His short sojourn as a public official had terminated in disappointment and frustration at his inability to fulfil his official duties. The official machinery of which he had been part he found to be obstructive, curtailing the primal power and originality concealed in every individual. The State was a mechanical apparatus that prevented the organic development of the individual. As he for instance spelled out in his correspondence at the time, Humboldt also nurtured an intense longing for just such a development – to be realized through autonomy and unrestrained, secluded study³⁴. It appears that the antagonism between individual and State which informed the entire argument in *Ideen* had its roots in the author's own experience. Humboldt himself asserted that the text had its origins in his own life, and that much can be discerned to a varying extent at several points in the text³⁵. Indeed, the author's fundamental reason for writing the book can be summarized as his personal desire for self-directed *Bildung*, beyond the reach of obstructive, bureaucratic formalities and restrictive administrative goals.

³² See for example Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, pp. 83 ff.; Scuria, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, pp. 70 ff.

³³ D. Sorkin, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation (Bildung) 1791-1810*, «Journal of the history of ideas», vol. 44, n. 1, 1983, p. 57.

³⁴ The same theme is also present in Humboldts «Bruchstück einer Selbstbiographie» («Fragment of an autobiography») from 1816. Hereto, see for instance M. N. Forster, *Humboldts Bildungsideal und sein Modell der Universität*, in Dreyer, Forster, Hoffmann, Vieweg (edd.), *Die Bildung der Moderne*, Tübingen, Franke, 2013. About the correspondence, see W.H. Bruford, *Wilhelm von Humboldt in his letters*, in *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation. "Bildung" From Humboldt to Thomas Mann*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 14. See also C-F. Berghahn, *Das Schreiben der Liebe. Wilhelm von Humboldt an Caroline von Dacheröden*, in Stauf, Simonis, Paulus (edd.), *Der Liebesbrief. Schriftkultur und Medienwechsel vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2008, p. 97 and pp. 101 f.

³⁵ Geier, *Die Brüder Humboldt*, cit., p. 150; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., for example pp. 85 ff.

3. *On the media conditions for Bildung*

In what sense, then, can *Ideen* be seen as the media-historical seismograph suggested earlier? To reach an answer it will be necessary to be more precise about the word *Bildung*, a very common term in Humboldt's time, and one that he discussed extensively. In one sense, *Bildung* relates back to the pedagogical ideals of antiquity and to mediaeval Christian sources³⁶. At the same time, it carries clear traces of the Protestant, and not least the Pietist, emphasis on an inner spiritual life. The influence of Kant is also palpable, as is that of thinkers such as Leibniz, Caspar Friedrich Wolff, Shaftesbury, and Rousseau.

These different influences resolved into Humboldt's belief that *Bildung* is a process of all-encompassing epigenesis – the self-generating development of each individual's unique talents and possibilities. Such a process is never-ending, and its ultimate purpose can never be instrumental utility or ready-formulated theses. What will be developed, according to Humboldt, is not just the intellect, but also emotions, perceptions, and morals. Ideally, *Bildung* should be a balanced whole, made up of spiritual, emotional, sensual, and moral components. Yet equally, the whole is subject to perpetual change, with the individual's own inner life as its impelling force. This continual change manifests itself as growth from within, an *innere Bildung*. For «all moral culture [*Bildung*]», as Humboldt writes, «springs solely from the inner life of the soul, and can only be stimulated in human nature, and never produced by external and artificial contrivances»³⁷.

Distinctively, *Bildung*'s energy is described as flowing from the unconstrained autonomy of the individual. Each person is irreducibly unique, distinguished by his or her *Eigentümlichkeit*, or singularity³⁸. In essence, *Bildung* thus can only grow freely from within the individual, through spontaneous communion with others. Such a process can only take place in «Einsamkeit und Freiheit» [solitude and freedom], in the famous formulation of the ordinances of the new university in Berlin³⁹. The State must restrict its involvement as much as possible.

The exact meaning of the term *Bildung* for Humboldt has been much discussed in the commentarial literature. Yet this same literature has largely

³⁶ See for example R. Vierhaus, *Bildung*, in Brunner, Conze, Koselleck (edd.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. Band 1*, Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1972, pp. 508-551. See also E. Lichtenstein, *Bildung*, in Ritter (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. Band 1*, cit., pp. 921-937; F. Rauhut, *Die Herkunft der Worte und Begriffe 'Kultur', 'Civilisation' und 'Bildung'*, in *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, vol. 3, n. 1, 1953, especially pp. 87 ff.

³⁷ Humboldt, *Limits*, cit., p. 63; Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., p. 121.

³⁸ Humboldt, *Ideen*, cit., for example p. 69.

³⁹ W.v. Humboldt, *Ueber die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin*, in *Werke in fünf Bänden. Band IV*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982, p. 255.

overlooked the question of exactly how *Bildung* was to be achieved in practice. What praxis did the author of *Ideen* concretely have in mind when he formulated his conceptions of *Bildung*? Despite the fact that it was never made plain in his text, it is not difficult to imagine what Humboldt might have thought. I would argue that here *Bildung* above all equated to *extensive reading*, in accordance with the ideal that gained currency in the media revolution at the turn of the nineteenth century.

One possible objection to this interpretation is the way that conversation, personal encounters, and sociability played a prominent role in Humboldt's formulation. The strong friendships and dialogic fellow-feeling that he experienced in his youth were important starting-points in his attempt to develop his ideas about *Bildung*. Yet at the same time he nursed a deep suspicion of the limitations that social relationships occasioned⁴⁰. There is more than a little of the Stoic about the defence of his own inner experience, evident throughout his life and work. He was even worried that the marriage he was about to embark on would become an impediment⁴¹. Thus to his mind, profound *Bildung* was best achieved through a solitary engagement with the texts. This conviction can be understood from his correspondence with his wife-to-be, and again from the extensive and solitary studies he pursued in the period after leaving public office⁴². Moreover, he had already devoted himself to book-learning with great perseverance. Several years before his first short period of public service, he had been warned by his brother Alexander that he was studying himself to death⁴³.

It would be easy to regard the young Humboldt as an eccentric in a Romantic era that was otherwise characterized by the ideas of community, sociability, and strongly emotional interpersonal exchange. Many of those who met him testified to his chilly and distant manner. However, as I remarked earlier, exactly the sort of extensive and solitary reading practised by Humboldt became increasingly common towards the end of the eighteenth century. A contemporary observer might very well have taken Humboldt to be afflicted by the new reading mania. On this point, then, his personal actions can be understood against the background of the media revolution taking place around him, while the ideas about the individual autonomy of *Bildung* that he advanced in his work on the limits of the State can be read as being indicative of the same revolution.

For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that, despite his preference for solitary study, Humboldt in no way cultivated the monologic ideal. On the contrary, he regarded the written word as being essentially dialogic⁴⁴. His approval of erudite study far from worldly distractions thus did not imply

⁴⁰ See for example Bruford, *Wilhelm von Humboldt in his letters*, cit., pp. 8 f.

⁴¹ Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, cit., p. 63.

⁴² See Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, cit., for example p. 48; Geier, *Die Brüder Humboldt*, cit., pp. 135 ff.; Scuria, *Wilhelm von Humboldt*, cit., for instance pp. 84 ff.

⁴³ Geier, *Die Brüder Humboldt*, cit., p. 95.

⁴⁴ See Trabant, *Traditionen Humboldts*, cit. pp. 202 f.

isolation or self-absorbed introspection. Reading was for him equivalent to actually *hearing* and answering the other person's voice. These conceptions fit well with the oralization of the alphabet that according to some scholars dawned in the decades leading up to 1800⁴⁵. With new methods of learning and reading habits, the written word was dematerialized and rendered invisible. Far more than before, what was read was experienced auditorially, and the visual presentation and tangible aspects of the written matter were less significant.

Scholars have spoken of a «Freisetzung des Subjekts» [liberation of the subject] when describing the consequences of the increasing dominance of written culture⁴⁶. The dramatically increased access to printed literature of highly varied content saw the normative effects of tradition successively weaken and a new kind of reader autonomy develop. As we have seen, typical readers were confronted with a hermeneutic task that had not earlier been their responsibility. The testing experience of having to interiorize what was read in order to interpret and categorize it as part of an individualized totality was to become increasingly common – and increasingly important. In addition, readers were now faced with the task of relating their own understanding to tradition and to humanity in general. Humboldt's personal reading practice can of course be understood against the background of these new, media-dependent conditions, and the theory of *Bildung* he formulates in *Ideen* can be seen as his way of interpreting those same conditions.

The liberation of the reading subject also brought with it a range of new and complex processes in which the unsure relationship between the individual reader and the full context of meaning could be handled in a variety of ways⁴⁷. The entire *Bildung* debate at the turn of the nineteenth century can be seen as an expression of just such an interpretation. However, the reader's new autonomy also involved an ominous disassociation from shared concerns and the social context. Time spent in the company of books could appear antisocial and frightening, given that reading now took place for the most part in solitude and silence, at the very time the choice of reading matter became freer. Various strategies to nurture reading can be seen as responses to this antisociality. Lending libraries and reading associations were two examples; another was the state education system and its institutions, which began to take form after 1800. Again, we see a media-historical condition that harks back to Humboldt's biography while reminding us of his work on the limits of the State. This same media-historical condition allows us to understand the strong emphasis placed in *Ideen* on the primacy of the unique and autonomous subject of *Bildung* in every individual case. It also sheds an interesting light on Humboldt's later efforts as a public official to reform the Prussian education system.

⁴⁵ Kittler, *Aufschreibesysteme 1800/1900*, cit. p. 38 et *passim*.

⁴⁶ Sting, *Schrift, Bildung und Selbst*, cit., p. 9.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22 et *passim*.

According to many commentators, individualized, silent communion with literature also became a prerequisite for the experience of a growing and seemingly boundless intellectual and emotional sensibility by the reading subject⁴⁸. The possibility of stepping into the internal world of the text, of testing attitudes, identities, and emotions against an ever-increasing choice of opinions and perspectives, meant that the written word and the formation of the self were bound more tightly to each other. In short, printed books became the middle classes' highway to self-understanding and reflection⁴⁹. However, this development also entailed what amounted to a passivizing of the body⁵⁰. Reading was now far more a cerebral practice, something to be undertaken seated and in silence. The same extended to the growing importance of inner experience. The inner life of the reading subject was fashioned as an imaginary stage on which uninterrupted *Bildung* could be enacted. This process was a further media-historical condition that does much to illuminate the substance of *Ideen*. The book's defence of the limitless *Bildung* that stems from the individual self can be interpreted as Humboldt registering and adapting the new reading experience.

In conclusion, I would argue that the media-historical conditions that left their mark on Humboldt's *Ideen* – new, extensive reading habits; the liberation of the reading subject; the perceived threat to social intercourse; and reading as a highway to self-understanding and a burgeoning inner experience – were all to a high degree characteristic of the age. They are also still in some measure relevant today, albeit with changing degrees of importance thanks to the diverse succession of media that appeared in the twentieth century. By 2000, digital technologies had produced what in many respects was an entirely new situation. However, despite this, the discussion in our own time is often conducted as if these media shifts had never taken place. The Humboldtian legacy is often invoked without the slightest thought of the historical and technological distance that separates us from the Age of Idealism and its *Bildung*. Therefore it seems especially important to proffer investigations of the past to illuminate the present. After all, we still lack answers to the many questions about what *Bildung* might mean in an age when the hegemony of the printed word is no longer self-evident.

⁴⁸ See for example Sting, *Schrift, Bildung und Selbst*, cit., p. 29.

⁴⁹ A classical treatment of this topic is found J. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1990, [1962].

⁵⁰ Schön, *Der Verlust der Sinnlichkeit*, cit., pp. 69 ff.

Sunday school as a non-traditional educational establishment for children and adults: the history of the issue

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ABSTRACT: The article is devoted to the review of the activity of Sunday schools (non-traditional extracurricular establishments for children and adults, education in which took place on Sunday (for Jewish – on Saturday) and holidays) in Ukraine in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. They became the place of testing, implementation and popularization of the new pedagogical ideas, methods and forms of academic process organization. The author paid special attention to such aspects of the investigated problem as: the history of Sunday schools emergence in the world; the origin of the first Sunday schools in Ukraine; organizational fundamentals of Sunday schools activity; teachers' staff and pupils of Sunday schools; forms and methods of Sunday schools educational activity.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Sunday school; Public education; Moral and spiritual education; Ukraine; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

Educational movements in favour of Sunday schools take an essential place in the history of pedagogy of the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. These schools were non-traditional extracurricular educational establishments for children and adults, education in which took place on Sunday (for Jewish – on Saturday) and holidays.

The 19th century used to be an important one in the history of national pedagogy. It was a period of propaedeutic organizational assurance of social pedagogical initiatives, caused and followed by dynamism of social political, social economical, national and cultural educational processes, which took place in Ukraine. In the epoch of specific social educational renaissance, which started in Ukraine, the search of extracurricular educational establishments

was the most innovational aspect of social and pedagogical work of the best Ukrainian representatives. The aim of such establishments was an informal extension of knowledge among people.

1. *The history of Sunday schools appearance in the world*

Progressive Ukraine's society had a vital need in creation of extracurricular educational establishments for people like in the world. Sunday schools as a form of education appeared about four centuries ago in the West under M. Luther's custody and had confessional (church) character¹. As a rule, such educational establishments were created at monasteries or churches, where priests taught Religious Education and later on – reading, writing and arithmetic. In the middle of the 16th century Cardinal K. Borromeo founded Sunday school at Milan cathedral and later also at other cathedrals of his domain. Soon such educational establishments were opened in Spain, France, England, Germany and other countries of the world².

Secular Sunday schools (secondary) appeared only in the 18th century. The first of them was founded in 1756 in Basel (Switzerland). At the end of the XVIII weekend education was widespread in England. In 1780 such school appeared in Gangem and in 1782 at the cathedral in Gloster. The author of creation of the last was the publisher of the famous Gloster magazine R. Reikis. Thanks to him The Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday schools throughout the British dominions has been created. The idea of Sunday education was quickly developed: in 1846 there were 5 463 Sunday schools in England, in 1833 – 16 828, in 1851 – 23 514. In the end of 60-s of the 19th century more than half of children of England and Wales visited Sunday schools (up to 2,5 million), about 320 000 of teachers studied them³.

In Germany first secondary Sunday schools appeared in Munich in 1791 and in Berlin in 1799. The idea of Sunday education has been of current interest for this country since the times of M. Luther. In the 60-s of the 19th century 589 Sunday schools already functioned in the country and 31 058 pupils studied there. In the USA the first Sunday school appeared in 1786 in Virginia. Since 1782 such educational establishments have been opened in Scotland. There have been 3 800 educational establishments with 292 549 pupils by that time. In other countries of the world Sunday movement had also impressive meaning⁴.

¹ L. Strunina, *Pervye voskresnye shkoly v Kieve* [The first Sunday schools in Kiev], «Kiev's old», nn. 4-6, 1898, p. 287.

² D. Volfson, *Sibirskie voskresnye shkoly* [Siberian Sunday School], Tomsk, A. Skoropektni A. A. Levenson, 1903. p. 3.

³ *Voskresnye narodnye shkoly* [Sunday folk schools], «Popular reading», n. 6, 1860, p. 179.

⁴ Volfson, *Sibirskie voskresnye shkoly*, cit., p. 5.

Subsequently the activity of extracurricular educational establishments of Europe and the USA caught the interest of Ukrainian and Russian intellectual class. At the beginning of the 19th century in different regions of Russian Empire, especially in Chernigiv region, elementary knowledge schools for adults appeared, which functioned according to the Lancastrian method. Copying the world tradition concerning extracurricular education, Ukrainian educationalists emphasized not on systematic knowledge implementation, but on extension of the «person's intellectual horizon» through realization of his own need in self-education and self-realization of personal, civil and national membership⁵.

2. The formation of the first Sunday schools in Ukraine

Educative activity of progressive society in Ukraine according to the creation of the system of extracurricular educational establishments, especially of Sunday schools, took place at the same time as appearance and further development of such educational establishments in the world as well as dynamics of European and national cultural, social economic and social political processes, willingness of Ukrainian and Russian intellectual class to expand knowledge, which people needed.

There is no popular opinion in the history of pedagogy according to the superiority of Sunday school creation in Ukraine. On the basis of archive documentation and memories of contemporaries we have made the conclusion that Sunday schools in Ukraine appeared at the same time in different regions. In particular, in Kyiv – on October, 11, 1859 (on Podil, in the corner of Kostiantynivska and Choreva streets, 9/16) in the building of Kyiv-Podilsk district college for nobility. The students of St. Volodymyr Kyiv University (Ya. Bekman, F. Vorony, M. Dragomanov, S. Kuliabka, V. Portugalov, K. Sheikovsky and others) were organisers of this Sunday school. T. Shevchenko, administrator of Kyiv academic district M. Pyrogov, professor of Russian history P. Pavlov, lecturer of St. Volodymyr Kyiv University P. Romer, supervisor of Kyiv-Podilsk district college for nobility I. Sliepushkin, founder of Kyiv private women boarding school Nelgovska, such social activists as O. Stronin, O. Konysky, O. Loboda, I. Shchelkan, A. Svydnytsky and other representatives of progressive national society played a great role in the process of preparation to establishment and foundation of the first Sunday schools in Ukraine.

In the 60s of the 19th century Sunday schools of Ukraine consolidated the efforts of pedagogues, scientists and other representatives of progressive

⁵ L.P. Vovk, *Istoriia osvity doroslykh v Ukraini* [History of adult education in Ukraine], Kiev, UdPU, 1994, p. 116.

national society around national idea. By means of implementation of education in mother tongue; bringing up according to national spirit; creation, publication, extension and use of Ukrainian academic, scientific literature and fiction; combination of comprehensive and national components of education content Sunday schools became special center of pupils' involvement into the achievements of national culture.

The participants of Sunday schools movement were blamed by the powerful official society for education program extension (which foresaw elementary knowledge implementation at Sunday schools, such as Religious Education, Russian and Slavic literacy, writing and arithmetic), illegal knowledge extension (learning by means of mother tongue, reading of banned literature and so on), antigovernment propaganda and tried to prevent their development any way.

Thus, the competition for the influence of state structures in public Sunday schools began. Among some of the repressive actions of the Russian Empire, aimed at Sunday schools educational movement weakening were the following: the arrest of members of Kharkiv-Kyiv secret society (early 1860), an open campaign against Sunday schools, accompanied by a number of administrative repressions, the resignation of the trustee of Kiev Educational District M. Pirogov (March 1861), creation of the *Rules for Sunday Schools* (May 1860, January 1861), which narrowed their educational opportunities by introducing elementary literacy courses at parochial schools.

The shutdown of Sunday schools on June, 10, 1862 became the result of supervision strengthening and a number of repressive measurements. However, some schools continued their activity on illegal basis. In particular, it was Kharkiv private women's Sunday school of Kh. Alchevska.

In such a way the first stage of Sunday schools development was over (1859-1862). During it about 115 Sunday and Saturday schools functioned in 9 Ukrainian provinces of Russian empire: in Kyiv province – 23, in Podil province – 11, in Volyn province – 5, in Poltava province – 30, in Chernigiv province – 6, in Charkiv province – 11, in Cherson province – 14, in Katerynoslav province – 7, in Tavria province – 8.

Educational movement renewal in favor of Sunday school took place in rather difficult conditions. According to the Tsar's decree from June, 10, 1862 the review of rules on Sunday schools foundation was started. However, new (special) rules have never been created.

According to the departmental submission active legislation of the Russian empire foresaw 2 main stages of Sunday schools: departments of the Ministry of Public Education; departments of Orthodox confession at the St. Synod.

Private individuals, government organizations, city administrations, Commonwealths, district councils, different communities, such as Charkiv community of literacy extension, Kyiv, Petersburg and Moscow literacy communities, Russian technical community, «Prosvity», local charity communities departments (tutorship of women education, public sobriety),

commissions of public readings were the founders of Ukrainian Sunday schools of the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century.

We may distinguish several types of Sunday schools according to the founders' status. They are: public-private – founded by representatives of public-private initiative – different communities, associations, districts and private individuals; state – founded by the Ministry of Public Education, St. Synod, military ministry and other departments, government organizations, city administrations and so on; semipublic – founded by public-private initiative with support of government, education and other departments.

Special commissions (particularly Commission (Inquiry Office) on Sunday schools at Moscow Literacy Committee), committees, coordinating councils, Sunday schools representatives associations (they functioned in Kyiv, Poltava, Charkiv and other Ukrainian cities), educative congresses (especially the second congress of Russian technical and professional education representatives), national (in Nyzhniy Novgorod, Charkiv and Moskow) and foreign (in Paris, Antwerpen, Brussel, Chicago), exhibitions, special collected books, periodicals and works of famous Sunday schools representatives (Ya. Abramov, Kh. Alchevska, V. Vachterov, Ye. Vachterova, M. Korf, P. Kazanzev, O. Kaidanova, S. Myropolsky, M. Saltykova and others) played important role in Sunday schools promotion.

Representatives of the national social and educational thought, whose pedagogical searches outstripped foreign ones, worked on theoretical elaboration, substantiation and generalization of the content of Sunday training. The most outstanding figure among them was Khrystyna Danylivna Alchevska (1843-1920) – a well-known educator, an author of adult literacy training, vice president of the International League of Education, honorary member of many educational societies. She was the founder of the world-known Kharkiv private women's Sunday school. For more than half a century she was «a soul of the school, a mentor, a teacher and head of a large group of teachers who selflessly taught ordinary people»⁶.

Khrystyna Danylivna Alchevska devoted almost six decades of her life to public education: from the teacher to the head of the Sunday school and vice president of the International League of Education, from the author of the first scientific and practical study of the problem of perception and understanding of the classical works by the people to the head of great teams for the creation of the world-known textbooks.

For more than half a century (57 years), Kharkiv private women's Sunday school, in which more than 17 thousand women were educated, was not only a model institution, but also a kind of research scientific and educational laboratory, which, after expanding its broad activity, turned into a «little ministry» of Sunday

⁶ M. Mukhin, *Pedahohichni pobliady i osvitnia diialnist Kh. D. Alchevskoi* [Pedagogical views and educational activity Kh. D. Alchevskaya], Kiev, High school, 1979, p. 6.

Schools⁷. According to the fair recognition of contemporaries, the history of the development of the social pedagogical movement of Sunday school participants is inextricably connected with the history of Kharkiv Sunday School and the name of its founder, Khrystyna Danylivna Alchevska.

One of the ways of Sunday schools promotion was national and international education exhibitions. First of all, the exhibits of Charkiv private female Sunday schools were presented at Paris International Exhibition in 1889. Publications in local press and edition of Ya. Abramov's brochure, which was written especially for the exhibition, proved of the interest of French public towards Kh. Alchevska's Sunday school⁸. Pedagogical section jury awarded the highest prize *Diplome d'honneur* to the manual *What should public read* and awarded school teachers with 2 golden and 2 silver medals⁹. At the International congress of private initiative concerning public education, which took place during the work of exhibition, Kh. Alchevska was chosen to be vice-president of the International Education League¹⁰.

General interest of society towards Sunday schools increased after several international exhibitions: Antwerp, Brussel, Chicago and II Paris international exhibitions. Approving comments of publicity of different countries and high awards, which were conferred to pedagogical staff of Charkiv private women Sunday school, strengthened the position of such educational establishments and were even more respected by society. During the second half of the 19th – early 20th century 5 exhibitions of Sunday schools were arranged in the Russian empire: in Moscow (1895 and 1895- 1896), in Charkiv (1896-1897 and 1901-1902) and Nyzhniy Novgorod (1896)¹¹.

⁷ Kh.D. Alchevskaya, *Poluvekovoy yubiley (1862-1912)* [Half-century anniversary], Moscow, I.D. Sytin, 1912, p. 72.

⁸ A.C. Prugavin, *Zakony i spravochnye svedeniya po nachalnomu narodnomu obrazovaniyu* [Laws and background information on primary education], St. Petersburg, Public Use, 1904, p. 167.

⁹ A.N. Glagolev, *Iz otcheta po komandirovke na Parizhskuyu vystavku 1901 g.* [From the report on a business trip to the Paris exhibition in 1901. Adult education], Moscow, Book Deed, 1902, pp. 178-197.

¹⁰ *Ob izbranii H. D. Alchevskoy vice-prezidentom Mezhdunarodnoy ligi narodnogo obrazovaniya* [On the election of Kh. D. Alchevskaya Vice-President of the International League of Public Education], «Week», n. 6, 1891, p. 94.

¹¹ *Vystavka voskresnyh shkol v zdanii Harkovskoy chastnoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkoly v dekabre – yanvare 1896-1897 g.* [Exhibition of Sunday schools in the building of the Kharkov private women's Sunday school in December – January 1896-1897], «Russian school», n. 4, 1897, pp. 237-240.

3. Organizational fundamentals of Sunday schools activity

Internal structure of most Sunday schools was marked with absence of strict regulation. Structural elements of pedagogical process (the period of study, duration of school year, quantity of school days, time and timetable, organization of extracurricular work, system of management and self-management etc.) were almost completely defined with the rules of internal schedule, and in some schools with the special statutory instrument. For example, they are «*Statute of Charkiv female Sunday school tutorial committee*», which was approved on May, 7 1912¹², «*Statute of Association of lecturers of Charkiv second male Sunday school*»¹³. Collective associations (school councils) of several Sunday schools were created as well. They functioned according to one statute, as for example Kremenchug male and female Sunday schools, which existed in local district college¹⁴.

Lessons took place exclusively on Sunday (for Jewish – on Saturday) and holidays. Eventually organizers of Sunday additional classes added extra school days. In the early 20th century some Sunday schools turned into Sunday schools with evening education. So, they practiced 2 or 3 hour lessons during 3, 4 and sometimes 5 days of the week (especially Sunday schools of Gaivoron district worked on Wednesday and Sunday)¹⁵.

The admission procedure to Sunday school had a distinct structure. Upon condition of sufficient quantity of lecturers and correspondence of school leaver's educational training to the level of existing groups at Sunday schools, pupils' admission lasted during the whole school year. Organizers mainly limited the process of admission to the first month, autumn months or first semester. However, there were exceptions to the rule¹⁶.

As a rule school year at Sunday schools lasted from September to June (in rural regions due to seasonal field works this term was sometimes changed). Some schools were open in summer as well: at this time lessons with illiterate people took place, books from the library were published, excursions were held. For example, during summer holidays lecturers of local college of Earl Bezborodko and Kyiv students, who came home for holidays, worked at

¹² Kh.D. Alchevskaya, *Poluvekovoy yubiley (1862-1912)* [The half-century anniversary (1862-1912)], Moscow, I. D. Sytin, 1912, p. 8.

¹³ Volfson, *Sybyrskyye voskresnyye shkoly*, cit., p. 35.

¹⁴ D. Grakovetsky, *Pershi nedilni shkoly na Poltavshchyni ta yikh diiachi (1860-1862)* [First Sunday Schools in Poltava Region and their leaders (1860-1862)], «Ukraine», n. 4, 1928, pp. 62-63.

¹⁵ E.O. Vachterova, *Kak otkryt, organizovat i vesti voskresnyuyu ili vechernyyuyu shkolu (klassy) vzroslykh v derevne i v gorode* [How to open, organize and conduct Sunday or evening classes (adults) in the countryside and in the city], Moscow, I. D. Sytin, 1917, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Chastnyy pochyn v dele narodnogo obrazovaniya* [Private initiative in the field of public education], Moscow, Committee of the Gram-style, 1914, p. 133.

Nizhyn Sunday school instead of students¹⁷. The quantity of school days at average during the year was 25-30 (40). Such variations could be explained by the difference of local conditions.

Sunday school was managed by supervisor and administrator, which were chosen by the founders (in most private schools the latter performed these duties by themselves) and approved by the province college council according to the advice of the district college council, in which they had a right of vote, but only concerning their schools¹⁸.

Candidates on teachers' positions were selected by the founders or administrators of Sunday schools. They applied to inspector of public colleges with suggestion to admit certain people to teaching. An enormous corporation of teachers had various structure according to age, social position, occupation, level of education and professional skills. According to the contemporaries' evidence, «...people of all social positions intended to be Sunday schools lecturers: clergy, nobility, commoners, men, women, old and young, people who had pedagogical education and beginners, professors, students and even people, who received the poorest home education»¹⁹.

People of different occupations were among Sunday schools lecturers: priests, judges, doctors, military officers, educational workers and so on. However, mostly they were pedagogues by education – primary school teachers, district, congregation and eparchy college teachers, gymnasium teachers, private teachers and even high school teachers.

4. *The group of Sunday schools pupils*

Sunday schools were open for everyone interested, apart from age, gender, social position, nationality, social origin and religion. The main demands for school leavers (age, gender, level of education and so on) were defined and were changed from time to time by the active legislation. Such categories as nationality, occupation, social position and general quantity of Sunday schools pupils completely depended on the local conditions of certain region.

For a long time Sunday schools could be founded only for people of one gender – male or female; it was strictly prohibited to open such educational establishments of mixed type, that is common for men and women (the first «*Rules for Sunday schools*», adopted by the Ministry of public education in

¹⁷ L. Milovidov, *Nedilni shkoly na Chernihivshchyni v 1860-kh rr.* [Sunday Schools in Chernihiv Region in the 1860's], «Chernigov and the North Left Bank», n. 23, 1928, p. 435.

¹⁸ *Chastnyy pochyn v dele narodnogo obrazovaniya*, cit., pp. 108-109.

¹⁹ V.P. Vachterov, *Vneskolnoe obrazovanie naroda. Selskie biblioteki, knizhnye sklady. Voskresnye shkoly i povtoritelnye klassy* [Out-of-school education of the people. Rural libraries, book stores. Sunday schools and repeating classes], Moscow, I. D. Sytin, 1896, p. 153.

May, 1860 dealt with distinction between male and female Sunday schools)²⁰. However, long before common Sunday schools legalization such educational establishments were founded and functioned successfully almost in all Ukraine's regions: in Zolotonosha (Poltava province), Kaniv (Kyiv province) and so on. Sunday mixed schools received civil duties after publication of *Policy directive on church schools of Orthodox confession department* from April, 1, 1902. According to the Article 4 only children to 12 studied at Sunday schools²¹.

The age structure of pupils also changed at different stages of Sunday schools movement development. During 1859-1862 admission to Sunday schools was not limited with age: children, adults and teenagers were welcome. So, in Kyiv-Podilsk and Novostroiensk Sunday schools children and adults from 7(8) to 30 and more years studied in 1860 (in Novostroiensk: from 8 to 15 – 56 people, from 15 to 20 – 63 people and from 20 to 30 – 29 people). Soon the pupils' age was defined with the corresponding acts of law and administrative regulations (guidance notes of the Ministry of Public education from June, 28, 1874, April, 25. 1908 and others²²).

Sunday schools were visited by people of various professions and occupations. Among the pupils of Novostroiensk school (Kyiv) there were carpenters (35), tailors (31), blacksmiths (10), sewers (6), carvers (9), coach-builders (3), bookbinders (7), upholsterers (2), jewelers (2), lamp makers (3), fur-makers (2), footmen (22) and 14 people without occupation²³.

5. Forms and methods of Sunday schools educative activity

Sunday schools of the second half of the 19th-early 20th century became the stage of testing, implementation and popularization of the new pedagogical ideas, principles, methods, approaches, organizational forms of educational process. Together with application of new theoretic education fundamentals, created by successful contemporary pedagogues, Sunday schools movement participants worked on development of teaching a number of subjects, improvement of teaching methodology, teachers' qualifications and so on.

Sunday schools as non-traditional educational establishments of the second half of the 19th-early 20th century were completely different from ordinary schools

²⁰ Y.V. Abramov, *Nashi voskresnye shkoly: ih proshloe i nastoyashee* [Our Sunday Schools: Their Past and Present], St. Petersburg Type-I Merkusheva, 1900, p. 52.

²¹ Vachterova, *Kak otkryt, organizovat i vesti voskresnyu ili vechernyuyu shkolu (klassy) vzroslyh v derevne i v gorode*, cit., p. 12.

²² *Otchyot Harkovskoy chastoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkoly* [Report of the Kharkov frequent women's Sunday school], «Russian school», nn. 10-11. 1902, pp. 84-87.

²³ M. Mukhin, *Pedagogichni pohliady i osvitnia diialnist Kh. D. Alchevskoi* [Pedagogical views and educational activity Kh. D. Alchevskaya], Kiev, High school, 1979, p. 57.

and colleges, firstly because of organizational forms of educative process. As it was already mentioned, children and adults with different education level visited Sunday school: either those, who could already read or those, who graduated parochial school or district college, or those (and they in majority), who didn't know a letter. That's why pupils were streamed (differentiated) according to age and educational level.

In spite of some variations in definition of age limits, Sunday schools pupils were streamed in 3 groups: children (up to 12), teenagers (from 12 to 16) and adults (from 16). For example, at Charkiv private female Sunday school age division of pupils existed due to the following principle: children (10-12), teenagers (13-15) and adults (from 16)²⁴.

According to the education level pupils of Sunday schools were streamed in 4 groups: literate or illiterate (those who could neither read nor write), semiliterate or those, who couldn't write, but could only read, slightly literate (could read and write a little) and literate (could read and write well). Besides, at Sunday schools of the first type people, who left primary school, were selected into the separate department. Upon condition of sufficient quantity of lecturers main groups (literate, slightly literate, semiliterate and illiterate), were streamed into smaller ones – combining. That is why the quantity of academic groups at large Sunday schools sometimes comprised 30 and more. For example, at Charkiv private female Sunday school 29 academic groups functioned during 1900-1901²⁵.

Sunday schools had lessons as the main form of pedagogical process organization. During the lesson different forms of academic activity were performed such as frontal, individual, group.

Two forms (ways) of teaching functioned equally at Sunday school: 1) class (or group) – all subjects were taught by one teacher; 2) subject – different teachers taught different subjects. Upon condition of sufficient quantity of teachers there was «a way simultaneous lessons», that is while teaching one subject (for instance mathematics) one teacher acquainted a group of children with elementary mathematics, another – with fractions, the third – with basic concepts of algebra and so on. Such educational process structure gave the opportunity for constant rearrangement: the pupil could transfer into the group which was more available for his abilities²⁶.

With the aim of education individualization and differentiation teachers used individual and group forms of pupils' activity organization at the lesson. Such approach to pedagogical process allowed achieving good results upon condition of minimum waste of time (as education at Sunday schools took

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²⁵ *Chastnyy pochyn v dele narodnogo obrazovaniya*, cit., pp. 134-135.

²⁶ Vachterova, *Kak otkryt, organizovat i vesti voskresnyuyu ili vechernyuyu shkolu (klassy) vzroslyh v derevne i v gorode*, cit., p. 15.

place only once a week) and assuring proper moral and psychic development of children and adults. According to the statement of the teacher L. Strunina, such high level of interest of each pupil's individuality is «a great contribution of Sunday schools into the treasury of ethnography»²⁷.

Besides, pedagogues asserted individual and group forms of pedagogical process organization also because of the fact that with that quantity of pupils such education reminded home education. It was based on intellectual and moral unity of close people, their sincerity and love. Contemporaries supposed that the family origin will help people to emerge from faults, which appeared in different times due to various circumstances and is the guarantee of long-lasting vital activity of Sunday schools and their successful influence on public life.

Different forms of education organization were present at Sunday school – school (fixed and off hour) and extracurricular (homework, excursion and so on). Teachers had different opinions towards the necessity of implementation of such form of education activity organization as homework: taking into account pupils' business during the week at work and at home, at most Sunday schools homework was not necessary and in some of them it was absent at all. However, experience showed that children and adults, with a little exception, honestly, with great desire did homework constantly and «asked for more». In particular, only 1 from 11 group reports of Charkiv private female Sunday school contained complaints according to the nonfulfillment of homework by pupils²⁸.

An important attention at Sunday school was paid to home reading of pupils (additional reading, at their own request). It foreseen revision of material, which was read in class and introduction of the new material, as well as reading additional literature and literature, chosen by the pupil. One of the tasks of home reading was «to accustom pupils to accumulate knowledge by themselves from the book» in order to «be able to go ahead in their development after school graduation»²⁹. Emphasizing on the importance of such «the most appropriate» method of teaching, M. Saltikova pointed at the necessity of constant control and orientation of pupils' home reading, especially by means of choice of interesting and affordable literature, in the textbook *About the book of adults*³⁰. A lot of textbooks contained the list of books for individual and additional reading.

In spite of absence of midterm and school-leaving exams, teachers often expressed their arguments according to the implementation of such form of assessment at the pedagogical meetings of the most Sunday schools. Among such arguments were: well organized exams, which, firstly, encourage more

²⁷ Strunina, *Pervye voskresnye shkoly v Kyeve*, cit., p. 305.

²⁸ *Otchyot Harkovskoy chastoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkoly* [Report of the Kharkov frequent women's Sunday school], «Russian school», n. 3. 1899, p. 271.

²⁹ M. Saltykova, *O knige vzroslyh* [About the book of adults], Moscow, D. I. Sytin, 1900, p. 76.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

effective diagnostics of pupil's education level with the aim of self-improvement and enhancement of the process of groups' formation; secondly, they are a certain school for teachers, the rate of their achievements and miscounts and so on. At some Sunday schools exams for a «certain professional training» were implemented according to pupils' desire (for example, an exam of two grade Ministry school gave access to provincial feldsher's school), as well as exams in order to receive certificate «to have a preference according to military duty (for men)»³¹.

At some Sunday schools existed such form of education organization as additional lessons at schools (for example, at Charkiv private school – before school from 9 to 10 o'clock) or at teacher's home with the aim to replenish missed lessons, improve skills and abilities, broaden outlook, coordinate knowledge with pupils' life needs. Such lessons, for example, were conducted by the teachers of Lochvich Sunday school (Poltava province) and the report for 1895-1896 school year proves of that³². In teachers' opinion of Charkiv private female Sunday school, if pupils' were refused in organization of additional lessons it was the same as «to refuse to give a piece of bread to a hungry man»³³.

Reporting documents prove that most of Sunday schools practiced «the method of mutual education» – a so called pair way of organization of group educational activity, which foresaw mutual help of pupils during the lesson and with homework. In opinion of Kh. Alchevska, organization of mutual education and mutual help had a double aim: firstly – to improve pupils, who were leaving school because they felt inability to study; secondly, to give possibility for more skilled pupils to use their knowledge in practice³⁴. According to pedagogues' evidence, very often among pupils of Sunday schools «there were people, born to be teachers. They revised different subjects with their unsuccessful friends showing enjoyment, unique talent and imagination»³⁵.

In pedagogical process of Sunday schools the whole system of interconnected educational methods was used. They were: verbal methods (story, explanation or «explanative reading», conversation, lecture), descriptive tools (illustrations, demonstrations, and observation), practical methods (various types of exercises – oral, written, graphic and others), and methods of stimulation (interest, basis on pupils' life experience, assurance of success in education),

³¹ Vachterova, *Kak otkryt, organizovat i vesti voskresnuyu ili vechernyuyu shkolu (klassy) vzroslyh v derevne i v gorode*, cit., pp. 13-14.

³² *Zvit Lohvytskoi nedilnoi shkoly za 1895-1896 rr.* [Report of Lohvytska Sunday School for 1895-1896], Lohvytsya, 1896, p. 19.

³³ *Otchyot Harkovskoy chastoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkoly* [Report of the Kharkov frequent women's Sunday school], «Russian school», n. 3, 1902, p. 52.

³⁴ Kh.D. Alchevska, *Polgoda iz zhizni voskresnoy shkoly: Iz zapisnoy tetradi uchitelnicy voskresnoy shkoly* [Half a year from the life of the Sunday school: From the notebook of the Sunday school teacher], «Russian school», n. 1, 1895, p. 66.

³⁵ Vachterov, *Vneshkolnoe obrazovanie naroda. Selskie biblioteki, knizhnye sklady. Voskresnye shkoly i povtoritelnye klassy*, cit., pp. 219-220.

activation, encouragement, formation of pupils' independence, initiative for search, control and self-control and so on. Having mentioned modern definitions of methods, it is necessary to note fuzziness in education terminology of those times, especially what concern such categories definition as «form», «method», «approach» (that made some authors stop on the technology of their use, not studying thoroughly the theory of the issue). Contemporaries explained that fact with inefficient scientific substantiation of methodologic fundamentals of this branch of education.

The method of explanative reading was formed and developed exactly at Sunday schools. The famous national pedagogue-Methodist V. Zolotov has written in the notes to the third chapter of *Exercises on reading and mental development*: «the whole this chapter is an example of explanative reading, which was mentioned, actually, only because of Sunday schools foundation»³⁶.

Members of associations, commissions, Sunday schools councils, teachers and pedagogical staffs worked on the development of programs on explanative reading. In *The Chronicle of Sunday schools* under the heading *From the educational practice* different materials according to the role, content and approaches of explanative reading have been published. They were programs worked out at Kh. Alchevska's school for groups of adults and young children, P. Kazanzev's articles (the author has proposed typical programs of explanative reading for 3 groups of children of different education level), reports and so on.

Such form of academic process organization as home reading was an important supplement to explanative reading lessons at Sunday school. Library was its guidance centre. The main aim of home reading, in pedagogues' opinion was pupils' encouragement to read not only fiction, but also science fiction in different branches of knowledge, which contributed to their mental and moral development³⁷.

During the control of pupils' home reading and the level of the read material acquisition such so called method of «checking back of the read material», which was worked out by the teachers of Charkiv private female Sunday school. This method foresaw application of such approaches as conversation, oral and written answers to questions, observation during collective readings and so on. Conversation consisted of different types of questions, with the help of which the teacher, first of all, defined the level of acquisition of material read by the pupil, secondly, aimed his opinion towards generalization and critical analysis, thirdly, helped the reader to realize the main thought of the composition.

During the choice of questions critical and generalizing ones were preferred. They made pupils to express independent judgements. Very difficult issues,

³⁶ V. Zolotov, *Uprazhneniya v chtenii i umstvennom razvitii* [Exercises in reading and mental development], St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 23.

³⁷ *Doklad o postanovke vneklasnogo chteniya v voskresnoy shkole R.G. Hlebnikovoy* [Report on the setting of extra-class reading in Sunday school R.G. Khlebnikova], «Russian School», n. 3, 1900, pp. 51-57.

which needed basic knowledge, experience, skill to realize social events critically, compare the read material with the environment, were often discussed. According to the words of Kh. Alchevska, «it doesn't only develop mind, but also prepares to life, gives the ability to differentiate friends and enemies»³⁸.

At every lesson of explanative reading at Sunday school demonstrative textbooks were used. The above mentioned programs contained the list of such textbooks. Moreover, the method of explanative reading was used in close connection with other methods, especially conversations in literature, history, geography, hygiene, anatomy, physiology and so on. In teachers' opinion, with the help of the use of conversation «mental activity is awakened, curiosity and interest are developed, serious inner work of the thought starts»³⁹.

The process of testing, creative improvement and popularization of the method of conversation took place, firstly, by means of publication of corresponding programs in some periodicals, particularly in *The Chronicle of Sunday schools*, collected volume *Common goal* and others.

Literature conversations were especially popular at Sunday schools. The most famous methodology of them belonged to Kh. Alchevska, who not only used literature conversations as one of the effective methods during lessons, extracurricular and out-of-school work, but also introduced obligatory lessons according to the program, thoroughly developed and confirmed by the pedagogical meeting⁴⁰.

The textbook *The book of adults* was a valuable source of materials selection for conversations and explanative reading with maximum use of visual materials. M. Saltykova (the author of the textbook *About a book of adults*) advised to use introductory conversations (at the beginning of chapter study), revising or reinforcing conversations (after chapter study) and final conversations (from every chapter) and during reading – additional conversations (according to the topics, similar to the read material)⁴¹.

Individual work – oral and written, classroom and home (with the teacher's instruction and without his help) was popular at Sunday schools. They were aimed at the development of mental skills, cognitive activity, independence (especially skills of independent line of thoughts), will and character of pupils. With the aim of definition of thinking type, inclination to some kind of activity, individual orientation of every pupil, Kh. Alchevska suggested to her colleagues

³⁸ Mukhin, *Pedagogichni pohliady i osvniia diialnist Kh. D. Alchevskoi*, cit., pp. 142-143.

³⁹ *Chteniya – besedy po geografii v voskresnoy shkole* [Readings – talks on geography in Sunday school], «Russian school», n. 3, 1897, p. 238.

⁴⁰ *Literaturnye besedy v voskresnoy shkole. Otchyot uchitelnicy M. Alchevskoy o zanyatiyah v starshey gruppe uchenic Harkovskoy chastnoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkoly* [Literary conversations in Sunday school. The report of the teacher M. Alchevskaya about the lessons in the senior group of the pupils of the Kharkov private women's Sunday school], «Russian school», n. 5-6, 1903, pp. 59-64.

⁴¹ Saltykova, *O knige vzroslyh*, cit., pp. 57-58.

to conduct a small individual work in order to reinforce the studied staff at the end of the school day 15 minutes before the bell. Certain types of home and classroom written works (with different level of complication) were worked out and confirmed at the pedagogical meetings for every academic group. In particular, narrations of the viewed plays, contents of conversations, written works – descriptions in biology, exercises in mathematics caused a great interest of the pupils of Charkiv private female Sunday school⁴².

In the process of arithmetic teaching Sunday school teachers used such education approaches as oral, written and «instrumental» calculation (with the help of different calculating frames – shopping and «classroom» calculating frame of Kochovsky), mathematic dictation, writing down and reading of composed figures with the help of abacus (so called «ruled piece of paper»), solution of problems and exercises of different level of difficulty and others⁴³.

As it was already mentioned, one of the main fundamentals of Sunday schools activity was principle of illustration, which foreseen the use of illustrative method in the academic process.

Inheriting progressive pedagogues' advice (such as Ya. Komensky, M. Pyrogov, K. Ushynsky and others) teachers of Sunday schools used various illustrative textbooks during such subjects teaching as: arithmetic (calculating frames, arithmetic boxes, collections of measurements of length and size), physics (thermometers of Reomiur, Farenheit, Celcius, magnet, reading glasses, pictures, tables), science (scarecrows of different animals, birds and fish, reptiles, insects, models of human organs, zoological atlases, herbariums, albums of pictures), geography (globes, tellurium, compasses, geographical and geological maps, atlases, tables of minerals, collections of precious stones), history (pictures, albums, lay figures, historical maps and atlases, tables and diagrams) and others⁴⁴.

At some Sunday schools own museums of illustrative textbooks were created. Eventually, with the help of tables, pictures and albums, instruments, historical and geographical maps, scarecrows and lay figures, which the school of Kh. Alchevska added constantly, a large museum of illustrative textbooks has been created. It was unique; there was no primary school in Russia, which had the same.

The museum of illustrative text books of Charkiv private female Sunday school is really a unique phenomenon. According to *The catalogue of illustrative materials museum at Charkiv private female Sunday school*⁴⁵ the

⁴² Alchevskaya, *Polgoda iz zhizni voskresnoy shkoly: Iz zapisnoy tetradi uchitelnicy voskresnoy shkoly*, cit., p. 34.

⁴³ P. Kazantsev, *Prepodavanie arifmetiki v voskresnoy shkole* [Teaching arithmetic in Sunday school], «Russian School», nn. 7-8, 1901, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Vachterova, *Kak otkryt, organizovat i vesti voskresnyuyu ili vechernyuyu shkolu (klassy) vzroslyh v derevne i v gorode*, cit., pp. 58-59.

⁴⁵ *Katalog muzeya naglyadnyh posobiy pri Harkovskoy chastnoy zhenskoy voskresnoy shkole*

museum comprised 434 numbers. Under some of them the whole collections of illustrative textbooks, which were divided according to some sections, were mentioned. Apart from them there were 69 numbers (several hundreds of objects) in the catalogue, which were not included into the above mentioned sections. Some illustrative textbooks were especially made for the museum – rare and expensive things, general cost of which comprised a lot of thousands of rubles. Collections of illustrative textbooks museum of Charkiv private female Sunday schools were highly appreciated by the visitors of the exhibition by the second congress of representatives of technical and professional education and the Russian exhibition in Nyzhniy Novgorod⁴⁶.

Extracurricular work took an essential place in educational process design of Sunday schools. School holidays, musical performances, musical literature parties, which were often visited by famous pedagogues, professional actors, teachers and pupils of other Sunday schools, geological walks in the nature, educational excursions (to museums, art galleries, zoological gardens, factories, plants, workrooms and so on), visits to the theatre, collective readings, readings with «magic torch» (stereoscope) and «misty» (light) pictures (slides), popular lectures on various topics and so on – all these events, in contemporaries' opinion, not only «awakened» and «refreshed» Sunday school, but were also effective means to make pupils and teachers closer, to «create a friendly family, members of which respected and trusted each other»⁴⁷.

School holidays were interesting phenomena: New Year's Parties, religious holidays (Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Trinity), the day of school's foundation. According to Sunday school reports, holidays, which programs were confirmed by pedagogical councils together with representatives from pupils, took place several times a year. An annual scheme of holiday lessons-entertainments at Sunday schools was worked out by the teacher O. Kaidanova⁴⁸.

Musical literature parties, dedicated to anniversary celebrations (of famous public and education representatives, poets and writers), were interesting and contextual. They were accompanied with «live pictures», school choir performance, solo musical compositions, poems recitation and so on. So, for example, honouring of memory of famous people (O. Pushkin (1886-1887 academic year), M. Lermontov (1891-1892 academic year), O. Koltsov (1892-1893 academic year), T. Shevchenko (1910-1911 academic year) took

[Catalog of the museum of visual aids at the Kharkov private women's Sunday school], Moscow, A. A. Levenson, 1896.

⁴⁶ Abramov, *Nashi voskresnye shkoly: ih proshloe i nastoyashee*, cit., pp. 189-192.

⁴⁷ *Otchyot voskresnoy shkoly pri Harkovskoy zhenskoy tyurme za 1896-1897 g. (2-y god suschestvovaniya)* [A report of the Sunday school at the Kharkov Women's Prison for 1896-1897 (the second year of existence)], «Russian School», n. 11, 1987, p. 131.

⁴⁸ O. Kaydanova, *Progulki i razvlecheniya dlya uchashchih'sya v voskresnyh shkolah* [Walking and entertainment for students in Sunday schools], Moscow, Yu. Vener, 1905, p. 88.

place at Charkiv private female Sunday school⁴⁹. At Christmas in 1901 literature music party took place in the hall of City Council for all pupils of Kyiv Sunday schools and more than 700 people were present there⁵⁰.

A good tradition existed in life of Sunday schools; it was a collective visit of the theatre. Some Sunday schools, especially Charkiv schools, received tickets for Sunday and holiday performances from administrations of drama theatres. Very often pupils organize their own school theatres. For example, a public theatre functioned at Charkiv male Sunday school and pupils of other Sunday schools were invited to its performances⁵¹.

Literature, theatre and self-education clubs were organized at some Sunday schools. According to the words of pedagogues, that made pupils closer to each other and accustomed them to independence and amateur activity.

Reading with «magic torch» and «misty pictures» enjoyed special popularity. As a rule they took place on Sunday evening and holidays at school building (sometimes in other lecture halls), which was full not only with Sunday school pupils, but with everybody, who wished. Most Sunday schools possessed the collections of pictures (completely large) to «a magic torch», especially the unique museum of illustrative textbooks of Charkiv private female Sunday school⁵².

The methodology of educational work at Sunday schools was marked with surprising originality and humanism. The implementation of progressive methods of education – encouragement, basis on positive things, competition took an important place in it. Especially, Kh. Alchevska has many times emphasized on the necessity of creation and use of the system of encouraging methods according to pupils hesitant and uncertain in their abilities. Besides, she warned her colleagues from going too far in this matter⁵³.

The specific character of educative work at Sunday schools lied, first of all, in the special atmosphere of relations between the pedagogue and the pupil. The teacher of Novostroiensk school Yu. Mosakivsky wrote: «Sunday school teachers try to behave themselves with pupils in the most polite manner, that's why they addressed them in the second person plural, not in the second person singular»⁵⁴. Young pedagogues were not only instructors, but also friends

⁴⁹ Kh. D. Alchevska, *Shkolnyy prazdnik v Harkovskoy voskresnoy shkole* [School holiday in the Kharkov Sunday School], «Enlightenment», n. 1, 1907, pp. 22-24.

⁵⁰ *Otchyot o deyatelnosti Kievskogo Obschestva Gramotnosti za 1901 god* [Report on the activities of the Kiev Literacy Society for 1901], Kiev, M. Ivanova, 1902, p. 116.

⁵¹ *Teatr v Harkovskoy muzhskoy voskresnoy shkole 20 aprelya 1899 goda. (Iz shkolnogo dnevnika H. D. Alchevskoy)* [Theater in the Kharkov men's Sunday school on April 20, 1899. (From the school diary of Kh. D. Alchevska)], Moscow, I. D. Sytin, 1900, pp. 262-268.

⁵² Abramov, *Nashi voskresnye shkoly: ih proshloe i nastoyashee*, cit., p. 190.

⁵³ Alchevska, *Polgoda iz zhizni voskresnoy shkoly: Iz zapisnoy tetradi uchitelnicy voskresnoy shkoly*, cit., p. 48.

⁵⁴ E.M. Mossakovsky, *Voskresnye shkoly* [Sunday schools], Kiev, Naukova dumka, 1963, p. 189.

for their pupils. They considered that relations between the teacher and the pupil should have natural character and only with the help of respect and love to other people, and children as well, it is possible to maintain own dignity. Sunday school brought light and joy to the life of its pupils, there they felt themselves people with human rights. Besides, a significant percent of Sunday schools pupils were adults who had a formed outlook and more or less defined demands for life. That is why the teacher as a more educated instructor treated his pupils, who were often his age (and sometimes «could be his parents»), with dignity.

Pupils trusted their teachers and that was the result of such welcoming attitude. Pupils appreciated each opportunity of sharing thoughts and problems, to talk sincerely with their instructor. Very often pupils visited their teachers at home. They felt a sincere affection of their teachers and they were not ashamed and talked, asked questions and even argued. However, according to Sunday pedagogue's evidence, their pupils never outreached familiarity⁵⁵.

Angry officials considered such «indecent» form of communication as a demonstration of «disrespect to the teacher's personality». Representatives of official pedagogy blamed teachers for the fact that with such behavior pupils showed a daring disrespect to them, «became rude people without any good future»⁵⁶. In contrast to this K. Ushynsky noted, that involuntary respect, with which Sunday school pupils treated their instructors, «is better than any other memorized notional expressions of politeness»⁵⁷.

One more condition encouraged a special relationships atmosphere. Teachers acted in contrast to traditional pedagogy, which according to contemporaries' evidence, led to the whole system of punishment – to twigs included. First Sunday schools became the heart of extension and popularization of the idea of human attitude towards pupils. The supervisor of Kyiv academic district M. Pyrogov – a famous ideologist of humanistic pedagogy – dismissed an idea of violence in education (though he admitted the possibility of physical punishment due to exceptional circumstances)⁵⁸.

Physical punishment was strictly prohibited by the rules of Sunday schools inner schedule. In pedagogues' opinion it obstructed not only mental, but also physical development of pupils. Notice was the only way of punishment, and it was not even personal. Pedagogues were convinced that normal discipline encouraged the results of educational activity. In Kh. Alchevska's opinion, it

⁵⁵ *Uchaschiesya voskresnyh shkol* [Students of Sunday schools], Moscow, I. D. Sytin, 1900, p. 193.

⁵⁶ Mossakovsky, *Voskresnye shkoly*, cit., p. 188.

⁵⁷ K.D. Ushinsky, *Voskresnye shkoly (Pismo v provinciuyu)* [Sunday Schools (Letter to the Province)], «Journal of the Ministry of National Education», n. 106, 1861, p. 66.

⁵⁸ G.E. Zhurakovskiy, *Problema gumanizma i obshego obrazovaniya v pedagogicheskoy sisteme N.I. Pirogova* [The problem of humanism and general education in the pedagogical system of N.I. Pirogova], Moscow, 1946, p. 94.

was possible due to the formation and development of self-discipline – both of pupils and teachers⁵⁹. The experience proved that an ideal order was not provided with implementation of physical and disciplinary punishment, but with serious and dedicated attitude of teachers to their work on the one hand, and with pupils' effort on the other hand as well as friendly relationship between them.

Associated with a personal respect interests of a teacher and a pupil were the same. Sunday school is a bright example of pedagogical process difficulties, which can be overcome within such indestructible union. The best proof of positive educational influence on moral and psychical pupils' development is the fact that children and adults visited Sunday school with pleasure (and were not even glad to have holidays), and the greatest disappointment after the hard week of work was every missed day of lessons. Friendly, warm and family relations fought with «false shame», which often prevented an adult from visiting Sunday school⁶⁰. Very often such honest, warm relations were kept for a lot of years after school graduation.

6. *What was the secret of Sunday schools success?*

Impressive success of Sunday school pupils was often mentioned by L. Glibov, M. Dragomanov, M. Pyrogov and other representatives of public pedagogic movement of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. Visiting Sunday schools almost every Sunday M. Pyrogov noticed the difference between them and «state» educational establishments. They lied in methods and means of education, teachers' behavior with pupils', whose success was just impressive⁶¹.

However, the meaning of Sunday school consisted not only in extension of literacy among people, mental development and formation of scientific outlook both children and adults. Having analyzed and generalized numerous facts from reports, teachers' diaries, and contemporaries' memories and so on, we have defined two main directions of pupils' moral education, which took the main place in the pedagogical process of Sunday schools: concerning education and development of personality's moral and psychic maturity; concerning formation and development of pupils' outlook beliefs.

K. Ushynsky defined one more important aspect of Sunday schools «moral meaning» – approach of intelligent people to ordinary people, who realized

⁵⁹ Alchevskaya, *Polgoda iz zhizni voskresnoy shkoly: Iz zapisnoy tetradi uchitelnicy voskresnoy shkoly*, cit., p. 30.

⁶⁰ Vachterov, *Vneshkolnoe obrazovanie naroda. Selskie biblioteki, knizhnye sklady. Voskresnye shkoly i povtoritelnye klassy*, cit., p. 152.

⁶¹ N.I. Pirogov, *O voskresnykh shkolakh* [About Sunday schools], Moscow, APN RSFSR, 1953, p. 397.

at last that «a sir in a suit» also works not less, than ordinary people. And vice versa, «sirs» spent their Sundays not «having stupid visits», but doing real Christian work – they taught children and adults, who didn't have an opportunity to visit everyday schools⁶².

So, where is the secret of Sunday school successful activity? What helped pupils, in spite of different obstacles, after 2 or 3 years of study (which were similar to 3 or 4 months of ordinary school) to become completely different concerning mental and moral development? Having analyzed and generalized contemporaries' conclusions, we have defined such factors of Sunday schools success:

– *first of all*, Sunday school phenomenon lied in the fact that it was not an accidentality, it was a social phenomenon – a creation of a general society's interest in public education, a creation of a conscious attitude to implement a noble idea into life;

– *secondly*, thanks to absence of «routine» and «heartless academicism», Sunday school opened the way to active work: interest on the one hand and its satisfaction – on the other hand⁶³. Constant search of flexible, constructive principles, development and approbation of new effective methods and approaches of education, special teaching technique, and use of progressive achievements of national and world pedagogy and so on – it is not the whole list of components of professionalism and of the main fundamentals of Sunday school teachers innovative activity;

– *thirdly*, there was an observation of the main activity principle – «school for pupils», which foreseen high level of interest of every person's individuality and taking into consideration his educational requests and needs, special atmosphere of relations between all members of Sunday school, human attitude to pupils, absence of physical punishment and so on.

And, finally, entity of pupil's and teacher's interests and their «indestructible unity» are important psychological factors and guarantee of troubles overcoming in pedagogical work. Pointing at such impressive results of the first Sunday schools functioning (Podil and Novostroiensk), the author of pedagogical review in the magazine «*Osnova*» made such conclusion: «It does have a great meaning – on the one hand – a free wish to study, on the other hand – teaching without any program limits»⁶⁴.

According to the words of public educational Sunday school movement participant L. Strunina (she was a Sunday school teacher by the female department of Kyiv prison), Sunday schools were «...the first establishment of private initiative, which appeared to help people in their intention to something

⁶² Ushinsky, *Voskresnye shkoly*, cit., pp. 66-67.

⁶³ Strunina, *Pervye voskresnye shkoly v Kyeve*, cit., p. 307.

⁶⁴ *Uchilishcha, obrazovavshiesya na Yuge v poslednee vremya* [Schools, formed in the South in recent times], «Basis», n. 6, 1861, p. 24.

light... It is a pure source, which carries a fresh flood into our school work from the depth of social life»⁶⁵. Sunday schools gave a birth to a lot of new educational methods and approaches. A sound analytic-synthetic method of teaching literacy, methods of explanative reading and conversations, so called methods of «mutual reading», «advanced study of alphabet», «repeating of read material» and «study of readers' interests» and so on.

A significant source of the basis of our study were reports, teachers' diaries, pedagogues' memoirs⁶⁶. For example, comparative characteristics of students may be found in teachers' diaries: when they entered a Sunday school they were desperate in life young men or girls, with a «tragic tone in character» contemptuous attitude towards people and expected fate. After a long study at Sunday school there is the image of a cheerful, «light», curious young man with ambitious plans for the future⁶⁷.

In 1912, the Commission (specially created in honor of the 50th anniversary of Kh. Alchevska's teaching activity) published a collection of *Conceived and Survived. Diaries, Letters, Memories*⁶⁸. The entire profit from its sale went to Kh. Alchevska's fund, organized to help Sunday schools. The Director of Women's Gymnasium A. Shylova founded two scholarships named after Kh. Alchevska for Sunday School students⁶⁹.

Conclusions

Sunday schools became distributors of new pedagogical ideas. In particular, proclaiming the pupils' development of «wish and abilities independently to acquire new knowledge and learn during the whole life, without teacher's help»⁷⁰ as one of the main tasks of Sunday school, K. Ushynsky almost founded the idea of continuous education.

It is worth mentioning that in spite of general confession of necessity and practical activity, aimed at production of special teaching methods and approaches, an integral didactics of Sunday education (like both out-of-school education and adult education) has not been created. However, some valuable

⁶⁵ Strunina, *Pervye voskresnye shkoly v Kieve*, cit., p. 307.

⁶⁶ Kh.D. Alchevska, *Shevchenkove svyato v shkoli (iz shchodennyka uchytel'ky nedil'noyi shkoly)*, [Shevchenko's holiday in school (from the diary of a Sunday school teacher)], Ridnyy kray, 1912, n. 3, pp. 8-12.

⁶⁷ Vachterov, *Vneshkolnoe obrazovanie naroda. Selskie biblioteki, knizhnye sklady. Voskresnye shkoly i povtoritelnye klassy*, cit., pp. 216.

⁶⁸ Kh.D. Alchevska, *Peredumannoye i perezhitoye. Dnevniky, pis'ma, vospominaniya*, [Conceived and Survived. Diaries, Letters, Memories], I. D. Sytin, 1912.

⁶⁹ Kh.D. Alchevska, *Poluvekovoy yubiley (1862-1912)* [Half-century anniversary], Moscow, I.D. Sytin, 1912, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁰ Ushinsky, *Voskresnye shkoly*, cit., p. 70.

conclusions have been made, interesting observations have been generalized, main educational forms, methods and approaches have been implemented and tried out, a lot of interesting and useful things have been introduced into the methodology of primary education. M. Korf called Sunday schools teachers «autodidacts» and «self-taught people», who listened to the voice of life and compared experience with science⁷¹.

So, such organizational activity fundamentals as absence of strict inner rulemaking, public approach to pedagogical process management and planning, observation of the main principle of activity – «school for pupils», creation of special tutorship with aim to care about pupils, special atmosphere of relationships between school staff members, human attitude towards pupils, common interests of the teacher and the pupil and so on, once more confirm contemporaries' words on the fact that Sunday schools of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century were public educational establishments, the task and content of education of which was aimed, first of all, at satisfaction of public educational needs and requests.

A thorough study, objective assessment, creative reflection and implementation of the best achievements of pedagogy will help to succeed in modern school reforms with the aim to combine the classical heritage of the past and modern achievements of scientific thought, its organic connection with Ukrainian history, culture and pedagogical experience.

Today, a number of non-formal educational institutions (including Sunday schools), religious, ethnic, cultural and educational, are being created and successfully function. In this context, the study of the activity of Sunday schools (non-traditional public education institutions for extracurricular and adult education) of Ukraine in the second half of the 19th-early 20th century is of key importance.

⁷¹ Vovk, *Istoriia osvity doroslykh v Ukraini*, cit., p. 42.

Life reform and talent care in Tarhos. The failure of a promising Hungarian school experiment in the early 1950s

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ABSTRACT: Researchers have already demonstrated that thanks to Kodály Zoltán's intellectual impact, music education movements and school establishing initiatives have emerged in Hungary, which have borne certain signs of life-reform pedagogy. Among these was the so-called «Singing School» in Tarhos, Békés County, in the southeast corner of Hungary, between 1947 and 1954. This short-lived, but highly effective pedagogical institution is now highly respected among Hungarian (music) pedagogical professionals, but the thorough processing of its history has not been done so far. In our study, we undertake to reconstruct the story of Tarhos's «birth», life and «passing» based on the appropriate sources. We also want to demonstrate that some of the typical life-reform motifs could be found in the pedagogical concept of «talent-care» in the music school complex of Tarhos.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; History of education; School experiment; Hungary; XXth Century.

1. *New paradigms in pedagogical history writing*

The thematics and methodology of the Hungarian history of education writing – in keeping with the new international trend – has undergone significant content enrichment over the last decade. To this expansion belongs the research of the reception of the growing life reform movement in Hungary during the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

It is well-known that a paradigm shift occurred in the interpretation of the collective concept of reform pedagogy in the 1990s. This is clearly exemplified by the 'deconstruction' of the classical reform pedagogical interpretation and its integration into the broader context of the life-reform movement. The basis

for this concept-re-interpretation was laid by Jürgen Oelkers in his emblematic book first published in 1989¹, in which he analyzed the classic reform pedagogy interpretation of Hermann Nohl with deep criticism.

As is well known, the conceptual framework of pedagogical trends and aspirations is still strongly influenced by this highly canonized reform pedagogical paradigm, which was founded by Herman Nohl in his book in 1933 (*Die Pädagogische Bewegung in Deutschland*)², and which was supported by notable writers of German pedagogical history, Wolfgang Scheibe³ and Hermann Röhrs⁴. This canon treats reform pedagogy as a set of pedagogical reform approaches which, despite the diversity of their programs and practices, show consistency in their basic philosophical perceptions⁵. The common features of the reform pedagogical trends are therefore the strong critical attitude towards the theoretical foundations and everyday practices of the current school system and the search for new pedagogical alternatives. It is no coincidence that reform pedagogy unfolded at the turn of the century with intellectual and cultural movements, such as the cultural critique from a national perspective⁶. Another feature of this classical reform pedagogical canon is that it is traditionally studying the history of the worldwide spreading movement in three phases.

Jürgen Oelkers is deconstructing this widespread traditional reform pedagogical image that still influences the writing of today's pedagogical history. His theses are as follows:

1. Reform pedagogy is not an independent movement and has not constructed original theory and practice. Its antecedents are well documented in the history of pedagogy⁷. (Principles such as «natural education» and «child centeredness» have already appeared in the pedagogical trends of older ages.)

¹ J. Oelkers, *Reformpädagogik: Eine kritische Dogmengeschichte*, Weinheim und München, Juventa Verlag, 1989.

² H. Nohl, *Die Pädagogische Bewegung in Deutschland und ihre Theorie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1933, 1935.

³ W. Scheibe, *Die Reformpädagogische Bewegung 1900-1932: Eine einführende Darstellung*, Weinheim, Beltz, 1969.

⁴ H. Röhrs, *Die Reformpädagogik: Ursprung und Verlauf unter internationalem Aspekt*, Hannover, Schroedel Verlag, 1980.

⁵ Oelkers, *Reformpädagogik: Eine kritische Dogmengeschichte*, cit., p. 21.

⁶ A. Németh, *A reformpedagógia gyermekképe. A szent gyermek mítoszától a gyermeki öntevékenység funkcionális gyakorlatáig* [The child's concept of reform pedagogy. From the Myth of the Holy Child to the Functional Practice of Child Self-Activity], «Iskolakultúra», vol. 12, n. 3, 2002, pp. 21-32.

⁷ J. Oelkers, *Reformpädagogik: Eine kritische Dogmengeschichte*. See also: Németh, *A reformpedagógia gyermekképe. A szent gyermek mítoszától a gyermeki öntevékenység funkcionális gyakorlatáig*, cit., pp. 21-32; Id., *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der ungarischen Pädagogik und Schule von dem 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2013; Id., *Erziehungswissenschaft in Ungarn (1870-1952)*, Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2013; Id., *Lebensreform, Reformpädagogik und Lehrerberuf*, Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2014; V. Pethő, *Kodály Zoltán és követ i zenepedagógiájának életreform elemei* [Elements of life-reform of Zoltán

2. The school critique of reform pedagogy is not original, critique against school education also appears in the history of pedagogy⁸. The reform pedagogues' efforts aimed at renewing schooling can not be considered to be successful, they did not generate significant echoes and did not result in profound public education reforms⁹. One of the major innovations of reform pedagogy according to Oelkers was the creation of a highly stylized, novel portrayal of the child¹⁰. In the evolution of this rather ideological image of children the life-reform movement unfolding at the turn of the century on the basis of antimodernist aspirations played a significant role.

The research on the Hungarian reception of the life reform movement and its pedagogical effects started after the turn of the millennium with the leadership of András Németh at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Since then, conferences, publications and doctoral theses have been the hallmarks of this research group. In this work, interdisciplinary research of music pedagogy and life reform pedagogy is a special motif. The writer of this article attempted the primary study of life reform motifs in Zoltán Kodály's music pedagogy in a previous study¹¹, the thorough processing and in depth study of the subject and the work of the Kodály disciples was done by Villő Pethő in her doctoral dissertation¹².

In our present paper, we wish to show that the framework – inspired by the life reform movement – for the interpretation of the history of pedagogy can be further expanded and can be applied as an explanatory principle unveiling illustrative new results in the research of the history of the music pedagogy after 1945. As a first attempt we are looking for specificities and criteria referring to the life reform movement in the emblematic «school experiment» of Hungarian music education and talent care between 1946 and 1954 in the «Singing School» of Tarhos¹³.

Kodály and his followers music pedagogy], PhD dissertation, University Szeged, <http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/1080/1/pethov_ertekezes.pdf> (last access: 27.07.2018).

⁸ Oelkers, *Reformpädagogik: Eine kritische Dogmengeschichte*, cit., p. 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰ See Pethő, *Kodály Zoltán és követői zenepedagógiájának életreform elemei*, cit., p. 12. <http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/1080/1/pethov_ertekezes.pdf> (last access: 27.07.2018).

¹¹ B. Pukánszky Béla, *Kodály Zoltán zenepedagógiai munkásságának életreform-motívumai*, [The life-reform motifs of Zoltán Kodály's music pedagogical work], in A. Németh, G. Mikonya, E. Skiera (edd.), *Életreform és reformpedagógia: Nemzetközi törekvések magyar recepciója* [Life Reform and Reform Pedagogy: The Hungarian Reception of International Aims], Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 2005, pp. 192-213.

¹² Pethő, *Kodály Zoltán és követői zenepedagógiájának életreform elemei*, cit.

¹³ Tarhos is a small village in Békés County, in the southeast corner of Hungary near the Hungarian-Romanian border.

2. *The foundation and short life of the Singing School of Tarhos*

Tarhos's name in pedagogy has become the symbol of professional musical education of talented poor children. According to the original concept the main goal was musical talent care and general musical education of the people: the founder of the school, conductor György Gulyás¹⁴, wanted to train well educated vocal and music teachers. Teachers who «will go back to where they came from: villages and farms»¹⁵.

The official name of the institute known as the «Singing School» in the professional public knowledge of the time has been changed several times following the radical transformation of the Hungarian public education system: between 1946 and 1948 it was called Lyceum and Teacher Training Institute, between 1949 and 1951 it was a musical secondary school and later, between 1952 and 1954 it became a musical secondary school and academy. The post-war desire for renewal and spiritual rebirth partly manifested in the efforts to reform the school system. It is characteristic of the era that in addition to the structural reform work carried out by professionals, enthusiastic and committed private individuals have also come to see the time to present their concepts of new types of schools up to the highest places, to the ministry supervising the school system.

In this pro-reform environment György Gulyás submitted a memorandum in August 1945 with the assistance of the Mayor of the City of Békéscsaba to Géza Teleki, Minister of Religion and Public Education, about setting up a Hungarian State Music School consisting of an 8-grade elementary school and a 4-grade secondary school. As the main goal of the project, Gulyás has marked the education of talented children from socioeconomically handicapped areas (villages and farms) so they become highly qualified musicians. When composing the curriculum for the singing school, Gulyás emphasized the «ethnographic aspect» as one of the primary goals: «the singing school has to

¹⁴ György Gulyás (1916-1993) Hungarian conductor and music teacher was born in Köröstarcsa. After elementary school he began his secondary school education in Szeghalom, and after two years he became a student at the Reformed College of Debrecen. There he got a cantor teacher diploma in 1936, then taught in an undivided school for three years in Bélmegyer. Meanwhile, he attended the Music Academy's composer education as a private student. From 1938 onwards he organized the grand choir meetings in Békés, that were the first rural music events of the Singing Youth Movement that started at Kodály's initiative. From 1939 he worked as a teacher at the Reformed School in Békés. From 1941 onwards he was able to continue his studies as a regular student at the Music Academy, and in 1942 he received a degree in composing and secondary school vocal teacher training. After that he worked in Debrecen from 1942 to 1945 as an elementary school teacher and music teacher in a teacher training institute. Meanwhile, in 1943, he organized and led a girl choir at the Dóczy Dormitory and Teacher Training Institute in Debrecen. From January 1945 he returned to Békés and began teaching there again.

¹⁵ B. Csende, *Békés-Tarhos*, Békés, Városi Tanács, 1976, p. 36.

pay special attention to the appreciation of our particular Hungarian values»¹⁶. György Gulyás's way of thinking was influenced by the Protestant traditions of talent care as well as by the contemporary intentions to educate rural-born intellectuals.

It is characteristic of the time's elevated pace that György Gulyás received response by the November of 1945. The Ministry of Religion and Public Education, led by Dezső Keresztury, called on him through Debrecen's Regional Directorate to send a detailed curriculum and a lesson plan for the new school in addition to his «memoirs». The plans requested were completed in early February 1946. György Gulyás's curriculum proposal was commented on and modified by the renowned music teacher of the time, the Kodály-student, Jenő Ádám.

Meanwhile, the concept of the Singing School to be set up was caught in the crossfire of professional debates among ministry bureaucrats. Among the supporters were writers and politicians (such as József Darvas, László Németh, Gyula Illyés and Dezső Keresztury, Minister of Culture from 15 November 1945). But many opposed the concept, especially music-pedagogues. Initially only two credible and influential experts, Jenő Ádám and György Kerényi, stood alongside the idea of György Gulyás. At first Zoltán Kodály also categorically rejected the idea («one can not build a music school in the desert») and told his opinion to the minister of culture.

Finally, a supportive decision was made, and events in the second half of 1946 had accelerated. György Gulyás, headmaster, was instructed to start preparations for the school year at the end of August. On November 5, 1946, a ministerial decree establishing the Singing School was signed by Secretary of State Miklós Nagy on behalf of the Minister of Culture Dezső Keresztury. The institution's full name at that time was «National State Singing and Music Specializing Lyceum and Teacher Training Institute». The elementary school and dormitory were also part of the school complex. It is remarkable how later the name of the Singing School, which lasted almost eight years, changed following the socialization and complete reorganization of the Hungarian school system. From the Lyceum and Teacher Training Institute (1946-48), it was first renamed experimental singing and music secondary school (grammar school), then it became a regional singing and music primary school (1948). Then the institute became a music specializing grammar school (1949-51). In 1950, the Ministry approved the one-year vocal training course. In 1950, the Ministry approved the one-year vocal training course. Finally, the Singing School was renamed Specializing Music School and Music Academy (1952-54). However, the structure and training content of the eight-grade primary school remained untouched all along¹⁷.

¹⁶ G. Gulyás, *My sins... my sins?*, Békés, w.e, 1988, p. 27.

¹⁷ E. Kardos, Mrs. Linderberger, *Mementó a "tarhosi csodáért"*, [Memento for the "miracle

As a venue for the establishment of the new school, the names of several cities originally were in play (Debrecen, Békéscsaba, Gyula), but the professional-political disputes further delayed the decision. It was only in the middle of 1946 that the cause of the foundation came from the deadlock. During the discussions filled with lobbying struggles, the concept of the rural placement in Békés county won. In this final decision, Békés's offer of Tarhos as an appropriate location played a significant role. Thus, after the intervention of the Peasants' Party, Minister of Agriculture István Dobi offered the mansion of Békés-Tarhos – belonging to the Wenckheim family prior to the war – to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education with its affiliated buildings and 105 cadastral moons (with its arboretum park) for the establishment of a new residential school complex.

It can be seen, therefore, that the isolated location of the Singing School far from the noise of the world, in the nature, was not an essential criterion for Gulyás György's original idea. Ideas on the location developed during the process of lobbying. Whatever the initial motivation was, the final location offered an opportunity for a pedagogical experiment that was unique in its own. In which the Rousseauian roots of classical pedagogical naturalism could be combined with the educational traditions of the residential life style of Protestant dormitory schools and the modern practice of musical talent saving and talent care.

György Gulyás has done all he could to maintain the momentum of school-building political and professional forces. They did not want to lose a school year so he reported to the Regional Directorate in Szeged that on November 6, 1946, the institution «started to operate»¹⁸. However, the official opening ceremony took place only on February 15, 1947. In November of last year, a recruitment brochure was sent to the schools of nearby and distant settlements. In this brochure, students «who have outstanding talents in one of the listed subjects and come from poor families», were promised governmental support for the dormitory fee¹⁹. It can be seen, therefore, that the talent saving role of the school was not limited to the development of musical abilities.

The entrance exam was held on January 7, 1947. On the exam a so-called «musical ability test» was performed, covering musical and general memory, manual dexterity, sense of rhythm, hearing ability, post-note singing and performance. These topics indicate that this exam was not limited to revealing classical musical abilities, but also sought to reveal the general intellectual and expressive ability of the applicant. For example, in an interesting task for revealing performance abilities, the student had to say a sentence with a variety of emotional repertoire (crying out, asking, merrily, jubilantly, ruefully,

of Tarhos?], «Bárka», vol. 9, n. 4, 2001, pp. 151-158.

¹⁸ Gulyás, *My sins... my sins?*, cit., pp. 41-43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

remotely etc.), and then a musical motif had to be sang in several ways (forcefully, facetiously, majestically, ruefully, gracefully, proudly, archaically, jubilantly etc.). The maximum score on the entrance examination was 45. 75 students were accepted, 90% of them got 35-45 points. 10 children started their studies in the lyceum and 65 in the elementary music school²⁰. The increasing interest in the school was indicated by the fact that 200 students from all over the country were applying for the 1948/49 school year. 101 girls and 57 boys were accepted. However, at the same time the number of teachers did not increase at an appropriate pace²¹.

In February 1947, the school year began in very gruesome conditions in the Singing School. The mansion was destroyed during the war, the remaining furniture was removed by the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements, the electricity station and the stables were also destroyed, but the park, the unspoiled natural environment, remained.

György Gulyás, principal of the Singing School said the following in his opening speech about the purpose of the school: «Now, we are on the line, the school's teachers and educators. To create a culture in our farms far from even the surrounding villages. And not only through singing and music, but through all the other school subjects – through their habits, language, traditions, historical life view, as well as their lifestyles, their spirituality, their everyday lives [...]»²². The concept, therefore, was not confined to the development of musical abilities, but the objective included the authentic presentation and introduction of the true Hungarian folk culture. The high level of musical and «general knowledge» education was a general feature of the local curriculum and, consequently, the pedagogical practice. Initially there were only seven teachers, including the principal, who, despite all the difficulties, made successful efforts to achieve this goal.

As mentioned earlier, the main objective of the founder of the institute was to train teachers from poor families so that they acquire outstanding musical knowledge and after completing their training, they return to their villages. The Singing School of Tarhos not only engaged in the musical and general education of children and young people, but also continued the training of teachers and even pursued the classical traditions of free education. For a short period of time, it has become a regional music education and training center. The institute was barely open, the basic conditions for pedagogical work required extraordinary efforts, but director György Gulyás has already organized an art school in the first months of 1947²³. In the summer, a three-week vocal training course was also held.

²⁰ Csende, *Békés-Tarhos*, cit., pp. 34-35.

²¹ Gulyás, *My sins... my sins?*, cit., p. 48.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²³ Csende, *Békés-Tarhos*, cit., pp. 42-43.

From the 1947/48 school year onwards, to the school's teaching staff Physical Education, Mathematics, Physics, Hungarian, French and Piano teachers were added²⁴. However, the difficulties did not decrease, the level of state aid was very low, so they were depending on food supplied by parents. It shows the school principals initiative ability that the students of the institute received not only general education and outstanding music education but they also helped with the maintenance of the school with their own manual work. The children participated in the renovation and repurposing of buildings. The old stable was transformed into a piano practice room and a school building was built from the building materials that had been gained from the teared down crumbling buildings. On the surrounding lands, a small farm was built, where different vegetables were grown.

This school year has brought significant music pedagogical success. In the spring of 1948, the children choir performed at the Academy of Music with tremendous success. (Later, in the summer of 1949, they also made a radio recording with the choir. A year later, in the autumn of 1949, they participated in the World Youth Meeting in Budapest). The choir has soon gained national and international recognition.

In addition to the choir's vocal career, they also achieved outstanding achievements in instrumental music teaching. It made a big echo in professional circles that Antal Friss, the retired teacher of the Academy of Music, offered in the autumn of 1951 that he'd like to visit Tarhos and teach cello there. The «cello class» has become an interesting and productive initiative of music pedagogy. Following the initiative of Antal Friss, several nationally renowned music teachers undertook the teaching in Tarhos, including Klára Eröss, Lili Dános, piano teacher Mariann Teőke, Márton Banda, violin teacher Árpád Vígh and clarinetist Ferenc Hernádi.

Despite the apparent pedagogical success, during the entire time of its existence the Singing School was in the midst of political and professional controversy – which was often also influenced by politics. The issue of termination or relocation was also on the agenda of the authority. Russia's one of the most famous Soviet composers, Anatoly Novikov contributed greatly to the consolidation of the positive image and good judgment of the school in Tarhos when he visited in the spring of 1950. After the prestigious guest returned home, he has written in a number of Russian journals with the greatest appreciation about what he has seen and heard in the school²⁵.

²⁴ The members of the full faculty were: György Gulyás, Ottó Gráf, dr. Janka Homér, Géza Kapás, Éva Mánya, Teréz Molnár, Katalin Ruber, Olga Gyarmath, Lajos Jantos and Klára Varga. A year later the following teachers joined: Géza Domokos, Margit Mihály, Lehel Nemcsik, Éva W. Sípos, Irén Pálfi, István Soós and dr. Lajos Szabó.

²⁵ An excerpt from Novikov's article: «The intonation is miraculously pure, the deep feelings of the band is admirable and also the enthusiasm of the singers who are in love with their choir. The teacher not only taught the children to sing, but also won them to music, and singing became

It is remarkable that *Zoltán Kodály visited Tarhos only after Novikov* on June 5, 1950, where his music pedagogical system was the basis of music education. The long-awaited guest was satisfied: he had thoroughly tested the knowledge of the children, he made them sing using the sol-fa syllables and held a solfège class. Direct experience convinced him. In his uniquely narrow style, he expressed his gratitude to the school teachers on the spot, saying: «Tarhos is ahead of great things in the future»²⁶. Later on, however, he was more openly appreciative of the successes of Tarhos in higher places.

After the visit of Kodály, Tarhos's case for further development was again on the agenda: soon engineers started field visits in the area. Despite the urgent need to expand the crowded school and dormitory, however, the high-ranking guest's positive opinion convinced the leadership to start the investment.

The construction of the bandstand started in September 1951. There were plans in which there was a single big building block with the school, dormitory and concert hall. In the end, the pavilion concept emerged victorious. In the original ideas of György Gulyás, besides the music pavilion, there were literature, science and physical education pavilions as well. (The obstructions did not disappear. The director of the construction company – delaying the start – has ordered the transport of 300,000 bricks from the railway station to the construction site. However, the students offered to transport the building material on their own carts, so there was no obstacle to starting construction. According to the sources, work was partially carried out by relocated construction workers who were of a noble origin, and thus «class-alien», who hoped for an earlier release in exchange for their good work).

The opening ceremony for the music pavilion (bandstand) was held on May 1, 1953. Zoltán Kodály and his wife, Emma Sándor, appeared at the ceremony. There were Ferenc Farkas, Endre Szervánszky and Pál Járdányi among the distinguished composers of the time who also attended the event. At the concert, world-famous violinist Ede Zathureczky, the Director of the Academy of Music, presented Beethoven's Spring Sonata with the accompaniment of pianist Endre Petri.

Kodály at the time recognized and acknowledged the importance of Tarhos, and appreciated the efforts of its founder, György Gulyás, that brought spectacular professional successes. In contrast to the previous ministry concept, which saw the possibility of advancing musical education only in the development of urban music schools, Kodály had now saw the reason for a «singing school» of a «boarding school» type that is built on the «periphery», which primarily focuses on the education of talented children from farms and

a necessity for them. As a praise of this excellent leader, it should also be mentioned that his choir bravely breaks up the obsolete traditions [...] and creates the new traditions of lively singing with great, enthusiastic expressions» (Novikov is quoted in Csende, *Békés-Tarhos*, cit., p. 74).

²⁶ Gulyás, *My sins... my sins?*, cit., p. 66.

villages. The roots of this education are Kodály's music-pedagogical principles, which builds further musical training on vocal sound, cultured, pure singing and the ability to read and write music: «The school in Tarhos is the only one at this time that begins education on a vocal base, and thus provides a great foundation for musical education», Kodály said in his speech. «Where musical education begins and ends with musical instruments, they only provide superficial musical-culture. Here I see Tarhos's importance and future»²⁷.

Not long after the opening ceremony of the music pavilion, on June 9, 1953, a so-called «dormitory meeting» took place in the Ministry of Education²⁸. In the meeting chaired by the Minister, József Révai, the critical report of the commission of inquiry was evaluated²⁹.

György Gulyás also attended the meeting. During the debate almost all of the participating professionals and ministry officials fiercely attacked the principal. In the summary of the meeting, Révai accused Gulyás³⁰ of «makarenkoism» and «school patriotism», thus manipulating the students so that they do not want to go to other schools for higher education. With reference to Novikov's excited article, Révai accused the principal that he used the school for «a tourist destination» and that «it was not beneficial to the children, as they always must have felt as if they were on a podium»³¹.

The final conclusion sounded like a verdict: «Tarhos is not capable of providing the basic, middle and high level education of children on its own». The teaching of talented children from villages in Tarhos was called an Utopia and the new direction of development was highlighted: the singing school has to continue its operation in Békéscsaba after a transitional period of 4-5 years. In the end even this couple-year transitional period wasn't granted for the institute. The last school year of 1953-54 brought additional great professional

²⁷ Kodály is cited in *ibid.*, p. 88. The idea of musical education based on singing voice and folk music is later came to realization: in the 1950s, the Kodály concept was applied in several places resulting in the foundation of singing and music schools. Among the firsts Tarhos's example was followed by the previously mentioned singing teacher, Márta Szentkirályi (1923-1973), who also had Kodály's support. She founded the Singing and Music Primary School in Kecskemét in the fall of 1950. The second specialized class was set up in the 1954-55 academic year by Jolán Pukánszky and Juhos Lenke in the n. III Primary School of Orosháza.

²⁸ In 1951, the right to supervise the institute in Tarhos was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the authority of the Ministry of Folkulture.

²⁹ The members of the committee were mainly attacking György Gulyás: «Gulyás is in full control of Tarhos. He only tolerates teachers who are submissive to his will. He plays with cadres like chess figures. Gulyás showed unacceptable behavior towards the delegation. He literally had us under surveillance [...] [The children] do not like Gulyás, they are afraid of him». (Mária Gulyás is cited by Gulyás, *My sins... my sins?*, cit., pp. 98-99).

³⁰ «I do not want to see a Hungarian Makarenko!», said József Révai at the meeting of the committee (Révai cited in *ibid.*, p. 92). The referral is likely to apply to innovators capable of autonomic thinking and acting, the «makarenko type» pedagogues, who may well be uncomfortable for centralized leadership.

³¹ Révai is quoted in *ibid.*, p. 95.

successes, further growing international acknowledgment, and with all this, the hope of survival. Révai's successor, József Darvas, stood both in public and in the background negotiations behind the idea to maintain the original function and location of the school in Tarhos and strongly opposed the relocation of the institute. But behind the scenes in the long struggles and endless debates he lost the battle. The decision to close the school in Tarhos was made, but the orders were not signed by the minister but by his deputy: «I inform You, Principal Comrade that there is a reorganization in the area of arts education in the Ministry of Education. In the course of this reorganization, it has become necessary to close the music school of Tarhos and its related institutions [...] Ferenc Jánosi, First Deputy of the Minister»³².

It is typical of the times and the unscrupulous political power, that the students' parents were notified about the closing of the Singing School and the only possible way to continue their children's studies by the ministry one day before the beginning of the school year. The letter – which György Gulyás did not see and signed – does not contain any reference to talent care and music training:

Dear Parents! The Music School and Grammar School of Békés-Tarhos closed with effect from 1 September 1954 on the basis of the related decree. The Ministry of Education offers opportunities for further education for grammar school students in general grammar schools. We ask the parents to contact their County Council by the 10th of September 1954 at the latest. We also ask to send this letter along with the application to certify that their child was a student of the Music School of Békés-Tarhos. Primary school students should continue their primary school studies at their place of residence. The student's documents will be sent by the school, which must be submitted for registration to the County Council. Békés-Tarhos, August 31, 1954 Principal György Gulyás³³.

3. *Life-reform elements in the life of the Singing School of Tarhos*

At the beginning of our dissertation, we have already referred to the circumstances of the genesis of the reform pedagogical trends in the broad spectrum of life-reform movement. The newer pedagogical historical literature puts the beginning of the strengthening and more characteristic manifestation of these two trends in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century. At that time, in some European countries, a foundation was established to give ground for a heterogeneous and diverse mix of individualistic thinking modes and philosophies focusing on emancipating the individual. A new mentality centered

³² Ferenc Jánosi cited in *ibid.*, p. 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

on the individual was formed that, among other things, was turning away from the metropolitan lifestyle, re-evaluating the ancient relationship between man and nature, and consequently searching for close-to-nature lifestyles.

One of the common elements of the new, nature-centered life-reform ideologies was the search for a *way out*. In the fast-paced lifestyle of the urbanized world, one can easily become alienated from himself/herself, said the supporters of the new movement. In fact a man could become alienated three times: from himself/herself, from others, and from the world itself³⁴. The ideologists of the life-reform movement see the way out in the three-way reconciliation. Ehrenhard Skiera reconstructs the contemporary thinking which was based on the dialectics of alienation and reconciliation:

To overcome the threefold alienation from the world, in perspective, there must be a three-way 'reconciliation'. On the one hand, a man has to make peace with himself. A man's emotions, thoughts, perceptions, hopes and creations should get a legitimate manifestation, not to be suppressed constantly by the 'cold' purposeful rationality and the intellect that wants to control everything. On the other hand, where it is possible, a man must make peace with his fellow people, who in the future will not be regarded as enemies or competitors but as his brothers and sisters. A man who is not alienated from himself and others (or, in other words, a man who has a direct relationship with others and who has freed himself from his egoistic urges and solved the contradictions within himself) has a new connection to the world as a whole. And this is the third aspect of 'reconciliation'. When the world is no longer the scene of the pursuit of exploitation, enrichment and maximizing profits, but it is the home of men and the basis of further existence that protects mankind³⁵.

The Singing School in Tarhos could have been the place of this threefold *reconciliation* if the relentless lobbying, constant suspicion and professional jealousy were not in the way. Teachers and students in Tarhos were an educating and self-educating community that had two important sources of energy:

1. One of the ideological sources was the *The Singing Youth Movement* launched in the twenties by the Master and the disciples, namely Kodály and its followers – the so-called members of the *Singing Order*³⁶. Among the members was principal György Gulyás, who was a charismatic leader at the head of the Singing School, and created the natural environment in which the musical education of talented children from cities and villages alike could be realized with a previously unknown intensity and efficiency. Tarhos therefore is part of a process that began in the 1920s – the emblematic beginning was the concert held in the Music Academy on April 14, 1929 (*Zoltán Kodály Children Choir Concert*), with nearly 700 students participating from seven Budapest schools, singing Kodály's new children choir songs. The foundations of the

³⁴ E. Skiera, *Az életreform-mozgalmak és a reformpedagógia*, [Life-reform movements and reform pedagogy], «Iskolakultúra», vol. 14, n. 3, 2004, pp. 32-44.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁶ Pethő, *Kodály Zoltán és követői zenepedagógiájának életreform elemei*, cit., pp. 116-172, <http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/1080/1/pethov_ertekezés.pdf> (last access: 27.07.2018).

new community, of the ever-growing «Singing Order», were actually these singing children and their master conductors. The next step in the process after Tarhos was the establishment of music elementary schools based on Kodály's pedagogical principles, which have been established by Kodály's followers, the members of the Singing Order in the 1950s. This was the period of the spreading and institutional application of Kodály's pedagogy.

2. Another source of energy were *Kodály's (music) pedagogy principles*, followed by György Gulyás and his colleagues of music teachers in Tarhos. In this musical education concept, there are three components that are closely related to each other. The first is the development of pure singing, the development of «inner hearing». The second important element is basing the teaching of music reading and writing on new foundations by the introduction of relative solmisation. The third and most important aspect – from the perspective of our topic – is the teaching of well-chosen pieces of pentatonic folk songs. This unique music education program, based on Kodály's principles, was a part of Tarhos's everyday life in the instrumental teaching of music based on choir singing and pure singing.

It is a curious fact that Kodály did not support György Gulyás's Singing School in Tarhos at the beginning, but later – recognizing his mistake – he became one of the most dedicated defenders of the institution – but in vain. He later summarized Tarhos's story in his short-spoken style: «In 1946, the unbreakable will of György Gulyás created Békés-Tarhos, the citadel of the musical folk culture education. During its short operating period our foreign guests have been marveled at its results. But it have been noticed at home as well. Jealousy and malice, the atmosphere of personal culture achieved to end it with a pen and a piece of paper, causing indescribable damage to folk culture and significant material damage to the state»³⁷.

The creation of Tarhos was made possible by the era which favored the initiatives of renovation, innovation and rebuilding after the horrors of war. And its end is a symbol of the totalitarian political system. It is also a symbol of an era in which the increasingly arrogant, overwhelming political power terminated the fertile new intellectual and pedagogical trends one after another and banished numerous highly acclaimed experts to the edge of society.

³⁷ Z. Kodály, *Visszatekintés* [Retrospection], Budapest, Zeneműkiadó Vállalat, 1964, p. 129.

Nicolò Rezzara e le battaglie scolastiche dei cattolici tra Otto e Novecento

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Nicolò Rezzara and the school battles of Italian Catholics between XIX Century and XX Century

ABSTRACT: During the first fifteen years of the XX Century the Italian scholastic debate was animated by two main questions: the control of the state over primary school and the teaching of religion in public schools.

Among the various protagonists of those debates, Nicolò Rezzara represented one of the most relevant figures of the Catholic front: author of various books on the school and its legislation, his contribution well represents the evolution of Catholic positions on these issues, hovering between the request of a religiously oriented public school and the opposition to the monopoly regime imposed after the Italian unification. The article aims to highlight the work of this author, which still lacks an in-depth study.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Liberty of education; Education system; Catholicism; Italy; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Durante i primi quindici anni del Novecento, i dibattiti scolastici conobbero in Italia una stagione di vivace ripresa. Tra i vari argomenti, due catalizzarono l'attenzione: l'avocazione delle scuole elementari allo Stato, poi realizzata con la legge Daneo-Credaro, e la presenza dell'insegnamento della religione nelle scuole pubbliche, dibattito che ebbe nella mozione Bissolati il momento di maggiore intensità¹. Più in generale le discussioni intorno a questi temi furono

¹ Sui dibattiti scolastici in età giolittiana si vedano: L. Pazzaglia, *Scuola e religione nell'Italia giolittiana*, Milano, ISU, 2000; Id., *La scuola fra Stato e società negli anni dell'età giolittiana*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 171-211; R.S. Di Pol, *Scuola e popolo nel riformismo liberale d'inizio secolo*, Torino, Marco Valerio, 2002; R. Sani, *Politica scolastica e formazione degli insegnanti in Italia nell'età giolittiana*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione*,

largamente intrecciate e condizionate dalla rivendicazione della «scuola laica», sollecitata dalle componenti di sinistra (radicali, repubblicani, socialisti) dello schieramento politico.

In questo quadro, segnato da aspre polemiche ideologiche, il mondo cattolico visse un impegno energico, divenuto via via più incisivo anche grazie alla fine del *non expedit* e ad un nuovo protagonismo politico. L'eredità dell'Opera dei congressi, la cui esperienza si concluse nel 1904, fu raccolta da varie associazioni e personalità che concentrarono l'attenzione del fronte cattolico su alcune principali battaglie: la difesa della libertà d'insegnamento, la salvaguardia degli spazi di insegnamento religioso ancora presenti nella scuola di Stato, la difesa del principio dell'autonomia.

Tra le varie figure che animarono in quegli anni il mondo cattolico, una delle più significative fu senza dubbio quella di Nicolò Rezzara: insegnante, propagandista e giornalista, ricoprì un ruolo centrale nella storia dell'Opera dei congressi e, più in generale, del movimento cattolico italiano. Nella multiforme azione sociale, culturale e politica, la questione educativa rappresentò uno dei suoi principali centri di interesse. Le sue posizioni ebbero un peso rilevante sul dibattito coevo e successivo, tanto da attirare le attenzioni di alcuni «avversari»².

L'apporto del Rezzara non è sfuggito alle ricerche storico educative e scolastiche, che da tempo ne hanno segnalato l'importanza³, ma il suo contributo merita di essere ulteriormente approfondito.

1. *Una vita per il movimento cattolico*

Nicolò Rezzara⁴ nacque l'8 marzo 1848 a Chiuppano, in provincia di Vicenza. Dopo la morte del padre, si trasferì a Vicenza presso la casa dello

istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea, Macerata, Eum, 2011, pp. 381-407; G. Chiosso, *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2019.

² Si vedano, per esempio, i riferimenti polemici alle opere di Rezzara in alcuni articoli di Gaetano Salvemini. Cfr. G. Salvemini, *Scritti sulla scuola*, a cura di L. Borghi e B. Finocchiaro, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1966, pp. 730-731, 857, 862-864, 905, 920-924.

³ L'importanza dell'opera del Rezzara è stata da tempo sottolineata. Si vedano, per esempio, C. Betti, *Sapienza e timor di Dio. La religione a scuola nel nostro secolo*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1992, pp. 10, 27, 31, 40, 42; Ead., *Religione a scuola tra obbligo e facoltatività (1859-1923)*, Firenze, Manzuoli editore, 1989, pp. 114, 154, 221; N. Raponi, *Appunti e orientamenti di ricerca per la storia della scuola*, in *Cultura, scuola e società nel cattolicesimo lombardo del primo Novecento. Atti del convegno di studio, Brescia, 24-25 novembre 1979*, Brescia, CEDOC, 1981, p. 43.

⁴ S. Medolago Albani, *Due campioni dell'Azione Cattolica bergamasca: i professori Nicolò Rezzara e Giambattista Caironi*, Bergamo, S. Alessandro, 1916, pp. 7-29; A. Martinelli, *Nicolò Rezzara*, Milano, Pro familia, 1921; C. Giavazzi, *Nel decennio della morte di Nicolò Rezzara*, «Civitas», n. 5, 1925, pp. 68-72; A. Cistellini, *Giuseppe Tovini*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1954, pp.

zio materno che ne seguì la formazione. Rezzara poté proseguire gli studi sino al conseguimento della patente magistrale di grado superiore, ottenuta nel 1866. Dopo varie esperienze come insegnante, si iscrisse alla facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Padova per conseguire l'abilitazione all'insegnamento di Lettere, Storia e Geografia nelle scuole tecniche.

Sin dalla giovinezza, Rezzara si inserì attivamente nel movimento cattolico, ambito destinato a diventare il centro totalizzante del suo impegno sociale e civile. Tale adesione maturò proprio a Vicenza, dove partecipò, appena ventenne, alla fondazione di vari circoli di ispirazione cristiana. In questa direzione, collaborò attivamente alla nascita e poi alla redazione di alcuni giornali a carattere locale come il «Dono di Pasqua» e «Il foglietto di Vicenza». Nel maggio 1876 fondò il settimanale «Il Berico», poi punto di riferimento per i lettori cattolici vicentini.

In qualità di corrispondente del periodico, partecipò al quarto congresso generale dell'Opera dei congressi, tenutosi a Bergamo nell'ottobre del 1877. Rezzara poté conoscere più da vicino i tratti e il profilo del sodalizio intransigente, che proprio in quegli anni consolidava la sua presenza nel Paese. Qui ricevette anche un'importante proposta di lavoro, destinata a cambiare le sorti della sua vita: don Carlo Locatelli, rettore della locale neonata scuola tecnica commerciale «Bartolomeo Colleoni», gli propose un posto come insegnante di Letteratura italiana e Storia. In cerca di un incarico, Rezzara decise di accettare.

Anche a Bergamo, il professore vicentino si immerse nella vita militante del movimento cattolico, dedicando particolare impegno alle questioni scolastiche: pochi mesi dopo il suo arrivo, si iscrisse alla sezione locale della Lega Daniel O'Connell e nel 1879 diede vita, con Giovanni Battista Caironi e Luigi Corna, al periodico «La libertà d'insegnamento», prima rivista dedicata alla scuola sorta nell'alveo dell'Opera dei congressi⁵. Iniziò poi un'intensa attività di

92, 137, 225-226, 241-242; G. Belotti, *Nicolò Rezzara nella storia di Bergamo e del Movimento cattolico*, Bergamo, SESA, 1956; A. Gambasin, *Il movimento sociale nell'Opera dei congressi (1874-1904). Contributo per la storia del cattolicesimo sociale in Italia*, Roma, Università Gregoriana, 1958, pp. 399-401 e *passim*; E. Cabianca, M. Dall'Armellina, *L'opera sociale ed economica di Nicolò Rezzara: 1848-1915*, Vicenza, Tip. S. Giuseppe, 1961; B. Malinverni, *La scuola sociale cattolica di Bergamo (1910-1932)*, Roma, Cinque Lune, 1961, pp. 31-32, 36, 47, 62, 67, 75, 90, 95, 105; A. Agazzi, *La socialità cattolica nel pensiero e nell'opera di Nicolò Rezzara*, in *Cattolici e liberali veneti di fronte al problema temporalistico e alla questione romana*, Vicenza, Comitato Provinciale dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento, 1972, pp. 275-300; G. Belotti, *Nicolò Rezzara*, Bergamo, Credito Bergamasco, 1982; L. Trezzi, *Rezzara Nicolò*, in F. Traniello, G. Campanini (edd.), *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico*, 2 vols., Casale Monferrato, Marietti, 1982, Vol. II, pp. 537-540; G. De Rosa, *Il movimento cattolico in Italia. Dalla restaurazione all'età giolittiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1988, pp. 439-440 e *passim*; P. Gios, *Nicolò Rezzara e il movimento cattolico in Italia*, Roma, Cinque Lune, 1990; E. Scaglia, *Rezzara Nicolò*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario biografico dell'educazione*, 2 vols., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. II, pp. 406-408.

⁵ R. Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, in Pazzaglia, Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita dalla legge Casati al Centro-sinistra*, cit. pp. 127-169.

conferenziere e propagandista, privilegiando anche in questo caso le questioni scolastiche⁶.

Il suo contributo nel movimento cattolico fu presto riconosciuto a livello nazionale. Chiamato nel locale comitato diocesano dell'Opera sin dal 1879, già nel 1882 fu nominato membro del comitato permanente e due anni dopo nel Consiglio superiore della Gioventù cattolica italiana.

Tra «i più animosi organizzatori dell'Opera»⁷, negli anni successivi si impose come uno dei protagonisti dei congressi cattolici. Incaricato a tenere conferenze su svariati temi (dalla scuola all'economia, dalle elezioni amministrative all'azione cattolica) rivestì il ruolo di segretario generale dal VII congresso di Lucca (1887) al XVI congresso di Ferrara (1899). Animatore della terza sezione dedicata a scuola e istruzione, diresse la sottosezione per la difesa delle scuole. Amico di Giuseppe Tovini⁸, gli successe alla presidenza della terza sezione dopo la scomparsa nel 1897. Fu confermato in questo ruolo anche durante la breve presidenza di Giovanni Grosoli. Il suo impegno in questo frangente fu riconosciuto anche dalla Unione popolare cattolica, che, dopo l'enciclica *Il fermo proposito* raccolse, come è noto, con l'Unione elettorale e quella economico-sociale, l'eredità dell'Opera⁹.

A lato dell'impegno scolastico, Rezzara si distinse per l'attenzione alla questione sociale, aiutando il movimento cattolico a maturare maggiore sensibilità intorno alle condizioni degli operai e dei lavoratori. Divulgatore dell'enciclica *Rerum Novarum*, fu promotore con il conte Medolago Albani di una associazione di studi sociali, e tenne conferenze in varie città italiane sull'organizzazione cristiana del lavoro. Il suo impegno non fu solo teorico, ma si dispiegò nella messa in opera di svariate iniziative: unioni di lavoratori, iniziative cooperativistiche, casse di mutuo soccorso, società assicurative in campo agricolo ed edile. Difese e promosse il volto caritatevole delle organizzazioni cattoliche, dando vita a «cucine economiche», ricreatori, ma anche al Segretariato del popolo e alla Cassa maternità. Sostenne la nascita di numerose iniziative educative tra cui doposcuola presso le parrocchie, scuole serali, l'«Università popolare bergamasca» e la Scuola magistrale di religione. Rezzara fu inoltre uno dei più importanti sostenitori del «credito bianco»,

⁶ A titolo di esempio si possono ricordare la lezione tenuta nel 1881 a Bergamo con a tema *La scuola neutra e la Relazione e proposte intorno alle scuole*, letta durante l'adunanza regionale veneta a Bassano e poi stampata. All'interno di un più ampio ciclo di conferenze, affrontò nei primi mesi del 1883 il tema de *L'ateismo nelle scuole pubbliche*. La stessa conferenza fu poi riproposta a Milano e stampata su «La scuola cattolica» del 28 febbraio 1883. Quattro anni più tardi tenne una conferenza, poi pubblicata, intitolata *Il monopolio dell'istruzione in Italia*.

⁷ G. Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica. Da Porta Pia al '98*, Milano, Mondadori, 1976, p. 232.

⁸ Cfr. Cistellini, *Giuseppe Tovini*, cit., p. 137.

⁹ Si veda, per esempio, il ruolo rivestito nel Congresso di Genova del 1908: C. Ghizzoni, *Cattolici, educazione e scuola nei primi anni dell'Unione popolare (1906-1909)*, «History of Education & Children's literature», vol. IX, n. 1, 2014, pp. 614-615, 619-621.

dando vita a varie casse rurali, poi sfociate nella più imponente iniziativa del Piccolo credito bergamasco, che aprì i primi sportelli nel 1892.

Della vita del Rezzara non si può tralasciare l'impegno politico. Seguì con attenzione e significativi risultati le campagne elettorali dei cattolici, orchestrandone organizzazione e militanza. La sua competenza propagandistica superò i confini della provincia, e fu chiamato in diverse città italiane per motivare e preparare i cattolici alle competizioni elettorali. Egli stesso fu eletto consigliere provinciale dal 1888, e di qui al Consiglio scolastico, dove rimase in carica per più di venticinque anni.

All'interno dell'Opera dei congressi, fu uno dei sostenitori della cosiddetta «preparazione nell'astensione», mettendo in discussione l'utilità del *non expedit*. Pur legato ai dettami vaticani, era convinto che senza un diretto impegno parlamentare, l'azione dei cattolici non potesse essere incisiva. Sostenitore di una linea pragmatista e costruttiva, fu tra i principali fautori del dialogo con il «mondo legale»¹⁰.

Con la salita al soglio pontificio di Pio X, i tempi sembrarono maturi per superare la politica dell'astensionismo. Dopo una serie di petizioni ed incontri, proprio ai cattolici bergamaschi fu concessa, nel 1904, la possibilità di recarsi alle urne. L'eccezione al *non expedit* fu confermata durante le elezioni suppletive del 1907. Per l'occasione lo stesso Rezzara scrisse un «programma minimo»: al secondo punto si chiedeva di «Propugnare la libertà d'insegnamento in nome del diritto naturale, della giustizia e dell'equità»¹¹.

Ma già in quella tornata elettorale, sorsero nella stessa Bergamo le prime divisioni intorno alla linea che avrebbe dovuto caratterizzare l'impegno elettorale dei cattolici. Da una parte si sosteneva la necessità di mantenere un basso profilo, appoggiando preferibilmente candidati moderati e liberali, dall'altra si auspicava un impegno politico schiettamente cattolico e massimalista nel programma. Quest'ultima opzione era caldeggiata dallo stesso Rezzara anche e soprattutto per risolvere la questione scolastica, su cui i liberali e moderati erano apparsi tiepidi¹². Lo scontro tra queste due linee emerse in forma particolarmente aspra in occasione delle elezioni del 1913¹³.

¹⁰ Fu sua l'iniziativa, nata in seno al congresso di Fiesole del 1896, di stilare un memoriale con le varie istanze del mondo cattolico da presentare al Capo del governo. Passata la proposta, fu chiesto e ottenuto un incontro ufficiale con il marchese Rudini, che avvenne il 16 ottobre 1896 con la partecipazione dei soli Rezzara e Giovanni Battista Paganuzzi. Si veda: Gios, *Nicolò Rezzara e il movimento cattolico in Italia*, cit., pp. 304-310.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

¹² Cfr. Chiosso, *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 192-193.

¹³ Cfr. Agazzi, *La socialità cattolica nel pensiero e nell'opera di Nicolò Rezzara*, cit., pp. 296-297; De Rosa, *Il movimento cattolico in Italia, Dalla restaurazione all'età giolittiana*, cit., pp. 347-350.

Anche da queste divisioni, iniziò un percorso che avrebbe poi portato, non molti anni dopo, alla nascita del Partito popolare. Ma Rezzara non poté conoscere questi sviluppi. Segnato dalla malattia, morì a Bergamo il 6 febbraio 1915.

2. Prime battaglie scolastiche sulle pagine de «La libertà d'insegnamento» e «La riscossa»

Una fonte imprescindibile per ricostruire le posizioni di Nicolò Rezzara intorno alle questioni scolastiche e pedagogiche in senso lato è rappresentata dal suo lungo e fruttuoso impegno giornalistico, nel quale, assieme alla pubblicazione di brevi e svariate conferenze, concentrò argomenti e battaglie durante gli ultimi due decenni dell'Ottocento.

Una delle prime e più significative esperienze in questo campo fu la fondazione e direzione del già citato settimanale «La libertà d'insegnamento». La sua nascita fu auspicata proprio nel IV congresso di Bergamo del 1877, anche se il primo numero uscì solo nel novembre del 1879. Del comitato di redazione facevano parte Giambattista Caironi, don Luigi Corna e il Rezzara, che si succedettero, in questo stesso ordine, alla sua direzione.

Il periodico si presentava ai lettori con un taglio decisamente «militante»¹⁴, riproponendo argomenti, istanze e toni del movimento cattolico ufficiale. Lo stile del giornale risentì non poco del clima protestatario di quegli anni, permeato dalla tenace contrarietà a qualsiasi collaborazione e compromesso con il «mondo legale».

Riguardo ai contenuti, la rivista era divisa in due parti principali: nella prima venivano affrontate questioni generali su temi pedagogici e politico-scolastici, intorno alle quali il giornale non dimostrò, in realtà grande originalità: si limitò infatti a riprendere le indicazioni di alcuni pedagogisti risorgimentali, sostenendo una ferma opposizione al positivismo¹⁵. Una seconda «sezione pratica» proponeva svariate attività didattiche per i docenti dei differenti ordini di scuola, con proposte di esercizi e letture. Questa parte fu di molto ampliata quando, nell'anno 1881-1882, il periodico passò ad una cadenza quindicinale.

Come è evidente dal titolo, il foglio bergamasco si caratterizzò per la battaglia a difesa della libertà d'insegnamento. Sul tema, come sottolineato da Roberto Sani, emerse una diffidenza ancora marcata intorno al ruolo e ai compiti dello Stato: i redattori ne auspicavano un ruolo marginale nella gestione della scuola, con l'obiettivo di lasciare ampia libertà all'iniziativa privata. In realtà dalle pagine della stessa rivista emersero anche ipotesi più aperte ad

¹⁴ Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, cit., p. 130.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

accettare i diritti dello Stato nella gestione dell'istruzione pubblica: tesi lontane dalla linea ufficiale del periodico¹⁶, ma sintomo di spunti e discussioni carsiche che vedevano nella conciliazione e nella mediazione la possibilità, come già avvenuto in altre nazioni europee come la Francia, di ottenere risultati concreti.

Nel 1882 la direzione del giornale passò nelle mani del Rezzara. Il periodico continuò a riproporre preoccupazioni e tesi dell'Opera, si oppose all'obbligo scolastico, contestò il ruolo opprimente dello Stato nella gestione dell'istruzione pubblica¹⁷ e manifestò un certo scetticismo nei confronti dell'associazionismo magistrale allora nascente. Si trattava di tesi destinate, in parte, a mutare. Alcune battaglie rimasero invece le stesse, come l'opposizione all'avocazione delle scuole elementari allo Stato e la richiesta di prevedere l'insegnamento della religione negli istituti pubblici di tutti i gradi.

Il settimanale ebbe una vita abbastanza stentata (l'ultimo numero uscì nell'ottobre del 1884). Varie ragioni condannarono il periodico alla chiusura. In primo luogo la diffusione restò modesta (poche centinaia di lettori) e perlopiù ristretta all'area lombarda. Mancò poi un sostegno sufficiente (soprattutto sul piano economico) da parte del movimento cattolico ufficiale, che, va ricordato, attraversò una più generale crisi durante il «decennio conciliatorista». Alla sopravvivenza del periodico non bastò il sostegno di importanti giornali, come «La Civiltà Cattolica» e il «Il movimento cattolico», e neanche quella di importanti personalità del mondo cattolico come Leonardo Murialdo, che ne raccomandò la diffusione tra i maestri¹⁸, e quella di don Giovanni Bosco, che sulla rivista curò una «rubrica quindicinale di storia sacra per i fanciulli delle scuole elementari»¹⁹.

Diversi anni dopo, l'autorevolezza del Rezzara segnò un notevole avanzamento con la collaborazione alla rivista «La riscossa», periodico nato nel 1890 nell'alveo dell'Opera dei congressi per volontà del nuovo presidente Giovanni Battista Paganuzzi e dei fratelli Scotton. Fu pensata per dettare la linea del movimento e dare maggiore organicità alle sue battaglie culturali e politiche. Assieme a Pier Biagio Casoli, Nicolò Rezzara fu individuato per seguire i problemi della scuola. I suoi articoli su «La riscossa», oltre a sancire la *leadership* del Rezzara sulle questioni scolastiche all'interno del movimento, rappresentarono anche una occasione per perfezionare la sua conoscenza della legislazione e maturare una serie di posizioni nei confronti delle politiche sull'istruzione²⁰.

¹⁶ A riguardo, appare particolarmente significativo un articolo del dott. P. Tedeschi, collaboratore occasionale del periodico, che riconobbe allo Stato il diritto di vigilare sull'insegnamento pubblico: tesi su cui poi la direzione dovette esprimere il proprio disaccordo. Cfr. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁸ A. Castellani, *Leonardo Murialdo*, 2 vols., Roma, Tip. San Pio X, 1968, Col. II, p. 331.

¹⁹ Gios, *Nicolò Rezzara e il movimento cattolico in Italia*, cit., p. 27.

²⁰ Si veda *ibid.*, pp. 160-176.

Una prima evoluzione delle sue tesi si può rintracciare nel tentativo di dettare una linea meno rigida e più pragmatica al movimento cattolico. Il rischio che intravedeva nella parte intransigente era quello di limitarsi ad un confronto teorico sui principi, senza condurre battaglie propositive su specifici provvedimenti del governo. A suo giudizio occorre muoversi nel campo del «possibile» e dell'«ottenibile», anche cercando, tra le «pieghe lecite» di leggi e regolamenti, occasioni da sfruttare per la battaglia cattolica. Si trattava di una strategia «realista» che cercò di applicare alle varie battaglie scolastiche, più o meno specifiche, affrontate dal movimento cattolico²¹.

Un chiaro esempio di questa linea è rappresentato dalla primissima campagna portata avanti dalle colonne de «La riscossa», volta a difendere la possibilità che i consigli comunali potessero votare come sovrintendente dell'istruzione un sacerdote. L'articolo 31 del regolamento del 16 febbraio 1888 aveva infatti sancito che questa figura dovesse essere eletta «preferibilmente tra i padri di famiglia». Di fronte a questo dettato, molte amministrazioni, anche cattoliche, avevano preferito eleggere un laico. Secondo Rezzara, il regolamento andava interpretato: esso non impediva affatto l'elezione di un sacerdote, ma si limitava ad auspicare quella di un padre di famiglia. Partendo dalla sua provincia, capeggiò la battaglia, dall'alto valore simbolico, volta a chiedere l'elezione di sacerdoti come sovrintendenti, esortando le altre diocesi a fare altrettanto. Ma i risultati di Bergamo furono i più significativi: ben centoquarantasette comuni scelsero dei sacerdoti. Nonostante l'opposizione del Provveditore, che si rifiutò di approvare i decreti delle varie amministrazioni, le nomine dei comuni furono poi confermate dal Consiglio scolastico provinciale.

Un'altra battaglia condotta dalle pagine de «La riscossa» fu quella a difesa dell'insegnamento della religione nella scuola statale. Si tratta di una rivendicazione che caratterizzò tutta la linea dell'Opera e quella del Rezzara anche negli anni successivi. Dalle pagine de «La riscossa» il giornalista veneto chiedeva ai genitori di vigilare affinché non solo le scuole elementari dei figli assicurassero l'insegnamento della religione, ma che essa fosse insegnata a dovere, preferibilmente da un sacerdote.

Questi temi furono illustrati da Rezzara nel congresso di Lodi nell'ottobre del 1890, nella relazione sulle scuole (statali e private) e in quella conclusiva della terza sezione. Oltre a sottolineare la necessità di combattere a difesa di un sistema scolastico che rispettasse e valorizzasse l'iniziativa privata, contestò la linea di quei congressisti che sembravano auspicare una «fuga dal mondo statale». A suo giudizio non si poteva lasciare il campo della scuola pubblica, dove ai cattolici era chiesto non solo di difendere le ore di insegnamento religioso ancora previste dalla legge, ma anche di impegnarsi perché la scuola statale divenisse campo di missione e testimonianza. In questo senso, incoraggiava i

²¹ Cfr. C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005, p. 275.

giovani più motivati ad abilitarsi e a dedicarsi all'insegnamento nelle scuole pubbliche²².

Oltre ai numerosi e precisi interventi intorno ai dibattiti parlamentari, meritevoli di attenzione furono anche le risposte che sul periodico apparvero alle richieste di insegnanti e genitori che lamentavano ingiustizie o controversie sorte nelle scuole statali. Si trattava in genere di piccoli episodi emblematici, che su «La riscossa» acquisivano una risonanza nazionale e divenivano occasione di battaglie politiche. Di fronte alle prevaricazioni di alcuni istituti o di alcune amministrazioni, Rezzara non mancava di invitare i suoi lettori ad una «agitazione legale ma energica», esortandoli ad impegnarsi nelle amministrazioni comunali. Sul particolare problema di un sindacalismo scolastico cattolico, intervenne al congresso di Vicenza il 17 settembre 1891, ribadendo la necessità di costituire una sottosezione con «l'incarico di dare pareri, consigli, consultazioni legali in controversie scolastiche per difendere i diritti dei cattolici italiani e dei loro istituti scolastici sia in sede amministrativa che in sede giudiziaria»²³.

3. *Il regolamento Rava e gli scritti scolastici dell'età giolittiana*

Nei primi quindici anni del secolo Rezzara diede sistemazione a scritti e riflessioni in campo scolastico sino ad allora sparsi tra articoli e conferenze. Varie ragioni condussero il professore vicentino a questo salto di qualità. In prima istanza, va ricordato che nel 1908 Rezzara divenne docente di Storia della scuola all'interno della Scuola sociale di Bergamo²⁴, ruolo che lo spinse a dare ordine alle sue ricostruzioni storico-legislative. Una seconda ragione è rappresentata dal particolare clima di conflitto tra cattolici e anticlericali che tornò in auge con particolare forza durante l'età giolittiana: schermaglie che richiedevano una difesa organizzata degli argomenti.

Le opere del Rezzara furono quindi strettamente legate ai conflitti e agli eventi di quegli anni, tra cui i più noti furono il congresso napoletano della Fnism nel 1907 e la discussione sulla mozione Bissolati l'anno successivo. Ma occorre ricordare come gli attriti tra cattolici e anticlericali in campo scolastico avevano avuto dei momenti di intensa ripresa già nei primi anni del secolo, specie per le scelte di alcune amministrazioni comunali. Tra le altre, fece particolare scalpore la provocatoria decisione del Comune di Milano, che

²² Si veda L. Pazzaglia, *Il problema scolastico dell'VIII Congresso di Lodi*, in *Il movimento cattolico italiano nell'ultimo decennio dell'Ottocento: il Congresso di Lodi 1890. Atti del Convegno di studi storici presieduto da Gabriele De Rosa*, Lodi, Centro di cultura Paolo VI, 1891, pp. 99-108.

²³ Gios, *Nicolò Rezzara e il movimento cattolico in Italia*, cit., p. 167.

²⁴ Cfr. Malinverni, *La scuola sociale cattolica di Bergamo (1910-1932)*, cit., pp. 67-70; Agazzi, *La socialità cattolica nel pensiero e nell'opera di Nicolò Rezzara*, cit., pp. 297-300.

nel 1902 sopresse qualsiasi forma di insegnamento religioso nelle sue scuole elementari, decisione da cui l'amministrazione meneghina dovette poi tornare indietro dopo l'inevitabile contenzioso con lo Stato²⁵.

Un altro episodio che segnò il dibattito sull'insegnamento religioso fu l'approvazione del regolamento Rava nel 1908, la cui ambiguità causò svariate interpretazioni e conflitti. Sul tema Rezzara si impegnò con particolare attenzione. Com'è noto, la prima bozza del regolamento fu bocciata dal Consiglio di Stato, che il 12 dicembre 1907 motivò la sua scelta chiedendo di reinserire la religione tra le discipline della scuola elementare²⁶. Il nuovo testo accolse la richiesta e reinserì l'articolo 3 del regolamento Baccelli, precisando che nel caso in cui i comuni fossero stati contrari a questo insegnamento ma le famiglie ne avessero fatta precisa richiesta, sarebbe stato compito del Consiglio scolastico provinciale garantire l'insegnamento religioso «secondo le ore e i giorni stabiliti» dallo stesso organo.

Questa precisazione creò varie incomprensioni: in particolare non era chiaro se l'insegnamento dovesse essere impartito durante il normale orario scolastico, e nel caso in cui non lo fosse, chi avrebbe dovuto sostenere l'impegno economico per le ore aggiuntive. Le larghe maglie del testo diedero adito a molteplici interpretazioni: ne approfittarono i consigli scolastici più ostili all'insegnamento della religione.

In particolare, fece scuola ancora il caso di Milano, su cui dovette intervenire lo stesso ministro Credaro con un apposito decreto nel quale si stabiliva che l'insegnamento religioso andasse impartito in ore estranee all'orario normale di lezione con una retribuzione aggiuntiva ai maestri cui fosse affidato, che non dovesse essere impartito agli alunni di quinta e sesta, che non potessero essere distribuiti dai comuni moduli per la richiesta dell'insegnamento religioso²⁷.

Il caso suscitò un vivace dibattito, e alcune amministrazioni decisero di applicare alla propria provincia le disposizioni volute dal ministro per Milano. Fu proprio il caso di Bergamo, dove il 13 dicembre 1910, su proposta di un consigliere della minoranza in Comune, il Consiglio scolastico provinciale votò per estendere alla realtà orobica il decreto citato. La mozione passò con sei voti favorevoli e cinque contrari (uno era quello del Rezzara), con il contributo decisivo dei membri governativi.

²⁵ Si tratta di un caso affrontato dal Rezzara in un articolo apparso su «Il catechista cattolico». Cfr. Pazzaglia, *Scuola e religione nell'Italia giolittiana*, cit., p. 75.

²⁶ Si tratta di una scelta per altri versi criticata da Rezzara. «Povero parere, – osservò – specialmente là dove pretende di dar consigli sul modo di impartire l'insegnamento religioso e fa voti perché la consigliata riforma sia dal *potere esecutivo al più presto attuata*. Dimenticava allora il Consiglio di Stato un canone semplicissimo, e cioè che una legge non può essere modificata che da una legge successiva», N. Rezzara, *Insegnamento religioso nella legislazione italiana. Appunti storici*, Bergamo, Stab. Tip. S. Alessandro, 1908, p. 20.

²⁷ Id., *L'istruzione religiosa nel parlamento italiano: petizione e documenti*, Bergamo, Stab. Tip. S. Alessandro, 1912, pp. 19-20. Il decreto fu poi interamente riportato nella appendice de *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, Bergamo, Stab. Tip. S. Alessandro, 1913, pp. 260-268.

La disposizione provocò una forte opposizione dei cattolici, capeggiati anche in questa occasione dal Rezzara. Furono organizzate delle leghe di padri di famiglia, che raggiunsero gli oltre 20 mila iscritti, i quali si mobilitarono con petizioni e ricorsi al prefetto di Bergamo, al ministero, alla quarta sezione del Consiglio di Stato. Spinti dalle richieste degli elettori cattolici, i deputati Paolo Bonomi e Giacinto Benaglio presentarono il 2 febbraio una interrogazione in Parlamento. L'Associazione elettorale cattolica cittadina consegnò al sindaco Preda un reclamo costituito da 45 fogli di carta bollata con 3387 firme autenticate di padri di famiglia della città. Pochi giorni dopo l'Unione donne cattoliche presentò al prefetto un'altra protesta sottoscritta da 3400 madri di famiglia. La mobilitazione continuò e si allargò al resto della provincia nella quale il 16 febbraio si raggiunsero più di 80.000 firme.

Spiegando le ragioni delle istanze, in un memoriale inviato direttamente a Giovanni Giolitti, Rezzara ricordò come alla base della protesta non vi fosse una ragione confessionale, ma la difesa della legge dello Stato²⁸.

Fu questo il clima in cui Rezzara decise di raccogliere riflessioni e contributi formulati nei decenni precedenti, proponendosi di inserirsi con saggi più organizzati rispetto alla militanza pubblicistica nel dibattito coevo.

Nel 1908 pubblicò il volumetto intitolato *L' insegnamento religioso nella legislazione italiana: appunti storici*, uno scritto nel quale ripercorse la storia della legislazione italiana sin dalla Riforma Casati. Due anni dopo diede alle stampe gli appunti del corso di legislazione scolastica, tenuto alla Scuola sociale di Bergamo. Nel saggio non si limitò alla questione dell'insegnamento religioso, ma propose una ricostruzione ampia delle riforme e regolamenti scolastici, fino ad affrontare le più recenti proposte di avocazione delle scuole primarie allo Stato²⁹. Dopo l'approvazione della legge Daneo-Credaro, pubblicò una serie di considerazioni intitolate *Comuni e Maestri (la nuova Legge Daneo Credaro, 4 giugno 1911, n 487) Appunti e istruzioni* (1911), mostrando non poche perplessità verso questa forma di «accentramento».

Fu quindi la volta, nel 1912, dei memoriali inviati al Presidente del Consiglio Giolitti il 5 settembre 1911 e il 21 dicembre dello stesso anno, nonché della petizione dell'anno seguente mandata a tutti i rappresentanti del Parlamento italiano, nella quale invocava «l'intervento del legislatore per far cessare una condizione di cose divenuta intollerabile e che rappresenta una continua offesa

²⁸ «Dopo cinquantadue anni di pacifico governo della scuola, sotto l'impero della legge e dei regolamenti, i quali, pur mutati in alcune parti, nessuna novità avevano introdotto nell'istruzione religiosa, il popolo bergamasco sentì vivamente l'offesa: doppia offesa: al sentimento religioso altamente sentito e praticato, e alle patrie leggi, che esso vorrebbe vedere da tutti e sempre osservate», Rezzara, *L'istruzione religiosa nel parlamento italiano: petizione e documenti*, cit., p. 21.

²⁹ Id., *La scuola nella legislazione italiana. Appunti di Lezioni impartite agli alunni della scuola sociale cattolica in Bergamo dal 15 agosto al 15 settembre 1910*, Bergamo, Tip. S. Alessandro, 1910.

alla legge e al diritto delle famiglie cristiane»³⁰. Qui Rezzara riprendeva le stesse parole del capo del Governo, il quale durante il dibattito intorno al testo del regolamento Rava, il 27 aprile 1908 aveva dichiarato che «se il regolamento produrrà degli inconvenienti, il Governo provvederà; se andrà bene, allora saremo tutti soddisfatti». Nelle sue petizioni, il professore vicentino documentò la presenza di questi gravi e molteplici «inconvenienti», pretendendo un intervento del Parlamento che non lasciasse spazi ad interpretazioni e ad azioni ostruzionistiche contro la religione. Nella petizione parlò di ragioni legate alla «legalità»³¹, più che alla moralità.

In virtù della sua attenzione alla questione sociale ed economica, non dimenticò, infine, la situazione degli insegnanti, e ancora nel 1912 pubblicò un altro volumetto intitolato *Previdenza e mutualità scolastica. Istruzioni pratiche*. L'anno dopo, concentrandosi sulla situazione della scuola successiva alla riforma Daneo-Credaro diede alle stampe *I progressi del monopolio scolastico*, e *I progressi della scuola laica*, entrambi a Bergamo con la tipografia Sant'Alessandro.

4. Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente secondo Nicolò Rezzara

Posizioni e analisi storiche presentate nei citati articoli, *pamphlet* e libretti trovarono una ricostruzione ordinata nella pubblicazione più nota e compiuta del Rezzara, *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, uscito nel 1912 presso l'editrice Sant'Alessandro di Bergamo.

Il volume è diviso in tre parti principali. Nella prima è trattata la questione della libertà d'insegnamento, la seconda si occupa della «scristianizzazione delle scuole pubbliche», mentre nella terza parte l'autore si cimenta in uno studio di legislazione comparata, analizzando la situazione di Francia, Belgio e Olanda.

Sin dalla prefazione, Rezzara manifestò, in linea con argomenti ricorrenti nella propaganda cattolica, particolare pessimismo nei confronti della scuola statale, di cui lamentava la diffusa immoralità, il mal funzionamento, gli sprechi, nonché il «fervore della propaganda ostile alla formazione cristiana della gioventù». Per risalire la china, considerava di primaria importanza conoscere in modo approfondito la storia della legislazione scolastica italiana, individuando i tratti e gli obiettivi del progetto anticlericale e statalista che ne aveva contraddistinto lo sviluppo.

Ne *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, Rezzara espone in modo organico la sua posizione intorno alla libertà d'insegnamento, con una significativa evoluzione rispetto alle tesi dei primi anni del suo impegno in questo campo.

³⁰ Id., *L'istruzione religiosa nel parlamento italiano: petizione e documenti*, cit., p. 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Nell'affrontare il tema anch'egli partì da un caposaldo della pedagogia cristiana, vale a dire la prerogativa educativa della famiglia, senza però contrapporre i diritti dei genitori a quelli dello Stato. In questo senso osservò come «l'educazione del fanciullo è opera complessa, alla quale sono connessi gravissimi doveri e diritti pei genitori, per gli insegnanti, per la Chiesa, per lo Stato»³². A suo giudizio, «secondo l'ordine di natura», ai genitori spettava l'obbligo educativo, ma questo non poteva, per varie ragioni, che essere poi demandato in senso «ausiliario» e «supplente» ai maestri e alla scuola. Richiamato il necessario accordo tra scuola e famiglia sostenne che «perché accordo ci sia tra la famiglia e la scuola, occorre che il padre sia libero di scegliere la scuola. Soltanto a tale condizione, il maestro potrà esercitare la sua funzione, di fatto e di diritto, quale *delegato* della podestà del padre».

I diritti dei padri potevano essere temperati non solo dalla Chiesa, ma anche dallo stesso Stato, che aveva l'obbligo di «concorrere alla felicità temporale» dei suoi cittadini. Esso aveva il «compito di assicurare il benessere comune, essendo esso il custode degli interessi generali. Ora, è opportuno ricordare che la prosperità della società civile dipende dalla buona educazione dei membri ond'è costituita; poiché, senza educazione, è vano sperare lavoro ordinato e intenso, industria attiva, armonia fra le classi, progresso nelle arti e nelle scienze, forte difesa nazionale».

Rezzara giungeva dunque alla conclusione che lo Stato avesse «diritto e dovere di dare forte impulso all'istruzione», proprio perché fonte di quei beni terreni su cui aveva potestà. Sull'istruzione, lo Stato aveva dunque «un duplice diritto: di protezione e di alta sorveglianza. Più oltre non deve andare»³³.

Se sul piano dei principi il professore vicentino si attestava su tesi che riconoscevano il ruolo statale nel governo della scuola, la sua valutazione della legislazione italiana rimaneva severa. Essa era l'esempio dei rischi legati alla degenerazione del ruolo dello Stato in campo scolastico: Rezzara parlò di una gestione monopolistica dell'istruzione pubblica, nella quale il Governo non solo si occupava esclusivamente delle sue scuole, ma «torturava» le iniziative private³⁴. Questo atteggiamento era definito illogico, ingiusto e imprudente, l'auspicio quello di un sistema di «leale concorrenza»³⁵.

Per dimostrare le sue tesi, l'autore ricostruì con particolare attenzione l'evoluzione della legislazione scolastica italiana. In linea con una interpretazione ricorrente tra i cattolici liberali, Rezzara riconobbe infatti aspetti positivi nel riformismo risorgimentale che portò alla legge del 1859, tanto da intitolare

³² Rezzara, *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, cit., p. 102.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁴ «All'istruzione privata lo Stato italiano non ha mai dato nulla e non dà nulla; pretende, invece, di ricevere contributi da Scuole, da Istituti e da insegnanti privati, sotto forma di carta bollata, di ricchezza mobile, di tasse scolastiche più che raddoppiate, mentre sottopone scuole, istituti, insegnanti e famiglie a torture burocratiche durissime», *ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

la parte ad essa dedicata «Albori di libertà». A dimostrazione della sua tesi riportò integralmente la relazione con la quale Gabrio Casati aveva presentato al Re Vittorio Emanuele II il testo della legge, una relazione nella quale, tra gli altri aspetti, lo statista milanese sosteneva che suo obiettivo fosse stato quello di dare attuazione al principio della libertà d'insegnamento richiesto dalla stessa Camera subalpina durante le discussioni avvenute tra il 13 e il 17 gennaio 1857. Rezzara non si discostava dalla ricostruzione storica condotta in quegli anni anche da altri studiosi cattolici come, ad esempio, Giuseppe Allievo e Giuseppe Piovano.

Nonostante le intenzioni di Gabrio Casati, la legge era stata incapace di realizzare pienamente l'aspirazione alla libertà da cui era stata, in parte, sostenuta. Pur apprezzandone l'art. 3 che limitava l'azione dello Stato, lo studioso vicentino sostenne che nei vari ordini di scuola, il testo lasciava poco spazio all'iniziativa privata, senza creare le condizioni per il suo sviluppo³⁶.

Questa tesi fu puntigliosamente approfondita attraverso l'analisi dei vari titoli della legge. Nonostante le norme che riconoscevano alcune istituzioni libere nell'istruzione superiore, come l'Università di Ferrara e la figura del "professore a titolo privato", Rezzara reputava che proprio l'istruzione superiore fosse quella in cui meno era stata concessa libertà d'insegnamento. «Lo Stato – denunciava – ha nelle sue mani tutta l'istruzione superiore. Ai privati non si consente di aprire Università, con diritto di conferire i gradi accademici»³⁷.

La giurisprudenza era addirittura peggiorata con il trascorrere degli anni: tra gli altri aspetti Rezzara pose l'attenzione sull'abolizione dell'esame di ammissione approvato con il testo unico del 9 agosto 1910, che prevedeva la necessità di un diploma liceale o tecnico statale per l'accesso agli studi. Secondo il professore vicentino, era preferibile un esame d'accesso comune all'Università, che mettesse sullo stesso piano studenti provenienti da scuole statali e non³⁸.

Anche nel caso dell'istruzione secondaria, il principio della libertà d'insegnamento era rimasto sulla carta: il sistema non prevedeva forme di sostegno e valorizzazione delle iniziative private, avvallando di fatto il monopolio dello Stato. La legislazione successiva era stata solo peggiorativa:

³⁶ «Intendimenti discretamente buoni; dichiarazioni, se vogliamo, anche lodevoli; ma che non trovarono piena e giusta corrispondenza nelle disposizioni della legge; poiché la concorrenza dell'insegnamento privato con quello ufficiale è stata dalla legge limitata, e le cautele dello Stato notevolmente estese, a danno dell'istruzione libera», *ibid.*, p. 110.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁸ «Sotto l'impero della legge Casati, i giovani studenti, sia che provenissero da Istituti governati o pareggiati, sia che provenissero da Istituti privati o da Scuole paterne, erano tutti eguali sulla soglia dell'Università; omaggio che la legge rendeva alla libertà d'insegnamento; disposizione benefica per l'istruzione pubblica e per la privata, poiché serviva di stimolo all'una e all'altra per gareggiare nella bontà e nel valore degli insegnanti e nella efficacia dell'istruzione. Da molto tempo, tale stimolo e tale gara non esistono più, con danno grande dell'istruzione pubblica e della privata», *ibid.*, p. 24.

secondo Rezzara vi erano stati infatti «gravi e continui strappi» alla legge Casati.

L'autore concentrava poi l'attenzione sulle disparità tra gli studenti delle scuole statali e non statali, legate al riconoscimento dei titoli. Tra gli altri aspetti contestò il regolamento approvato con R. Decreto 13 ottobre 1904, secondo cui chi aveva ottenuto la licenza in ginnasi o scuole tecniche statali poteva essere dispensato dall'esame di ammissione nelle scuole secondarie di secondo grado. Lamentò inoltre la scelta di obbligare i candidati della scuola privata o paterna a sostenere gli esami nella scuola statale a loro più vicina³⁹, nonché le numerose sovrattasse a loro accollate ed elencate con precisione dall'autore⁴⁰. Criticò infine la discriminazione subita dai privatisti intorno ai voti necessari per essere dispensati dagli esami⁴¹. Proprio la questione degli esami gli pareva uno dei principali impedimenti allo sviluppo della scuola non statale⁴²: caldeggiava perciò l'istituzione di un sistema di esami comuni in entrata e in uscita per i vari gradi di istruzione, che tutti gli studenti, compresi quelli delle scuole non statali, avrebbero dovuto sostenere. Anticipava così la grande battaglia per l'esame di Stato, destinata a diventare la *bandiera* del Partito popolare nel primo dopoguerra.

Dedicò anche un attento approfondimento alle prove per l'acquisizione della patente per la scuola elementare, che secondo la legge Casati potevano essere sostenute anche da chi non era in possesso di titoli rilasciati dallo Stato. «Attualmente – lamentò – la via per giungere privatamente, all'esercizio completo del magistero è resa assai stretta e difficile»⁴³. Si trattava di una istanza assai sentita dal mondo magistrato cattolico⁴⁴.

Concludendo la parte relativa alla scuola secondaria, Rezzara osservava che «dopo quanto siamo venuti esponendo non deve recar meraviglia, se le scuole e gli istituti privati, da molti anni, vivono stentatamente e se non pochi sono costretti a scomparire; e se, mancando la concorrenza privata, l'istruzione pubblica dà scarsi frutti di cultura e di educazione religiosa, morale, civile, e se cresce la delinquenza dei minorenni»⁴⁵.

Per quanto riguardava la scuola elementare, a suo giudizio, «minori strappi erano stati fatti al Titolo V della legge Casati sull'Istruzione elementare,

³⁹ «Dunque, tolta la libertà di scegliere l'Istituto nel quale dare l'esame, e, per disposizione dell'art. 30 del vigente Regolamento, resa obbligatoria la presentazione della licenza liceale ginnasiale o tecnica o complementare», *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴² «Le scuole private elementari sostengono con onore la concorrenza; ma le esigenze di certi esami ne ostacolano lo sviluppo», N. Rezzara, *Compiti del clero nell'azione cattolica*, Bergamo, Tip. S. Alessandro, 1907, p. 108.

⁴³ *Id.*, *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, cit., p. 27.

⁴⁴ Chiosso, *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, cit., p. 101.

⁴⁵ Rezzara, *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, cit., p. 38.

limitatamente però alla parte che si riferisce alle scuole private e alle scuole per adulti; mentre sono senza numero quelli a danno dei Comuni e degli insegnanti»⁴⁶. A tal fine, ricostruì il graduale tentativo di ridurre l'autonomia dei comuni nella gestione della scuola e ricordò i contenuti della legge Nasi del 19 febbraio 1903, con la quale il Consiglio scolastico provinciale si vedeva riconosciuto un maggiore peso nel reclutamento degli insegnanti, limitando il comune nella scelta dei supplenti. Ricordò inoltre i provvedimenti della legge Orlando, di cui, va sottolineato, riconobbe l'efficacia di alcune misure.

Riguardo alla Daneo-Credaro, il più recente capitolo della legislazione scolastica, Rezzara fu molto severo. Ne parlò come «attentato consumato a danno della libertà e dei diritti dei Comuni», epilogo di una linea di tendenza di più antica data: «Dalle limitazioni volute e imposte alla libertà dei Comuni, in materia scolastica, da leggi e da regolamenti emanati dal 1859 in poi, si è arrivati, con la legge 4 giugno 1911, a dichiarare interdetti nove decimi dei Comuni italiani, nel campo dell'azione scolastica. Contribuire e pagare gli insegnanti, sì; elegerli, no; mutarli, no. La statizzazione della scuola elementare – concluse – è quasi al completo»⁴⁷.

5. Contro la «cristianizzazione» delle scuole statali

La seconda parte de *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente* fu dedicata alla «cristianizzazione delle scuole». Anche in questo caso, Rezzara ripercorse il cammino della legislazione italiana intorno alla presenza della religione nell'istruzione statale nei vari gradi di scuola.

Riguardo all'istruzione superiore, fece inevitabilmente riferimento alla legge del 26 gennaio 1873 sulla soppressione delle Facoltà di Teologia, sebbene in alcuni casi, come ad esempio quello dell'Università di Napoli, fossero state abolite ben prima.

Sull'istruzione secondaria, l'autore ricordava come le disposizioni della legge Casati, ed in particolare gli articoli 193, 222 e 278 riguardanti la presenza dei direttori spirituali nelle scuole secondarie fossero stati abrogati nel 1877. Due anni dopo toccò alle scuole normali, scelta, secondo Rezzara, ancora peggiore, dato che i futuri insegnanti elementari avrebbero poi potuto insegnare religione⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁸ «Ma, come vedremo, si è preteso e si pretende anche oggi che un maestro elementare, il quale durante i Corsi normali non ha studiata la religione, non ha fatto esame di religione, non è fornito di titolo legale per insegnarla, possa essere ritenuto idoneo all'insegnamento della religione nelle scuole elementari», *ibid.*, p. 60.

L'istruzione primaria era il grado di scuola in cui la presenza dell'insegnamento religioso resisteva più tenacemente, sebbene le ambiguità di alcuni provvedimenti la ponessero in pericolo. Rezzara ricordava in via preliminare che «l'istruzione religiosa è, anche presentemente, regolata dalla legge organica del 13 novembre 1859, tuttora in vigore, perché da nessuna legge posteriore modificata o abrogata». Sottolineava inoltre come la stessa norma rispettasse la libertà educativa della famiglia, prevedendo nell'art. 374 la possibilità per i genitori non cattolici di non far frequentare tale insegnamento dai loro figli. Commentando anche il regolamento delle scuole elementari approvato l'anno seguente, ricordava che la legge Casati difendeva e assicurava l'insegnamento della religione in tutte le scuole del Regno⁴⁹.

Ma già dal 1870, con la circolare uscita nove giorni dopo la breccia di Porta Pia, poi ribadita con la circolare del 12 luglio 1871, si chiedeva che l'insegnamento religioso fosse impartito solo agli alunni di quei genitori che ne avessero fatta esplicita richiesta. Rezzara ricostruiva le vicissitudini legate al silenzio dei programmi Coppino del 1877 intorno all'insegnamento religioso, compreso il parere del Consiglio di Stato e il Decreto reale del 6 giugno 1878.

Riguardo all'azione del ministro Boselli e ai suoi programmi del 25 settembre 1888, Rezzara spiegò come il silenzio intorno all'insegnamento religioso fosse stato in realtà dettato dal rispetto per i contenuti di questa materia. A comprova di questa tesi, riportava le stesse parole del Boselli nella lettera inviata al Re⁵⁰. «Per ciò che riguarda l'istruzione religiosa – commentava – il ministro Boselli decise che venisse mantenuta, ma non credette opportuno di imporne il programma. Le ragioni che lo indussero in tale decisione, sono da lui esposte nella relazione a Sua Maestà il Re. L'on. Boselli è tuttora vivente; potrebbe ritornare ancora Ministro alla Minerva, dove, col mutarsi delle persone, purtroppo si è mutato il criterio direttivo in ordine alla istruzione religiosa, senza che siano state abrogate o cambiate le leggi, che vi hanno attinenza»⁵¹.

Allo stesso modo, citava la relazione del ministro Baccelli al Re, che presentava il nuovo regolamento del 9 ottobre 1895, riconoscendo che esso migliorava le norme del precedente regolamento «in quanto riconosce la necessità che chi impartisce l'insegnamento religioso sia ritenuto *idoneo*»⁵². Proprio sul ministro Baccelli ebbe parole di grande apprezzamento⁵³, particolarmente significative

⁴⁹ «Da tutto ciò risulta che la legge del 1859 e il relativo regolamento assicuravano l'istruzione religiosa a tutti i fanciulli cattolici nelle scuole elementari pubbliche; esigeva gli esami semestrali di religione, coll'intervento del sacerdote, e i punti di merito da lui dati, valevano per la promozione dal corso elementare inferiore», *ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵³ «Egli che voleva rispettata la legge, che ribadiva l'obbligo ai Comuni di impartire l'insegnamento religioso e prometteva, per ciò assidua vigilanza; egli che voleva assicurata l'*efficacia* e la *serietà* dell'insegnamento religioso, coll'affidarlo a persone *idonee*; egli che non vede possibile nessuna morale, se non poggiata sulla religione, l'on. Baccelli assiste, dalla sua Roma,

soprattutto se confrontate con le critiche di altri autori cattolici dell'epoca come Giuseppe Allievo⁵⁴.

Nel venire in tempi più recenti, Rezzara ricostruiva le novità legislative del primo Novecento, partendo dal già citato «caso Milano», dopo il quale il Consiglio di Stato, confermando la decisione del Prefetto, sollecitò un intervento del Governo sul tema. Quanto al nuovo regolamento del febbraio 1908, il testo elencava in dettaglio gli «inconvenienti» che «avvennero in molti Comuni grandi e piccoli e provocarono atteggiamenti differenti nei rispettivi Consigli scolastici. Essi si riferivano principalmente: a) all'orario per l'istruzione religiosa b) all'obbligo di pagare maestri di religione c) alla istruzione religiosa nelle classi quinta e sesta d) alla distribuzione dei moduli per chiedere l'istruzione religiosa e) all'uso delle aule scolastiche per l'istruzione religiosa, dove i consigli comunali deliberarono di non ordinare che essa venga impartita»⁵⁵.

Queste problematiche erano approfondite e illustrate anche sulla base di casi reali e dell'intervento di Credaro con il decreto del 1910 con il quale, come già accennato, veniva fatto divieto ai comuni di distribuire ai padri di famiglia i moduli per l'insegnamento religioso, scelta definita una «proibizione illegale, assurda, ridicola»⁵⁶.

In conclusione il professore vicentino lamentava che l'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole elementari fosse completamente sottratto alla disciplina della legge e fosse purtroppo «in balia di organi di Stato, il cui compito dovrebbe esser quello di osservare e di far osservare la legge, mentre, all'opposto, danno, da qualche tempo, il triste esempio di violarla e di insegnare ad altri a violarla». Chiedeva perciò ai parlamentari «non una legge nuova che regoli la materia, ma un severo ammonimento agli organi esecutivi dello Stato, perché le disposizioni degli articoli 315, 325 e 374 della legge 13 novembre 1859 siano ripristinate nella lettera e nello spirito, e perché ad esse si conformino gli atti delle autorità ecclesiastiche, per la completa, leale applicazione delle stesse»⁵⁷.

6. *La lezione di Francia, Belgio e Olanda: «Intensificare l'agitazione»*

Il libro è infine arricchito nell'ultima parte da una documentata analisi di tre sistemi scolastici stranieri, quello francese, belga e olandese.

Per quanto riguarda la Francia, Rezzara individuò nella Rivoluzione del 1789 l'inizio del cammino verso la statizzazione dell'istruzione, non solo in

allo strazio delle leggi, dei regolamenti, delle libertà, delle discipline e... del senso comune», *ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁴ Cfr. A. Marrone, *La pedagogia cattolica nel secondo Ottocento*, Roma, Studium, 2016, pp. 59-64.

⁵⁵ Rezzara, *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, cit., p. 81.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵⁷ Rezzara, *L'istruzione religiosa nel parlamento italiano: petizione e documenti*, cit., pp. 8-9.

Francia quanto in Europa. La tendenza fu consolidata «sotto l'Impero», quando il diritto d'insegnare diventò Monopolio dello Stato»⁵⁸. Positivo il giudizio sulla legge dedicata alla libertà d'insegnamento superiore, approvata nel 1875, contestate invece le riforme guidate dalla maggioranza radicale durante la Terza Repubblica. Particolarmente polemico contro la legge anticlericale del 7 luglio 1904, Rezzara colse l'occasione di queste vicende per elogiare il cattolicesimo francese e il suo episcopato per l'attenzione verso il tema della libertà d'insegnamento⁵⁹. La questione fu approfondita con lo studio, corredato da adeguate statistiche, della presenza di scuole non statali in due specifiche diocesi francesi, quelle di Lione e Cambrai.

Mostrò grande interesse per il Belgio, anche per il peso politico avuto dai partiti cattolici⁶⁰. Ripercorrendo la storia della scuola belga, dalla legge del 1842, sino alla legge del 1895, evidenziò come i cattolici poterono ottenere risultati positivi, mettendosi sul piano della «ipotesi» e mediando con le altre forze politiche. Non mancò, però, di sottolineare le ombre del testo frutto del compromesso con i partiti liberali. Tra gli altri aspetti sottolineò i rischi legati alla scelta dell'insegnante di religione da parte dei comuni (anche di quelli con maggioranze non cattoliche). Il caso belga fu quindi l'occasione per sottolineare la preferenza verso un modello radicalmente pluralistico. In questo senso, rimarcando i difetti della legge del 1895, Rezzara parlò di un'«unica soluzione» di fronte al problema scolastico: «La creazione di scuole differenti, che rispondano agli ideali delle differenti confessioni religiose». A suo giudizio, tale sistema assicurava, meglio di ogni altro, la libertà di coscienza dei padri di famiglia, e l'eguaglianza costituzionale di tutti i cittadini. Parlò di una «ripartizione proporzionale scolastica, verso la quale, come verso un ideale di giustizia, devono mirare tutti coloro, i quali sono pronti ad accordare ai loro avversari ciò che rivendicano per sé stessi»⁶¹.

Infine con riferimento a vicende più recenti si soffermò sulla iniziativa del ministro Frans Schollaert relativa all'istituzione del «buono scolastico». «Il Governo belga – spiegò – con tale legge, non affermava solo che il padre di famiglia era libero; gli dava anche il mezzo di esercitare la sua libertà, mettendo a disposizione la somma necessaria per pagare la scuola»⁶².

L'ultimo caso affrontato fu quello dell'Olanda. Dopo aver ricostruito, anche in questo caso, la storia del suo sistema scolastico, richiamò l'importanza della legge dell'8 dicembre 1899, chiamata della «pacificazione», che riconobbe l'eguaglianza tra scuole libere e scuole statali, specie sul piano dei sussidi statali

⁵⁸ Id., *Il problema scolastico nell'ora presente*, cit., p. 138.

⁵⁹ «Le Pastorali dei Vescovi per la quaresima del 1911, quasi tutte, si occuparono del problema scolastico», *ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶⁰ «Il Belgio attira l'ammirazione generale, anche per il fatto che, da *ventisette anni* ininterrotti, sono i cattolici che governano lo Stato coi loro uomini migliori», *ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

e comunali. Secondo Rezzara era questo l'esempio da seguire. Così spiegava: «La concorrenza leale fra le scuole pubbliche e le private fu ed è stimolo potentissimo a far bene e a far meglio, per mantenersi appoggi e simpatie, e per elevare il grado d'istruzione del popolo olandese». A suo giudizio, proprio in una nazione storicamente divisa in varie confessioni religiose, lo Stato era riuscito ad assicurare il diritto educativo delle famiglie⁶³.

Secondo Rezzara, le conquiste di altri paesi nel campo della libertà d'insegnamento dovevano divenire fonte di ispirazione per le battaglie dei cattolici italiani, che nei decenni precedenti erano state invece meno efficaci⁶⁴.

Conclusioni

Il percorso umano e culturale di Nicolò Rezzara disegna e rappresenta l'evoluzione delle posizioni del mondo cattolico di ispirazione intransigente di fronte alle battaglie scolastiche tra gli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento e l'età giolittiana.

Protagonista dell'Opera dei congressi e partecipe con il periodico «La libertà d'insegnamento» del clima protestatario e antistatalista della sua prima fase, il professore vicentino accompagnò il movimento cattolico verso una nuova concezione dei rapporti con il «mondo legale», riconoscendo via via la necessità di un impegno politico e scolastico all'interno delle istituzioni. Sostenitore di un sistema educativo aperto alla concorrenza e rispettoso della libertà educativa della famiglia, mise le basi per le battaglie successive dei cattolici, sottolineando l'importanza dello studio attento e non approssimativo della legislazione scolastica. Il suo contributo concorse a spostare su una linea pragmatista il movimento cattolico, spronandolo a percorrere le vie della collaborazione, del confronto tra tesi diverse e della legalità.

⁶³ «L'eguaglianza della famiglia e quindi della scuola, di fronte alla legge, non bisogna dimenticarsene, è condizione indispensabile per la pacificazione degli animi in tutte le nazioni, dove non esiste l'*unità morale*. Certamente, anche in Olanda le lotte scolastiche non sono finite, perché il problema della scuola è di una delicatezza estrema e col progresso dei tempi e della civiltà, chiede soluzioni nuove: però esso non è più allo stadio acuto di una volta; e, tanto nell'opinione pubblica, quanto negli Stati generali, si è fatta strada una corrente di rispettosa tolleranza, che induce le due parti a intese più facili e a reciproche concessioni, destinate a raggiungere, per gradi, la desiderata eguaglianza di tutte le scuole dinnanzi alle sollecitudini ed ai favori dei pubblici poteri», *ibid.*, pp. 229-230.

⁶⁴ «In Italia, il problema della scuola è stato dai cattolici, generalmente, trascurato e le associazioni cattoliche, preoccupate più di raggiungere fini particolari, di immediata utilità, poca o niuna cura si presero della scuola. E intanto l'azione dello Stato e quella delle sette produssero immensi guasti, diventati quasi irreparabili», Rezzara, *Compiti del clero nell'azione cattolica*, cit., p. 107.

Riguardo al difficile equilibrio tra «tesi» e «ipotesi», continuò a prospettare un'alleanza tra Chiesa e Stato che doveva esplicarsi in una corresponsabilità educativa nelle scuole pubbliche. Si tratta di una tesi che conviveva con una visione più liberale dell'istruzione pubblica, di cui forse l'indizio più significativo è rappresentato dall'apprezzamento del sistema olandese, pluralistico e sussidiario, come modello scolastico cui aspirare.

Educación y literatura en el tardofranquismo y la transición democrática española. La enseñanza de la literatura en una sociedad tecnificada (1970-1982)*

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Education and literature during the late-Franco and spanish democratic transition periods. The teaching of literature in a technified society (1970-1982)

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the first educational principles ensued from Franco's 1970 education law to stress the technification undergone by literary studies in Spanish compulsory school. A modernisation process, which relegates literature to a utilitarian and pragmatic space, in favour of a communicational approach of the language. The study of educational programmes and numerous school textbooks show that the most progressive concept experienced in Spain until today was implemented in the last years of Franco's dictatorship and that, due to the openness, although many textbook publishers kept a national-Castilian school literary tradition concept, others did present a more plural and inclusive landscape of the literary fact.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Literary education; Literary canon; Scholar canon; Textbooks; late-Franco period; Spanish democratic transition; Spain; XXth Century.

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Introducción

Desde mediados del siglo XVIII surge en España la necesidad de revisar el pasado literario para construir el propio presente y una historia nacional de la literatura. De este modo emergen las primeras historias de la literatura y el germen de lo que en los planes escolares de una España liberal sería una nueva materia de enseñanza separada de los estudios de preceptiva y retórica¹. Estas obras sirvieron para construir un presente nacionalista idealizando la historia pasada sin espacio para otras manifestaciones que no fuese la considerada como legítima, ni tampoco para lo foráneo. Ya en el XIX aparecerían las materias «lengua y literatura española» como asignaturas autónomas. Estas disciplinas pasaron a funcionar como herramientas socializadoras en la ardua tarea de la construcción nacional. Irían aflorando también las primeras antologías, colecciones, repertorios y florilegios como complemento a los tradicionales manuales de retórica y poética. Estas antologías, con una clara finalidad canónica, proporcionaban modelos para la imitación en la formación del «escribir bellamente». Desde el año de 1844 (año en el que Gil de Zárate publica el primer manual universitario español de literatura española que propone el estudio de la Literatura española separadamente de las enseñanzas sobre Retórica y la Poética²) el sistema educativo transmitirá, bajo la ley de la inercia, una tradición neoaristotélica y positivista del hecho literario, todo ello junto con unos presupuestos patrióticos de la literatura heredados del XVIII y los postulados románticos.

El desplazamiento del «modelo preceptivo retórico» (*ars bene dicendi*), es decir, la imitación de los clásicos y el aprendizaje de una colección de reglas, figuras y preceptos, dio lugar al nacimiento de la educación literaria moderna positivista (*modelo historicista o positivista*) que se implantaría en la enseñanza pública legislada por el plan de estudios de Pidal en 1845. Si la enseñanza de la literatura consistió (hasta finales del XIX) en el estudio de las manifestaciones artísticas como la máxima y más bella expresión de una lengua y una cultura

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¹ Obras como las inacabadas *Historia literaria de España, desde su primera población hasta nuestros días* (1766-1791), de los hermanos Rodríguez Mohedano, o la *Historia crítica de la Literatura española* (1861-1865) de A. de los Ríos, la de los extranjeros Bouterwek (1829), Sismondi (1841-1842) o G. Ticknor (1851-1856), el *Romancero General* (1828-1832) de A. Durán, los *Principios de Literatura general y española* (1873) de Milá y Fontanals o la ingente producción de Menéndez Pelayo, entre otras muchas historias de la literatura española del siglo, conformaron el paradigma canónico de la literatura nacional española desde mediados del siglo XVIII.

² A. Gil de Zárate, *Manual de Literatura o Arte de hablar y escribir en prosa y en verso*, 2 vols., Madrid, Boix, 1844.

determinada, a principios del siglo XX la situación comenzaría a cambiar hasta encontrar en el estudio histórico de la literatura la mejor manera de enseñanza de este arte de la palabra y en el comentario de textos la mejor metodología.

Nuestro trabajo analiza, por tanto, la genealogía de la educación literaria durante el primer periodo de implementación de la *Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma educativa* (LGE) que, en lo que a lo que al código disciplinar de la lengua y la literatura se refiere, inaugura un ciclo de notoria libertad curricular para manualistas y editores españoles que abarca el periodo comprendido entre los años de 1970 y 1982.

Al tiempo que presenciamos el posibilismo de una época atravesada por los cambios que traía consigo la industrialización, la modernización y la urbanización de la sociedad española, todavía sujeta a los últimos coletazos de las políticas y las maneras dictatoriales franquistas, también asistimos (con la implantación de la LGE de 1970) a la transformación del sistema educativo, entendida como la «verdadera confirmación jurídica del modo de educación tecnocrático de masas en España»³. La escuela acompañó por aquel entonces el proceso de tecnificación instrumentalizando los estudios humanísticos y supeditando la literatura a la formación lingüística de los educandos con el propósito de extraer aprendizajes utilitaristas de esas disciplinas menos productivas o poco rentables que escapaban a la razón pragmática vigente.

El análisis de las diferentes propuestas editoriales a través de media centena de manuales escolares publicados entonces nos permite examinar el canon pedagógico de las letras españolas o castellanas «establecido»; tradicional y excluyente la mayoría de las veces, incluyente, plural e innovador algunas otras.

1. *La «egeberización del Bachillerato» y la enseñanza de la literatura*

Con la llegada del nuevo plan de estudios del Bachillerato del año setenta y cinco el Bachillerato Elemental unificado de 1953 vigente hasta entonces, que comprendía cuatro cursos académicos desarrollados entre los diez y los catorce años de edad y una prueba de grado, fue suprimido. En la nueva ordenación educativa instaurada en España tras la aprobación de la Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa de 1970⁴ la

³ R. Cuesta, *Felices y escolarizados. Crítica de la escuela en la era del capitalismo*, Barcelona, Octaedro, 2005, p. 75.

⁴ El plan de estudios de Bachillerato de 1975 perteneció al proyecto del reforma del Sistema Educativo español inaugurado con la aprobación de la LGE de 1970, una interesante y progresista propuesta, a pesar de obedecer a la ideología totalitaria en que se produjo. Fue sancionada el 4 de agosto de ese mismo año y estuvo vigente (aunque con numerosas reformas y enmiendas) hasta octubre de 1990, momento en que sería derogada por la *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE). Esta Ley educativa, aprobada durante el régimen dictatorial

Educación General Básica (EGB) asumió los tres primeros cursos del antiguo Bachillerato Elemental y estructuró el nuevo Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente (BUP) – que venía a sustituir al anterior Bachillerato Superior – en tres cursos o años lectivos. El antiguo Bachillerato Superior de dos años de duración fue sustituido entonces por el reciente BUP, inaugurándose así una nueva etapa de la educación secundaria no obligatoria.

La «*egebeización* del bachiller», proceso entendido como el paso o la entrega de esos tres primeros cursos del Bachillerato Elemental a la Educación General Básica producido tras la reforma del setenta, desató toda una serie de tensiones que afectaron a las culturas académicas, a las instituciones y también al encuadre orgánico y funcional del profesorado, además de a los otros órganos de gestión y administración de los diferentes niveles educativos de aquel momento⁵.

Ante la inexistencia de personal titulado «apropiado» para afrontar la docencia del ciclo superior de la Educación General Básica, el Cuerpo del Magisterio Nacional comenzó a integrarse dentro del Cuerpo de Profesores de la recién inaugurada EGB. Por este motivo, para el curso académico de 1972/1973 – año en que implanta el sexto curso de la EGB, primer curso del ciclo superior de la reformada enseñanza secundaria – se habilitó como *profesores a maestros competentes* que pudieran desarrollar dicha labor de enseñanza ante la ausencia de nuevos titulados «adecuados» al ciclo superior de educación⁶. La «conversión» o «adecuación» del profesorado existente a las exigencias de la reforma educativa provocó, por una parte, que los maestros asumieran la identidad profesional de los profesores de Bachillerato (unos docentes cuya formación académica como especialistas en la diferentes disciplinas curriculares

franquista e instituida cuando la cartera del Ministerio de Educación correspondía a José Luis Villar Palasí fue un importante pilar en la evolución hacia la constitución política del nuevo sistema educativo democrático que motivó el cambio e impulsó la modernidad y la racionalidad pedagógicas. Si bien su aplicación no llegó a completarse (el horizonte de éxito de esta ley se vio truncado por falta de financiación desde su nacimiento) sí que se puede apreciar el interesante avance pedagógico y educativo que trajo consigo la reforma. Para más detalles: A. Escolano Benito, *La educación en la España contemporánea. Políticas educativas, escolarización y culturas pedagógicas*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2002 y M. de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*, Madrid, Tecnos, 2010.

⁵ A. Viñao, *El bachillerato: pasado, presente, futuro*, «CEE Participación Educativa», vol. 17, 2011, pp. 30-44.

⁶ «Considerando que se encuentra en trámite la integración del actual Cuerpo del Magisterio Nacional en el nuevo Cuerpo de Profesores de Educación General Básica y que, por otra parte, el desarrollo actual del nuevo sistema educativo no proporciona todavía personal con la titulación prevista para el citado nivel, se hace necesario dar normas que con carácter transitorio regulen el profesorado adecuado para impartir el sexto curso de la Educación General Básica en el año académico mil novecientos setenta y dos-setenta y tres, sin perjuicio de la facultad reservada al Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia por la disposición transitoria décima de la Ley General de Educación para habilitar, como Profesores, en defecto de titulados del correspondiente grado académico, a personas competentes». Decreto 1380/1972, de 25 de mayo, sobre ordenación de la Educación General Básica y del Bachillerato en el curso académico 1972-1973 (BOE de 7 de junio).

era superior a la propia) y, por otra parte, causó un gran malestar entre los profesores del tradicional Bachillerato que con la reforma no solo veían peligrar sus puestos laborales (lo que pocos años más tarde, debido al establecimiento de una enseñanza general básica y obligatoria hasta los catorce años y al incremento sustancial del número de alumnos que ello suponía, se vería más que enmendado), sino que también temían una disminución de la calidad en la enseñanza de la educación lingüística y literaria ya trasvasada a la EGB.

En lo que al código disciplinar de la literatura⁷ se refiere, el malestar al que aludimos traspasó la frontera de la enseñanza secundaria para hacerse eco no solo entre el profesorado de la educación superior española sino también entre algunos de los escritores consagrados de la época. Unos pocos años después José-Carlos Mainer, destacado filólogo e historiador de la literatura, sintetizaría en el prólogo a la obra de Fernando Valls, *La enseñanza de la literatura en el franquismo (1936-1951)*, primer ensayo de historiografía literaria escolar en nuestro país⁸, el sentir de ese tiempo con las siguientes palabras:

En 1973 [...] el estudio de la literatura y del arte estaban a punto de desaparecer de los planes oficiales de estudio: se los llevaba el fantasma de una futura sociedad tecnificada que ha logrado que nuestros retoños hablen de conjuntos antes de saber sumar, o denominen ciencias sociales a una mezcolanza de generalidades geográficas e históricas, o entiendan el estudio de su propia lengua como algo radicalmente distinto de la herramienta de comunicación que usan a diario. Aquel mismo año, un selecto grupo de profesores intentaba demostrar en un libro que tuvo continuación la posibilidad enriquecedora del comentario de textos y un año después otro volumen, *Literatura y educación*, ofrecía – tras un sustancioso prólogo de Fernando Lázaro Carreter – una amplia muestra de opiniones autorizadas sobre el porvenir y la utilidad de los estudios literarios. Ambos contribuyeron a conjurar peligros inmediatos pero anduvieron lejos de clarificar por entero el panorama⁹.

El primer grupo de profesores al que Mainer hace referencia estaba constituido por lingüistas e historiadores de la literatura de la talla de Emilio Alarcos Llorach, Fernando Lázaro Carreter, José Manuel Blecua, Manuel Alvar, Gregorio Salvador, Manuel Seco, Rafael Lapesa o Alonso Zamora Vicente, entre algunos otros académicos y estudiosos. Todos ellos suscribieron en 1973

⁷ Por código disciplinar R. Cuesta entiende la «tradición social que se configura históricamente y que se compone de un conjunto de ideas, valores, suposiciones y rutinas, que legitiman la función educativa atribuida a la Historia y que regulan el orden de la práctica de su enseñanza». Donde leemos Historia podemos leer también Literatura o Historia literaria. Tomamos prestado el concepto desarrollado por Cuesta para el análisis y la definición de código disciplinar de la historia en su Tesis doctoral *El código disciplinar de la Historia. Tradiciones, discursos y prácticas sociales de la educación histórica en España (SS. XVIII-XX)*, Universidad de Salamanca, 1997, posteriormente recogido en el libro *Clío en las aulas. La enseñanza de la Historia en España entre reformas, ilusiones y rutinas*, Madrid, Akal, 1998.

⁸ F. Valls, *La enseñanza de la literatura en el franquismo (1936-1951)*, Barcelona, Antoni Bosch, 1983.

⁹ J.C. Mainer, *Prólogo*, in Valls, *La enseñanza de la literatura en el franquismo (1936-1951)*, cit., p. IX.

la obra colectiva *El comentario de textos* publicada por la editorial Castalia bajo la dirección de Andrés Amorós¹⁰. El volumen al que nos referimos disfrutó de un éxito poco común en este tipo de publicaciones llegándose a editar tres veces en los seis primeros meses que siguieron a su edición príncipe. La necesidad de configurar el código disciplinar de la lengua y la literatura, según las exigencias que el fantasma de la sociedad tecnificada imponía, produjo dos nuevos títulos en los años de 1974¹¹ y 1979¹² firmados por el mismo grupo de lingüistas; un fantasma que se hacía carne y se transfiguraba para exigir unas nuevas modalidades de funcionamiento más técnicas y más *científicas* a través de nuevas orientaciones y nuevos métodos¹³. La disciplina que nos concierne adoptó el comentario de textos literarios como la mejor alternativa técnica, didáctica y metodológica, como el mejor método *hermenéutico*, para asediar al objeto de estudio que con tanta frecuencia se escurre de las manos de didactas y pedagogos.

El segundo texto, *Literatura y educación* que, bajo la responsabilidad de Fernando Lázaro Carreter se editó en Castalia en el año de 1974 – y al que Mainer se refiere en el prólogo anteriormente citado de 1983 –, recogió, a modo de entrevista, las opiniones de eminentes filólogos, pensadores, escritores y políticos españoles de la época como Emilio Alarcos, Dámaso Alonso, Manuel Alvar, Andrés Amorós, Buero Vallejo, Camilo José Cela, Miguel Delibes, Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Gloria Fuertes, Joan Fuster, Pedro Laín Entralgo, Rafael Lapesa, Julián Marías, Francisco Rico, Leonardo Romero Tobar, Tierno Galván, Francisco Ynduráin o de Alonso Zamora Vicente en torno a la problemática que venimos esbozando¹⁴. Este libro colectivo tenía

¹⁰ A. Amorós (dir.), *El comentario de textos*, Madrid, Castalia, 1973.

¹¹ Id. (dir.), *El comentario de textos 2. De Galdós a García Márquez*, Madrid, Castalia, 1974.

¹² Id. (dir.), *El comentario de textos 3. La novela realista*, Madrid, Castalia, 1979.

¹³ A. Mayordomo Pérez, *La transición a la democracia: educación y desarrollo político*, «Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria», vol. 21, 2002, pp. 19-47.

¹⁴ Los tres cuestionarios que Lázaro Carreter propone a profesores, escritores y críticos, aunque diferentes en su forma, están articulados en torno a un único problema: el papel de la literatura en la educación.

Cuestionario para los profesores: «1. Asistimos en nuestros días a una auténtica crisis en la enseñanza de la Literatura, que es mirada con recelo por una gran parte de la sociedad y del alumnado. ¿Cuáles son, a su juicio, las causas de esa crisis? 2. ¿Cree Vd. que el estudio de la Literatura debe mantenerse como parte de la educación de los españoles? 3. ¿Qué objetivos debe proponerse el profesor de Literatura en las enseñanzas media y universitaria? 4. ¿Piensa Vd. que tales objetivos pueden alcanzarse con los métodos actuales? En su caso, ¿qué métodos desearía ver implantados? 5. ¿Qué papel atribuiría Vd. al estudio de la Literatura del siglo XX, en el conjunto de las enseñanzas literarias?» Cuestionario para escritores: «1. ¿Cree Vd. que es suficiente la atención que la Literatura recibe, por parte de los españoles? 2. ¿Ha beneficiado a la Literatura de creación la enseñanza de la Historia de la Literatura en las aulas? 3. ¿Qué opinión le merece la posibilidad de que dicha disciplina deje de ser obligatoria en la Enseñanza General Básica que corresponde al antiguo Bachillerato, e, incluso, para los alumnos de Filosofía y Letras que no cursen las especialidades de Filosofía? 4. ¿Qué pediría Vd. a los profesores de Literatura – y a los planes de estudio –, con el fin de que esta no sea un saber arqueológico, sino una necesidad

como último objetivo transparentar la «honda preocupación» que todos ellos sentían «por las graves consecuencias que podrían acarrear a nuestra cultura el debilitamiento o la extinción del estudio obligado de la Literatura en todos los niveles de la enseñanza».

La «casi inexistente presencia de las materias literarias en los programas de *Educación General Básica*»¹⁵, la optatividad de los estudios literarios en el *Curso de Orientación Universitaria* y su supresión en los *currícula* de los estudios superiores de Filosofía, Psicología y Pedagogía, preocupaba a Lázaro Carreter y a sus colaboradores. Todos ellos temían que la precariedad también se filtrara en el *currículum* del *Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente*.

Los motivos que articulaban este «amenazante panorama», según Eugenio de Bustos, eran de dos tipos: económicos e ideológicos.

En cuanto a los motivos económicos se refiere, Bustos era consciente de la costosa inversión del sistema educativo y de los rendimientos exigidos por la sociedad capitalista. Según el autor «la necesidad de amortizar [la enseñanza] conlleva una política selectiva del gasto que opera de modo inmediato sobre aquellas áreas del saber cuya utilidad productiva es menos evidente, por lo menos en el futuro más próximo»¹⁶. Por esta razón las constantes tensiones vividas aquellos años entre lo que podría denominarse «necesidades objetivas de la educación» y «las demandas de una sociedad tecnificada»¹⁷ se presentaban como consecuencia lógica de un sistema que demandaba unos resultados rápidos y requería una mano de obra cualificada que no necesitase de una desmesurada inversión temporal ni tampoco económica.

Para esclarecer los motivos ideológicos que parecían estructurar el nuevo programa tenemos que considerar el agotamiento del positivismo historicista como modelo de análisis literario en los años treinta del pasado siglo así como la hipertrofia a la que había llegado el análisis formalista después de la segunda guerra mundial. Ante tal panorama se hacía urgente reclamar el compromiso social y político de la literatura y subrayar «los problemas propios de la historia literaria que hasta aquellos entonces había permanecido cómodamente

espiritual para los conciudadanos? 5. ¿Qué colaboración puede establecerse entre los escritores y las aulas literarias?». Cuestionario para críticos de *nuestra cultura*: «1. ¿Qué función atribuye al estudio de la Literatura, en el seno de una sociedad como la nuestra? 2. ¿Qué opinión le merecería la supresión de tal disciplina en la Enseñanza General Básica (antiguo Bachillerato) e, incluso, en las Facultades de Letras, para los alumnos que no cursen las especialidades de Filosofía? 3. ¿En qué supuestos cree Vd. que debe fundarse la docencia literaria? (Enjuicie, por favor, los móviles estéticos que tradicionalmente le han sido atribuidos, y la mera información erudita en que, salvo meritísimas excepciones, ha consistido). 4. ¿Podría una educación literaria bien orientada, por sí sola, cubrir las necesidades de formación humanística del hombre contemporáneo?», en F.L. Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, Madrid, Editorial Castalia, 1974, pp. 21, pp. 207 y 301.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

¹⁶ E. de Bustos, «El punto de vista de los profesores», en Carreter, *Literatura y Educación*, cit., p. 62.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

guarnecida en los departamentos universitarios y en los programas escolares de muchos países»¹⁸. Escritores y académicos se debatían ante la disyuntiva de entender la historia literaria desde la óptica del compromiso o, por el contrario, hacerlo desde la perspectiva que ofrece la fruición estética. En la época que nos ocupa tanto Jauss como Carreter, aunque cada uno desde su correspondiente tribuna, adjudicaron a la historia literaria el papel pragmático de ser «formadora de sociedad» y le otorgaron el privilegio de instituirse como fuerza social emancipadora. Por este motivo:

el profesor de Literatura está abocado, por imposición de su conciencia, a una función política. [...] Ver con los propios ojos, entender lo que se dice y lo que se oculta, comprender racionalmente a qué se nos quiere llevar, percibir los huecos intencionales que deja un manifiesto o un discurso con sus omisiones, y las caricaturas de la realidad que se intentan hacer pasar por retratos, son actividades políticas: lo es todo gesto que no sea asentir sin reflexión. Y ocurre que esta destreza solo puede adquirirse, dentro de todo el sistema docente de grado medio, en las erosionadas clases de humanidades, y de modo especial, en las de literatura¹⁹.

Definir el lugar desde el que el profesorado de las humanidades opera para saber hacia dónde se dirige se trata, en definitiva, de una cuestión previa fundamental: si no sabemos desde dónde partimos, si no tenemos clara nuestra percepción y postura ante el hecho literario, difícilmente se podrá enseñar a los discentes lo que se supone que hemos aprehendido. Las humanidades nos hacen pensar y este pensamiento crítico no parece interesar demasiado al sistema. La literatura y la enseñanza de lo literario, en calidad de «formadora de sociedad y fuerza emancipadora de las alienaciones» según Jauss²⁰, son para la sociedad capitalista prácticas inútiles cuando se aplican criterios de eficacia instrumentales; de ahí que la literatura no sirva «para nada concreto, para nada que se pueda medir, pesar o definir con exactitud»²¹ según la lógica imperante.

¹⁸ L. Romero Tobar, *La historia literaria, toda problemas*, in *Historia literaria/Historia de la literatura*, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2004, p. 72. Ya en el año de 1969 se debatió la cuestión de la enseñanza literaria y su problemática en el Coloquio de Cerisy, Francia, bajo la dirección de Doubrovsky y Todorov. Doce años después buena parte de las comunicaciones allí expuestas serían reeditadas: la cuestión de la literatura y su enseñanza continuaba suscitando cierto interés en los años ochenta (S. Doubrovsky, T. Todorov, *L'enseignement de la littérature*, Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, París, Duculot, 1981).

¹⁹ F. Lázaro Carreter, *Cuestión previa: El lugar de la literatura en la educación*, en Id. (ed.), *El Comentario de Textos*, Madrid, Castalia, 1973, p. 27.

²⁰ H.-R. Jauss, *La historia de la literatura como provocación a la ciencia literaria*, citado por Romero Tobar, *La historia literaria, toda problemas*, cit., pp. 72-73.

²¹ A. Amorós continua apuntado: «No quita el hambre ni la sed. No da dinero. Pertenece al ramo perfectamente inútil de las Bellas Artes, como un cuadro de Picasso o una sinfonía de Mahler. Para los sectores más inquietos, conviene hacer notar que la literatura no mejora la condición de los pueblos subdesarrollados ni elimina del mundo la opresión o la injusticia. Al menos, de un modo inmediato y directo. [...] A nivel social, la literatura no solo es inútil sino que suscita recelos. De hecho, los ha suscitado, en nuestro país y en muchos otros, y seguirá suscitándolos en el futuro. La razón es simple. La auténtica literatura va muy unida a la vida, a los hombres, a la

No obstante, según las opiniones autorizadas que Lázaro Carreter compila, la adquisición de los conocimientos literarios deberían ser uno de los pilares fundamentales en la educación de los más jóvenes, «en la medida en que su enseñanza contribuya a crear las condiciones objetivas en que nuestros conciudadanos puedan ser más profundamente humanos»²². Por esto mismo para Eugenio de Bustos sería una «traición» hacer de su enseñanza una herramienta de disfrute con fines meramente lúdicos:

Me parecería una traición – valga la palabra en cuanto tiene de contravalor y aun de tabú – si su función va a consistir solo en llenar los espacios de tiempo libre – también el ocio se puede instrumentalizar – del hombre para que su rendimiento sea más alto en el proceso de la producción económica o para, de cualquier otra forma, enajenarle justamente por el rumbo contrario a como los libros de caballería alienaron a un oscuro hidalgo bueno llamado Alonso Quijano en un lugar de la Mancha²³.

Solo la ociosidad cabe en una práctica a la que no se le dedica el tiempo de estudio necesario para que pueda ser entendida y apreciada como lo que es, y no como un complemento que puede hacer más llevadero el tiempo libre²⁴.

sociedad, a los problemas de cada día: a la política, en el más amplio sentido del término. Como ha expuesto muchas veces Mario Vargas Llosa, surge la literatura de un sentimiento de desajuste con la realidad. Un teórico mundo totalmente feliz exigiría ser vivido, no escrito. El escritor es, por definición, un inconformista, el ser que dice no. Y sigue diciendo no incluso cuando se ha alcanzado la forma de gobierno de que él es partidario. Inevitablemente, el escritor es un elemento perturbador, incómodo. Su actividad sería suprimida con gusto por el político, si eso no suscitara escándalo» (A. Amorós, *El punto de vista de los profesores*, en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 36-37).

²² E. de Bustos, «El punto de vista de los profesores», en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., p. 70. Romero Tobar también va a justificar la enseñanza de lo literario en estos términos: «algunos ilusos impenitentes pensamos que [la literatura] sí ocupa un lugar en la enseñanza de los españoles, que ocupa un lugar por derecho propio y no por subvención vergonzante de los lingüistas o los historiadores, porque precisamente el estudio de la literatura española desvela, *al no ser historia adrede*, la entraña de nuestras raíces espirituales, por llamarlas de alguna manera. En la escuela secundaria, de modo muy especial, el contacto con los textos literarios ilumina una huella privilegiada de nuestro pasado histórico y proporciona la radiografía más sensible del estado actual de nuestros problemas y preocupaciones» (L. Romero Tobar, *El punto de vista de los profesores*, en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., p. 70).

²³ E. de Bustos, *El punto de vista de los profesores*, en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 70-71.

²⁴ «Las causas de la crisis actual remontan río arriba en la corriente de la historia y hay que buscarlas en la actitud de la sociedad frente al trabajo intelectual; hoy, claro está, las motivaciones ancestrales se yuxtaponen a los impulsos de última hora, por lo que el cuadro etiológico de la crisis se enmaraña de modo casi inextricable. Un factor remoto estriba en la animosidad patrimonial de la sociedad represiva contra cualquier actividad liberadora y no domesticada. Motivo próximo es la visión pragmática de la existencia que domina en las decisiones de los cuadros y de las capas más bullidoras de las clases dirigentes. Entre ambos factores se mezcla un conjunto de causas emanadas, en su mayor parte, de motivaciones profundas de la colectividad. Piénsese que a la deprimente incultura de la sociedad española se sobreponen los valores estimativos de la torpe sociedad del bienestar. Gracias a esta, la literatura y sus problemas han metamorfoseado en un curioso cosmético cuya presencia solo se admite en la maleta de las vacaciones; el ocio

Sin embargo, cuando el libro ve la luz la «amenaza contra la Literatura como disciplina académica» que pretendían *conjurar* los autores en el texto citado ya no parecía ser tan terrible. Conforme la reforma educativa escolar se fue aplicando los miedos fueron disminuyendo. La obra se cerró con unas palabras que invitaban al sosiego y a la reflexión; pero ya no se quería guiar a los lectores hacia una reflexión originada por la ausencia o la presencia de lo literario en el sistema educativo, sino que más bien se los movía hacia una reflexión sobre las cuestiones de pedagogía literaria que se debaten en el texto²⁵.

2. *Las Orientaciones Pedagógicas de 1971 o el predominio de una enseñanza lingüística*

De la Ley publicada en 1970 se derivan la Orden ministerial de 2 de diciembre por la que se aprueban las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica²⁶ y la Orden de 6 de agosto de 1971 que prorroga y completa las citadas orientaciones²⁷. Estas, que, tal y como se apunta en el texto, de una forma meramente indicativa alumbran la enseñanza de las distintas materias previstas en la LGE, sugieren, y en cierto modo determinan, un protocolo para asegurar unos mínimos educativos (y no solo educativos, sino también identitarios, de comunidad, de sentimiento de grupo) en la implantación de la reforma y, por lo tanto, para consolidar el éxito de la misma. El texto al que nos referimos fue publicado el año de 1971 en un número especial de la revista de la Dirección General de Ordenación Educativa *Vida Escolar*²⁸. En este volumen se publicó el *currículum* que afecta al ciclo superior de la Educación General Básica. Sin embargo, nos sorprende que en dicha orden las prescripciones curriculares que legislaron los contenidos para la materia de *Lengua nacional*, tal y como se denominaba por entonces, fueran casi inexistentes; lo que podríamos considerar una posible alusión al canon literario quedó reducida, para el séptimo y el octavo

heterodirigido y el ritmo agotador del trabajo tayloriano dejan lugar para poco más. Poco o nada importa, por tanto, que se enseñe algo de rentabilidad tan limitada» (Romero Tobar, *El punto de vista de los profesores*, cit., pp. 132- 133).

²⁵ Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 338-339.

²⁶ «Durante el año académico 1970-71 las actividades didácticas, en todos los Centros de Educación General Básica, se ajustarán a las orientaciones pedagógicas para los planes y programas de estudio elaboradas por la Comisión constituida con tal fin en este Ministerio, publicadas por el mismo». Orden ministerial de 2 de diciembre de 1970 por la que se aprueban las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica, disposición primera (BOE del 8).

²⁷ Orden de 6 de agosto de 1971 por la que se prorrogan y completan las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica (BOE del 24).

²⁸ Orden por la que se prorrogan y completan las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica, «Revista Vida Escolar», nn. 128-130, 1971. Estas orientaciones se refieren únicamente al Ciclo Superior.

curso de la EGB²⁹, a las siguientes fórmulas: se estudiará «la creación literaria y su marco histórico-cultural» y se procederá también al «análisis sistemático de textos literarios»³⁰. No se explicita nada más acerca de los contenidos curriculares que debieran ser expuestos y enseñados en las aulas. Ni tampoco se delimita el estudio de un canon literario pedagógico.

De manera más específica, y para corroborar lo que venimos apuntando, entre los contenidos del séptimo curso encontramos los siguientes:

Comprensión y expresión escrita

- Sistematización de las lecturas literarias y no literarias.
- El comentario de textos literarios como diálogo entre lector y autor. Literatura.
- Procedimientos de realce expresivos: a), en la lengua general; b), en la lengua literaria.
- La prosa y el verso.
- Análisis sistemático de textos literarios.
- La creación literaria y su marco histórico-cultural³¹.

De la lectura de esta Orden se extrae que no hay ningún empeño en inculcar a los educandos una enseñanza de la literatura desde una perspectiva historicista. Prevalece, por el contrario, la adquisición de cierta pericia técnica y/o metodológica para afrontar la lectura de cualquier texto, literario o no literario. Esto posibilitaba el acceso al conocimiento de algún texto propio de la tradición literaria española de manera puntual, pero no era una prioridad en la planificación curricular que estamos estudiando. En el apartado dedicado a la metodología se subraya la importancia del comentario como medio para la adquisición de ciertas destrezas lingüísticas y la formación cultural del estudiante, unas destrezas que anticipan la enseñanza por competencias que parece demandar la sociedad de nuestros días. Esto es:

Especial cuidado habrá de ponerse en la elección de textos para el comentario, pues esta actividad debe llegar a convertirse en los últimos cursos de la EGB en medio esencial para el aprendizaje lingüístico y para la formación humana del alumno. Los textos habrán de responder a una doble exigencia: poseer cualidades artísticas relevantes y servir de fuente motivadora de experiencias³².

A título meramente indicativo se señalaba que el comentario de textos y el análisis de los valores que estos pudieran contener podrían ser algunas de las actividades posibles para la consecución de los objetivos propuestos.

²⁹ Focalizamos la investigación sobre los dos últimos cursos de la enseñanza obligatoria porque queremos analizar cuál fue la educación literaria que recibieron todos y cada uno de los ciudadanos españoles, independientemente de su desarrollo formativo o profesional posterior.

³⁰ Bases de programación por áreas educativas. Área de Lengua. Lengua nacional, «Revista Vida Escolar», nn. 128-130, 1971, pp. 16-17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³² *Ibid.*

En el último curso de la Educación General Básica la educación literaria también iba a estar supeditada al estudio del español como lengua materna; no se proponía un estudio histórico de la literatura y tampoco se planteaba el estudio de las otras lenguas habladas en el país:

Literatura

- El lenguaje y su variedad artísticas.
- La creación lingüística y el estilo: principales recursos estilísticos.
- Análisis sistemático de textos literarios.

La creación literaria y su marco histórico-cultural³³.

Después de haber examinado el *currículum* prescrito para los dos últimos momentos de esta segunda etapa educativa (los cursos de séptimo y octavo) inaugurada con la Ley General de Educación de 1970, podemos poner de manifiesto que en el estudio de la lengua y la literatura de aquellos años predominaba una enseñanza lingüística en detrimento de una educación literaria. Predominio que, por otra parte, ya era inteligible desde la denominación que se le confería a la disciplina. Por lo tanto no deberá extrañarnos que en la manualística de este periodo lo literario se subordinase al estudio comunicativo del lenguaje. En lo que concierne al estudio de la literatura, son pocas las sorpresas o las alegrías que podrían caber en la producción editorial del periodo al que nos referimos. No obstante, y a pesar de ello, habrá que analizar con atención y cuidado los diferentes matices y variaciones que los manualistas y las editoriales españolas insertaron en su producción. Solo de esta manera se podrá entender cómo se tradujeron y se transfiguraron las prescripciones curriculares referidas en esos objetos materiales llamados manuales escolares y/o libros de texto.

El comentario de textos literarios o históricos, en tanto que remedio de todos los males, fue presentado en estos años como la mejor alternativa posible a la desabrida y demasiado habitual enseñanza memorística. Por este motivo el grupo de estudiosos y profesores dirigidos por Amorós cree necesario la incorporación de la *Explicación de los Textos*, tal y como lo denomina Lázaro Carreter, a la pedagogía española de la literatura teniendo como referente la *Histoire de la littérature française* de Gustave Lanson³⁴. Sin embargo, la técnica del comentario de textos «en vez de resolver el problema obsesivo en torno a la verdad supuestamente escondida en los textos, nos lleva directamente a una especie de tecnificación sin sentido de lo que alguna vez se llamó verdad y método», tal y como afirma el profesor Rodríguez³⁵. Cuando se produce «la sintomática sustitución [...] del llamado *saber cultural* por el llamado *saber*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁴ G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, París, Librairie Hachette, 1920.

³⁵ J.C. Rodríguez, *Lectura y educación literaria*, en G. Núñez Ruiz, M. Campos Fernández-Figares, *Cómo nos enseñaron a leer. Manuales de literatura en España (1850-1960)*, Madrid, Akal, 2005, p. 35.

técnico» nos precipitamos hacia «la crisis educativa de la *cultura literaria*»³⁶ en la que nos encontramos hoy. Desde una óptica que valora exageradamente la utilidad de las acciones y los procesos – en términos de producción –, la literatura o cualquier manifestación y disciplina de las denominadas *humanas* comienza a no servir, a no ser útil en la década de los años setenta en este país³⁷, porque no hay una rentabilidad posible. De ahí la urgencia y la necesidad que tuvieron estos estudiosos de demostrar y hasta de inventar el rigor científico de su enseñanza (su valía y su aplicación) a través de métodos tecnificados:

la *cultura* tuvo siempre, y sigue teniendo, carácter instrumental, al servicio de unos fines de clase evidentes, o, cuando menos, al servicio del mecanismo a la vez económico e ideológico que constituye cada sistema de producción. La *sociedad* – su clase dominante – estipula y promueve el repertorio de conocimientos y de técnicas que le son imprescindibles como dispositivo de supervivencia. Las *humanidades* no fueron nunca un saber gratuito. Al contrario, eran cultivadas e impartidas con miras a una aplicación práctica muy concreta, que durante siglos, siglos de estructuras agrarias casi inmóviles, se traducían en simple justificación del *status quo*, o, a lo sumo, apoyaba sus ligeras rectificaciones. Luego, a medida que el proceso de industrialización tomaba vuelos, las ciencias cobraron prioridad. Tenía que ser así. Las ciencias son indispensables para el despliegue del negocio, hasta el extremo de que la simbiosis negocio-ciencias, ambigua y compleja, deriva en una nueva *ideología*. Es el punto en que nos encontramos. Y, en tal planteamiento, las *humanidades* resultan superfluas. O casi³⁸.

De las palabras del ensayista valenciano Joan Fuster se deduce que el producto obtenido no es que sea escaso (cuando se asedia lo literario desde la óptica mercantilista que le es propia a la lógica del capital), sino que en la cultura de la técnica y la ciencia práctica no hay un producto válido que se pueda extraer de las ciencias humanas³⁹. Ante la demanda social de estos saberes y habilidades técnicos, las ciencias sociales y las humanidades se perciben como poco productivas y, por lo tanto, menos necesarias que las ciencias aplicadas.

³⁶ Id., *Tras la muerte del aura. (En contra y a favor de la Ilustración)*, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2011, p. 21.

³⁷ «El problema se ha presentado, al compás de lo que ocurre en otros países, en los últimos años, y creo que va muy ligado a tres realidades políticas y económicas: el deseo de europeización económica (es decir la entrada en el Mercado Común), su consecuencia que es el elevar el nivel de producción en todas las técnicas, y, como nueva cadena de consecuencias, la sustitución de tecnocracias por ideologías de postguerra o de anteguerra. [...] Las tecnocracias actuales, de muchos países desarrollados o en vías de desarrollo, quieren una sociedad que responda a dos caracteres fundamentales: en lo económico a un éxito inmediato y brillante, tal como pudiera deseárselo un consejo de administración de una gran empresa; en lo político, a la docilidad de la masa a sus consignas, mediante la consiguiente alienación. Desde cualquiera de los dos puntos de vista la literatura no puede salir beneficiada» (Juan Manuel Rozas, «El punto de vista de los profesores», en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 147-148).

³⁸ Fuster, *El punto de vista de los escritores*, cit., pp. 234-235.

³⁹ Véase J-P. Sartre, S. de Beauvoir, I. Berger, J-P. Faye, J. Ricardou, J. Semprún, *¿Para qué sirve la literatura?*, Buenos Aires, Proteo, 1966.

Por eso no nos extraña que la literatura no saliese bien parada en los programas escolares de entonces:

en los planes de estudios que han sustituido a la ya extinguida Enseñanza Media, la literatura ha pasado, o parece que va a pasar, a un lugar secundario, de *partenaire* entre elegante y frívola de otras materias que se juzgan fundamentales; su estudio será en gran medida voluntario, con lo cual, desde los puestos de decisión política, se da por clausurada una larga etapa de la historia de la educación que atribuía a los estudios literarios la máxima capacidad civilizadora. Por otro, la sociedad (esto es, los estudiantes mismos) no parece lamentarlo, antes bien, subraya su acuerdo con aquella clausura⁴⁰.

El cambio que se origina en la consideración de la producción artístico-literaria y las consecuencias prácticas que se derivan de este hecho afectaron a la planificación de la educación humanística en general y a la literaria en particular. No obstante, si aceptamos que esta *crisis sistémica* está provocada por el propio capitalismo, «entonces el sistema está echando por la borda lo que hasta hace poco se ha considerado uno de sus supuestos básicos a nivel ideológico: esa cultura literaria o *humanística* [...] compañera inseparable del sistema desde que el mercado capitalista apareció»⁴¹. En el panorama educativo esto suponía que la tradición literaria, hasta entonces considerada saber indispensable en la formación crítica de los ciudadanos más jóvenes de la sociedad, comenzaba a padecer una cada vez más limitada presencia y reconocimiento institucional, además de social⁴². Por esto Lázaro Carreter y todos los profesores, escritores y críticos de la cultura convocados a través de los diferentes cuestionarios para la publicación de 1974, concibieron el libro largamente comentado como *vehículo*, como útil mediador, para conectar con esas otras personas que «participaban de la inquietud que motivó mi escrito»⁴³, dice Lázaro.

⁴⁰ Carreter, *Cuestión previa: El lugar de la literatura en la educación*, cit., p. 7.

⁴¹ Rodríguez, *Tras la muerte del aura*, cit., p. 13.

⁴² «Estos tiempos pasados circularon rumores sobre un supuesto propósito de disminución y casi extinción de la literatura en la enseñanza oficial española. No lo pude creer del todo: si hubiera existido tal propósito habría sido un intencional crimen de lesa patria. Pero el daño que un mal aconsejado manotazo de tal o cual jerarca cause a nuestra cultura puede tener consecuencias que hayan de medirse por cuartos o mitades de siglo; cada parón de esos produce un retraso de nuestro carro frente a países que afinan más y nos llevan buena delantera. Las cuestiones culturales han de pensarse mirando hacia el futuro. Deseo más literatura en los planes de enseñanza y que sea preceptivo enseñarla, desde el principio, no con una retahíla de nombres y fechas, sino principalmente por la lectura y comentario de las obras maestras, en ediciones acomodadas a los distintos niveles. Hay que despertar hacia la lectura gustosa al que, sea por lo que fuere, no ha sentido el aguijonazo de la vocación. Hay que formar más profesores de literatura y para todos los grados de la enseñanza. Que el hombre español del siglo XXI tenga una inteligencia cultivada, una mente clara, y que sepa expresarse en una lengua a la par moderna y tradicional, en una lengua útil y eficaz para la relación con los demás hispanohablantes, y para la representación de lo español en el mundo» (D. Alonso, *Pórtico*, en Carreter, *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 16-17).

⁴³ F.L. Carreter, *Palabras finales*, in Id., *Literatura y educación*, cit., pp. 329-330.

Si bien es cierto que, como ya hemos mencionado, la angustia de estos intelectuales se vería atenuada con la concreción curricular que se llevó a cabo en los años subsiguientes (porque aunque disminuyó la presencia de los estudios literarios en algunos de los niveles de la enseñanza oficial española, la literatura no se extinguió de los mismos, como parece que se llegó a temer en algún momento de la discusión); también es cierto que los procedimientos y las tácticas de la sociedad tecnificada fueron asimilados en la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de esta disciplina sin, a nuestro entender, demasiados resultados favorables. Asediar el sentido del texto, paso a paso, palabra a palabra, poco puede aportarnos sobre su significado total porque, como escribía Rodríguez:

en la literatura no existen aspirinas, no existen métodos ni *plantillas*. El inevitable rigor teórico de los análisis literarios no supone – en ningún aspecto – que baste con mezclar los diversos métodos para hallar la complejidad de la supuesta verdad oculta. La proliferación de métodos produce más bien la sensación exacta en la que nos hallamos: la sensación de flotar en el charco⁴⁴.

¿Cómo salir de ese charco del que nos habla Rodríguez para abrazar los significados que escapan una y otra vez a cualquier sitio metodológico? El aprecio por la lectura que pueda desarrollar el lector parece dibujarse como la única solución al intrincado problema.

3. *Literatura y manuales en el tardofranquismo y la primera transición democrática*⁴⁵

El nuevo enfoque comunicativo que predomina en la educación lingüística y literaria de estos años deberá convivir la mayor parte del tiempo con una visión positivista de la literatura heredada del siglo XIX y con una manera artificial de concebir el hecho literario; metodología de enseñanza que se observa de manera clara y explícita en los textos que comentaremos a continuación. El objeto fundamental será entonces la simple memorización de los autores, obras y movimientos literarios más representativos del, supuestamente, heroico y glorioso pasado español (Pic. 1).

Aunque con algunas variantes, la gran mayoría de los textos inaugura el panorama de la historia literaria española con la obra épica de *Mío Cid*, prosigue con Berceo, Don Juan Manuel, el Arcipreste de Hita y algún que otro

⁴⁴ Rodríguez, *Lectura y educación literaria*, cit., p. 35.

⁴⁵ Para nuestro estudio hemos revisado un total de 50 manuales procedentes de tres fondos bibliográficos: el que se atesora en el Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE), sito en Berlanga de Duero, Soria, el fondo MANES que se conserva en la Biblioteca Central de la UNED, Madrid, y el fondo de manuales recientemente reunido en la biblioteca de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Granada.

lenguaje 8^o LA EDAD MEDIA 23-1

1. Forma la correspondencia entre los conjuntos de obras y autores que te proponemos. Los pares resultantes debes ordenarlos cronológicamente.

Obras: *Libro de Buen Amor, Las trescientas, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, Coplas por la muerte de su padre, Cantar de Mio Cid, La Celestina, Cantigas, Proverbios morales, Conde Lucanor.*

Autores: Fernando de Rojas, Gonzalo de Berceo, Sem Tob, Anónimo, Juan de Mena, Arcipreste de Hita, Alfonso X, Don Juan Manuel, Jorge Manrique.

Obras	Autores
Cantar de Mio Cid	Anónimo
Milagros de Nuestra Señora	Berceo
Libro de Buen Amor	Arcipreste de Hita
Cantigas	Alfonso X
Conde Lucanor	Don Juan Manuel
Proverbios morales	Sem Tob
Las trescientas	Juan de Mena
Coplas por la muerte de su padre	Jorge Manrique
La Celestina	Fernando de Rojas

2. **Paleografía:**
 Infórmate sobre el objetivo de esta ciencia y su importancia para el estudio de la Literatura.
Arte de leer la escritura y signos de los libros y documentos antiguos.

3. En el texto transcrito por Dámaso Alonso, página 239, observa la evolución de estos vocablos antiguos y explica brevemente en qué consiste el cambio:

aiutorio ayuda, apócope
salbatore salvador, pérdida de la «e» final
siéculos siglos, conversión de gutural explosiva k en g.

NOMBRE: _____ FECHA: _____

Pic. 1. Equipo SM., *Solucionario de fichas para Lenguaje 8*, Madrid, SM (sin fecha), p. 23-31. Estamos ante otro ejemplo de metodología positivista predominante en la educación literaria española de los años setenta y ochenta.

romance para concluir la Edad Media. En cuanto a la literatura renacentista se refiere, ningún manual se olvida de Garcilaso, de las aventuras de Lázaro de Tormes, de Cervantes o de las andanzas de la vieja Celestina. Cuando se exponen las principales características del periodo barroco, los autores que jamás abandonan el canon literario pedagógico son Quevedo, Góngora, Lope de Vega y Calderón. En el XVIII Moratín es uno de los imprescindibles y comparte palco con Samaniego y a veces con Iriarte. Espronceda, Bécquer,

Zorrilla y Larra representan el romanticismo español. Galdós, Clarín y Pardo Bazán el realismo decimonónico. Ya en el siglo XX los escritores de la conocida Generación del 98 y de la posterior Generación del 27 ocupan todo el espacio reservado a los grandes autores del panorama literario español contemporáneo.

El desmesurado desarrollo editorial que distribuye y organiza los contenidos curriculares, y que además programa de manera minuciosa – y hasta excesiva – las diferentes tareas y actividades del alumnado en las aulas, caracteriza el periodo de la producción manualística de estas dos décadas. Ejemplo de todo ello serán no solo los numerosos manuales comercializados que analizaremos en las siguientes páginas, sino también las abundantes fichas para el trabajo del alumno editadas, los solucionarios correspondientes a esas fichas de trabajo primeras repletas de ejercicios prácticos o las actividades de los manuales *principales*, así como los diferentes volúmenes para el control de la evaluación, además de los guiones didácticos que las casas editoriales pusieron al servicio del profesorado, entre otras propuestas varias. La actitud *facilitadora* que adoptan los editores irá *in crescendo* hasta límites inimaginables. Por otra parte, sabemos que las diferentes propuestas editoriales no son un elemento prescriptivo ni tampoco obligatorio en la concreción curricular y educativa, pero sí son un factor determinante en su diseño y hasta en las reformas educativas que pretende ganar adeptos a cambio de simplificar y hacer más cómodo los trabajos del aula.

a. *Primera tendencia: supeditación de la literatura al estudio comunicativo del lenguaje*

Los manuales escolares publicados por las editoriales más conocidas y de mayor difusión en España como es el caso de Anaya⁴⁶, Santillana⁴⁷ y SM⁴⁸ en 1972 y 1973 van a supeditar el estudio de la literatura a la enseñanza de

⁴⁶ A. Fernández Girón, *El mundo de las palabras*, 7º y 8º curso, Salamanca, Anaya, 1972. M. Lozano Fuego, *Lengua española 7º*, *Libro de consulta del alumno*, Madrid, Anaya, 1975. F. Lázaro Carreter, *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 7º EGB*, *Vademécum del Profesor*, Madrid, Anaya, 1973. El libro de texto que corresponde a esta guía didáctica se seguirá editando hasta el año de 1976. En 1977 dicho volumen (el editado como libro de consulta para el alumno) presenta algunas diferencias (siempre mínimas) en su contenido. Esta última edición se estaría reeditando al menos hasta 1981, fecha de reimpresión de uno de los ejemplares localizado. En el volumen *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 8º EGB* del año 77 (que se estará editando hasta el año 82, fecha de la última edición que hemos manejado) sí se propone una historia de la literatura desde el siglo XII hasta el XX con la inclusión, en apéndice, de «otras literaturas» (F. Lázaro Carreter, *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 8º EGB*, Madrid, Anaya, 1977 (ed. 1981), pp. 314-315).

⁴⁷ A. Ramos, L. Amigo, C. Fernández, M^a.T. Martínez Esteban, M^a.L. Melcón, F. Plaza del Río, M^a.I. Plaza del Río, F. Viera, J. Viera, *Norma 7. Lenguaje, Libro de consulta*, Madrid, Santillana, 1973 y *Norma 8. Lenguaje, Libro de consulta*, Madrid, Santillana, 1973.

⁴⁸ A. Ruiz de Ojeda, A. Pérez Asenjo, C. Pedrosa Izarra, M. Ramiro Valderrama, *Lenguaje 7º EGB*, Madrid, SM, 1973.

la lengua española. Panorama que no difiere demasiado de las medianas y pequeñas editoriales escolares de la época como Narcea⁴⁹ o de la propuesta editorial que Bruño ofrece en 1978⁵⁰ y de la que Magisterio Español edita en el año 1981⁵¹.

El volumen *El mundo de las palabras* de Anaya⁵² se edita para dos momentos escolares distintos: tanto para séptimo como para octavo curso de la EGB. Tal vez pudiéramos considerar este primer manual un texto escolar de transición; es decir, el que resulta tras la aplicación de los nuevos cambios de producción editorial sobre una tradición escolar que no había necesitado un manual diferente y diferenciado hasta entonces para cada uno de los cursos académicos, ni tampoco para cada una de las materias. Se trata de un texto que ofrece «un estudio elemental y resumido de la literatura española a través de alguno de sus autores y sus obras más importantes»⁵³, a saber: el Cid Campeador, Gonzalo de Berceo, Jorge Manrique, Garcilaso, Cervantes, Lope de Vega y Juan Ramón Jiménez. Este manual presenta un panorama de lo literario restrictivo y anecdótico. El editado en el año 1975⁵⁴ por esta misma casa editorial no ofrece una historia literaria pero sí brinda a los estudiantes un conjunto de textos en todas las lenguas constitucionales, en diferentes dialectos (Pic. 2) o variedades lingüísticas (como es el caso del extremeño o el murciano) y en otras lenguas no nacionales para el ejercicio del comentario de texto.

⁴⁹ M.C. Barrado, M.D. Echeverría, *Comunicación: lengua y habla*, Lengua 7º EGB, Madrid, Narcea, 1973. No sucede lo mismo, como veremos unas páginas más adelante, con el ejemplar que publica esta editorial para el octavo curso (M.C. Barrado, *Comunicación: lengua y habla a través de los textos 8º EGB*, Madrid, Narcea, 1976 (ed. 1979). Para ese mismo año Narcea edita otro volumen: *Lenguaje. Palabra y encuentros 8º EGB*, donde se proyecta un «acercamiento a los hombres de la generación del 27 a través de sus poemas y de su personalidad, [...] a la persona y a los poemas de Gerardo Diego, Vicente Aleixandre y Jorge Guillén», y también a Salinas, Cernuda, Dámaso Alonso, Julio Verne, Zorrilla, Cadalso, Cervantes, Lope y Don Juan Manuel, desde el biografismo y la perspectiva positivista (F. Velázquez, M^a.S. Fernández, C.R. García, M. Molina, *Lenguaje. Palabra y encuentros 8º EGB*, Madrid, Narcea, 1979, p. 5).

⁵⁰ J. Alcázar López, P. Alcázar López *et al.*, *Lengua española*, 7º EGB, Madrid, Bruño, 1978. En el ejemplar para octavo ya sí cabe una «breve historia de la Literatura» con mención a las literaturas catalana y gallega del siglo XX (J. Alcázar López, P. Alcázar López *et al.*, *Lengua española*, 8º EGB, Madrid, Bruño, 1978, pp. 345-349). Sin embargo, en una edición mucho más sucinta, encontramos una historia literaria desde la Edad Media (desde *Mío Cid* o «primer monumento literario español») hasta entrado el siglo XX, donde no hay ninguna huella de cualquier otra literatura que no sea la escrita en español por españoles, a excepción de Darío, escritor imprescindible para poder entender el Modernismo en literatura (A. Labajo Pelló, *Lengua española*, 8º EGB, Madrid, Bruño, 1974, p. 4).

⁵¹ No hay un planteamiento historicista de la literatura. Sí algunos fragmentos de textos literarios para apoyar el estudio de la lengua y para ejercitar al alumno en la metodología del comentario (F. Manuel Artigot, L. Artigot, T. Solans Javaloy, J.I. Martínez, *Lenguaje 7º EGB. Libro del alumno*, Madrid, Magisterio Español, 1981).

⁵² Fernández Girón, *El mundo de las palabras*, 7º y 8º curso, cit.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵⁴ Lozano Fuego, *Lengua española 7º*, *Libro de consulta del alumno*, cit.



(Dialecto murciano)

Cansera

—¿Pa qué quíes que vaya? Pa ver cuatro espigas
arrollás y pegás a la tierra;
pa ver los sarmientos ruines y mustios
y esnúas las cepas
sin un grano d'uva,
ni tampoco, siquidá, sombra de ella...
pa ver el barranco,
pa ver la laera,
sin una matuja... ¡Pa ver que se embisten
de pelás, las peñas!...
Anda tú, si quieres,
que a mí no me quea
ni un soplo d'aliendo
ni una onza de juerza,
ni ganas de verme
ni de que me mienten siquidá la cosecha...
Anda tú, si quieres, que yo pué que nunca
pise más la senda,
ni pué que la pase si no es que entre cuatro
ya muerto me llevan...
Anda tú, si quieres...
No he d'ir por mi gusto, si en crus me lo ruegas,
por esa sendica por ande se jueron
pa no golver nunca, tantas cosas güenas...
Esperanzas, quererres, suores...
¡Tó se jué por ella!...
Por esa sendica se marchó aquel hijo
que murió en la guerra...
Por esa sendica se jué la alegría.
¡Por esa sendica vinieron las penas! ...
No te canses que no me remuevo;
anda tú, si quieres, y éjame que duerma.
¡A ver si es pa siempre! ... ¡Si no m'espertara!
¡Tengo una cansera! ...

VICENTE MEDINA 1866-1937

44

Pic. 2. M. Lozano Fuego, *Lengua española 7º, Libro de consulta del alumno*, Madrid, Anaya, 1975, p. 44. De manera extraordinaria el manual ofrece textos en las variedades dialectales del español. En este caso, Vicente Medina será uno de los escritores reivindicados para la construcción de la identidad regional murciana.

Teoría y práctica de la Lengua 7º redactado por el Equipo Didáctico *Lengua y Estructura* que dirigía Fernando Lázaro Carreter, publicado en 1973 y también en 1981⁵⁵, utiliza diferentes fragmentos o composiciones de autores de las letras españolas para ilustrar y proponer una mejor comprensión de la exposición

⁵⁵ Carreter, *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 7º EGB, Vademécum del Profesor*, cit.

teórica, cuando esta lo requiere. En cada una de las unidades didácticas se sugiere un pequeño fragmento narrativo de autores como Dámaso Alonso, Pardo Bazán, Baroja, Ramón J. Sender, Arturo Barea, Borges, Blasco Ibáñez, Juan Ramón Jiménez, el *Poema de Mio Cid*, el Arcipreste de Hita, Wenceslao Fernández-Flores, José Hierro, Bécquer, Cela, Valle-Inclán, Cervantes, Darío, Azorín, Unamuno, Muñoz Seca, los hermanos Machado, Palacio Valdés o León Felipe, entre otros, para ejercitar al alumnado en esta técnica del comentario. No existe una propuesta de historia literaria. Solo en el apéndice se atienden algunos aspectos relacionados con el especial carácter del lenguaje literario o se expone, ingenuamente, la supuesta necesidad de estas manifestaciones literarias para la formación de la sociedad contemporánea. El manual ofrece, muy esquemáticamente, los principales acontecimientos de la literatura española, señalando a todos aquellos «grandes maestros, algunos de los cuales siguen escribiendo para gloria de nuestras letras»⁵⁶. Pareciera además que esta casa editorial, como la mayoría de las grandes y muy grandes editoriales, se sirve de la firma del conocido lingüista y filólogo Lázaro Carreter para legitimar y dotar de cierto prestigio académico al volumen de la colección y a la empresa editorial misma. Estrategia de mercado que proporciona cierta seguridad a sus usuarios (tanto al profesorado como al alumnado), garantizando de esta manera un amplio y rentable volumen de ventas. Personalidades como la de Lázaro Carreter, que parecen mediar entre el mundo académico y el escolar, deberían ser consideradas con más atención para percibir la intrahistoria de lo literario escolar en el caso español.

Los libros *Norma 7* y *Norma 8*⁵⁷ elaborados como libros de consulta para los últimos cursos de la EGB fueron publicados por el Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas de la editorial Santillana en 1973 y 1974 bajo la dirección de Antonio Ramos. Estas propuestas quedaban divididas en tres grandes bloques de contenidos: sintaxis, morfología y poética, empleándose para esta última ejemplos y fragmentos de autores españoles considerados canónicos. Sin embargo, sendos manuales llevaban de la mano un volumen antológico, *Senda 7*⁵⁸, para el primer caso y *Senda 8*⁵⁹, para el segundo, que se detenían extensamente en el hecho literario desde una perspectiva histórica excepcional. Estos textos serán considerados más adelante.

⁵⁶ F. Lázaro Carreter, *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 7º EGB*, Madrid, Anaya, 1977 (ed. 1981), p. 286.

⁵⁷ A. Ramos et al., *Norma 7. Lenguaje, Libro de consulta*, cit. y *Norma 8. Lenguaje, Libro de consulta*, cit.

⁵⁸ A. Ramos, L. Amigo, C. Fernández, M^a.T. Martínez Esteban, M^a.L. Melcón, F. Plaza del Río, M^a.I. Plaza del Río, F. Viera, J. Viera, *Senda 7, Literatura I. Libro de consulta*, Madrid, Santillana, 1973.

⁵⁹ A. Ramos, F. Viera, L. Amigo, J. Asensi, C. Fernández, M^a. T. Martínez Esteban, M^a. L. Melcón, F. Plaza del Río, M^a. I. Plaza del Río, J. Viera, *Senda 8. Literatura II, Libro de consulta*, Madrid, Santillana, 1974.

Los textos utilizados en los manuales no hablarán de sí mismos, ni tampoco por sí mismos, sino que serán hablados por los autores del volumen escolar y por el propio profesorado como usuario de la herramienta. Y hablarán, por lo tanto, de la época en la que estos manuales fueron compuestos. Las obras literarias son entonces otro producto, con demasiada frecuencia muy distinto al original.

Volviendo al asunto de la supeditación de lo literario a lo lingüístico se corrobora la falta de protagonismo de las historias literarias si analizamos los *currícula* escolares de este momento educativo. Pero es que en los objetivos generales para toda la etapa (6º, 7º y 8º curso) tampoco se menciona de manera explícita la inclusión de las historias literarias en los programas escolares:

- Comprensión oral.
- Expresión oral.
- Comprensión escrita.
- Expresión escrita.
- Formación intelectual y humana⁶⁰.

Es decir, las editoriales no tienen por qué ofrecer manuales al mercado que contengan la historia de las letras españolas. Solo al programar el desarrollo de la formación intelectual y humana en los alumnos se destacan algunas capacidades que sí tienen que ver con el asunto literario desde un punto de vista general, esto es, sin ningún tipo de restricción o metodología historiográfica. Veamos:

- Comprensión lectora:
[...]
- Desarrollo de la actitud crítica ante los medios de expresión escrita (periódicos, revistas, folletos, libros...)
- Formación científica y humanística:
[...]
- Actitud reflexiva ante el uso idiomático y conocimiento de su trascendencia como patrimonio cultural de los pueblos hispánicos.
[...]
- Capacidad para estimar y comentar los diversos valores de un texto literario: morales, sociales, ideológicos, estéticos.
- Conocimiento de los textos literarios capitales de la historia cultural española.
- Educación para la convivencia a través de la lectura, el diálogo y el trabajo en equipo⁶¹.

⁶⁰ Orden por la que se prorrogan y completan las orientaciones pedagógicas para la Educación General Básica (BOE de 2 de julio de 1971), «Revista Vida escolar», nn. 128-130, 1971, p. 17.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

b. *Segunda tendencia: la historia literaria como «partenaire»*

No obstante, y a pesar de que todos los libros escolares editados para el tardofranquismo en España tienen como referencia las mismas orientaciones pedagógicas mencionadas, encontramos otros manuales que, aunque primando lo lingüístico en detrimento de lo literario, deciden optar por la presentación de una historia de la literatura perfectamente definida y delimitada. Pero, si el paradigma de lo histórico no se menciona en el *currículum*, ¿por qué se manifiesta en los textos? Es más, si no encontramos ningún tipo de indicación, ¿cómo es que hay una perfecta coincidencia entre los «textos literarios capitales de la historia de la cultura española» (tal y como se explicita en las Orientaciones Pedagógicas) propuestos por las distintas casas editoriales y sus autores? Sin embargo, lo que sucede en la mayoría de los manuales es que se interpretan esos textos literarios capitales como los textos escritos en español y producidos únicamente dentro de las fronteras estatales. A pesar de ello, la imprecisa referencia a un canon literario-pedagógico comprende, en nuestra opinión, todas aquellas manifestaciones con voluntad estética relevantes (según el juicio de unos cuantos sujetos en algún momento de la historia) que están escritas en cualquiera de las lenguas españolas; que es lo mismo que decir los textos literarios escritos en cualquier lengua oficial del Estado español. Es más, también podría incluirse en este paradigma cualquier manifestación literaria no nacional.

4. *La historia literaria nacional castellano-española*

Sirvan de ejemplo para el primero de los casos (para interpretar que los «textos literarios capitales de la historia de la cultura española» son los textos escritos en español y producidos únicamente dentro de las fronteras estatales) los manuales que comercializan las editoriales SM en 1972⁶², Magisterio Español en 1973⁶³, los textos de Narcea⁶⁴ y SM⁶⁵ en el 76, los editados por Miñón⁶⁶ en 1975 y 1977, el de Teide para 1978⁶⁷, las obras publicadas por los

⁶² A.F. Ruiz de Ojeda, A. Pérez Asenjo, C. Pedrosa Izarra, A. Rodríguez Llanillo, *Lenguaje 8º EGB*, Madrid, SM, 1972 (ed. 1974).

⁶³ F.S. García, J. Viedma, L. López, *Conquista del lenguaje. Libro de consulta octavo curso*, Madrid, Magisterio Español, 1973.

⁶⁴ M.C. Barrado, *Comunicación: Lengua y habla a través de los textos*, 8º EGB, Madrid, Narcea, 1976 (ed. 1979).

⁶⁵ H. Ichaso *et al.*, *Lengua española 7*, Madrid, SM, 1976 (ed. 1980) y T. Villarreal, *Lengua Española 8*, Madrid, SM, 1976 (ed. 1981).

⁶⁶ C. Hernández, C. Herrero, *Lenguaje 7 EGB*, Valladolid, Miñón, 1977; C. Hernández, C. Herrero, *Lenguaje 8 EGB*, Valladolid, Miñón, 1975 (ed. 1978).

⁶⁷ A. de Diego, C. López, J. Tusón, *Lenguaje 7º EGB*, Barcelona, Teide, 1978 (ed. 1985).

Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez para 1974⁶⁸ y 1979⁶⁹, el volumen de Edelvives de 1980⁷⁰ o el de Everest para 1981⁷¹.

Con el título de *Conquista del lenguaje*⁷² la editorial Magisterio Español publica en el año de 1973 un manual escolar destinado a la enseñanza de la lengua y la literatura para el octavo curso de la EGB. La palabra *conquista*, entendida como la ganancia que se obtiene mediante una operación de guerra o tras un importante esfuerzo, actualiza las diferentes victorias territoriales, religiosas, políticas y lingüísticas de la historia patria. La superioridad de la fe cristiana, la imposición de lo que serían las mimbres para el establecimiento de un Estado único, así como la homogeneidad lingüística son claves de la historia literaria nacional-castellanista transmitidas a través de unos textos contrarios a la pluralidad y a la riqueza que le son propias a la heterogeneidad cultural.

El manual *Comunicación: Lengua y habla a través de los textos*⁷³ de la editorial Narcea para el octavo curso de la EGB parte de la consideración de la lengua como vehículo y como medio de expresión y comunicación. Mientras que el dedicado al séptimo curso únicamente se detiene en los aspectos métricos y retóricos de esa especial realización del lenguaje, el libro de texto para el último curso de la EGB recorrerá «toda la historia de la literatura española, desde los orígenes hasta nuestros días» o, lo que es lo mismo, desde la aparición de la literatura romance en España hasta la producción de la primera mitad del siglo XX. Se detiene también, aunque sin orden ni concierto, en algunos de los clásicos de la literatura universal. No hay cabida para textos escritos en el resto de las lenguas constitucionales. Aunque creemos que la propuesta de esta editorial en cuestión (según los diferentes estudios sobre el mercado editorial del libro de texto ya realizados⁷⁴) no tuvo la misma repercusión en el mercado editorial que las de otras casas editoriales de mayor producción y ventas para estos mismos años, sí es un buen ejemplo que corrobora la existencia de un canon pedagógico en el imaginario de los editores, independientemente del tamaño que tenga la empresa.

⁶⁸ J. Noriega Álvarez, M. Rivas Navarro, *Para ti. Lengua 8º EGB. Libro de consulta*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1974.

⁶⁹ B. Bilbao, M^a. I. Álvarez, M. Arbesu, J. Noriega, *Lengua 7º*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1979.

⁷⁰ R. Blanco Carril, J.M. Rozas, D. Ynduráin, *Lengua y literatura española 7*, Zaragoza, Editorial Luis Vives, 1980.

⁷¹ J. Arribas Serrano, Adrián Larrosa *et al.*, *Lengua castellana 7*, León, Everest, 1981 (ed. 1983).

⁷² García, Viedma, López, *Conquista del lenguaje. Libro de consulta octavo curso*, cit.

⁷³ Barrado, *Comunicación: Lengua y habla a través de los textos 8º EGB*, cit., p. 5.

⁷⁴ M. Beas Miranda, S. Montes Moreno, *El boom de la edición escolar: producción, comercio y consumo de libros de enseñanza*, en A. Escolano Benito (coord.), *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España: de la posguerra a la reforma educativa*, Madrid, Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1998, pp. 73-102.

La editorial Miñón propone para séptimo⁷⁵ un manual organizado en treinta unidades didácticas, de las cuales dedica la quinta parte de cinco de ellas al estudio de las realizaciones literarias propias de la lengua española (desde el medievo hasta el siglo XX). El mismo planteamiento ofrece para el último curso⁷⁶, aunque en esta ocasión lo hará de una manera más detenida y amplia.

El texto *Lengua 7º* que editan los Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez⁷⁷ invierte el orden cronológico positivista del relato. Inicia con el siglo XX de Valle-Inclán, Benavente u Ortega y Gasset y concluye con la Edad Media de Jorge Manrique, Don Juan Manuel o el Cid Campeador. Sin embargo, el manual *Para ti* del año 74⁷⁸ no presenta ninguna novedad: sigue siendo un habitual texto escolar que ofrece una educación literaria pegada al historicismo y al comentario de texto donde caben las obras escritas en español tanto del Estado nacional como, de manera esporádica, las escritas en español por autores de la otra orilla del Atlántico.

La editorial Teide⁷⁹, por su parte, opta por presentar un panorama de la literatura española-castellana desde la Edad Media hasta el Siglo de Oro únicamente para este penúltimo curso de la EGB.

SM, a diferencia de lo que sucedía en su propuesta del año 73, también publica una historia literaria al uso en el manual para octavo curso del año 72⁸⁰ y los textos para el séptimo y el octavo curso del año 76⁸¹.

El manual de la editorial Edelvives⁸² y el que comercializa Everest⁸³ para séptimo curso continúan con la tradición de incluir una historia literaria desde su origen y hasta el Barroco. Se puede observar la primacía del comentario de textos «como método más apropiado para el estudio de la literatura»⁸⁴.

El hecho de que el canon literario-pedagógico con el que se sugiere trabajar no se concreta en los programas nos hace pensar que se deja a la voluntad del profesorado y de las editoriales su libre concreción o que, por el contrario – y esta pareciera ser la interpretación con más fortuna –, el corpus textual en cuestión responde a una tradición arraigada en el imaginario de los españoles que no necesita de ningún mecanismo de fijación o sistematización legal. Curiosamente la totalidad de las editoriales va a coincidir en la elección de un corpus textual de *imprescindibles*, sin necesidad de que se especifiquen a nivel curricular los contenidos literarios. La existencia de unos mínimos (o máximos) comunes en todas estas historias de la literatura sugiere la presencia de una

⁷⁵ Hernández, Herrero, *Lenguaje 7 EGB*, cit.

⁷⁶ Hernández, Herrero, *Lenguaje 8 EGB*, cit.

⁷⁷ Bilbao, Álvarez, Arbesu, Noriega, *Lengua 7º*, cit.

⁷⁸ Noriega Álvarez, Rivas Navarro, *Para ti. Lengua 8º EGB. Libro de consulta*, cit.

⁷⁹ De Diego, López, Tusón, *Lenguaje 7º EGB*, cit.

⁸⁰ Ruiz de Ojeda, Pérez Asenjo, Pedrosa Izarra, Rodríguez Llanillo, *Lenguaje 8º EGB*, cit.

⁸¹ Ichaso *et al.*, *Lengua española 7*, cit. y T. Villarreal, *Lengua Española 8*, cit.

⁸² Blanco Carril *et al.*, *Lengua y literatura española 7*, cit., pp. 235-236.

⁸³ Arribas Serrano, Larrosa *et al.*, *Lengua castellana 7*, cit.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

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Pic. 3 y 4. M^a. B. Rivas, M. Rivas Navarro, M. Arbesú, J. Noriega Álvarez, *Antología literaria 8º EGB. Selección de textos comentados*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1974, pp. 141-142. Desde el Cid hasta Delibes (aunque tal vez se pudiera prescindir de Moreto, Meléndez Valdés, Pereda, Blasco Ibáñez y Palacio Valdés) el manual antología la mayoría de los imprescindibles del canon literario escolar español de finales del siglo XX.

tradición educativa firmemente establecida (de otra manera sería impensable alcanzar un mínimo denominador común en la educación literaria de todos los estudiantes).

En lo que se refiere a las propuestas que se sirven de dos volúmenes para la exposición del contenido las antologías literarias que los Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez editan en 1974⁸⁵, las de Anaya en 1973⁸⁶ y 1976⁸⁷ – antología que sería reimpresa hasta el año de 1981 según nuestra investigación – responden en sus planteamientos a las mínimas exigencias del *currículum* en lo que a la educación literaria se refiere sin grandes ambiciones (Pics. 3 y 4).

⁸⁵ M^a.B. Rivas, M. Rivas Navarro, M. Arbesú, J. Noriega Álvarez, *Antología literaria 8º EGB. Selección de textos comentados*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1974.

⁸⁶ Equipo Anaya, *Mundo Nuevo 7. Antología Histórico-Literaria*, Madrid, Anaya, 1973.

⁸⁷ *Mundo Nuevo 8. Antología Histórico-Literaria*, Madrid, Anaya, 1976. Equipo Anaya, *Mundo Nuevo 7º. Lecturas y géneros literarios*, Madrid, Anaya, 1976 (ed. 1981).

5. Una historia literaria incluyente y plural

Para el segundo de los casos, es decir, para aproximarnos a la concepción de lo literario desde una perspectiva incluyente y plural, la editorial Luis Vives (posteriormente Edelvives) en *Mi lenguaje 7* del año 1977⁸⁸ decide incluir una historia de la literatura española desde el Medievo hasta el siglo XVIII sin dejar de mencionar los primeros textos de la lírica gallega, la lírica catalana primitiva, la figura de Ausias March o la prosa medieval de Raimundo Lulio, Arnau de Vilanova y *Tirant lo Blanch* de Joanot Martorell⁸⁹. El manual *Mi lenguaje 8*⁹⁰ de la misma editorial tendrá en cuenta, de manera breve, la producción contemporánea hispanoamericana, además de lo escrito durante lo que se conoce como renacimiento de la literatura catalana y gallega⁹¹; para finalmente dedicar la última unidad didáctica a los aspectos más relevantes de la poesía catalana y gallega contemporáneas⁹². Se menciona además, aunque mínimamente, la existencia de otras manifestaciones literarias escritas en euskera⁹³.

El texto *Teoría y práctica de la lengua 8* de la editorial Anaya⁹⁴ expone brevemente los principales acontecimientos de lo que se ha acordado denominar historia literaria española, desde los inicios hasta las manifestaciones de principios del siglo XX, o de lo que artificialmente en el panorama educativo y literario se conoce como «generación del veintisiete». Los momentos históricos literarios se van yuxtaponiendo a lo largo del volumen sin ni tan siquiera estar acompañados de ejercicios o propuestas de comentario; algo contradictorio cuando pensamos en la *batalla* que el director del manual escolar estaba llevando a cabo para cambiar la realidad metodológica en las aulas. Los apéndices finales reseñan brevemente algunas de las manifestaciones literarias en catalán y gallego producidas durante los siglos XIX y XX. El texto refiere además la existencia de una literatura *diferente* que se desarrolla «en otras regiones de habla castellana». Una literatura «que trataba de exaltar sus valores propios» y que recibe el nombre de «literatura castellano regional» compuesta en «un castellano vulgar, con dialectalismos y modismos propios de la región»⁹⁵. Esta novedosa distinción podría estar relacionada con el mismo principio que todas las Comunidades Autónomas reivindicarían, cada una a su tiempo, como expresión literaria propia y diferenciada tras la aprobación de la Constitución de 1978.

⁸⁸ R. Blanco Carril, M^aF. Bertín, *Mi lenguaje 7*, Zaragoza, Luis Vives, 1977.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-315.

⁹⁰ J. López Facal, L. Blanco Pérez, *Mi lenguaje 8*, Zaragoza, Editorial Luis Vives, 1977.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-309.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 328-331.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁹⁴ Carreter, *Teoría y práctica de la lengua*, cit.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

Entre los escritores surgidos en la posguerra cabe citar a SEBASTIÁN SALAVERRÍA (n. 1915), autor de una novela de carácter autobiográfico, *Neronek tirako mixkin* ("Seguramente fui yo el que disparé los balazos"), premio "Guipúzcoa" en 1964, y los poetas de tema social y de protesta: GABRIEL ARESTE (n. 1933), también autor dramático, y JAVIER LETE (n. 1944).

LECTURA

<p>Ourense na lembranza</p> <p>[...] Si digo Ourense¹ xurde na lembranza un tempo adolescente, unha voz maternal e confidente, unha perdida luz, unha arelanza. Un fume de magosto² rubindo paseniño cara un ceo mansiño. Un recién nado mosto agasallando a boca bulangueira. Un rebumbo de berros e cantigas, unhas verbas antigas, un mito, unha fogueira.</p> <p>Ourense, frol que o meu desterro³ aruma, arpa de soedá no vento erguida, lonxano Edén, saudade estremecida, canle de señarzá, torre de escuma.</p> <p>E vexo cada día unha dourada túnica de ensófos, un fermoso perfil, unhos risófos touzales de amencer con melodía.</p> <p>A Ourense vou por todas as vereas, pois teño ali o meu sangue e teño ali as veas da miña poesía. E da melancolía que me abrangue.</p> <p>C. E. FERREIRO</p>	<p>Ourense en el recuerdo</p> <p>Si digo Ourense¹ brota en el recuerdo un tiempo adolescente, una voz maternal y confidente, una perdida luz, un ansia. Un humo de magosto² subiendo lentamente hacia un cielo suave. Un recién nacido mosto agasajando la boca bullanguera. Un retozar de gritos y canciones. unas palabras antiguas, un mito, una hoguera.</p> <p>Ourense, flor que mi destierro³ perfuma, arpa de soledad en el viento erguida, lejano Edén, saudade conmovida, cauce de añoranza, torre de espuma.</p> <p>Y veo cada día una dorada túnica de ensueños, un hermoso perfil, unos risueños boscajes de amanecer con melodía.</p> <p>A Ourense voy por todas las veredas, pues tengo allí mi sangre y tengo allí las venas de mi poesía. Y de la melancolía que me alcanza.</p> <p>Traducción de C. E. FERREIRO</p>
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1. C. E. Ferreiro vivió algún tiempo y estudió el bachillerato en Ourense. Nació en Celanova, pueblo de esa provincia. 2. Magosto: fuego que se hace en el campo para asar castañas. Los ourensanos son muy dados a festejar el día de San Martín (11 de noviembre) saliendo al campo donde pronto innumerables humos denotan los magostos que se han encendido. 3. El poema fue escrito en Venezuela.

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Pic. 5. J. Alcina, J. Saura, *Lengua Viva*-7, Barcelona, Vicens-Básica, 1979, p. 246. El volumen regala a los alumnos de todo el territorio nacional la posibilidad de descubrir los principales hitos de la literatura gallega en su versión original acompañados de la traducción al español.

En el año 79 Vicens-Básica (hoy Vicens-Vives) publica *Lengua Viva* 7⁹⁶. En el libro se dedica un importante espacio «al estudio del hecho lingüístico, así como al análisis de los principales artificios expresivos, elementos básicos y necesarios para la ulterior comprensión del fenómeno literario en su perspectiva histórica»⁹⁷. Aquí caben, además de «los imprescindibles de las letras españolas de España hasta el siglo XVIII», Ramón Llull y el catalán, las jarchas mozárabes – entendidas como las más antiguas manifestaciones líricas en lengua vulgar

⁹⁶ J. Alcina, J. Saura, *Lengua viva* 7, Barcelona, Vicens-Básica, 1979 (2ª edición).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

que se conocen –, Dante y la poesía italiana del siglo XIII, y hasta la producción literaria del siglo XVIII en Europa: Corneille, Racine o Molière; junto al teatro de Shakespeare.

El canon de autores que se nos ofrece en el manual de esta misma editorial para el último curso de la etapa de educación obligatoria en el año 1978 «abarca desde el siglo XVIII hasta nuestros días, incluyéndose en ella, además de los caracteres esenciales de los distintos movimientos literarios, un estudio de los autores más destacados dentro de cada tendencia»⁹⁸ del panorama nacional. Los temas 29 y 30 están dedicados al estudio de las literaturas catalanas y gallega respectivamente (Pic. 5). En ellos se ofrece al lector un fragmento del texto original y su traducción al español. Se apunta brevemente en este último que también existen manifestaciones en lengua vasca. Los autores citados son Domingo Aguirre, José María de Aguirre, conocido como «Lizardi», Nicolás Ormachea, Sebastián Salaverría y Javier Lete.

La editorial Anaya, para el año 1975⁹⁹ presenta un amplio panorama literario que abarca las literaturas hindú, hebrea, clásica y las diferentes literaturas medievales europeas, así como los textos más representativos del Renacimiento, del Barroco, del periodo Neoclásico y de los siglos XIX y XX en Europa. La propuesta de Teide en 1976¹⁰⁰ solo reúne, además de la tradición castellano-española, algunos textos escritos en catalán.

Más allá de lo expuesto hasta el momento también hay otras editoriales que prefieren presentar su propuesta haciendo uso de dos volúmenes: uno dedicado al estudio de la lengua que, en contadas ocasiones, puede esbozar aspectos teóricos de la literatura, y otro volumen que se encarga de presentar al alumnado la literatura a modo de antología o de historia literaria. Las propuestas de Santillana publicadas en 1973 y en 1974¹⁰¹ fueron una gran innovación y una gran excepción a lo que venía editándose y comercializándose en aquellos años, no solo por el amplio y aperturista tratamiento de la historia literaria – aunque no tengan en cuenta las otras literaturas escritas en español, por ejemplo –; sino también por su extensión – se trataba de unos manuales enciclopédicos que rozaban las 600 páginas en sus primeras ediciones –.

La misma editorial llegó a ofrecer un planteamiento insólito en una de sus ediciones de 1977¹⁰² donde por primera vez encontramos composiciones de autores catalanes, gallegos y vascos, o fragmentos de estas, escritos en su lengua original, en estas otras lenguas españolas hasta la fecha nunca consideradas en la

⁹⁸ J. Alcina, J. Saura, *Lengua española viva* 8, Barcelona, Vicens-Básica, 1978, presentación.

⁹⁹ M. Lozano Fuego, *Lengua española 8º. Libro de consulta del alumno*, Madrid, Anaya, 1975.

¹⁰⁰ T. Villarreal, *Lengua Española* 8, Madrid, SM, 1976 (ed. 1981).

¹⁰¹ Ramos *et al.*, *Senda 7, Literatura I. Libro de consulta*, cit. y Ramos *et al.*, *Senda 8, Literatura II. Libro de consulta*, cit.

¹⁰² Viera, Asensi, Mínguez, Plaza, Aniano Rodríguez, Viera, Viera, *Senda 8. Libro de Lectura*, cit.

manualística analizada, con su correspondiente traducción – o normalización – al español¹⁰³. Vicens-Vives lo pondrá en práctica en 1978.

Entre los años 1974 y 1976 (según los ejemplares encontrados) Anaya¹⁰⁴ hizo circular una nueva antología de textos con el subtítulo de *Literatura universal* en la que, extrañamente, no aparecen demasiados autores españoles. Están representadas las literaturas orientales, la literatura clásica y lo que entendemos por literaturas occidentales desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo XX. Sorprende, además, los abundantes textos de la literatura hispanoamericana compendiados.

La propuesta que ofrece Everest para el año 1977¹⁰⁵ convierte la historia de la literatura reunida en historia universal unas veces, en occidental otras, o en la historia de la literatura española (desde una perspectiva amplia y plural) donde también caben las referencias a la literatura hispanoamericana contemporánea.

6. Coda final

Durante la primera reforma moderna educativa en España, y en lo que a la enseñanza literaria se refiere, el *currículum* recomendado en las Orientaciones Pedagógicas de 1971 ni planteaba un estudio histórico de la literatura ni tampoco hacía referencia a un canon pedagógico concreto. El estudio de la creación literaria y su marco histórico y cultural, junto con el análisis sistemático de algunos textos literarios no suponía, en un primer momento, que el panorama artístico debiera restringirse al ámbito de lo nacional únicamente, pues aunque la materia se denominaba *Lengua nacional*, las prescripciones curriculares no limitaron el estudio de lo literario al panorama estatal. De hecho, a pesar de que este *currículum* se generase en el tardofranquismo, su desarrollo sería el más aperturista de los aprobados hasta la fecha¹⁰⁶.

El auge tecnicista que inundó la sociedad española de los años setenta en adelante también llevó a que los teóricos de la literatura se preguntaran por su utilidad o necesidad. A la sociedad capitalista de aquel entonces no parecía interesarle invertir dedicación y dineros para luego obtener un producto

¹⁰³ Para un estudio pormenorizado de las propuestas editoriales de Santillana durante este período véase Mora-Luna, *La educación literaria en la España contemporánea*, cit., pp. 332-370.

¹⁰⁴ Equipo Anaya, *Mundo nuevo 8º. Literatura universal: historia y textos*, Salamanca, Anaya, 1974.

¹⁰⁵ Equipo Lenguaje Everest, *Lector 8, Antología literaria*, León, Everest, 1977.

¹⁰⁶ Si estableciésemos un paralelismo con Portugal podríamos observar que los programas escolares y los manuales de su escuela primaria también traslucían un viso de renovación, de libertad, a pesar de que, como también sucede en el caso español que hemos analizado, estas transformaciones hubieran sido concebidas durante un período histórico dictatorial. Para más detalle véase J. Magalhães, *Textbooks during the Elementary School System's Transition to Democracy in Portugal* (en prensa).

que cuestionase su propia idiosincrasia. Por este motivo, creemos que en los programas escolares de esta primera etapa de la LGE se observa un enfoque predominantemente comunicativo de la enseñanza lingüística en detrimento de una educación literaria.

La excesiva tecnificación del conocimiento hizo que los autores de la preceptiva curricular creyeran necesaria la aplicación de una metodología rígida de trabajo a los textos literarios para que, al igual que hacen las ciencias duras, se pudiera obtener de ellos un producto o resultado final más o menos cuantificable. He aquí la explicación del protagonismo del comentario de texto en *curricula*, manuales y, probablemente, también en las aulas como medio para el aprendizaje de contenidos lingüísticos y literarios del alumnado.

Sin embargo resulta paradójico observar que en este primer momento, a pesar de las recomendaciones curriculares, algunos manuales optasen por presentar una historia de la literatura española más o menos sintética o un texto antológico complementario del libro de los alumnos. Y es más, al no encontrarnos en la legislación curricular ninguna prescripción canónica, el canon literario pedagógico representado en los textos escolares responde a una prescripción mucho menos directa pero más eficiente: la que la sociedad tenía (y, creemos, sigue teniendo) aprehendida a través de eso que se denomina *tradición*, una tradición de larga duración. Esta herencia seguirá vigente en los textos escolares a pesar de las nuevas leyes de educación y de las diversas prescripciones curriculares y autonómicas que se han ido sucediendo.

No obstante, quizá porque las prescripciones así lo permiten, será en estos doce años cuando más se desborde la exposición del panorama de lo literario escolar. Es decir, es en este momento cuando algunas de las antologías literarias optan por plantear una historia de los principales hitos literarios europeos como literatura universal, incluso haciendo referencia algunas veces a la tradición oriental, por ejemplo. Curiosamente, a pesar de que la literatura queda relegada al estudio comunicativo y pragmático de la lengua, cuando alguna editorial decide compendiar fragmentos de textos literarios puede que incluso trate de trazar una historia universal (con predominio de lo occidental) de la literatura. Es más, de manera puntual algunos textos reflejarán lo que jamás volverá a observarse en los manuales escolares contemporáneos: composiciones literarias en diferentes dialectos del Estado o fragmentos de textos de la literatura catalana, gallega y vasca en su versión original junto a la traducción española de los mismos (y estamos hablando de textos para todo el territorio nacional).

Con la llegada de Federico Mayor Zaragoza al Ministerio de Educación en el año 1981 las enseñanzas mínimas de la EGB se verán modificadas y concretadas en lo que se conoce como Programas Renovados. El *curriculum* para la enseñanza de la materia *Lengua castellana* quedó más definido y matizado, aunque no modificaba sustancialmente los presupuestos básicos de las Orientaciones Pedagógicas del año 1971, pero esa es otra historia y otras serán las páginas que dediquemos a contarla.

Migrant otherness: social representations, historical courses, educational patterns

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ABSTRACT: Within the field of historical educational research the social history of education is increasingly committed to the study of the material and symbolic processes of any educational domain and its social actors, through investigating the ongoing creation of imagination and mind building, the spaces of one's private sphere, and the weight of cultural traditions in educational practices and transmission. The recognition and interpretation of sources, a fundamental issue of any historiographical research and methodology, allows the recovery of marks and fragments likely to narrate the experience of everyday life, thus tracing the nonlinear boundary between history and memory. With this perspective the present essay uses the narrating dimension of memory to retrace the patterns followed by the Italian emigrant families in their intercourse with the local communities and see how cultural variables have conditioned the relationship. Special attention has been given to women's narrating voice as the unavoidable and essential element in any further elaboration of identity in the light of each family's migratory experience. To give "voice" to subjects of a time past permits the emergence of an interpersonal dimension unveiling affectivity and states of mind, together with the feeling of cultural marginality and exclusion, through one's self perception, through the wish of belonging, and through the dimension of transgenerational ties in defining processes of female identities in migration.

ETT/TEE KEYWORDS: Memory; Gender; Migrations; History of education; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *Identity and difference between proximity and distance*

In the history of Western thought the transition from the 18th to the 19th century had been marked by several factors: the decline of *ancien régime* values in the society, the multifarious development of «Enlightenment thought sprouting from criticism of prejudice and slavery»¹, the rise of a modern state,

¹ C. Covato, *Idoli di bontà. Il genere come norma nella storia dell'educazione*, Milan,

deep social transformations following an overturned manufacturing system, changes in family life and much more. According to recent studies in history of education, «the starting point of the complex process known as Modernity lies in the Eighteenth Century» (modernity is meant here to include both modern and contemporary ages), while an analysis of the Modern in education leads us to a direction of sense which «around the emancipation versus conformity opposition finds its line of flight and confirms its identity. A deep identity [...] which has enlivened the flux of educational phenomena for many centuries»².

The pedagogical path of modernity, then, has been characterized and run through by the antinomy between emancipation and conformity which up to our days «are facing one another as the central cores around which the contemporary educational thought (as well as the educational praxis) *must* torment itself»³. Among the categories inhabiting these «nuclei», identity and difference are unavoidable items to anyone involved in historical as well as social and pedagogical research in the contemporary age⁴, as such research is more and more committed to «understand, express and legitimize the emotional dimensions»⁵ in any relationship with otherness in order to interpret, describe and narrate reality in its complexity and plurality.

The philosophical thought of the Twentieth Century, engaged as it was in a deconstructionist perspective, has always stressed difference, pluralism and otherness⁶ favouring dialogue, communication and contact with otherness over ethnocentricity and dominion⁷; such a change of paradigm is also due to the movements discussing and defining gender difference on the basis of social and political research mostly carried out by Luce Irigaray, Carol Gilligan and Iris Marion Young⁸. They have established the recognition of differences as

Unicopli, 2014, p. 14.

² F. Cambi, *La pedagogia tra conformazione ed emancipazione*, in *I caratteri dell'educazione moderna. Storia della pedagogia*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2002, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ C. Covato, *Memorie discordanti. Identità e differenze nella storia dell'educazione*, Milan, Unicopli, 2007.

⁵ A. Mariani, *La decostruzione in pedagogia. La frontiera teorico-educativa della postmodernità*, Rome, Armando, 2008, p. 11.

⁶ M. Heidegger, *Einführung in die Metaphysik*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1935; tr. it. *Introduzione alla metafisica*, Milan, Mursia, 1968. H. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1958; tr. it. *Vita Activa. La condizione umana*, Milan, Fabbri-Bompiani, 1964. J. Derida, *La dissémination*, Paris, Seuil, 1972; tr. it. *La disseminazione*, Milan, Jaca Book, 1989. J. Derida, *Marges de la Philosophie*, Paris, Seuil, 1972; tr. it. *Margini della filosofia*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997. H. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978; tr. it. *La vita della mente*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1987. J.F. Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne*, Paris, Minuit, 1979; tr. it. *La condizione postmoderna: rapporto sul sapere*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1994. E. Lévinas, *Entre nous. Essais sur le penser-à-l'autre*, Paris, Grasset & Fasquelle, 1991; tr. it. *Tra noi. Saggi sul pensare-all'altro*, Milan, Jaca Book, 1998.

⁷ F. Cambi, *Decostruzionismo e pedagogia*, «Studi di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 1, 1992.

⁸ L. Irigaray, *Le Sexe Qui N'en Est Pas Un*, Paris, Minuit, 1977; tr. it. *Questo sesso che non è un sesso. Sulla condizione sessuale, sociale e culturale delle donne*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1989.

the unescapable condition of finding new ways of signifying and elaborating otherness, drawing life around the plural values of difference⁹.

The tools worked out by the deconstructionist experience allow one to deconstruct the notions of identity and difference so as to put them again into question; implying their return to primary interpretation as well as to the centrality of a de-centralized subject. In such a way identity may link up to difference, as well as open up to other identities, recognising in them a dimension which is plural, multi-faceted, but never absolute, never exclusive, never final. One of the main key points of the question regarding extraneity and its numerous implications lies exactly in the relationship between identity and difference, in the amount of permeability and osmosis to be found in the border line which separates them, in the areas of proximity and distance which distinguish and define them¹⁰. Within the fragile equilibrium between the two categories play their role either flexibility and openness, or rigidity and restriction of one's possible attitude towards difference, and therefore to otherness – a subject linked to imagination, with its social representations and educational implications.

Otherness is a long-standing category, but especially in the modern age it assumes new meanings and renewed declensions under the influence of the cultural, political and anthropological outcomes following the discovery of new worlds¹¹. Such otherness is often obscured if not denied – especially in the western world¹² – by the supremacy and the predominance of an identity assumed as a bond and a recognition, never stopping to claim a way of thinking entirely and exclusively founded on identity itself while avoiding, burying,

C. Gilligan, *In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1982; tr. it. *Con voce di donna. Etica e formazione della personalità*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1991. L. Irigaray, *Le temps de la différence. Pour une révolution pacifique*, Paris, Hachette, 1989; tr. it. *Il tempo della differenza. Diritti e doveri civili per i due sessi. Per una rivoluzione pacifica*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1989. L. Irigaray, *Je, tu, nous. Pour une culture de la différence*, Paris, Grasset & Fasquelle, 1990; tr. it. *Io, tu noi. Per una cultura della differenza*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 1992. I.M. Young, *Justice and the politics of difference*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990; tr. it. *Le politiche della differenza*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1996.

⁹ M. Di Giacinto, *Formare e apprendere nella complessità. La gestione educativa delle differenze*, in *Complessità e integrazione Nuovi modelli formativi*, Rome, Kappa, 2012, pp. 45-104.

¹⁰ Ead., *Identità migranti. In paradigma della complessità: pratiche formative e strumenti di analisi*, in *Educ-azione. Misurarsi con le diversità nei sistemi di apprendimento*, Perugia, Morlacchi, 2013, pp. 43-96.

¹¹ T. Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre*, Paris, Seuil, 1982; tr. it. *La conquista dell'America. La questione dell'altro*, Turin, Einaudi, 1982.

¹² On the deconstruction of the term West, see: G. Hottois, *De la renaissance à la postmodernité. Une histoire de la philosophie moderne et contemporaine*, Bruxelles, De Boeck Université, 1997; A.T. Nuyen, *Deridida's Deconstruction: Wholeness and Différance*, «The Journal of Speculative Philosophy», vol. 3, n. 1, 1989, pp. 26-38; F. Ferrarotti *La convivenza delle culture. Un'alternativa alla logica degli opposti fondamentalismi*, Bari, Dedalo, 2003, pp. 23-26.

denying, turning down otherness in whichever format and standing¹³. During the Nineteenth century, when European national states were becoming stronger, the notion of one's relationship with the «Other» acquires in the history of education «a strong political value, as part of the cultural merging of nations often taking place within a centralization policy»¹⁴, while seeing otherness as a threat for the material and symbolic terms of power. Building up a value hierarchy by which *the other*, in its uncountable and unthinkable apparels, is judged, implies the implementation of behaviors conforming to patterns whose norms are often codified in an overtly approving, unilateral, and totalizing mode; thus «diversity has in the end become the cultural representation of a threat against the symbolic arrangements which were supposed to let go only what was expected of the ruling class, and at the same time keep unmodified the symbolic order conveyed by the strongest social sets»¹⁵.

From this point of view, the present historical research can offer many suggestions towards an analysis of what otherness implies, so much so as this category, by hinting at the «elsewhere», defines the physical and symbolic «places» in which the educational and formative process of any individual comes about. Among the physical and symbolic «places» evoked by «elsewhere» there is one which is strictly linked to the question of identity, it is corporeality, the body domain¹⁶. Through the last few decades studies on the body have met an ever fresh interest in social as well as in humane sciences in general. Women's movements of the 1970s have recognized the body as a field of cultural conflict and re-appropriation encompassing sexual patterns, gender identities as fundamental representations for a revised imaginary of corporeality¹⁷.

Historical studies, as well as sociological, psychological and anthropological research have then focused attention to the debate within such ample phenomenological area, also in the light of the new epistemological perspectives in which corporeality is inscribed, thematized and thematizable. Consequently, the link between body and society (be it a dialectic or a conflicting one) is bound to submit to the social history of education quite a few suggestions for research which are definitely meaningful and not to be renounced¹⁸. Through

¹³ F. Cambi, *La sfida della differenza*, Bologna, Clueb, 1986.

¹⁴ Covato, *Educazione, alterità e storiografia*, in *Memorie discordanti*, cit., p. 155.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁶ P. Bourdieu, *Remarques provisoires sur la perception sociale du corps*, *Acts de la recherche*, «Sciences Sociales», vol. 14, 1977, pp. 51-54.

¹⁷ M. Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1969; tr. it. *L'archeologia del sapere*, Milan, Rizzoli, 1971. E. Shorter, *A history of women bodies*, New York, Basic Book, 1982; tr. it. *Storia del corpo femminile*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1984. A. Cavarero, *Corpo in figure. Filosofia e politica della corporeità*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1995. S. Ulivieri, *Il corpo e il gesto nella relazione educativa*, «Studium Educationis», vol. 4, 2000.

¹⁸ A. Cagnolati (ed.), *Tra negazione e soggettività. Per una rilettura del corpo femminile nella storia dell'educazione*, Milan, Guerini, 2007; S. Ulivieri (ed.), *Educazione al femminile. Una storia da scoprire*, Milan, Guerini, 2007; G. Seveso (ed.), *Corpi molteplici. Differenze ed educazione*

the study and analysis of the dynamic processes contributing to its social construction, corporeality – together with the spaces, times, and educational places through which it acts – takes shape as the privileged site of subjectivity¹⁹. Studies and research on the representations of corporeality, then, partake in working out new hypothetical interpretations where the body assumes the main role, especially in the perception modes and in the collective images which have defined and define the transmission of cultural and educational patterns²⁰.

2. *Prejudice against Southern Italians emigrants to the United States between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century*

The historical enquiry on corporeality as social category offers several suggestions for historians to consider and analyze, having in view also the reproduction of the various forms of discrimination and prejudice touching on Italians who had migrated abroad. The analysis carried on by education historians of processes relating to the building of stereotypes and of racial prejudices²¹ – the dynamics of which lead to the political strategies of inclusion and exclusion carried out by majority groups towards minorities²² – cannot but recall the specific and complex experience lived by a conspicuous portion of Italians emigrated to the United States between the end of the 19th and the

nella realtà di oggi e nella storia, Milan, Guerini, 2017.

¹⁹ T.J. Csordas (ed.), *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994. D. Le Breton, *La peau et la Trace. Sur les blessures de soi*, Paris, Métailié, 2003; tr. it. *La pelle e la traccia. Le ferite del sé*, Rome, Meltemi, 2005.

²⁰ S. Olivieri, I. Biemmi (edd.), *Storie di donne. Autobiografie al femminile e narrazione identitaria*, Milan, Guerini, 2011; A. Cagnolati, F. Pinto Minerva, S. Olivieri (edd.), *Le frontiere del corpo. Mutamenti e metamorfosi*, Pisa, ETS, 2013.

²¹ B. Bettelheim, M. Janowitz, *The Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York, Harper & Row, 1950. G.W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge, Addison Wesley, 1954; tr. it. *La natura del pregiudizio*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1976. P.A. Taguieff, *La force du préjugé. Essai sur le racisme et ses doubles*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987; tr. it. *La forza del pregiudizio. Saggi sul razzismo e sull'antirazzismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994. T. Van Dijk, *Communicating Racism*, London, Sage, 1987. C. Covato, *Sapere e pregiudizio. L'educazione delle donne fra '700 e '800*, Rome, Archivio Guido Izzi, 1991. M. Wiewiorka, *L'espace du racisme*, Paris, Seuil, 1991; tr. it. *Lo spazio del razzismo*, Milan, Il Saggiatore, 1996. T. Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, London, Sage, 1993; tr. it. *Il discorso razzista*, Messina, Rubbettino, 1994. B.M. Mazzara, *Appartenenza e pregiudizio*, Rome, Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1996. A. Zanotti, *L'invenzione sociologica del pregiudizio*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1997. M. Wiewiorka, *Le racism, une introduction*, Paris, La Découverte, 1998; tr. it. *Il Razzismo*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2000.

²² C. Taylor, *Multiculturalism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992; tr. it. *Multiculturalismo*, Milan, Anabasi, 1993. J. Habermas, C. Taylor, *The Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992; tr. it. *Multiculturalismo, Lotte per il riconoscimento*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 2002.

beginning of the 20th century²³. Many of them were the object of literally heavy prejudices and discriminations, often even institutionalized, for the simple fact of being Italian citizens and on top of it there was an even more evident discrimination for being Italians from the South: «between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries [...] the federal government's naturalization applications [...] asked applicants to provide their race and color. For Italians, the only acceptable answers were North or South Italian for the former and white for the latter»²⁴.

In 1899 the United States Bureau of Immigration recorded all «new arrivals», Europeans included, according to a racial hierarchy counting thirty six different races; Italian migrants were labelled as «Celtics» if coming from Northern Italy, and «Iberians» if from Southern Italy; the Report issued by the Immigration Commission, afterwards to become the core basis of the *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* published in 1911²⁵, in recording the racial status of Italians emigrated to the United States, made a distinction between «very broad-headed Alpine northern Italians and a 'Mediterranean' race of short stature. The region north of this line, the basin of the Po, is inhabited by a very broad-headed ('Alpine') and tallish race, the North Italian. [...] All of Italy south of the Appenines and all of the adjacent islands are occupied by a long-headed, dark, 'Mediterranean' race of short stature. This is the South Italian, supposed to be descended from the ancient Ligurians of Italy and closely related to the Iberians of Spain and the Berberians of northern Africa. [...] The dividing line between the two lots was drawn quite near the northern part of Italy, so that even people from Genoa were labelled as Southerners»²⁶. The authors of the Report, relying on the works by Alfredo Niceforo²⁷ and Giuseppe Sergi²⁸ maintained that northern and southern Italians were different «from each other materially in language, physique, and character, as well as in geographical distribution»²⁹. While the former was «cool, deliberate,

²³ D.A.J. Richards, *La promessa e il tradimento del costituzionalismo rivoluzionario italiano: l'emigrazione dell'Italia meridionale*, in *Italiani d'America: razza e identità etnica*, Milan, Giuffrè, 2004, pp. 109-159.

²⁴ T.A. Guglielmo, «No Color Barrier». *Italians, Race, and Power in the United States*, in J. Guglielmo, S. Salerno (edd.), *Are Italians White? How race is made in America*, New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 32-33; tr. it. «Nessuna barriera del colore». *Italiani, razza e potere negli Stati Uniti*, in J. Guglielmo, S. Salerno (edd.), *Gli italiani sono bianchi? Come L'America ha costruito la razza*, Milan, il Saggiatore, 2006.

²⁵ Immigration Commission, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, Report of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document n. 622, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911, p. 80.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁷ A. Niceforo, *L'Italia barbara contemporanea. Studi e appunti*, Milan-Palermo, Remo Sandro, 1898; *Italiani del Nord e italiani del Sud*, Florence, Tipografia Cooperativa, 1899.

²⁸ G. Sergi, *Ari ed italcì. Attorno all'Italia preistorica con figure dimostrative*, Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1898.

²⁹ Immigration Commission, *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, cit., p. 81.

patient, practical, as well as capable of great progress in the political and social organization of modern civilization», the latter was «excitable, impulsive, highly imaginative, impracticable,» and had «little adaptability to highly organized society»³⁰.

Even if one disregards socio-political causes and events which have led to the building of «our unitary history»³¹, together with the implications and the consequences of scientific racism on the newborn «*Italiotta* coming out of the Risorgimento»³², the lines of the Report which recognize «two races» of Italians, offer some useful suggestions to the analysis carried out by education historians of the process leading to the racial prejudice and stereotype. The prejudice against people from the south³³ recalls the same attitude to be experienced by a large number of Italians – men and women – long before the migration move when at the end of the 19th century the racial inferiority of Southern Italians is supported by Lombroso³⁴, Niceforo and Sergi (both quoted in the Report of the Immigration Commission) who maintained that the backward condition of Southern Italy was the utmost evidence of the «Mediterranean race's» inferiority.

The theory of a Southern culture being inferior and subaltern vis-à-vis the Northern is contested and denounced by Southern scholars of the time (Napoleone Colajanni, Ettore Ciccotti, Gaetano Salvemini, Giustino Fortunato) as the easiest shortcut (also instrumental to keeping the current arrangements both material and symbolic) to an anthropological interpretation of the «two Italies» issue with their social gaps and civil unevenness³⁵. Between 1898 and 1906 a harsh/ruthless debate on the «damned race»³⁶ engages scholars with a positivist imprinting on one side, and great experts of southern Italy (who opposed the theory of a southern culture inferior and subordinate to the northern one) on the other; nevertheless, the scientific «evidence» that southern Italians are perceived as a different race, inevitably inferior to their northern compatriots, disseminates the notion of «two Italies» as the outcome of «two races» also beyond the Ocean. By virtue of this antisouth prejudice,

³⁰ Guglielmo, «No Color Barrier», cit., p. 34.

³¹ U. Cerroni, *L'identità civile degli italiani*, Lecce, Nanni, 1996, p. 44.

³² G. Salvemini, *Il ministro della mala vita e altri scritti sull'Italia giolittiana*, in *Il Mezzogiorno e la democrazia italiana*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1962, Vol. I, p. 540.

³³ G. Landucci, *Darwinismo e nazionalismo*, in *La cultura italiana tra '800 e '900 e le origini del nazionalismo*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», n. 22, 1981; G. Pancaldi, *Darwin in Italia: impresa scientifica e frontiere culturali*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1983.

³⁴ C. Lombroso, *L'uomo bianco e l'uomo di colore. Letture sull'origine e le varietà delle razze umane*, Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1892.

³⁵ J. Dickie, *Darkest Italy. The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, R. Lumley, J. Morris (edd.), *The New History of the Italian South*, Exeter (UK), University of Exeter Press, 1997; tr. it. *Oltre il meridionalismo: nuove prospettive sul mezzogiorno d'Italia*, Rome, Carocci, 1999. V. Teti, *La razza maledetta. Origini del pregiudizio antimeridionale*, Rome, Manifesto Libri, 2011.

³⁶ Teti, *La razza maledetta*, cit.

in Italy you could «distinguish two races, one dedicated to progress and the other destined to barbarism»³⁷; such prejudice recalls the drama with which in the process of cultural unity the representation of otherness – sacrificed in the name of an identity supremacy exhibited in all its varieties – it is assuming a conflict as unprejudiced as it is instrumental even within the same national and cultural reality³⁸.

The racial theory of the inferiority of the South spreads around as a language functional to the ideology of the dominating classes – be it Italian or foreign – and appears as the most dramatic and in a way paradoxical outcome of a continuous and systematic denial of otherness. The theory of the «damned race» is interpreted as a comfortable shortcut to stigmatize the differences between Northern and Southern Italy giving life to a suitable narration able to modify «the positions of magistrates, physicians, psychiatrists, politicians, and in general, the public opinion of the North. It eventually generates a common and widespread feeling, at the basis of stereotypes still working in our days»³⁹.

A further reflection originating from the historical-educational analysis of processes leading to the creation of racial stereotypes and prejudices – always regarding the political strategies of inclusion and exclusion realized by majority groups versus minority ones – refers to the specific social standing assigned to Italian migrants in the United States envisaging a «Southern Italian race» with specific «cultural» and «physical» characters⁴⁰.

The racial theory of the inferiority of southern Italians, as it had been invented and «proved» in Italy, is used in the United States to justify the classifying procedure used for the Italian immigrants who were in large majority peasants, labourers and unskilled workers coming from Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Puglia and Sicily, southern agricultural regions, poor and economically underdeveloped⁴¹ regions which have had a history of colonial exploitation and subaltern politics, to use Antonio Gramsci's words⁴², where «the people of the South were considered racially “other” by the northern ruling classes. [...] These ideologies travel across the Atlantic and informed the thinking of native-born white Americans who also denigrated southern Italians as prone to violence, whether of a revolutionary or a criminal nature.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁸ E. Balibar, I. Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Classe: les identités ambiguës*, Paris, La Découverte, 1988; tr. it. *Razza, nazione, classe. Le identità ambigue*, Rome, Edizioni Associate, 1990. A. Schiavone, *Italiani senza Italia. Storia e identità*, Turin, Einaudi, 1998.

³⁹ Schiavone, *Italiani senza Italia.*, cit., p. 97.

⁴⁰ D.A.J. Richards, *Italian American: The Racializing of an Ethnic Identity*, New York, New York Press, 1999; tr. it. *Italiani d'America: razza e identità etnica*, Milan, Giuffrè, 2004.

⁴¹ A. Golini, F. Amato, *Uno sguardo a un secolo e mezzo di emigrazione italiana*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Partenze*, Rome, Donzelli, 2001.

⁴² A. Gramsci, *La questione meridionale*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, (1969) 2005.

As a result of alarm at what was seen as horders of dark, dirty, ignorant, lazy, subversive»⁴³.

An interesting contribution to the subject comes from the American scholar Louise DeSalvo⁴⁴, daughter and granddaughter of Italians emigrated to the United States in the first two decades of the last century; she «gathers» her family marks and memories in order to retrace their story.

My father, like his parents before him, is disinclined to talk about how he was treated because his family was Italian [...] and didn't like to admit they were mistreated even though they were [...]; they believed that prejudice against them was in the scheme of things. So, they didn't complain. And because lamentation is essential for an oral history to exist, and because they did not recount their grievances, but instead buried them, I have almost no stories to share about these grandparents; nothing that has come down to me about how my grandparents and their parents lived in Italy or when they came to the United States [...]. And because, unlike other migrations, these people were often illiterate, they left very few documents with which we can write their history. And their grand-children are just beginning to write their stories⁴⁵.

For the analysis undertaken Louise's testimony is very significant as it permits to explore and draw closer the intergenerational dimension typical of the experience of Italian migrant families, and to use at the same time the reading key offered by the existing interchange between society and family.

As a fundamentally historical phenomenon a family appears as the social and symbolic space where differences of generation (but also of gender) are assumed as fundamental and appropriately built in that perspective⁴⁶. Regarding the vertical relationship to be noticeable in migrant families, the studies and research carried out by transgenerational psychotherapy, especially in the work of Anne Ancelin Schützenberger, are full of interest and rich of interpreting points; according to this scholar the family domain – partaking in the migratory domain, in the «double culture» issue, in the «entrenchment in one's own culture, and roots» – involves in its story at least three generations⁴⁷. «Intergenerational transmissions are thought and expressed between

⁴³ J. Guglielmo, *Introduction: White Lies, Dark Truths*, in Guglielmo, Salerno (edd.), *Are Italians White?*, cit., pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴ Louise DeSalvo (1942-2018) was a Virginia Woolf scholar, and taught memoir writing in Hunter College's Program in Creative Writing. She is the author of *Vertigo: a Memoir*, New York, Dutton, 1996.

⁴⁵ L. De Salvo, *Color: White/Complexion: Dark*, in Guglielmo, Salerno (edd.), *Are Italians White?*, cit., pp. 19-20.

⁴⁶ M. Di Giacinto, *Storia e storie di trasmissione culturale nelle famiglie migranti*, in F. Borruso, L. Cantatore, C. Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale. Vita e norme nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milan, Guerini, 2014, pp. 235-258.

⁴⁷ A.C. Schützenberger, *Aïe, mes aïeux! Liens transgénérationnels, secrets de famille, syndrome d'anniversaire, transmission des traumatismes et pratique du génosociogramme*, Paris, La méridienne, 1993; tr. it. *La sindrome degli antenati. Psicoterapia transgenerazionale e i legami nascosti nell'albero genealogico*, Rome, Di Renzo, 2004.

grandparents, parents and children: family habits, mutual understandings, and ways of being»⁴⁸; Schützenberger’s contribution – throwing light to the subject of cultural transmission in migration – allows us to state that any migratory experience brings into existence its «echoing repercussions»⁴⁹ – to use Jacob Levi Moreno’s definition – through at least three generations: those who have realized the migratory project (the first generation); their children, be they children born in their original country and joined later to their parents, or instead, children born in a migration land (second generation) or, last but not least, grandchildren born in a migration land (as in Louise’s case) who feel their belonging to that land in so far as they are citizens for all practical purposes. Through such interpretative approach, any migratory experience, apart from the number of its actors, assumes the dimensions of what Abdermalek Sayad has named a «total social fact»⁵⁰; by such definition Sayad names an event which involves the entire history as well as the family of a migrant, so as to «connect» up to three generations not only through a psychic bond but also through a link marked by «loyalty to one’s forefathers» and comprising in Schützenberger’s analysis⁵¹, inherited values as well as educational models introjected in one’s native country and transferred to the new country.

Going back to Louise’s testimonial, her search for family traces permitting to find out a connection with her «forefathers» and recover news and information useful to know how «her grandparents and parents had been treated on their arrival in the United States (and with them any other Italian migrant)» becomes an «urgent» engagement not to be delayed. She regrets having found out, only recently, that her father was indeed «a Southern Italian». Here is her story:

He has always been interested in Italian culture – the works of Michaelangelo and Da Vinci, and Italian opera, and this was what he told me about, not the poverty stricken Italy that his parents and his wife’s parents left under desperate circumstances. An Italy that I myself did not learn about until I was in my fifties. And not from my father⁵².

She remarks that other Italian Americans, besides her parents, «have buried the past, tried to assimilate»; racial and ethnic differences were too much of a burden as «racial and ethnic differences were not valued but, instead, condemned and ridiculed. And there was (and still is) always a peculiar silence in the United States about the Italian diaspora and the injustice inflicted here

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴⁹ J.L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, and Sociodrama*, New York, Beacon House, 1969.

⁵⁰ A. Sayad, *La double absence*, Paris, Seuil, 1999; tr. it. *La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell’emigrato alle sofferenze dell’immigrato*, Milan, Cortina, 2002; eng. transl. *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2004.

⁵¹ Schützenberger, *Aïe, mes aïeux!*, cit., p. 56.

⁵² DeSalvo, *Color: White/Complexion: Dark*, cit., p. 18.

upon Italian Americans»⁵³. She recounts how it occurred almost by chance that she had got hold of the family documents:

My father calls to tell me has been cleaning out his files. He has found some documents, he says, that I might want, since I have recently shown such interest in my immigrant Italian grandparents [...] It is naturalization papers, visas, some birth records, death certificates, he says ‘nothing really important’. I tell him to bring them over right away, for to me they *are* important. [...] My father is eight-six, and I am afraid that everything he knows about my grandparents will die with him. As I edge toward my sixtieth year, I want to urge from my father all the stories he knows about my grandparents that can nourish and sustain me in this phase of my life⁵⁴.

In handing over to her their family records, Louise’s father tells her daughter that her maternal grandparents were originally from a village near Bari, whose name he forgets, that her paternal grandfather had arrived in the United States in order to work in the railways and that it took a very long time to return the money he had borrowed for the voyage. He confides to her that he would have liked to study in Italy, but there had been no chance, and that the best day in his life had been when his daughter (Louise’s mother) had gone to school. One of the papers kept in the envelope given to her, draws special attention in DeSalvo: it is the document by which her grandmother was given the status of naturalized⁵⁵ U.S. citizen.

Renouncing their Italian citizenship was fraught with difficulty. For although they knew they had opportunities here that would have been foreclosed to them in Italy (such as working for a wage that could sustain them, albeit modestly), still it meant disavowing allegiance to their homeland [...]. To become a United States citizen was the single most difficult, significant act of their lives in this country. Becoming a naturalized citizen granted my grandmother (some) rights and privileges of a native-born American but neither the privilege of being completely accepted nor absorbed into the mainstream of North American life⁵⁶.

In the document, together with the usual data required by the issuing authority (age: 57, sex: female; eyes colour: brown; hair colour: grey-black; height: m 1,50) there are three items which intrigue Louise: former nationality: italian, colour: white; complexion: dark. The last item unsettles her deeply.

What was so significant about complexion? There was, after all, a picture of my grandmother appended to the document that clearly showed what she looked like. And, as anyone could see, her complexion was fair [...]. But my grandmother could not be fair, not to the clerk who inscribed this document, and therefore not in the United States, because my grandmother

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁵⁵ Naturalization is the procedure by which the concession of citizenship to a foreigner is authorized.

⁵⁶ De Salvo, *Color: White/Complexion: Dark*, cit., p. 22.

was not only Italian, she was from the South of Italy, a peasant, a *terrone* – a creature of the earth, and so the color of the earth, and because of this, *she had to be dark*, not fair. Here, then, on a document that my grandmother kept until she died, and that my mother kept until she died, and that I will keep until I die, is evidence that my people's whiteness was provisional, that agents of the government were using their power to *create* rather than *record* difference in physical appearance⁵⁷.

The U.S. law had found out complexion as the category through which government officers could *racialize* Italians; one of the employees had decided that Louise's grandmother had a dark complexion and since the grandmother wanted to have the U.S. citizenship, she could not but subscribe it:

She had to attest that though she was *White*, she was not completely *White*, for she was also *Dark*. [...] To become a citizen, my grandmother had to perjure herself. She had to admit that she manifested an attribute that was not true, but that someone else insisted was true. One of the clerks decided, perhaps without looking too closely [...], that my grandmother's complexion was *Dark*, and if my grandmother wanted citizenship, she had no choice but to sign her name on the line⁵⁸.

Several suggestions come out of Louise's testimony; the first one draws to the question of parental function and consequently to the theme of responsibility towards future generations; the birth and rising of children in a migration land puts into question also the transfer of values: it is up to the adults (parents, grandparents, etc.) «to select priorities in terms of cultural norms and reference values so as to connect them with the children's needs in order to blend them in the new context»⁵⁹. As a consequence, migrant parents find themselves in need of settling their position in spite of their feeling inadequate – as it often occurs in the relationship between parents and children – because of the difficult, if not traumatic, cultural mediation they have to master between their own sense system (inherited in their original country) and that in use in the new country of migration. The feeling of inadequacy comes from the difficult task of orienting one's own children in the construction of their own personal and cultural identity while still fulfilling a sense of loyalty to one's forefathers⁶⁰.

All this inevitably recalls the theme of parental responsibilities in terms of continuity and faith to the introjected models; such responsibilities go across all family configurations engaged in a constant negotiation between elements of continuity and movements of innovation as regards family patterns; this negotiation engages especially migration families as their specific character towards the variants implied in the cultural transfer involves on one side parental difficulties inherent in the continuous mediation taking place between different

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 27.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁵⁹ A.M. Di Vita, V. Granatella (edd.), *Famiglie in viaggio. Narrazioni di identità migranti*, Rome, Ma.Gi, 2004, p. 20.

⁶⁰ Di Giacinto, *Storia e storie di trasmissione culturale nelle famiglie migranti*, cit.

codes (the original family, the children generation, the social context), and on the other side the fact that in general this mediation «works out referring a majority group which conditions its sense and its direction»⁶¹. On the subject Louise writes:

The next time we meet, my father presents me with a manila envelope. On the front, in my mother's hand, the words FAMILY PAPERS are printed. [...] I unfold the first paper carefully. It is my maternal stepgrandmother's certificate of naturalization. Affixed to the document is her 'official' photograph, which brings back memories-how she protected me from my father's rages; helped me endure my mother's depression; taught me to knit; gave me money from her small pension; called me *figlia mia*; sang me Italian songs [...]; made me pizza for supper and *zeppoli* for Sunday breakfast.

But the picture also reminds me how her appearance (black dress, black sweater, black cotton stockings, black headscarf knotted or her chin when she went to church) marked me as different, as not quite American.

A friend: 'Where does your grandmother come from? She looks like a witch. How did she get here? On a broomstick? Ha. Ha'. A boyfriend: 'My mother says I could never marry you, should stop seeing you. Your grandmother. Can you imagine her at the wedding?'

My grandmother was a God-sent protector in my house of anger and sorrow. But she also was someone I was ashamed of, that I made fun of to my friends so my friends wouldn't make fun of me because of her. As if in repudiating her I could leach out the Italian in me and became what I then thought was important. Being American, whatever that was.

But in the 1950s when I was growing up in suburban New Jersey [...] being American didn't include having such a grandmother. And so, in public, I mocked her, scorned her. In private, I ran to her, buried my head in her lap, and secretly begged her forgiveness⁶².

Another suggestion from Louise's testimony recalls the experience of corporeality, in its dimension as «cultural somatization» (in Bourdieu's words⁶³) which, in the case of Louise's grandmother and of her «dark complexion», becomes the «site» where are tested and put on stage relationships as well as social tensions revolving around the political strategies of inclusion and exclusion performed by majority groups versus minority ones. Studies of the historical dynamics of construction, creation and transformation of signified and signifiers evoking corporeality reveal that this last is a «daughter» born of the norms, of social hierarchies, and consequently of *permanences* and metamorphoses pervading the collective imagery by virtue of its relation with otherness⁶⁴. Coming to terms with the construction proceedings of corporeality

⁶¹ L.V. Gadsden, *Black families in intergenerational perspective*, in M. Lamb (ed.), *Parenting and child development in "nontraditional" families*, Mahwah (NJ), Lawrence Erlbaum Press, 1999, p. 65.

⁶² De Salvo, *Color: White/Complexion: Dark*, cit., pp. 20-21.

⁶³ L. Boltanski, P. Bourdieu, P. Maldidier, *La défense du corps*, «Social Science Information», vol. 10, n. 4, 1971, pp. 45-86; P. Bourdieu, *Il corpo tra natura e cultura*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1988.

⁶⁴ L. Boltanski, *Les usages sociaux du corps*, «Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales», n. 1, 1971, pp. 205-233; D. Le Breton, *Corps et sociétés: essai de sociologie et d'anthropologie du corps*, Paris, Librairie des Méridiens, 1985.

– strictly connected as they are with the context in which they are immersed – is a booster to the establishment of further interpretating analysis in the historical educational research.

Consequently, prejudice and cognitive limits are put next to one another, as the relationship between «us and the others» is ruled by the representation, produced and reproduced inside the group and transmitted through the communicative exchanges between the majority section of the group and those who, rightly or wrongly, are perceived as *extraneous*. Louise's words don't leave space to doubt:

My grandmother had to be made to understand that though she was privileged, she was not that privileged. She had to learn that [...] there were (are) several shades of whiteness; [...] that she was offered a citizenship which was contingent, that certainly did not confer upon her all the rights and privileges of someone whose color was white and whose complexion was fair, very, very fair.

My grandmother, then, became a 'Dark White' citizen of the United States of America. A 'white nigger'. Someone not truly white. Someone Italian American [...].

Who I am (not quite Italian, not quite American) and who I will become (aware of inequities faced by Italian Americans in a country that has not yet fully equated the Italian American experience with the human experience) in one important sense, begins here⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ De Salvo, *Color: White/Complexion: Dark*, cit., pp. 23, 28.

Ex cathedra. Lodovico Mortara, l'emancipazione femminile e la legge sulla capacità giuridica della donna

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Ex cathedra. Lodovico Mortara, women's emancipation and the law on women's legal capacity

ABSTRACT: Law n. 1176 was issued by the Italian Parliament on 17th July 1919 to acknowledge the juridical capacity of women, by abolishing the legal arrangement of marital authorization and opening the door of the labour market for women. The bill had a long complicated path to follow before becoming law; however, it has been soon expunged from collective memory for being a halfway conquest and an announced change that never got real, considering the limitations and restrictions inherent to it. The law, which eventually came to meet the ambitions nurtured by Italian women for over half a century, is linked to the name of then Minister of Justice Lodovico Mortara, a lawyer, university teacher and First President of the Cassation Court of Rome.

The purpose of this essay is to revisit the most relevant steps of Mortara's public commitment to women's liberation and highlight his leading role in the process of approval of the above-mentioned law.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Contemporary history; History of school; Rights and duties; Women's liberation; Italy; XXth Century.

1. *Risposta parziale*

È morto a Roma il sen. Lodovico Mortara. Egli era nato a Mantova nel 1855. Fu professore di procedura civile nell'Università di Pisa e di Napoli, quindi entrò come consigliere alla Corte di Cassazione. Successivamente vi tenne gli uffici di procuratore generale e poi di primo presidente. Dal 1923 era a riposo ed esercitava l'avvocatura, acquistando fama mondiale di eminente giurista. Fu nominato senatore nel 1900. Fu anche ministro della Giustizia nel 1919-20 e venne successivamente nominato ministro di Stato. Autore di

numerose pubblicazioni giuridiche, dirigeva anche la rivista *La Giurisprudenza Italiana*¹.

Succinto, incompleto, errato. Il necrologio comparso sul «Corriere della Sera», il giorno dopo la morte di Lodovico Mortara, avvenuta il 1° gennaio 1938, potrebbe anche non destare particolare scalpore, visto che si era nel pieno di quel regime fascista che nel 1923 aveva pensionato anzitempo, in pratica epurato, il grande magistrato mantovano, capace nella sua vicenda umana e professionale di precorrere i tempi. Il problema è che per 75 anni il quotidiano di via Solferino non si sarebbe più occupato di quel giudice illuminato che, pur essendo personalmente contrario al suffragio femminile, aveva emanato come presidente della Corte di appello di Ancona una sentenza storica, accordante per la prima volta il diritto di voto politico a dieci maestre precarie. Solo nel 2013 una firma autorevole del «Corsera» è tornata ad occuparsi di quella lontana vicenda di 113 anni or sono e del giudice Mortara².

L'interesse per Lodovico Mortara è iniziato quindici anni fa quando di lui sapevo solo che era stato un insigne giurista e l'autore di opere fondamentali su cui avevano studiato diverse generazioni di italiani. Ho avuto modo di analizzare la sua figura in rapporto alla nota sentenza del 1906 e, più in generale, al processo di emancipazione femminile e anziché trovarmi di fronte a un paladino di diritti e rivendicazioni, ho imparato a conoscere un uomo tutto d'un pezzo, preparato e rigoroso, intellettualmente onesto, profondamente pervaso da quei principi liberali con cui era stato educato in famiglia e nella Mantova risorgimentale.

Non pochi dei suoi scritti appaiono tuttora di una modernità sconcertante. A lungo ho auspicato che qualcuno scrivesse la biografia di un uomo vissuto tra 1855 e 1937 che è stato avvocato, docente universitario, magistrato, senatore, ministro e vicepremier nell'Italia del primo dopoguerra e di un originale giurista la cui bibliografia annovera 350 opere.

Nel precedente numero di questa rivista ho ricostruito una vicenda significativa e tanto dibattuta in questi ultimi anni, quella delle protoelettrici italiane ed europee, che ha fatto parlare di sé in Italia, in diversi Paesi europei (soprattutto Gran Bretagna, Germania, Francia e Portogallo) e negli Stati Uniti, animando ricerche, convegni, iniziative culturali di vario spessore e addirittura un romanzo³.

¹ *La morte del sen. Mortara*, «Corriere della Sera», 2 gennaio 1937, p. 5. In particolare, Mortara divenne senatore nel 1910 (e non nel 1900) e non fu più ministro dopo essere stato guardasigilli nel 1919-20; non si citava affatto la sentenza del 1906, mentre la «fama mondiale» di giurista l'aveva acquisita come docente universitario e magistrato e non già come avvocato, come invece il profilo faceva intendere.

² A. Polito, *Voto alle Donne, un Giudice del 1906 più illuminato dei colleghi odierni*, *ibid.*, 30 gennaio 2013, p. 36.

³ M. Severini, *There is no story without its heroes. Ten women and the right to vote in Italy in 1906*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 625-640. Tutto è partito dalla pubblicazione della mia monografia, *Dieci donne. Storia delle prime elettrici italiane*

Più mi addentravo nel mondo di Lodovico Mortara, più tante domande rimanevano insolute. Dopo aver ricevuto alcune risposte da parte degli studi di storia di genere e di diritto, ho salutato con entusiasmo l'uscita della prima biografia di Mortara alla fine del 2018⁴.

Questo lavoro colma ovviamente un vuoto storiografico, ma ha destato non poche perplessità cosicché ho invitato il suo autore a parlarne di fronte al pubblico, solitamente qualificato e numeroso, all'interno della XV edizione della Rassegna di Storia Contemporanea che, promossa dal Centro Cooperativo "Pensiero e Azione" di Senigallia, si tiene ogni giugno in questa località balneare.

In effetti l'autore ha parlato della sua ricerca di fronte a un folto pubblico che, in pratica, non finiva più di domandare e di intervenire; si è trattato dunque di una piacevole serata, incentrata sul dialogo e sul confronto; ma i dubbi su questo lavoro, anziché dipanarsi, si sono infittiti.

Il libro, infatti, non è sorretto da un'adeguata documentazione archivistica e bibliografica, circostanza non comune a una ricerca storica di carattere scientifico: sono stati utilizzati alcuni fondi dell'Archivio centrale dello Stato, ma non altri che avrebbero potuto precisare o confermare alcuni momenti cruciali della vita del giurista; altri carteggi (come quello con Luigi Luzzatti, di proprietà dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti), nel frattempo resi pubblici, sono stati ignorati nella biografia al pari di alcune documentazioni neanche cercate o ignorate (come, ad esempio, la risposta di Mortara al questionario sul diritto di voto alle donne promosso dall'Unione Femminile di Milano nel 1903 oppure l'unica intervista da lui rilasciata sulla sentenza del 1906, pubblicata dal «Giornale d'Italia»). Inoltre, questa biografia lascia scoperti alcuni passaggi-chiave della vicenda mortariana, a partire dal frangente in cui l'uomo di legge lasciò la carriera accademica per entrare in magistratura. In sostanza, si tratta di un'opera riuscita solo in parte quando, con maggiore attenzione euristica e un migliore scavo documentario, sarebbe certamente riuscito un ottimo libro, capace di restituire la memoria e il valore del caso a un autentico protagonista dell'Italia liberale.

In questa sede intendo analizzare il secondo incontro di Lodovico Mortara con le esigenze di un movimento femminile italiano reclamante l'abolizione dell'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale e il diritto di voto amministrativo e politico: il 1919 rappresentò un momento decisamente differente per le italiane rispetto al frenetico attivismo dell'età giolittiana, un momento in cui le conseguenze del conflitto mondiale si fecero sentire a ogni livello; il movimento femminile risultava in quell'anno così delicato per il destino politico d'Italia ricco di sigle, adesioni e partecipazione, ma anche di divisioni e conflittualità,

ed europee, Macerata, Liberilibri, 2012; il romanzo è quello di M.R. Cutrufelli, *Il giudice delle donne*, Milano, Sperling & Kupfer, 2016.

⁴ M. Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino. Lodovico Mortara, storia di un ebreo ai vertici del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Viella, 2018.

e soprattutto sembrava aver perso la capacità di incidere sulla realtà di un decennio prima.

Pur tuttavia, in un contesto dominato dall'incertezza per l'avvento di nuovi soggetti politici tendenzialmente di massa (nascita del Partito popolare italiano e dei Fasci di combattimento, aumento vistoso della presenza parlamentare di un Psi che divenne con le consultazioni del novembre del '19 la prima forza politica italiana, pur confermando al suo interno la prevalenza della corrente massimalista) e dalla incapacità della classe dirigente liberale di gestire, sul piano delle relazioni internazionali, le trattative di pace e, all'interno, una situazione sociale inquieta e tesa, caratterizzata da ansie palinogenetiche e rivoluzionarie, il Parlamento italiano varò, il 17 luglio 1919, la legge n. 1176 con cui riconosceva la capacità giuridica della donna, annullando l'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale e aprendo alle italiane le porte del mondo del lavoro.

Si trattava di un progetto di legge che aveva una storia lunga e complessa e che sarebbe stato presto espunto dalla memoria collettiva perché considerata una conquista a metà, un cambiamento annunciato ma non concretizzato, viste le limitazioni e le restrizioni presenti in esso e quelle sancite da successivi interventi normativi.

Il guardasigilli che legò il proprio nome a questa legge che veniva incontro alle aspirazioni che le italiane avevano perseguito per oltre mezzo secolo era Lodovico Mortara.

In questa sede intendo ripercorrere brevemente le tappe salienti dell'impegno pubblico di Mortara in relazione al processo di emancipazione femminile e illustrare il ruolo da lui svolto nell'approvazione della legge sopra citata.

2. *La formazione di un giurista*

Il primo giorno del 1955, Giorgio Mortara, economista e statista di fama internazionale, tracciava un interessante profilo del padre Lodovico, di cui era figlio primogenito, profilo che sarebbe stato pubblicato 35 anni dopo, a testimonianza del persistente oblio in cui era caduta questa illustre figura dell'Italia liberale⁵.

In quello scritto colpisce soprattutto del padre l'impegno costante, l'attitudine instancabile al lavoro e allo studio, la febbrile ricerca dedicata alla legislazione processuale italiana, ma con un'attenzione costante a quella europea. Avvocato, Mortara iniziò a collaborare con le più prestigiose riviste giuridiche cosicché si diffuse la fama «della sua speciale competenza nella procedura civile»⁶. Anche

⁵ G. Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara (1955)*, «Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno», XIX, 1990, pp. 107-113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

quando agli inizi degli anni ottanta svolse un'esperienza come amministratore municipale nella nativa Mantova, Lodovico non «rallentò, tuttavia, il lavoro scientifico»⁷. Dopo essersi sposato, il 15 ottobre 1883, con Clelia Vivanti (dall'unione nacquero cinque figli⁸), andò a visitare, nella primavera del 1886, nel corso di una gita a Torino, Luigi Mattiolo che, considerato il maggiore processualista italiano, lo esortò a partecipare al concorso per la cattedra di «procedura civile e ordinamento giudiziario» bandito dall'Università di Pisa⁹.

Anche in questo caso, Lodovico non vinse uno, ma due concorsi (l'altro per ordinariato, nella stessa cattedra, all'Università di Catania). Trascorse le vacanze estive del 1887 a scrivere quel *Manuale di Procedura Civile* che, uscito in prima edizione nel 1888 ne registrò altre otto, la nona nel 1921, mentre nel 1923 ne uscì un'altra cui egli «aggiunse un'appendice»¹⁰.

La carriera di questo notevole della cultura e del diritto fu brillante quanto intensa e si concluse con l'epurazione da parte del regime fascista, vista «l'incompatibilità» tra i principi di quel regime e «il principio della sovranità del diritto» a cui Lodovico aveva «costantemente ispirato le sue dottrine e la sua azione»¹¹.

L'esperienza professionale di Mortara non fu caratterizzata dal carrierismo così tipico dell'ambiente né dall'ambizione per l'attività politica, ambizione che, dopo aver vissuto le esperienze di senatore (1910), ministro e vicepremier (1919-20), si sarebbe potuta concretizzare il 29 ottobre 1920 allorché, durante il quinto ministero Giolitti, il premier uscente Francesco Saverio Nitti gli propose di tornare a maggiori impegni politici, riferendosi alla presidenza del Consiglio. Mortara, però, rifiutò senza alcun tentennamento, sottolineando di non aver «mai avuto la passione del potere politico» ed esprimendo «la più viva ripugnanza» perfino all'idea di ritornare al ministero di Grazia e giustizia di cui era stato fino a pochi mesi prima titolare¹².

Ciò che invece non compare nel profilo del figlio Giorgio, e a cui scarsa rilevanza hanno dato gli studi su questo grande personaggio¹³, è il rapporto

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸ Vennero alla luce Giorgio nel 1885, futuro statista, i gemelli Mario e Regina (1889), che sarebbero diventati ingegnere elettrotecnico e casalinga, Nella (1893) e Silvia, con un futuro rispettivamente di fisica e zoologa: F. Cipriani, *Le «poche cose» e la lunga vita di Lodovico Mortara*, «Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno», vol. XIX, 1990, p. 96.

⁹ Sul periodo universitario di Mortara si veda L. Lacchè, «Personalmente contrario, giuridicamente favorevole». La «sentenza Mortara e il voto politico alle donne (25 luglio 1906)», in *Donne e diritti Dalla sentenza Mortara del 1906 alla prima avvocatessa italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004, pp. 103-111.

¹⁰ Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara*, cit., p. 110.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹² F. Genovese, *Luodovico Mortara guardasigilli e il progetto impossibile (ovvero l'utopia italiana di una magistratura di estrazione «non burocratica»)*, «Le carte e la storia», vol. X, 2004, p. 193; Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 176-177.

¹³ N. Picardi, *Mortara, Lodovico*, in *Dizionario biografico italiano degli italiani* (d'ora in poi DBI), Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2012, Vol. 77, pp. 232-236.

da esso maturato nei confronti della questione femminile e, più precisamente, dell'acquisizione del voto politico delle donne e della loro piena affermazione nella società italiana.

Questi due aspetti trovarono concreta espressione nella sentenza emessa dalla Corte di appello di Ancona il 25 luglio 1906 – con Mortara presidente – e nella legge 17 luglio 1919, n. 1776 – con Mortara guardasigilli.

Nato, come detto, nella Mantova asburgica il 16 aprile 1855, Lodovico era il secondogenito di Sara Benedetta Castelfranco, modenese e appartenente a una famiglia religiosa, e di Marco: il padre aveva 19 anni più della madre, ma ciò non inficiò minimamente il rapporto tra i due; Marco, rabbino maggiore della Comunità israelita mantovana e uomo «di vasta e profonda dottrina»¹⁴, accettò l'agnosticismo maturato da Lodovico intorno ai sedici anni, dopo che aveva vissuto anni di intensa religiosità e nonostante tale scelta procurasse alcune incomprensioni nella Comunità ebraica. Lo studio di Marco era inoltre un «focolare d'italianità» tanto che all'indomani dell'ingresso di Mantova nello Stato italiano (1866) gli venne conferita la Croce dei SS. Maurizio e Lazzaro, una delle maggiori onorificenze di Casa Savoia, allora distribuita con «parsimonia»¹⁵; in questo ambiente Lodovico prese a conoscere e a maturare ideali come patria, libertà, giustizia e modernità che avrebbero accompagnato l'intera esperienza di vita, appartenendo dunque a quella generazione di giuristi che nacquero «insieme alla loro Patria» e vissero per renderla più libera, più unita e più giusta¹⁶.

Lodovico crebbe insieme ai suoi fratelli – tra cui Aristo che sarebbe diventato magistrato – in una famiglia benestante e armoniosa, improntata ad uno stile di vita libero e liberale, pur contrassegnato dalla rigida osservanza delle pratiche religiose.

Dopo il padre Lodovico trovò un secondo, grande formatore in Roberto Ardigò, suo docente di filosofia al liceo mantovano che, a metà del primo anno di corso (1871), svestì l'abito talare e iniziò quel proficuo percorso di studi che lo avrebbe portato a segnalarsi, oltre che come docente di storia della filosofia presso l'Università di Padova, come uno dei maggiori esponenti del positivismo italiano. Sospeso *a divinis* nel 1869, Ardigò, già canonico della Cattedrale di Mantova e maestro e docente nel Seminario cittadino, continuò l'insegnamento, contraddistinguendolo «con una autentica tolleranza» e rispettando gli alunni nel sentimento religioso; in particolare, il suo metodo docente privilegiava il diretto coinvolgimento degli allievi, li sollecitava a un dialogo «libero e responsabile», alla lettura di brani critici e alla produzione di

¹⁴ Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara*, cit., p. 107.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Sulla figura di Marco Lelio (Mordekai Levi) Mortara si rinvia a A. Salah, *L'epistolario di Marco Mortara (1815-1894). Un rabbino italiano tra riforma e ortodossia*, Firenze, Giuntina, 2012.

¹⁶ Cipriani, *Le "poche cose" e la lunga vita di Lodovico Mortara*, cit., pp. 91-92.

saggi che dovevano nascere dagli appunti presi durante le lezioni e dalla lettura di bibliografie «da lui suggerite e commentate»¹⁷.

Insomma un metodo d'insegnamento moderno e critico che procurò ad Ardigò resistenze e ostacoli, ma che intendeva superare il conformismo e l'appiattimento dei manuali e dei programmi ministeriali.

Un altro alunno su cui Ardigò esercitò «grande influenza» fu Enrico Ferri, coetaneo e conterraneo di Lodovico, visto che nacque a San Benedetto Po nel 1886, dieci mesi dopo di lui. Laureatosi in giurisprudenza a Bologna e perfezionatosi alla Sorbona, Ferri avviò, con i primi anni ottanta, una doppia brillante carriera, accademica e forense, con quest'ultima che lo avrebbe reso protagonista di famosi processi¹⁸. Nel 1882 l'allora docente di diritto penale nell'ateneo felsineo consigliò all'amico Lodovico di presentare la domanda per ottenere la libera docenza in Procedura civile e ordinamento giudiziario all'Università di Bologna, subito conseguita: si trattò del suo ingresso nel mondo accademico¹⁹.

Con il 1883, anno come detto del matrimonio con Clelia, ebbe inizio per Mortara un periodo contrassegnato da intensi studi e prolifiche pubblicazioni, oltre che dall'accesso a pieno titolo nel mondo accademico: professore ordinario presso l'Università di Pisa (1888), transitò in quella di Napoli (1898), al tempo il primo ateneo italiano e il terzo d'Europa. Non essendo riuscito nel 1901 a ottenere la cattedra di procedura civile all'Università di Roma, a seguito di una vicenda su cui si sono alternate differenti interpretazioni²⁰, Mortara entrò nel 1902 in Cassazione, ricoprendo il ruolo di consigliere dal 1903 al 1905: in questo biennio pubblicò ben 32 sentenze e iniziò a pubblicare saggi su come riformare la Cassazione²¹; a ciò va aggiunta la direzione – che avrebbe mantenuto fino alla morte – di «Giurisprudenza italiana», rivista dalla profonda influenza sul pensiero giuridico nazionale²².

¹⁷ M.P. Allegri, *Il realismo positivo di Roberto Ardigò. L'apogeo teoretico del positivismo*, Cremona, Provincia di Cremona, 2002, pp. 9-10.

¹⁸ G. Sircana, *Ferri, Enrico*, in *DBI*, Vol. 47, 1997, p. 139.

¹⁹ Sull'amicizia tra i due mantovani si veda M.N. Miletta, *Un processo per la Terza Italia. Il codice di procedura penale del 1913*, vol. I, *L'attesa*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2003, p. 345.

²⁰ G. Di Cosimo, *I viaggi di Lodovico Mortara, professore e magistrato*, in M. Severini (ed.), *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Ottocento. Itinerari, obiettivi, scoperte*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2013, pp. 149-150; Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 52-61.

²¹ F. Cipriani, *Scritti in onore dei patres*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2006, p. 107.

²² Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 41-44.

3. Senza prevenzione alcuna

Negli appunti del figlio Giorgio non c'è neanche una riga relativa a quella che, dopo il 25 luglio 1906, è entrata nella storia del diritto italiano come la *sentenza Mortara*.

Questa assenza, unitamente alla reiterata opposizione di Mortara per l'ingresso delle donne nell'avvocatura e ai recenti giudizi di alcuni studiosi del diritto, deve aver convinto il biografo che, sul piano dei rapporti tra i sessi, Lodovico faceva propria quella concezione virile, espressione di uno Stato liberale deciso a mantenere l'esclusione delle donne dal potere politico²³.

Ma tra la documentazione usata non compaiono alcune fonti significative, a cominciare dalla risposta data da Mortara nel 1903 al questionario proposto dall'Unione Femminile, ente nato a Milano nel 1899, su iniziativa di un gruppo composto di donne per estrazione sociale e formazione culturale, con l'intento di elevare l'istruzione delle donne, di promuovere e riunire le istituzioni e le associazioni femminili e di tutelare l'infanzia e la maternità. A sostegno del diritto di voto, in parallelo con diverse altre iniziative (come la presentazione del disegno di legge sul voto femminile da parte del deputato repubblicano Roberto Mirabelli), l'Unione Femminile aveva avviato nel 1903, per poi pubblicarla nella sua omonima rivista nel 1905, un'inchiesta caratterizzata dall'invio di 500 questionari a personalità della cultura e della politica con cui si chiedeva se si dovesse o meno riconoscere il suffragio amministrativo e politico delle donne e per quali ragioni: delle 140 risposte (53 uomini e 87 donne) la maggioranza si espresse favorevolmente, ma tra questi non ci fu Mortara.

Sentiamo in proposito cosa dichiarò lo stesso Mortara nella sua prima e unica intervista, rilasciata a Edgardo De Francesco del «Giornale d'Italia»²⁴, sulla sentenza emessa il 25 luglio 1906 come presidente della Corte di appello di Ancona:

Personalmente, io non ho entusiasmo per l'estensione del voto politico ed amministrativo alle donne, poiché mi sembra non ancora matura la preparazione della gran maggioranza di esse a questa importante funzione. E le dirò anzi, a conferma di ciò, che in un *referendum* iniziato dall'*Unione Femminile* di Milano nel 1903, richiesto del mio parere sulla opportunità di una agitazione *pro-voto*, mi pronunciai in senso contrario²⁵.

Si tratta del primo approccio del giurista mantovano con la questione dell'emancipazione femminile: Mortara vedeva le italiane ancora avulse nella società politica del tempo, riteneva che la questione del loro ingresso richiedesse

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁴ Su questa intervista rinvio a Severini, *Dieci donne*, cit., pp. 26-30.

²⁵ *Il voto politico alle donne*, intervista di E. De Francesco a L. Mortara in «Il Giornale d'Italia», 1° agosto 1906.

non solo studi approfonditi ma mutamenti profondi e consistenti cosicché si espresse contrariamente rispetto alla maggior parte degli interpellati.

Ma appena tre anni dopo fu Mortara, nel pieno di un'età giolittiana contrassegnata da un incredibile dinamismo dell'associazionismo femminile, a segnare una tappa cruciale di quest'ultimo.

Di questa sentenza si già parlato, ma torniamo a sentire in merito il parere di Mortara:

Chiamato però, come magistrato, a decidere la questione, mi son dovuto spogliare di ogni prevenzione personale per esaminare serenamente il testo della legge²⁶.

Mortara proseguì sostenendo che la sentenza smentiva, sulla base dello Statuto, sia la tendenza radicata nel diritto pubblico europeo di non ammettere le donne al godimento dei diritti politici sia il divieto espresso del voto amministrativo femminile resosi necessario per eliminare «i dubbi» che sarebbero sorti in quelle province in cui esso esisteva nel periodo preunitario. Infatti Mortara sosteneva che le donne erano state ammesse al suffragio amministrativo «con forme specialissime» e «solo per titolo di censo»:

Onde non è dubbio che il silenzio di una nuova legge sarebbe bastato per significare la loro esclusione, tanto più se fosse vera la premessa che le donne nel diritto pubblico italiano non godono dei diritti politici se non per eccezionale concessione espressa dalla legge²⁷.

Tra lo Statuto e il testo della legge elettorale amministrativa esisteva una «vera dissonanza» e di ciò, confermava il giudice, erano rimasti «persuasi» i suoi stessi colleghi della Corte d'ora. In più la trasformazione degli istituti politici «nello Stato libero» induceva a superare la vecchia dottrina ermeneutica incentrata sull'idea di legislatore come «padrone dello Stato»: il legislatore diventava, secondo Mortara, il «primo e più alto» degli organi destinati al servizio della vita pubblica e in quanto tale la sua funzione era quella di «adattare» la norma giuridica alle esigenze del vivere civile. L'ufficio del magistrato come interprete della legge assumeva, dunque, una rilevanza completamente nuova ed egli, più che proporsi «la ricerca storica del pensiero del legislatore» in un tempo più o meno passato, doveva chiedersi «con quale intenzione» l'organo legislativo manteneva una formula di legge che poteva prestarsi a una interpretazione difforme rispetto a chi l'aveva compilata:

Se il magistrato può convincersi che l'intenzione del legislatore d'oggi non sia conforme a quella dei compilatori, egli deve risolvere la indagine sulla intenzione in favore del legislatore di oggi e non già del legislatore passato. Così il diritto pubblico moderno viene ad affidare al magistrato una funzione non meno nobile ed alta di quella che, prima della codificazione, gli spettava come creatore del diritto mediante la giurisprudenza. Oggi però il magistrato non

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

crea il diritto: ne ricava la parola viva e conforme ai bisogni della vita civile dal testo della legge. Se egli s'inganna nell'interpretare il pensiero del legislatore, questi ha tosto il mezzo di eliminare la interpretazione errata, con l'esercizio diretto della sua funzione. E davanti alla espressione chiara di un pensiero diverso, il magistrato avrebbe il dovere di uniformarvisi²⁸.

Il linguaggio di Mortara era chiaro così come modernissimi erano i suoi convincimenti.

Questo, in sintesi, il ragionamento di Mortara: non esistendo nella giurisprudenza italiana alcuna esclusione della donna dal diritto di voto politico, egli interpretò lo Statuto albertino, individuando il fondamento essenziale del diritto di voto femminile nell'art. 24 che garantiva a tutti i «regnicoli», qualunque fosse il loro titolo o grado, l'uguaglianza «dinanzi alla legge». Come è noto, lo Statuto era stato emanato nel Regno di Sardegna il 4 marzo 1848, quando lo Stato italiano neanche esisteva. Il termine «regnicoli» indicava nel linguaggio ottocentesco gli abitanti del Regno. Ma solo i maschi o anche le abitanti donne, si chiese il giudice mantovano? Mortara individuò la risposta nella ponderata interpretazione dei successivi articoli 26-32 dello Statuto secondo i quali le donne godevano di tutti i diritti fondamentali (libertà individuale; inviolabilità del domicilio; libertà di manifestare le proprie opinioni attraverso la stampa; diritto di riunione pacifica e senza armi, ecc.): tali diritti venivano regolati dallo Statuto nei rapporti con lo Stato e dunque avevano carattere di «diritti politici». E diritti politici non erano solo quelli connessi con l'esercizio delle pubbliche funzioni o l'investitura «di cariche pubbliche», ma anche il diritto di voto.

De Francesco, che oltre al giornalista faceva pure l'avvocato, si era recato a intervistare «il magistrato» Mortara, ma anche «il giurista e il cittadino» così da conoscere il suo pensiero «sulla grave e complessa questione».

Emanando questa sentenza, Mortara si confermava assertore convinto, sulla base della sua formazione e alla luce di una concezione dinamica dell'ordinamento e dello Stato, della centralità della figura del giudice, che partecipava all'opera di creazione del diritto: l'idea di uguaglianza, che sostanzialmente la visione costituzionalistica del processo civile, era profondamente connaturata alla storia familiare e professionale di Mortara.

Ma è impossibile che un uomo di così riconosciute onestà intellettuale e formazione giuridica non si fermasse neanche un momento a pensare alle conseguenze che quella sentenza avrebbe comportato nella congiuntura politica italiana. Da un Regno in cui votava poco più dell'8% della popolazione – ovviamente tutti maschi – la sentenza avrebbe determinato una di quelle profonde trasformazioni che Mortara reputava essenziali, come detto, a modificare l'immagine stessa della donna italiana: una donna finalmente partecipe della vita civile, sociale e politica del tempo.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

La posizione di Mortara era talmente moderna da anticipare di un quarantennio l'evoluzione politica nazionale e non già sulla base di convincimenti personali, ma di un'interpretazione attenta e sul piano esegetico corretta di un testo costituzionale varato tredici anni prima che venisse proclamata l'Unità nazionale. Però, una volta respinta la questione prima in aula dal premier Giolitti e poi dalla magistratura (sentenza della Cassazione, 4 dicembre 1906, e della Corte di appello di Roma, 8 maggio 1907), Mortara tornò alla sua brillante carriera.

Nel giugno 1907 Mortara venne chiamato nella capitale come capo di gabinetto di Vittorio Emanuele Orlando – la voce più autorevole nel campo del diritto che si era espressa contrariamente alla sentenza – il quale, dopo aver retto il ministero della Pubblica istruzione nel secondo gabinetto Giolitti (1903-1905)²⁹, si era appena insediato al ministero di Grazia e giustizia: qui il giurista siciliano avrebbe portato a termine la riforma dell'ordinamento giudiziario che unì alle garanzie di status giuridico dei magistrati e all'istituzione del Consiglio superiore della magistratura l'avvio di un processo di burocratizzazione e il rafforzamento del ruolo interno di direzione svolto dagli alti gradi, destinato a divenire il principale canale di trasmissione dell'influenza politica sulla magistratura³⁰.

Nel gennaio 1908 Mortara fece ritorno in Cassazione come avvocato generale a Roma; nel 1909 fu nominato procuratore generale a Palermo dove rimase un biennio nel corso del quale gli giunse, il 26 gennaio 1910; nel gennaio 1911 passò, come procuratore generale, a Firenze e nel 1912 a Roma; nella capitale ricoprì, dal 1915 al 1923, la carica di Primo Presidente della Corte di Cassazione di Roma³¹. Con questa carica assurse, come egli stesso ricordò nelle sue memorie, alle posizioni di «vero ed effettivo capo spirituale e quasi anche temporale della magistratura»³². La presidenza mortariana fu caratterizzata da un'impronta particolarmente forte e progressista, ebbe subito l'effetto di fargli dimenticare le amarezze subite in passato e si caratterizzò secondo tre piani principali: quello dell'attività giurisprudenziale del collegio, la guida – ancorché indiretta e ufficiosa – dell'associazione dei magistrati italiani e, infine, quello della gestione amministrativa dell'ufficio³³.

Mortara è giunto al vertice della sua carriera di magistrato: a testimoni importanti come Arturo Carlo Jemolo e Luigi Lucchini, appare ligio e scrupoloso nella sua quotidianità lavorativa, porta innovazioni e padronanza della materia

²⁹ Sugli orientamenti del terzo ministero Giolitti, nell'ambito del quale si svolse l'intera vicenda, si rinvia a A.A. Mola, *Giolitti. Lo statista della nuova Italia*, Milano, Mondadori, 2003, che però neanche menziona Mortara.

³⁰ G. Cianferotti, *Orlando, Vittorio Emanuele*, in *DBI*, Vol. 79, 2013, p. 552.

³¹ F. Cipriani, *Lodovico Mortara nella storia del diritto italiano*, in *Donne e diritti*, cit., p. 54.

³² L. Mortara, *Pagine autobiografiche* (1933), in S. Satta, *Quaderni del diritto e del processo civile*, Padova, 1969, Vol. I, pp. 34-65 (p. 61 per la citazione).

³³ Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 96-97.

giuridica, mette il suo nome su alcune «decisioni» che lasceranno il segno nella giurisprudenza italiana; in pratica, Mortara imprime un nuovo corso alla vita della Cassazione capitolina³⁴.

Nel frattempo l'Italia aveva fatto il suo ingresso in un conflitto mondiale che avrebbe prodotto cambiamenti notevoli nel clima politico, civile e intellettuale italiano e all'interno del movimento femminile. Al termine del conflitto Mortara fu designato a presiedere la Commissione reale sulle violazioni dei diritti delle genti commesse dal nemico – Commissione «progenitrice» dei tribunali di Norimberga e di Tokyo³⁵ – e, anche grazie alla visibilità conosciuta a seguito di queste esperienze, ricevette la nomina a ministro di Grazia e giustizia³⁶.

4. *Un ministro riformatore per una legge nuova*

Dal 23 giugno 1919 al 23 maggio 1920 Lodovico Mortara entrò nei primi due gabinetti formati da Francesco Saverio Nitti, «suo vecchio e grande amico»³⁷, e fu questo l'unico periodo di interruzione «dell'alto ufficio» di Primo Presidente della Cassazione romana³⁸.

Anche in questo frangente, il ruolo di Mortara è stato assolutamente sottovalutato dalla storiografia.

Se è infatti vero che l'esecutivo guidato da Nitti era quanto di meglio la classe dirigente liberal-democratica potesse allora esprimere «per cultura, competenza e modernità di vedute» e che la sua vocazione riformatrice «era fuori discussione»³⁹, appare davvero strano che per il giudice mantovano, assertore di un'ampia modernità di vedute e programmi, non si sia trovato lo spazio neanche di una citazione. Le sintesi più importanti di storia italiana e anche i più accreditati studi scientifici sul primo dopoguerra lo citano appena come guardasigilli – e qualcuno non fa neanche questa menzione –, trascurando assolutamente i delicati compiti ricoperti in quell'anno.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99 ss. Tuttavia l'autore sostiene, in queste stesse pagine, che «l'essersi seduto sullo scranno più alto della magistratura abbia acuito alcune sue caratteristiche negative, a cominciare dalla convinzione sempre coltivata di essere l'unico in grado di eccellere». L'idea che il suo ufficio da Presidente della Cassazione sia stato condizionato da «aspetti caratteriali» e lo abbia portato a «sottovalutare gli altri», trasformando «genio e sicurezza» in difetti lascia molto perplessi.

³⁵ Picardi, *Mortara, Lodovico*, cit., p. 234.

³⁶ Cipriani, *Lodovico Mortara nella storia del diritto italiano*, cit., p. 54.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Ma dopo l'esperienza di Mortara come guardasigilli l'amicizia tra i due si incrinò: Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 178-182.

³⁸ Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara*, cit., p. 112.

³⁹ G. Sabbatucci, *La crisi dello Stato liberale*, in *Storia d'Italia 4. Guerre e fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997, p. 111.

Guardasigilli, Mortara resse, durante le assenze del premier, la vice presidenza del Consiglio e l'*interim* degli interni e degli esteri, divenendo, in sostanza, «il *dominus* dell'Italia intera»⁴⁰.

È vero, d'altra parte, come ha ricordato il figlio Giorgio, che si trattava di «un'epoca agitata» e che le stesse «condizioni» dell'attività parlamentare impedirono al magistrato mantovano di portare a compimento il suo progetto di riforma dell'ordinamento giudiziario, che puntava a «preparare l'organo adatto per l'applicazione delle sognate riforme processuali»⁴¹.

La *vittoria mutilata* e l'occupazione di Fiume da parte di D'Annunzio; le acute tensioni sociali culminate nel *biennio rosso*; la crisi dei vecchi equilibri politici, resa clamorosamente manifesta dalle elezioni politiche del novembre 1919 con il conseguente successo dei partiti di massa, espressero in tutta evidenza la misura dei cambiamenti intercorsi durante il periodo bellico e, al contempo, l'impossibilità di garantire un'effettiva stabilità politica, restituendo centralità ed egemonia alla vecchia classe dirigente liberale⁴².

La legge n. 1176 del 17 luglio 1919 che ha riconosciuto la capacità giuridica della donna ebbe una genesi complessa e articolata e soprattutto ebbe diversi padri, anche se poi è stata conosciuta quasi esclusivamente come *legge Sacchi*.

Di «capacità giuridica della donna» ha parlato nell'aula della Camera il deputato Sandrini nella seduta del 19 dicembre 1913, nell'ambito della presentazione di alcuni emendamenti all'indirizzo di risposta al discorso della Corona che hanno trattato di divorzio, di ricerca della paternità naturale e di precedenza del matrimonio civile su quello religioso. Sandrini, in particolare, ha richiesto «coraggiose riforme del diritto giudiziario e commerciale e dello stesso codice civile che ormai in alcune sue parti non è più in armonia con quel diritto che spontaneamente si forma nella coscienza popolare in relazione ai bisogni effettivi dei tempi»; se il codice civile – continua Sandrini –, «dominato dall'idea individualistica», non risulta più sufficiente «per ciò che riguarda quel precioso elemento della produzione che è il lavoro», in particolare

i limiti imposti alla capacità giuridica della donna non appaiono più conformi a giustizia, ove si considerino l'odierna sempre crescente partecipazione del lavoro femminile alla produzione della ricchezza e la stessa idea della missione della donna, quale viene elaborandosi attraverso nuovi sentimenti e nuovi bisogni.

Nato nel 1866 a Sesto al Reghena, nella bassa pianura veneto-friulana, avvocato e liberale, Sandrini era entrato alla Camera nel 1913, dopo aver firmato l'epitafio gentilizio, per il collegio di Portogruaro, sconfiggendo nettamente il deputato uscente Vittorio Moschini, dopo un'aspra contesa

⁴⁰ Cipriani, *Lodovico Mortara nella storia del diritto italiano*, cit., p. 55.

⁴¹ Mortara, *Appunti biografici su Lodovico Mortara*, cit., p. 112.

⁴² G. Sabbatucci, *Il trasformismo come sistema*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003, pp. 56-67.

elettorale⁴³. Dopo aver ascoltato le parole del relatore Orlando e aver visto respinto un emendamento dell'onorevole Cavallera sulla Sardegna, Sandrini venne assalito dai dubbi e cambiò idea: prima propose di sostituire il termine «capacità giuridica» con «e di diritto pubblico» e l'ultima parte della sua proposta con l'espressione «e la missione sociale della donna», poi ritirò le sue «proposte», dichiarando che sarebbero rimaste «come espressione dei miei sentimenti, per ritornarvi sopra a tempo più opportuno»⁴⁴.

Sequivano, nella seduta del 7 febbraio 1914, due interrogazioni con cui Sandrini interpellava il guardasigilli per sapere «se e quando» intendesse presentare i disegni di legge sull'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale e sulla ricerca della paternità⁴⁵.

Il 10 giugno 1916 Sandrini presentava la proposta di legge per l'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale, firmata anche dai deputati Giuseppe Canepa e Arnaldo Dello Sbarba⁴⁶.

Prima però va dato conto di come la percezione circa l'abolizione del superato istituto era radicalmente cambiata con il conflitto al punto che non si parlava più di una richiesta ma di un dovere che il Parlamento non poteva più non riconoscere alle italiane. Nel marzo precedente, in Senato, il cinquantottenne esponente liberale Silvio Pellerano – avvocato toscano di Massa – trattava di «un dovere sociale, un vero atto di gratitudine verso la donna» nell'ambito della discussione sul bilancio della Giustizia, aggiungendo parole concise ma efficaci:

Le donne italiane, in questa guerra, hanno dimostrato serietà di propositi e patriottismo superiori ad ogni elogio. Esse si sono trasformate in infermiere, in tranviere, in bramiste, hanno sopportato in silenzio il loro grande dolore, quando hanno assistito alla partenza dei loro mariti e dei loro figli. È un'altra rivelazione che noi abbiamo avuto in questa guerra. La donna è divenuta più bella, più grande. Ed io francamente credo che noi dobbiamo dimostrare alle donne la nostra viva riconoscenza parificandola all'uomo nei diritti civili⁴⁷.

Dopo due anni e mezzo di silenzio, si tornava a parlare del tema nel dicembre 1916, al termine di un anno che aveva registrato la *Strafexpedition* da parte degli austriaci, la successiva controffensiva italiana e il cambio alla guida del governo, con il premier Salandra dimissionario sostituito con il settantottenne Paolo Boselli, un ex impiegato e docente universitario che era entrato in Parlamento nel 1870, sedendo tra i banchi della Destra storica.

⁴³ I.R. Pellegrini, *L'altro secolo. Cent'anni di storia sociale e politica a Portogruaro (1870-1970)*, Portogruaro, Nuova dimensione, 2001, pp. 129-130.

⁴⁴ Atti Parlamentari (d'ora in poi AP), *Camera dei Deputati*, Legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione, *Discussioni*, tornata del 19 dicembre 1913, p. 614.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, tornata del 7 febbraio 1914, p. 915.

⁴⁶ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, Legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione, *Discussioni*, tornata del 10 giugno 1916, p. 10790.

⁴⁷ AP, *Senato del Regno*, Legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione 1913-16, *Discussioni*, tornata del 23 marzo 1916, pp. 2060-2061.

Al fronte, alla vigilia del secondo lungo inverno di guerra, i soldati erano avvinti da una grande inquietudine e l'esigenza indifferibile di risollevare il morale della truppa – i casi di autolesionismo raggiunsero il più elevato indice di frequenza proprio in quell'anno – venne praticamente ignorata. Il cappellano militare Giovanni Minozzi, trentaduenne reatino, osservò che ai soldati avrebbe fatto «più bene un'ora di divertimento, che cento grammi di pane in più»: ma in quello scorcio d'anno non solo non venne concessa quell'ora di divertimento, anzi si irrigidì il già forte regime di austerità, ma i soldati videro ridotta la razione giornaliera di pane da 750 a 600 grammi giornalieri⁴⁸.

Lunedì 12 dicembre 1916 iniziò nel primo pomeriggio alla Camera dei deputati una seduta che si annunciava «di scarso interesse», con tribune «poco popolate»; ma l'aula era affollata visto che bisognava discutere due elezioni contestate: l'attenzione dei cronisti era principalmente rivolta alla discussione del progetto di legge sugli orfani di guerra⁴⁹.

Ministro della Giustizia era Ettore Sacchi, subentrato nelle vesti di guardasigilli del governo Boselli.

La proposta Sandrini aboliva «l'articolo 134 del codice civile» e tutti «quegli altri articoli che ne sono, nel codice stesso ed in quello di procedura civile, la conseguenza e l'applicazione»: le italiane stavano segnalandosi con operosità e sacrificio negli ospedali da campo, nella mobilitazione civile, nelle fabbriche, negli uffici e in tutti quegli altri luoghi in cui avevano «sostituito i mariti e i congiunti chiamati alle armi, dando prova di una sicura capacità fattiva e direttiva», che era «in stridente antitesi con la *deminutio capitis*», prevista appunto dal sopra citato art. 134.

La riforma – argomentava Sandrini – era quindi ormai matura sia per allineare l'Italia con lo stato di diritto degli Stati più progrediti sia per una ragione politica, dal momento che le donne abitanti nelle terre che gli italiani stavano conquistando – il riferimento era all'Impero austro-ungarico – godevano di un «trattamento giuridico più liberale»:

Sicché io ritengo, onorevoli colleghi, che secondando finalmente alla donna italiana la completa uguaglianza giuridica, oltre che realizzare una matura riforma legislativa, oltre che adempiere ad un obbligo di giustizia verso una parte sì numerosa ed importante di cittadini dello Stato, compiremo un doveroso atto di gratitudine per quanto la donna italiana ha fatto e fa in questi terribili momenti⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ P. Melograni, *Storia politica della Grande guerra 1915-1918*, Milano, Mondadori, 1998 (1ª edizione, 1969), p. 223 (e p. 219 per la statistica sui casi di autolesionismo, ripresa dai dati di Giorgio Mortara).

⁴⁹ *La Camera inizia la discussione della legge per gli orfani di guerra*, «La Stampa», 13 dicembre 1916, p. 2.

⁵⁰ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione, *Discussioni*, tornata del 12 dicembre 1916, p. 11573.

Era questo il concetto-chiave destinato a sviluppi immediati: la gratitudine, la benemerenzza, la riconoscenza che le donne si erano conquistate sostituendo milioni di uomini chiamati al fronte costituiva la base di un iter legislativo ancora tutto da definire.

I diversi progetti si strutturarono in legge grazie a questa idea di benemerenzza e a un conflitto mondiale che accelerava processi e fenomeni destinati altrimenti a conoscere un'evoluzione più lenta e alla visibilità pubblica conquistata dalle italiane⁵¹.

Il ministro Sacchi plaudiva alla proposta, affermava che la necessità di elevare la condizione giuridica della donna non poteva più essere differita e iniziava a interessarsi al processo legislativo che l'anno dopo avrebbe assunto il suo nome.

Nato a Cremona nel 1851 dall'impiegato di finanza Massimiliano e Annetta Bissolati – per questo era cugino di Leonida, noto esponente socialista –, Sacchi si era formato nel clima culturale positivista aderendo fin dalla gioventù alla democrazia radicale; avvocato civilista, era stato eletto nel 1882 tra le file dell'Estrema sinistra in Parlamento dove si era battuto per i maggiori problemi sociali e politici di fine Ottocento, e si era segnalato come uno dei fautori del Partito radicale (1904), divenendone leader dopo la morte di Felice Cavallotti e affermandone il carattere di partito moderno, intermedio tra conservatori e socialisti; dopo aver rifiutato, agli inizi del Novecento, incarichi ministeriali da Zanardelli e Giolitti, Sacchi aveva ripetutamente la carica di ministro a partire dal governo Sonnino (1906)⁵².

Oltre a Sacchi, il progetto Sandrini veniva sottoscritto da Lidia Poët che, decana della lotta per l'ingresso delle donne nell'avvocatura, teneva nel luglio 1917 una conferenza sul disegno di legge al Circolo di Cultura di Torino, poi pubblicata⁵³.

A conferma che i tempi stavano velocemente cambiando, va ricordato come due donne, la socialista Romelia Troise e la nobile Giorgia Ponzio Vaglia, in rappresentanza del Consiglio nazionale delle donne italiane⁵⁴, venivano ammesse a partecipare, a titolo consultivo, alla Commissione della Camera per l'elaborazione il testo definitivo (un tentativo di don Sturzo di inserire Rina Bizzarri in rappresentanza delle donne cattoliche non andò in porto perché presentato tardivamente): le due però non vennero mai di fatto interpellate e ciò determinò malumori e rimproveri da parte degli organismi rappresentati⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Tacchi, *Eva togata. Donne e professioni giuridiche in Italia dall'Unità a oggi*, Torino, Utet, 2009, p. 45.

⁵² Morandi, *Sacchi, Ettore*, cit., pp. 480-482.

⁵³ L. Poët, *Sulla capacità giuridica della donna e l'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale*, Roma 1917; sul 'caso' rappresentato dall'avvocata piemontese si veda Tacchi, *Eva togata*, cit., pp. 3-16.

⁵⁴ È la terzogenita di Fanny Rogier ed Emilio Giuseppe Giacomo Gaetano Ponzio Vaglia (1831-1913), militare sabaudo, senatore, aiutante del re e ministro della Real casa con Umberto I, nominato conte nel 1904.

⁵⁵ Tacchi, *Eva togata*, cit., p. 46.

Di fatto il progetto languiva in Parlamento. Al momento peraltro il ministero Boselli non poteva andare al di là del prendere in considerazione la proposta.

Alla fine del febbraio 1917, con le italiane impegnate nella fase più drammatica del conflitto e in compiti tipicamente maschili, Sacchi presentava il disegno di legge *Disposizioni relative alla capacità giuridica della donna*. In aula il guardasigilli affermava che era giunto il momento di modificare in proposito le norme del Codice civile, così da offrire «quasi un atto di giustizia e direi quasi di riparazione cui, ora più che mai, le donne hanno diritto. Esso gioverà ad eliminare, per la donna appunto nella famiglia, ov'è in ispecie il suo regno, una formazione attestazione di naturale incapacità e di soggezione rispetto all'uomo»⁵⁶.

Fino al termine del conflitto Sacchi riceveva al ministero delegazioni femminili che premevano per ottenere il prima possibile la legge, senza peraltro dimenticare l'obiettivo del voto.

Ad esempio, ai primi di marzo del 1917, una cinquantina di Associazioni femminili spedivano «ai ministri» un indirizzo in cui ponevano l'accento sul fatto che, nonostante le «promesse riforme sociali e politiche» in favore della donna, non era intervenuta alcuna modifica sul piano del diritto privato; le firmatarie specificavano che nessuna riforma avrebbe potuto risolvere «adeguatamente la questione femminile» fino a quando la donna non avesse partecipato «direttamente alla tutela dei suoi interessi» e sollecitavano la conversione in legge, «od in decreto legge», del progetto Sacchi: firmavano questo indirizzo Carla Lavelli Celesia «per il Fascio» di 47 Associazioni femmili milanesi, Margherita Ancona per il Comitato lombardo pro suffragio, Paolina Tarugi per il Comitato per l'ammissione della donna ai pubblici uffici e all'esercizio delle libere professioni⁵⁷.

Due anni dopo la presentazione della *legge Sacchi*, a guerra finita, si torna a parlare in Parlamento dell'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale.

L'Unione Femminile non aveva mai cessato di perorare la causa: e alla fine del gennaio 1919 telegrafava al premier Orlando, impegnato a Parigi alla Conferenza di Pace, in vista della discussione del regolamento internazionale del lavoro: in particolare venivano richieste «opportune restrizioni» sul lavoro delle donne, l'assicurazione materna obbligatoria per tutte le donne, l'assistenza igienico-sociale alla maternità e all'infanzia, misure tutte capaci di garantire «vigoria fisica e intellettuale» alle nuove generazioni e di porre argine alla

⁵⁶ AP, *Camera dei Deputati, Documenti*, Disegno di legge del ministro di grazia e giustizia Sacchi, Disposizioni relative alla capacità giuridica della donna, 27 febbraio 1917, atto C. 728, p. 24.

⁵⁷ *Conferenze, congressi, assemblee, ibid.*, 7 marzo 1917, p. 3. Sulla Celesia si veda il profilo di B. Pisa e M.C. Gozzoli in R. Farina (ed.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne lombarde*, 568-1968, Milano, Baldini & Castoldi, 1995, pp. 294-295.

distruzione «di preziose energie umane» determinata dal conflitto appena concluso⁵⁸.

Il 7 marzo 1919, prendeva il via la discussione alla Camera sul progetto della Commissione parlamentare che, presieduta dal democratico-costituzionale Giuseppe Di Stefano Napolitani, aveva ampliato la proposta ministeriale prevedendo l'abolizione dell'articolo 10 del Codice di procedura civile, ammettendo le donne ad esercitare tutte le professioni e a ricoprire pubblici impieghi, eccettuati quelli implicanti poteri giurisdizionali, o l'esercizio di diritti e potestà politiche, o che attengano alla difesa militare dello Stato⁵⁹.

Siamo negli ultimi tempi del governo Orlando e Luigi Facta ha sostituito Sacchi, in seguito al rimpasto ministeriale del gennaio 1919, al dicastero di Grazia, giustizia e culti.

Per una singolare coincidenza, il dibattito si chiudeva nella seduta dell'8 marzo 1919, aperta sul tema proprio dal guardasigilli che apriva il suo intervento con un duplice ringraziamento nei confronti dell'amico

onorevole Sacchi, che è stato il creatore di questa legge e che questa legge ha propugnata con quel largo sentimento di democratica e sana visione dei nuovi problemi che è il suo privilegio, e che d'altronde ha portato qui l'affettuosità sua, tanto che ha voluto intervenire nella discussione; ed all'amico onorevole Di Stefano, di cui il lavoro ponderoso e magnifico è tale, che può soddisfare tutte le esigenze che il provvedimento pone innanzi. Io mi spiego, onorevoli colleghi, che il progetto, il quale pareva di limitate proporzioni, abbia potuto dar luogo allo svolgimento di altri principi e concetti che, se non hanno una stretta attinenza con la legge stessa, pure sono tali da appassionare vivamente la Camera, sia dal lato dell'importanza dei problemi stessi, sia per l'occasione, che così facilmente dava esca a considerazioni di indole più generale⁶⁰.

Facta voleva richiamare la Camera «all'essenza stessa del progetto» e ai limiti «nei quali è stato presentato e si dovrebbe discutere» e al collega Abozzi che, oltre all'istituto da sopprimere, aveva toccato questioni quali «l'ordinamento della famiglia e il patrimonio familiare», il guardasigilli replicava:

Il movimento della vita sociale è rapido, anzi rapidissimo: i secoli divengono anni, e tutto si trasforma sotto la pressione di questa rapida evoluzione la quale determina delle lacune che devono essere corrette. Quindi anche l'istituto matrimoniale e della famiglia si avvierà verso altre forme, verso altri istituti, che potranno avere maggiore rispondenza con lo stato della società. Tutto quello che l'onorevole Abozzi ha detto è un argomento la cui importanza non può sfuggire ad una assemblea legislativa, ma non riguarda l'istituto dell'autorizzazione

⁵⁸ *Un Voto dell'Unione naz. femminile, ibid.*, 28 gennaio 1919, p. 3.

⁵⁹ F. Mastroberti, *La 'Legge Sacchi' sulla condizione giuridica della donna: grande riforma o 'modestissima leggina'?*, «Quaderni del Dipartimento Jonico», n. 4, 2016, p. 51.

⁶⁰ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione, *Discussioni*, tornata dell'8 marzo 1919, p. 18772.

maritale; si riferisce a tutt'altra cosa, e quindi pregherei l'onorevole Abozzi, che ha dichiarato di comprendere la difficoltà di portare queste questioni di indole generale nella discussione di una legge speciale, di riservare il suo contributo autorevole di dottrina e di studio per altre prossime occasioni⁶¹.

I tentativi di ampliare il disegno di legge venivano rintuzzati ma le opposizioni, con in testa i socialisti, ottenevano, con la ratifica dell'emendamento Modigliani, di rinviare ad apposito regolamento, oggetto di discussione e di preoccupazione da parte dell'esponente cattolico Camerini, la definizione delle eccezioni alla regola dell'uguaglianza e, dunque, dell'ammissione delle donne agli impieghi pubblici.

Nella seduta pomeridiana dello stesso 8 marzo 1919 il disegno di legge sulla capacità giuridica della donna viene approvato dalla Camera, alla presenza di 334 deputati (maggioranza richiesta, 168), con 292 voti favorevoli (87,42%) e 42 contrari⁶².

Una volta approvato dalla Camera, passarono 96 giorni prima che il disegno di legge «Capacità giuridica della donna» approdasse al Senato dove Mortara venne chiamato a presiedere la Commissione apposita⁶³.

La distanza nel passaggio tra i due rami del Parlamento era tornata a preoccupare i circoli femminili e, in particolare, l'Unione Femminile Nazionale guidata, nella primavera del '19, dal gruppo delle femministe interventiste che si esprimevano attraverso il nuovo organo di stampa, il settimanale «Voce Nuova»⁶⁴.

Diretta dalla milanese Sofia Ravasi (1896-1977) – rampolla di una famiglia d'industriali lombardi, saggista ed assistenzialista, fondatrice della sezione milanese della scuola montessoriana e della Fidapa, futura moglie nel 1928 dell'editore Aldo Garzanti⁶⁵ – e da Paolina Tarugi, toscana di Montepulciano, classe 1889, nata da una famiglia comitale trasferitasi a Milano, laureatasi in Giurisprudenza a Pavia nel 1912 (seconda donna a conseguire il traguardo in quella Facoltà), femminista, relatrice nel 1914 al Congresso Internazionale

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18773.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 18819.

⁶³ L. Martone, *L'incapacità della donna nel sistema giuridico dell'Italia liberale*, «Democrazia e Diritto», nn. 2-3, 1996, pp. 528-532; F. Tacchi, «Una silfide vaporosa dagli occhi color mare e dalla chioma d'oro». *Elisa Comani del foro di Ancona*, in *Donne e diritti. Dalla sentenza Mortara del 1906 alla prima avvocata italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004, p. 163. Sulle argomentazioni adottate dalla Commissione del Senato sul progetto di legge relativo alla capacità giuridica della donna, che evidenziano le notevoli difficoltà incontrate dai giuristi del tempo che si trovavano a fronteggiare una mentalità diffusa e pregiudizi inveterati si vedano Tacchi, *Eva togata. Donne e professioni giuridiche in Italia dall'Unità ad oggi*, cit., pp. 29-32 ss. e Alpa, *Presentazione a Donne e diritti*, cit., pp. 16-18, poi ripreso in Id., *L'ingresso della donna nelle professioni legali*, «Rassegna Forense», n. 2, 2010, pp. 238-240.

⁶⁴ Farina (ed.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne lombarde 569-1968*, cit., p. 50.

⁶⁵ Ead., *Ravasi Sofia in Garzanti*, in Ead., *Dizionario biografico delle donne lombarde, 568-1968*, cit., pp. 921-922.

Femminile, interventista, poi assistenzialista e futura iniziatrice del servizio sociale italiano⁶⁶, la «Voce Nuova» sosteneva l'urgenza di un decreto legge per il provvedimento approvato dalla Camera l'8 marzo 1919: secondo la Ravasi la donna italiana si era donata, durante il conflitto appena concluso, «con amore e sacrificio» per la «difesa» e la «fortuna» del paese, dando prova di un'organizzazione «spontanea, disciplinata e indipendente»; c'era pertanto bisogno di una donna e di una famiglia nuova, al netto della «teoria socialista» che aveva negato al popolo «la famiglia nazionale perché i popoli si annullino nell'internazionale» e all'individuo la famiglia «perché l'individuo si fonda e sperda nella collettività»; spettava alla donna creare su un piano «nuovo di vita», una famiglia nuova⁶⁷.

Questa evidente posizione conservatrice e patriottica, tutta incentrata sulle capacità di trasformazione operata dalla Grande guerra, veniva sviluppata dalla Tarugi: questi temeva che il progetto di legge «dell'ex Ministro Sacchi», incentrato sull'intenzione di cancellare dalla legislazione italiana l'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale e il divieto alle donne di accedere ai pubblici uffici ed esercitare le libere professioni, potesse arenarsi «per assenteismi governativi, per insufficienza di uomini, per gli eventi che incalzano e precipitano» o per l'improvvisa e prossima chiusura «della presente legislatura».

Le donne erano «per il nuovo e per il giusto» e di fronte a «tanto vecchiume» erano diventate «intolleranti» e chiedevano la pronta abolizione dell'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale, «omaggio superstite ad un'unità nel governo della famiglia, riposta tutta sull'ossequio al *pater familias* di altri tempi, sia un anacronismo illogico». E contro la morale «unilaterale» degli uomini e la loro legislazione «unisessuale», Tarugi chiosava:

Buttate la maschera e dite che ci temete per la concorrenza. Se siete i più forti, come dite, in una lotta libera, a pieni polmoni, noi, più deboli, soccomberemo. Ma, saremo vinte, non... *riformate od esonerate*. La lotta non ci spaventa, vi sfidiamo!

E voi, ministro Facta, abbiate fede ed osate: la nostra pazienza dell'attesa è esaurita!⁶⁸

Insomma, in quello scorcio di primavera i principali circoli femminili tornavano a mobilitarsi come nei frangenti più attivi dell'età giolittiana, mentre parallelamente la Commissione senatoriale concludeva i suoi lavori e portava in aula il progetto per l'approvazione definitiva.

⁶⁶ B. Pisa, *Tarugi Paolina*, *ibid.*, pp. 1060-1061; M. Dellavalle, *Paolina Tarugi. Iniziatrice del servizio sociale italiano*, in M. Stefani (ed.), *Le origini del servizio sociale italiano. Tremezzo: un evento fondativo del 1946*, Roma, Viella, 2012, pp. 183-242.

⁶⁷ S. Ravasi, *Donna nuova per una famiglia nuova*, «Voce Nuova», 7 giugno 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁸ P. Tarugi, *Il progetto Sacchi sia decreto-legge!*, *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

5. *La discussione in Senato*

Prima di vedere quest'ultimo passaggio, va sottolineato come il ministero Nitti, di cui Mortara era guardasigilli, si era insediato il 19 giugno 1919 e, nonostante le forti agitazioni sociali e gli scioperi della fase iniziale del *biennio rosso*, pareva aver intrapreso le prime settimane di legislatura con il vento in poppa, deciso a chiudere lo stato di guerra, a smobilitare l'esercito e ad attuare un progetto democratico-riformatore mirante in politica interna a un welfare «universalistico e progredito»⁶⁹ prevedente la soluzione amichevole delle vertenze scaturite dalle agitazioni di tipo economico, una serie di misure a tutela dell'invalidità e della vecchiaia nel campo delle riforme sociali, la razionalizzazione e la ristrutturazione dell'amministrazione centrale dello Stato e il rafforzamento dei processi di consolidamento degli apparati di sicurezza⁷⁰.

In particolare, Mortara, unico indipendente nella compagine governativa, aveva lasciato le abituali occupazioni da magistrato per porsi al servizio dello Stato: si mostrava deciso a porre in essere importanti iniziative legislative e i suoi primi provvedimenti lo attestano chiaramente: dal disegno di legge con cui si intendeva immettere nei ruoli 300 pretori «per merito di guerra», fortemente contrastato dai magistrati (8 luglio), allo schema di legge per la tutela degli orfani di guerra e dei trovatelli nati durante il conflitto (28 luglio) al riordino del personale e dei servizi di cancelleria (30 agosto). Ma il provvedimento maggiormente incisivo sull'ordinamento civile e i costumi del tempo è la legge sulla capacità giuridica della donna⁷¹, tanto più che esso sarebbe risultato il più rilevante risultato dell'impegno mortariano, a fronte delle riforme non realizzate come quelle dell'ordinamento giudiziario e del processo civile⁷².

Dal 1910 Mortara era stato nominato senatore e subito aveva dato vitalità riformatrice, interessandosi ad esempio della riforma del Senato, un'altra sorta di *riforma impossibile*, che però il giudice mantovano aveva pensato attorno a tre punti (abolizione della durata vitalizia della carica a scapito di quella elettiva; forte riduzione della prerogativa governativa di nomina; soppressione delle categorie professionali entro cui scegliere i nominati)⁷³, elementi tutti poi confluiti in un suo noto scritto⁷⁴.

Il 12 luglio 1919 la discussione sulla capacità giuridica della donna arrivava in Senato, dopo che la Commissione aveva raccolto l'input della Camera di

⁶⁹ M. Ferrera, *Modelli di solidarietà: politica e riforme sociali nelle democrazie*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, p. 230.

⁷⁰ F. Fabbri, *Le origini della guerra civile. L'Italia dalla Grande Guerra al fascismo, 1918-1921*, Torino, Utet, 2009, p. 71.

⁷¹ Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 156-157.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 182-188 ss.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

⁷⁴ L. Mortara, *Per la riforma del Senato: un problema urgente del dopoguerra*, «Rivista d'Italia», vol. XXI, n. 3, 1918, pp. 243-258.

riunire in unico provvedimento istanze differenti. Erano presenti in aula il premier Nitti, i ministri delle Finanze Tedesco, del Tesoro Schanzer e di Grazia e giustizia Mortara. Presiedeva la seduta il presidente del Senato Adeodato Bonasi, il decano dell'aula, ottantunenne, chiamato a quell'importante compito in seguito alla morte di Giuseppe Manfredi. Rampollo di una nobile famiglia modenese legata alla corte ducale, professore di diritto amministrativo negli atenei di Modena e Pisa, consigliere di Stato (di cui è stato pure presidente), deputato dal 1886, senatore dal 1896, prefetto di Roma (1896), guardasigilli sotto il ministero Pelloux (1898-1900), Bonasi era un liberale conservatore che aveva pure sperimentato nello scorcio dell'Ottocento inclinazioni clericomoderate⁷⁵.

Dopo la lettura dell'ordine del giorno da parte del segretario Filippo Torrigiani, presero la parola tre senatori: Raffaele Perla, un sessantenne campano, presidente del Consiglio di Stato; l'avvocato veneziano Adriano Diena, sessantaduenne, rampollo di un'illustre famiglia ebraica di giuristi, già presidente del Consiglio provinciale di Venezia; e il settantasettenne abruzzese Francesco Filomusi Guelfi che il 4 luglio 1918 ha concluso presso l'Università di Roma una quarantennale carriera di docente universitario, prima di Filosofia del Diritto e poi di Diritto civile⁷⁶.

In sostanza i tre senatori si pronunciavano favorevolmente all'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale e concordavano sul fatto che i tempi fossero maturi per l'ingresso delle donne nel mondo del lavoro, in uno con i componenti della Commissione.

La discussione riprendeva lunedì 14 luglio, nella seduta pomeridiana, sempre sotto la presidenza Bonasi, con i commentatori dei principali giornali tutti concentrati sulla fiducia che il secondo ministero Nitti aveva ottenuto alla Camera con larga maggioranza⁷⁷.

Il disegno di legge sulla capacità giuridica muliebre veniva subito affrontato all'inizio della seduta. Assumeva la parola Paolo Emilio Bensa, sessantunenne genovese, docente universitario di Diritto civile nell'ateneo della sua città, relatore della Commissione apposita del Senato presieduta da Mortara. Bensa rimarcava subito la grande importanza «giuridica e sociale» del disegno di legge concernente questioni che avevano «vivamente» appassionato sia «l'ambiente giuridico» sia l'opinione pubblica, ma di fatto ignorato dalla stampa che «tace, trova altri argomenti nell'ora presente, così grave di pensieri e di fatti, intorno a cui intrattenersi»⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ P. Spirito, *Bonasi, Adeodato*, in *DBI*, 1969, Vol. 11, p. 590.

⁷⁶ Le notizie biografiche sono tratte dalle schede dei parlamentari presenti nel portale del Senato.

⁷⁷ *La fiducia della Camera nel Ministero con 146 voti di maggioranza*, «La Stampa», 15 luglio 1919.

⁷⁸ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione 1913-19, *Discussioni*, tornata del 14 luglio 1919, p. 5020.

Bensa sottolineava poi come i pochi «appunti» mossi, riguardanti «esclusivamente la parte più civilistica del disegno di legge», non avevano presa forma di emendamenti, mentre la parte che aveva maggiore rilevanza sociale, concernente il libero accesso delle donne sia alle «professioni liberali» sia ai pubblici impieghi non era stata criticata oppure era stata oggetto delle «più autorevoli e recise approvazioni»⁷⁹.

Dopo aver citato le riserve mostrate dal presidente Mortara circa l'accesso delle donne all'avvocatura⁸⁰, il senatore Bensa ricordava che le italiane erano profondamente cambiate, che molte si rivelavano capaci di provvedere da sole al proprio sostentamento cosicché il diritto di accedere «a queste professioni» non poteva più essere negato, anche perché la vita si era fatta «sempre più acra, sempre più difficile» per cui non era lecito «disarmare chi va incontro al bisogno, di quei mezzi, di cui la natura o lo studio o l'esperienza l'hanno potuto arricchire» così come non è lecito, per ragioni egoistiche, togliere «alla metà del genere umano la possibilità di innalzarsi dove colle sue forze può giungere»⁸¹.

Peraltro, in apertura d'intervento, Bensa aveva subito ricordato come l'Ufficio centrale del Senato, composto da insigni giuristi e già presieduto dall'eminente magistrato, «che ora è a capo del Dicastero di giustizia», cioè Mortara, si esprimeva «senz'altro per l'approvazione della riforma»⁸².

A questo punto l'interesse dell'aula era tutto rivolto all'intervento del presidente della Commissione Mortara. Questi subito spiegava come «la esclusiva e vera ragione» della sua riserva consistesse nell'«eccessivo numero» dei professionisti maschi già esistenti nell'ordine forense, una «piaga della nostra vita nazionale», pensiero del resto comune a «tutti i professionisti autorevoli»⁸³.

Mortara riconosceva al collega Perla di essersi mostrato «ostilmente favorevole» all'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale, ricordando le legislazioni dell'antica Roma che però erano quelle del periodo «della dissoluzione della famiglia romana e con essa dello Stato»⁸⁴. Ma in «questa materia» non erano le leggi, ma i costumi che importavano⁸⁵. Il progetto in discussione, sottolineava il Primo Presidente della Cassazione romana, inaugurava «il regime di libertà», una libertà che avrebbe mantenuto «salda e robusta» la famiglia italiana⁸⁶.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Mortara si era già espresso in passato contro l'accesso delle donne in avvocatura, non già per una questione di capacità, ma di opportunità, visto l'alto numero di professionisti maschi presenti nell'Italia del tempo: il guardasigilli restava convinto della giustizia di parificare lo stato giuridico e politico dei sessi, ma tale fine andava raggiunto attraverso una serie di «riforme progressive del diritto positivo vigente», Boni, *Il figlio del rabbino*, cit., pp. 158-159.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5026.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 5003.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 5026.

⁸⁴ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione 1913-19, *Discussioni*, tornata del 14 luglio 1919, p. 5027.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5028.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Come già anticipato dal relatore, Mortara affermava che l'istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale non era più «una fortezza inespugnabile», «un grande baluardo destinato a tutelare l'universale interesse di tutte le famiglie italiane». E dopo aver ricordato la funzione di quell'istituto come presidio delle sostanze dei figli, il guardasigilli affermava che «i grandi fantasmi» agitati come ostacoli per l'abolizione di quell'istituto, se visti da vicino non risultavano che «piccole e vane ombre».

L'ultima parte dell'intervento di Mortara era dedicata alle riflessioni dei colleghi Diena circa alcuni atti della donna maritata, e in particolare le donazioni che la moglie «potrebbe fare», e di Filomeni Guelfi: il guardasigilli specificava che il regime dei rapporti patrimoniali non si esauriva con l'abolizione dell'autorizzazione maritale, ma anzi con questo provvedimento si rimarcava la necessità di «nuovi studi» sul problema evocato dal collega Perla. Non sapendo quale fosse «la vitalità di un ministro e di un ministero», Mortara si dichiarava esitante ad assumere «impegni personali», ma se li avesse potuti assumere avrebbe garantito la continuazione degli «autorevolissimi studi già iniziati». Da qui la conseguente conclusione del guardasigilli:

Onde vorrei concludere che, come sarò orgoglioso, col consenso che oggi invoco dal Senato, di apporre il mio nome modesto alla legge che regola la capacità giuridica e professionale della donna, sarei ancora più orgoglioso di presentare al Senato un progetto di riforma di tutto il sistema dei rapporti patrimoniali della famiglia, in cui anche le piccole deficienze di questa legge potranno trovare emendamenti opportuni e definitivo perfezionamento. Con questo pensiero, con questa coscienza, io mi auguro che il Senato vorrà votare la legge come è stata presentata⁸⁷.

Questo intervento era l'espressione dell'autentica cultura liberale di cui Mortara era permeato ed era stato costruito e sviluppato sia per assicurare gli scettici sia per garantire coloro che credevano nell'inizio di una nuova epoca segnata dall'accesso delle italiane a un mondo del lavoro e da cui erano state sempre precluse. Con i limiti e le limitazioni che poco dopo il varo della legge verranno statuite.

Seguiva poi la discussione per gli articoli del disegno di legge e una concreta discussione si apriva solo sul tentativo del senatore Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, cinquantanovenne avvocato ligure, liberale, di votare l'intero disegno senza l'articolo 2 con cui «sostanzialmente» si permetteva la donna di diventare commerciante «senza l'autorizzazione del marito, e magari contro la volontà del marito»⁸⁸. Nuovi interventi di Bensa e Mortara lasciavano intatto il provvedimento che veniva votato dall'aula del Senato l'indomani, martedì 15

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5030.

luglio 1919, poco dopo l'inizio della seduta pomeridiana, con il seguente esito: su 75 senatori presenti, 58 votavano in maniera favorevole e 17 contro⁸⁹.

Dopo quelle universitarie e i diversi ruoli ricoperti in magistratura, la *cattedra* da cui Mortara aveva emanato la legge sulla capacità giuridica della donna era quella più prestigiosa per un cittadino italiano. Era quella dello statista che aveva deciso di lasciare la professione per contribuire a riformare le istituzioni e l'ordinamento civile in un momento così delicato come l'immediato, primo dopoguerra. Il giudice mantovano affrontò l'incarico di guardasigilli con entusiasmo pari alla volontà di introdurre riforme consistenti e capaci di incidere nel paese per un lungo periodo. Ci riuscì solo in minima parte, rafforzando il novero dei suoi nemici e detrattori. Quando poco tempo dopo aver lasciato l'incarico di ministro della Giustizia, Nitti gli propose di guidare la vita politica nazionale, Mortara declinò fermamente. Il suo contributo l'aveva già dato ma le sue proposte innovative e concrete si persero velocemente dopo il 1923, quando venne anticipatamente pensionato dal regime fascista, incline a sbarazzarsi velocemente di un giudice coraggioso e moderno.

6. *Dalla conquista parziale ad alcuni casi di studio*

La legge 17 luglio 1919, n. 1176, cancellò gli articoli del Codice civile riguardanti l'autorizzazione maritale e decretò l'ammissione delle donne «a pari titolo degli uomini, ad esercitare tutte le professioni ed a coprire tutti gli impieghi pubblici», con l'eccezione – recitava l'art. 7 – di quelli che implicavano «poteri pubblici giurisdizionali, o l'esercizio di diritti o potestà politiche, o che attenevano alla difesa militare dello Stato».

La tanto dibattuta questione della ricerca della paternità non era menzionata né veniva divelto il potere dominante del *paterfamilias* rispetto alla “naturale” subordinazione della moglie.

Un'interpretazione decisamente restrittiva veniva offerta dal regio decreto 4 gennaio 1920, n. 39, che doveva chiarire le eccezioni cui si riferiva l'art. 7 e che finiva per dilatarle «oltre ogni previsione»: infatti esso specificava che le donne potevano «con disposizioni regolamentari», essere escluse da quei pubblici uffici per i quali erano giuridicamente capaci ma non considerate idonee «in relazione alle esigenze dei servizi» e «per specifiche ragioni»: infatti le donne restavano escluse dalle funzioni direttive dell'amministrazione e da quelle implicanti l'esercizio di pubbliche potestà (in pratica dall'esercito, dalla polizia e dalla magistratura).

⁸⁹ AP, *Camera dei Deputati*, legislatura XXIV, 1ª sessione 1913-19, *Discussioni*, tornata del 17 luglio 1919, p. 5043.

A questo regolamento si aggiungeva la controversa sentenza della I sezione del Consiglio di Stato (20 maggio 1920) che interveniva su sollecitazione del ministro della Pubblica istruzione Alfredo Baccelli: i magistrati amministrativi offrivano un'interpretazione nuovamente limitativa, sostenendo che l'eguaglianza «giuridica» fra i sessi non comportava una «assoluta eguaglianza di fatto»; in sostanza, le donne potevano essere escluse, «con concrete e tassative norme» (che le diverse amministrazioni erano anzi sollecitate a emanare con urgenza), anche da altri e «nuovi» uffici pubblici per i quali potevano anche essere giuridicamente capaci, ma che non erano idonee a ricoprire⁹⁰.

Gli stessi commenti delle femministe più importanti del tempo risultarono contrastanti: Gabriela Neri, dalle colonne de «La toga» di Napoli, consigliò indirettamente alle donne di «restare a casa»⁹¹; Teresa Labriola avrebbe più avanti definito la legge «una trappola» e il regolamento lo strumento che metteva la parola fine alla «commedia femminista» recitata in quel luglio del 1919 dal Parlamento e dal governo⁹²; Laura Casartelli Cabrini, emancipazionista e socialista che veniva chiamata in consessi internazionali, avrebbe dichiarato nel 1921 che la legge era stata «strappata» in virtù delle diserzioni e delle divisioni di un movimento femminile incapace di incidere sulla realtà⁹³.

D'altra parte il settimanale «Voce Nuova» raccolse invece pareri femminili positivi circa il varo della legge. L'articolo di commento era stato firmato proprio dalla Labriola che scriveva di una «vittoria, e non insignificante»: quella vittoria, rimarcava la combattiva figlia del filosofo che aveva divulgato il marxismo nella penisola, era stata conseguita non già «in seguito alla nostra partecipazione alle opere di guerra», ma allo svolgimento di «condizioni alla guerra preesistenti»⁹⁴.

A Valeria Benetti Brunelli – romana, classe 1878, sposatasi nel 1912 con Gustavo Brunelli, libero docente alla facoltà capitolina di Medicina, lei stessa docente universitaria, pedagogista e storica della Pedagogia, sostenitrice di un femminismo moderato⁹⁵ – spettava invece il commento sulla seduta senatoriale del 14 luglio: dopo aver menzionato il linguaggio «polemico e vibrante» usato

⁹⁰ Tacchi, *Eva togata*, cit., pp. 50-52; S. Soldani, *Prima della Repubblica. Le italiane e l'avventura della cittadinanza*, in N.M. Filippini, A. Scattigno (edd.), *Una democrazia incompiuta. Donne e politica in Italia dall'Ottocento ai nostri giorni*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2007, p. 85. Non tutti i consiglieri erano peraltro concordi: un esperto di cose scolastiche come Camillo Corradini, già capogabinetto alla Pubblica istruzione nel secondo governo Giolitti, criticava la formulazione del parere, che lasciava arbitra l'amministrazione di compiere «un serio attentato al principio di libertà ed eguaglianza affermato dalla nuova legge», Tacchi, *Eva togata*, cit., p. 53.

⁹¹ Tacchi, *Gli avvocati italiani dall'Unità alla Repubblica*, cit., p. 298.

⁹² Ead., *Eva togata*, cit., p. 51.

⁹³ Soldani, *Prima della Repubblica*, cit., pp. 85-86.

⁹⁴ T. Labriola, *La nuova conquista (Nell'ora della vittoria)*, «Voce Nuova», n. 9, 26 luglio 1919, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁵ Si veda la scheda di M.A. D'Arcangeli in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2014, *ad nomen*, <<http://dbe.editricebibliografica.it/dbe/indici.html>>.

da Mortara per spezzare «le corazze più temprate del vecchio conservatorismo», l'impegno del guardasigilli a mantenere intatto il disegno di legge approvato dalla Camera, Benetti Brunelli affermava che lo smantellamento dell'autorizzazione maritale era «opera di santa demolizione» e con essa il «vecchio» Senato aveva rivelato «fremiti di giovinezza», dando segni di una vitalità «che non vuole estinguersi»⁹⁶.

L'idea di una normativa circoscritta e deficitaria in relazione alla legge 1176, di una legge che, osteggiata dal conservatorismo dell'epoca⁹⁷, faceva progredire le donne solo a metà⁹⁸, ha dominato in sostanza per un secolo.

Ma è altrettanto assodato come questa legge abbia rappresentato una «vittoria»⁹⁹ e una conquista per le italiane se solo si considera quanto l'ordinamento giuridico, istituzionale e politico fosse plasmato su modelli maschili e quanto ancora resistesse in una società tradizionalista, conservatrice e maschilista l'idea dell'esclusione femminile dalla vita pubblica.

Alcuni casi di donne che hanno avuto accesso sotto il regime a professioni ambite, grazie proprio al varo di quella legge, costituiscono l'epilogo del nostro percorso.

Il 10 agosto 1919, neanche un mese dopo il varo della legge n. 1176, venne iscritta all'albo dei procuratori di Ancona la prima italiana, Elisa Comani. Nata a Bergamo nel 1893, si era trasferita nelle Marche per completare gli studi, laureandosi il 4 dicembre 1915 all'Università di Camerino. Elisa era fermamente decisa a svolgere la professione legale e, una volta abilitatasi, venne iscritta una prima volta all'albo dei procuratori del capoluogo marchigiano, nel giugno 1918, per poi essere cancellata in seguito a ricorso del procuratore del re. Sembrava una storia già scritta per tante italiane e invece proprio la legge n. 1176 consentì a Elisa di diventare la prima avvocata italiana. E di lì a poco debuttò davanti al tribunale di Ancona per difendere un soldato accusato di codardia.

Del resto la scena Elisa – che poi sarebbe diventata penalista e avrebbe vissuto una vita coraggiosa, spendendosi in prima persona per la causa femminile e della categoria professionale d'appartenenza e scomparendo a Roma il 20 febbraio 1978¹⁰⁰ – la rubò a colleghi e giornalisti proprio il 28 agosto 1919, immortalata dal resoconto comparso sui principali giornali italiani.

⁹⁶ V. Benetti Brunelli, *Impressioni (Senato del Regno – Seduta del 14 luglio 1919)*, «Voce Nuova», n. 9, 26 luglio 1919, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Sbano, *Introduzione a, Donne e diritti*, cit., p. 25.

⁹⁸ A. Galoppini, *Il lungo viaggio verso la parità. I diritti civili e politici delle donne dall'Unità ad oggi*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1980, p. 69.

⁹⁹ Alpa, *Presentazione a, Donne e diritti*, cit., p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Nonostante fosse stata al centro di notevole attenzione da parte degli studiosi di diritto, un profilo biografico corretto di Elisa Comani si è avuto però solo di recente in L. Pupilli, M. Severini (edd.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane*, Ancona, il lavoro editoriale, 2018, pp. 92-93.

Il principale quotidiano milanese ricordò come fosse comparsa «dinanzi alla Corte d'Appello, la dottoressa in legge Elisa Comani Orsi, moglie dell'avvocato Orsi di Milano», per prestare giuramento per l'iscrizione all'albo dei procuratori. La «gentile e colta signora» era «la prima laureata in giurisprudenza ammessa in Italia all'esercizio della professione». I giudici presenti ebbero a constatare «il fatto storico della prima applicazione della legge del 19 luglio scorso sulla capacità giuridica della donna»¹⁰¹.

Elisa stessa, che aveva invano cercato di entrare in diversi studi legali prima di accedere a quelli di Mario Ascoli e Arturo Vecchini, illustri professionisti del foro dorico¹⁰², raccontò il suo esordio tremante e sotto lo sguardo interessato del pubblico, sottolineando come, dopo aver parlato per più di un'ora, i sorrisi «tra l'incredulo e lo scettico» notati all'inizio della discussione su molti visi si erano dissolti: gli ascoltatori evidentemente «andavano modificando il loro giudizio su la donna in toga»¹⁰³.

L'art. 7 della legge 1176 sarebbe stato dichiarato costituzionalmente illegittimo dalla Corte Costituzionale della Repubblica italiana, con sentenza n. 33 del 1960 e tre anni dopo, il 9 febbraio 1963 la legge n. 66, avrebbe disposto la possibilità di accesso per la donna a tutte le cariche, professioni e impieghi pubblici, compresa la magistratura, abrogando la legge 17 luglio 1919¹⁰⁴.

Elisa non costituì un caso isolato.

Nell'impossibilità di delineare in questa sede una più ampia panoramica nazionale, ricordiamo, dando un'occhiata alla periferia in cui la Comani si era radicata, che proprio nelle Marche si ebbe una delle prime medico condotte d'Italia, Ginevra Corinaldesi. Nata a Serra San Quirico nel 1904, laureatasi a Pisa nel 1929 dopo aver completato gli studi intrapresi presso l'ateneo di Camerino, vincitrice di una condotta a Montelparo, Ginevra si trovò a contrastare prima i brogli degli esponenti del Fascio locale, che avrebbero preferito un candidato loro amico, e poi per lunghi anni le diffidenze e la ritrosia dei montelparesi che presto, peraltro, riconobbero le sue qualità e capacità professionali; dopo un ventennio di lavoro indefesso, Ginevra vinse la condotta medica a Fermo dove si trasferì con la famiglia, esercitando fino al 1° gennaio 1971, data della pensione; oltre alle funzioni di medica condotta, svolse quelle di ufficiale sanitario presso il reparto carcerario e di medica scolastica, fondò la sezione locale dell'Aniep, scrisse su giornali, tenne conferenze, partecipò a convegni

¹⁰¹ *La prima dottoressa in legge iscritta nell'albo dei procuratori*, «Corriere della Sera», 28 agosto 1919, p. 2; sulla Comani rinvio per maggiori informazioni al mio *Il circolo di Anna. Donne che precorrono i tempi*, Fermo, Zefiro, 2019, pp. 93-100.

¹⁰² Sui due personaggi rinvio ai profili di Nicola Sbrano in Id. (ed.), *Dizionario degli Avvocati di Ancona*, Ancona, il lavoro editoriale, 2009, p. 46 (Ascoli) e pp. 289-294 (Vecchini).

¹⁰³ E. Comani, *Le impressioni di una neo-avvocata*, «La toga», 1° agosto 1920.

¹⁰⁴ C. Latini, *Quaeta non movere. L'ingresso delle donne in magistratura e l'art. 51 della Costituzione. Un'occasione di riflessione sull'accesso delle donne ai pubblici uffici nell'Italia repubblicana*, «Giornale di storia costituzionale», vol. 27, 2014, pp. 143-162.

e affrontò temi di grande rilievo come l'eutanasia, l'anzianità, l'aborto, il dramma delle ragazze madri, l'emarginazione, la disabilità. Morì a Fermo nel 1997, dopo aver ricevuto premi per il suo impegno indefesso¹⁰⁵.

Un'altra donna pionieristica è stata l'ascolana Franca Maria Matricardi (1914-1996)¹⁰⁶. Appartenente a una famiglia fondatrice della prestigiosa manifattura di maioliche ascolane e di un'impresa edile di notevole pregio, Franca è stata tra le prime donne ingegnere civili d'Italia, conseguendo la laurea all'Università di Roma nel 1938 dove ebbe modo di frequentare il gruppo dei ragazzi di via Panisperna.

Donna vivace ed eclettica, capace di incarnare il duplice carattere familiare, quello artistico-creativo e quello scientifico, vide il suo itinerario di vita e professione snodarsi sotto il regime fascista senza però risentire dei condizionamenti di quello, compendosi in molteplici direzioni.

Sportiva provetta, Franca praticò in forma agonistica discipline tipicamente maschili, piazzandosi al secondo posto in una gara nazionale di sci ed entrando tra le sei ragazze della squadra nazionale italiana di nuoto; nel tennis gareggiò vittoriosamente, sfidando i cofondatori del locale Circolo tennis; fu intrepida scalatrice e nel secondo dopoguerra compì imprese ardite e pericolose; appassionata di volo, seguì le lezioni con Italo Balbo.

Molto radicato fu l'amore di Franca per i viaggi e negli anni Trenta visitò prima diversi paesi europei per poi spingersi oltreoceano. Vinta una borsa di studio bandita dal ministero degli Affari esteri per il perfezionamento presso l'Università di Purdue a Lafayette, in Indiana, si occupò di progetti tecnico-scientifici su materiali da costruzione, tenne conferenze in inglese sulla società italiana del tempo, sull'educazione della donna e sul regime fascista, temi che incuriosirono l'opinione pubblica statunitense. La stampa americana parlò con ammirazione di questa ingegnera figlia di un ingegnere, «l'unica donna a studiare ingegneria civile nell'arco dell'intero quinquennio», che a Purdue stava compiendo un lavoro eccezionale, «studiando l'elasticità e la flessibilità del calcestruzzo, il materiale più usato nell'edilizia in Italia»¹⁰⁷.

Franca coltivò proficue relazioni diplomatiche e fece un viaggio verso il sud del paese, 6.000 km attraverso otto Stati, a bordo di una Ford 1939 con radio.

Nel luglio 1939, al rientro dal soggiorno americano, Franca si trasferì a Milano, accettando la proposta lavorativa di Gianni Mazzocchi, suo cugino, un giovane editore ascolano di successo che, dotato di particolare intuito e di notevole autonomia intellettuale, stava imponendosi con pubblicazioni

¹⁰⁵ Pupilli, *Corinaldesi Ginevra*, in Pupilli, Severini (edd.), *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane*, cit., pp. 94-95.

¹⁰⁶ Forlini, *Matricardi Franca Maria*, in *Dizionario biografico delle donne marchigiane*, cit., pp. 188-190.

¹⁰⁷ Ead., *Franca Maria Matricardi: l'atleta, l'ingegnera, i suoi viaggi*, in M. Severini (ed.), *La scelta del viaggio. Scrittrici, scrittori e intellettuali itineranti negli anni venti e trenta del Novecento*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2017, p. 219.

specialistiche di architettura e arredamento, una scelta vincente e coinvolgente, tra gli altri, Giò Ponti e Giuseppe Pagani. Franca prese pure parte alla Resistenza come staffetta partigiana, compiendo azioni intrepide che sarebbero divenute oggetto di racconto agli studenti della sua città nell'ultimo periodo della sua esistenza. Nel secondo dopoguerra, ormai radicata nel capoluogo lombardo, divenne manager di spicco dell'editoria: da direttrice editoriale della rivista «Domus» entrò in Rizzoli e la sua carriera conobbe un successo all'altro, mentre la quotidianità si nutriva della frequentazione e dell'amicizia di personalità di rilievo come Camilla Cederna, Arrigo Benedetti, Indro Montanelli, lo stesso Angelo Rizzoli. Dirigente stimata per pragmatismo, impegno e senso di responsabilità, definita da «l'Espresso» nel 1966 «il motore della Rizzoli», Franca non si dimenticò certo della dimensione femminile, avviando tutta una serie di iniziative innovative. Nell'ultima parte dell'esistenza si ritirò nella sua Ascoli, dedicandosi agli affetti familiari e riscoprendo piaceri accantonati. La comunità ascolana, «sempre avara con le sue cittadine più attive»¹⁰⁸, le ha dedicato lo spazio antistante il Polo Culturale S. Agostino solo l'8 marzo 2019.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

*Sources and
Documents*



Fonti e
Documenti

The MuSEd of Roma Tre between past and present. With unpublished writings by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and Mauro Laeng

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ABSTRACT: The English word *heritage* can be translated in Italian in two different and, especially in our case, converging ways: *patrimonio* (*patrimony*) and *eredità* (*inheritance*). What are our museums of school, education, didactics if not collections of documents (in the broadest sense possible) that have come to us from the past and that are, often unwillingly, a non-secondary part of our heritage of cultural heritage? But we must also reflect on the fact that these museum sites collect cultural assets that bear witness to how, before us, in specific periods, circumstances and places, from generation to generation, the various legacies of the past, both material and immaterial, have been preserved and handed down: knowledge, beliefs, cultures, learning methods, exceptional objects, objects of daily use, etc. We are therefore moving in the field of the management of *inheritance of a heritage*, of a patrimony that mainly consists of instruments and devices that, from time to time, have been conceived and used to better preserve and transmit the cultural heritage of the past. In the case of the writer, the word *heritage* has an even greater moral and cultural weight because it refers to the direction of MuSEd, the Museum of School and Education «Mauro Laeng» of the University of Roma Tre, that is what we can now consider as the oldest Italian museum dedicated to this field of cultural heritage. This contribution is organized in four main sections, in which the fundamental stages of the history of the Museum up to the present day are retraced, with the contribution of unpublished documents relating to the years of the direction of Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice (1936-1938) and the re-founding by Mauro Laeng (1986).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Heritage education; Museum; Giuseppe Lombardo Radice; Mauro Laeng; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *From Ruggero Bonghi to Luigi Credaro*

Wanting to trace a brief history of MuSEd, I will immediately say that this is a very fascinating subject, yet articulated and characterized by moments of vivid flowering alternating with periods of tragic abandonment. Surely it is necessary to start from the container. In fact, today, MuSEd occupies seven large rooms located on the first floor of the university building of Roma Tre in Piazza della Repubblica 10. The building, which stands on the area previously affected, in the imperial age, by the Baths of Diocletian, over the centuries has hosted, among other things, the Pontifical granaries and a female orphanage. However, from the end of the nineteenth century, in Rome, almost par excellence, that building is simply called «il Magistero» for having been the seat of the second Istituto Superiore di Magistero Femminile italiano, Italian Teacher Training College for Women (after that of Florence). In fact, already in 1882, the Institute had found a stable location there, where, among others, famous intellectuals such as Giovanni Prati, Luigi Pirandello, Manfredo Porena, Ugo Fleres would teach. It was a pedagogical experiment as clumsy and slow as it was innovative and audacious, which finally opened the doors of university education to women, future secondary school teachers. The building, moreover, is located in the heart of the district that was born with the relocation in Rome of the Capital of the Kingdom of Italy: Piedmontese urban planning, a topography with monumental views, a toponymy all oriented towards patriotism and to the significant stages of the Risorgimento (Garibaldi's Thousand, Palestro, Marsala, Volturno, September XX, the Independence, etc.)¹.

Those large volumetric dimensions still retain a strong identity role for our Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione (Department of Education and Training Science), which still occupies them and which, at the time, has inherited the legacy of the old Faculty of the Magistero of La Sapienza, built from the ashes of the previous College, in 1935. Therefore, in this place, which can *per se* be made into a museum, since about four years ago (after a thirty-year stay at the branch in via del Castro Pretorio 20) our Museum has now found a stable location. In turn, it collects the legacy of the Museo d'Istruzione e d'Educazione (Museum of Education and Training Sciences) founded with the six articles of the Royal Decree of 15 November 1874, by the then Minister of Education, the Neapolitan scholar Ruggero Bonghi, in agreement with Gaspare Finali, Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. In the fact-finding mission he carried out at the Universal Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 (whose motto was *Kultur und Erziehung*, culture and education), Bonghi had recorded with regret

¹ On the birth and location of the «Istituto Superiore di Magistero Femminile romano» cf. L. Cantatore, *Il Magistero di Roma: vecchie questioni e nuovi documenti*, in C. Covato, M.I. Venzo (edd.), *Scuola e itinerari formativi dallo Stato Pontificio a Roma Capitale: l'istruzione superiore*, Milan, Unicopli, 2010, pp. 287-308.

the Italian underdevelopment in the field of pedagogical theory and practice, the poverty of our cultural and institutional debate around the school, of every order and degree, the poor preparation of teachers, the desolating misery of Italian scholastic-educational structures and infrastructures, the urgent need to establish bridges with other more advanced countries, to create in other words, what we would today call a documentation centre focusing on the foreign pedagogical, scholastic and educational stimuli with which Italian teachers could be put in contact through original documents (monographs, magazines, regulations, didactic materials) and through the method of comparison.

Bonghi's idea was therefore to: «fondare in Roma un museo sul modello dell'Esposizione permanente del materiale d'insegnamento che era stato istituito dal Consiglio municipale di Vienna con decisione del 30 luglio 1872»².

In the rest of Europe, as early as the 1850s, some major cities had made an effort in this direction. The museum-pedagogy link and the increasing focus on the material culture of school, education and training had found fertile ground in London (1856), St Petersburg (1864), Vienna (1872) and even Toronto (1856). The truth is that this cultural urgency was considered even in Torino Capitale, as is testified, at the same time, by the foundation of the Regio Museo Industriale (Royal Industrial Museum, 1862), which echoed the Universal Exhibition in London that same year³. Thus, in the decades in which the industrialized and educated bourgeois civilization matured the need to show itself using the tool of the universal exhibition, understood as an extraordinary promotional, communicative and, ultimately, pedagogical event, even for Bonghi, who acts with a rare timeliness in the Italian matters of public education, the idea of the exhibition as a place-method of information and formation acquires the sense of an avant-garde cultural action, based on a rigorous and widespread use of the comparative method.

We are probably faced with «one of the most important scientific, pedagogic, political and cultural initiatives undertaken by the liberal post-unitarian ruling class to renovate and modernize the scholastic system and, therefore, make the Italians»⁴. By calling this space a «museum» dedicated to the knowledge and study of theories, tools and problems of contemporary pedagogy and school, Bonghi wanted to express the sense of the material construction of a thoughtful and selective collection of materials, the need for public display and, above all, the perception of dealing with rapidly evolving content, so that the critical

² G. Tauro, *Della necessità di ricostruire in Italia il Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, Turin, Paravia, 1903, p. 5: «to found in Rome a museum on the model of the permanent Exhibition of teaching materials that had been established by the city Council of Vienna with a decision of July 30 1872». From here on, the English translations of the documents which, in respect of their originality, are published in the text in Italian will be given in the footnotes.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁴ A. Sanzo, *Studi su Antonio Labriola e il Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, Rome, Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2012, p. XXVIII.

perspective based on comparison would soon have to be applied not only in the synchronic-diatopic sense but also in the diachronic direction. Naturally, the underlying objective, that is the dream of creating a class of teachers who were always up-to-date, curious about novelties and eager to experiment, called into question the knowledge and study of a complex of pedagogical documents of various kinds, material and immaterial: ideas and objects, theories and practices, with particular attention paid to spaces, furnishings, things, or that material culture of the school which, in Italy, was not yet developed and which was undoubtedly one of the basic ideas of positivism⁵. This can be seen from some passages of the Bonghi report, an introduction to the decree establishing the Museum. It is a fundamental text, within which the very idea of a pedagogical museum matured:

Il Museo di istruzione e di educazione deve essere un istituto inteso a raccogliere, a comparare costantemente tutti gli oggetti che sono adatti a far parte d'una esposizione universale. Esso deve, per mo' d'esempio, riunire le piante delle migliori scuole che si costruiscono negli Stati civili di Europa e di America [...] e diffonderne in ciascuna parte del paese una notizia esatta [...]. Questo medesimo deve essere fatto per la mobilia, per gli utensili, per i mezzi d'insegnamento, per i libri. L'istituto, insomma, ha ad essere così ordinato da riuscire appropriato insieme a raccogliere, e ad intendere ciò che raccoglie. Ed esso stesso deve aver modo ed attitudine di giudicare il frutto delle scuole del paese comparativamente, così tra esse come d'anno in anno⁶.

Bonghi reflects above all on the necessity/utility of conducting inspections in the schools of the Kingdom (a means which, together with international exhibitions, was among the most used in the educational policies of those decades) which would translate into an objective tool for analysis, reflection, evaluation and improvement. From the vibrant words of the Minister it emerges all that tension towards knowledge which, among those intellectuals who are most passionate about public education affairs, always accompanied the enthusiasm and concern for the strenuous conquest of compulsory schooling:

L'istituto insomma deve aver compiuta notizia di ciò che si usa e nel paese proprio e negli altrui; e su questa compiuta notizia fondare l'ispezione delle scuole nazionali e la scelta

⁵ Tauro himself (*Della necessità di ricostruire in Italia il Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, cit., p. 27) underlines how in Italy «sia del tutto trascurata per ignoranza e incuria e non per mancanza di mezzi»: «It is completely neglected because of ignorance and negligence and not for shortage of financial resources».

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7: «The Museo di istruzione e di educazione must be an institute intended to the collection and constant comparison of all the objects that can appropriately be part of a universal exhibition. It must, for example, gather the maps of the best schools that are built in the civil states of Europe and America [...] and spread in each part of the country an exact news [...]. This same thing must be done for the furnishings, the tools, the teaching instruments, for the books. The institute must, in conclusion, be organized so to be adapt both to collect and understand what it collects. And it must have itself the attitude to judge the outcomes of the schools of the country comparatively, between them and also year after year».

degli oggetti da inviare alle mostre internazionali. Poiché quelle non hanno che un beneficio piccolo dalle ispezioni, se la mente di chi le visita non è arricchita di consigli attinti ad una viva, progressiva e continua esperienza; e le mostre internazionali diventano un confuso ammasso di oggetti, se non vi si mandano solo queglii, i quali, dal paragone con gli altri consimili sono apparsi di poter produrre sotto qualche rispetto un più continuo e pronto profitto⁷.

In the years of its foundation and its first growth, the Museum was distributed in spaces of great symbolic, cultural and political value, that is, within the Collegio Romano, the former stronghold of the Jesuit educators in Rome, whose property had just been expropriated by the newborn Kingdom of Italy, so that Rome, capital since 1871, could place there its secular citadel of studies and science. In that location found their space also the first *liceo classico* (classical high school) in Rome, dedicated to the archaeologist-patriot «Ennio Quirino Visconti», consul in the Roman Republic of 1798-1799, as well as the National Central Library, named after the father of the Country, Vittorio Emanuele II.

It was, therefore, as Nicola Siciliani de Cumis has well defined it, an «institutional place, specific and new, of the experience of educability of those, scholars, professors, teachers, students, citizens, who would frequent it to make a good use of it»⁸. Among the rooms, it was easy to meet Bonghi himself, who was struggling with the cataloguing of materials (crates on crates) brought from Vienna: «il en parle *con amore*» an illustrious French visitor will notice⁹.

The first direction was entrusted to the geographer Giuseppe Dalla Vedova (1875-1877), convinced that «La buona scuola la fanno non tanto i buoni regolamenti, quanto i buoni maestri»¹⁰ and that it was therefore necessary to increase the places and the instruments of training and updating. In the same year, Dalla Vedova founded the «Giornale del Museo» (Journal of the Museum) (which would last only one year, twelve issues) and established a full program of educational conferences held in the same premises of the Collegio Romano.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7: «The institute must therefore have complete informations on what is used in its country and in others; and on this complete information establish the inspection of the national schools and the choice of which objects to send to the international exhibitions. Since they don't have other than a little benefit from the inspections, apart from the advices of who visits them with a vivacious mind, after a progressive and continuous experience; and the international exhibitions become a confused pile of objects if they are sent more than exclusively those objects which, from a comparison with other similar objects, have appeared to be able to produce a more continuous and immediate profit».

⁸ N. Siciliani de Cumis, *Prefazione*, in Sanzo, *Studi su Antonio Labriola e il Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, cit., p. XIII.

⁹ F. Pécaut, *Deux mois de mission en Italie*, Paris, 1880, in *ibid.*, p. 241: «He speaks of it with love».

¹⁰ G. Dalla Vedova, *Discorso inaugurale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e d'Educazione*, 19 giugno 1875, in *ibid.*, p. 225: «A good school is made of good teachers more than of good regulations».

When the direction passes to the philosopher Antonio Labriola (1877-1891), the Museum has «quattro grandi sale aperte al pubblico, dove ognuno ha la comodità di vedere e studiare quanto via via viene immaginato di meglio dalle nazioni più colte per rendere più gradito e più profittevole l'insegnamento»¹¹.

However, its stay in the Collegio Romano lasted only until 1881, when, by decree of 13 February signed by Minister Guido Baccelli, the Museum was transferred to the premises of the University of Rome, between the old Sapienza (on the ground floor) and the nearby Palazzo Giustiniani (in Via della Dogana Vecchia, where it remained until 1925¹²), to be annexed to the chair of Pedagogy, becoming in fact a University museum. At this moment, the first dispersion of the bibliographic patrimony is noted, part of which was transferred to the Biblioteca Nazionale (National Library) so that a special section could be set up, something that would never happen. The parliamentary question by Bonghi, who accused Baccelli of 'killing his' museum, was of no use:

«Annesso all'Università non solo vennero snaturate le funzioni del museo, ma esso perdette ogni importanza e visse una vita magra e stentata per qualche anno»¹³. In the meantime, similar university museums were founded in Palermo (1880, directed by Emanuele Latino) and Naples (1887, directed by Andrea Angiulli). Actually, the annexation to the university, instead of promoting and enhancing the role of these museums, started the dismantling that, inexorable, came with the decree of September 11, 1891, signed by the minister Pasquale Villari. It was at this moment that our Museum underwent its first serious haemorrhage, with the consequent dispersion of part of its bibliographic and object-related heritage. Here are some passages from the Villari report, which precedes the decree of suppression, from which the economic and cultural reasons for the operation emerge and which also reveal the basic misunderstanding, that is, the seeming contradiction between the study of pedagogy at University and the practical training of teachers (outside University) that would continue to divide scholars in the field for a long time. In these positions relating to the location and function of the museum, it already resounds the sore point of university education of teachers, in particular of primary and community school teachers. A theme destined to travel through the twentieth century, along a tortuous path of intellectual and legislative speculation and always uphill.

¹¹ A. Gabelli, *Relazione statistica sulla istruzione pubblica e privata in Italia, compilata da documenti ufficiali per l'Esposizione di Parigi*, Rome, 1878, in *ibid.*, p. 238: «Four big rooms open to the public, where everyone has the ease to see and study the best of what is progressively imagined by the most cultured nations to make the teaching more appreciated and fruitful». Still by A. Sanzo see also *L'opera pedagogico-museale di Antonio Labriola: carte d'archivio e prospettive euristiche*, Rome, Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2012.

¹² Letter by Mario Bernabei to Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice, Arezzo 3 giugno 1936, MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Corrispondenza varia, cartella B.

¹³ Tauro, *Della necessità di ricostruire in Italia il Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, cit., p. 17: «Not only were the functions of the museum distorted when it was annexed to the University, but it also lost all its importance and lived a poor and difficult life for a few years».

I Musei pedagogici fondati in varie città di Europa, riuscirono assai utili alla istruzione elementare, soprattutto agl'insegnanti ed ai direttori così delle scuole del popolo, come delle normali. Ma nelle università essi non hanno la sede appropriata, perché ivi s'insegnano i principii, i metodi e la storia della scienza, non la pratica dell'insegnamento elementare. E quando pure alcuna volta gli studenti universitari possano utilmente esaminare alcuni oggetti dei Musei pedagogici, non vi ha difficoltà niuna di farlo ovunque questi oggetti si trovino raccolti. Il creare Musei pedagogici nelle Università porta la necessità di spese che, se sono comparativamente tenui, diverrebbero sempre maggiori, tanto per i materiali come pel personale che andrebbe aumentando. Oltre di che la pedagogia è una materia obbligatoria in tutte le facoltà di lettere, e quindi non solo i Musei recentemente istituiti in tre sole università, si andrebbero ingrandendo, ma equità e giustizia vorrebbero che altri simili se ne istituissero presso tutte le facoltà di filosofia e lettere del Regno. Se essi fossero davvero un sussidio necessario allo studio della pedagogia nelle Università, la soppressione non verrebbe certo giustificata dalla economia. Ma così non è, come dimostra l'esempio delle altre nazioni che istituirono i Musei a vantaggio dell'istruzione elementare e non li posero dentro le università che sono la sede naturale dell'istruzione superiore e scientifica. [...] Mi propongo poi di adoperare il materiale dei soppressi Musei a beneficio dell'istruzione popolare, conservando nelle biblioteche universitarie solo quei libri, atlanti, carte geografiche che per il loro carattere più elevato e scientifico non sarebbero adatti alla scuola elementare¹⁴.

The result of the closure and abandonment can be read in a chronicle of a decade later, where it is reported about collections «ammucchiate ad infracidirsi nelle umide cantine» of the University and of books that «rimangono materia inerte nei chiusi locali, dove né il sole, né il pensiero penetrano»¹⁵.

When he arrived in Rome on the chair of Pedagogy, Luigi Credaro founded in 1904 the specialization course for the licensees of the normal schools, that is, the Scuola di Pedagogia (School of Pedagogy), to which he annexed in 1906

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19: «The Pedagogical Museums, founded in various European cities, were very useful for primary education, especially for teachers and directors of schools of the people, as well as normal schools. But in universities they do not find their appropriate place, because there they teach the principles, methods and history of science, not the practice of primary teaching. And when eventually university students would usefully examine certain objects of the Pedagogical Museums, there is no difficulty in doing so wherever these objects are collected. The creation of Pedagogical Museums in Universities brings with it the need for expenses which, if comparatively small, would gradually become greater, both in terms of materials and personnel, which would increase. In addition to the fact that pedagogy is a compulsory subject in all the faculties of humanities, and therefore not only the Museums recently established in only three universities, would be enlarged, but equity and justice would want similar ones to be established in all the faculties of humanities of the Kingdom. If they really were a necessary subsidy for the study of pedagogy in universities, their suppression would certainly not be justified by the economy. But this is not the case, as the example of the other nations which established the Museums for the benefit of primary education shows, and did not place them within the universities which are the natural seat of higher and scientific education. I propose then to use the material of the suppressed Museums for the benefit of popular education, preserving in the university libraries only those books, atlases, maps that, because of their higher and more scientific character, would not be suitable for primary school».

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20: «piled up getting soggy in the damp cellars [...] they remain inert matter in the closed premises, where neither the sun nor thought penetrates».

the Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione (Museum of Education) which, in line with his theoretical, methodological and political orientations, was renamed (Museo Pedagogico (Pedagogical Museum) and continued to operate for about fifteen years: «Accanto alla biblioteca è un ricco museo pedagogico, fornito di collezioni pregevolissime di animali imbalsamati, di minerali, di strumenti di fisica e chimica, di rilievi del corpo umano ecc. Anch'esso è stato riordinato da maestri. Notevole è l'importanza che i maestri-coadiutori del prof. Credaro hanno in tutto il meccanismo dell'Istituto pedagogico; fra breve anzi sarà istituito un *Consiglio* composto del Credaro stesso, del maestro dirigente il museo e di quelli che attendono alla biblioteca per studiare insieme i miglioramenti da introdurre in questi interessantissimi rami della scuola»¹⁶. But when, in 1923, Giovanni Gentile suppressed the pedagogical schools, the Museum also suffered a new decline. We have evidence of this in an unpublished letter from Mario Bernabei, former assistant of Credaro at the Museum, to Lombardo-Radice: «L'Amministrazione Universitaria sa bene in quale stato il Museo si trovasse, dopo un primo frettoloso trasloco da Palazzo Giustiniani nel 1925, durante 10 anni di incuria, considerato un impiccio da tutti, perché non più rispondente come materiale né all'uso né alla teoria della pedagogia odierna»¹⁷. It was therefore probably at the time of this dismantling that the museum heritage (until then preserved in Palazzo Giustiniani) was transferred to Palazzo Carpegna, seat of the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia (Faculty of Humanities), in via degli Staderari 19, where, in the «Yearly Report of the Ministry of National Education» of 1935, it is registered as Museo Pedagogico and adjoining library, director Luigi Credaro and assistants Valeria Benetti Brunelli and Mario Bernabei.

¹⁶ *Una nuova istituzione italiana*, «L'Illustrazione italiana», 21 July 1907, now in L. Credaro, *La scuola pedagogica di Roma (1904-1923)*, «Rivista pedagogica», vol. XXVII, n. 5, 1935, p. 556: «Next to the library there is a rich pedagogical museum, equipped with valuable collections of stuffed animals, minerals, physics and chemistry instruments, reliefs of the human body, etc. It too has been reorganised by teachers. The importance that the teachers-coadjutors of Prof. Credaro have in the whole mechanism of the Pedagogical Institute is remarkable; in the near future a Board will be established composed of Credaro himself, the teacher director of the museum and those who attend the library to study together the improvements to be introduced in these very interesting branches of the school». On Credaro and the years of the «scuola pedagogica» cf. the accurate reconstruction by A. Barausse, *I maestri all'università: la Scuola pedagogica di Roma (1904-1923)*, Perugia, Morlacchi, 2005. See also M.A. D'Arcangeli, *L'impegno necessario. Filosofia Politica Educazione in Luigi Credaro (1860-1914)*, Rome, Anicia, 2004; M.A. D'Arcangeli, A. Sanzo (edd.), *Le scienze umane in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Pedagogia, psicologia, sociologia e filosofia*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

¹⁷ Letter by M. Bernabei to G. Lombardo-Radice: «The University Administration knows well in which state the Museum was, after a hasty first move from Palazzo Giustiniani in 1925, during 10 years of neglect, considered a burden by all, because its material no longer responded to the use nor to the theory of contemporary pedagogy».

2. The «museum-archive» of Lombardo-Radice

With the 1935-1936, also for the transfer of the Roman University to the new university city in the Tiburtino district, the question of the Pedagogical Museum needs to be addressed again with a certain urgency. It was Giuseppe Lombardo Radice who, between 1936 and 1938, worked so that this institution might rise again from the ashes, but in a new guise, above all with the aim of establishing the extraordinary pedagogical laboratory that he called «archivio didattico» (didactic archive) and of which we still have significant traces today. So, just as the old Istituto Superiore di Magistero (Teacher Training College, where Lombardo Radice had arrived as a professor of Pedagogy in 1923) gave birth to the Facoltà di Magistero (Faculty of Teacher Training, the first dean was the philologist Manfredi Porena) and, within it, the Istituto di Pedagogia (Pedagogy College), Lombardo-Radice adopted the idea of recovering from the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia what remained of the old Museum of Bonghi-Labriola-Credaro (the latter, among other things, had left the teaching of Pedagogy to Letters in 1935) claiming, in one of the rare tributes to the elderly colleague-antagonist, to have «accepted from the distinguished pedagogue Hon. Senator Luigi Credaro, the honour of continuing the Pedagogical Museum and [of having] undertaken to do so with historical criteria, for the benefit of a future *history of educational and teaching activity*, and of the current and already fervent *studies of didactic criticism*»¹⁸.

From the headquarters in Via delle Terme di Diocleziano 10 (today's Piazza della Repubblica 10), Lombardo-Radice declares, in an unpublished letter to Porena, to accept with enthusiasm the responsibility of the Museo Pedagogico «per dargli nuovo indirizzo in rapporto alla storia della didattica e alle esperienze educative del mondo moderno»¹⁹. This involved a complex operation of sorting and discarding materials that were not useful for the «nuovo indirizzo» (new direction), with the participation of Mario Bernabei, the former assistant of the Museum of Credaro, editor-in-chief of his «Rivista pedagogica» (Pedagogical Review), who in those days took up his post at the Scuola Normale (Normal School) of Arezzo, leaving Lombardo-Radice in serious organizational difficulties. Soon Bernabei's place would be occupied by

¹⁸ [G. Lombardo-Radice], *Norme per i collaboratori volontari, per costituire le "raccolte" destinate al "Museo-archivio didattico"*, s.n.t., [1936], p. 7. Some of the documents published in this paragraph have been partly quoted by I. Picco, *Al Magistero di Roma*, «Riforma della scuola», vol. XIV, nn. 8-9, 1968, pp. 51-60.

¹⁹ Letter by G. Lombardo Radice a M. Porena, Head of the Faculty of Magistero, Rome, 28 February 1936, MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Corrispondenza varia, Presidenza: «to give a new direction to it in relation with the history of didactics and of the educational experiences of the modern world». I'm grateful to the colleague and friend prof. Giovanni Pietro Maragoni for having facilitated the discovery of unpublished documents concerning the life of the Museum in the Lombardo Radice Archive.

the philosopher Giorgio Fano, especially called to Rome from Trieste. But let's read carefully Lombardo-Radice's letter to Porena:

[...] io mi trovo ad avere nei locali provvisori del Museo Pedagogico una quantità di materiali trasportati dalla vecchia sede universitaria, ammassati sia in scaffali che per terra; oggetti di cui non ho ricevuto alcuna consegna, che il prof. Bernabei, giusta l'incarico datogli dall'Università, doveva riordinare, scartando l'inutile e proseguendo nella iniziata distribuzione degli oggetti di competenza degli altri Istituti, per costituire il nuovo inventario e farne regolare consegna.

Nell'attesa io non sono rimasto in ozio, ed ho avviato la nuova sezione del Museo, cioè quello che sarà l'archivio didattico nazionale, con una cinquantina di raccolte, da me donate, di vari documenti di attività didattica e con depositi che mi vado procurando da Enti che si occupano di problemi educativi (materiali ed apparecchi di esercitazione dei moderni metodi).

Poca cosa, per ora, ma che già mi consente di far svolgere interessanti esercizi ad un gruppo di circa trenta studenti del secondo biennio.

Per questo primo avviamento dell'archivio didattico, io mi sono impegnato, in seguito agli accordi orali con la S. V. Ill.ma, ad un acquisto importante: una eccellente macchina da scrivere Olivetti del modello più recente, che ho potuto avere con la fortissima riduzione di più che il 40%. La macchina è in deposito presso il Museo ed è già in uso, come di intesa, anche per lavori della Facoltà. Ho inoltre disposto per la legatura delle raccolte da me donate e per l'acquisto di un certo numero di custodie (cartelle e scatole).

Senza la macchina non è possibile svolgere il lavoro di propaganda e di sollecitazione per ottenere l'invio dei materiali desiderati dalle scuole italiane ed estere: senza le rilegature e le custodie non potevo affidare le raccolte agli studenti per le loro esercitazioni.

La S.V. Ill.ma mi ha riferito che la Direzione Amministrativa della nostra Università non solo non ha nulla da obiettare alle spese fatte ma ha assicurato che avrebbe trovato modo di pagarle subito e darmi possibilità per nuove spese, anche prima della ufficiale assegnazione dei fondi, del resto imminente.

Gratissimo di ciò io continuerò, il meglio che potrò, a dare incremento alla nuova sezione del Museo, pur declinando ogni responsabilità per il vecchio materiale, del quale non ho modo nemmeno di prendere visione, nonché di ricevere consegna, per l'assenza dell'assistente.

Prego la S. V. Ill.ma di volere con il più vivo impegno pregare il Magnifico Rettore di far dare il definitivo assetto al Museo pedagogico sia per il personale che per i mezzi.

Qualora non sia possibile il comando richiesto per il prof. Bernabei io posso proporre quale prestatore d'opera con funzioni d'assistente il prof. Giorgio Fano fornito di laurea in filosofia e che ha conseguito nel mese passato la libera docenza. [...]

Quanto ai mezzi prego di farmi assegnare la somma più larga possibile per la gestione annuale e una somma in via straordinaria per il riassetto del vecchio materiale e l'impianto e sviluppo della nuova sezione. Faccio considerare che sarà fra l'altro necessaria la costruzione di vari mobili.

In fiduciosa attesa, con viva gratitudine [...] ²⁰.

²⁰ «[...] I find myself having in the temporary rooms of the Pedagogical Museum a quantity of material transported from the old university premises, piled up both on the shelves and on the ground; objects of which I have not received any delivery, which Professor Bernabei, according to the mandate given to him by the University, had to reorder, discarding the useless and continuing in the initial distribution of those objects of competence of the other Institutes, to make up the new inventory and regularly deliver it. In the meantime I have not been idle, and I have started the new section of the Museum, that is what will be the national didactic archive, with about fifty

The letter to Porena is a document of extraordinary interest because, beyond the administrative and organizational questions, and the economic difficulties (the celebrated conquest of the typewriter is striking, the same one that we still have in our Department of Education and Training Sciences), the «nuovo indirizzo» (new direction) of the Museum is clearly outlined, based on direct contact with the living documents of the school, those teachers and schoolchildren's notebooks that constitute the basis of Lombardo-Radice's teaching, study and pedagogical research and its didactic practice, through the exercises of its students.

Above all, the layout of a «lavoro di propaganda e di sollecitazione» (work of propaganda and solicitation) that characterizes this phase of the Museum's life is remarkable. Lombardo-Radice, with his assistants and students, has set up an outstanding structure that constantly keeps open the communication channels with the world of education, pedagogy and the publishing world connected to those, both in Italy and abroad. A close correspondence with teachers, didactic directors, inspectors, publishers, magazine and library managers testifies the pioneering spirit of this capillary work, at the centre of which the school notebook, precious container of the graphic and linguistic experience of the child and irrefutable proof of the teacher's magisterium, conquers for the first time an absolute documentary authority, provided that it

collections, donated by me, of various documents of didactic activity and with deposits that I am obtaining from organizations that deal with educational problems (materials and equipment for the exercise of modern methods). A little thing, for now, but that already allows me to make a group of about thirty students of the second biennium carry out interesting exercises.

For this first start-up of the educational archive, I have committed to an important purchase following the oral agreements with Your Excellency: an excellent Olivetti typewriter of the most recent model, which I was able to have with the very strong reduction of more than 40%. The machine is in storage at the Museum and is already in use, as agreed, also for works of the Faculty. I have also arranged for the binding of the collections I donated and for the purchase of a certain number of cases (folders and boxes). Without the typewriter it is not possible to carry out the work of propaganda and solicitation to obtain the desired materials from Italian and foreign schools: without the bindings and the cases I could not entrust the collections to the students for their exercises. Your Excellency has told me that the Administrative Direction of our University not only has nothing to object to the expenses made but has assured me that it would find a way to pay them immediately and give me the opportunity for new expenses, even before the official allocation of funds, which is also imminent. I am very grateful for this and I will continue, as best I can, to increase the new section of the Museum, even though I decline all responsibility for the old material, which I have no way to examine, nor to receive the delivery, due to the absence of the assistant. I kindly ask Your Excellency to request the Rector Magnificus, with the greatest determination possible, to have the Museo Pedagogico set up definitively, both for what concerns the staff and for the means. If the command required for Prof. Bernabei is not possible, I can propose Prof. Giorgio Fano, who has a degree in philosophy and qualified as a university teacher in the past month, as a service provider with the function of assistant. [...] Concerning the means, please let me allocate the largest possible sum for the annual management and an extraordinary sum for the reorganization of the old material and the plant and development of the new section. I would like to point out that, among other things, the construction of various pieces of furniture will be necessary. In confident expectation, with deep gratitude [...].»

is not a matter of «raccolte di carattere generico» but which have «l'impronta inconfondibile o di una tradizione locale, o di una singolare personalità di educatore; o siano, in genere, caratteristiche per un indirizzo metodico che meriti di essere conosciuto»²¹. By incorporating the old Museum, Lombardo-Radice could finally institutionalize the work that for years he has been doing alongside the teachers as a university professor, lecturer and director of the magazine «L'Educazione nazionale» (founded in 1919 and ceased in 1933), a work of observation and commentary on the documents of the school that is at the origin of some of his most innovative and touching studies, such as, for example, those collected in *Athena fanciulla* (1926). To enrich 'his' Museum-Archive, Lombardo-Radice drew up a circular letter that he adapted to the individual recipients to encourage them to send materials:

Le scrivo ufficialmente in nome del nuovo 'ARCHIVIO DIDATTICO' presso la Facoltà di Magistero di questa Università per avere la Sua preziosa collaborazione.

È mio intento di raccogliere dei significativi 'documenti per la storia della scuola in Italia'.

Conoscendo l'opera Sua sono sicuro che potrò avere per Suo mezzo una ottima raccolta di elementi da presentare agli studiosi universitari del Corso di Pedagogia e del Corso per la Vigilanza scolastica, riguardanti l'opera svolta nel Suo circolo didattico.

La raccolta, che potrebbe comprendere 2-4 volumi di quaderni, prenderebbe il nome di [...] Insieme ai quaderni degli alunni dovrebbero essere rilegate alcune pagine di chiarimenti del Direttore Didattico. Per uniformità colle altre nostre raccolte i volumi dovrebbero essere rilegati in tela cruda. Il mio Istituto contribuirebbe alla spesa per la rilegatura in ragione di L. 4-6 per volume. Ove il volume non si potesse costituire il materiale dovrebbe essere adunato in scatole della stessa apparenza dei volumi.

Confido nella Sua cordiale accettazione e in attesa di sue notizie ben distintamente La riverisco.

IL DIRETTORE

Del Museo pedagogico e dell'Archivio didattico

Prof. Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice

Ordinario di Pedagogia²².

²¹ Photocopy of a letter by G. Lombardo-Radice to Felice Rimondini, Provveditore agli Studi di Venezia, Rome, 12 June 1936, MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Various Correspondence, Relations with the publishers: «collections of a generic nature [but which have] the unmistakable mark of either a local tradition, or a singular personality of an educator; or are, in general, characteristics of a methodical approach that deserves to be known». I already partly addressed these in *Giuseppe Lombardo Radice: per un'idea del quaderno scolastico come fonte artistico-letteraria*, in J. Meda, D. Montino, R. Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Book: a Complex Source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 2 vols., Florence, Polistampa, 2010, Vol. II, pp. 1325-1338.

²² MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Corrispondenza varia, Rapporti con editori: «I am writing officially in the name of the new 'ARCHIVIO DIDATTICO' at the Faculty of the Magistero of this University to have your precious collaboration. It is my intention to collect some significant «documents for the history of the school in Italy». Knowing Your work I am sure that I will have by your means an excellent collection of elements to present to university scholars of the Course of Pedagogy and the Course for School Supervision, concerning the work done in Your educational circle.

The collection, which could include 2 to 4 volumes of notebooks, would be named [...]. Together

In this new course, therefore, the Museum cannot be called in any other way than Museo e Archivio Didattico (Museum and Didactic Archive). The idea of the museum and that of the archive converge towards a concept of didactics that is not born from abstract ideas, established *a priori*, but from concrete life experiences. The written document and the ‘pedagogical’ object are the proofs of these experiences that, within the museum-archives, have a new opportunity to narrate education and training and, above all, to generate experience in young university students who face the world of school.

Between 1936 and 1938, Lombardo-Radice’s studies and academic commitment, following the birth of the Facoltà di Magistero and the foundation of the Istituto di Pedagogia (which, also in the light of the administrative documentation, correspondence and the letterhead itself, often coincides with the Museo-Archivio Didattico) were aimed at building a strictly university-related dignity around the old Istituto Superiore di Magistero. The cultural, civil and educational awareness of working in the university and accompanying many young people to their degree requires the pedagogist from Catania to build a rigorous institutional structure, highly selective in terms of both staff and students. The fulcrum of this process of ennoblement of pedagogical studies and of the university institution where they are carried out is precisely the Museo-Archivio Didattico, in all its components: the actual archive, the library, the permanent exhibition of objects, books and documents, the editing of the bibliography and catalogues. In the spaces of Via delle Terme, whose furnishings are monitored in detail by Lombardo-Radice himself, the students of the Magistero can finally find a highly specialized institute, where the partition and the organization of work cooperate in the functioning of a perfect school of thought and research²³.

with the pupils’ notebooks, a few pages of clarification by the Director of Studies should be bound. For the sake of consistency with our other collections, the volumes should be bound in raw canvas. My Institute would contribute to the cost of binding at the rate of L. 4-6 per volume. In case it shouldn’t be possible to assemble the volume, the material would have to be grouped in boxes of the same appearance of the volumes. I trust in Your cordial acceptance and look forward to your news, my respects and best regards. THE DIRECTOR of the Museo pedagogico and of the Archivio didattico. Prof. Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice. Full Professor of Pedagogy».

²³ On the strong sense of responsibility of Lombardo-Radice towards his position as a university professor, probably enhanced after the transformation of the Istituto di Magistero into Facoltà, read the following handwritten note, dating 3 May 1937: «Io non posso dare l’*accessit* a una tesi di cui non so assolutamente nulla, non avendo visto né uno schema, né una bibliografia, né appunti che potessero accreditare il proposito dello studente e non avendo mai parlato con lo studente dell’argomento scelto. Nota bene che si tratta non di un diploma di vigilanza scolastica ma di una laurea filosofica; e sarebbe cosa gravissima stabilire il precedente che si possa presentarsi alle lauree con tale ignoranza del proprio dovere di studente» (letter to Guerra, MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Corrispondenza varia, Cartella G): «I cannot give the *accessit* to a thesis of which I know absolutely nothing, having seen neither a scheme, nor a bibliography, nor notes that could confirm the intention of the student and having never spoken with the student about the chosen topic. Note well that this is not a diploma in vigilanza scolastica (school supervision) but a philosophical degree, and it would be very serious to establish the precedent that you can come

As already mentioned, in addition to the archival and museum dimension, Lombardo-Radice develops a bibliography specializing in pedagogy and history of educational institutions «con lo scopo di abituare gli studenti ad un metodo scientifico di ricerca, e di preparare dei temi per le future dissertazioni di laurea»²⁴. On this point, the Director does not spare any effort to give his company an international scope. This can also be seen from a letter to Enrico Burich, in those years assigned at the Petrarch-Haus in Cologne, of 5 March 1937:

Caro Rico,
 forse ti ho spiegato a Roma quale sia attualmente il mio lavoro nell'Istituto di Pedagogia. Voglio chiudere la mia vita facendo un po' il furiere della pedagogia, poiché le condizioni di salute non mi permettono più di fare il capitano. E cioè ho impiantato un grande schedario destinato a raccogliere il più grande numero possibile di schede bibliografiche concernenti in qualsiasi modo l'educazione, le dottrine pedagogiche e la loro storia, non escludendo la psicologia dei fanciulli normali e anormali, e prendendo in speciale considerazione anche l'aspetto giuridico amministrativo della organizzazione scolastica. Vi sarà compresa una parte che a stretto rigore è letteraria, ma che forma oggetto di mio particolare interesse nell'insegnamento: la letteratura popolare e la letteratura per l'infanzia nonché la letteratura di popolo (folclorica) che possa essere utilizzata a fini educativi. Gli spogli bibliografici in schede si riferiranno non soltanto all'Italia ma ad ogni paese colto, nell'ambito delle lingue fondamentali della cultura occidentale: Italiano, Francese, Spagnolo, Inglese, Tedesco. [...] Per il momento a titolo di prova mi limiterò a due argomenti: a) istituti prescolastici (Kindergarten) e di educazione della prima infanzia; b) letteratura per la prima infanzia (Kinderreime e Mutter und Koselieder) e libri di sole illustrazioni per la prima infanzia nonché raccolte di musiche e canzoni infantili [...]²⁵.

to the degree with such ignorance of your duty as a student».

²⁴ G. Lombardo-Radice, *Relazione sull'attività didattica e scientifica svolta dal Museo-Archivio Didattico della Facoltà di Magistero*, *ibid.*: «with the aim of accustoming students to a scientific method of research, and to prepare some themes for future degree dissertations».

²⁵ Letter by G. Lombardo-Radice to E. Burich, from Rome, 5 March 1937, MuSEd, *Archivio Lombardo-Radice*, Corrispondenza varia, Cartella B: «Dear Rico, Perhaps I have explained to you in Rome what my work in the Istituto Pedagogia currently is. I want to end my life by being a bit of a pedagogical paymaster, because my health conditions do not allow me to be a captain anymore. That is to say, I have set up a large file designed to collect as many as possible of the bibliographic files concerning in any way education, pedagogical doctrines and their history, not excluding the psychology of normal and abnormal children, and also taking into special consideration the legal and administrative aspect of the school organization. It will include a part which is strictly literary, but which is the subject of my particular interest in teaching: popular literature and children's literature as well as folk literature which can be used for educational purposes. The bibliographic sheets will refer not only to Italy but also to every cultured country, within the fundamental languages of Western culture: Italian, French, Spanish, English and German. [...] For the moment, as a test, I would like to limit to two topics: a) pre-school institutions (Kindergarten) and early childhood education; b) early childhood literature (Kinderreime and Mutter und Koselieder) and books made only of illustrations for the early childhood as well as collections of music and children's songs [...].».

In the construction of this specialized library, besides the general works and the most up-to-date publications in the field of education and history, there are also texts of popular literature and children's literature, a field to which Lombardo-Radice, who has always been a passionate explorer of the 'simple' forms of the literary experience, pays particular attention. In a reply to the publisher Paravia, dated 27 May 1936, he thanked him for sending volumes to the Museum and explicitly spoke of a permanent bibliographic exhibition, something quite different from the library. It is precisely within the Museum that one can conceive of an approach to the book as an object of study not only from a textual point of view, but also from a material and visual point of view:

Vi ripetiamo i nostri ringraziamenti più vivi per i bei libri mandati in dono al nostro Museo Pedagogico e ci permettiamo farvi notare che sarebbe utilissimo ai nostri fini se potessimo avere una raccolta, possibilmente intera, di 'Leggende e poeti narrati ai fanciulli' come pure dei volumetti 'Gli esploratori'.

Come Vi abbiamo detto i libri raccolti nella nostra 'esposizione permanente' sono oggetto di studio per gli studenti di questa Facoltà, e riteniamo che sia pure nell'interesse della Vostra Casa che Collezioni di eminente carattere educativo come le suddette, non abbiano a mancarvi²⁶.

Other papers from the same months found in the Lombardo-Radice Archive repeatedly speak of a «permanent exhibition of books for young people», a sign that the *lombardian* Museum was also open to this sector of the publishing production, which in the thirties had undergone a significant increase, recording great progress especially in terms of graphics and illustrations. The contemporary book for children becomes an object to be exhibited and studied scientifically, fundamental to enrich the cultural baggage of future professors, teachers of teachers: «how could one think – wrote Iclea Picco in a moving celebration of the work conducted by her Master for the Didactic Museum-Archive – to let them ignore the vast literature for children, when they know that they will have to 'choose' and 'suggest' to others? It is necessary, therefore, that they be the first to 'know', that they develop a taste, a critical spirit»²⁷.

The sudden death of Lombardo-Radice, in August 1938, left colleagues and students dismayed, a large family that tried to carry on his teaching, from the most specific daily tasks. His directives remain on the tables of the Museum,

²⁶ Letter by G. Lombardo-Radice to the publishing house Paravia from Turin, *ibid.*: «We renew our heartfelt thank-you for the beautiful books sent as a gift to our Museo Pedagogico and we would like to point out that it would be very useful for our purposes if we could have a collection, possibly complete, of 'Leggende e poeti narrati ai fanciulli' as well as the volumes 'Gli esploratori'. As we have told you, the books collected in our «permanent exhibition» are the object of study for the students of this Faculty, and we believe that it is also in the interest of your House that collections of eminent educational character such as the above, have not to be missing».

²⁷ I. Picco, *L'Istituto di Pedagogia della Facoltà di Magistero di Roma*, «L'Educatore della Svizzera italiana», november 1939, p. 3.

exposed to everyone's reading, to encourage, first of all, that relentless sense of public institutions and that humility applied to the intellectual work that had always been his own human and professional characteristics, both as an intellectual and as a citizen:

It is not obligatory for anyone to participate in the activities of this Institute. But those who accept to provide their services should know from the beginning that no work is unworthy of the scholar, when it is necessary. Everything is work and identically valuable for all.

From the Professor of Pedagogy, who directs the Institute, to the assistants, collaborators, former students and now professors and school officials, to the internal students, to the newly enrolled students, – here we all are – at once – scholars, archivists, writers and, if necessary, also bellboys for our Institute.

Who accepts and love the Institute in this way, will work there with joy and will find understanding and help; who does not understand and does not appreciate the necessity and dignity of the various works, even the most humble, required for the good functioning of the Institute, is not, here in, welcome, even if he or she may have many good talents and beautiful qualities recognized and praised in private and in public by us²⁸.

3. *Il «museo storico» di Mauro Laeng*

The sudden death of Lombardo Radice inaugurated a new long period of oblivion, during which the Museum lost the momentum it had regained in the brief *lombardian* period. The intellectual commitment of Luigi Volpicelli was not worth much. Although he was an authoritative director of the Institute of Pedagogy and continued to enhance the increase in documents initiated by his predecessor, in fact he neglected the archival-museum dimension conceived and pursued with such scrupulous by Lombardo-Radice.

We have to get to the 1980s to see yet another resurrection of our museum, which took place thanks to the enthusiasm of Mauro Laeng, a generalist pedagogue passionate about new technologies but also seduced by the history of didactics and education, and convinced that «qualsiasi discorso sulle 'nuove' tecniche della comunicazione richiede qualche parola sulla 'novità' che ad esse viene attribuita. Si tratta di novità non assoluta, ma relativa, cioè una volta di più di novità 'storica', vale a dire che presuppone il corso antecedente dell'esperienza passata e su di essa costruisce»²⁹. It was Laeng who traced, recovered and revived (in new premises, at the headquarters in via del Castro

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁹ M. Laeng, *Emozione, immagine, parola nella comunicazione educativa*, in Id., *Antologia pedagogica 3. Dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1995, p. 517: «any discourse on the 'new' techniques of communication requires a few words on the 'novelty' that is attributed to them. It is not an absolute novelty, but a relative one, once more a 'historical' novelty, which means that it presupposes the previous course of past experience and builds on it».

Pretorio 20) some of the materials that had been dispersed over the previous decades and promoted new acquisitions for what he renamed the Museo storico della Didattica (Historical Museum of Didactics), so called partly out of the desire of the central administration of La Sapienza, partly in tune with his lifelong passion for didactics, its methods, techniques and instruments. In the wake of the French annalistic lesson, of the expansion of the concept of historical source and of the rebirth of historical-educational studies that also took place in Italy in the early 1980s, Laeng returned with great conviction to the idea that it was necessary to offer to experts in educational sciences (but also to the public of non-specialists) a historical type of support to knowledge, based also on a direct contact with documentary materiality. The institutional breadth and cultural and scientific scope of the Laeng project can be deduced from an unprecedented relationship that marks one of the first stages of the museum's reconstruction. Here the *mission*, which is mainly historical-documentary, is already well defined, as it is the systematic nature of communication with the world outside, both to provide opportunities for a patrimonial enrichment and to extend the types of public. We will notice the indecision on the denomination (with an undeniable confusion between content and container in the choice of the denomination by the Board of Directors of La Sapienza) and the primitive orientation on a wording that, only recently, we have recovered in part:

A seguito dell'approvazione avvenuta il 7 maggio 1986 da parte del Consiglio di Amministrazione su precedente delibera del Senato Accademico, il nuovo 'Museo storico della didattica' (o, come noi preferiamo dire, 'Museo dell'Educazione e della Scuola') è 'de jure' istituito ed entra almeno formalmente nel novero degli attuali musei dell'Ateneo. [...] Il nostro è pertanto il quindicesimo museo della università romana, anche se in qualche misura è da considerare come la rinascita o la ripresa di un precedente Museo della scuola, cui avevano dato contributi A. Labriola e L. Credaro, e di precedenti archivi e raccolte a cura di G. Lombardo Radice e L. Volpicelli (museo e raccolte erano andati nel frattempo dispersi e i rispettivi beni erano affluiti nella Biblioteca Alessandrina, nella Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Pedagogia e in altre sedi, come stiamo accertando).

Secondo quanto illustra Salvatore Puglisi in un capitolo del libro a cura di Claudio Gori Giorgi su *La questione universitaria*, ed. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1985, i musei universitari romani sono nati essenzialmente da raccolte promosse da docenti al servizio del loro insegnamento: sono quindi tutti più o meno musei 'didattici' (e in questo quadro di riferimento si spiega la denominazione adottata anche a nostro riguardo dal C.d.A.). Molti di essi hanno acquisito tuttavia crescente importanza anche ai fini dello studio e ricerca, e infine al servizio del più largo pubblico della città.

A maggior ragione queste considerazioni dovrebbero valere per il nostro museo, che è didattico per i contenuti oltre che per la forma; ma al di là della ovvietà di questa osservazione, sono anche per noi di grande rilevanza tutte le funzioni indicate.

È indubbiamente prematuro delineare le caratteristiche del futuro museo disponendo di elementi troppo esigui per un piano completo. [...] Il Museo dell'Educazione e della Scuola dovrebbe assolvere almeno questi compiti:

a) Assicurare la raccolta, classificazione, descrizione e commento di documenti, libri, periodici, oggetti relativi alla storia dell'educazione, della scuola e delle istituzioni educative. Esiste al riguardo una letteratura abbastanza ricca sull'argomento, e l'Istituto e poi il Dipartimento

hanno avuto cattedre d'insegnamento ad hoc nel passato e nel presente. Va aggiunto che le biblioteche universitarie pertinenti già posseggono discreti fondi a questo riguardo, che andranno esplorati con assoluta precedenza. Sarà comunque inevitabile che almeno nei primi tempi tale raccolta debba essere effettuata attraverso segnalazioni (anche da sollecitare), sopralluoghi, visite, contatti epistolari e personali con specialisti, librai, antiquari, con uno spiccato carattere di convenienza e di opportunità. Tale aspetto occasionale (quale è quello che si sta tentando con tutta modestia attualmente mediante alcune acquisizioni effettuate su fondi a disposizione di una cattedra) è per altro nettamente insufficiente. Al di là di un approccio empirico (che conserverà in seguito una funzione solamente sussidiaria) va pertanto affrontato un piano più organico e sistematico di indagine mirata alla ricerca di 'pezzi forti' di una documentazione di base, non troppo lacunosa o discontinua.

In una prima bozza d'ipotesi si era supposto che centri di organizzazione del materiale potessero essere alcune sezioni (1. Libri e periodici; 2. Iconografia, grafica, stampe e disegni; 3. Oggetti e sussidi, attrezzature, apparecchi a uso didattico, serie sistematiche di 'materiali' impiegati in vari metodi; 4. Ludoteca e oggetti attinenti all'educazione extrascolastica, teatro infantile, ecc.; 5. Mediateca per gli audiovisivi e i mezzi tecnologici). Tale classificazione corrisponde al presente stato del tutto iniziale, con le sue direzioni d'interesse e le sue potenziali competenze da assegnare a diversi esperti. Ma non dovrebbe interferire con la distribuzione 'topografica' propriamente 'museale'.

Soltanto a titolo largamente orientativo si suppone che si dovrebbero accorpate (in armadi chiusi per la conservazione, e in armadi a vetri e bacheche per la presentazione) i materiali in alcune sale espressamente 'dedicate'. Per esempio:

- documenti e oggetti relativi alla storia dell'educazione antica;
- documenti e oggetti relativi alla storia dell'educazione medievale e umanistico-rinascimentale;
- documenti e oggetti relativi alla storia dell'educazione nei periodi della riforma e controriforma, dell'illuminismo e delle rivoluzioni;
- documenti e oggetti relativi alla storia dell'educazione negli Stati italiani pre-unitari;
- documenti e oggetti relativi al primo periodo unitario, dalla legge Casati alla Prima Guerra mondiale;
- documenti e oggetti del periodo fascista;
- documenti e oggetti della educazione e scuola dopo la Seconda Guerra mondiale.

In alternativa, se la partizione cronologica non risultasse praticabile per scarsità di contenuti, si potrebbero realizzare accorpamenti più compattati; per il periodo più recente sarebbe forse preferibile una classificazione diversa e più 'qualitativa', come:

- La scuola positivistica;
- L'idealismo e la pedagogia attivistica;
- La scuola italiana per l'infanzia: F. Aporti, il froebelismo, M. Montessori e le Sorelle Agazzi;
- L'educazione speciale per gli handicappati;
- Le nuove tecnologie didattiche.

b) Consentire lo studio e la ricerca a docenti e studenti dell'università e a studiosi e cultori italiani ed esteri. Per questo scopo il museo dovrebbe essere dotato di servizi e infrastrutture non inferiori a quelli di una biblioteca universitaria, con schedari, possibilità di informatizzazione, lettori di microfilm e microfiches, fotocopiatrici di qualità con ingrandimento/riduzione, ecc., e almeno tre unità di personale (due tecnici e un ausiliario).

Occorre anche prevedere una sala di studio e consultazione, dotata pure di lavagna luminosa, proiettore di diapositive sincronizzate, lettore di videocassette con televisore a colori fornito di televideo, e almeno un personal computer tipo Macintosh o IBM-like.

c) Offrire al più largo pubblico degli Insegnanti e delle scuole e alla cittadinanza l'occasione di documentarsi sulla educazione e sulla scuola. Per questo le sale dovranno essere disposte non come meri contenitori, ma anche come supporti di presentazione museale dei pezzi più significativi, accompagnati da didascalie, pannelli e quant'altro può servire alla spiegazione autosufficiente.

A questo scopo, oltre alla presentazione stabile, gioveranno anche saltuariamente esposizioni 'tematiche' per le quali il museo potrà utilizzare le proprie raccolte e far convergere anche altre risorse esterne (per esempio delle raccolte archivistiche, bibliografiche e iconografiche di Roma e di altre città, non escluse raccolte estere). Eventuali cataloghi conserveranno il beneficio delle esposizioni anche al di là della loro occasione effimera³⁰.

³⁰ M. Laeng, *Lineamenti progettuali per un Museo dell'Educazione e della Scuola (Museo Storico della Didattica) presso il Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione – Facoltà di Magistero – Università La Sapienza – Roma*, MuSEd, Direzione, fasc. Nomina Direttore – Rapporti con le Autorità accademiche – Gruppo Lavoro Musei – Dépliants e opuscoli: «Following the May 7, 1986 approval by the Board of Directors on a previous resolution of the Academic Senate, the new 'Museo storico della didattica' (or, as we prefer to say, 'Museo dell'Educazione e della Scuola') is 'de jure' established and enters at least formally among the current museums of the University. [...] Ours is therefore the fifteenth museum of the Roman university, even if to some extent it is to be considered as the rebirth or revival of a previous Museum of the school, to which A. Labriola and L. Credaro had given contributions, and previous archives and collections edited by G. Lombardo Radice and L. Volpicelli (museum and collections had meanwhile been dispersed and their assets had flowed into the Biblioteca Alessandrina, Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Pedagogia and other locations, as we are ascertaining). According to what Salvatore Puglisi illustrates in a chapter of the book edited by Claudio Gori Giorgi in *La questione universitaria*, ed. La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1985, the Roman university museums were born essentially from collections promoted by teachers at the service of their teaching: therefore they are all more or less 'didactic' museums (and in this reference framework the name adopted also in our regard by the Board of Directors is explained). However, many of them have become increasingly important also for the purposes of study and research, and finally for the benefit of the wider public of the city. These considerations should be all the more valid for our museum, which is didactic in terms of content as well as form; but beyond the obvious nature of this observation, all the functions indicated are also of great importance to us. It is undoubtedly too early to outline the characteristics of the future museum by having too few elements for a complete plan. [...] The Museo dell'Educazione e della Scuola should at least carry out these tasks:

a) To ensure the collection, classification, description and commentary of documents, books, periodicals, objects related to the history of education, school and educational institutions. There is a fairly rich literature on the subject, and the Institute and then the Department have had ad hoc professorships in the past and present. It should be added that the relevant university libraries already have discreet funds in this regard, which shall be explored with absolute precedence. However, it will be inevitable that at least in the early stages this collection should be made through reports (also to be solicited), inspections, visits, correspondence and personal contacts with specialists, booksellers, antique dealers, with a marked character of convenience and opportunity. This occasional aspect (which is what is currently being attempted in all modesty through some acquisitions made with the funds available to a chair) it is also clearly insufficient. Beyond an empirical approach (which would later retain only a subsidiary function), a more organic and systematic plan of investigation should therefore be tackled, aimed at finding 'strong points' in a basic documentation that is not too incomplete or discontinuous. In a first draft of the hypothesis it was assumed that some sections could be the centers of organization of the

On the basis of this scheme, flexible and, at the same time, well-structured both from the point of view of content and historical classification of the subject and as regards the preparation and consideration of the needs of the public (in all its typological extension), the Museum has begun to live again, despite many difficulties and shortages of human and economic resources.

material (1. Books and periodicals; 2. Iconography, graphics, prints and drawings; 3. Objects and aids, equipment, devices for educational use, systematic series of 'materials' used in a variety of methods; 4. Playroom and objects related to extracurricular education, children's theater, etc. 5. Media library for audiovisual and technological media) This classification corresponds to the present state of the art, with its directions of interest and its potential competences to be assigned to different experts. But it should not interfere with a 'topographic' distribution, which is properly 'museum-like'. For guidance only, it is assumed that materials should be grouped together (in closed cabinets for storage, and in glass cabinets and showcases for display) in some expressly 'dedicated' rooms. For example:

- documents and objects related to the history of ancient education;
- documents and objects related to the history of Medieval and Humanistic-Renaissance education;
- documents and objects related to the history of education during the periods of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Enlightenment and the Revolutions;
- documents and objects related to the history of education in the pre-united Italian states;
- documents and objects relating to the first unitary period, from the Casati law to the First World War;
- documents and objects from the fascist period;
- documents and objects from education and school after the Second World War.

Alternatively, if the chronological partition were not practicable due to a lack of content, more compact groupings could be made; for the most recent period, a different and more "qualitative" classification would perhaps be preferable, such as:

- Positivist school;
- Idealism and experiential education;
- The Italian nursery school: F. Aporti, Froebelism, M. Montessori and the Agazzi sisters;
- Special education for the handicapped;
- New educational technologies.

b) To allow professors and students of the university and of Italian and foreign scholars and connoisseurs to study and research. For this purpose, the museum should be equipped with services and facilities not inferior to those of a university library, with files, computerization facilities, readers of microfilm and microfiches, a high quality photocopier with enlargement/reduction, etc., and at least three members of staff (two technicians and an auxiliary).

There should also be a study and consultation room with overhead projector, synchronized slide projector, a videotape player with a color television equipped with teletext, and at least one personal computer such as Macintosh or IBM-like.

c) To offer the general public of teachers and schools and citizens the opportunity to learn about education and school. For this reason, the rooms must be arranged not only as mere containers, but also as a support for the presentation of the most significant pieces of the museum, accompanied by captions, panels and anything else that may serve to provide a self-sufficient explanation.

To this end. In addition to the permanent presentation, there will also be occasional 'thematic' exhibitions for which the museum will be able to use its own collections and bring together other external resources (for example, the archival, bibliographic and iconographic collections of Rome and other cities, not excluding foreign collections). Any possible catalogs will preserve the benefit of the exhibitions even beyond their ephemeral occasion».

When Mauro Laeng stopped teaching and left the management of the Museum, in the academic year 1996-1997, the previous museum heritage, books, papers and objects which had been recovered from past museum seasons or purchased on the antique market, had been enriched with two important funds: The Archives of the Ente Nazionale Scuole per i Contadini dell'Agro Romano (with six wooden boards and two ceramic panels by Duilio Cambellotti) and the Archives of Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, donated by the Catanese pedagogue's children to the old Istituto di Pedagogia which entered the Museum for the initiative of Iclea Picco, the last pupil of the Sicilian pedagogue, who in 1986 left teaching.

In the Laeng years, the Museum became, in fact, above all a place of study, historical-educational research and enhancement of the so-called material history of education. However, due to the unavailability of suitable premises, the ambition to become a place open to citizens and a continuous dialogue with university didactics was missing. Following in the footsteps of Laeng, the next three directors (Bruno Bellerate 1997-2002, Carmela Covato 2002-2014, Carlo Felice Casula 2014-2018) have also promoted the most up-to-date and effective forms of the cataloguing of materials and, above all, the online publication of the library's catalogue, objects and documents of the Ente Scuole per i Contadini. At the same time, thanks to the tireless collaboration of a passionate scholar such as Giovanna Alatri and an expert such as Francesca Gagliardo, the Museum curated a series of exhibitions outside its headquarters, together with the City of Rome, publishing the catalogs: *A come Alfabeto, Z come Zanzara: analfabetismo e malaria nella campagna romana* at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni (1998), *Trucci Trucci cavallucci: infanzia a Roma fra Otto e Novecento*, at Villa Torlonia-Casina delle Civette (2001), *A passo di marcia: l'infanzia a Roma tra le due guerre* at the Museo di Roma in Trastevere (2004). With Carmela Covato, whose historiographic method is characterized by a remarkable openness to the new frontiers of historical-educational studies, the Museum has begun to regularly be the spoken about in national and international conferences dedicated to the topics that find extensive documentation in it³¹: the material history of education, the history of gender education, the school notebook as a polyvalent historical source, auteur libraries, etc.

³¹ C. Covato, *Il Museo storico della didattica dell'università degli Studi Roma Tre. Dalle origini all'attualità*, in N. Siciliani de Cumis (ed.), *Antonio Labriola e la sua Università*, Rome, Aracne, 2005, pp. 290-297; Ead., *Mauro Laeng Historical Museum of didactic at University Roma Tre: past and present*, «History of education & children's literature», vol. I, n. 2, 2006, pp. 429-436; F. Borruso, *Il Museo Storico della Didattica "Mauro Laeng"*, «Bollettino CIRSE», 2006, pp. 121-125; Ead., *Un Museo della scuola a Roma capitale (1874-1938)*, in C. Covato, M.I. Venzo (edd.), *Scuola e itinerari formativi dallo Stato pontificio a Roma capitale. L'istruzione primaria*, Milan, Unicopli, 2007, pp. 329-346; Ead., *A Museum of Schools in the Capital Rome (1874-1938)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. II, n. 1, 2007, pp. 327-349.

In the same years (2003-2004), the entire school library and the didactic instruments of the scientific laboratories of the Istituto Santa Maria in Aquiro in Piazza Capranica, an ancient institution for the reception and education of orphans, inspired by the doctrine of Sant'Ignazio di Loyola, were acquired.

At this point, the consistency of the museum heritage was definitively characterized by three types of documentation: objects (the museum itself), library (about 20,000 volumes, including periodicals), archive. Each of these three categories is, of course, characterized by its own subcategories.

4. *MuSEd today*

In recent years, under the direction of Casula, the Museum has been given a name very close to that originally conceived by Leang, which is Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione. MuSEd (Museum of School and Education). This name, on the one hand, recovers the original diction (Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione), on the other hand it expands and integrates the areas of the history of school and education, bringing together documents and materials from different educational contexts (formal, institutional, public, private, informal, family-run). Today's MuSEd would like: a) to correspond to the indication of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), according to which a museum is «a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment»³²; b) to satisfy the practice of the so-called Third Mission, that is, «the set of activities with which Universities enter into direct interaction with society, complementing the traditional missions of teaching (first mission, which is based on interaction with students) and research (second mission, mainly in interaction with the scientific or peer communities)»³³.

As for the enrichment of the heritage, the current management is carrying out a tenacious information campaign to encourage donations of documentary material, both by citizens who have played an important role in the history of school and education in our country, both by witnesses who are isolated from the point of view of the biography but significant as producers (or heirs of producers) of historical sources (correspondence, diaries, notebooks, textbooks, reading books, collections of periodicals, diplomas and reports, etc.).

Recently, the archives and libraries of Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Marcello Argilli, Albino Bernardini and Teresa Vergalli have been acquired.

³² <<http://www.icom-italia.org/definizione-di-museo-di-icom/>> (last access: 31.10.2018).

³³ <<http://www.uniroma3.it/terza-missione/>> (last access: 31.10.2018).

These three new archival collections will allow scholars and students to start new research on different perspectives in Italian scholastic-educational history, ranging from Marxist political-educational thought (Manacorda) to children's literature (Argilli) to the history of school in the areas of the urban periphery (Bernardini and Vergalli). It is clear that the link with the territory, over the years, has become a fundamental feature of the Museum, also as a result of the birth of similar museums in other areas of the peninsula and the increasingly sophisticated debate on problems and issues of conservation of the cultural heritage of school and education³⁴. It is self-evident that Rome and Lazio, both from the point of view of the documentary contents already owned and those that, in the future, will become part of it, are the fundamental objective of the work of collecting materials, museum exhibitions and promoting research.

In the meantime, MuSEd has become the seat of the Luigi Malerba Award for Picture Book, the only Italian award exclusively dedicated to this genre of literature for children and young people. This allows the Museum to collect a large number of publications relating to this sector every year, and thus to consolidate and update the already rich library of children's literature. The Malerba Prize, which is awarded every year as part of the Bologna Children's Book Fair, brings the Museum to the forefront of the contemporary debate on children's books.

From the point of view of the premises and structures, the size of the rooms regained in Piazza della Repubblica, has allowed us to organize a conference room and an exhibition hall (currently under construction) designed according to museographic criteria intended for an audience that will be made up of more than just specialists. Inside this room, which we informally call *wunderkammer*, it will be possible to see the most important 'pieces' of MuSEd and enjoy a didactic path that illustrates its meaning and historical-educational value. In recent months we have dedicated a monographic issue of the magazine «Il Pepeverde»³⁵ to the most important funds of MuSEd, which temporarily satisfies the need to have an updated guide.

Once gained the opportunity to welcome and communicate adequately (even virtually, through a restyling of the currently obsolete website) with our university students, with schools, with teachers and, hopefully, with citizens who are curious to embark on a journey in the history of education in what is the oldest Italian museum dedicated to these issues, and the only one in Rome,

³⁴ Cf. J. Meda, *Musei della scuola e dell'educazione. Ipotesi progettuale per una sistematizzazione delle iniziative di raccolta, conservazione e valorizzazione dei beni culturali delle scuole*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. V, n. 2, 2010, pp. 489-501.

³⁵ *Speciale MuSEd: il Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione "Mauro Laeng" dell'Università Roma Tre*, «Il Pepeverde», vol. XX, n. 77, 2018, with contributions by: G. Alatri, L. Bianchi, F. Borruso, L. Cantatore, C. Covato, L. Dal Pra, E. Detti, M. Di Giacinto, F. Gagliardo, O. Martini, S. Mastandrea, C. Meta, L. Ottocento, P. Parlato, A. Poce, A. Quagliata, A. Sanzo, F. Scollo, F. Sapuppo, E. Zizioli.

then it will be possible to think that the goal has been reached. Now, in fact, it is urgent to build a «social existence» for MuSEd because: «if its didactic function is not set up, the museographic problem is reduced to a vain question of furnishing the museum. It would not make sense to carry out a didactic activity [...] if this didactic activity were not to be translated into a more animated cultural and social life of the museum»³⁶.

³⁶ P. Bucarelli, *Funzione didattica del museo d'arte moderna*, in *Il museo come esperienza sociale*, Rome, De Luca, 1972, pp. 85 ss.

Critical Reviews



Rassegne critiche,
Discussioni, Recensioni

Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche

Para una lectura de *Heidi*, de Johanna Spyri

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A Reading of Heidi, by Johanna Spyri

ABSTRACT: We propose in this article a reading of the novel *Heidi*, by Johanna Spyri, from a celebrated Portuguese edition of 1960 successively reissued, both because we recognize its literary value, and because we see in it messages of great human and social depth. In particular, we will try to show that the fascination of this work in children's and young adult literature stems from its construction as a narrative whose essential themes (childhood, nature, home and family) guarantee, along with the quality of its writing and narrative choices, a universal reach. In Portugal and other countries, as happened in the 70s of the last century, children, youth and adult audiences currently know Heidi more from movies and from the series of cartoons than from the novel *Heidi*. And despite the success of the novel, there is not, as far as we know, a single scholarly study of the work in Portugal, either book- or article-length, about this work by Johanna Spyri. With the present article we hope to promote the reading of this book and discussion of an internationally famous character and story.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Johanna Spyri; *Heidi*; Universal narrative; Childhood; Nature; XXth Century.

Introducción

En el artículo *Johanna Spyri's Heidi*, Peter Skrine comienza diciéndonos que la novela *Heidi*, publicada en dos volúmenes en 1880 y 1881, se convirtió en un clásico de la literatura infantil ya pocos años después de su aparición, y añade que, en 1884, tras ser traducida al inglés, rápidamente se reveló como una de las obras más apreciadas por los lectores de las clases medias inglesa y americana¹.

¹ P. Skrine, *Johanna Spyri's 'Heidi'*, «Bulletin of the John Rylands Library», vol. 76, n. 3, 1994, p. 145.

No sabemos exactamente en qué año se publica *Heidi* por primera vez en Portugal, pero creemos que no existió ninguna edición en portugués en la década de los 80 del siglo XIX. De hecho, la edición más antigua en lengua portuguesa de la que tenemos conocimiento es ya de 1960 (no hay una edición anterior a esta en la Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, donde, supuestamente, se guardan todos los libros publicados en el territorio portugués); es decir, setenta y seis años después de la edición en inglés. Se trata de una edición de Bertrand, adaptada por Pilar Gavín, ilustrada por Ángel Badía y traducida por António José de Brito. En la ficha del libro se lee que «La adaptación literaria, así como la disposición especial y la presentación de este volumen, es propiedad de la Editorial Bruguera, y los derechos de la presente edición pertenecen a la Livraria Bertrand». También en 1960 aparece *Outra Vez Heidi*, y en la ficha técnica se menciona igualmente la relación de este volumen con la editorial española, que publica los dos volúmenes de *Heidi* a finales de la década de los 50 (hemos tenido acceso a una edición, la segunda del primer volumen, de 1958). Se repiten los nombres de los autores españoles de la adaptación y de las ilustraciones, pero la traducción es de la portuguesa Virgínia de Sousa.

Cuatro años después de la edición de Bertrand, en 1964, también la editorial Civilização publica *Heidi*, y en 1969 es el turno de la Editorial Ibis, pero es en la década de los años 70, con la adaptación para dibujos animados de la autoría de los japoneses Isao Takahata y Hayao Miyazaki², cuando el libro de Johanna Spyri (Hirzel, Suiza, 1827 – Zúrich, Suiza, 1901) adquiere una proyección destacable. Aparte de las editoriales Bertrand y Civilização, otras editoriales, como Hemma-Ïmpala, publican *Heidi*. En Portugal se emite en 1976, a través de la RTP, la versión original japonesa, producida en 1974 por Nippon Animation y EIZO Zuiyô, y ese mismo año fue emitida en Japón por Fuji Television, entre el 6 de enero y el 29 de diciembre de 1974. El éxito de esta serie de animación, uno de los varios títulos de la serie televisiva *Sekai Meisaku Gekijô* [World Masterpiece Theater], que retomaba obras clásicas universales dirigidas sobre todo al público infantil e juvenil, no pasó desapercibido al mercado editorial portugués, y por eso en 1976 hay varias ediciones de *Heidi* y de *Outra Vez Heidi*, algunas de editoriales, como Liber o Ag. Port. de Revistas, que aún no habían publicado este libro. Se publican, también en 1976, varias ediciones de episodios o fragmentos del libro, como *Heidi e a Avozinha de Clara*.

En Portugal, las ediciones de *Heidi* se han venido multiplicando hasta ahora, y, del mismo modo que ya ocurrió en las décadas de los años 60 y 70 del siglo XX, otras editoriales asumieron la publicación de la obra más célebre de Johanna Spyri, ya fuera en traducción íntegra o en traducciones y adaptaciones más o menos libres de algunas partes. Más recientemente, desde hace aproximadamente una década, con el desarrollo en Portugal de la literatura infantil y juvenil,

² I. Takahata, *Making of the TV series 'Heidi, the Girl of the Alps'*, in B. Helbling et al., *Johanna Spyri und ihr Werk-Lesarten*, Zürich, Chronos Verlag, 2004, pp. 189-204.

abundan las secuelas de *Heidi* en álbumes ilustrados, aunque muchas de ellas solamente tienen en común con el original algunos personajes o escenarios. Es previsible que en los próximos años esta situación no solo continúe, sino que experimente una aceleración más o menos acentuada, porque el libro forma parte del Plan Nacional de Lectura para el 5.º curso escolar y, sobre todo, porque un canal televisivo por cable está transmitiendo desde 2015 una nueva versión en 3D del clásico de Johanna Spyri, después de haber emitido al menos una parte de los episodios de la serie japonesa de 1974, que está disponible en internet. Esto aparte de las diferentes adaptaciones cinematográficas de *Heidi*, más o menos recientes, lo que también supone un impacto directo en el aumento de las ediciones de la novela y de las adaptaciones.

Heidi: un clásico de la literatura universal para la infancia y la juventud. Elementos ideológicos, narrativos y literarios

En este artículo nos centraremos en la edición portuguesa en dos volúmenes de Bertrand, más concretamente en la 2.ª edición (1976) de la famosa serie «Seleção», de la que forman parte títulos de otros autores, a los que haremos algunas alusiones, que tienen en común con *Heidi* el hecho de, muy acorde con el gusto del siglo XIX y del Naturalismo, ser historias protagonizadas por niños huérfanos, o por niños que, casi hasta el final, se creía (y creían ellos mismos) que eran huérfanos. Independientemente del valor literario de cada una de esas otras narraciones, ninguna se mantuvo tan universalmente popular como *Heidi*. La universalidad de esta obra se aprecia bien, desde su publicación hace más de cien años, por las innumerables ediciones en múltiples lenguas y por las adaptaciones para televisión y cine, al contrario de lo que ocurrió con muchos otros libros, nacidos en el siglo XIX y también protagonizados por huérfanos, pero hoy casi completamente olvidados. La lectura que presentamos en este artículo es nuestra propuesta de explicación del éxito de *Heidi*, que permanece muy viva en la cultura occidental y universal (en Japón, por supuesto) desde hace más de cien años.

Cuando publicó *Heidi*, Johanna Spyri ya había publicado, de forma anónima, diversos textos, y escribió y publicó muchos más a lo largo de su vida (cuarenta y nueve), pero fue la novela de la niña de los Alpes la que hizo su nombre conocido en los países de lengua alemana y la que rápidamente lo llevó al Reino Unido y a los Estados Unidos. No existe un modelo obvio o directo que haya servido de apoyo a Johanna Spyri, como observa Peter Skrine en el artículo al que ya nos referimos, y es precisamente en este punto donde podemos iniciar nuestra lectura. La novedad de *Heidi* está en el tratamiento especial que la autora da a los diferentes temas del libro, no en la presentación de estos de manera exclusiva en la novela. En *Heidi* no hay temas ni motivos que no hayan

sido tratados en otras historias para niños; hay un tratamiento sin igual de esos temas, tanto en la forma como en el contenido.

Comencemos por la naturaleza, que se presenta, no por casualidad, en el inicio de *Heidi*, constituido por dos párrafos relativamente largos, pero no aburridos ni discordantes con el conjunto:

Pocas cosas ofrece la Naturaleza tan bellas y majestuosas como las montañas de los Alpes. Sus altísimas cumbres coronadas de nieve forman un maravilloso contraste con los verdes prados y los densos bosques de sus colinas. La luz parece tener tonos diferentes, según ilumine una u otra parte de las bellísimas montañas. Allí los pastos son siempre frescos y de finas hierbas, y los senderos parecen trazados para pequeños seres de leyenda. Cerca de la antiquísima ciudad de Mayenfeld parte uno de estos senderos; es muy ancho y atraviesa verdes valles, al tiempo que bordea hermosos pastos. Recorriéndolo a pie, se atraviesa el bosque y se llega, por fin, a una colina de la majestuosa montaña. Allí el camino se vuelve más estrecho y comienza a subir suavemente hasta las cumbres alpinas³.

La exaltación de la belleza de los Alpes suizos atraviesa tanto el primer como el segundo volumen de *Heidi*, y se articula equilibradamente, y de modo original frente a otros textos, con el resto de temas y de motivos de la obra. Hay narraciones infantiles anteriores a *Heidi*, como *Clovernook, or Recollections of our Neighborhood in the West* (1852), de Alice Cary, que también establecen un contraste acentuado entre la ciudad y el campo, como por otra parte era frecuente en el siglo XIX, pero el libro de Johanna Spyri se desmarca considerablemente de esas obras. Ante todo, porque, como dijimos más arriba y como veremos a lo largo de este artículo, hay una interrelación muy peculiar entre este tema y los otros temas y motivos del libro. A esto se añade el modo en el que se establecen las relaciones campo-ciudad y pobreza-riqueza en *Heidi*. La naturaleza es un motivo central en *Heidi*, pero la novela no se agota en el mero elogio de la libertad del campo y en la censura de los excesos de la ciudad. Si observamos aisladamente la glorificación de la naturaleza alpina en *Heidi*, perderemos gran parte de la profundidad del mensaje de la obra, que tiene mucho que ver con la vida de Johanna Spyri.

No queremos entrar en lecturas biográficas, pero sería un error que desaprovecháramos algunos elementos biográficos de la autora de *Heidi* que pueden ayudarnos a comprender los significados de una obra leída en muchos lugares desde hace más de cien años. Johanna Spyri procedía de un medio rural y se fue a vivir a Zúrich, donde al principio compartió sentimientos de inseguridad y de angustia con los millares de trabajadores que se desplazaban en busca de los trabajos que había generado la acelerada industrialización. El impacto que provocaban los cambios culturales y de ambiente natural no fue fácil para la mayoría de ellos, que debían encontrar equilibrio económico, cultural y afectivo en ciudades modernas muy diferentes de las zonas rurales

³ J. Spyri. *Heidi*, Amadora, Livraria Bertrand, 1976, p. 1.

de donde eran oriundos. Con *Heidi*, Johanna Spyri parece querer dar alguna orientación en un mundo agitado por transformaciones rápidas e imprevisibles, y todo esto tiene que ver con lo que se vive actualmente un poco por todo el mundo globalizado y neoliberal, con mucha gente, sobre todo jóvenes (refugiados, también), que emigran hacia las metrópolis desde aldeas, pueblos y pequeñas ciudades.

La larga depresión de diez años que afectó a Johanna Spyri y lo que ella misma escribió en 1851 en un poema pueden iluminar también algunos de los sentidos de *Heidi* y el lugar preeminente que la naturaleza alpina, una especie de paraíso terrenal, ocupa en la historia: «Teach me your course, Nature, / the lofty course of eternal laws»⁴. *Heidi* y estos versos nos recuerdan el punto de vista de Mircea Eliade, que nos sugiere que la nostalgia del Jardín del Edén surge en todo momento y lugar. Las imágenes que hemos creado de ese espacio simbólico «expresan la nostalgia de un pasado mitificado transformado en arquetipo»; y este «“pasado” significa no solo la añoranza de un tiempo desaparecido, sino también una infinidad de otros sentidos; expresa todo lo que pudo haber sido y no fue, la tristeza de toda la existencia, que solamente *es* al dejar de ser otra cosa»⁵.

Decíamos antes que *Heidi* no es solamente un elogio de la naturaleza bella y sublime. La pequeña Heidi no regresa a los Alpes, representados como naturaleza fundacional e intacta, como si nunca hubiera vivido en una gran ciudad. Sucede exactamente lo contrario. Heidi asimiló muy bien todo lo que vivió y aprendió en Fráncfort, tanto aquello que la marcó de manera positiva como aquello que casi la condujo a una depresión grave. Johanna Spyri no escoge para Heidi un regreso a un mundo idealizado y dulce, y tampoco opta por ignorar aquello que en el campo no es ética y socialmente aceptable. Heidi vuelve a los Alpes más disciplinada y metódica en todo lo que tiene que ver con la organización doméstica y con la higiene personal, sin que esto sea indicio de ninguna preparación para lo que era irremediamente el destino femenino: el matrimonio. La autora no acepta que, pura y simplemente, saber leer, tener buenas condiciones de vida, reglas de higiene y comodidad doméstica sean lujos innecesarios en el campo y en la montaña. Heidi aprendió a leer y quiere que Pedro también aprenda, y eso termina sucediendo; y no acepta que la familia de Pedro, en particular su abuela, ciega y enferma, viva privada de condiciones mínimas de seguridad y de bienestar material y económico, y por eso hace todo lo posible por ayudar. El episodio de los panecillos que le quiere llevar a la abuela de Pedro es muy esclarecedor en este sentido, y aún más esclarecedor es el hecho de que Heidi use el dinero que el padre de Clara le envía en un paquete, cuando regresa a los Alpes, para comprar todos los días un panecillo blanco y

⁴ Skrine, *Johanna Spyri's 'Heidi'*, cit., p. 161.

⁵ M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism*, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1961, p. 17.

blando para la abuelita, cuya salud resulta así beneficiada. Al final, gracias a ella, el médico amigo de la familia de Clara, que, cansado de la ciudad, decide irse a vivir a Dörfli, garantiza estabilidad económica a la propia Heidi y a la familia de Pedro.

Heidi no es un libelo contra la civilización; es una propuesta de vida en comunidad y simultáneamente en sintonía con la naturaleza. Heidi, como una especie de niña o huérfana divina⁶, tiene el poder de reconducir al abuelo de vuelta a la comunidad, la cual, con su regreso, también se redime de sus defectos. Dörfli no es una gran ciudad como Fráncfort, sino un territorio que se sitúa a medio camino entre los Alpes, donde la vida en aislamiento es difícil e inapropiada (sobre todo para una niña), y la ciudad, demasiado grande e impersonal. La ecotopía que Johanna Spyri propone no implica el rechazo de la ciudad, que a lo largo de la historia, y no solo en el tiempo histórico de la autora, ha sido utilizada como símbolo de corrupción, perversidad y enfermedad. Para ella, la ciudad y, sobre todo, sus sucedáneos menores como Dörfli pueden ser lugares de realización humana, paraísos de armonía y de serenidad. Spyri concreta en *Heidi* un ideal de vida en comunidad que depende de un vínculo con la naturaleza y con la vida saludable e intensamente cromática, aromática, sonora y cinética que se crea a su alrededor, sin perjuicio del bienestar, de la comodidad y de las plusvalías generadas por las diferentes tecnologías que propicia el espacio urbano. Dörfli, igual que la tierra natal de Johanna Spyri en Zúrich, le sirve a la autora como modelo perfecto de comunidad, donde todos pueden vivir con seguridad y en paz, y cerca de la naturaleza intacta que garantiza salud y pacificación física y espiritual a quien quiera y sepa dialogar con ella. Es en los Alpes, con su aire puro, el sol y el paisaje idílico, y con el pan, la leche y el queso que el abuelo prepara, donde Clara se cura y vuelve a andar, y es también allí donde Heidi crece saludable y fuerte.

Johanna Spyri muestra que asimiló bien uno de los grandes temas de la literatura suiza, consagrado en el famoso poema *Die Alpen* (1729), escrito por el científico Albrecht von Haller: el descubrimiento de un nuevo paisaje literario y el descubrimiento de un nuevo concepto de sociedad, natural, autosuficiente y libre, que contrasta con la corrupción, la tiranía y el lucro capitalistas⁷. La sociedad ideal de Haller es la del campesino alpino, que vive en armonía con la naturaleza y consigo mismo. En *Heidi*, lo que une a los personajes, las partes del texto y sus significados es el paisaje natural, que es también un paisaje literario, como decíamos arriba: un fuerte territorio literario que permite que el lector sienta la geografía y comparta «mentalmente los espacios descritos»⁸

⁶ I.C. Bauer, *Living in an Unidyllic Idyll: the Worlds of Anne and Heidi. A Comparison between Johanna Spyri's Heidi and L. M. Montgomery's 'Anne of Green Gables'*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 2003, p. 8.

⁷ Skrine, *Johanna Spyri's 'Heidi'*, cit., p. 156.

⁸ A.I. Queirós, *A Paisagem de Terras do Demo. Análise Integrada da Sua Evolução ao Longo do Século XX e Valorização Através da Literatura*, Tese de Doutoramento em Arquitetura

y los transforme «en lugares únicos, significativos a causa de su dimensión literaria»⁹. Paisaje natural, paisaje literario y, por tanto, paisaje cultural complejo y dinámico que resulta de la interacción entre lo natural y lo humano en sus múltiples vertientes: de lo social a lo religioso, de lo sensorial a lo espiritual, de lo económico a lo cultural y a lo tecnológico, etc. Por eso, tiene sentido leer *Heidi* a la luz del concepto de «escritura-naturaleza», «escritura sobre la naturaleza» o «escritura de la naturaleza» («nature writing»), utilizado por primera vez en 1902, por Francis W. Halsey¹⁰. La escritura de la naturaleza se define por especificidades que podemos encontrar en *Heidi* y en Johanna Spyri: es autobiográfica, constituye «una respuesta al medio personal envolvente»¹¹, reconoce una ética ambiental, contiene información de historia natural y contribuye a la interpretación filosófica de la Naturaleza¹².

Afín al concepto de «escritura de la naturaleza» es el concepto de «imaginación ambiental», acuñado por Lawrence Buell: el ambiente natural es no solo un escenario de la narrativa, sino más bien una presencia que nos dice que la historia del ser humano forma parte de la historia natural, que el interés humano no es «el único interés legítimo»¹³ y que la responsabilidad del humano para con la naturaleza y el ambiente es la orientación ética del texto¹⁴. Es exactamente lo que vemos en *Heidi*, sobre todo en el modo en el que la niñita se relaciona con la Naturaleza (las montañas, las flores, el aire, el viento, la nieve, el sol, los animales domésticos pero también los salvajes, etc.), y también en el abuelo, que presenta un vínculo físico y espiritual muy intenso con los Alpes.

Volvamos a la cuestión de Dörfli y enfatizamos que esta tierra no es, sin embargo, un idilio puro y simple¹⁵. Sus habitantes pueden ser mezquinos y desconfiados, maliciosos, hasta el punto de excluir a aquellos que cometen o parecen haber cometido ciertos errores. El abuelo de Heidi decidió irse a vivir a las montañas porque, como había cometido diferentes excesos en su juventud, ya no lo aceptaban, y fue acusado de ser el responsable de la muerte de su hijo, lo que había sido «castigo de Dios por la mala conducta de otros tiempos y por

Paisagista, Porto, Edição da Autora, 2007, p. 29.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ D. Scheese, *Nature writing: a wilderness of books*, «Forest & Conservation History», n. 34, October 1990, p. 204.

¹¹ Queirós, *A Paisagem de Terras do Demo. Análise Integrada da Sua Evolução ao Longo do Século XX e Valorização Através da Literatura*, cit., p. 27.

¹² T.J. Lyon, *A taxonomy of nature writing*, in C. Glotfelty, H. Fromm (edd.), *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, Athens and London, The University of Georgia Press, 1996, p. 276.

¹³ Queirós, *A Paisagem de Terras do Demo. Análise Integrada da Sua Evolução ao Longo do Século XX e Valorização Através da Literatura*, cit., p. 27.

¹⁴ L. Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau Nature Writing and the Formation of American Culture*, Cambridge, The Belknap Press, 1995.

¹⁵ Skrine, *Johanna Spyri's 'Heidi'*, cit., p. 156.

la vida impía de siempre»¹⁶). Dörfli tampoco es un idilio en términos materiales y económicos y, para comprobarlo, tenemos las referencias precisas y constantes a las muchas privaciones de la familia del pastor Pedro, lo que viene a recordar al lector adulto que *Heidi* se inscribe en el naturalismo de escritores como Zola.

Existe en *Heidi* una superación tanto de aquel romanticismo que oponía incondicionalmente la ciudad y el campo como del naturalismo, porque los niños de Spyri, Heidi, Clara y Pedro, en buena medida por su propia acción, crecerán en una sociedad nueva y más equilibrada. En una sociedad estratificada e injusta, con familias que tienen gobernantas, empleados y médicos particulares, y pobres que viven con muy poco, Heidi y Clara son capaces de unir mundos supuestamente separados e incommunicables en todos los aspectos. *Heidi* les decía a los lectores de finales del siglo XIX, y continuó y continúa diciéndoselo a las generaciones siguientes, que en la vida hay obstáculos que no son insuperables, que el sufrimiento es un camino para la renovación y la alegría, que las adversidades deben ser afrontadas con el trabajo, con la bondad y con la ayuda mutua.

En esto, si lo pensamos bien, *Heidi* tiene mucho de cuento tradicional maravilloso, con una diferencia sustancial, que es también una diferencia que separa la prosa de Spyri de otros ejemplos del siglo XIX destinadas a los más jóvenes: la de que ni Heidi ni Clara aparecen como predestinadas al matrimonio. Una y otra tienen el futuro abierto, y lo que importa es que cada una de ellas podrá escoger su camino, y no necesariamente en un modelo tradicional de familia, en el que Heidi, además, nunca vive, sin que eso la impida ser feliz, a partir del momento en que conoce al abuelo. Por encima de todo, «Heidi is the Romantic child right out of Rousseau and Wordsworth, uncorrupted and incorruptible»¹⁷, como señala Michael Hearn en el artículo «Heidi goes to America», incluido en el libro *Johanna Spyri und ihr Werk-Lesarten*, que reúne las comunicaciones presentadas en el coloquio que en 2001, en Suiza, marcó los cien años de la muerte de la autora de *Heidi*. Heidi, despojada de ropas y adornos refinados, incluso cuando se los ofrecen e insisten para que los use, parece decirnos que escogerá lo que considere mejor para ella, no necesariamente aquello que la sociedad quiera imponerle. El episodio del sombrero que ella trae de Fráncfort, y que se quita rápidamente cuando llega a Dörfli y se lo ofrece a la madre de Pedro, es un síntoma evidente de esto, como también lo es la sencillez con la que se viste. En consonancia con el pensamiento más adelantado de la época, Johanna Spyri conduce discreta pero consistentemente la idea que ha sido subrayada por feministas y estudiosos como Judith Butler, quien, en el libro *Gender Trouble* (1990), dice claramente que el género no es natural ni innato, sino que es un constructo social que sirve a determinados objetivos

¹⁶ Spyri, *Heidi*, cit., p. 9.

¹⁷ M. Hearn, *Heidi goes to America*, in B. Helbling et al., *Johanna Spyri und ihr Werk-Lesarten*, Zürich, Chronos Verlag, 2004, p. 173.

e instituciones. Entiéndase: se nace con características físicas y biológicas masculinas o femeninas, pero el género es el efecto performativo de actos que, al repetirse continua y rígidamente, producen la apariencia de una sustancia, de una manera natural de ser¹⁸. En vez de ser la expresión de una identidad (género) natural, los gestos y los actos aprendidos y repetidos crean la ilusión de un núcleo (género) estable.

A Heidi le interesan, sobre todo, en la familia, los afectos genuinos e intensos, y lo que estos garantizan: comodidad, seguridad, satisfacción, alegría, estabilidad, preparación para la vida, socialización, autoridad en el sentido de transmisión de lo que es, en el plano de los valores, de las reglas, de las actitudes y de los comportamientos, correcto, útil y ético. Todo esto resulta posible y es potenciado por la casa, que es el lugar por excelencia del desarrollo y de la concreción de todos los sentimientos, emociones y acciones que constituyen la familia y la personalidad de sus miembros. Casa y familia: esto fue exactamente lo que la tía, que acogió a Heidi cuando se quedó huérfana de padre y de madre, no le garantizó, pero sí fue todo lo que el abuelo y las familias de Pedro y de Clara le supieron dar. En la célula familiar consanguínea, constituida solo por ella misma y por el abuelo, en su casa, en la cabaña que tanto la sorprendió y la consoló inmediatamente, Heidi pudo desarrollarse armónicamente y en reciprocidad constante con el abuelo, que también se benefició de la convivencia con la nieta, que hizo que regresase a los buenos sentimientos y al amor, y también a la vida regular en comunidad. En las familias en un sentido más amplio, en las casas de Pedro y de Clara, así como en la aldea de Dörfli, también Heidi se enriqueció y enriqueció a los que convivieron con ella.

Johanna Spyri no cayó en la tentación de darnos una novela ni simplemente idílica ni meramente naturalista y realista. Es en la combinación entre varios elementos ideológicos, culturales, literarios y narrativos, como ya decíamos al inicio de este artículo, donde reside el gran valor y el éxito de *Heidi*. Y tampoco las notas cristianas explícitas y constantes disminuyen el encanto y la fuerza de esta obra. El moralismo piadoso y teocéntrico de esta obra de Spyri insiste mucho en la existencia de un Dios que trasciende al mundo y a los seres humanos, que reina sobre ellos, y es justo y bueno para todos, humanos y seres y cosas de la Naturaleza, pero a pesar de esto no sale perjudicado el libre albedrío de los personajes. Independientemente de todo lo perteneciente al ámbito del cristianismo en el pensamiento, en las palabras y en las acciones sobre todo de las abuelas de Pedro y de Clara (y, poco a poco, también de Heidi), predomina una creencia en el ser humano y en su capacidad de ser bueno para uno mismo y para los otros, y ese es un mensaje humanista de valor inestimable. Por otro lado, no hay nada malo en que lectores ateos, agnósticos o de otras confesiones religiosas se encuentren con el mensaje cristiano de *Heidi*, ni con referencias

¹⁸ J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York, Routledge, 1990, p. 33.

a sus rituales (la misa, desde luego). La religión es, también, pensamiento, historia, cultura, y *Heidi* puede servir como un buen punto de partida para discusiones informadas e inteligentes entre niños y adultos, o entre los jóvenes lectores, su visión del mundo y la narrativa de Spyri. Además, el cristianismo aparece en *Heidi* como un código de conducta¹⁹ que está inequívocamente al servicio del bien común:

– No debes suponer, hijo mío – enfatizó, bondadosamente, la abuelita –, que una mala acción puede permanecer oculta; eso es un error. Dios lo ve y lo sabe todo. No necesita, para castigar al culpable, de nada más que hacerle despertar los remordimientos de conciencia. Esta grita a cada momento: «Te descubrirán y te castigarán». Y los días de quien actuó mal a sabiendas están llenos de terror y durante la noche la conciencia no lo deja descansar. Dime, ¿no te ha sucedido todo esto a ti?

– Sí – confirmó Pedro en voz baja y sin levantar los ojos del suelo²⁰.

Esta articulación de elementos ideológicos y elementos narrativos y literarios explica el éxito de *Heidi*, que permanece muy viva en la cultura occidental (y no solo en ella), mientras que otras obras de gran calidad literaria, como *As Duas Órfãs* (1875), de Adolphe D’Ennery, o como *Sem Família* (1878), de Hector Malot, cayeron en un casi completo olvido. Sin una forma ni un estilo fuertes, de nada sirve un contenido ejemplar y atractivo como el de *Heidi*. A la verosimilitud de la historia, de los caracteres, de los sentimientos, de las emociones, de los conflictos y de las soluciones, añade Johanna Spyri la verdad de una narrativa que es enunciación dinámica y ágil, palabra elegante y expresiva, fluida y transparente, sin que esa (aparente) sencillez reste densidad y profundidad a los personajes y a las situaciones. Los episodios se suceden con relativa rapidez, pero sin la precipitación que conduce a una complicada multiplicación de episodios, como sucede en otras obras. Hay momentos breves pero intensos de pausa, de descripción y reflexión, y también hay resúmenes que restringen lo que podría ser un número exagerado de peripecias, lo que supondría la pérdida de la aceptación de la obra para el público infantil y juvenil (y adulto), que es invitado a compartir momentos de gran significado espiritual y a sentir el valor intrínseco de la Naturaleza:

Pero, sobre todas las cosas, a la niña le gustaba, los días en los que soplaban el viento otoñal, oír el murmullo de los tres abetos plantados detrás de la casita. De vez en cuando dejaba el trabajo, fuera lo que fuera, y salía a escuchar un poquito el misterioso ruido, siempre diferente y siempre nuevo. Nada le parecía tan bello como aquel grave sonido que tenía mucho de lamento y a veces parecía que hablaba. No se cansaba de oír aquella música salvaje del viento, al agitar con su potente soplo las ramas de los árboles centenarios.

¹⁹ Skrine, *Johanna Spyri’s ‘Heidi’*, cit., p. 157.

²⁰ J. Spyri, *Outra Vez Heidi*, Amadora, Livraria Bertrand, 1976, p. 234.

[...] El frío continuaba aumentando y Pedro se soplabla las manos cuando pasaba al amanecer con el pequeño rebaño de cabras de camino a los pastos. No duró mucho esta situación. Un día todo amaneció blanco y el pastorcillo no subió con el rebaño²¹.

Spyri recurre con maestría a otra técnica de construcción narrativa: divide los dos libros en partes bien definidas pero indisolublemente ligadas entre sí. Los dos volúmenes de *Heidi*, al contrario que un libro como *Sem Familia*, ganan mucho al poder ser fácilmente memorizados en sus grandes momentos: la llegada abrupta de Heidi a los Alpes, llevada por su tía, a casa de su abuelo, que la recibe con mucho cuidado y amor; la marcha repentina de Heidi, también por acción de la tía, movida por una esperanza indisimulable de beneficio material, a Fráncfort; el regreso (también abrupto) de Heidi, a punto de una depresión grave, a los Alpes, donde de nuevo es muy bien recibida por el abuelo; la visita de Clara a Heidi, en los Alpes. De todos estos momentos el lector retiene una memoria de experiencia humana verdadera, pues no son eliminados los muchos momentos dolorosos, que acompañan todo el paso de Heidi por Fráncfort, para ahorrarle a quien lo lee sentimientos de angustia y pensamientos sobre la cruda realidad de la vida. Esta evidencia basta para contradecir la idea, divulgada entre alguna crítica de *Heidi*²², de que en esta novela universal los conflictos y los problemas se resuelven con un optimismo exagerado.

Pero hay más pruebas, ya extratextuales, que nos convencen de que las opciones ideológicas y narrativas de Johanna Spyri no eran el resultado de una mente que se inspiraba con ideas irrealizables e inconsecuentes. La Historia, en particular la de los países más desarrollados de Europa, vino a mostrar que pueden matizarse las diferencias de acceso a los diferentes tipos de riqueza (material cultural, espiritual...) entre los más ricos y los más pobres, que puede haber diálogo y ayuda mutua entre personas de clases sociales distintas, y que la formación escolar es un camino hacia el progreso individual y colectivo. Pedro y su familia se beneficiaron del apoyo material y económico de la acomodada familia de Clara, pero esta no se benefició menos (en enriquecimiento espiritual, en armonía interior, en visión del mundo) de esa interacción.

En relación con lo que acabamos de afirmar sobre la novedad y la visión de *Heidi*, conviene señalar además que el éxito de la inspiración de Johanna Spyri tiene que ver también con su propia valentía, «rare at the time, to admit that adults can be awfully cruel to children. That was not a popular attitude among the Rottenmeiers of her day when children were expected to obey and never question their elders»²³. En esto, como en todo lo que hemos expuesto en este artículo, Johanna Spyri y *Heidi* eran, y son, «remarkably modern»²⁴. Sin apoyarse en un único modelo directo, *Heidi* fundó rápidamente una tradición

²¹ Spyri, *Heidi*, cit., p. 49.

²² Hearn, *Heidi goes to America*, cit., pp. 163-181.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

de narraciones en la cual no volvió a surgir una obra que pudiese equipararsele. *Oliver Twist* y *Jane Eyre* son dos personajes huérfanos que pueden haber influido en la creación de Heidi, pero «Spyri played with the conventions of her day»²⁵. «In the fiction of that period, one of the principal characters always had to be an invalid (a few years earlier one of the principal characters, preferably a child, always had to die), somebody else had to be rich, and another, or others, had to be very poor»²⁶. *Heidi* cumplió estos requisitos, pero innovó, e innovó hasta en el número y en el perfil memorable de personajes inolvidables que legó a la memoria colectiva universal (el abuelo, el pastor Pedro y su abuela, Clara y su padre, aunque también el médico e incluso uno de los empleados de la familia Sesemann, así como la institutriz Rottenmeier): «the invalid, fortunately, gets well and walks on her own two feet; the rich people spend their money wisely by giving everybody presents, and the poor are suitably benefited and grateful»²⁷.

Conclusión

Naturaleza, familia, casa, conocimiento y sociedad como revelación de la verdad y de la justicia social y humana constituyen, en *Heidi*, caminos hacia el bien, hacia la felicidad y hacia el perdón de los errores, de los dramas y de las imperfecciones del ser humano. En un mundo que parece no querer pacificarse, este no es, obviamente, un mensaje que podamos desperdiciar. La pequeña Heidi nos dice que es posible que seamos mejores en una sociedad que no está necesariamente condenada al desequilibrio y a la deshumanización.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ E. Enright, *At 75, Heidi still skips along*, in V. Haviland (ed.), *Children and Literature (Views and Reviews)*, Glenview, Scott, Foresman and Comp., 1973, p. 79.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Editoria e letture per i soldati nel primo Novecento. A proposito di una recente ricerca

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Publications and books for soldiers in the early 20th century. About a recent research

ABSTRACT: This critical note presents a recent study focusing on the publications and books for soldiers at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through the investigation of the Italian book industry and some reading promotion activities for the soldiers, the author describes the fundamental role that books, magazines and other types of publications of the time had as an instrument of moral support and escapism, but also as a means of information and propaganda. Moreover, the author shows how the consequences of the war have influenced the production of publications and the circulation of reading material by presenting a little-known cultural insight into this dramatic event.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: First World War; Literature; Publishing; Italy; XXth Century.

All'interno di un evento terribilmente tragico e che ha segnato profondamente la storia mondiale, come quello della Grande Guerra, sono stati innumerevoli gli aspetti trattati da numerosi e autorevoli studiosi, ma scarsa attenzione è stata riservata a quello che potrebbe apparire come un inconsueto binomio: «libri e prima guerra mondiale». A colmare questa lacuna, il recente volume *Libri in guerra. Editoria e letture per i soldati nel primo Novecento* di Loretta De Franceschi, pubblicato dalla casa editrice Mimesis, che mette in evidenza l'importante produzione editoriale, avviata proprio in occasione del primo conflitto mondiale, e le numerose iniziative rivolte alla promozione della lettura tra i soldati.

L'autrice, già nota per le sue ricerche sulla tematica «libri e Grande Guerra» presentate in numerosi saggi e in occasione di convegni nazionali e

internazionali¹, propone un lavoro nel quale presenta gli esiti complessivi della sua indagine. Con questo contributo l'autrice tratta un aspetto tanto importante quanto poco noto della Grande Guerra ed evidenzia il ruolo cruciale assunto dai libri sia come mezzi di conforto che distrazione, sia come potenti mezzi educativi e di propaganda nazionale. Nel volume l'autrice considera, da un lato, la produzione editoriale italiana diffusa durante la prima guerra mondiale, dall'altro, le iniziative della società civile per fornire materiale da lettura ai soldati dimostrando come sia la produzione editoriale che la lettura abbiano trovato un rinnovato spazio di crescita in occasione del conflitto.

Il testo si presenta distintamente suddiviso in due parti. La prima (*Cataloghi di libri e produzione editoriale*) risulta composta da cinque interessanti capitoli che illustrano con dovizia di particolari l'editoria italiana durante la prima guerra mondiale, toccando temi quali le attività dell'Istituto Nazionale per le Biblioteche dei Soldati e l'attività delle Case del soldato, le collane prodotte da importanti editori, le pubblicazioni a carattere religioso, i contributi di scrittrici e giornaliste, le bibliografie; la seconda (*Comitati per i libri ai soldati*) si configura, invece, quale vera e propria presentazione dei comitati sorti per inviare pubblicazioni ai soldati, quindi – in quattro distinti capitoli – si illustrano le attività di quelli di Venezia, Padova, Bologna, Modena, Milano e altri del nord Italia e del centro-sud.

Ciò che spinge l'autrice ad avviare una innovativa e accurata ricerca su tale tematica, emerge sin dalla premessa nella quale specifica che

l'intento è stato quello di approfondire, arricchire, integrare gli argomenti per fornire una visione d'insieme di un fenomeno che – nei due risvolti indicati – è stato solo marginalmente toccato durante il recente centenario del conflitto².

Il volume, infatti, restituisce una seria e rigorosa riflessione non solo sulla produzione editoriale e sulle letture per i soldati durante la Grande Guerra, ma anche una puntuale analisi su quali fossero le ragioni di una speciale attenzione nei confronti del conflitto e del proliferarsi di materiale su tale argomento. Infatti, l'autrice sottolinea le svariate sfaccettature di questa situazione, legata, da un lato, sì, a una funzione di sostegno morale, ma, dall'altro, rivolta a sfruttare la potente influenza generata dai libri in una situazione di vita precaria.

¹ Si vedano anche L. De Franceschi, *Libri per i soldati: una prima rassegna delle principali iniziative durante la Grande Guerra*, in C. Cavallaro, 'Books seem to me to be pestilent things'. Studi in onore di Piero Innocenti per i suoi sessantacinque anni, Manziana, Vecchiarelli, 2011, pp. 575-585; Ead., *Il dibattito sulle biblioteche militari nei primi decenni del Novecento*, «Culture del testo e del documento», n. 36, sett.-dic. 2011, pp. 83-120; Ead., *Scientific, educational and pleasure reading for young Italian soldiers: 1900/1920*, «History of education & children's literature», vol. VI, n. 2, 2011, pp. 261-280.

² Ead., *Libri in guerra. Editoria e letture per i soldati nel primo Novecento*, Milano, Mimesis, 2019, p. 13.

Più nello specifico nel primo capitolo, intitolato *Letture per i soldati e i marinai d'Italia*, si analizza la produzione libraria di editori ed enti destinata ai soldati prima dell'inizio del conflitto e nel corso di esso ed esamina anche quella rivolta al pubblico generale.

Come sottolinea la De Franceschi

un evento così straordinario non poteva che influenzare il catalogo delle varie case editrici, sia nell'ambito della saggistica sia in quello letterario, introducendo tematiche e filoni di assoluta novità. In particolare, sono poste in rilievo le collane editoriali – in quanto progetti culturali rispondenti a caratteristiche di omogeneità e continuità – a cominciare da quelle più significative uscite a Milano e Firenze, per proseguire con una rassegna sul piano nazionale³.

Come già accennato, l'autrice ripercorre in maniera accurata le tappe fondamentali dell'editoria nel primo Novecento, partendo dal periodo precedente il conflitto. La produzione editoriale, infatti, stava già subendo un processo di trasformazione considerando che si registrava ancora un alto tasso di analfabetismo e «l'educazione nazionale restava un problema di grande attualità»⁴.

Per questo motivo erano in atto numerose iniziative per affrontare la situazione, tra cui la creazione di biblioteche di diverso genere (popolari, scolastiche, circolanti, rurali, militari). Lo sforzo per un'acculturazione uniforme coinvolgeva non solo bambini in età scolare, ma anche gli adolescenti e gli adulti e l'ambiente militare risultò essere

un campione estremamente significativo delle condizioni in gran parte culturalmente disagiate della classe giovanile, divenendo terreno fertile e privilegiato per un processo di alfabetizzazione mirante a gettare le premesse dell'indispensabile progresso nazionale⁵.

Infatti, proprio in questo periodo, nascono specifiche biblioteche militari, diversificate in base ai destinatari, ossia ufficiali o reclute e distinguendo tra truppe di terra o di mare⁶. Ad assumere un ruolo fondamentale in questo contesto è l'Istituto Nazionale per le Biblioteche dei Soldati (INBS) costituito a Torino nel 1909 con lo scopo di «elevazione intellettuale e morale del soldato colla lettura di libri accuratamente scelti»⁷. Proprio all'attività di questo istituto è dedicato gran parte del primo capitolo *Letture per i soldati e i marinai d'Italia*, nel quale l'autrice illustra il lavoro compiuto dall'ente che aveva assunto l'impegno di diffondere la pratica della lettura in tutti i ranghi dell'esercito e continuò questa sua attività anche con lo scoppio della guerra. Si pensi che,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶ Cfr. Ead., *Il dibattito sulle biblioteche militari nei primi decenni del Novecento*, cit.

⁷ Cfr. C. Belli Di Carpenea, *L'Istituto Nazionale per le biblioteche dei soldati e la sua fondatrice (con una lettera di S. E. P. Borselli)*, Torino, A. Giani, 1921, p. 7.

già negli anni precedenti al conflitto, risultava che la mole delle distribuzioni avesse toccato i 40.000 volumi, divisi in 750 biblioteche di varie dimensioni consegnate ai diversi corpi d'armata⁸. È interessante notare che, tra le tre ampie aree disciplinari in cui era organizzato il catalogo – Storia e geografia, Scienze varie e Letture amene e opere letterarie –, quest'ultima rappresentava la più ricca, che vedeva grandi nomi della letteratura europea come Daniel De Foe, Johann Goethe, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Molière, Friedrich Schiller, Miguel de Cervantes e Jules Verne. Anche in occasione dell'uscita del secondo catalogo, nel 1917, si confermava il primato del genere letterario, dove spiccava la narrativa d'avventura, di viaggio e quella storica e dove spesso l'ambientazione era quella dei campi di battaglia o della trincea⁹, mentre rimaneva trascurata l'area scientifica. Il motivo può essere ricondotto al fatto che, in un periodo così doloroso e violento della storia del Paese,

la letteratura assumeva il valore di una pausa temporanea di distrazione, rappresentando per i soldati un momento di evasione dagli orrori vissuti sui campi di battaglia, ma anche nella stagnante vita di trincea e durante le lunghe convalescenze¹⁰.

L'INBS durante il conflitto – oltre alla consueta attività bibliografica ed editoriale¹¹ – si occupava anche della distribuzione di libri fra tutti i corpi militari mobilitati. Si pensi che al 20 dicembre 1915 l'INBS aveva spedito alle truppe 635.800 pubblicazioni, tra volumi, opuscoli, fascicoli di riviste; ammontare che saliva a 887.872 dopo un paio di mesi. Dalla metà del 1915 all'ottobre 1917 più di un milione di svariate pubblicazioni aveva raggiunto i soldati dislocati al fronte, negli accampamenti, in trincea¹². L'autrice analizza anche la distribuzione dei libri alle truppe di mare,

categoria [...] potenzialmente ancora più ricettiva nei confronti della lettura, essendo costretta a lunghi periodi di vita in ambiente isolato e privo di distrazioni¹³.

E a tale obiettivo ha lavorato la Lega Navale Italiana (LNI) sul finire del 1906 con lo scopo di promuovere l'uso del libro tra i soldati imbarcati a bordo delle navi.

⁸ I dati erano stati diffusi dall'INBS attraverso un catalogo di propria compilazione, con il riconoscimento del ministero della Guerra, stampato nel 1911 e che voleva rendere omaggio al cinquantenario del Risorgimento italiano.

⁹ Si pensi a racconti, romanzi, diari ma talvolta anche componimenti in versi quali, ad esempio, *Cuore e fucili*; *La conquista della Tripolitania*; *Ricordi di un prete caporale*; *Un anno di vita al reggimento*; *Quando la Patria chiama*.

¹⁰ De Franceschi, *Libri in guerra*, cit., p. 29.

¹¹ L'INBS svolgeva anche una modesta attività editoriale, per esempio, la collana *Per i soldati e per il popolo* promuoveva opuscoli pronti a rispondere ai quesiti, alle esitazioni, ai dubbi che la guerra poteva suscitare nella popolazione civile e militare.

¹² De Franceschi, *Libri in guerra*, cit., p. 38.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Rappresenta senza dubbio un tema di particolare interesse anche quello affrontato nell'ultima parte del primo capitolo, relativo alle Case del soldato.

Le Case del soldato, nate per iniziativa del cappellano militare don Giovanni Minnozzi a Milano con finalità ricreativo-assistenziale, erano state inizialmente create al fronte come strutture mobili al seguito dei reparti, ma si sono poi diffuse nelle stazioni ferroviarie, nelle prigioni militari e in varie altre cittadine del paese spesso dietro spontanea iniziativa degli abitanti. In queste strutture le truppe potevano ritrovarsi per una pausa di ricreazione, per scrivere ai familiari o per leggere, infatti erano fornite di svariati materiali.

Oltre agli oggetti di cancelleria necessari alla scrittura – indispensabili affinché le truppe potessero mantenere un minimo di comunicazione con i familiari – erano dotate di materiale ludico come giochi da tavolo, di piccoli strumenti musicali, alcune anche di cinematografo o lanterne a proiezione, inoltre di giornali illustrati, libri, opuscoli, carte geografiche, combinando la funzione distensiva con quella formativa¹⁴.

Nel secondo capitolo – dal titolo *L'editoria italiana e la prima guerra mondiale* – l'autrice illustra l'offerta editoriale italiana durante gli anni del conflitto. Per quanto possa apparire inconsueto il binomio «libri e Grande Guerra», De Franceschi dimostra in che modo la devastante atrocità della prima guerra mondiale abbia incrementato la stampa di una variegata tipologia di testi. L'eccezionalità del conflitto ha alimentato, infatti, la redazione di testi con finalità propagandistiche, patriottiche, di sostegno morale ma anche caratterizzati da tematiche nuove di natura medica, assistenziale, tecnologica e sociale.

Il nuovo scenario editoriale è ben testimoniato da alcune collezioni appositamente concepite, ossia collane prodotte soprattutto nell'Italia settentrionale e centrale e pensate come

percorsi di conoscenza e approfondimento su questioni di assoluta novità, o come strumenti propagandistici e di utilità pratica, oppure come pausa distensiva nell'angoscia generale¹⁵.

Gli editori più precoci nel rivolgere attenzione al conflitto e prolifici nel riservargli uno spazio, che maggiormente si sono resi conto del forte interesse suscitato dall'evento bellico, sia nell'ambiente militare che nella società civile, sono stati, in particolare, Emilio Treves, con la collana *Quaderni di guerra* e, successivamente con *Le pagine dell'ora*, Roberto ed Enrico Bemporad, ai quali si devono collane non solo in materia bellica ma anche di attualità politico-sociale, nonché di letteratura e Lelio Ravà che entrava nel mercato nel 1914 con una *Carta del teatro della guerra europea* a cura dell'Istituto Geografico.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

In questo contesto non si può prescindere dall'analizzare anche la pubblicistica a carattere religioso. Il terzo capitolo, infatti, dal titolo *Pubblicazioni a carattere religioso*, passa in rassegna la produzione editoriale indirizzata a tutti i fedeli che poneva il proprio *focus* sul connubio guerra-religione. Si consideri che lo sconforto e la disperazione generati dal conflitto, sia tra la popolazione civile che militare, potevano trovare nella fede un sostegno importante, per questo gli editori e gli scrittori cattolici cercano di andare incontro

a un nuovo bisogno di letture in chiave religiosa, colmando una lacuna aperta dalla guerra mondiale con una produzione ad essa ispirata¹⁶.

De Franceschi, oltre a presentare le più importanti figure dell'ambiente cattolico di quel periodo e le loro opere di carattere spirituale ed educativo – che rappresentavano, inoltre, un utile mezzo di proselitismo –, illustra anche quel filone che si diffonde in quegli anni e che è rivolto agli uomini di guerra, sia laici che ecclesiastici, impegnati al fronte o negli ospedali tendente «generalmente a conciliare il dovere del patriottismo e delle armi con il principio della fratellanza cristiana»¹⁷.

Ebbero un peso di non scarsa rilevanza anche le donne, le quali hanno dato avvio a un altro filone di grande interesse e che le vede nel ruolo di autrici durante il primo conflitto mondiale¹⁸. Esse affrontano il tema della guerra toccando i suoi molteplici aspetti e le loro pubblicazioni possono essere distinte nei due grandi filoni

della propaganda – nelle sue varie forme – ispirata da rivendicazioni irredentiste, ragioni politiche, aspirazioni morali a un rinnovamento civile, e in quello della testimonianza personale, con memorie, diari, resoconti¹⁹.

Per le donne questa situazione ha rappresentato anche un'accelerazione del moto di emancipazione femminile, in quanto non si confrontavano più solo con scritture per bambini e ragazzi, romanzi rosa, libri educativi, ma affrontavano questioni politiche, economiche e militari.

La prima parte del volume si chiude con il capitolo *Bibliografie sulla guerra*, incentrato sui lavori bibliografici dedicati alla guerra. De Franceschi sottolinea

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁸ Si vedano, per esempio: C.T. Gray Ubertis, *Piccoli eroi della Grande guerra*, Firenze, R. Bemporad e Figlio, 1915; M. Pezzé Pascolato, *Piccole storie e grandi ragioni della nostra guerra*, Milano, Unione generale degli insegnanti italiani, 1918; A. Vivanti, *L'invasore*, Milano, Quintieri, 1915; A. Negri, *Orazioni*, Milano, Fratelli Treves Editori, 1918; M. Serao, *Parla una donna. Diario femminile [!] di guerra*, Milano, Fratelli Treves Editori, 1916; C. Cadorna, *La guerra nelle retrovie*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1917; S. Turr, *Alle trincee d'Italia. Note di guerra di una donna. Libro di propaganda illustrato con fotografie concesse dal Comando supremo*, Milano, A. Cordani, 1917.

¹⁹ De Franceschi, *Libri in guerra*, cit., p. 147.

che, di fronte all'enorme flusso editoriale sorto durante il conflitto, era forte l'esigenza di mantenerne la memoria e così

le bibliografie sulla guerra non rappresentavano quindi solo dei repertori di consultazione per gli studiosi, ma potevano avere anche una finalità pratica quali guide di orientamento per la costituzione di fondi librari specializzati²⁰.

In particolare, coloro che maggiormente si sono dedicati ai lavori bibliografici e che hanno sentito l'esigenza di censire il materiale prodotto in quel periodo sono stati l'editore e tipografo fiorentino Piero Barbèra²¹, l'autorevole studioso Alberto Emanuele Lumbroso²², Giuseppe Prezzolini²³, il fiorentino Giuseppe Fumagalli²⁴, Ulderico Barengo, Oete Blatto²⁵ e Augusto Trabucchi²⁶. Tale materiale ancora oggi rappresenta un importante strumento per conoscere il complesso e catastrofico fenomeno del conflitto mondiale e per conservarne la memoria.

Particolarmente interessante risulta anche la seconda parte del volume, incentrata su tutte quelle iniziative promosse dai comitati per i libri ai soldati. Nei cinque capitoli dedicati, De Franceschi sottolinea il ruolo di quelle organizzazioni rivolte a diffondere materiale da lettura fra le truppe.

L'intento era quello di inviare pubblicazioni varie innanzi tutto ai feriti negli ospedali, poi anche ai combattenti stanziati al fronte, ai detenuti nei campi di prigionia e in altri luoghi colpiti dal conflitto²⁷.

Risulta che libri e riviste, specialmente quelle illustrate, rappresentavano per i soldati una momentanea pausa di distrazione e di sollievo. De Franceschi presenta dunque in maniera chiara e puntuale gli innumerevoli comitati e le loro attività, a partire dal primo che è stato costituito, quello di Venezia, nel

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

²¹ Per ulteriori approfondimenti si vedano: P. Barbèra, *Bibliografia della preparazione. Catalogo di pubblicazioni italiane sulla guerra, agosto 1914 – maggio 1915*, Milano, ATLI, 1915; P. Barbèra, *La stampa e la guerra in Italia, Atti del congresso del libro, Milano, 2-5 aprile 1917*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1918.

²² A.E. Lumbroso, *Bibliografica ragionata della guerra delle nazioni. Numeri 1-1000. Scritti anteriori al 1 marzo 1916*, «Rivista di Roma», Roma, 1920.

²³ G. Prezzolini, *La produzione libraria italiana durante la guerra*, Firenze, Dep. Toscana Storia Patria, 1918; G. Prezzolini, *Tutta la guerra. Antologia del popolo italiano sul fronte e nel paese*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1918.

²⁴ Per ulteriori approfondimenti, si vedano: G. Fumagalli, *Una raccolta di libri su la guerra*, «Il Marzocco», n. 22, 9 sett. 1917, p. 2; Id., *L'Italia per i libri ai soldati*, «Bollettino delle biblioteche popolari», vol. 6, n. 9, 1916, pp. 134-137; Id., *I libri ai soldati feriti*, «L'Archiginnasio», vol. 10, n. 4-5, 1915, pp. 218-219.

²⁵ U. Barengo, O. Blatto, *Saggio bibliografico sulla Guerra mondiale: volumi, opuscoli, articoli sulla Guerra 1914-1918*, Torino, Edizione di Alere Flammam, 1926.

²⁶ A. Trabucchi (ed.), *Saggio bibliografico sulla guerra mondiale. Con indicazioni di fonti documentarie*, Milano, Gruppo d'azione per le scuole del popolo, 1929.

²⁷ De Franceschi, *Libri in guerra*, cit., p. 213.

1915, presso la biblioteca nazionale Marciana grazie all'intraprendenza del bibliotecario Giulio Coggiola. Un'esperienza che viene ben presto riproposta anche nella biblioteca universitaria di Padova diretta da Gaetano Burgada e nella biblioteca universitaria di Bologna diretta da Giuseppe Fumagalli. E ancora, comitati di questo genere sorgono anche nella biblioteca universitaria di Modena e nella biblioteca nazionale Braidense di Milano. Tra la primavera e l'estate 1915 nascono poi altri comitati in varie cittadine, quasi sempre all'interno di biblioteche nazionali, universitarie o comunali.

Tutte le questioni affrontate fino a qui trovano una chiara sintesi nell'ultimo capitolo del libro intitolato *Quali letture per i soldati?*, nel quale l'autrice conclude l'interessante lavoro con una seria e rigorosa riflessione sul ruolo svolto dall'editoria e dalle letture durante il primo conflitto mondiale. Sottolinea, ancora una volta, che tutto ciò che era stato prodotto in quel tragico contesto, quindi libri, opuscoli, riviste, ha rappresentato uno strumento di conforto morale e distrazione, ma anche un potente mezzo educativo e di propaganda nazionale.

A questo volume va dunque il merito di aver fatto luce su un aspetto affrontato da pochi ma che merita grande attenzione e che pone al centro il libro e la lettura, diventati un'arma utile capace di influenzare coloro che vivevano il conflitto, sia come civili che militari, il quale

aveva fatto emergere paradossalmente, nel mezzo della sua azione devastante, anche alcune problematiche latenti in ambito editoriale e culturale, quali la carenza di un certo tipo di produzione – sia una divulgazione scientifica, sia una letteratura popolare di buon livello – e l'urgenza di un'alfabetizzazione tale da permettere una maggiore diffusione della lettura. Fattori indispensabili al progresso del paese rilanciati proprio dall'evento bellico e che l'Italia avrebbe dovuto affrontare nel dopoguerra per ricostruire una società moderna e civile²⁸.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

Forum / Discussioni

Una historiografía en constante evolución. Nuevos itinerarios y perspectivas de investigación en el campo de la historia de la educación *

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A historiography in constant evolution. New itineraries and perspectives of research in the field of history of education

ABSTRACT: Through the analysis of the most recent and authorized historiographic production related to educational and school institutions and processes, the article focuses its attention on the most relevant and fruitful lines of research that characterize the sector. On this basis, after an extensive and thorough review of the main evolutionary stages of educational and school historiography of the twentieth century, the authors investigate many important research areas, first of all those related to the history of sentimental education, culture school material, educational and school memory and the role of children's and youth literature as a source of the history of education and of educational and cultural processes.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Historiography; Children's Literature; Europe; XXth-XXIth Centuries.

* La primera parte de este artículo – *Emociones, pasiones y sentimientos. Nuevos escenarios y nuevos acercamientos para la investigación histórico-educativa* – fue elaborada por Carmela Covato, mientras que la segunda parte – *Entre historia y memoria. Nuevos itinerarios de investigación desde una perspectiva internacional* – es obra de Roberto Sani.

1. *Emociones, pasiones y sentimientos. Nuevos escenarios y nuevos acercamientos para la investigación histórico-educativa*¹

Desde un punto de vista metodológico e interpretativo, entre las conquistas más significativas de los arribos más recientes de esa investigación histórico-educativa que ha abierto los caminos de la *nouvelle histoire*, de la historia de la vida privada, de los sentimientos y la vida material, no se puede descuidar la conciencia de la necesidad de una comparación constante entre la teoría y la práctica, la vida material y los aparatos ideológicos y simbólicos².

Si en un pasado relativamente reciente, para investigar la historia de la educación, hubo una tendencia, especialmente en Italia, a favor del estudio de la sucesión de modelos educativos y teorías pedagógicas a lo largo del tiempo, también debido a la larga hegemonía ejercida por la tradición neoidealista, a partir de las últimas décadas, la atención se ha centrado en el análisis de historias reales, historias de vida e historias infantiles que se pueden encontrar especialmente en testimonios autobiográficos, biográficos, de diario, epistolares y literarios.

E intentamos encontrar en ellos las muchas infancias reales históricamente muy diferenciadas, fuera de cualquiera representación abstracta y basadas en el género y la clase social de pertenencia, y hacer aflorar, en dispositivos informales inscritos en las relaciones sociales, las reglas implícitas en las narrativas pedagógicas generalizadas en el sentido común y también la inevitable presencia de un conflicto entre diferentes éticas educativas, entre lo antiguo y lo nuevo³.

Fue un camino incontrovertible a partir de la aventura cognitiva de Philippe Ariès que, en *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960)⁴, también traducido en Italia, inauguró una nueva estación en la historia de la edad infantil, basada en la atención al desarrollo histórico del sentimiento infantil y en el recurso a fuentes previamente inexploradas, como representaciones pictóricas en la historia del arte, ropa, nutrición, eventos de la vida material vivida en familia, colegios, hospicios para los expósitos sin olvidar de investigar los contextos económicos, productivos, políticos y sus códigos normativos.

¹ Hay aquí los problemas y las cuestiones ya afrontados por la Autriz en el ensayo: *Oggetti, metodologie e tendenze attuali della ricerca storico-pedagogica*, en G. Bertagna, S. Olivieri (edd.), *La ricerca pedagogica nell'Italia contemporanea. Problemi e prospettive*, Roma, Studium, 2017, pp. 112-127.

² Ver Ph. Ariès, G. Duby (edd.), *La vita privata*, 4 vols., tr. it., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1988. Sobre el papel de los sentimientos en la historia de la educación, ver también C. Meta, *Le emozioni hanno una storia? Ipotesi e nuovi percorsi degli studi storico-educativi*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 13, n. 1, 2018, pp. 647-664.

³ Ver C. Covato, S. Olivieri (edd.), *Itinerari nella storia dell'infanzia. Bambini e bambine, modelli pedagogici e stili educativi*, Milán, Unicopli, 2001.

⁴ Ph. Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, París, Plon, 1960.

Como se sabe, el camino iniciado por Philippe Ariès ciertamente no estuvo exento de críticas y discusiones acaloradas en la historiografía⁵, pero marcó un avance innovador indudable desde un punto de vista metodológico e interpretativo⁶.

Dentro de los caminos temáticos e interpretativos que transformaron profundamente los paradigmas de la investigación historiográfica, un grupo numeroso y muy representativo de eruditos franceses vinculados de varias maneras a la experiencia de «Les Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale» – de George Duby a Michelle Perrot y Daniel Roche, de Philippe Ariès a Jean Delumeau y Arlette Farge, hasta Michel Foucault⁷ – efectivamente se detuvo para explorar cuestiones y temas centrados en el análisis de las dinámicas de la vida privada (la familia, por ejemplo, pero también la infancia, las mujeres y la paternidad), previamente ignoradas por los historiadores más tradicionales.

Como es evidente, ha sido argumentos y acercamientos que han caracterizado el desarrollo de una historia social y una mentalidad radicalmente alternativa a los modelos historiográficos dominantes hasta ese momento y que pueden definirse, para usar una expresión muy querida para Riccardo Massa, con «alta densidad pedagógica».

¿Una invasión del campo? En absoluto. A lo más, todo lo contrario.

La investigación histórico-educativa, que ciertamente fue influenciada por las novedades temáticas, metodológicas y documentales de «Les Annales», fue capaz de captar y hacer suya algunos de los planteamientos historiográficos más significativos de la tradición analista, convirtiéndose en la protagonista de una serie de investigaciones innovadoras, que se distinguen sobre todo por el conocimiento de la centralidad de la relación entre la teoría y la práctica en la historia de los procesos educativos, tal como se desarrollan en todas las relaciones, pero también en su desarrollo a nivel 'molecular'.

Esta especificidad de la dimensión y la realidad educativa, que no nos permite deslizarnos en una deriva reductivamente descriptiva o ingenuamente evolutiva, como ha ocurrido a veces en el contexto de la historia social⁸, nos ha permitido liberarnos la investigación histórico-educativa de una especie de sumisión heurística hacia la lección analista, que favorece, por el contrario, una

⁵ Ver G. Arrivo, *Philippe Ariès*, «Ricerche storiche», vol. XXIX, n. 3, 1999, pp. 585-598.

⁶ Ver E. Becchi, D. Julia (edd.), *Storia dell'infanzia*, 2 vols., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999.

⁷ Como se sabe, la posición de Michel Foucault, no es completamente comparable a la tradición de «Les Annales». Burke dice: «En el desarrollo intelectual de Foucault, por ejemplo, la 'nueva historia' francesa ha desempeñado un papel importante. El camino de Foucault era paralelo al de la tercera generación de los *Annales*. Como esta última, procuró de ampliar los límites del objeto historia. Foucault tenía algo que enseñar a estos historiadores. Pero también tenía algo que aprender de ellos» (P. Burke, *Una rivoluzione storiografica*, tr. it., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992, p. 111).

⁸ Para una crítica de los límites de la historia social, ver E. Thompson, *Società patrizia, cultura plebea. Otto saggi di antropologia storica sull'Inghilterra del Settecento* [1976], tr. it., Turín, Einaudi, 1981.

nueva autonomía cognitiva y una comparación verdaderamente igualitaria y verdaderamente efectiva con las ciencias históricas, sociales y antropológicas, a nivel hermenéutico e interpretativo.

Frente a la indiscutible fertilidad de las investigaciones realizadas en este campo en las últimas décadas, no se puede dejar de observar que la historia de la educación está experimentando una temporada de gran riqueza y vivacidad de orientaciones, caminos, oportunidades de comparación a nivel nacional y internacional.

En las últimas décadas, han aparecido nuevos campos de investigación en el escenario de la investigación histórico-educativa: por ejemplo, la historia social, la historia de la infancia y la literatura infantil, el abandono y la mortalidad infantil, la familia, la maternidad y la paternidad, la explotación infantil y la alienación, el cuerpo, el imaginario y las pasiones, pero también las prácticas educativas y escolares consideradas en la totalidad de los aspectos que caracterizan su materialidad de tal manera que sean imposibles los antiguos límites que definían áreas diferentes y reducidas entre la historia de las ideas, por un lado, y la historia de la escuela, por otro.

La historia de las mujeres y los estudios de género han representado, en este contexto, una frontera historiográfica que ha favorecido la metamorfosis de paradigmas basados en antiguas parcialidades⁹. Estas son nuevas fronteras cognitivas, completamente alternativas a una tradición que tiende a agotar la memoria educativa del pasado en la historia de las ideas pedagógicas, que han colocado la historia de la vida cotidiana y la materialidad educativa como un tema central de interpretación, como elemento de novedad con respecto a un planteamiento previamente fundado en demasiadas dicotomías hasta hace poco, como por ejemplo abstracto/concreto, real/ideal, mente/cuerpo, centro/periferia, logos/emociones¹⁰.

Sin embargo, se puede afirmar que, por un lado, desde la inevitable instancia del vínculo entre la teoría y la práctica y, por otro, desde la revelación de subjetividades que llevan a las diferencias de clase, de género (completamente ocultas en una visión de la historia que fue solo la de las clases dominantes) y, por lo tanto, desde la aparición de ‘memorias discordantes’ – sustraídas de cualquier forma de generalización arbitraria – surgen fundamentales preguntas para desarrollar investigaciones historiográficas que saben cómo combinar la expansión de los territorios explorados a la crítica de esas formas de hegemonía y dominación que marcaron durante mucho tiempo la historia de las relaciones educativas y escolares.

⁹ Para las consecuencias histórico-educativas ver, por ejemplo, S. Olivieri, *Educare al femminile*, Pisa, ETS, 1997; A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Macerata, Eum, 2012; C. Covato, *Idoli di bontà. Il genere come norma nella storia dell'educazione*, Milán, Unicopli, 2014.

¹⁰ A este respecto, véase Ead., *Memorie discordanti. Identità e differenze nella storia dell'educazione*, Milán, Unicopli, 2007.

En esta nueva perspectiva historiográfica, el discurso sobre las fuentes jugó un papel extraordinariamente relevante. No hay duda de que la tipología de las fuentes utilizadas no puede constituir una revolución hermenéutica o interpretativa, pero es precisamente la conciencia de que la historia de la educación es una historia de experiencias reales, prácticas materiales y simbólicas, relaciones educativas en las relaciones sociales, cuerpos que importan y cuerpos que no importan, para solicitar un nuevo tipo de documentación, es decir, textos que, como argumentó Marc Bloch¹¹, son fuentes ‘a su pesar’, como, por ejemplo, las autobiografías, las narrativas literarias, los diarios, las representaciones pictóricas e iconográficas.

Así como, para la historia de la escuela, el patrimonio documental de referencia ya no está constituido solo por leyes y regulaciones, sino también por objetos que nos llevan a una materialidad educativa formada por bancos, muebles, cuadernos escolares y dispositivos didácticos, cuya belleza o miseria definen todo un dispositivo pedagógico, decodifican su ‘teoría’ implícita y revelan su destino.

De hecho, es dentro de la historia de la materialidad educativa que se desarrolla el sentido de la relación entre la teoría y la práctica, entre las utopías pedagógicas, los modelos teóricos de referencia y las condiciones reales de la vida educativa.

Para capturar su significado, las hipótesis interpretativas y las fuentes no pueden ser más que unidas por un vínculo indisoluble, como evidente en la perspectiva desarrollada por Arlette Farge y Michel Foucault cuando, en su introducción a *Le désordre de la famille*, afirmaron que su visión de la historia aspira «a la precisión del archivo y a la arquitectura de las ideas»¹². En la imposibilidad de sintetizar los escenarios de la investigación educativa, creemos que el panorama de las revistas científicas del sector en Italia refleje efectivamente la multiplicidad y la riqueza de las investigaciones en constante evolución. Pero también hay que mencionar el papel cada vez más importante que ejercen los Museos universitarios de educación y escuela, que hoy constituyen lugares privilegiados para la conservación y el estudio de la *memoria educativa*¹³.

¹¹ Ver M. Bloch, *Apologia della storia* [1949], tr. it., Turín, Einaudi, 1969, p. 86.

¹² A. Farge, M. Foucault, *Présentation*, en *Le désordre des familles. Lettres de cachet des Archives de la Bastille*, París, Gallimard, 1982, p. 9.

¹³ Ver S. Gonzáles, J. Meda, X. Motilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, Salamanca, Fahren House, 2018.

1.1 *Las tendencias actuales y la nueva historiografía*

A la luz de estas consideraciones, puede ser interesante hoy, casi cien años después del advenimiento de «Les Annales», un evento revolucionario que ahora está entregado a la historia de la historiografía, preguntar cuáles son las nuevas fronteras de la investigación histórica que involucran más de cerca el campo histórico-educativo.

En el panorama actual, hay dos nuevas fronteras historiográficas que caracterizan el escenario más reciente de la investigación histórica y, dentro de ellas, ya hay varios puntos de vista, escuelas de pensamiento, cuestiones y épocas históricas examinados: son la historia global, por un lado, y la historia de las emociones, por otro. De hecho, tanto la historia global como la historia de las emociones interpelan la historia de la educación.

La historia global se ha establecido en los últimos años como uno de los campos más importantes de las ciencias históricas, incluso en Países con una fuerte tradición historiográfica de carácter puramente nacional.

¿Pero qué significa realmente historia global? ¿La historia de todo el planeta? ¿O es más bien una perspectiva en la que también se puede escribir la historia de un pequeño pueblo?

Este acercamiento original de la investigación, gracias a la superación de las fronteras nacionales y las visiones eurocéntricas, es un instrumento muy útil tanto para el análisis del pasado como para la comprensión del presente. El análisis comparativo cede el lugar precisamente a la «World History», a una historia global que deja de lado el postulado de toda forma de aislamiento nacional o eurocéntrico¹⁴.

Las consecuencias relevantes de la historia global son evidentes en el campo de una historia de la educación que quiere afrontar, en una perspectiva planetaria y comparativa, la dimensión de las diferencias y las desigualdades sociales y culturales.

Otra perspectiva historiográfica relevante – la historia de las emociones, a la que pretendemos referirnos aquí – presenta un vínculo muy fuerte con un acercamiento historiográfico que, precisamente en el campo de la educación, ha enucleado en los últimos años los programas de investigación que tienen como objeto cognitivo la vida privada entendida como un laberinto de relaciones educativas y como un lugar privilegiado para la transmisión de hegemonías pedagógicas y reglas de identidad coercitivas a nivel ‘molecular’.

Al igual que Jacques Le Goff había afirmado que no puede haber una historia sin cuerpo y, al mismo tiempo, un ‘cuerpo’ sin historia¹⁵, hoy en día, uno no puede dejar de ser consciente, con las consecuencias que se derivan de eso a

¹⁴ Ver S. Conrad, *Storia globale. Un'introduzione*, tr. it., Roma, Carocci, 2015, p. 18.

¹⁵ A este respecto, véase J. Le Goff, *Il corpo nel Medioevo*, tr. it., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005, p. X.

nivel cognitivo, que las emociones y los sentimientos tienen una historia y que la historia necesita emociones y sentimientos.

Esta es una nueva perspectiva que podríamos definir como una especie de revolución historiográfica, recientemente argumentada y apoyada por Tiziana Plebani en un ensayo publicado en el último número de la «Rivista Storica Italiana», cuya parte monográfica está dedicada a la cuestión *Emozioni, passioni, sentimenti. Per una possibile storia*¹⁶.

A su vez, Barbara H. Rosenwein – experta en monasticismo cluniacense, inmunidades monásticas y exenciones episcopales y quien, desde finales de los años noventa del siglo pasado, ha dedicado sus investigaciones a la historia de las emociones – subrayó cómo este tema se ha convertido recientemente a un punto tan popular que algunos estudiosos comenzaron a hablar de un ‘cambio emocional’ en la historiografía contemporánea¹⁷.

La fecha de nacimiento de la historia de las emociones – pensada como un objeto histórico y como una categoría de análisis – y más en general, de las «formas de sentir del pasado», es muy incierta, según Damien Boquet y Piroska Nagy. Algunos la remontan erróneamente hasta el año 2000, tampoco se puede colocar dos décadas antes, cuando Peter y Carol Stearns comenzaron a reflexionar y publicar sobre la vida emocional de sus contemporáneos¹⁸.

En realidad, desde los tiempos de los Griegos hasta la primera mitad del siglo XIX, la atención a las emociones implicó muchos historiadores interesados, de diversas maneras, en evaluar su influencia en el curso de los acontecimientos de la humanidad y la historia.

Solo en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, el interés de los historiadores en las emociones parece debilitarse. La historia se definía como una disciplina académica, emblema de un conocimiento positivo, que se dedica principalmente a la demostración de los hechos, a la historia de las instituciones y a las interpretaciones racionales de los acontecimientos. Este es un paisaje historiográfico que todavía parecía inalterado, desde este punto de vista, en la primera mitad del siglo XX.

La famosa apelación de Lucien Febvre pronunciada el 9 de junio de 1938 con ocasión de la X Semana del *Centre de Synthèse* promovida por Henri Berr y titulada *La sensibilité dans l'homme et dans la nature* irrumpe como un flash y desestabiliza como un verdadero terremoto cultural¹⁹.

¹⁶ T. Plebani, *L'energia della vita affettiva: una questione per la storia*, «Rivista Storica Italiana», vol. CXXVIII, n. 2, 2016, p. 623.

¹⁷ B.H. Rosenwein, *Generazione di sentimenti. Una storia delle emozioni, 600-1700*, tr. it., Roma, Viella, 2016, p. 22. Pero ver también Ead., *Emotional communities in the Early Middle Age*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹⁸ D. Boquet, P. Nagy, *Una storia diversa delle emozioni*, «Rivista storica italiana», vol. CXXVIII, n. 2, 2016, p. 482.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

Él pidió la apertura de una amplia investigación colectiva sobre los sentimientos fundamentales de los hombres y sus manifestaciones y modalidades. La apelación conserva la fuerza de un punto de partida simbólico:

La sensibilidad en la historia – declaró Febvre – un tema para aficionados refinados [...]. Pronto, pronto, volvemos a la *historia real!* A las circunstancias del asunto Pritchard; a la cuestión de los Santos Lugares; o al censo de los depósitos de sal de 1563. Aquí está la historia! Aquella que enseñar a nuestros hijos, en la escuela, y a nuestros estudiantes en las universidades. Pero la historia del odio, la historia del miedo, la historia de la crueldad, la historia del amor: déjenos en paz, con gracia, con esta literatura insípida; una literatura ajena a la humanidad pero que mañana terminará transformando el universo en una carnicería maloliente²⁰.

Es una apertura no solo temática sino, sobre todo, interdisciplinaria hacia las ciencias humanas, hacia la antropología, la psicología y la etnología:

Las emociones no solo son dignas de la historia – como afirman Boquet y Nagy – sino que, en sus manifestaciones actuales – domésticas, ritualizadas, institucionalizadas – son testimonios de un pasado común. Son vestigios aún habitados. Febvre no cuestiona la clásica dialéctica razón/emoción, sino que invita al observador a descender del promontorio de la razón para considerar los dos aspectos de la humanidad al mismo nivel²¹.

Mucho más tarde, a partir de los años Setenta, la afirmación de la historia de las mentalidades – como paradigma fundamental de la *nouvelle histoire* que incluye, además de las ideas y las formas de pensar, los «sentimientos comunes» y se extiende hacia la antropología histórica, la historia cultural y la microhistoria – abre el camino a la historia de la vida afectiva (muerte, familia, vida privada) y las emociones, que ahora se encuentran dentro del campo visual de los historiadores, aunque permanecen, según Boquet y Nagy, todavía en los márgenes y aún quedan prisioneras de una visión evolutiva, según las investigaciones realizadas:

Tenemos que esperar hasta el siglo XXI para que este prisma evolutivo de la historia de las sensibilidades sea realmente cuestionado. Estableciendo una conexión fundamental entre emoción y cognición, afectividad y razón, la teoría cognitiva en psicología y luego en filosofía desempeñó un papel de catalizador, de ‘acelerador de historiografía’, en la medida en que facilitó la descentralización de la perspectiva y la emergencia de nuevos problemas²².

Pero ¿cuál es la historia de las emociones hoy?

Es una nueva forma de interrogar un objeto histórico que no es nuevo, incluso si ha sido marginado durante mucho tiempo; un nuevo punto de vista sobre la historia general de la

²⁰ L. Febvre, *La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?*, «Annales d'histoire économique et sociale», vol. XXII, n. 3, 1941, pp. 5-20.

²¹ Boquet, Nagy, *Una storia diversa delle emozioni*, cit., p. 486.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 499.

humanidad que no solo está formada por números e instituciones. Lo hemos visto a través de la historiografía de los «Annales», pero podríamos remontarnos a Michelet, para quien la pasión fue el motor del hombre medieval, y los historiadores antiguos: Tucídide, Polibio, Diodoro Siculo, Tito Livio, etc., quienes garantizaron un lugar prominente a las pasiones en sus investigaciones sobre los movimientos de los grandes hombres. Sin mencionar que de acuerdo con las reglas de la antigua retórica, el arte de la verdad pasó por la capacidad de hacer que un evento sea escuchado por un lector que escucha: que vea, que escuche y estará convencido. Hoy en día, la historia de las emociones no es solo una especialización de la historia cultural y social, sino también una nueva forma de pensar la afectividad en la historia. A veces, como en Francia, el nombre de la disciplina oscila: *histoire des émotions* (historia de las emociones) compite con la más antigua y más amplia *histoire des sensibilités* (historia de las sensibilidades). Sin embargo, los objetivos, los métodos y los horizontes epistemológicos de ambos convergen, siempre que se abandone el esquema de civilización de las costumbres²³.

1.2 *La historia de la educación sentimental*

La historia de las emociones y los sentimientos no se puede separar de la historia de la educación sentimental y las formas de disciplina de los afectos²⁴. Históricamente se desarrolló, pero de forma distinta a lo largo del tiempo y en contextos individuales, sobre la base de la transmisión de reglas de identidad precisas de acuerdo con una tendencia que marca un pasaje, para utilizar una metáfora foucaultiana, desde el suplicio hasta la dulzura de las penas, es decir, desde la conformación basada en el castigo corporal a un conjunto de interdicciones y negaciones que encontraron, en la moralidad victoriana y burguesa del siglo XIX, resultados tendientes a una especie de mortificación pedagógica del ego²⁵.

«Este no soy yo...»²⁶ – gritó el joven Törless de Robert Musil – atrapado entre las expectativas familiares y las reglas implacables de la universidad. Se sentía dividido entre dos mundos, uno sólido, burgués como el de sus padres, en el que todo ocurría de una manera ordenada y razonable y un otro aventurero, oscuro, lleno de misterios, de sangre, de eventos impredecibles.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 512. Ver también, L. Passerini, *Storie d'amore e d'Europa*, Nápoles-Roma, L'Ancora, 2008.

²⁴ Ver C. Covato, *L'educazione sentimentale. Teorie, norme, esperienze*, en F. Borruso, L. Cantatore, C. Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale. Vita e norme nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milán, Guerini, 2014, pp. 17-42. Ver también F. Borruso, L. Cantatore (edd.), *Il primo amore. L'educazione sentimentale nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milán, Guerini, 2013.

²⁵ S. Vegetti Finzi, *Introduzione*, en Ead. (ed.), *Storia delle passioni*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, p. X. A este respecto, véase también, F. Borruso, *Ritratto di famiglia in un interno. L'educazione sentimentale della famiglia borghese fra Otto e Novecento nella letteratura e nel cinema*, en Borruso, Cantatore, Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale*, cit., pp. 43-65.

²⁶ R. Musil, *Il giovane Törless* [1906], tr. it., Milán, Rizzoli, 1974, p. 99.

El pensamiento pedagógico dio modelos, utopías e hipótesis pedagógicas a la historia.

Sin embargo, junto con las representaciones filosóficas, éticas, religiosas, jurídicas y pedagógicas del discurso educativo, hay un flujo paralelo de 'historias' sobre las formas de educación y, al mismo tiempo, de las pedagogías narradas, de narrativas empapadas de normas pedagógicas que describen muchos significados e innumerables dificultades de la formación de los destinos individuales.

Así se concreta en los discursos, en las historias y en los lenguajes que no están inscritos en el conocimiento oficial de la educación, el conflicto entre las expectativas sociales prescriptivas, empapadas de reglas de comportamiento, y las aspiraciones de los sujetos que, en la aventura de construir su identidad, terminaron rindiéndose al poder de las pedagogías formales e informales tejidas en las experiencias de la vida (que se desarrollan en la familia, la escuela y las relaciones sociales) o expresaron el contraste entre los sentimientos, las emociones y las reglas de identidad y construyeron historias de crecimiento personal que no se encuentran en los tratados oficiales.

Toman forma también la corporalidad de las diferencias, largamente eludida por el discurso pedagógico, y el contraste entre los registros marcados por la pertenencia a un género sexuado, a una clase social, a un límite religioso y cultural y la aspiración a la metamorfosis, a la elección consciente, y por lo tanto a menudo transgresora, de cómo colocarse en el mundo entre prohibiciones y deseos.

A este respecto, Lorenzo Cantatore argumentó: – Es muy difícil, si no imposible, separar la idea de educación de aquellas, paralelas y complementarias, de espera y metamorfosis: del cuerpo, de la sensibilidad, de la cultura o, para usar un término exhaustivo, de la identidad de un individuo²⁷.

Sobre la base de estas preguntas, es posible desarrollar actitudes más conscientes que permitan abrir la historia de la educación, constituida intrínsecamente por la teoría y la práctica, a la diferencia de la historia social *tout court*, a caminos de investigación cada vez más significativos.

La historia de los sentimientos, tal como se manifestó en las diferentes sociedades y en la vida de los individuos que pertenecen a diferentes géneros y clases, revela una alternancia constante entre las normas impuestas por las culturas dominantes y la imprevisibilidad de las formas de transgresión actuadas o deseadas.

²⁷ L. Cantatore, *Le identità violate di tre collegiali. Appunti su Mirbeau, Musil, De Libero*, en C. Covato (ed.), *Metamorfosi delle identità. Per una storia delle pedagogie narrate*, Milán, Guerini, 2010, p. 81.

Sin embargo, para afrontar esta área temática específica, es necesario anteponer algunas aclaraciones léxicas e interpretativas, en la conciencia de que el tema evita cualquier límite disciplinario circunscrito.

Los ensayos de Marcel Granet y Marcel Mauss, que datan de los años Veinte del siglo XX, recogidos en el volumen *Il linguaggio dei sentimenti*²⁸, plantearon cuestiones de gran importancia que se refieren a temas de amplio alcance cognitivo y hermenéutico desde un punto de vista antropológico. En ellos, de hecho, se formula la distinción entre los sentimientos y la expresión de los sentimientos, o más bien, como sostiene Mauss, entre los sentimientos y la expresión obligatoria de los sentimientos examinados a través del análisis de una cuestión emblemática e ilustrativa: la relación entre la espontaneidad del dolor, privado, íntimo, incontrolable, y la necesidad de una expresión social altamente convencional y rígidamente impuesta en sus maneras externas:

Mauss escribe: – Estudiando el ritual oral de los cultos funerarios australianos, propongo examinar que en un grupo considerable de poblaciones suficientemente homogéneas y primitivas, en el sentido adecuado del término, las indicaciones que Dumas y yo hemos dado de lágrimas se aplican a muchas otras expresiones de sentimientos. Las lágrimas, y todos los tipos de expresión oral de sentimientos, no son fenómenos exclusivamente psicológicos o fisiológicos, sino fenómenos sociales caracterizados sobre todo por el signo de la no espontaneidad y la obligación más perfecta. [...] Este problema ya ha sido estudiado por los difuntos Émile Durkheim y Robert Hertz, en relación con los mismos cultos funerarios que Hertz trató de explicar y que Durkheim solía mostrar el carácter colectivo del ritual placentero²⁹.

A su vez, al investigar el ritual funerario de la China clásica, Granet sostiene que los gestos del dolor no son el resultado de un simple impulso fisiológico y psicológico, desordenado, individual, espontáneo, sino que se someten a los ritos de ceremonias reguladas, donde las palabras y las fórmulas están reguladas por un lenguaje sistematizado.

Los chinos entendieron bien este doble carácter de la expresión del dolor; lo que les permitió generalizar su uso, controlar su corrección y convertirlo en un sistema que tiene su lógica y su metafísica, analizar su sentido moral y su valor terapéutico y, finalmente, encontrar el papel del individuo y los derechos de la inventiva personal en materia de sentimientos³⁰.

Por lo tanto, la relación entre los sentimientos y la expresión de los sentimientos plantea cuestiones de gran importancia cognitiva relativas al tema de la relación entre la espontaneidad y la coerción con una alta densidad educativa, con respecto a la cual la educación ha desempeñado y desempeña un papel decisivo, aunque poco investigado, al mediar entre el carácter generalmente impuesto de

²⁸ M. Granet, M. Mauss, *Il linguaggio dei sentimenti* [1921], tr. it., Milán, Adelphi, 2001.

²⁹ M. Mauss, *L'espressione obbligatoria dei sentimenti*, in *ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁰ M. Granet, *Il linguaggio del dolore nel rituale funerario della Cina classica* [1926], in *ibid.*, p. 32.

las normas de comportamiento y el sentimiento de los individuos tanto en la edad infantil como en la edad adulta.

Afrontar la historia de la educación sentimental también implica, con carácter preliminar, la necesidad de asumir la complejidad de la reflexión de hoy sobre los aspectos de la vida psíquica que son adyacentes al mundo de las emociones y las pasiones.

Cada una de estas categorías tiene una profundidad filosófica y epistemológica, en la que el pensamiento contemporáneo se ha centrado durante mucho tiempo.

Por lo que respecta a las emociones, no podemos descuidar el esfuerzo realizado en el campo de las ciencias naturales y sociales, a partir del siglo XVIII, para explicar e interpretar las emociones que son su testimonio, por ejemplo, las reflexiones de David Hume, Wilhem Wundt y Alexander Bain. Tampoco podemos olvidar, en el siglo siguiente, el papel de las investigaciones de Charles Darwin sobre las expresiones faciales de los sentimientos, las posturas de los animales y el hombre, basadas en la hipótesis de que las principales expresiones de la especie humana son universales.

Es una hipótesis apoyada también por las investigaciones de Paul Ekman y Carroll Ellis Izard en las que se afirma que ciertas expresiones faciales son reconocidas por personas que pertenecen a una gran variedad de culturas, personas analfabetas y también personas ciegas desde su nacimiento. Las expresiones en cuestión son aquellas que se refieren a sentimientos como la felicidad, la tristeza, la ira, el miedo, el desprecio, la sorpresa.

A este respecto, es obligatorio la referencia a Marta Nussbaum y, en particular, a su *L'intelligenza delle emozioni*³¹ que menciona la emoción como una construcción social evaluativa contra la teoría de ascendencia cartesiana y racionalista que vio las emociones como 'movimientos no racionales', energías sin pensamiento que dominan a la persona sin relación con la manera en que ella percibe o piensa el mundo³².

Nussbaum cuestiona cada concepción de las emociones entendidas como

Sin pensamiento, que simplemente dominan a la persona, sin una relación con la que ella percibe o piensa el mundo. Como las ráfagas de viento o las corrientes marinas, las emociones son movimientos y arrastran a las personas, pero a ciegas, sin una visión del objeto, ni creencias sobre él. En este sentido, en lugar de 'arrastrar', ellas 'empujan' [...]. Aunque creo que las emociones son algo corporal, como cualquier otro proceso de pensamiento, también creo, y lo argumentaré, que el hecho de que tengan lugar en cualquier caso en un cuerpo vivo no justifica la reducción de sus componentes intencional-cognitivas a los movimientos físicos no intencionales³³.

³¹ M. Nussbaum, *L'intelligenza delle emozioni* [2001], tr. it., Bologna, il Mulino, 2004.

³² A este respecto, véase C. Meta, *Compassione, solidarietà, educazione. Marta Nussbaum rilegge l'Emilio*, «Nuovo Bollettino Cirse», vol. VII, n. 2, 2012, pp. 79-88; Ead., *Bisogno e riconoscimento tra psicoanalisi e politica*, en M. Amann Gainotti, G.M. Vecchio (edd.), *Memoria e riconoscimento. Luci e ombre*, Roma, Kappa, 2012, pp. 89-104.

³³ Nussbaum, *L'intelligenza delle emozioni*, cit., pp. 43-44.

Junto con las emociones, de las cuales ahora reconocemos el valor cognitivo, la relación entre los sentimientos y las pasiones también merece una cuidadosa consideración.

Es debido a Silvia Vegetti Finzi el cargo de un volumen que hace unos años tuvo el mérito de hacer un balance de una cuestión cuya matriz filosófica se interseca con una serie de dimensiones como las del imaginario literario, la dimensión psicoanalítica y de género³⁴.

Como se indica en la *Introduzione*, el texto toma su punto de partida de la desconcertante observación de una especie de muerte de las pasiones que caracterizaría el mundo posmoderno en una era que se ha vuelto extremadamente desapasionada³⁵.

Para entender esta realidad, parece necesario hacer su historia, reconstruir los cambios que «concatenándose, provocaron el eclipse actual, precisamente a partir de la pasión que inaugura nuestra civilización: la ira de Aquiles»³⁶.

Otras consideraciones nos ayudan a desenredar un laberinto no solo semántico:

Silvia Vegetti Finzi aún sostiene: – La investigación se ve favorecida por la naturaleza circunstancial de las pasiones. Al contrario de otros modos de afectividad, como los impulsos o las emociones, las pasiones son inseparables de sus representaciones más o menos obvias. La experiencia apasionada nunca es mera interioridad, sino un sistema de signos. [...] La decisión de afrontar el universo apasionado en una perspectiva diacrónica implica una pregunta básica que me gustaría aclarar: porque las pasiones no están disponibles³⁷.

A este respecto, Elena Pulcini señala una razón cuando subraya el declive del orden cósmico en lo ‘moderno’ y la crisis de la posición soberana del Ego que estaba presente en ese código cartesiano que había tendido a establecer un orden social y moral fundado en un restablecimiento racional de un cierto orden³⁸.

Sabiendo que lo ‘privado’ es político³⁹, como lo ejemplificó magistralmente en 1963 una investigación (¿una fuente ‘a su pesar’?) de Pier Paolo Pasolini sobre el imaginario sexual de italianos e italianas, *Comizi d’amore*⁴⁰, que fue el tema de un artículo de Michel Foucault con el título emblemático *I grigi mattini della tolleranza*⁴¹, queremos subrayar la relevancia del uso de los sentimientos en

³⁴ Vegetti Finzi (ed.), *Storia delle passioni*, cit. También véase Ead., *Il romanzo della famiglia. Passioni e ragioni del vivere insieme*, Milán, Mondadori 1992.

³⁵ Sigue siendo de gran actualidad M. Benasyag, G. Schimt, *L’epoca delle passioni tristi*, tr. it., Turín, Feltrinelli, 2005.

³⁶ S. Vegetti Finzi, *Introduzione*, en Ead., *Storia delle passioni*, cit., p.VI.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. VI-VII.

³⁸ E. Pulcini, *La passione del Moderno: l’amor di sé*, in *ibid.*, pp. 133-180.

³⁹ S. Nanni, *Il privato è politico. Narrazione biografica e formazione*, Milán, Unicopli, 2015.

⁴⁰ P. Paolo Pasolini, *Comizi d’amore*, Roma, Contrasto, 2015.

⁴¹ M. Foucault, *I grigi mattini della tolleranza*, «Le Monde», 23 de marzo de 1977, ahora reproducido *ibid.*, pp. 184-187.

las prácticas del dominio, con respecto al cual una nueva conciencia educativa puede ejercer, por el contrario, el dominio de la crítica:

A este respecto, Vincenzo Cerami escribió: – A primera vista, *Comizi d'amore* parece ser morfológicamente una investigación cinematográfica, como hemos dicho. Pero este no es el caso: no es un sondeo sociológico sobre los gustos sexuales de los italianos. El sexo, por el contrario, sirve como una prueba de fuego para sacar a la superficie y mostrar ‘dramáticamente’ una cultura represiva y reprimida de la pequeña burguesía de los años sesenta en Italia⁴².

Es necesario, por lo tanto, iniciar nuevos y fructíferos caminos de una historia ‘estratigráfica’, capaz de permitir a todos hacer el inventario de sí mismo, así permitiendo la divulgación de todos los elementos (a menudo transmitidos por elementos populares, herencias familiares y ambientales) que conforman la mentalidad individual y colectiva, como argumentó Antonio Gramsci. De forma ocasional y desintegrada, tanto es así que una misma personalidad se puede componer de manera extraña y puede contener elementos del hombre de las cavernas y principios de la ciencia más moderna y avanzada

Gramsci sostiene: – Por eso, criticar la propia concepción del mundo significa hacerla unificada y coherente y elevarla hasta el punto en que haya llegado el pensamiento más avanzado del mundo. Por lo tanto, también significa criticar toda la filosofía que ha existido hasta ahora, ya que ha dejado estratificaciones consolidadas en la filosofía popular. El comienzo de la elaboración crítica es la conciencia de lo que realmente es, es decir, ‘conócete a ti mismo’ como un producto del proceso histórico que ha tenido lugar hasta ahora y que ha dejado en ti una infinidad de indicios aceptados sin el beneficio de inventario. Tal inventario debe ser hecho inicialmente⁴³.

Es un camino importante, que se remonta a Gramsci, para iniciar cambios que no se limitan a tocar la superficie de las conciencias, sino que pueden promover una nueva alfabetización sentimental y civil como condición para construir personalidades capaces de experiencias y relaciones, públicas y privadas, auténticamente democráticas, según la magistral lección de John Dewey, a menudo extendida erróneamente hasta ahora solo a las habilidades cognitivas.

⁴² V. Cerami, *Il linguaggio della realtà*, *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴³ A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, Turín, Einaudi, 1974, vol. II, p. 137.

2. *Entre la historia y la memoria. Nuevos itinerarios de investigación en una perspectiva internacional*⁴⁴

En esta segunda parte de nuestra contribución, proponemos echar luz sobre tres líneas distintas e innovadoras de investigación histórico-educativa que, en los últimos años, han despertado el interés de los académicos y han revelado su notable potencial heurístico. Pretendemos referirnos a las investigaciones relacionadas con la *cultura material de la escuela*, los estudios sobre la *memoria escolar y educativa* y, finalmente, las investigaciones sobre la *literatura infantil y juvenil* considerada como una fuente de la historia del imaginario educativo y de los procesos culturales y educativos.

Por lo que respecta a las dos primeras líneas, debe recordarse que, durante un período de treinta años, pasamos de la historia de la escuela tradicional y hasta ahora sin vida, entendida esencialmente como la historia de las teorías y los modelos escolares institucionales de escuela – una historia, por lo tanto, con un sólido elemento pedagógico, centrado sobre todo en lo que esta institución educativa «debería haber sido», en lugar de en lo que «realmente fue» en las diferentes fases históricas – a la historia más articulada de la legislación y las regulaciones, los *currículos*, las prácticas docentes, las disciplinas y los programas de enseñanza⁴⁵.

Para luego llegar a la historia más reciente de la *cultura material de la escuela* que colocó en el centro de la investigación aspectos e instrumentos como: la publicación especializada y los libros de texto, la prensa periódica para profesores, los cuadernos escolares, las bibliotecas de clase y del instituto, los archivos de la escuela, los laboratorios y los gabinetes científicos, los enseres, hasta la instrumentación científica, los mapas geográficos, los carteles murales y otras numerosas ayudas y apoyos didácticos en la enseñanza⁴⁶.

Y, finalmente, para llegar a estudios aún más recientes centrados en la así llamada *memoria escolar y educativa*, en la que recibieron una atención sin precedentes y se convirtieron en objeto de estudio instrumentos, prácticas y materiales como las memorias, la onomástica pública, el arte lapidario y los

⁴⁴ A continuación, se retoman y se profundizan las cuestiones y los problemas ya tratados por el Autor durante una serie de seminarios sobre la historia de la educación celebrados los días 18 y 19 de febrero de 2019 en la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (España) y en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (España).

⁴⁵ Ver A. Bianchi, *La storia della scuola in Italia dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, en L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 499-529; y R. Sani, *Scuola e istruzione elementare in Italia dall'Unità al primo dopoguerra: itinerari storiografici e di ricerca*, en Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 345-360.

⁴⁶ A este respecto, véase J. Meda, «*Mezzi di educazione di massa*». *Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una «storia materiale della scuola» tra XIX e XX secolo*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. VI, n. 1, 2011, pp. 253-280.

escritos expuestos, las condecoraciones y los reconocimientos al mérito, las necrologías y las oraciones fúnebres, etc., capaces de resaltar qué *memoria de la escuela y de la enseñanza* se elaborò en el ámbito de las representaciones oficiales y las conmemoraciones públicas promovidas por instituciones locales y nacionales sobre la base de una «política de la memoria» precisa, o un «uso público del pasado» destinado a alcanzar el consenso y fortalecer el sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad específica⁴⁷.

Una *nueva historia* de la escuela, por lo tanto, que se estableció en las últimas décadas y tiene su referencia privilegiada y esencial ya no en las teorías pedagógicas y las filosofías de la educación, sino en la excavación de archivos y en el uso de una pluralidad de fuentes – materiales e inmateriales –, capaz de devolvernos la complejidad y la variedad de los procesos escolares educativos y las dinámicas de alfabetización y aculturación en diferentes niveles y grados escolares.

2.1 *Las investigaciones relacionadas con la «cultura material de la escuela»*

Lo relacionado con la «cultura material de la escuela» constituye una línea de estudios relativamente reciente, que trata todos los aspectos concretos (materiales) de una *cultura escolar*⁴⁸. Este es un campo de investigación que, en los últimos quince años, ha producido en Europa (especialmente en España y Portugal, así como en Francia, el Reino Unido, los Países Bajos e Italia) y en América Latina (especialmente en Brasil, Chile, México y Argentina) investigaciones muy significativas y ha implicado a numerosos académicos calificados⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ Ver C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017; y la reciente colección de aportaciones a cargo de M. Brunelli, J. Meda, L. Pomante (edd.), *Memories and Public Celebrations of Education in Contemporary Times*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 11-395.

⁴⁸ M. Lawn, I. Grosvenor (edd.), *Materialities of Schooling. Design, technology, objects, routines*, Oxford, Symposium Books, 2005; A. Escolano Benito (ed.), *La cultura material de la escuela*, Berlanga de Duero, Ceince, 2007; P. Moeglin, *Les industries éducatives*, París, Puf, 2010; A. Viñao Frago, *La historia material e inmaterial de la escuela: memoria, patrimonio y educación*, «Educação», vol. 35, n. 1, 2012, pp. 7-17; V.L. Gaspar da Silva, G. De Souza, C.A. Castro (org.), *Cultura material escolar em perspectiva histórica: escritas e possibilidades*, Vitória, Edufes Editora, 2018.

⁴⁹ Para obtener una descripción general de los estudios sobre este tema relacionados con la última década, consulte: D. Caroli, R. Sani (edd.), *International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature (2010-2012)*, Macerata, eum, 2014; D. Caroli, L. Pomante (edd.), *International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature (2013)*, Macerata, eum, 2015; Idd. (edd.), *International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature (2014)*, Macerata, eum, 2016; Idd. (edd.), *International Bibliography*

Por lo tanto, una línea de estudios con una marcada vocación internacional que se presta perfectamente a una comparación entre académicos de diferentes países y diferentes continentes y a un enfoque comparativo; lo que puede permitirnos ir más allá de las reconstrucciones históricas de una naturaleza exclusivamente ‘nacional’ de la escuela y la educación⁵⁰.

Sin embargo, una línea de estudios expuesta a los riesgos de la *indeterminación interpretativa* o, debería decir, de la *pérdida de su anclaje en el contexto historiográfico*. Y por lo tanto, necesita una profundización en cuanto al *objeto de estudio*, al *enfoque* y a las *metodologías de investigación*, a los *objetivos*.

Así que intentemos enfocarnos y aclarar estos últimos aspectos y dimensiones. Con respecto al objeto de estudio, sobre la base de una definición necesariamente parcial e incompleta, podemos indicar:

- los *edificios escolares* (construcción, adornos, lápidas e inscripciones en las paredes, estatuaria, etc.);
- el *mobiliario* y los *enseres* de aulas, laboratorios y gabinetes científicos, gimnasios, salas de música, bibliotecas de clase o del instituto (escritorios, cátedras, pizarras, mapas, carteles murales, reproducciones fotográficas, equipo científico, librerías y clasificadores, instrumentos musicales, equipo de ejercicio, etc.);
- el *kit didáctico del alumno* (lápices/bolígrafos, tinta, crayones/marcadores/pinceles y colores, libros de texto, diarios escolares, cuadernos escolares, reglas/escuadras/compases, carteras, estuches, cajas de merienda, etc.);
- el *equipo del profesor* (bolígrafos, lápices, tinta, registro de clase, palillos de madera, notas sobre las lecciones en forma de fichas o cuadernos, cualquier libro de texto adoptado, etc.)⁵¹.

Definido el objeto de estudio, al menos en términos generales, es necesario especificar el tipo de enfoque que se considera apropiado utilizar. Ese es el caso, es decir, preguntarnos: ¿Cómo interrogar estos elementos (artefactos, útiles, instrumentos) de la *materialidad escolar*? Y otra vez: ¿Cómo traducirlos de meros *hallazgos arqueológicos* (arqueología de la escuela y la educación) a *fuentes reales privilegiadas* para una historia nueva, más profunda y exhaustiva de la escuela y las culturas y prácticas de enseñanza y educación?

of History of Education and Children's Literature (2015), Macerata, eum, 2017; Idd. (edd.), *International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature* (2016), Macerata, eum, 2018; Idd. (edd.), *International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature* (2017), Macerata, eum, 2019.

⁵⁰ Ver A. Escolano Benito, *Postmodernity or High Modernity? Emerging Approaches in the New History of Education*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. XXXII, n. 2, 1996, pp. 325-341.

⁵¹ Ver J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milán, FrancoAngeli, 2016, pp. 11-14 y siguiendo. Pero también véanse las aportaciones recogidas en P.L. Moreno Martínez, A. Sebastián Vicente (edd.), *Patrimonio y Etnografía de la escuela in España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*, Murcia, S.E.P.H.E. – Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia, 2012.

En otras palabras, ¿cómo podemos evitar que el historiador de la escuela y la educación se convierta en un mero *coleccionista de baratijas escolares*, un simple *nostálgico de la escuela de un tiempo que fue* o, finalmente, un *esteta vergonzoso de tintas y plumillas*? ¿Cómo podemos escapar de la antigua y siempre recurrente tentación de acreditar un tipo de *primacía de descripción* (fabulación narrativa, estética del objeto, etc.) *en la interpretación*?

Pero estas no son las únicas cuestiones a tener en cuenta. De hecho, la tentación de reemplazar el *enfoque estrictamente historiográfico* (¡ciertamente muy trabajoso!) con un *enfoque antropológico, etnológico, semiótico* etc. no puede ser ignorada, terminando perdiendo la conciencia de que solo una lectura auténticamente histórica de la realidad escolar – *material e inmaterial* – puede devolvernos en toda su amplitud y complejidad el sentido más auténtico de una cultura escolar y educativa. De ahí el desafío real y más comprometedor: poner en el centro de nuestra reflexión el *prejuicio metodológico* o, debería decir, la real centralidad del *enfoque historiográfico*.

También debe tenerse en cuenta que las investigaciones y los estudios sobre la *historia de la cultura material de la escuela* no se oponen ni son alternativos a las investigaciones y los estudios sobre la *historia política* – sino también *institucional y cultural* – *de la escuela*, o la historia de los aspectos y las dimensiones ‘inmateriales’ de esta institución educativa; ambos están unidos por el objetivo de proveer una lectura más orgánica y articulada, una interpretación más amplia y profunda de la evolución histórica de la realidad que llamamos ‘escuela’⁵².

Por lo tanto, una *historia total* – material e inmaterial – de la institución escolar en el sentido adoptado por los «Annales d’Histoire Économique et Sociale» (1929) de Marc Bloch y Lucien Febvre⁵³, en la conciencia de la *estrecha correlación e interdependencia* que existe *entre aspectos y elementos ‘materiales’ y características y dimensiones ‘inmateriales’ de la realidad escolar*, de la misma manera que, para comprender el funcionamiento de una *computadora* y su potencial operativo, no es suficiente conocer el *software* relativo, pero es necesario tener un conocimiento tan minucioso de su *hardware*.

⁵² He tratado más ampliamente este tema en R. Sani, *L’implementazione della ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia: itinerari, priorità, obiettivi di lungo termine*, en Gonzáles, Meda, Motilla, Pomante (edd.), *La práctica educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, cit., pp. 27-44.

⁵³ Ver P. Burke, *Una rivoluzione storiografica*, tr. it., Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992.

2.2 Los estudios sobre la memoria escolar y educativa

A partir de la invitación formulada por *Dominique Julia* a mediados de los años noventa para ampliar las *perspectivas heurísticas* de la *historia de la educación* hacia una *historia de la cultura escolar* capaz de echar nueva luz sobre la vida interna de las instituciones escolares y educativas, los estudios realizados por la comunidad internacional de los historiadores de la educación en los últimos años han ido cada vez más lejos, en busca de una «*caja negra escolar*» fantasma, un conjunto complejo de fuentes capaz de registrar los diversos aspectos de la vida escolar y devolverlos al historiador para una reconstrucción más orgánica y efectiva del pasado⁵⁴.

Al perseguir este objetivo, por lo tanto, los historiadores de la educación, sobre la base de los estudios pioneros de Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann y Andreas Huyssen sobre la «memoria cultural»⁵⁵, comenzaron a utilizar tipos de fuentes que hasta ese momento no habían sido tenidos en cuenta y que presuponían, para su correcta interpretación, el uso de nuevas categorías interpretativas, tomadas de la *antropología cultural* y la *sociología de los procesos culturales*.

La consideración de la «memoria escolar» como objeto de investigación por parte de los historiadores de la educación madurò, por lo tanto, durante la primera década del siglo XXI, no solo sobre la base de una *profunda renovación interna* de este campo de estudio, pero también a raíz de la creciente atención prestada por la historiografía contemporánea generalista a las «políticas de la memoria» y al «uso público» que se hizo de la historia durante el siglo XX (piensen en las obras de Eric J. Hobsbawm, Pierre Nora, Richard Terdiman y Jeanne-Pierre Vallat)⁵⁶.

Las comunidades científicas española y francesa fueron también protagonistas de este proceso de renovación historiográfica y del inicio de esta nueva y muy estimulante línea de investigación, como lo demuestran los estudios pioneros de Agustín Escolano, Antonio Viñao Frago y Pierre Caspard⁵⁷ que en primer

⁵⁴ D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 41, n. 1, 1995, pp. 353-382.

⁵⁵ M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, París, Les Presse Universitaires de France, 1950; J. Assmann, *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Turín, Einaudi, 1997; y A. Huyssen, *Twilight Memories Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, Londres, Routledge, 1994; Id., *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the politics of Memory (Cultural Memory of Present)*, Redwood City, Stanford University Press, 2003.

⁵⁶ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, New York, Pantheon Books-Random House, 1994; P. Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 3 vols., París, Gallimard, 1984-1992; R. Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993; J.P. Vallat (ed.), *Mémoires de patrimoines*, París, L'Harmattan, 2008.

⁵⁷ A. Escolano Benito, *La cultura material de la escuela*, en Id. (ed.), *La cultura material de la escuela*, cit., pp. 15-27; A. Viñao Frago, *L'espace et le temps scolaires comme objet d'histoire*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», vol. 78, n. 1, 1998, pp. 89-108; y P. Caspard, *L'Historiographie de l'éducation dans un contexte mémoriel. Réflexion sur quelques évolutions problématiques*,

lugar han investigado la compleja relación entre la *memoria de la escuela* y esa «cultura escolar» que el propio Dominique Julia había colocado en el centro del debate histórico-educativo, definiendo sus formas y estructuras⁵⁸.

No es casualidad que una conferencia internacional se haya celebrado recientemente en España sobre este tema *School Memories: new trends in historical research into education* (Sevilla, 22-23 de septiembre de 2015) y contó con la participación de más de cien académicos de todo el mundo y la presentación de investigaciones de gran importancia⁵⁹.

El marco teórico que surge de estos estudios presenta algunas cuestiones críticas relacionadas, en particular, con la falta de una definición unívoca de la categoría historiográfica de la «memoria escolar».

Esta última puede entenderse, de hecho, de acuerdo con dos significados principales: por un lado, como una forma individual de reflexión sobre la propia experiencia escolar, así como reconstrucción de sí mismo; por otro lado, como una práctica individual, colectiva y/o pública de recreación de un pasado escolar común.

El historiador de la escuela y la educación está interesado en probar el potencial heurístico expresado por la «memoria escolar» considerada de acuerdo con este último significado, que se distingue del otro en que se concentra en el análisis de la autorrepresentación de una misma exhibido por profesores y alumnos en sus memorias individuales y en el análisis de la representación que la escuela y la enseñanza ofriron a la industria cultural y al mundo de la información, así como la desarrollada en el contexto de las conmemoraciones oficiales promovidas por las instituciones públicas sobre la base de una política precisa de la memoria y el uso público del pasado.

Esta nueva perspectiva de investigación nos permite examinar un aspecto cuya dimensión histórica había escapado hasta ahora a los expertos, que es la evolución de la percepción del estado social del profesor y del estado público de la educación dentro de una comunidad, así como la imagen pública de la escuela y el sistema escolar nacional.

En particular, el estudio de la «memoria escolar» nos permite definir la manera en que el presente mira el pasado y lo interpreta o lo reinterpreta. Desde este punto de vista, la «memoria escolar» no nos importa solo como un canal para acceder al pasado de la escuela y a los procesos de escolarización y educación, sino también como una clave para comprender lo que la sociedad actual sabe o

«Histoire de l'Éducation», enero de 2009, pp. 67-82; e Id., *L'histoire de la culture scolaire, entre social et culturel*, «Bulletin de l'Association pour le Développement de l'Histoire Culturelle», 13 de septiembre de 2014, pp. 32-38.

⁵⁸ D. Julia, *La culture scolaire comme objet historique*, en A. Nóvoa, M. Depaepe, E.W. Johanningmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues and Perspectives*, «Paedagogica Historica», Supplementary Series vol. I, 1995, pp. 353-382.

⁵⁹ Tengo la intención de referirme a lo mencionado anteriormente Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, cit.

creo que sabe sobre la escuela del pasado, y cuánto lo que sabe corresponde a la realidad o es el resultado de prejuicios y estereotipos inveterados ahora en el sentido común y, por lo tanto, difíciles de eliminar.

El objeto de la investigación histórica, por lo tanto, ya no consiste simplemente *en la escuela como realmente era*, sino en el complejo proceso de definir el «sentimiento» (en el sentido de Philippe Ariès⁶⁰) que se desarrolló de esa escuela con el tiempo a nivel individual y colectivo... inicialmente basado en la experiencia escolar real y, por lo tanto, sobre la base de otros agentes sociales y culturales que contribuyeron en parte a su redeterminación.

A la luz de estas premisas teóricas y sobre la base de nuevos tipos de fuentes y un enfoque metodológico de naturaleza necesariamente interdisciplinaria, proponemos investigar los *modelos* de escuela, enseñanza, aprendizaje y escolarización que emergen de las *memorias individuales*, así como la *representación* de estas realidades ha sido propuesta, durante los últimos dos siglos, por el mundo de la información y la comunicación y la industria cultural.

Sin embargo, proponemos investigar qué memoria de la escuela y la enseñanza se ha desarrollado en el contexto de las *representaciones oficiales* y las *conmemoraciones públicas* promovidas por instituciones locales y nacionales sobre la base de una «política de la memoria» precisa, o un «uso público del pasado» destinado a alcanzar el consenso y fortalecer el sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad específica.

En pocas palabras, las investigaciones realizadas tienen como objetivo esbozar la evolución de la *percepción colectiva* del papel y de los propósitos de la escuela y la educación en el tiempo y el espacio, así como resaltar los cambios que se pueden notar – en el mismo lapso de tiempo – en la percepción del *estado social* de los profesores y de la *función pública* que ejercen en las escuelas de todos los niveles.

Finalmente, esta nueva línea de investigación potencialmente muy rica nos permite profundizar las formas de *representación simbólica colectiva* de la escuela y la enseñanza a lo largo del tiempo y recuperar completamente la *dimensión cultural general* de los procesos histórico-escolares y educativos analizados, haciendo posible la meta a esa *historia* más completa y orgánica *de las culturas escolares* que realmente puede echar nueva luz sobre la *vida interna* de las instituciones escolares y educativas⁶¹.

⁶⁰ Ver Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, cit.

⁶¹ Con referencia específica a esta extraordinaria veta de investigación, la realización de un «*Progetto di Ricerca d'Interesse Nazionale*» (P.R.I.N., 2017), titulado: «*School Memories between Social Reception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)*», está actualmente en curso en Italia. Este proyecto, cofinanciado por el Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (M.I.U.R.) y coordinado a nivel nacional por el prof. Roberto Sani (Universidad de Macerata), incluye alrededor de cuarenta investigadores de 15 universidades italianas.

2.3 *Las investigaciones sobre la literatura infantil como fuente de la historia del imaginario educativo y de los procesos culturales y educativos*

Una última y muy estimulante línea de investigación que ha surgido en el campo de la investigación histórico-educativa es la relacionada con el uso de la *Literatura infantil* en los siglos XIX-XX (pero lo mismo vale – si se tiene en cuenta la lección de *Umberto Eco* – para lo que llamamos la *Literatura popular*⁶²) como una *fuentes* de extraordinaria importancia para el estudio del *imaginario educativo* y el *análisis de los procesos culturales y educativos* de una sociedad específica⁶³.

Esta última línea de investigación ha conocido sus desarrollos más relevantes particularmente en Italia (Anna Ascenzi y Roberto Sani⁶⁴) y en Francia (Mariella Colin⁶⁵) y ha demostrado su indudable potencial heurístico; también ha permitido que la investigación histórico-educativa profundice, en un grado mucho más incisivo que en el pasado reciente, las profundas dinámicas que rigen la construcción de la *identidad* y la *conciencia individual*, así como el impacto ejercido por la *cultura de masas* en la construcción del imaginario individual y colectivo en una época específica⁶⁶.

Pero, ¿por qué esta línea de investigación encontró un terreno fértil especialmente en Italia y Francia? En las universidades de estos países, particularmente en Italia, la *Historia de la educación* y la *Historia de la literatura infantil* (o la *literatura juvenil*) son enseñanzas que pertenecen al mismo sector científico-disciplinario. Y, por lo tanto, son ejercidos por los mismos académicos y especialistas⁶⁷. Esto explica el entrelazamiento fructífero que ha surgido entre

⁶² Ver U. Eco, *Apocalittici e integrati. Comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa*, Milán, Bompiani, 1964; Id., *Il superuomo di massa. Retorica e ideologia del romanzo popolare*, Milán, Bompiani, 1976.

⁶³ Ver A. Ascenzi, *La letteratura per l'infanzia come 'fonte' per la storia dei processi culturali e formativi*, en F. Bacchetti (ed.), *Percorsi della letteratura per l'infanzia. Tra leggere e interpretare*, Bologna, Clueb, 2013, pp. 29-47.

⁶⁴ En particular, ver: A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Volume I*, Milán, FrancoAngeli, 2017; Idd., *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Volume II*, Milán, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

⁶⁵ Ver M. Colin, *La littérature d'enfance et de jeunesse en France et en Italie au 19. siècle: traductions et influences*, París, La Sorbona, 1992; Ead., *L'âge d'or de la littérature d'enfance et de jeunesse italienne. Des origines au fascisme*, Caen, Presse Universitaire de Caen, 2005; Ead., *Cent ans de Cuore en France: réception, traduction, lecture*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. I, n. 1, 2006, pp. 30-49; Ead., *Un Cuore azzurro, un Cuore rosa: da De Amicis a Haydée nell'Italia liberale*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. IX, n. 1, 2014, pp. 487-508.

⁶⁶ Ver A. Ascenzi, *La letteratura per l'infanzia allo specchio. Aspetti del dibattito sullo statuto epistemologico di un sapere complesso*, en Ead. (ed.), *La letteratura per l'infanzia oggi. Questioni epistemologiche, metodologie d'indagine e prospettive di ricerca*, Milán, Vita e Pensiero, 2002, pp. 88-95.

⁶⁷ Ver E. Beseghi, *La letteratura per ragazzi nell'Università italiana*, en *Letteratura per ragazzi in Italia, Rapporto annuale 1995*, Turín, Piemme, 1995.

los conocimientos y los campos disciplinarios que son claramente distintos y separados en otros lugares.

No por casualidad, la *historia de la literatura infantil* ha conocido en Italia y Francia, particularmente en los últimos 15-20 años, un desarrollo intenso e incisivo, también debido a su creciente y feliz contaminación con la *Historia de la educación y los procesos culturales y educativos*. A este respecto, se podría añadir que el punto de vista de los historiadores de la literatura infantil, sus análisis y reconstrucciones, la riqueza y la versatilidad de los resultados de sus investigaciones aportaron, por el contrario, a la *investigación histórico-educativa y cultural* enfoques, itinerarios e instrumentos interpretativos mucho más ricos y estimulantes que los que, hasta ese momento, fueron propuestos por una reflexión histórica de las teorías pedagógicas, toda jugada sobre las instancias teóricas de «tener que ser», o por una historiografía escolar basada en gran medida en la dimensión legislativa o institucional⁶⁸.

De hecho, no es un mérito secundario de la historiografía reciente sobre la literatura infantil haber ofrecido a los historiadores de la educación claves importantes para el análisis y la comprensión de los fenómenos y los procesos solo tocados hasta ese momento, cuando no completamente ignorados por estos últimos. Sería suficiente referirnos aquí al imaginario infantil o a el de los adultos sobre la infancia, y a su evolución a lo largo del tiempo, así como a la función ejercida por la literatura infantil de los últimos siglos (XIX-XX) en la construcción de esquemas mentales, universos simbólicos, convicciones morales y costumbres civiles, destinados a dar forma y nutrir el universo de los comportamientos individuales y colectivos.

Pero también al papel fundamental que ejerce la *literatura infantil* en la transmisión y la universalización de gran parte de los modelos y las orientaciones desarrollados en el contexto pedagógico, cualquiera que sea la raíz y la génesis de la pedagogía, o las pedagogías, dominantes en una era determinada. Piensen, solo para dar *dos ejemplos*, en las características de la transmisión/recepción de los valores en la base de la hegemonía política y cultural burguesa en la sociedad europea del siglo XIX o, por otro lado, en las formas de penetración, en la sociedad europea de los años veinte y treinta del siglo XX, de las ideologías y las prácticas de control ideológico y disciplina introducidas por regímenes totalitarios (el fascismo italiano, el nacionalsocialismo en Alemania, el comunismo soviético, el franquismo en España, etc.).

La rica producción narrativa (novelas, narraciones, cuentos, rimas infantiles, poemas, etc.), pero también la relativa a la popularización de la ciencia, al así llamado género de la literatura autoayuda (las biografías de los grandes

⁶⁸ Ver A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Per una storia della storiografia sulla letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Otto e del Novecento*, en A. Antoniazzi (ed.), *Scrivere, leggere, raccontare... La letteratura per l'infanzia tra passato e futuro. Studi in onore di Pino Boero*, Milán, FrancoAngeli, 2019, pp. 40-61.

personajes que de la nada llegaron a desempeñar papeles de excelencia en el ámbito económico, científico, político, etc.) y las otras líneas de obras destinadas principalmente a niños y jóvenes constituyeron, en la Europa del siglo XIX y XX, un instrumento poderoso para transmitir modelos culturales y un factor extraordinario de educación de masa, que deben ser investigadas con los instrumentos de la investigación histórico-educativa para llegar a una comprensión más orgánica y profunda de las características asumidas por los procesos educativos en la sociedad contemporánea⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ Ver A. Ascenzi, *Profili della lettura e letteratura per l'infanzia*, en Ead. (ed.), *La letteratura per l'infanzia oggi. Questioni epistemologiche, metodologie d'indagine e prospettive di ricerca*, cit., pp. 3-36.

Hygiene education and museums: experiments and suggestions from a school museum*

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ABSTRACT: Following the international campaigns concerning hand-hygiene education, over the years a growing number of Italian schools has been undertaking educational projects aimed at making new generations aware of the importance of adopting good hygienic behaviors as an effective and affordable way to prevent diseases. In this scenario, the educational staff of the School Museum of the University of Macerata has experimented/carried out a pilot program intended to promote the importance of hand-washing among children of primary schools. The contribution illustrates how a humanistic museum (in addition to science centers and science museums) can also contribute to the achievement of such an objective and respond to the educational needs of contemporary society.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS. Hand washing education; Hygiene education; Museum Education; School museum; History of Education.

* The article is fruit of a joint work. As regards the authors' contribution, Marta Brunelli and Anna Ascenzi were responsible for the conceptualization, investigation, writing and editing of the essay. In particular Marta Brunelli wrote the paragraphs n. 2, 4.1, 4.3 and 4.4; Anna Ascenzi wrote the paragraphs n. 1, 3, 4.3 and 6; Eleonora Rampichini was responsible for the delivery of the pilot project, data curation and writing of the paragraph n. 5.

1. *Objectives and aims of the paper*

The contribution illustrates the modalities of planning, implementation and the first results of an experimental, pilot museum programme about the theme of hand washing education, which was implemented in 2017 in the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum of the University of Macerata. After analysing the impact determined by international and European campaigns about hygiene education, the contribution outlines the Italian scenario in which the initiatives implemented by schools in the field of hygiene education have increased. This trend is the result of campaigns and programs launched by the Italian ministries of education and health in recent years, and which have led to a growing focus on health education, included the themes of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Related diseases.

Authors show the educational potential that a humanistic museum (and especially a historical-educational museum) can develop, just in relation to the aforementioned topic. Actually, the educational team of the museum in Macerata has to face, every day, a crucial challenge: i.e. to transform such a specific museum heritage into a resource and a tool through which to offer educational initiatives aimed not only to promote the knowledge of the museum collections and disseminate historical-educational sector knowledge, but also to develop an inter- and multi-disciplinary learning, which is capable to respond the educational needs of contemporary society.

2. *Schools and hand-washing education: international, European and Italian scenarios*

In the last decade, the issues related to hand-hygiene education in schools have become, at international and national level, a topic of particular interest, especially following the launch of two global, dedicated campaigns: firstly *Global Handwashing Day*, which has been annually celebrated since 15 October 2008; and secondly, *World Hand Hygiene Day* which, sponsored on 5 May by the World Health Organization (WHO), was set up in 2009 with the aim of preventing infections and fighting antibiotic resistance in healthcare settings.

For the purpose of this contribution, of particular relevance is the first campaign that was launched by the Global Handwashing Partnership with the objective of raising, in people in general, and in children in particular, awareness of the importance of hand-washing as an effective way to prevent diseases. Since then, the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) – one of the funding partners of the campaign – has further emphasized the importance of promoting sanitation and hygiene in schools and among children in order to save the lives

of millions of children who, especially in low-and middle-income countries, are dying from diseases and infections transmitted by unsafe water and insufficient hygiene. With this special aim, in 2010 Unicef – together with other partners – launched the global campaign *Wash in Schools* and, in the following years, published various resources and guidelines intended to design, manage and evaluate WASH initiatives all over the world. But if, in less developed countries such initiatives aim to remove inappropriate hygiene conditions and behaviours which are a major cause of mortality for children under five¹, in industrialized countries the WASH objectives are equally relevant, although mainly oriented at preventing the transmission of infections, which represent a health challenge and economic burden. Particularly in schools and colleges – where the research has demonstrated that living in close proximity and sharing spaces, facilities and tools allow disease transmission – the promotion of hand-washing programs can curb the spread of infections, reduce illness-related absences at school and at work, subsequently decreasing the social costs of medical visits and therapies².

In the last year, the attention of educational policy-makers on such issues has constantly increased also in Italy. This is a result of the reforms introduced in the school system and an emerging cross-curricular approach to teaching; it is also a consequence of more widespread awareness of health meant as a component of citizenship, and as an individual and collective asset at the same time³. From this perspective, we can better understand the ministerial documents, guidelines and programmes which, over the last fifteen years, have progressively indicated health education – and particularly food education, linked to tackling the health emergency of childhood obesity – as a global educational strategy, transversal to all disciplines and aimed at building active citizenship⁴.

Today, in fact, the primary role of schools has finally been recognized in health promotion, and no longer considered an exclusive responsibility of the

¹ UNICEF, *Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) in Schools. A companion to the Child Friendly Schools Manual*, written by A. Mooijman, New York, United Nations Children's Fund, July 2012. Available on line: <https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/CFS_WASH_E_web.pdf> (last access: 20.12.2018).

² K.J. Prater, C.A. Fortuna, J.L. McGill, M.S. Brandeberry, A.R. Stone, X. Lu, *Poor hand hygiene by college students linked to more occurrences of infectious diseases, medical visits, and absence from classes*, «American Journal of Infection Control», vol. 44, n. 1, 2016, pp. 66-70; M. Guinan, M. McGuckin, Y. Ali, *The effect of a comprehensive handwashing program on absenteeism in elementary schools*, «American Journal of Infection Control», vol. 30, n. 4, 2002, pp. 217-220.

³ L. Corradini, *Educazione alla salute nella scuola, un iceberg in cerca di un approdo istituzionale: dai progetti "Giovani" e "Genitori" ai forum nazionali*, «Rivista Italiana di Educazione Familiare», n. 1, 2009, pp. 7-26.

⁴ Miur-Federalimentare, *Linee guida per un corretto stile di vita*, [s.l., s.n.], 2005; Miur, *Linee Guida per l'Educazione Alimentare nella Scuola Italiana*, Rome, [s.n.], 2011; Miur, *Linee guida per l'Educazione Alimentare*, Rome, [s.n.], 2015; Miur, *Indicazioni nazionali per il curriculum della scuola dell'infanzia e del primo ciclo d'istruzione*, Rome, [s.n.], 2012, see in partic. pp. 19-20, 25-26, 54-57 and 63-65.

health sector. Such a principle has been ratified since 1986 by the WHO *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion* and, as a consequence, in 1991 the European network *School for Health in Europe* (SHE) – formerly the *European Network of Health Promoting Schools* (ENHPS) – was founded by the WHO Regional Office for Europe, the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Composed of school professionals from 37 countries in the European region, the SHE network operates to develop the great potential of schools in promoting the health of children, young people, as well as families and communities.

As it emerges from this short, and necessarily schematic outline, the international, European and Italian policies on health education have progressively oriented towards a growing cooperation between education and health sectors. In confirmation of this trend, suffice it to say that the programme of the Italian Ministry of Health: *Guadagnare salute, rendere facili le scelte salutari* [Gaining health, making healthy choices easy] – begun in 2007 as a follow-up of the European strategy *Gaining Health* adopted by the WHO Regional Committee for Europe in September 2006 – in 2015 was also signed by the Italian Ministry of Education.

In this general context, the last decade has seen the vast increase – in European and Italian schools – in educational initiatives linked to health education in general, as well as to the more specific topic of hygiene and hand-washing education. Such initiatives have been jointly implemented with the support of the state health authorities, as in the case of the EU-funded *e-Bug, a teaching resource for schools*. Launched in 2006, *over the years e-Bug* has involved 27 European countries in the common aim of promoting basic hygiene principles (from prudent antibiotic use to hand and respiratory hygiene fundamentals) among junior and senior schoolchildren. In Italy the EU project has involved the National Institute of Health, which translated and implemented the teaching resources produced by the project⁵. Today the *e-Bug* educational pack (which also includes innovative material such as web games)⁶ is currently being used in Italian school hygiene education projects, realized in cooperation with local hospitals and health authorities. An example is represented by the *Strategic plan for health promotion in schools*, jointly implemented by the Welfare

⁵ P. De Castro, M.C. Barbaro, S. Salinetti, A. Carinci, A. Pantosti, D. Lecky, M. Hawking, C. McNulty, *Information and health literacy for school students: the e-Bug experience in Italy*, «Journal of the European Association for Health Information and Libraries», vol. 9, n. 1, 2013, pp. 7-9.

⁶ P. Kostkova, D. Farrell, E. de Quincey, J. Weinberg, D. Lecky, C. McNulty, *eBug project partners, eBug-teaching children hygiene principles using educational games*, «Studies in Health Technology and Informatics», n. 160, Pt. 1, 2010, pp. 600-604; C. McNulty, D. Lecky, D. Farrell, P. Kostkova, N. Adriaenssens, T. Koprivova Herotova, J. Holt, P. Touboul, K. Merakou, R. Koncan, A. Olczak-Pienkowska, A. Brito Avo, J. Campos, *Overview of e-Bug: an antibiotic and hygiene educational resource for schools*, «Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy», n. 66, Suppl. 5, 2011, v3-v12.

Department and the Education Office of the Puglia Region, and now in its sixth edition.

In realizing such initiatives, schools also find crucial support in professional associations and specialized publishing, such as the Italian Society of Preventive and Social Paediatrics, which in 2011 started an educational campaign aimed at kindergartens and primary schools. The initiative, entitled *La salute di mano in mano* [Health, from hand to hand], was implemented in cooperation with the Italian Association of Parents and with the medical-scientific publishing house Editeam, which produced specific educational materials for the schoolchildren.

Another possible, and equally important, partner is represented by the companies providing washroom products and *services*. In 2008, for example, a triennial project for primary schools in Curno (Lombardy) was sponsored by the Cartemani company, which financed the making of educational kits. Furthermore, in 2017, the schools in Lucca and Massa Carrara, Tuscany, collaborated with the multinational company Lucart; the result was a student competition aimed at rewarding the best project work on the theme of hand-hygiene; students were invited to produce drawings or comics, texts or videoclips, as well as ideas for recycling, or 3D prototypes for paper towel dispensers, and so on. As you can see, a school-enterprise partnership can achieve interesting results, not only for the funding that such stakeholders can provide to schools, but also for the learning outcomes that such interdisciplinary, problem-based projects can develop.

3. Hand-washing lessons in a humanistic museum: the case of the School Museum at the University of Macerata

The brief review outlined above not only shows the increasing attention of Italian schools on hand-hygiene education, but it also allows us to delineate some emerging trends in the planning of educational activities on the theme. Finally, it illustrates some kinds of partnerships that schools can activate for this purpose. But if schools are recognized as one of the most crucial actors in hand hygiene education and promotion, what is the contribution that museums – as educational agencies – have to offer in this field?

Currently, in Italy the museum realities mostly involved in such initiatives are represented, as it is to be expected, by science centres and scientific museums. For example, the Museum of Medical Instruments of Siena University offers programs in which students can experiment – by using scientific equipment – the effectiveness of correct hygiene practices. In addition, the Bergamo Science Centre allows visitors to take part in a hand washing relay race in order to demonstrate their correct hand hygiene techniques. But if it is rather intuitive to establish a connection between such initiatives and the mission of a scientific

museum, the same thing cannot be said for museums of a humanistic and historical nature.

This is the challenge faced by the authors, who – in quality of persons in charge of educational and scientific planning at the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum⁷ – wondered how to combine the special mission «to disseminate the knowledge of the origins and developments of the Italian school system»⁸, with the aim of promoting health and hygiene education in contemporary schools. An initial solution emerged from the historical-educational heritage preserved in the museum, whose collections testify to the history of the Italian school system from the XIX to the XX century. From the time that publicly funded education began in Italy, in fact, the school has always played a significant role in promoting hygiene, although intended for different purposes in each political and historical season, that is to say:

1. To educate and emancipate the popular classes from their conditions of sickness and poverty, thus contributing to the cultural and social modernization of the country, according to the so-called «hygienist utopia» of the late XIX century⁹;
2. To combat the «physical degeneration» of Italians, through gymnastics and hygiene¹⁰, in order to convert sick individuals into a nation of healthy soldiers, productive workers and civilized citizens, definitively assimilated to the idea of order and discipline conceived by liberal ruling classes;
3. To build the *New Man* of fascist conception¹¹: tempered by sport¹² and regimented by a totalizing hygienic education, which was aimed first at improving the race, and then protecting it¹³.

⁷ The museum was officially established in 2010 as the emanation of the *Centre for documentation and research on history of textbooks and children's literature*, a research unit of the Department of education, cultural heritage and tourism in the University of Macerata. After being opened to the public in 2012, the museum has progressively developed its educational offer in order to serve a larger public, which includes – in addition to university students – also schoolchildren, families, young and older people. For further information see the institutional website: <<http://www.unimc.it/cescom/it/il-museo/regolamento>> (last access: 20.12.2018).

⁸ From the Museum's Regulation, <<http://www.unimc.it/cescom/it/il-museo/regolamento>> (last access: 20.12.2018).

⁹ C. Pogliano, *L'utopia igienista*, in *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, Vol. 7: *Malattia e medicina*, ed. by F. Della Peruta, Turin, Einaudi, 1984, pp. 615-623.

¹⁰ G. Bonetta, *Il corpo e la nazione. L'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale nell'Italia liberale*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1990; C. Mantovani, *Rigenerare la società. L'eugenetica in Italia dalle origini ottocentesche agli anni Trenta*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2004.

¹¹ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *The totalitarian child. The image of childhood in the Fascist school notebooks (1922-1943)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 13, n. 1, 2018, pp. 251-278.

¹² G. Mosse, *L'immagine dell'uomo. Lo stereotipo maschile nell'epoca moderna*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997.

¹³ F. Cassata, *Building the New Man. Eugenics, Racial Science and Genetics in Twentieth-century Italy*, Budapest, Central University Press, 2011.

Keeping in mind these three great seasons of the history of hygiene teaching in Italian schools between the XIX and XX centuries, we decided to focus the planning of a museum program on the fascist period, for several reasons. Firstly, because Fascism played a relevant role in the processes of modernization of the country, especially with regard to hygienic and social policies. Secondly, because the sediments in the collective imagination of this historical period still retain their echo, something that makes it possible to establish a dialogue between younger and older generations.

4. The historical-educational heritage as a resource for planning a hygiene lesson

Among the manifold historical materials – i.e. bibliographical and archival sources as well as material objects – held by the museum, some have revealed themselves to be useful for planning a museum program focused on hygiene education, and for installing an evocative environment suited for this activity. In the following paragraphs will be illustrated the main typologies of materials and their features, i.e.: 1) historical teaching aids, 2) school textbooks and booklets, 3) materials for antitubercular propaganda; 4) other sources.

4.1 Historical teaching aids

In the first place we find the teaching aids for hygienic education represented by wall-charts. Such materials were functional to the programme of hygiene-based literacy for the masses that the fascist regime had implemented in all educational settings, from juvenile associations to schools. However, in 1923 the regime had launched a specific reform and new programmes specifically for schools, which also contained precise indications on hygiene teaching. The objective of such a massive hygienic campaign was to fight the transmission of infectious diseases that, at the time, were endemic in the Italian peninsula (from diphtheria to whooping cough, from tuberculosis to cholera and even malaria) and were mainly linked to poverty, malnutrition and precarious hygiene conditions in which a large part of the population lived, especially in rural areas. Among the teaching aids widely used, especially in the first years of elementary school, we find a series of wall pictures illustrating the basic rules of hygienic prophylaxis, such as hand-washing, the hygiene of the body and clothes, the care of daily living environments, and so on.

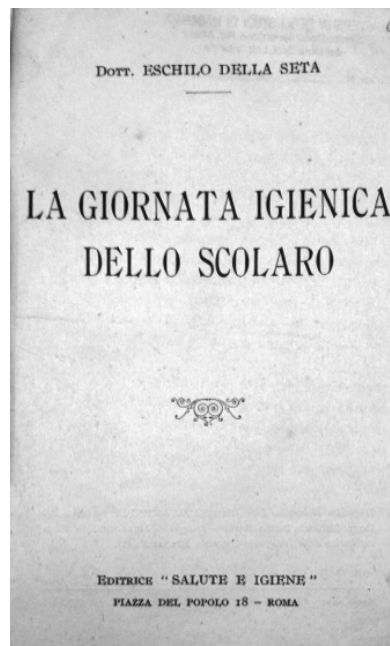
In this regard, the Macerata museum holds some parts of a series of polychrome wall charts printed by the publishing house Antonio Vallardi in



Pics. 1a-c. Polychrome wall charts from the series *Hygienic Propaganda*, produced by the publishing house Antonio Vallardi (s.d., but ca. 1928). (Collections of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata). N. 7: *Wash your body frequently*; N. 5: *Get up early*; N. 9: *Protect food from flies*

Milan (Pic. 1a-c.). Entitled *Hygienic Propaganda*, the series consisted of various pictures to be used as a visual prompt to teach children basic health and hygiene habits: from personal hygiene (N. 7: *Wash your body frequently*), to regular lifestyle (N. 5: *Get up early*), up to the “fight against flies” (N. 9: *Protect food from flies*). This last wall chart, in particular, reflects the further hygienic and educational campaign which the regime launched in 1928¹⁴ aimed at sensitizing children and their families on the need to improve hygiene of living and working environments, both in urban (houses, public roads) and, especially, rural areas (stables, fields, manure etc.).

¹⁴ Law n. 858 of 29 March 1928 *Provisions for the fight against flies* («Gazzetta Ufficiale», 4 May 1928, n. 105) and Decree of the Head of the Government *Mandatory rules for the implementation of the law 29 March, 1928, n. 858, containing provisions for the fight against flies* («Gazzetta Ufficiale», 21 May 1928, n. 118).



Pic. 2a (on the left). Advertising postcard of the publisher Salute e Igiene, illustrating the wall-chart *The schoolboy's hygienic day*. Pic. 2b (on the right). Title page of the booklet: E. Della Seta, *La giornata igienica dello Scolaro*, Rome, Editrice Salute e Igiene, 1924. (Collections of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum, Macerata)

4.2 *Hygiene manuals and booklets for schools*

But the educational hygienic propaganda also availed itself of other educational material that, not infrequently, the school publishers produced in collaboration with scientific publishers working for public health authorities and bodies. Emblematic is the cooperation between the school publishing house Paravia in Turin, and the publisher *Salute e Igiene* [Health and Hygiene] in Rome. The latter published – under the patronage of the Italian Association for Hygiene, the «national organ of hygienic propaganda» – a series of booklets for the health literacy of citizens, families and children. Some of the published titles were as follows: *Bad habits of children* (1924); *The clean boy* (1925); *Hygiene and cleaning of the house* (1925); *Hygiene of the house: advice to a young girl of the working-class* (1926); *Bad habits of the boys on the public street* (1928); *The fly: a danger to health. How to defend oneself* (1938) and so on.

In addition to those booklets, in 1924 the aforementioned publishers jointly realized a special teaching aid for the school, which was composed of two elements:

- a large-format wall chart (cm. 100x70) entitled *The schoolboy's hygienic day: coloured wall chart for schools and families*. Designed by the physician Eschilo Della Seta and drawn by the illustrator Cesare Annibale Musacchio, the chart was printed by the Turinese publishing house Paravia (Pic. 2a);



Pic. 3a (on the left). *Clean your nails and teeth*. From the text: «[...] We must avoid that, between the fingertips and the edge [of the nail], thousands of impurities accumulate during the day. These are, in fact, the receptacle and the hotbed for the most virulent microbes. The child knows all of this, and so he is horrified by dirty nails» (Della Seta, *La giornata igienica dello Scolaro*, cit., pp. 9-10). Pic. 3b (on the right). *Wash hands before eating*. «[...] Soap will eliminate all infectious germs proliferating on hands, which touched so many unclean things. How is it possible to sit at the dinner table and bring food to the mouth, without first washing hands? Here: the water washes away soap and dirt [...] so no germ of infection can penetrate the mouth with food» (cit., pp. 13-14)

– a 20-page booklet – with the same title *The schoolboy's hygienic day* – which contained an «explicatory text» that, although designed and organized by Della Seta, was actually written by the teacher Palmira Melesi Fanti. The booklet was printed by the publisher Salute e Igiene (Pic. 2b).

As evidenced by the commercial catalogues of the Paravia¹⁵, the wall-chart and the booklet were sold together, and helped teachers to deliver an affective hygiene lesson at school. Thanks to the visual support of pictures, the hygienic rules were offered in a natural way and based on the real situations of the children's life. The child, as you can read in the booklet, «must grow up learning, almost without knowing it, the rules of hygiene. In this way he acquires those

¹⁵ G.B. Paravia & C., *Elenco del mobilio, materiale scolastico e sussidi didattici. Obbligatorii o raccomandati per le scuole elementari, in perfetta rispondenza ai Programmi ministeriali 11 novembre 1923*, «Bollettino librario mensile», January 1926, vol. LIII, n. 212, p. 5 (Collections of the «Paolo and Ornella Ricca» School Museum).

healthy habits that will make him strong, robust, clearheaded [...] unable to operate without adhering to those rules of life that were taught to him»¹⁶.

Such teaching aids, in the end, were designed so that the teachers did not simply list or impose the hygiene rules, but rather illustrated the underlying scientific motivations and in doing so, made children understand their real usefulness.

4.3 *Materials issued for antitubercular propaganda*

The educational material realized for the anti-tubercular propaganda represents another historical source held by the museum, in which we find the same “hygienic canons” as above.

Always considered an endemic disease of the poor class, tuberculosis became the object of a massive *Antitubercular campaign*, which had been implemented by the fascist regime since 1931. Schools were the main targets of the campaign and, for this reason, tuberculosis prevention tips frequently occur not only in textbooks¹⁷ but also in exercise books in the form of dictation or composition tasks¹⁸. In addition, in April the *Day of the Double-barred Cross* was annually celebrated through the sale of special stamps: the aim was, firstly, to disseminate information on tuberculosis and its prevention and, secondly, to raise funds for health care facilities, hospitals, nursing homes and summer camps for children.

Together with stamps, other propagandistic material was sold such as small educational sheets which – in addition to the traditional hygienic rules («At least one bath a week»; «Sleep with open windows»; «Brush your teeth before going to sleep»; «Wash your hands before eating») – illustrated other rules purposefully aimed to counteract the risks of infection («Never spit on the ground»; «Do not eat foods already touched by others») as well as inculcate in children a healthy lifestyle which could prevent tuberculosis, like: «In school: sit properly» («so the lungs can breathe well») and «Live in the open air as much as possible» (Pic. n. 4a).

¹⁶ E. Della Seta, *La giornata igienica dello scolaro*, Rome, Editrice Salute e Igiene, 1924, p. 3.

¹⁷ F. Targhetta, *La campagna per la propaganda igienica nei programmi e nei libri per la scuola elementare tra Ottocento e Novecento*, in V. Dal Piaz (ed.), “Raggi di Sole” sulle mura di Padova: scuole e strutture ospedaliere contro la tubercolosi, Padua, Il Prato, 2013, pp. 55-66.

¹⁸ F. Targhetta, *La campagna per la propaganda igienica nei quaderni di scuola*, in J. Meda, D. Montino, R. Sani (edd.), *School exercise books. A complex source for a history of the approach to schooling and education in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Florence, Polistampa, 2010, Vol. 1, pp. 343-360.



Pics. 4.a-b. Propagandistic material for the *III National Antitubercular Campaign*. [Year XI of the fascist era] – 1933. Pic. 4.a (on the left): *For the fight against tuberculosis*. Educational sheets (cm. 9,5x8,5) attached to the antitubercular stamps. Magnification of a detail: «*At school sit properly [...] Sit up straight, keep the chest free and open, so that the lungs can breathe well*». «*Never spit on the ground*. Spitting on the ground is the worst of all bad habits! Stay away from the lout who spits: he spreads diseases, illnesses and grief!». Pic. 4.b (on the right): Postcard illustrated by Angelo Della Torre, Rome, Arte Fauno, 1933

Italian teachers used to collect all such propagandistic material issued for the antitubercular campaigns and employed it – in addition to wall-charts and textbooks – for the purpose of enriching and varying their hygienic lessons. The recurring features of such materials were the pocket size, the appealing graphics (created by distinguished illustrators of the time) and the presence of short hygienic indications which – frequently presented in rhyme – made them easy to read and memorize: a task often assigned by the teacher, in fact, would have been to repeat them aloud in the classroom and at home with the family as well.

4.4 *Other sources to enact a school hygiene lesson in a museum: from School laws, to ego-documents*

But how can all these historical sources be used within a school museum, to prepare and deliver an effective hygiene lesson suitable for the children of today? In answering this question some final, crucial historical sources are

useful: the ministerial Programmes for primary schools, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ego-documents like diaries, autobiographies and oral testimonies. The combination of these resources allows for the reconstruction of a typical school day of the fascist era and the ways in which a basic hygiene lesson was taught.

The school legislation of interest to us, is represented by the Programmes for primary schools of 1923¹⁹ and 1934²⁰. These documents outline the knowledge and skills of hygienic nature that children were expected to acquire in the elementary school, and especially in the first three years, that is to say the course that would be attended by the majority of the children, especially from the working classes. The Programmes establish, for example, that in the first class the «conversations and lessons» on hygiene should concern «vicious attitudes and bad habits of the child» (such as nail biting, putting hands in mouth etc.), «first notions on the human body» and its functions, and the «hygienic day» followed by a «lively and accurate description of the occupations of the child, who wants to grow up healthy and strong: sleep; meals; oral hygiene; indigestion» etc.

But the Programmes are equally useful to understand which teaching strategies were suggested to teachers. Regarding the *Prescriptions for hygiene teaching in all classes* of 1923, in fact, we read that:

The topics [...] will not be transmitted through abstract lessons, but rather through lively conversations and experiments. Much can, and must, be taught through stories and anecdotes. Children themselves offer opportunities for observation and experimentation. The teacher will make children perform in the school the main cleaning operations, both for the purpose of correcting bad habits, and for exercise or play. The exercise «who is better washing his hands, or the face, or the ears», must be repeated frequently. Teachers should understand that this is one of the most serious duties of the school. And that the most advanced teaching cannot absolve the teacher from the guilt of ignoring dirty hands and faces or even hair infested with parasites. And the correction must always consist in making the child clean up under the teacher's eyes, or in entrusting the child to the janitor, so that he supervises the expected cleaning operations. In the School Report Card will always be included a mark concerning personal cleanliness.

As you can see, the recommended teaching strategies – of discursive (conversation), practice (observation and experimentation) and playful nature (play) – were never separated from the intention of evaluating the students' personal cleanliness (with a «mark») and therefore punishing and correcting the hygienic deficiencies («dirty hands and faces» or «hair infested with

¹⁹ See the Ministerial Ordinance November 1, 1923 concerning the schedules, programs and teaching prescriptions, issued in application of the Royal Decree 1 October, 1923, n. 2185, «Bollettino del Ministero dell'Istruzione», n. 51, 1923, pp. 4590-4627.

²⁰ Programs, standards and teaching prescriptions for elementary schools (Royal Decree April 12, 1934 – Year XII of the fascist era), «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale», 1934, pp. 2343-2369.

parasites») possibly emerged during the teachers' inspection. The latter activity is considered an unavoidable duty of the teachers and the managerial staff of the schools since, as we read in the *Regulations for the Defence against Infectious Diseases in Schools and Kindergartens* of 1921: «Each teacher must monitor the health of schoolchildren and must promptly notify the school manager any suspicious signs of infection and diseases of the eyes, skin or scalp»²¹.

If, on the one hand, the school regulation explains the importance of hygienic inspection in its educational, prophylactic and sanctioning function, on the other hand, the school memories handed down through written autobiographies, or collected during oral interviews²², describe how this daily practice took place since the first years of primary school:

‘Cleanliness and hygiene – [Miss Teacher] proclaims – make children grow strong and healthy’. [Then, she] orders the schoolchildren to stretch their hands on the desk, and goes around checking that the nails are cut and clean («Did your cat die?» she asks those who have “funereal” black rims of dirt under their nails, and everyone laughs foolishly), she cries in horror for the dirt sedimented in the folds of necks or the earwax accumulated in ears, she requires children to carry a handkerchief to blow their noses, and goes out of her way if someone cleans it with the back of the hand or the apron’s sleeve. Spitting on the ground is not only rude, but dangerous: in the saliva there are millions of beasts invisible to the naked eye, the germs which, flying in the air, enter the lungs and gnaw them until you die of tuberculosis²³.

Written and material sources, official documents, and finally the memories and testimonies of the protagonists themselves, have thus given new life to a typical hygiene lesson in the Fascist school.

In conclusion, the analytical examination and the triangulation of data emerging from the various sources illustrated above, make it possible to reconstruct content, times and forms of the teaching practices related to hygiene education in the Fascist school. At the same time, these sources offer multiple thematic connections, and narrative suggestions, as a basis upon which to elaborate a meaningful and effective educational message to be transmitted to today’s generations. Based on these premises, the Scientific and Educational Committee of the Museum has planned an experimental programme designed for pupils who enter in their first year of the primary school, which was

²¹ Art. 6 of the Regulation October 9, 1921 for the defence against infectious diseases in schools and kindergartens, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d’Italia», n. 20, 25 Jan. 1922, pp. 154-156.

²² The oral testimonies on the school of the past are systematically being collected in the Museum during the guided tours, during the workshops for the primary school entitled *The Grandparents’ school* (and just held with the collaboration of a senior “witness of the past school”), and finally through a systematic campaign of video-recorded interviews that is currently being carried out by Lucia Paciaroni, doctoral student of the PhD course Human Sciences-Curriculum Education in the University of Macerata.

²³ E. Gianini Belotti, *Pimpì Oseli*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1996, p. 38.

especially aimed to achieve both the learning objectives of the global hand washing campaigns, and the learning objectives established in the *National Guidelines for the curriculum of the pre-primary and primary school* of 2012.

5. The pilot-project «Going to Hygiene school»: implementation and first results

A pilot version of the workshop *Going to Hygiene School* took place in the month of April 2017, and has seen participation of four first grade classes of primary school from the Province of Macerata; a total of sixty-four children. The programme is organized into two main parts: the first of simulative and narrative nature, followed by a more experiential and active part.

In the first part, after being welcomed into the museum the children are introduced into an antique schoolroom, perfectly rearranged with original furnishings and objects from the '30s. Initially, however, the educator makes a deal with the young visitors: opening the classroom's door means entering another temporal dimension, that of the school of the past, where quite severe discipline reigned. Children accept the rules of this «role-playing game» and, once they enter the old classroom, they take on the role of pupils who obey the precise orders of the *teacher* (the museum educator), who invites them to enter in silence and in orderly rows, and to look at the wall-charts hanging on the walls of the schoolroom. This is the starting point of a typical «hygiene lesson», soon followed by a playful «hygienic inspection» conducted by the operator-teacher, and made even more interactive by the joking threat of a school punishment.

Such a lively re-enactment of the «hygiene lesson» offers many cues to start a conversation with the children on the importance of hand hygiene, for example, in countering the transmission of a trivial but annoying cold. But children are also stimulated to reflect on the intrinsic value that a simple act like washing hands could have in the nineteenth century. What for today's children is a ritual of little importance, for children of the past – especially those living in rural and mountain areas – was a luxury because very few had running water in their houses. In order to have children better understand this message, the operator takes them to a corner of the museum where an antique toilet has been set up with: antique pitcher and enamel basins, a linen towel with fringes, pieces of homemade lye soap, sage leaves for teeth cleansing and a metal bucket full of water. The observation of these materials is accompanied by the narration of old school memories: stories of children who everyday had a long way to walk – early in the morning, and often alone – up to the well, the village fountain, or even the river, to get the water for the house. One or two buckets of water had to be sufficient for all needs: to drink, to cook, to clean clothes, to wash

oneself or have a bath, after heating the water on the fire, and pouring it into big tubs in which people had to sit crouched. The storytelling is made more realistic by the fact that educator invites the children, in turn, to lift and carry the metal bucket in order for them to appreciate how obtaining a simple glass of water – for us an easy task – for many children required (and requires, even today) a lot of effort. This is a reality that in some areas of the world is unfortunately still very real for many children who live in the same conditions of water shortage and lack of sanitation facilities. As you can see, the structure of this first exploratory and simulative phase offers abundant connections and stimuli for reflecting together on topical issues related to hygiene and water, such as a responsible and sustainable consumption of precious resources such as water, or accessibility to modern hand washing and bathing facilities, to cite the most relevant.

After this first part, children are ready for the second part. In the laboratorial space some hand washing stations have been set up with large laundry tubs equipped with soaps of various shapes and colours, towels, pitchers and buckets to rinse the soapy hands. Here, after observing a demonstration of the correct hand washing technique (i.e. phase of *modeling*, the first stage of cognitive apprenticeship), children are asked to engage, in turn, in this simple but important operation. The activity ends with an entertaining moment in which children make bubbles with the remaining soapy water, so adding a touch of magic and playfulness to the entire activity in the museum.

Regarding the evaluation process, in this pilot edition we have implemented the following qualitative methods: qualitative interview and direct observation. In the first case, museum educators had a few informal and conversational interviews with the teachers who participated in the programme in order to collect their opinions and indirectly verify if the museum programme had achieved the teachers' expectations and pupils' satisfaction. From the information collected, some outstanding aspects emerged. In the first place, teachers did appreciate not only content but also the interactive and playful approach: something that teachers actually did not expect, given the dry topic. One teacher underlined that «children felt like protagonists»²⁴: at the beginning, by putting themselves in the shoes of the pupils of the past, reliving a typical school day; and then, by interacting with a reality that – evoked by narration and imagination – from time to time materialized before their eyes in the form of real objects to be used, and routines to be experimented: to lift a bucket of water and carry it without spilling a drop of precious liquid; to use a jug (instead of the tap) and wash hands in an enamel basin (instead of the sink). The final, playful phase was also appreciated because it allowed for «the creation of a positive association» between the theme of the water and hand hygiene, and the soap bubble game:

²⁴ Interview. Ist grade, section D (from the *Dossier "Going to Hygiene School"*, Macerata, April 11, 2017, p. 17).

«water became a friend to the children, and an easy, inexpensive and wonderful game»²⁵.

6. Conclusions and future objectives

The information collected through direct observation, both of participant nature (by museum educators who interacted with children) and non-participant (by university students trainees in the museum), in addition to revealing some weaknesses related to the organization of the hand-washing stations, basically confirmed what was reported by teachers, particularly with regard to the active involvement of children. The most significant data, however, concerned the fact that all children admitted not being used to washing their hands, either according to the technique, or the timing, recommended by the WHO and health authorities. This fact confirms the importance of promoting this kind of hygiene education in families, just by empowering children to be agents of change in their environment and communities.

On the basis of this initial and still provisional assessment of the pilot version of the hygiene education activity above illustrated, it is possible to state – also in view of future developments – that the implementation of the programme *Going to Hygiene School* has allowed for the achievement of some initial, important, objectives. Firstly, the experimentation demonstrated that a historic and humanistic museum can offer programmes of hygiene education which can positively impact on schoolchildren and teachers in terms of cognitive, experiential and emotional involvement. Of course, the next objective will be to develop, together with teachers, specific tools that allow for the evaluation of the impact of the programme in terms of knowledge acquisition and retention, as well as of change of attitudes and behaviours in schoolchildren. Secondly the activity has shown strong potential in terms of future development of the project.

Such potential can be developed in a trans-disciplinary perspective, that is to say by introducing the museum activity within a longer educational path in which other subjects like Languages, History, Art, Science and Physical education can be analysed in depth through in-class activities, of pre-visit and/or post-visit nature²⁶. Further potential can be exploited – in an inter-institutional perspective – i.e. by inserting the Museum in a territorial partnership that includes schools, public health and, finally, the University. The specific nature of a university museum, in fact, makes it possible to combine the dimension

²⁵ Interview. Ist grade, section C (*ibid.*, p. 18).

²⁶ D. Carminati, C. Titone, N. Raffaelli, C. Farina, L. Mastrorocco, *Imparare a “lavarsi” le mani per imparare a “non lavarsene” nella vita. L’esperienza della classe prima della scuola primaria*, «Gimpios», vol. 2, n. 2, 2012, pp. 74-80.

of scientific research with that of education of both pre-service and in-service teachers, on the one hand. On the other, in virtue of such inter-institutional synergies, a university museum can become even more an incubator of social change and cultural innovation and – in doing so – it can concretely contribute to the empowerment of children, families and the territory, also in terms of promoting health and wellbeing.

Mobilization of sources for preservation of school culture: an experience in the history of Mathematics education in Brazil*

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to reply to the following questions: Which mobilisations are being performed on tests, exams, and assessments so there may be a writing on the History of Mathematics Education in Brazil? Which role should these documents take place in researches? This article is structured into two parts; first we have presented database, specifically RCD (Digital Content Repository, Initials in Portuguese), hosted in the servers of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), in the community «History of Mathematics Education [L'Histoire de l'éducation mathématique]», and its collection «Tests – Exams – Assessments», organised by GHEMAT Brazil (Research Group on History of Mathematics Education in Brazil – Initials in Portuguese); second we have presented some researches as a source for tests, exams and assessments, specifically those presented in the XVI Thematic Seminar: Tests, Exams and written mathematics and education history. We have observed that it is necessary to perform a triangle method among tests, exams and assessments regarding further documents and materials from the time observed, by contextualizing and comparing it to build meanings.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Digital content repository; Documentary source; GHEMAT; History of mathematics education; School culture; Brazil.

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Introduction

The present paper aims to reply to the following: Which mobilisations are being performed on tests, exams, and assessments so there may be a writing on the History of Mathematics Education in Brazil? Which role should these documents take place in researches? According to Caspard¹, documents recognised as tests, exams, and assessments, belonging to students, result in the knowledge of a certain time, becoming then a privileged source. These tests represent a direct connection between teachers and students, gather elements from teaching practices during exams, mainly admission ones, and belong to the abstraction degree, because they are produced for a group that will become a student.

Les travaux réalisés par les élèves, corrigés et classés par le maître, constituent manifestement une source privilégiée permet-tant d'approcher du cœur de cette relation didactique: ils reflètent à la fois l'énoncé d'un savoir et l'émission de normes par l'enseignant, et le degré d'assimilation de ce savoir ou d'adhésion à ces normes par chacun de ses élèves².

Aiming in replying to these questions, we have started contextualizing a Brazilian History Mathematics Education (HEM, initials in Portuguese) as a research area that is being formed since the past few years. According to González³, the research community interested in studying HEM has massively increased. The author puts together five aspects that illustrate such scenario:

1. The development of stable work groups for international events dedicated to the history of Mathematics Education, such as *TSG 24 History of the teaching and learning of mathematics of the International Conference of Mathematical Education*, whose members share discoveries and subjects concerning the history of mathematics education, and work seeking resolutions about the methodological matters of the investigation in this subject.
2. The organisation of events specifically about the subject; among them, we can highlight the *Ibero-American Conference on the History of Mathematical Education* (CIHEM initials in Portuguese), which four editions were carried out: I CIHEM 2011 (Covilhã, Portugal), II CIHEM 2013 (Cancún, Mexico), III CIHEM 2015 (Belém do Pará, Brazil); VI CIHEM 2017 (Murcia, Spain); this CIHEM is considered a scenery that: favours academic, professional and conceptual exchange among mathematics educators from Latin America, Spain and Portugal, that have the history of mathematics education as their investigative interest matter in these socio-geographical settings; allows knowledge sharing by these investigators;

¹ P. Caspard, *Introduction. Travaux d'Élèves: pour une histoire des performances scolaire et de leur évaluation*, «Histoire de L'Éducation», n. 46, May, 1990, pp. 1-4.

² «The work performed by the students, checked and classified by their teacher, constitutes a manifest in a privileged source that allows an approach on a such learning relationship: it reflects a notive on a knowledge as well as an education issue by the leader and the legal of assimilation of such knowledge or adhesion to these norms by each one of these students», *ibid.*, p. 1.

³ Fredy E. González, *Historia de la Educación Matemática en Latinoamérica: 10 claves para su comprensión*, «UNIÓN: Revista Iberoamericana de Educación Matemática», n 58, April, 2018, pp. 279-305.

contributes to the publication, spreading and dissemination of the scientific production generated in this context; promotes the creation of new work groups and the collaboration among those which have already been created; contributes to the art state examination in these emergent study field, as well as it helps in configuring its forecasting.

3. The opening of Fixed Sections in journals that are specifically of the Mathematics Education field; for instance, the section from the UNIÓN Journal named «Historia Social de la Educación Matemática en Iberoamérica» (Social History of Mathematics Education in Ibero-America – see: <http://www.fisem.org/www/union/>)

4. The creation of Specialised Journals like HISTEMAT – «Revista de História da Educação Matemática» (History of Mathematics Education Journal – Initials in Portuguese – <http://histemat.com.br/index.php/HISTEMAT>), which has the focus towards the divulgation among researchers, professors and other people interested in, the historical dimension of both mathematics and its teaching, the results of researches concerning the history of mathematics education, and other subjects related to it.

5. The publication of the *Handbook*, like the *Handbook on the History of Mathematics Education* (KARP, SCHUBRING, 2014), which exams the history of mathematics education in diverse periods, civilisations, nations and cultures; keeping in mind the growing interest that a number of mathematics educators across the world have about the disciplinary development in Mathematics Education, not only in their native countries but also in a global level⁴.

When it comes to Brazil, researches, such as thesis and master dissertations about HEM, have started at Graduation Programs in Education (PPGE, initials in Portuguese), from Mathematics teachers communication with History of Education. The first-degree dissertation was defended in 1984, named «Study of evolution in Secondary School in Brazil and in the state of Paraná, emphasises in Mathematics», from Maria Antonieta Meneghini Martins, at PPGE, from Federal University of Paraná (UFPR, initials in Portuguese). Almost ten years later, the first thesis defended about HEM was in 1995, entitled «Mathematics teaching: evolution and modernisation», from Maria Ângela Miorim, by Education college at University of Campinas, (UNICAMP, initials in Portuguese). Nevertheless, the production of thesis and dissertation, where HEM investigates it, is matured from 2007 on, with a quantity greater or equal to ten researches defended per year⁵.

Another aspect that has contributed to the growth of scientific productions at HEM is the beginning of various national research groups, such as, GHEMAT; GHOEM, and HIFEM. «Currently, such research groups gather different higher education teaching programs in the country»⁶.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

⁵ A.J. Brito, M.A. Miorim, *A institucionalização da História da Educação Matemática*, in A.V.M. Garnica, *Pesquisa em História da Educação Matemática no Brasil*, São Paulo, Livraria da Física Editora, 2016, pp. 67-92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Here it is important to highlight the different trends in HEM researches, according to Valente⁷.

Brazilian research groups, which in the last 10 years have been organizing discussion sessions, through which theses and dissertations have been oriented; books have been published, *papers*, among other productions. In this sense, it was possible for us to cast the following trends of thoughts: a production that sees the history of mathematics education as a subset of the history of mathematics; a second trend self-proclaimed 'history in mathematics education'; a third group that states itself in the relation 'oral history and mathematics education'; and, at last, works that consider history of mathematics education as a specificity of the history of education⁸.

HEM events' area is also important in the process of socialisation and release of such researches; from «I CIHEM» on, many Brazilian researchers have analysed the relevance of a national event aiming to have the entire community of researchers in the area. The «IENAPHEM», initials in Portuguese, (National Research Meeting on History of Mathematics Education) took place between the first and the third of November, in 2012, at the State University of Southwestern Bahia (UESB, initials in Portuguese), in Vitória da Conquista village, Bahia, making a total of 19 lectures, 33 oral communications and 47 posters. «[...] it is characterised as a funding event that, for the first time, gets together a community of researchers from different regions in the country to debate and exchange investigating experiences in an including theme: history of Mathematics education»⁹.

The II ENAPHEM took place at São Paulo State University, (UNESP, initials in Portuguese), Bauru campus, located in São Paulo between the 31st of October and the 02nd of November 2014, making a total of two round sessions, two memory sessions, seven round tables and 74 conference papers presented in coordinated sessions. The third edition took place at the Federal University of Espírito Santo, UFES, initials in Portuguese, São Mateus Campus, between 31 October to 2 November 2016. It accounted on a total of 179 enrollments, being then, researchers and graduation students participated on the event, 126 people from distinct Brazilian states, totalizing in 93 submitted researches, with 74 oral communications approved, and three thematic round sessions. The IV ENAPHEM will occur from the 14th to 17 November, in 2018, at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul, (UFMS), in Campo Grande city.

⁷ W.R. Valente, *Trends of the history of mathematics education in Brazil*, «ZDM – The International Journal on Mathematics Education», vol. 42, 2010, pp. 315-323.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁹ N.B. Pinto, *A Educação Matemática Brasileira e a Realização do Primeiro Encontro Nacional de Pesquisas em História da Educação Matemática. Da importância do I ENAPHEM*, in W.R. Valente, *História da Educação Matemática no Brasil. Problemáticas de pesquisa, fontes, referências teórico-metodológicas e histórias elaboradas*, São Paulo, Editora Livraria da Física, 2014, p. 15.

From the exposed above, we were able to notice that HEM is being constituted and matured with its researching groups, events, newsletters as well as the production of thesis and dissertations in the area. From now on, we present the GHEMAT mobilisation towards maintaining documents regarding school culture, use of RCD, initials in Portuguese for Digital Content Repository, as a database for HEM research sources, especially, «History of Mathematics Education (L'Histoire de l'éducation mathématique)», and its collections, so-called «Test – Exams – Assessment».

1. *Constituting a database: Digital Content Repository (RCD)*

GHEMAT¹⁰, created in 2000, has as leaders, professors Dr. Wagner Rodrigues Valente, allocated at Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP, initials in Portuguese) and Dr. Neuza Bertoni Pinto, allocated at Amazon Education, Science and Math Program (REAMEC, initials in Portuguese), its main research approach is the HEM. The group is constituted by researchers and Ph.D., Master students and under-graduation students from distinct institutions and Brazilian states.

[...] The Group, in practice, it is no longer a collective that belongs to a certain university, and to a certain graduate program, as it is common to research groups. But it, in fact, becomes a group of researchers from different institutions and graduate programs, from different Brazilian states, that get on with investigative collective projects¹¹.

The group has personal *acquis* from some authors in Mathematics Education as it is the case of group Euclides Roxo, Ubiratan D'Ambrosio, Osvaldo Sangiorgi, among others, besides gathering documents such as school programs, school books, tests, and student exams used in other times in its Documentation Centre¹².

Besides its physical *acquis*, the group uses RCD, from Federal University of Santa Catarina, UFSC. «Based on *DSpace*¹³ structure, with a simple and effective architecture, it used cutting-edge technology and is directed to open access, intentionally created for these aims»¹⁴. GHEMAT administers the

¹⁰ Further information available at: <<http://dgp.cnpq.br/dgp/espelhogrupo/2116509882385976>> (last access: 11.05.2018).

¹¹ W.R. Valente, *Oito temas sobre História da educação matemática*, «REMATEC – Revista de Matemática, Ensino e Cultura», vol. 8, 2013, p. 23.

¹² Further information available at: <<http://www2.unifesp.br/centros/ghemat/paginas/galerias.htm>> (last access: 11.05.2018).

¹³ DSpace is a free software developed in partnership with MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Hewlett Packard Corporation.

¹⁴ D.A. Costa, *Repositório*, in W.R. Valente *Cadernos de Trabalho*, São Paulo, Editora

community specifically, called *History of Mathematics Education* [L'Histoire de l'éducation mathématique]¹⁵. «It may be consulted from an internet accessing device»¹⁶.

RCD, as well as a database for documents that are transformed into sources for researches, stores documentation coming from different parts of the country, due to a diversity of researchers located in distinct research institutions and education sites. «The job is similar to that performed in a library: cataloguing, curatorship aspects, diffusion and information maintenance»¹⁷.

GHEMAT members contribute with virtual contribution to feed and turn it available documents regarding international cooperation projects with funds coming from CAPES-GRICES, during the years from 2006 up to 2011, coordinated by professors José Manuel Matos (Lisboa Universidade Nova) and Wagner Rodrigues Valente (UNIFESP), entitled «Modern Mathematics in Brazilian Schools and Portugal – history studies». This Project resulted from Post-Doctorate studies, dissertations, and scientific initiation papers, besides articles published in national and international journals. Another project that had a great dimension on the scientific production in HEM area was the research Project entitled: «Mathematics Elementary Knowledge Concept arithmetic, geometry and Elementary school drawing in comparative-historical perspective, 1890-1970»; from 2014 on, accounting on CNPq financial funding¹⁸.

RCD insertion of documents, in the community of History of Mathematics Education [L'Histoire de l'éducation mathématique], took place in stages where objectives were followed by this last-mentioned project. Firstly, the group has elaborated documents referring to educational legislation in each state. Each GHEMAT Brazilian researcher was responsible for its local and respective area concerning their field. Decrees, laws, resolutions, teaching programs, internal teaching ruling, education secretariat bulletins, messages to the executive at the legislative assembly, normative communications, among others, are examples of norming documents present at RCD.

Secondly, it has been engaged pedagogical press, teaching journals, education newsletters, annual and further school newsletters were also analysed. As a third step for that, it has been performed teaching books and pedagogical guidelines, as well as it has been engaged documents containing school files,

Livraria da Física, 2015, p. 32.

¹⁵ This virtual environment, the Repository, is hosted in the servers of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), available at <<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/xmlui/handle/123456789/1769>> (last access: 11.05.2018).

¹⁶ Costa, *Repositório*, cit., p. 33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁸ The Brazilian National Council of Technological and Scientific Development (CNPq – initial in Portuguese), and agency of the Brazilian Science Ministry (MCTIC – initial in Portuguese) have as their main attributions to promote technological and scientific research and to encourage the creation of Brazilians researchers. For further information, it is available at: <http://cnpq.br/apresentacao_institucional/> (last access: 11.05.2018).

students' notebooks and, professors' too, minutes, report cards among other vestiges that correspond to the interior of a teaching culture.

According to Hoffmann and Costa¹⁹

The expression *school culture* has several purposes and meanings. It is polysemic. This expression appeared in the educative-historical field in the 20th century, in the second half of the nineties. Julia makes a metaphor with the word «black box», used in aircraft. In this case, *school culture* is the interior of the «black box», composed by school manuals, exercises, and school subjects, because it is in its interior that we can fill in the studies gaps of the educational institutions²⁰.

The development of projects, as per stages, and the attention given to panned documents and those stored, not only contribute to new researches but also with HEM in Brazil. Currently, one of the last engaging movements from researchers and students in groups were the researches for documents, tests, exams and students' and professors' assessments from 1870 to 1990.

La rareté des travaux d'élèves dont nous disposons, autant que l'éloignement de l'époque à laquelle ils ont été effectués, justifient et imposent d'autant plus la difficile restitution de leur contexte. Contexte de la classe ou de l'établissement, d'abord, qui passe par l'identification de ses maîtres, de ses élèves, et de sa place exacte dans le système d'enseignement et de formation existant. Contexte pédagogique, ensuite, défini par le plan d'études, les livres scolaires (manuels, dictionnaires...) en usage, les méthodes d'enseignement ou les modes d'évaluation. Contexte scientifique et disciplinaire, aussi, qui n'est pas le moins délicat – c'est un euphémisme – à définir, puisqu'il exige une caractérisation extrêmement fine de ce qui est admis, rejeté ou controversé au moment et au lieu mêmes où les exercices sont effectués. Contexte global, enfin – politique, économique, religieux... – puisque les exercices forment, ou sont censés former, de futurs acteurs de la vie sociale²¹.

There is not a culture of education material maintenance, and it has become uncommon to find such types of documents. Students' production comes as if they were tracks for researches. Those responsible for education (in France, and

¹⁹ Y.T. Hoffmann, D.A. Costa, *História da educação matemática conservação da cultura escolar*, «RELIME – Revista Latinoamericana de Investigación en Matemática Educativa», vol. 21, 2018, pp. 11-28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²¹ «The infrequency of the students' work is not available as it regards to the remoteness of the time by which they took place, justifying and imposing the hard restitution of such context. The classroom context or establishment pass by the identification of its professors, its students and their exact place in a learning system and existing education. The pedagogical context as follows is defined by the study plan, school-books (guidelines, dictionaries...) in use, teaching methods or assessment approach. The scientific context, and on the discipline itself, is also a delicate way – not an euphemism – to be defined as it requires an extreme characterisation on what is admitted, rejected or controversial when the exercise is taking place. The global context; political, economic, religious... – these exercises form and are dealt in a way that, future actor is there in a social view». See Caspard, *Introduction. Travaux d'Élèves: pour une histoire des performances scolaire et de leur évaluation*, cit., p. 2.

other developed countries) have raised interest for this type of document at the end of the 19th century, aiming to verify the efficiency of educational system, as well as to compare instruction. «Des «gisements» significatifs, telles les cinq mille dictées des années 1870 récemment découvertes par A. Chervel, sont donc exceptionnels»²².

Those documents, referring to students' production, are rare, since in every new school year, new books, notebooks, homework, and tests are produced. It remains in school memories, files, probing documents, birth certificates, enrollment documents, transferences, grades, frequencies, among others. A successful example is the result indicated by the project «History of Mathematics Education in Brazil, 1920-1960» coordinated by Prof. Dr. Wagner Rodrigues Valente who was able to protect a great part of the school files, «Ginásio do Estado da Capital», today in São Paulo State School. It has been preserving individual document of each student, including admission exams from such place. It has been selecting exams related to the period of 1931-1969, which highlights the beginning and the end of admission exams with a national identification. Gathered in 3,000 tests, both in Mathematics and Portuguese in digital selection where CD-ROM is located: Exams regarding Admission in 1931-1969 v.3 are part of the technical production and project²³.

Nevertheless, researchers who investigate HEM have the responsibility to keep on searching for further documents, such as those referring to legislation, books and guidelines – school notebooks, tests, exams, and assessments, it is to say, documents that are part of school culture.

The Repository (RCD) usage, as a database for research sources about the history of mathematics education by the GHEMAT, has presented several challenges. There was the need to study the definitions and standardisation to implement the item's insertions, whether they were documental (legislative texts, prescriptive etc.), or even being part of pedagogical journal *corpus*, or even from textbooks and pedagogical manuals²⁴.

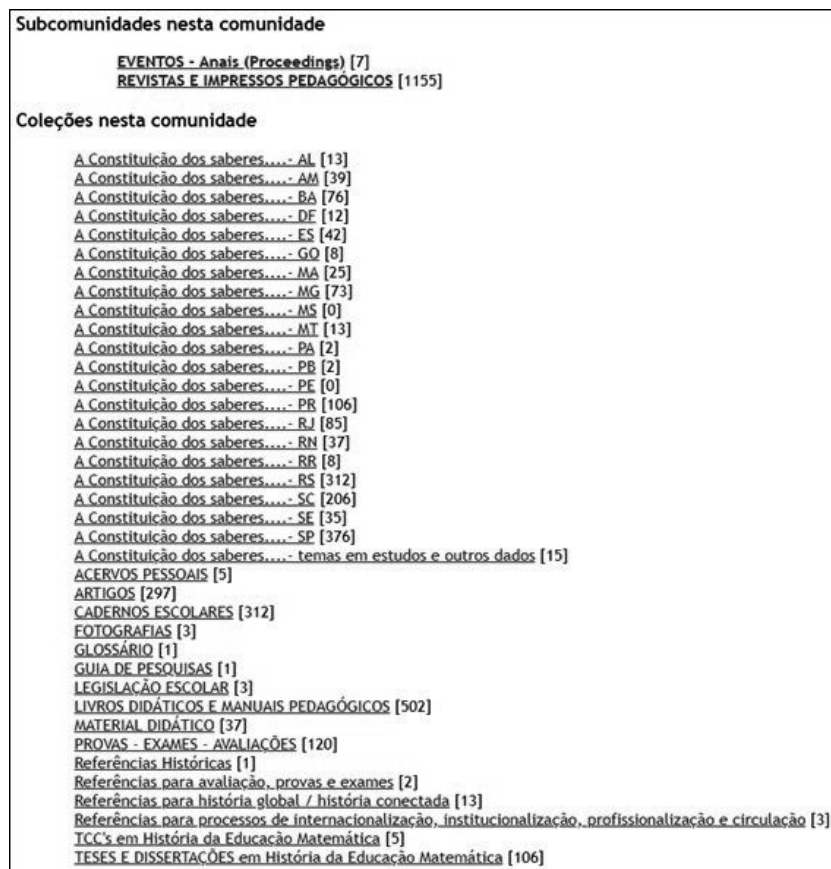
The History of Mathematics Education community, (l'Histoire de l'éducation mathématique), has two subcommunities: Events – Annals (Proceedings) and, pedagogical journals and papers; and has 38 collections, as well as specifics per state compounding legislation documents and textbooks for elementary school and pedagogical guidelines, school books, «Tests – Exams – Assessments»,

²² «The significative 'habitats', such as the five thousand mentioned through the 1970s, recently discovered by A. Chervel, is then exceptional», *ibid.*, p. 1.

²³ For further information, it is available at: <http://www2.unifesp.br/centros/ghemat/paginas/arq_admis.htm> (last access: 12.05.2018).

²⁴ C.R.B. Frizzarini, D.A. Costa, *Cadernos escolares brasileiros e franceses: seus metadados para a história da educação matemática*, «HISTEMAT – Revista de História da Educação Matemática», vol. 3, 2017, p. 95.

Pic. 1. Screen of sub-topics in the History of Mathematics Education collection



Source:Repository ofUFSC, <<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/1769>>.

among others. Making a total of 4,058 inserted documents, as displayed in Pic. 1²⁵.

Works from distinct researchers and students from GHEMAT are presented in Thematic Seminars settled as a place for exchange, orientation and to debate. It has been revealed that, as important discussion and reflection moments about results, both in partial or in finals, are obtained with the performance on project of studies shared from such documents at the RCD at UFSC.

Thus far, sixteen Thematic Seminars have been performed, as can be observed in Table 1, from 2006 to 2018, where the last thematic seminar is untitled «Tests and Exams and written History of Mathematics Education».

²⁵ Verification performed on the 05 June 2018.

It took place among the days 11th, 12th and 13th of April in 2018, at Federal University of Roraima (UFRR, initials in Portuguese), in the city of Boa Vista.

Table 1. Edition of Thematic Seminars

Edition	Date	Institution/Location
1 st	May/2006	PUC/SP
2 nd	September/2006	UnL/Portugal
3 rd	March/2007	PUC/PR
4 th	October/2007	UnL/Portugal
5 th	March/2008	PUC/RS
6 th	December/2008	UnL/Portugal
7 th	April/2009	UFSC/SC
8 th	December/2009	UnL/Portugal
9 th	July/2010	UFJF/MG
10 th	October/2011	UnL/Portugal
11 th	April/2014	UFSC/Florianópolis/SC ²⁶
12 th	April/2015	PUC/Curitiba/PR ²⁷
13 th	May-June/2015	UNILIM/Limoges/France ²⁸
14 th	March/2016	UFRN/Natal/RN ²⁹
15 th	April-May/2017	UFPEL/Pelotas/RS ³⁰
16 th	April/2018	UFRR/Boa Vista/RR ³¹

As we see, there is a large number of scanned documents placed at RCD in UFSC. Therefore, we approach the field called «Digital Humanities», in other words, an approach to the field of human and social sciences with the information science.

[...] in human and social sciences, the digitalisation of historical and artistic documents and the offer of large databases, with social and economic information, have created new tendencies analyses and phenomena observations perspectives. [...] computers scientists, whose researches about Big Data have multiplied the ways to organise and analyse information, gave origins to a multidisciplinary field: digital humanities³².

²⁶ Available at: <<http://seminariotematico.ufsc.br/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

²⁷ Available at: <http://www2.td.utfpr.edu.br/seminario_tematico/index.php> (last access: 12.05.2018).

²⁸ Available at: <<http://seminariotematicofrancobrasileiro.paginas.ufsc.br/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

²⁹ Available at: <<http://xivseminariotematico.paginas.ufsc.br/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

³⁰ Available at: <<http://xvseminariotematico.paginas.ufsc.br/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

³¹ Available at: <<http://xviseminariotematico.paginas.ufsc.br/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

³² F. Marques, *A realidade que emerge da avalanche de dados*, «Pesquisa Fapesp», vol. 18, n. 255, May 2017, p. 19.

However, digital humanities only offer an extension of traditional abilities and methodologies and have no intention to replace them. We present now the inside of the collection «Tests – Exams – Assessments», and how GHEMAT conference papers, specifically from the XVI Thematic Seminar, have changed these documents to sources from their researches.

2. *Research with their source: tests, exams, and assessments*

Thus far, when this article was written, there were 120 insertions in the «Tests – Exams – Assessments» collection from 1876 to 1985, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Insertions in «Tests – Exams – Assessments» collection

Test and exam minutes (ten documents from 1901 to 1936)
Goiás (GO): 06 documents (1901 to 1934) Santa Catarina (SC): 05 documents (all from 1936)
Assessments (three documents from 1934 to 1935)
Espírito Santo (ES): 02 documents (from 1934 to 1935) A test without a date: Cognitive test (stage of concrete operations), D. Braun, (s. d)
Entrance and unified exams (43 documents from 1931 to 1973)
São Paulo (SP): 40 documents (from 1931 to 1969, and 1973) Mato Grosso (MT): 03 documents (from 1962 and 1969) Paraná (PR): 01 document of 1927
Instructions, models, and suggestions (four documents from 1930 to 1970)
Distrito Federal (DF): 01 document of 1962 and 02 documents of 1970 Espírito Santo (ES): 01 document from 1930
List of points (seven documents from 1935 to 1955)
Paraíba (PB): 06 documents (02 documents of 1935, 1954 and 1955, respectively) Espírito Santo (ES): 01 document from 1935
Teacher public tender tests and student tests (45 documents from 1876 to 1979)
Sergipe (SE): 22 documents (from 1876 to 1953) Paraná (PR): 18 documents (from 1927 to 1979) Mato Grosso (MT): 02 documents (from 1969 and 1971) Minas Gerais (MG): 01 document from 1924 Rio de Janeiro (RJ): 01 document from 1951 Espírito Santo (ES):: 01 document from 1956
Other documents (eight documents from 1876 to 1985)
– Activities in single sheets, Zacaroni, Jr, 1 st series, 1985, PR. – Zacaroni Junior, Divaldo; Marina (1985); – Book of terms of exams final evaluation. Lyceu Goyano and Normal School, GO, 1915-1917 – Unknown author (1915); – Sergipe, Brazil, public tender's Female and Male opinion, 1876, SE. – Unknown author (1876);

- Education program for School Groups and Model-Schools, 1905, SP. – Almeida, J. Cardoso de (1905-04-24
- Program for primary studies exams, 1920, PA. – Unknown author (Typ. from the official press, 1920);
- Vacancies relation and suitable applicants for Primary Education Tender, 1878, SE. – Unknown author (1878).
- Manual Work Final Exams Results, 1923, SE. – Unknown author (1923-12);
- Public school exam terms, GO, 1906 – Unknown author (1906).

This collection establishment had begun in mid-2017 from the XV Thematic Seminar, which has indicated student's and teacher's school notebooks as research privileged sources. However, even in a small amount of time, we can notice a big mobilisation of GHEMAT's researchers and students, that have collected several documents that represent the inside of the school culture.

According to Chervel³³, every teaching has a didactic device that provides a classification, and a measurement, by means of some evaluation.

Les conditions de l'évaluation des élèves dans les internens ou externes ont engendré deux phénomènes qui pèsent sur le cours des disciplines enseignées. Le premier, c'est la spécialisation de certains exercices dans leur fonction d'exercices de contrôle. Le «Dictée d'orthographe» est le nombre, et doit sans doute son fils origine à cette fonction, même si utilisation dans les classes, au XIXe et au XXe siècle, sauf pour ce rôle. Le deuxième phénomène, c'est le poids considerable l'exercice final d'examen parfois sur le déroulement de la classe et sur le développement de la discipline, moins dans certaines formes³⁴.

Picture 2 displays a collection screen «Tests – Exams – Assessments», which presents images related to the found documents. Searching for them can occur by the document's date, authors, titles, and subject.

According to Costa and Valente «beyond a simple image repository, as it was already informed, each item is associated with metadata»³⁵. For instance, this collection's metadata are associated with: the author, student, professor, the test's owner, the exam, or evaluation; Title, which represents the subject, the author, the year (the date when the document was used) and, if the information exists, the Brazilian State where it was used; The ABNT, initials in Portuguese, (Brazilian Association of Technical Standards); The Keyword; The abstract and

³³ A. Chervel, *L'histoire des disciplines scolaires. Réflexions sur un domaine de recherche*, «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 38, 1988, pp. 59-119.

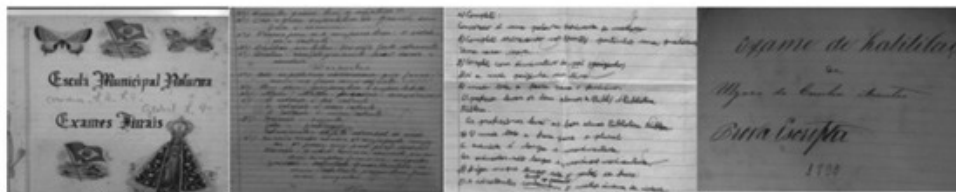
³⁴ «Students evaluation conditions, side on the internal or external, are involved in two phenomena which present the learning disciplines. The first one is the specialist on certain types of exercises in the control of it. The so-called on orthography «Dictée d'ortographe» is due to its original files on such function even though its use in classrooms on the XIX and XX centuries, except for its role. The second phenomena are the exercises considering the final ones sometimes on the development of the discipline itself being a means of certain approaches», *ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁵ D.A. Costa, W.R. Valente, *O Repositório de Conteúdo Digital nas pesquisas de História da educação matemática*, «RIDPHE – Revista Iberoamericana do Patrimônio Histórico-Educativo», 2015, p. 103.

Pic. 2. Collection screen «Tests – Exams – Assessments» (TN³⁶)

PROVAS - EXAMES - AVALIAÇÕES

Buscar nesta coleção:



Submissões recentes

<p>Exames de Admissão 1ª série, Colégio Estadual de São Paulo, 1969, SP. Autor desconhecido (1969)</p>
<p>Exames de Admissão 1ª série, Colégio Estadual de São Paulo, 1968, SP. Autor desconhecido (1968)</p>

Source: UFSC's Repository, <<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/179772>>.

description. It is necessary to have information that shows with details such as its number of pages, dimension, colours, until factors that describe the content, the instruction level it belonged to, among other characteristics that can help the researcher when using the document as a source, as in Picture 3.

The document insertion in the RCD must be made in a cautious way and must be rich in details to help the researcher. In the example of Figure 3, the description of the physical document belongs to a former 10-year-old student of the Escola Municipal Noturna, Edival Mendes Costa consists of a set of finals exams from 1962. In the description, it has cover details, «an A4 sheet with Immaculate Conception, butterflies, and Sugar Loaf Mountain stickers». These are details that the researcher will be able to notice when seeing the document, as shown in Picture 4.

Metadata are important aspects when characterizing a document when it is inserted in the RCD.

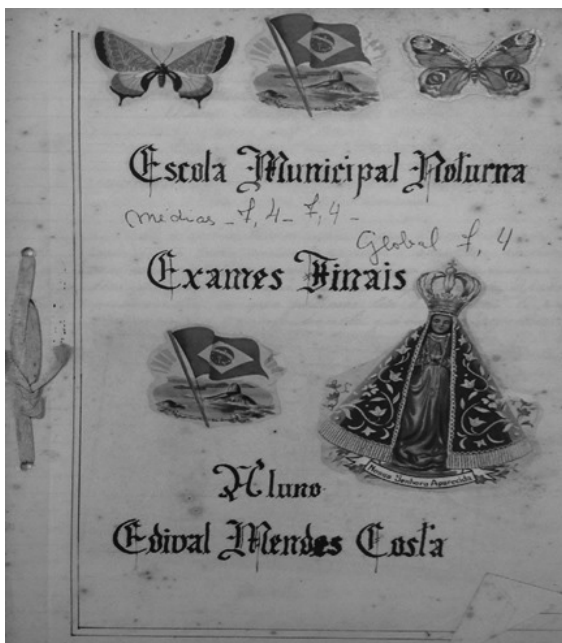
³⁶ Translator Note (TN): In dark blue bold colour, it is written: «Tests – Exams – Assessments»; Below it, «search in this collection», with the icon «go»; at the bottom of the page, also in dark blue bold colour, it is written «recent insertion» with two files. The first one – «Admission Exam for seven-years-old student, State College of São Paulo, 1969, SP» – «unknown author (1969)», The second one – «Admission Exam for seven-years-old student, State College of São Paulo, 1968, SP» – unknown author (1968).

Pic. 3. Collection metadata «Tests – Exams – Assessments»

Conjunto de Exames Finais, Costa, 1962, MT.		
Mostrar registro simples		
dc.contributor.author	COSTA, Edival Mendes	
dc.date.accessioned	2017-10-10T10:45:37Z	
dc.date.available	2017-10-10T10:45:37Z	
dc.date.issued	1962	
dc.identifier.citation	COSTA, E.M. Conjunto de exames finais, 4º ano, Escola Municipal Noturna. Aquidauna, MT, 1962	pt_BR
dc.identifier.uri	https://repositorio.ufsc.br/xmlui/handle/123456789/179955	
dc.description	Este conjunto de exames finais, de 1962, pertenceu ao ex-aluno do 4º ano da Escola Municipal Noturna, Edival Mendes Costa. Trata-se de um conjunto de folhas amarradas por uma fita. Na capa, uma folha A4 com adesivos da imagem de Nossa Senhora Aparecida, borboletas e do Pão de Açúcar, está escrito Exames Finais, além o nome da escola e do aluno. Ainda na capa estão registradas, com caneta esferográfica azul, duas médias e uma média global. Os exames estão distribuídos em 11 p. de papel almaço pautado, com dimensões 20 x 27,5 cm. Os enunciados das questões e respectivas resoluções foram escritos com caneta esferográfica azul. Neste repositório existem cadernos do mesmo aluno. Este conjunto de exames foi localizado pelo Grupo de Estudo e Pesquisa em História da Educação Matemática Escolar - GEPHEME, da Universidade Federal do Mato Grosso do Sul e cedido ao GHEMAT para digitalização.	pt_BR
dc.description.abstract	Contém exames finais de Português, Aritmética, História, Geografia e Ciências Naturais. O exame final de Aritmética versa sobre medidas agrárias, mínimo múltiplo comum, divisão decimal e área de trapézios.	pt_BR
dc.language.iso	pt_BR	pt_BR
dc.subject	Exames Finais	pt_BR
dc.subject	Medidas agrárias	pt_BR
dc.subject	Mínimo múltiplo comum	pt_BR
dc.subject	Cálculo de área	pt_BR
dc.subject	Aluno	pt_BR
dc.title	Conjunto de Exames Finais, Costa, 1962, MT.	pt_BR
dc.type	Other	pt_BR

Source: UFSC's Repository, <<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/179955?show=full>>.

Pic. 4. Final Exams Cover by Edival Mendes Costa (1962)



Source: COSTA, 1962, UFSC's Repository, <<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/handle/123456789/179955>>.

The digital document (item) is only identified if its metadata are correctly associated. Unlike a book that we can always turn the page, a digital item can only be accessed in the Repository by using precise metadata information. This is only possible because of the well-developed metadata's descriptions made by GHEMAT's researchers when they included the documents in the *Repository* database³⁷.

When inserted in the RCD, the document's status modifies from a simple document to a research source. «The inserted item, along with its RCD's metadata, is not only a «final product» of a certain research but an initial element for other researches»³⁸. We now show the presented conference papers at the XVI Thematic Seminar: Tests and Exams and mathematics education writing history, which have mobilised the documents used in this collection.

The XVI Thematic Seminar had, as its main theme, researches about works concerning mathematics text and exams to write the HEM. However, the event had also welcomed other documents, like books and school materials, pedagogical journals, school notebooks, official documents, oral testimony, among others. In this event, there were 60 scientific papers: 24 concerning documents from the «Tests – Exams – Assessments» collection, and 36 about legislative documents, teaching programs, pedagogical journals, textbooks, manuals and school notebooks³⁹.

Our focus was directed to the documents of the «Tests – Exams – Assessments» collection. Many of these, were observed as official documents, legislation, teaching programs, textbooks, among others, to confront what was being requested on tests, exams, and assessments.

According to Veyne⁴⁰, «every history is a compared history», in other words, to relate the differences and similarities; make analogies to explain and create sense to an event, and the gaps related to the own document's event; contextualise and interact with the sources. The author mentions Max Weber book (*La Cité*), which surpasses the traditional and sociological history barriers and gives importance to the compared history. It suppresses the space-time singularity and tries not to establish laws. Weber gathers and classifies the particularities of a single event throughout the centuries and makes a real compared history.

By the conducted survey, it was observed that 13 conference papers, which used documents like tests, exams, and assessments, from both teacher and

³⁷ Costa, Valente, *O Repositório de Conteúdo Digital nas pesquisas de História da educação matemática*, cit., p. 103.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁹ The scientific communication completed works can be found at: <<http://xviseminariotematico.paginas.ufsc.br/comunicacoes-cientificas-do-dia-1104/>> (last access: 12.05.2018) and <<http://xviseminariotematico.paginas.ufsc.br/comunicacoes-cientificas-do-dia-1304/>> (last access: 12.05.2018).

⁴⁰ P.M. Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire. Foucault révolutionne l'histoire*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1971.

students, were directed to student's test and assessments, and 10 to public tender and teacher's admission programs. And one conference paper, Santos and Rios⁴¹, that has carried out an inventory about mathematics elementary knowledge in admission exams at Gymnasio Pelotense, Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Brazil, from 1925 to 1929. The authors have identified about 210 documents.

We have selected Silva's paper, named «childhood *Souvenir*: Mathematics tests in primary teaching at Espírito Santo, Brazil»⁴², since it illustrates how the documents, like exams, tests, and assessments, are used to study the school culture history and, mainly, for HEM investigations. The author's goal was to reply the following question: how were mathematics test practices carried out at a specific primary school in Espírito Santo at the end of the 1950s? To answer it, she used assessments of the student Átila dos Santos when he was at his primary studies at the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, in the state of Espírito Santo (ES), Brazil.

Átila's mathematics tests are primary sources: 26 handwriting pages that have final and partial tests, which took place in the period from 1956 up to 1961, from his primary education, identified, and had the author's detailed data, the school, the level of schooling, the student classification, teacher's name, student's age, corrections, and grades. These elements «provide a reading possibility of mathematics assessment practices and highlight a control over the knowledge taught at a rural school in the 1950s, in Espírito Santo»⁴³.

The primary education context, according to a survey from 1950, in the State of Espírito Santo (ES), showed that 79.2% of the population lived in rural areas. The teaching Program of Arithmetic and Geometry, used as a reference, was from 1936 in the state. Nonetheless, Silva checked other documents in order to make a comparative history. «It was tests made by Lauro Rodrigues in the State of Paraná, Brazil, which are also identified with the school name, place and test date, and student name»⁴⁴.

The author concludes that the assessments followed the Teaching Program guidance, including activities related to all content specified for the primary education, both for arithmetic and geometric matters. By comparing Átila's and Lauro's test, even from different states, it is possible to notice a regularity of content and activities that were required in each state's program⁴⁵.

⁴¹ M.S. Santos, D.F. Rios, *Construção de um inventário dos saberes elementares de matemática nos exams de admissão no Gymnasio Pelotense: pontos das tests de aritmética, desenho, geometria na década de 1920* (paper presented at XVI Seminário Temático: *Provas e Exames e a escrita da história da educação matemática*, Boa Vista, Roraima, Brazil, April 11-13, 2018), pp. 1-14.

⁴² C.M.S. Silva, *Souvenir de infância: testes de matemática do ensino primário no Espírito Santo* (paper presented at XVI Seminário Temático: *Provas e Exames e a escrita da história da educação matemática*, Boa Vista, Roraima, Brazil, April 11-13, 2018), 1-15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

We highlight that the sources, like tests, exams, and assessments, are important to write a history, in this case, the History of Mathematics Education. However, it needs to be contextualised and compared. There is the need to compare these documents with what is requested (laws, decrees, programs and teaching statute), with what textbooks and pedagogical materials disseminate, and with pedagogical practice left on both student and teacher's documents.

3. *Considerations*

The current article tried to answer the following questions: Which mobilisations are being performed on tests, exams, and assessments so there may be a writing on the History of Mathematics Education in Brazil? Which role should these documents take place in researches? We have observed that it is necessary to compare three documents (tests, exams, and assessments) to the other documents and materials of the time, contextualizing and comparing them to build meaning.

The tests, exams, and assessments are considered privileged sources in HEM researches because they reflect a knowledge from a specific time, and from different school cultures when critically questioned in the research. Nonetheless, such document's preservation is little, and, as we have seen it, it is necessary a big mobilisation to find these documents, which are dispersed in personal files and rarely in school collections.

These documents create possibilities of investigations, they made it possible for the researcher to access the interior of the «black box», the everyday school routine and the educational reform. It allows the analyses of materials selected by the teachers during their pedagogical practice, and which of them are more significant; by reading problem's questions, we are capable to identify the school routine of a certain time; and the tests, exercises and school works made by the students allow a school development analyses at different times, at a specific school subject. By accessing these documents, new research matters arise, and the investigations about pedagogical processes goals and purposes are enhanced, in particular, related to mathematical knowledge.

The house and the forest in the fairy tales as educational spaces. The case of the picture book *C'era una volta una bambina*

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ABSTRACT: The fairytale, since ancient times, has succeeded in capturing the imagination of human beings everywhere in the world. Its fascination still reaches us through rewritings, constant contamination with different media, from orality to writing, from cinema to theatre, from advertising to animation. This article aims to draw attention on two fairytale spaces of excellence: the house and the forest, highlighting their value as spaces where education takes place. On this subject, we analyze the particular case of the picture book *C'era una volta una bambina* (Topipittori) by Giovanna Zoboli and Joanna Concejo. In this book, the house, a private space in which to grow, becomes a symbol of the female dimension from which the story begins, unfolding through the adventurous and unknown paths of the forest. The house is that nest which was so important in 19th century children's literature, a place of salvation and protection. It is not always a safe place in the fairy tales and in this version of Little Red Riding Hood it even becomes a prison, which prevents a free and educational space, but, luckily, there are the forest and the wolves.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; Picture book; Media; Italy; XIXth Century.

1. *Fairy tales and education: the narrative force of the fairy tale*

The reading of a fairytale, from the point of view of the science of education, must introduce a specific way of proceeding and qualifying, as in the case of literary, anthropological or psychological interpretations. Such an approach must certainly not ignore other interpretative perspectives, but must be able to outline a specific and particular path, without ever forgetting that the educational value of the fairy tale lies not so much in what it tells as in its narrative quality.

If the educational value of the fairytale is circumscribed to its contents, beyond its symbols and archetypes, behaviors and situations described would end up being incompatible with modern life and values. By harmonizing symbols, structures and narration, the fairytale is an irreplaceable tool for growth and acquisition of individual and cultural identity. As in the myth, this genre is mainly seen as an allusive, metaphorical or figurative device, through which a single story is told, that is, in other words, the flow of existence, in order to stimulate in the listener or in whoever reads it, a process of detachment from the existing data.

Through this process of exiting from oneself and from the space and time of one's singular story, the reader or listener manages to reach, if only intuitively and emotionally at the beginning, a further existential dimension that is qualitatively different from the dimensions into which one is usually immersed every day. And because a fairy tale summarizes and presents with freshness and evidence the story of the human being in general, it is addressed to everyone without distinction.

Thus, emerge the characters of «universalness», of «processuality», of «alterity», of «dialogue» that accompany and found the conceptual construct itself of education, which begins with a given fact to overcome, improve and enrich, since it is an ongoing project, an open and endless process. However, education cannot be considered as such if this open and continuous process is not qualified as both *word* and *story*: an experience that can be shared, bringing together and transforming, reciprocally, those who tell the story of the process.

The fairy tale is mostly *words*, and a *story*¹; it is a popular oral tale used by both literate and illiterate people through which they express their way of interpreting nature and social order, as well as their desire to satisfy their needs and dreams. This forwarding of knowledge, made so necessary to remember events and transmit them, has ensured continuity between generations by giving power and identity to the conveyer. The singularity of the fairy tale text is therefore its origin linked to speech, to orality. The story is identifiable not through its faithfulness to the original, but through its recognition by a community as a part of their heritage of tales.

Over the course of the various historical periods, the fairy tale has been gradually transformed from a popular oral narrative to a literary written tale that has progressively passed into childhood since the seventeenth century. The transformation process that the fairy tale experienced, from the moment of its “fall” towards childhood onwards, took a significant turn as the influence of pedagogy became stronger and the transcription of oral narratives began. Especially in the nineteenth century the grown-up's attention turned to the child and the pre-adolescent, who became recipients of moral recommendations.

¹ Cf. F. Cambi, *Struttura e funzione della fiaba*, in Id. (ed.), *Itinerari nella fiaba. Autori, testi, figure*, Pisa, ETS, 1999, pp. 15-26.

It is in this context that, not surprisingly, transcriptions and reinventions of fairy tales and fables with clear didactic intentions spread, and these were responsible for the transformation of the original material, now adapted to meet moral and literary needs. The adult-child bond, which was established in the traditional narratives, is weakened. The problems of self-affirmation, security, conflict, abandonment, competition, friendship, love, hatred, death, authentic existential problems experienced at all ages, no longer find room in the fairy tale produced specifically 'for children', narrations sweetened and deprived of all that is considered cruel and brutal. It would seem therefore confirmed, even in migrating from one historical period to another, that the feature of the fairy tale is bound to the storytelling and to a special way of forwarding the stories orally. Not surprisingly, the Grimm brothers, whose philological work represents the beginning of research on popular storytelling, and particularly on fairy tales, have focussed their attention specifically on the orally transmitted narrations. According to the theories of their time, they are based on the idea that every person has its individual soul which is expressed to the utmost degree through language and poetry, songs and stories. From this point of view, fairy tales are nothing more than remainders, vestiges to return to concepts already mentioned, belonging to the ancestral unified culture of the people after it has, in the course of time, partly lost its own soul. The purpose of the Grimm Brothers is to define the fairy tales collected as «fragments of a precious stone», in other words, they are the traces of pagan, Germanic and mythological tales about the origin and order of the world. According to tradition, and according to what they themselves state in the foreword to *The Children's and Household Tales*, the Grimm Brothers collected these stories from the ordinary rural population; indeed, research has shown that the two scholars wrote down their stories directly in their upper-class environment, partly by correspondence, from other bourgeois sources as well. From the perspective of interpretation, it is also important to consider the fact that the Grimm Brothers did not literally transcribe their fairy tales, according to the rules of modern research, but gave them their own tone and style, in some cases integrating them with motifs taken from other fairy tales to create a beautiful story. They also created the ideal reading from the various versions they knew. The relics are accumulated and the traces of different narratives intertwined and so the fairy tale became a genre as it migrated from one place to another, from one society to another, from one culture to another, from one historical period to another.

The fairy tale is a find, according to Milena Bernardi², because it is made up of many other parallel stories that have already been told before and beside it and that have yet to be told. «Surfaces speak, they tell stories; indeed, it is through them – a sudden roughness or the invisible pore of a larva – that things express themselves in their own language, that ...'returns to us charged with

² M. Bernardi, *Infanzia e fiaba*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2007.

all the human aspects that we have invested in things'»³. To be able to access the fairy tale forest and identify its essence as a genre, it is therefore necessary to carefully observe its surface in order to recognise and reveal the specimens that lurk in it, those interwoven stories, the bonds between stories that repeat themselves over time, which persist as «memes»⁴ revived in endless ways. It is necessary to follow paths that lead to the very roots of fairy tales through an analytical and regressive method that starts from what we see a posteriori to reveal those stories as evidence of greater stories. These stories are part of more narrative contexts giving us the remnants of meaning, compelling us to work in a regressive and retrospective way. The fairy tale will then prove to be, on the one hand, a story defined by an internal system of rules of interweaving wisely described and deciphered, on the other hand, a set of findings to which we can try to attribute a past thanks to the references and similarities; the connections that the fairy tale establishes with History and with the stories. The fairy tale, like the myth, is a heritage of stories that is part, by its roots and reinterpretations, of the deepest and most unconscious legacy of humanity and that is why it continues to maintain its charm with the passage of centuries

³ M. Lavagetto, *Dovuto a Calvino*, Turin, Bollati-Boringhieri, 2001, p. 118.

⁴ In *The Irresistible Fairy Tale. The Cultural and Social History of a Genre*, Jack Zipes, addressing the theme of the origin of the fairy tale, compares this narrative form to a «biological species» which, starting from its diffusion in the oral tradition, is nourished in different historical periods through press and new social and technological forms of transmission up to contemporary art rewritings which he defines as «collision fairy tales». According to the American scholar, who for this reason explicitly refers to the studies of memetics by Richard Dawkins (see R. Dawkins, *Il gene egoista. La parte immortale di ogni essere vivente*, tr. it., Milan, Mondadori, 1995), the fairy tale is an emblematic case of «cultural replication». The «meme» is constituted by a unit of cultural transmission, as are the melody, the ideas, the sentences, the fashions, and just as the genes spread in the genetic pool from one body to another through spermatozoa and egg cells, so does the meme, from brain to brain, through a process that Dawkins defines as a sort of imitation. When compared to fairy tales, the concept of «meme» helps to build traditions by creating heritage of stories based on human communication of shared experiences. The relevance of memetic tales, which propose actions related to social and biological practices, such as procreation, abandonment, hunting, sowing, etc., is a cultural sign indicating what men and women have tried to communicate through the ages in order to help each other in adapting to a changing environment. The souls of human beings have identified which fairy tales are more interesting than others, keeping in mind the most relevant ones in order to return to recount and recreate them, thus the memetic crystallization of some fairy tales that have become classic will not make them static, since they are constantly re-created and reformed! The fairy tale, from the oral tradition in which it originates, produces various and distinct actions using other media such as printing, electronics, drawing, photography and digital technology, to create other worlds, keep them separate from our real world so that we can understand it and understand ourselves at the same time. According to Zipes' interpretation, therefore, the literary fairy tale derives from the oral narratives that later became conventional and codified within a community of speakers who appropriated them in their own interest, to give voice to desires, to explore the social components of the communities themselves, to represent the different instances of civilization through symbols and metaphors. For this reason, the fairy tale as «meme» is interested in its own perpetuation, will adapt to changes and social conflicts and become «irresistible».

and millennia. Jack Zipes, in his recent work⁵, assigns to the fairy tale traits of “irresistibility” determined by that aspect of fascination that indissolubly binds the fairy tale to the history of humanity. The fairy tale genre is mainly configured as an allusive, metaphorical tool, through which a single story is told, that is the flow of existence, to encourage, in both the listener and the reader, not an imitation of the events described, but a path of estrangement from the given contingent: an exit from oneself, from space and time of one’s own unique story, thanks to which the reader or the listener can live other stories, other existential dimensions further and qualitatively different from the one in which it is immersed every day.

Although its transcription has erased the vocal modulations, the mimicry, and the gestures of the oral story, the fairy tale maintains its own profound orality through which it binds to the beginnings of the narrative: «In the fairy tale we speak a simple language but one with a high metaphorical content, interrupted by frequent appeals to listen and rich in images where words are a viaticum towards another reality: one that allows us to write destinies, to make utopian journeys and to meet better worlds»⁶.

This narrative game is expressed through the narrating voice; it is in fact in the link between fairy tale and narration, between fairy tale and voice that we identify another central aspect of its “irresistibility”, its charm and its immortality, an aspect that is closely linked to the need for stories that humanity has always manifested. The story, the narration, have belonged to mankind since the very beginning. Every day, each of us tells something to someone else and, in turn, we listen to the stories that others tell us in a continuous interpersonal exchange. Humanity has portrayed through the narration of its being in the world, its need to relate to others and to envisage worlds that are not yet there and perhaps never will be, but that are still thinkable and necessary for the creation of its own being. In storytelling, we transmit information, knowledge, worldviews, emotions, which demonstrates the intrinsically formative value of reading and listening storytelling. Jerome Bruner⁷ affirms that what happens is always expressed by human beings in the form of a story, so that our life and our own identity take shape and consistency within a narrative structure. The need for stories is essential for the individual, it is what characterizes us as human beings. We all need to re-elaborate the experience lived in the form of history, which implies the ability to give order to what is happening, to preserve the memory, to create a sense of belonging. The stories, thanks to their structure made of a beginning, a central part and an end, help to put together the fragments of our experience with that of those who preceded us

⁵ J. Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale. The Cultural and Social History of a Genre*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2012.

⁶ E. Beseghi (ed.), *Infanzia e racconto. Il libro, le figure, la voce, lo sguardo*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2003, p. 37.

⁷ J. Bruner, *La cultura dell'educazione*, tr. it., Milan, Feltrinelli, 1997.

and related it to us. The sound of the narrating voice, although it historically passed through areas of forgetfulness, with a progressive transformation of places, themes and ways, has finally reached childhood and found its place in those moments of proximity between adult and child framed by the story and the flow of narration. It is therefore childhood that, until today, has kept alive fragments of oral narrative in family rituals and in the gatherings of educational communities⁸. This need to continue to set up, even if in different places and in different ways, a 'narrating' relationship goes hand in hand with that need for stories, with that narrative desire to which we referred. Fairy tales have always woven the universal aspects of humankind's existence in the world, and its relationship with life and death. They involve those who listen to them, they involve them in a liminal dimension, at the threshold of those wonderful territories where anything can happen. The urge for marvel, the need for fairy tales and illusion coexist with the desire to listen and read stories that take place elsewhere. We know that they are not true but they are nevertheless accepted and experienced as absolutely true in the space of the story. In such a way, still through metaphor, the fairy tale allows to say the unspeakable, to put on stage what otherwise would not be possible to tell: death, taboos, social and religious prohibitions. The story becomes the land of the 'as if' allowing us to welcome secrets, darkness, digressiveness, sorrow and through this journey into the unlikely and the unspeakable, the subject accesses new forms of self-knowledge coming from a personal world with its own emotional experience. Between the fairy tale and the voice of the narrator lies a central aspect of a charm, connected to the need for stories that humanity has always manifested. In narrating its being in the world, humanity has represented its own need to relate to others and to envisage worlds that are not yet there and perhaps never will be there, but that are still thinkable and necessary for the construction of identity. Being takes shape and consistency within the narrative structure⁹. «I am my own story» is the quote from a character in a famous Wim Wenders movie¹⁰ that masterfully synthesizes the sense of narration. Fairy tales have always woven the universal aspects of being in the world, of its relationship with life and death, and they involve those who listen to them, engaging them in a liminal dimension in an area of transition¹¹, in those lands of wonder where everything is creatively possible.

Weaving stories, the game between narrator and listener, this is what the close link between fairy tale and narration, determines. This is what makes the fairy tale an infinite, mobile, protean tale that no one can really take possession of, but that everyone can revive by becoming a *lector in fabula* building other

⁸ Cf. Bernardi, *Infanzia e fiaba*, cit.

⁹ Cf. Bruner, *La cultura dell'educazione*, cit.

¹⁰ W. Wenders, *Nel corso del tempo*, West Germany, Wim Wenders Film Produktion, 1976.

¹¹ Cf. D.W. Winnicott, *Gioco e realtà* (1971), tr. it., Rome, Armando, 1974.

oral or written narratives, full of new implications: «[...] the agreement of reading, or listening, created from the very first word, is extremely powerful and the reader's abandonment, not only to what is told to him, but also to the magical power of the silent voice seems unconditional and total»¹². Over time, childhood becomes the ultimate listener-reader of the fairy tale. The process of transformation to which the fairy tale has gone from the moment of its 'fall' into childhood has undergone a significant change since the influence of pedagogy has become stronger and the transcription of oral narratives started. From the seventeenth century, with the birth of the bourgeois family, the child gradually differs from the adult until becoming an objective of interest and therefore the recipient of educational concerns and close protection. The fairy tale follows this passage and goes through transformations that identify the progressive fracture between the world of adults and the world of children of which we feel the essential foreignness. This is the hypothesis suggested by Dieter Richter that the fascination that high culture feels, at a certain point in history, with popular culture is the result of a feeling of foreignness. This also involves children which are perceived as incomprehensible beings and, therefore, subject to being educated, idealised and at the same time controlled¹³. Richter also points out that «just like the 'people' and 'children', 'their' poetry is likewise the result of a cultural split»¹⁴. The fairy tale is considered silly, it is mocked by cultured people who therefore places people, childhood and fairy tales on the lowest cultural step. However, it recognizes its cultural position and gives a high value back to the fairy tale precisely in its delivery to childhood by the book, thus safeguarding, under bourgeois control, the survival of the fairy tale itself. Milena Bernardi invites us to observe the nature of the relationship between childhood and fairy tale from this point of view because it allows us to interpret the variations of the fairy tale text by crossing them with the social transformations taking place. «Childhood receives the fairy tale [...] like a scrap but with the subtle recommendation not to throw it away, to hold it in the basket of toys, in the shelf of the most cherished books, where even adults will be able to find it thanks to the saving and indulgent mediation of children»¹⁵. As if adults wished tying the threads of a connection with a childhood past «by means of fairy tales, "magic means" that are passed on from one childhood to another»¹⁶.

¹² Lavagetto, *Dovuto a Calvino*, cit., pp. 58-59.

¹³ Cf. D. Richter, *Il bambino estraneo. La nascita dell'immagine dell'infanzia nel mondo borghese*, tr. it., Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1992.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁵ Bernardi, *Infanzia e faba*, cit., p. 175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

2. *The house and the forest*

The domestic space sets up a very close bond with the childhood education. It becomes the place of initiation into life. As Maria Montessori reminds us, the family home is «the social environment of individuals in the process of being educated», it is the «essential instrument of civil progress»¹⁷. The house and the family thus identify themselves from a terminological and conceptual point of view and this combination includes childhood. As a matter of fact, childhood becomes a new subject both for society and for the family. For it, new educational institutions develop and the house becomes the intimate place where to devote oneself to the care of children, their growth, education and upbringing.

The house, a privileged background on which family structures are redefined, is the main character and witness of the definitive passage from the patriarchal family to the intimate marital family. As a result, during the nineteenth century, the house and the family became a space for investigations, projects and pedagogical, social and therefore political theories, and the boys and girls, who grow up in that house and in that family and who represent the future and the projection outside that context, are the social beings by definition. That is why many children's literature has set and still sets its stories within the family walls, in order to give those stories a place that is meaningful in the circumstances experienced by the characters. «It is indeed important to note that, among the first to realize the pedagogical value of the domestic set and the importance of describing the degree of influence it exerts on the psychological, moral and physical life of humans being educated, were the great authors for children and young people of the nineteenth century»¹⁸.

In this literature, we find many young protagonists, yet few of them have a regular and satisfactory domestic life. Many, at the beginning, have no house (for instance, Rémi of the novel by Hector Malot, *Sans Famille*) and if they do have one, it is an inhospitable and imprisoning house, from which, one can only run away or a paradise from which wicked villains subtract them. Their stories thus become a long journey to seek or regain a new home, which is a symbol of normality, quietness and wellbeing, in the name of all that in the 19th century meant *family* or something that could reproduce its values and behaviour. The house is the main metaphor in children's literature and the theoretical debate about its representations and interpretations emphasizes how the representation of the house is usually defined as an ambivalence alternating

¹⁷ M. Montessori, *Discorso inaugurale in occasione dell'apertura di una Casa dei bambini nel 1907*, in Id., *La scoperta del bambino*, Milan, Garzanti, 2014, p. 369.

¹⁸ L. Cantatore, *Parva sed apta mihi, Studi sul paesaggio domestico nella letteratura per l'infanzia del XIX secolo*, Pisa, ETS, 2015, p. 38. About the house, see also, edited by the same author, *Ottocento tra casa e scuola. Luoghi, oggetti, scene della letteratura per l'infanzia*, Milan, Unicopli, 2013.

between the idea of the house as a nest, a protected space by definition, and the opposing one which describes it as an inhospitable and repulsive place, a prison-house. The double representation of the domestic image that we have found in children's literature between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is also partly revealed in the fairy tale. The house here is not a safe and protective place: just think of *Hansel and Gretel's* marzipan house or Baba Yaga's house on chicken's feet, or of all the houses inhabited by orcs and orcasers, but also of those that have become hostile to the hero or heroine of the story and must be left behind in order to undertake their journey. The house of origin of the protagonists is not described, it is that from which we start, from which we set out, driven by the need, felt or imposed, to leave, to undertake the journey. There are instead well represented the *other* houses: that of the seven dwarfs, the ogre, the witch, mysterious, bewitched, evil houses that present themselves as an indispensable stage of initiation and knowledge. Threshold houses, at the edge of the forest, such as the house of the grandmother of Little Red Riding Hood. Or in the thick of the forest, such as the house of the witch of *Hansel and Gretel* or of the Baba Yaga. The house is a place that excludes, destroys and must be abandoned, but it is also the place to return. As a result, also in fairy tales, the house keeps the double matrix of hostile place and shelter, that is, of landing and new birth.

On its opposite, or perhaps in continuity with it (Propp's hut in the forest for Propp¹⁹, the marzipan house, the grandmother's house of Little Red Riding Hood), the forest, the forest that establish a border, an outside, an otherness with respect to the inhabited world, opposing the inside of the houses that holds us and assures us so much. Whoever enters this field, writes Robert Harrison, experiences a «loss of temporal boundaries» which determines the state of confusion of the traveler lost in open spaces and dilated times, in contrast to the closure, protection and convention to which the inhabitants of urban areas and the 'village' are accustomed²⁰. Since man has crossed the threshold of civilization, the forest, a space at the margin, has defined the limits of the world as *civil* and of the institutions. It has decisively influenced the imagination of human beings. From the world of myths, fairy tales, popular legends and masterpieces of the great geniuses of culture emerges the depth and tenacity of a bond which has never been interrupted between civilization and the forest. In the history of Western culture, forests represent a remote and dark sphere where paradox reigns: it is in them that civilized man has always projected his secret anxieties, while forests have been the place to shelter in a sacredness which was believed as lost²¹. Forests represent the mediation space between humans

¹⁹ Cf. V. Ja. Propp, *Le radici storiche dei racconti di fate* (1946), tr. it., Turin, Bollati-Boringhieri, 1985.

²⁰ Cf. R.P. Harrison, *Foreste: l'ombra della civiltà*, tr. it., Milan, Garzanti, 1992.

²¹ Cf., M. Rocca Longo, *Dai boschi narrativi ai boschi della narrativa, ovvero, quanti alberi ci vogliono per are un bosco?*, in G. Liebman Parrinello, *Il bosco nella cultura europea tra realtà*

and nature, as well as the 'boundary' where the abandoned children are placed by destitute parents or cruel stepmothers, who are later rescued by mediation elements; talking animals, dwarves, elves and semi-human beings. In the fairy tale forest there is a fascinating territory of opposition. There is always a danger of getting lost by losing oneself in it but, at the same time, one travels through it to rediscover oneself and determine one's identity. An example of this are the Grimm brothers' fairy tales in which the image of the forests prevails. Places where the characters get lost, meet extraordinary creatures, undergo spells and transformations, and are placed in front of their destinies. Children inevitably 'grow up' during their forest adventures. Sometimes forests become places of the wrongdoing, as in the Grimmian version of Little Red Riding Hood's fairy tale where the heroine, right in the forest, learns the lesson.

3. C'era una volta una bambina: *a rewriting of Little Red Riding Hood between the household and the forest*

Fairy tales, far from being anchored in the regret of a mythical past, always open new scenarios for the future by referring to the plurality of points of view, to the possibility, to what is not but that one day could be. The utopian and transformative qualities of the fairy tale unite young and adult readers, making the fairy tale and its rewritings real *crossover* stories. The fairy tale of *Little Red Riding Hood* is undoubtedly one of them with its staging of a child struggling with the problems of growth such as sexuality, violence, death, universal themes that speak to an audience of adults and children. Indeed, the contemporary rewriting of this fairy tale is no coincidence, as Sandra Beckett reminds us²², appeals to audiences of all ages. Some of the intertextual references that some rewritings propose, may be problematic for young readers whose literary competence is still limited, but the fairy tale matrix is so famous that children are equally able to decode even sophisticated allusions of such a familiar tale. *Little Red Riding Hood* allows authors and illustrators to explore very complex issues in books for all ages. The stratification of meanings in this short story turns it into a perfect subject for a varied audience of readers. Some of the best modern rewritings of this classic fairy tale, precisely because of its layered and multifaceted dimension, maintain the depth and sophistication of the meanings at different levels in the original story. They continue to attract readers of all ages and explore aspects of the fairy tale that have been overlooked or neglected, even by taking over the motifs, models and archaisms of the lesser-known oral

e immaginario, Rome, Bulzoni Editore, 2002.

²² Cf. S.L. Beckett, *Red Riding Hood for All Ages. A Fairy-Tale Icon in Cross-Cultural Contexts*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2008.

versions. The result is a complex sedimentation of versions that must be read in the context of the long tradition of *Little Red Riding Hood*. Often open texts that present different levels of reading give rise to multiple interpretations forcing adults and children to a constant dialogue with the traditional classic story.

Among the contemporary rewritings of this well-known fairy tale, special attention deserves the picture book *C'era una volta una bambina*. The text by Giovanna Zoboli is based on the illustrations by Joanna Concejo in a book that, according to the publisher's project, was intended to present a rewriting of the fairy tale of *Little Red Riding Hood* in Grimm's version.

I looked at his plates and thought that they should be related to a story that resembled only that of the Grimm brothers, but it wasn't exactly that. Elements from other versions of the fairy tale were included. I was very interested in those images, which I found dramatic, mysterious and wild; by using them, I wanted to understand what story Joanna was telling. So I looked at them for a while, until one day I started writing. I never thought I would rewrite *Little Red Riding Hood*, until I started to do so. Which I did because I understood that it was only through writing that I would focus on the story of those images²³.

The writing of *Once Upon a Time There was a Child*, continues Giovanna Zoboli, was long because the images, being so unsettling and full of meaning, needed time to be clearly understood. Not to mention the inevitable confrontation with the tradition of *Little Red Riding Hood* and its numerous rewritings. Decisive in overcoming the impasse, according to the author of the written text, was to realize that in the tables of Concejo, in addition to the wolf and the girl, the hunter and her grandmother, there were two other characters, not instantly noticeable although always there on display before the eyes of the beholder. A sort of hidden power, which little by little discloses its nature and its role in determining the narrative and symbolic plot of the story. Two characters, the real perpetrators of the crime that will take place at the end, hidden behind the words and gestures of the characters in the foreground.

That was when I realized that the ambiguity of Joanna's images had to do with them, an unspoken presence that weighed on the explicit part of the story, conditioning its course. Then I thought about it, and realized that this situation of ambiguity, is actually intrinsic to the story of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and is probably one of the factors that have determined its success, over time: the reason why the story remains unresolved, always open, regardless of the fact that at each time it ends, leaving the possibility of processing it into new plots²⁴.

Also in this case, as is the case in the illustrated quality books, the images reveal the most hidden parts of the story and highlight the darkest corners,

²³ G. Zoboli, Presentation for *C'era una volta una bambina*, <<http://topipittori.blogspot.it/2015/02/cera-una-volta-una-bambina.html>> (last access: 26.04.2019).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

revealing the deepest meanings and leading the observer by hand towards a new interpretation of the story, perhaps the most genuine.

In this book, the story refers immediately, criticizing it, to its emphasis on the warning tale that Little Red Riding Hood's fairy tale has taken on over the centuries and, above all, to the trivialized use made of it sometimes, reducing it to a simple tale to teach girls not to talk to strangers. In doing so, however, the aspects of yearning for autonomy, curiosity, playing, being attracted by the unknown, by beauty, by death, by others, which are fundamental steps in the process of growth, have also been given a negative character. And so here is the story of the «be careful» that mothers have long told their daughters.

Once upon a time there was a little girl.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl and a house.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl, a house and a mother.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl, a house, a mother and a grandmother.
 Once upon a time there was a forest.
 Once upon a time there was a wolf.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl like any other.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl who was quick, aware, brave.
 Once upon a time there was a little girl.
 But no one told. No one knew²⁵.

After the looks and the opening table that reproduce the forest, the image that flanks the beginning of the story shows the little girl, small and dressed in red, who stands right on the threshold, at the edge of the forest, huge behind her, ready to go. She is a «quick, aware, brave» child. Not at all like the naive figure of the classic fairy tale. But adults don't know that, no one knew.

Instead, they knew
 beware of strangers,
 be careful not to fall,
 Watch out for yourself.
 They only knew beware,
 Watch out for yourself.

They knew that little girls at some point.
 They knew that girls at some point grow up.
 They knew that girls at some point grow up and leave.
 They knew that girls²⁶.

²⁵ G. Zoboli, J. Concejo, *C'era una volta una bambina*, Milan, Topipittori, 2015, without page indication (own translation).

²⁶ *Ibid.* (own translation).

And so the child stayed at home and grew up «alone and aware», the adventure of the forest is forbidden to her and so growth is denied. The house is also the first of the two perpetrators of the crime, it being the first out of the two hidden presences. The house, the mother and the grandmother are symbols of the feminine dimension from the very beginning. The house, therefore, is the private space in which to grow up; it is, historically, the place where for centuries the personality of children has been formed and continues to be formed, even before school.

The house is a beginning and an initiation. For almost everyone, that space revolves around the maternal figure. In this space one leaves after having been expelled, uprooted from the womb of the mother [...] like a passage from a small womb to a larger womb, from the mother to the environment. [...] the first concepts that we usually associate with the idea of home are precisely those of intimacy and care, inherited directly from the physical characteristic of the mother's womb and radiated at home by the mother-son/daughter relationship²⁷.

However, the house is also a female competence space, a place for learning and exercising one's tasks. For a long time it was almost impossible for young women to plan their future lives differently from what was required of them by the dominant patriarchal ideology. Educated to be subordinate to men, they received an education aimed at the economy and domestic care in view of their destiny as wives and mothers. The imagination of girls and adolescents thus narrowed down within these fixed paths and tended to be formed through the proposal of stereotypical models and roles. The girls are given an elementary education, according to what Simonetta Ulivieri calls «pedagogy as an ornament»²⁸, usually within the home, with the help of a governess and, later, higher education in public schools that the State has organized for them, in order to avoid both sexual and social promiscuity.

Now the girl is in the woods, dressed in red and with the basket on her arm. The reader knows why she is there, she is obeying her mother, she is going to her grandmother following the path traced out in the woods. A path that has always been followed by little girls dressed in red who must be careful and never leave the streets of a marked destiny. Luce Irigaray taught that the male order was founded on female mutism and on the removal of its generative power, not biological but symbolic. The pervasiveness of the male discourse on the world is such as to prevent women from thinking about themselves and therefore from relating to themselves and to others in an autonomous way and conscious of their own diversity. The mother and grandmother in this book, seem to perpetrate this removal and that speech: they offer the child nothing more than the path traced²⁹. And this is what is expected of her, that she walks along the

²⁷ Cantatore, *Parva sed apta mihi*, cit., pp. 30-31 (own translation).

²⁸ Cf. S. Ulivieri, *Educare al femminile*, Pisa, ETS, 1995.

²⁹ For further information see L. Irigaray, *Speculum. L'altra donna* (1974), tr. it., Milan, Feltrinelli, 1993.

road, that she is alert, that she does not break the rules because the violation of the law is a dangerous event that harbors very serious consequences. But the forest is beautiful, the forest breathes:

The forest didn't say careful.
 The forest didn't say anything but girls.
 The forest said listen.
 It said stay.
 It said come closer,
 It said silence the forest.
 Listen to me³⁰.

This is the second hidden character or the second-principal perpetrator, the forest, the site of the rite of passage, a place of frightening trials and mysterious and disturbing encounters, an obligatory path for all growing heroes and heroines. The girl enters it, she entrusts herself, because the forest, contrary to the house and the adults who live there constantly repeating her to «be careful» or imposing silence, listens to her and invites her to stop.

The girl was red. She was singing. She was breathing.
 It was quiet. There was absoluteness.
 The girl was beautiful. The girl was all red.
 The girl was alone and attentive.
 The girl didn't say dark.
 The girl didn't say that the woods.
 The girl said look.
 It said open your eyes.
 It said here I am,
 She said, Here I am, the girl.
 Look at me³¹.

The forest and the girl meet, they trust each other, they have no fears or prejudices. The girl can then meet the wolf who was born from the forest as a gift for her. As in the folk tales of the oldest versions of the fairy tale³², the wolf is not a symbol of the cruel seducer but of that necessary contact with the Other, our male opposite, essential for the child to become a woman. An experience that must take place in trust, without the danger of impositions, surrendering one part of the self to the other.

The little girl looks at the wolf: «It was a beautiful wolf./A quick, careful, brave wolf./ Like the little girl./A little bit older./It was a wolf made for running./ And they ran./It was a little girl made for playing./And they played»³³. The

³⁰ Zoboli, Concejo, *C'era una volta una bambina*, cit. (own translation).

³¹ *Ibid.* (own translation).

³² Cf. Y. Verdier, *L'ago e la spilla. Le versioni dimenticate di Cappuccetto Rosso*, tr. it., Bologna, EDB, 2015.

³³ Zoboli, Concejo, *C'era una volta una bambina*, cit. (own translation).

relationship grows, they play, they recognize each other, they take care of each other, without fear, with kindness and trust. A red thread unravels and binds the child to the wolf, it is the thread of the millenary history that has united them – the story of the “be careful” that everyone knows, or believes they know. It is the story of the child and the wolf.

– Knock, knock – *said then everyone who knew the story.*

– *Knock knock* – then they repeated, louder, for those who by chance had not heard.

They had listened many times the story.

They knew it by heart, that very ancient story.

Every evening the grandmother would tell it.

Every night. The ancient story of the careful,
be careful³⁴.

The echo of the ancient story returns, the forest and the house are portrayed in two panels side by side, to the left the forest that hides the wolf, to the right the interior of the house, the grandmother sitting in an armchair, the trophies of various forest animals hanging on the wall (the grandmother was perhaps a hunter?) and the terror in the eyes of the old woman. Behind her, reflected in a mirror hanging in the middle of the trophies, is the image of the wolf who, for the former, appears threatening as it grinds its teeth. The wolf eats the grandmother and remains in her house. A house that in the drawing following the scene of the devouring, is intuited but not represented and placed at the edge of the forest. A closed fortress that protects the borders and, within it, the millenary knowledge of women as required by patriarchal society: pots, sheets, tablecloths, pots, doughnuts, grass stitch and cross stitch. The house is small compared to the threatening forest, the only window has its shutters closed and the curtains of the glass door are pulled. The wolf is big, it doesn't fit in the house, it bumps all over because it doesn't belong there. The wolf's place is in the forest. The little girl arrives and they recognize each other.

Who are you said the eyes closed.

It's me, said the fingers.

I know you, the eyes said.

We know you too, said the fingers.

We have played, the eyes said.

And we have run, said the fingers.

The house, instead, remained silent.

The forest too remained silent, listening³⁵.

The traditional dialogue about the eyes, ears, hands, big teeth is replaced by a game of mutual recognition and the illustration shows a quiet wolf in

³⁴ *Ibid.* (own translation). Italics is from the text.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (own translation).

the arms of the child. The forest and the house observe in silence, but do not approve, the wolf is of the forest, the girl is of the house. It will always be like that but theirs is a bond made of woven stories, gestures, a new language learned by spelling out words and then the two instigators move on to action. «And through the window/they observed how the bedroom became wild:/she, intent on spelling out words;/the wolf intent on not losing the thread»³⁶. And the room really gets wild, the wolf is big and immense, dominates the entire table, behind him the curtain pulled of the glass door, the house is now dark, the forest is entering, the two instigators come to an agreement. As we turn the page, the forest has penetrated the room with its plants, the red thread now binds the girl to her ankle and the wolf is holding the other end. It seems that he is braiding her, apparently continuing their game, but the figure is much more threatening, the gaze is that of a beast and the text tells us: «he went up on her». The wolf belongs to the forest. The wolf is a wolf and eats the baby. The wolf now sleeps, the belly is big, in his hand has the red coil and the head of the wire in his mouth. The girl is in the belly. The very ancient story of the «careful to you» had warned us.

The hunter arrives and shoots, the reader really hears the shot on the next page: the forest fills the space and above the tops of the trees a flock of birds rises in flight; there was a shot. «It's the hunter! Shout the legs of the chairs/the door jambs./The cupboard and the pantry./The sink and the brooms./The tables and the beds». The house welcomes him as a savior, showing the murder that took place inside the house. The house itself tells the story of the grandmother, the little girl and the wolf. The scenes of the killing of the wolf and the hunter who opens his belly and extracts the two living women, are not represented by the illustrations, nor does the text tell us, but the reader knows the story. The wolf is dead and is kept by its paws by the hunter and the grandmother. The hank unrolls, the head is always in the mouth, but the girl is outside, she is on the sidelines and watching the scene, she hides a pair of scissors behind her back, did she cut the belly of the wolf to fill its belly with stones?

The old lady and the man took him one on this side and one on that side.
 The old lady had made herself pretty for him.
 The man had become a murderer for her.
 They had put the wolf in the middle, you never know.
 They put the little girl aside
 And they had the time of their lives.

They'd told it many times, the story.
 They knew it by heart, that very ancient story.
 Every night they had told it.
 Every night. The ancient story of the careful,
 Watch out for yourself.

³⁶ *Ibid.* (own translation).

The forest took back the wolf.
The house, the little girl.

But first they had to open and close again
to bring out all the words she had taught him.

House

*Fo-rest*³⁷.

These are the words with which the child and the wolf had named their worlds that will continue to guide the child: «But one word after another, she, the invisible, did not lose the thread/and found the way». The initiation rite is complete; we don't go back to where we were. A part of the red thread remains with the child, she carries it inside herself because the encounter with the wolf set her free: «Once upon a time there was a little girl who at a certain point had grown up and left». With the remaining thread, the girl embroiders her story on a piece of cloth. She is free now and has grown up. The passage has been completed and can therefore retrieve the past to trace new paths. With the act of embroidering, an ancient gesture of feminine knowledge, the protagonist reconnects it with the achievement of her independence, beyond the paths that were traced. A new subject is portrayed on the handkerchief, and this new story is linked with a thread woven in the encounter with the other.

The last panel shows the embroidery that the little girl made on the handkerchief: her and the wolf in the woods. He is holding a braid in its mouth, perhaps he is about to eat it or perhaps they are playing. Below them is the inscription «Little Red Riding Hood». The ancient story is being revealed.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Italics is from the text.

Antonio Gramsci e John Dewey in dialogo. Affinità e differenze nella teoria dell'educazione

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Antonio Gramsci and John Dewey in dialogue. Affinities and differences in education theory

ABSTRACT: John Dewey and Antonio Gramsci: two authors belonging to different cultural contexts and traditions, but with significant elements of convergence. The criticism of classical liberalism and thegnoseological grounds on which it is based, namely social atomism, typical of the American pedagogue, is comparable with the criticism that the Sardinian thinker moved to the positivist marxism of the Second and in part also of the Third International, starting from a dynamic and relational conception of human subjectivity. Furthermore, in both, the link between education and politics is central and therefore also the idea that the participation of all human beings in the responsibility of government, without distinction of social status or class, as was happening in mass society in the early twentieth century, implied a structural reform of the ways and forms of education aimed at ensuring to all human beings a global formation of all the theoretical and practical faculties together.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Politics and Education; Global Formation; Liberalism; Marxism; Positivism.

Un'introduzione

Antonio Gramsci e John Dewey sono stati a lungo autori, anche per valide ragioni, come vedremo, ritenuti distanti. Tuttavia pur mantenendo ferma l'idea che essi appartengano a tradizioni culturali diverse, il marxismo teorico per quanto riguarda il primo, il liberalismo per il secondo, esiste la possibilità di mettere in campo un confronto tra due dei maggiori pensatori del Novecento che si dimostrarono in grado di sollevare e stimolare una riflessione critica all'interno delle rispettive correnti di pensiero.

Si consideri ad esempio l'attenzione rivolta all'elemento ideologico e culturale in Gramsci, nonché la critica espressa nei confronti del determinismo economicista contenuto nel marxismo 'volgare'. Com'è noto il pensatore sardo ripudia l'ipostatizzazione della soggettività collettiva propria della tradizione del marxismo economicista secondointernazionalista che, già individuato come bersaglio polemico negli scritti giovanili¹, viene identificato, nei *Quaderni del carcere*, nel determinismo di una parte anche della cultura della Terza Internazionale rappresentata dal *Saggio popolare* di Bucharin².

Come è stato evidenziato, infatti, Gramsci tematizza la funzione positiva dell'ideologia quale fattore ineliminabile di conoscenza e di costruzione dell'agire storico quale «complesso di rappresentazioni comuni e collettive attraverso le quali ciascun essere umano in quanto essere che vive e appartiene a un gruppo e a un contesto sociale, necessariamente percepisce e interpreta la realtà»³.

Proprio il «riduzionismo materialistico» è avversato – anche se a partire da una posizione culturale diversa che è quella come abbiamo detto del liberalismo – anche da Dewey teorico *ante-litteram* di quella che Karl Popper avrebbe poi chiamato la “società aperta”⁴. C'è da dire, al riguardo, che l'originalità della

¹ Gramsci fu redattore della pagina torinese del quotidiano socialista l'«Avanti!» e collaborò assiduamente con il settimanale socialista «Il Grido del popolo» dal 1915 al 1919, anno in cui si situa la nascita de «L'Ordine Nuovo», prima settimanale (1919-1920), poi quotidiano del neonato PCd'I (1921-1922). Grazie all'impulso portato avanti dagli studi promossi dall'Edizione Nazionale delle opere di Gramsci, nell'ambito del progetto di edizione integrale di tutto il *corpus* delle opere gramsciane, sotto l'egida della Fondazione Gramsci, negli ultimi dieci anni sono stati numerosi i volumi pubblicati relativi ad aspetti della formazione del sardo. Sarebbe impossibile in questa sede rendere conto di tutti. Tra i più significativi possiamo menzionare: L. Rapone, *Cinque anni che paiono secoli. Antonio Gramsci dal socialismo al comunismo (1914-1919)*, Roma, Carocci, 2011; F. Frosini, *La religione dell'uomo moderno. Politica e verità nei Quaderni del carcere di Antonio Gramsci*, Roma, Carocci, 2010; G. Cospito, *Il ritmo del pensiero. Per una lettura diacronica dei «Quaderni» di Gramsci*, Napoli, Bibliopolis, 2011. In merito alle ricostruzioni della biografia di Gramsci, tra i lavori che hanno potuto giovare del lavoro dell'Edizione Nazionale, ricordiamo: G. Vacca, *Vita e pensieri di Antonio Gramsci 1926-1937*, Torino, Einaudi, 2012 e A. D'Orsi, *Gramsci. Una nuova biografia*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2017.

² In particolare è nella sezione II del *Quaderno* 11, intitolata *Osservazioni e note critiche su un tentativo di «Saggio popolare di sociologia»*, che l'opera di Bucharin viene sottoposta a una critica insistita e ampia (sul tema cfr. F. Frosini, *Bucharin, Nikolaj Ivanovi*, in G. Liguori, P. Voza (edd.), *Dizionario gramsciano 1926-1937*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, pp. 85-88).

³ R. Finelli, “*Farsi soggetto*”. *Contro la metafisica del soggetto del “manifesto” del '48*, in Id., *Tra moderno e postmoderno. Saggi di filosofia sociale e etica del riconoscimento*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2005, p. 147.

⁴ Come già mise in luce Aldo Visalberghi, la chiave di volta della teoria politica del filosofo statunitense risiede nell'antideterminismo proprio della sua epistemologia. Sarebbe infatti la complessità sottesa alla natura biologica degli esseri viventi a determinare la necessità di elaborare strumenti di valutazione capaci di render conto del carattere relazionale e “transazionale” – come Dewey affermerà esplicitamente nella sua più importante opera epistemologica risalente al 1938 *Logica. Teoria dell'indagine* – che lega gli organismi all'ambiente (cfr. A. Visalberghi, *Complessità e transazione in John Dewey*, in M. Alcaro, R. Bufalo (edd.), *John Dewey oggi*, Catanzaro, Abramo, 1996, pp. 40-52; cfr. anche Id., *John Dewey*, Firenze, La nuova Italia, 1972). In merito alla questione del contributo del metodo della scienza al processo di allargamento della

proposta politica di Dewey non sarebbe altrettanto comprensibile se, ad esempio, non si connettesse la critica che egli muove all'individualismo prepolitico e egoistico proprio del liberismo classico a uno degli elementi fondanti del suo pensiero filosofico: la critica al fondazionalismo epistemico. Sulla base di quest'ultimo egli tentava di confutare sul piano 'gnoseologico' la validità di uno degli asserti fondamentali della teoria liberale, ovvero l'atomismo sociale, la critica del quale risentiva dell'influsso dell'organicismo hegeliano da cui era stato influenzato in gioventù⁵.

Fondamentalmente egli ritiene che la valutazione delle procedure istituzionali e di governo debba sempre essere sottoposta al vaglio del metodo 'sperimentale', l'unico in grado di rendere la verifica intersoggettivamente controllabile. Uno sperimentalismo radicale il suo che per certi versi, come è stato più volte sottolineato, lo connette alla tradizione della filosofia della scienza cinque e seicentesca, da Hobbes a Bacone, a Vico e Galilei⁶.

Educazione e democrazia

Alla luce di queste premesse possiamo prendere in considerazione il tema specifico dell'educazione nei nostri due autori, a partire da due luoghi molto

democrazia in Dewey, sono da vedere anche: M. Alcaro, *John Dewey. Scienza, prassi, democrazia*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 1997; G. Spadafora, *L'educazione per la democrazia. Studi su John Dewey*, Roma, Anicia, 2015; L. Bellatalla (edd.), *Ricostruire l'educazione. Suggestioni deweyane*, Roma, Anicia, 2016. Imprescindibile: L. Hickman, *John Dewey's Pragmatic Technology*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1990.

⁵ Sul giovane Dewey è da vedere il sempre valido A. Granese, *Il giovane Dewey. Dallo spiritualismo al naturalismo*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1966 ed ora anche: T. Pezzano, *L'organismo sociale nel giovane Dewey*, Cosenza, Periferia, 2010. Nell'universo concettuale del giovane Dewey convivono molti temi appartenenti anche a tradizioni culturali diverse: dal neo-idealismo di George Sylvester Morris, che fu suo maestro, allo sperimentalismo di Stanley Hall, grazie al quale si avvicinò alla teoria dell'evoluzione naturale di Charles Darwin, fino all'influenza che su di lui esercitarono i padri del pragmatismo americano, Charles Alexander Peirce e William James.

⁶ Uno dei primi interpreti, in ambito italiano, ad insistere su questo nesso tra Dewey e la filosofia della scienza del Seicento è stato Antonio Banfi (cfr. in particolare: Id., *Ripensando a Dewey*, in M. Dal Pra (ed.), *Il Pensiero di John Dewey*, Milano, Bocca, 1952, pp. 52-65). Più di recente tale posizione è stata richiamata anche da Maura Striano, cfr. Ead., *Per una teoria educativa dell'indagine. Riflessioni pedagogiche sulla logica di John Dewey*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2015 e M. Baldacci, cfr. Id., *Democrazia ed educazione: una prospettiva per i nostri tempi*, in M. Fiorucci, G. Lopez (edd.), *John Dewey e La pedagogia democratica del '900*, Roma Tre-press, 2017, pp. 21-38. Per una ricostruzione complessiva della presenza di Dewey nel dibattito filosofico e educativo italiano è da vedere: L. Bellatalla, *John Dewey e la cultura italiana del Novecento*, Pisa, ETS, 1999. Per un'analisi delle implicazioni 'politiche' connesse alla presenza di Dewey nel dibattito pedagogico italiano nel dopoguerra: C. Covato, *Democrazia ed educazione. Il confronto fra marxisti e attivisti*, in Fiorucci, Lopez (edd.), *John Dewey e La pedagogia democratica del '900*, cit., pp. 101-107.

celebri: un passo particolarmente significativo dei Quaderni del carcere, il Quaderno 12⁷ per quanto riguarda Gramsci e l'opera *Democrazia e educazione*, per Dewey.

Partiamo dal primo. Alla base del pensiero strettamente pedagogico gramsciano vi è una presa di posizione netta contro le «pedagogie della spontaneità», nutrite, a suo dire, di spirito illusoriamente libertario. Ciò non di meno la posizione gramsciana si sgancia da una prospettiva di pedantesco pedagogismo, come egli stesso evidenzia in un passo del *Quaderno 10*, § 44, in cui dichiara che il rapporto maestro-allievo non può non puntare sulla libertà di pensiero e di espressione del discente, poiché è l'unica forma di rapporto in grado di sollecitare quella nuova figura di «*filosofo democratico*, cioè del filosofo convinto che la sua personalità non si limita al proprio individuo fisico, ma è un rapporto sociale attivo di modificazione dell'ambiente culturale»⁸. In sostanza il compito fondamentale che Gramsci assegna alla scuola, come istituzione, è proprio quello di promuovere un modello educativo atto a sviluppare le capacità di comprensione umana. Partendo dalla necessità di informare, al fine di elevare il livello medio di istruzione, essa deve essere in grado di 'attivare' le autonome facoltà di critica di ciascun individuo. In tal modo egli ha davanti a sé due obiettivi: da un lato misurarsi con un progetto di riforma, quello gentiliano che egli ha sotto gli occhi, di cui è severamente critico, dall'altra, proprio alla luce della sua polemica, elaborare un progetto alternativo di riforma della scuola⁹.

Gramsci, com'è noto, esprime nei *Quaderni* una profonda avversione nei confronti della scuola modellata sulla riforma promossa da Giovanni Gentile nel 1923, ritenuta funzionale a perpetrare, nell'educazione, uno modello sociale utile al mantenimento della divisione delle classi: l'accesso ai licei e alla formazione superiore per le future classi dirigenti, il sapere tecnico connesso al lavoro per quelle subalterne. Per Gramsci tale modello educativo è incapace di cogliere il ritmo delle trasformazioni della società contemporanea dominata dal massiccio

⁷ Sulla struttura e l'interpretazione del *Quaderno 12* mi permetto di rinviare a C. Meta, *L'altra educazione*, in A. Gramsci, *Quaderno del carcere n. 12*, a cura di C. Meta, Roma, Edizioni Conoscenza, 2018, pp. 7-40.

⁸ A. Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, a cura di V. Gerratana, Torino, Einaudi, 1975, p. 1330.

⁹ Gramsci imposta la questione scolastica non come tematica pedagogica a se stante ma inserisce il discorso sulla scuola all'interno dell'analisi dello Stato nei suoi rapporti con la società civile e al ruolo di mediazione fondamentale svolto da una pluralità di agenzie educative, di cui la scuola è solo una parte. Ciò accade in quanto – sottolinea specialmente nel *Quaderno 12* – «la coscienza del fanciullo non è alcunché di individuale e tanto meno di individuato»; essa è sempre «il riflesso della frazione di società civile cui il fanciullo partecipa, dei rapporti sociali quali si annodano nella famiglia, nel vicinato, nel villaggio ecc.» (Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1542). A partire da questa visione della scuola come agenzia educativa complessa, materata da una molteplicità di strutture sociali stratificatesi nel tempo egli ha di mira soprattutto la necessità di criticare la tendenza in atto nella società contemporanea avviata verso una sempre più spiccata divaricazione rigida dell'insegnamento da un lato umanistico, dall'altro tecnico scientifico frutto sia di un processo di dilatazione delle funzioni intellettuali sia di una moltiplicazione delle loro «specializzazioni» (*ibid.*, p. 1530).

ingresso delle masse nella vita dello Stato il quale ha determinato l'esigenza di una dilatazione della funzione dell'intellettualità, di cui il «tecnicizzarsi della vita moderna» – come egli scrive esplicitamente in una lettera del carcere indirizzata alla cognata Tatiana in cui rievoca la sua infanzia dominata dal principio dalla fantasia¹⁰ – e quindi la conseguente industrializzazione della vita contemporanea, rappresenta solo un aspetto di un cambiamento epocale più complessivo.

Proprio su questi temi – ovvero in merito alla necessità di preservare, e diffondere a sempre più estese classi sociali i contenuti della formazione umanistica, pur nel riconoscimento dei problemi politici e organizzativi sollevati dall'esigenza di una nuova formazione tecnico-scientifica adeguata agli sviluppi della società industriale – risiede la possibilità di operare un confronto proficuo con le posizioni di Dewey; quest'ultimo in *Democrazia e Educazione* del 1916 sostiene la necessità, in un regime democratico, in cui vige «un'uguaglianza tra dirigenti e diretti e in cui tutti gli individui sono potenzialmente governanti»¹¹, di riformare e diffondere un'istruzione pubblica, fondata sull'idea di una formazione globale dell'individuo, quanto più allargata alla partecipazione di sempre maggiori settori della società, soprattutto di quelli che per secoli sono stati confinati al ruolo, per dirla con Gramsci, di classi subalterne.

In particolare il filosofo statunitense sottolinea la necessità di elaborare un progetto pedagogico unitario che sia in grado di promuovere, attraverso l'istruzione scolastica, una cultura democratica volta a spezzare la secolare divisione tra un insegnamento teorico, storicamente appannaggio delle classi dirigenti, e quello tecnico specialistico, riservato alle classi lavoratrici.

Proprio per comprendere il nesso forte esistente, nella visione deweyana, tra democrazia ed educazione, occorre spiegare cosa egli intende con questo discorso: contro tutti coloro che concepiscono la democrazia in termini unicamente procedurali, secondo la teoria classica liberale, e quindi come una semplice forma di governo, Dewey sottolinea la necessità di fondarla su basi

¹⁰ «Da piccolo» – ricorda – «la fantasia spaziava [...] Ero un intrepido pioniere e non uscivo di casa senza avere in tasca dei chicchi di grano e dei fiammiferi [...] per il caso che potessi essere sbattuto in un'isola deserta e abbandonato ai miei soli mezzi» ma, prosegue, «la radio e l'aeroplano hanno distrutto per sempre il Robinsonismo, che è stato il modo di fantasticare di tante generazioni. La invenzione del Meccano indica come il bambino si intellettualizzi rapidamente» (A. Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, a cura di A.A. Santucci, Palermo, Sellerio, 1996, p. 271 (a Tania, 1 Luglio 1929).

¹¹ J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, in Id., *The Middle Works of John Dewey*, vol. 9, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1916; tr. it. *Democrazia e Educazione*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 2000³, p. 110. I riferimenti alle opere di Dewey sono relative all'edizione critica in 36 volumi pubblicata dalla Southern Illinois University Press a cura di J.A. Boydston. La suddivisione segue questo ordine cronologico: *The Early Works* (1882-1898); *The Middle Works* (1899-1924); *The Later Works* (1925-1953).

etiche e sociali, come egli stesso esplicita in uno scritto giovanile del 1888, dal titolo *Etica della democrazia*¹².

In sostanza «l'etica della democrazia consiste nel dare modo a tutti e a ognuno di sviluppare pienamente la propria personalità»¹³. L'educazione da questo punto di vista si configura come sviluppo armonico dell'individuo nel contesto sociale, di cui la democrazia è la “forma di vita” più umana.

In questa chiave interpretativa, proprio perché esiste un nesso strettissimo, in Dewey, tra vita e cultura, tra processi materiali e formali di apprendimento, di fondamentale importanza risulta riuscire a far vivere “natura e società” nell'aula scolastica, al fine di elaborare una cultura critica che sia parola d'ordine della democrazia¹⁴.

Anche Gramsci, nel *Quaderno 12*, stabilisce un nesso inscindibile tra democrazia (intesa come organizzazione della società in cui vige una corrispondenza tra dirigenti e diretti) ed educazione, analizzando la questione sia da un punto di vista strettamente economico, in quanto in una società in cui si è abbattuto il privilegio è previsto che «lo Stato possa assumersi le spese che oggi sono a carico della famiglia per il mantenimento degli scolari»¹⁵, ma anche, e qui la assonanza con Dewey sembra forte, da un punto di vista morale, etico. La battaglia per la conquista di una nuova civiltà si misura infatti anche con la capacità, non solo della scuola, ma anche di tutte quelle strutture che compongono la fitta rete della società civile, di diffondere lo spirito pubblico, tale che «la intera funzione dell'educazione e formazione delle nuove generazioni diventa da privata, pubblica, poiché solo così essa può coinvolgere tutte le generazioni senza divisioni di gruppi o caste»¹⁶.

Inoltre di fondamentale importanza, nel progetto educativo di entrambi i pensatori, risulta la possibilità di legare la tematica della educazione democratica alla diffusione «dello spirito scientifico», al fine di superare l'elemento magico e folklorico, tipico delle classi sociali subalterne.

Entrambi infatti, ritengono necessario l'insegnamento della scienza sin dalle scuole elementari, contestando, in tal modo, la visione, di stampo aristocratico,

¹² Cfr. J. Dewey, in Id., *The Early Works of John Dewey*, cit., vol. 1, tr. it. in G. Cavallari, (a cura di), *John Dewey. Scritti politici*, Roma, Donzelli, 2003, pp. 3-22. Si tratta di uno scritto in cui Dewey polemizza con un testo del giurista conservatore britannico Henry Maine, dal titolo *Popular Government*. Ciò che il filosofo statunitense contesta dello scritto di Maine è il presupposto ‘gnoseologico’ che muove il suo ragionamento, ovvero l'idea che la società sia costituita da un insieme di individui ‘atomizzati’. Gli uomini al contrario non sono monadi isolate, ripiegate su se stesse, ma individui sempre in relazione con altri individui all'interno di un contesto dato, di una società già in qualche modo organizzata.

¹³ Baldacci, *Democrazia ed educazione: una prospettiva per i nostri tempi*, cit., p. 24.

¹⁴ Cfr. Alcaro, *John Dewey, Scienza Prassi Democrazia*, cit., pp. 30-34; M. De Rose, *Il pensiero della relazione*, Fasano, Schena Editrice, 1989, pp. 201-203.

¹⁵ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1534.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

di una presunta cultura 'divulgativa', per lo più a carattere mitologico-religioso, per le masse.

In particolare Gramsci vede nella "concessione" dell'insegnamento della religione nelle scuole, l'esempio più lampante della capitolazione dello Stato moderno nei confronti della Chiesa. Esso ha rinunciato a questa «funzione etica»¹⁷, soprattutto al ruolo di agenzia educativa, ritenendo di dover affidare questo compito proprio a quella: «la chiesa offre una stampella di sostegno come ad un malato»¹⁸. La dimostrazione palese di ciò è l'esito delle stipulazioni concordatarie del 1929. Non a caso «alla Chiesa viene lasciata la formazione intellettuale e morale dei giovanissimi (scuole elementari e medie)»¹⁹, e agli intellettuali laici «lo sviluppo ulteriore dei giovani nell'Università»²⁰. Si tratta di una divisione dei compiti che corrisponde ad una organizzazione della società divisa in classi. Secondo questa impostazione «la scuola elementare e media è la scuola popolare e della piccola borghesia»²¹, i cui strati sociali sono «monopolizzati educativamente dalla casta, poiché la maggioranza dei loro elementi non giungono all'Università, cioè non conosceranno l'educazione moderna nella sua fase superiore critico-storica ma solo conosceranno l'educazione dogmatica»²². L'Università è infatti la scuola della classe dirigente ed è «il meccanismo attraverso il quale avviene la selezione degli individui delle altre classi da incorporare nel personale governativo, amministrativo, dirigente»²³.

Alla visione passivizzante del processo educativo, inoltre, si associa – anche se partendo da una concezione opposta, fondata su una intuizione anticreazionista del reale – la pedagogia idealista, la quale ritiene necessario l'insegnamento della religione in quanto filosofia buona per l'infanzia dell'umanità. Gramsci ha sempre di mira gli esiti della riforma Gentile, secondo i cui nuovi programmi, scrive in un brano del *Quaderno 7*, § 89, «l'arte e la religione sono assegnate alla sola scuola elementare, e la filosofia è largamente attribuita alle scuole secondarie»²⁴. In realtà, dietro la convinzione che l'insegnamento della religione nella tenera età sia auspicabile in quanto in linea con lo sviluppo psichico del bambino – un postulato proprio anche dell'idealismo hegeliano per il quale «la religione è una filosofia mitologica e inferiore, corrispondente alla mentalità infantile ancora incapace di levarsi alla filosofia pura, nella quale poi la religione deve essere risolta e assorbita»²⁵ – si annida un progetto politico preciso: non solo si tende a considerare «infanzia dell'umanità» un intero gruppo sociale,

¹⁷ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 398 (cfr. *Quaderno 3*, § 140).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1867 (cfr. *Quaderno 16*, § 11).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1868.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, p. 1869.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 919.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

ma aderendo al realismo mitologico-cristiano si rinuncia a modificare il senso comune, lo si assume così com'è, non elevandolo e facendolo partecipare al moto di riforma intellettuale-morale diffusosi agli inizi del Novecento solo tra le classi dirigenti.

Gramsci, al contrario, pensa a un progetto educativo capace di condurre i semplici verso una concezione superiore della vita, al fine – scrive nel *Quaderno 11*, § 1 – di «costruire un blocco intellettuale-morale che renda politicamente possibile un progresso intellettuale di massa e non solo di scarsi gruppi di intellettuali»²⁶. Ciò potrà avvenire solo se il rapporto dialettico intellettuali-masse sarà un rapporto fecondo di traduzione delle istanze teoriche di emancipazione nella concreta prassi politica.

Per realizzare questo progetto occorre contrastare l'astrattismo. In una lettera alla moglie Giulia del 30 dicembre 1930 egli polemizza, a proposito della questione dell'educazione dei figli, con tutta una tradizione di stampo razionalista risalente a Rousseau, la quale considera l'educazione un processo teso allo *sgomitamento* di presunte qualità innate della coscienza che l'educatore, come un maieuta, deve solo aiutare a far sorgere²⁷.

Vi è da dire inoltre che la critica di Gramsci ma anche di Dewey, il quale pure sottolinea l'importanza della 'direzione' da parte dell'educatore nel processo di apprendimento²⁸, allo 'spontaneismo' pedagogico, non si traduce in una legittimazione di metodi coercitivi-autoritari, quanto piuttosto nella rivendicazione della necessità di diffondere un nuovo 'spirito pubblico', che, per usare una terminologia gramsciana, valida però anche per il filosofo statunitense, significa educazione alla 'socialità', in opposizione ad ogni manifestazione di pensiero tesa a legittimare la scissione e il disinteresse del singolo individuo dal resto della collettività cui appartiene. È in questa chiave interpretativa, ad esempio, che va compresa un'opera come *Natura e condotta dell'uomo* del 1922 nella quale Dewey parla di dimensione intimamente 'sociale' ineliminabile dell'essere umano²⁹. In questo senso «l'educazione può presentarsi come perno, di una complessa visione del mondo e delle relazioni significative tra i soggetti e tra i soggetti e la vita circostante, nelle sue varie declinazioni, ossia ambiente, cultura e società»³⁰.

Secondo Gramsci, ad esempio, l'educazione al conformismo inteso, come abbiamo detto, in senso di «abitudine alla socialità», deve proprio avvenire tra i banchi di scuola, prendendo spunto anche dai metodi utilizzati dalla vecchia scuola, nella quale «la lingua latina e greca si imparava secondo grammatica,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1385.

²⁷ Cfr. Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, cit., pp. 350-352.

²⁸ *Democrazia e Educazione*, cit., cfr. in particolare, pp. 120-123.

²⁹ Cfr. J. Dewey, *Human Nature and conduct*, in Id., *The Middle Works of John Dewey*, cit., vol. 12, tr. it., *Natura e condotta dell'uomo*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1958.

³⁰ L. Bellatalla, *Note in margine a Democracy and Education. Un'opera 'inattuale'*, in Fiorucci, Lopez (edd.), *John Dewey e la pedagogia democratica del '900*, cit., p. 40.

meccanicamente»³¹. A suo dire sarebbe ingiusto e arbitrario rifiutare quei metodi, nella scuola attuale, considerandoli coercitivi e aridi. Infatti «si ha a che fare con ragazzetti, ai quali occorre far contrarre certe abitudini di diligenza, di esattezza, di compostezza anche fisica, di concentrazione psichica su determinati soggetti che non si possono acquistare senza una ripetizione meccanica di atti disciplinati e metodici»³².

Soprattutto, sottolinea nel *Quaderno 12*, § 1, ciò che oggi la società industriale contemporanea reclama è «un crescente bisogno del nuovo tipo di intellettuale urbano»³³ dotato di cultura tecnica. «Nella civiltà moderna», infatti, «tutte le attività pratiche sono diventate così complesse e le scienze si sono talmente intrecciate alla vita che ogni attività pratica tende a creare una scuola per i propri dirigenti e specialisti e quindi a creare un gruppo di intellettuali specialisti di grado più elevato, che insegnino in queste scuole»³⁴. Alla scuola tradizionale di cultura umanistica, che era rivolta a «sviluppare in ogni individuo umano la cultura generale ancora indifferenziata, la potenza fondamentale di pensare e di sapersi dirigere nella vita»³⁵ si è andato affiancando «un sistema di scuole particolari di vario grado»³⁶ che si rivolgono a diverse branche professionali sempre più specializzate.

Tutto ciò determina, osserva ancora Gramsci, anche una svalutazione della cultura umanistica fondata sulla tradizione greco-romana; tale prestigio «una volta messo in discussione, può dirsi spacciato, perché la sua capacità formativa era in gran parte basata sul prestigio generale e tradizionalmente indiscusso, di una determinata forma di civiltà»³⁷. Tant'è che «oggi la tendenza è di abolire ogni tipo di scuola 'disinteressata' [...] e 'formativa' o di lasciarne solo un esemplare ridotto per una piccola élite di signori o donne che non devono pensare a prepararsi un avvenire professionale e di diffondere sempre più le scuole professionali specializzate in cui il destino dell'allievo e la sua futura attività sono predeterminate»³⁸.

A questo punto 'la crisi' dell'attuale organizzazione scolastica potrà avere una soluzione positiva se seguirà questa linea: ovvero se si riuscirà a creare una scuola unica «iniziale di cultura generale, umanistica, formativa, che contemperi giustamente lo sviluppo della capacità di lavorare manualmente (tecnicamente, industrialmente) e lo sviluppo delle capacità del lavoro intellettuale»³⁹; solo dopo «si passerà a una delle scuole specializzate o al lavoro produttivo»⁴⁰. Sotto

³¹ Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, cit., p. 1542 (cfr. *Quaderno 12*, § 2).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 1544.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1531.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

questo aspetto allora la già ricordata riforma Gentile ha introdotto una frattura deleteria «tra la scuola elementare e media da una parte e quella superiore dall'altra»⁴¹. Al contrario, nella prospettiva di Gramsci, proprio la scuola unitaria o di «formazione umanistica (inteso questo termine di umanismo in senso largo e non solo nel senso tradizionale)»⁴² dovrebbe invece proporsi di immettere nell'attività sociale i giovani solo «dopo averli portati a un certo grado di maturità e capacità alla creazione intellettuale e pratica e di autonomia nell'orientamento e nell'iniziativa»⁴³. Il problema però fondamentale si pone per quella fase «dell'attuale carriera scolastica che oggi è rappresentata dal liceo e che non si differenzia per nulla, come tipo d'insegnamento, dalle classi precedenti, altro che per la supposizione astratta di una maggiore maturità intellettuale e morale dell'allievo conforme all'età maggiore e all'esperienza precedentemente accumulata»⁴⁴. È come se tra liceo e università e cioè tra la scuola vera e propria e la vita ci fosse un salto e non «un passaggio razionale dalla quantità (età) alla qualità (maturità intellettuale e morale)»⁴⁵. Dall'insegnamento quasi «puramente dogmatico», in cui la memoria ha una grande parte, si passa alla fase «creativa o di lavoro autonomo e indipendente»⁴⁶. Mentre, nella prospettiva della scuola unitaria, la fase ultima deve essere «concepita e organata come la fase decisiva»⁴⁷ in cui far sorgere l'autodisciplina intellettuale e l'autonomia morale dell'individuo, che solo possono emergere dopo un lungo lavoro fatto anche di accumulazione di nozioni e concetti. In questo senso la scuola creativa è il coronamento della scuola attiva: nella prima fase si tende a disciplinare, quindi anche a livellare, a ottenere una certa specie di «conformismo che si può chiamare dinamico»⁴⁸; nella fase creativa, «sul fondamento raggiunto di collettivizzazione del tipo sociale»⁴⁹, si tende a espandere la personalità, divenuta autonoma e responsabile, «ma con una coscienza morale e sociale solida e omogenea»⁵⁰.

Questo discorso di Gramsci in merito alla riconfigurazione dei metodi didattici all'insegna dell'unitarietà della cultura si connette ad una riflessione molto più complessa che egli compie nel *Quaderno 22* a proposito delle trasformazioni proprie della moderna società capitalistica che, guardando al modello americano dominato dalla fabbrica fordista e dalla produzione di massa su larga scala, si stava imponendo in tutto il mondo. A questa trasformazione, rispetto alle ricadute educative, possiamo dire, alla luce del discorso finora svolto, che egli

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1533.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1534

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1536.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

guarda in modo 'dialettico'. Innanzitutto lo considera anche un processo di avanzamento, di sviluppo, che prelude ad un mutamento antropologico di massa. Il disagio del presente verrà infatti superato se interverrà la creazione di un nuovo nesso psico-fisico di tipo differente da quelli precedenti e che trasformi la coercizione presente in libertà, in una sorta di seconda natura, in quella forma di 'abitudine' cui allude anche Dewey quando, nell'opera già citata, *Natura e condotta dell'uomo*, parla della dimensione sociale degli abiti comportamentali acquisiti storicisticamente. Dewey in *Democrazia ed educazione*, ad esempio, afferma che una concezione educativa più illuminata «considererebbe le attività industriali come mezzi per rendere le risorse intellettuali più accessibili alle masse»⁵¹.

Come ha giustamente sottolineato Giulio Preti il nesso esistente, nella riflessione deweyana, tra progresso tecnico-scientifico e crescita della società democratica, si spiega soprattutto alla luce della sua profonda convinzione circa la dimensione 'umana' che la scienza deve sempre conservare, in questo rifacendosi all'insegnamento della filosofia della scienza rinascimentale, come già abbiamo osservato in precedenza⁵².

Affinità e differenze

Non potendomi soffermare, in modo più analitico, in questa sede, sull'analisi del confronto concordanze-divergenze tra i due autori⁵³, ciò che comunque in chiusura di questo discorso va ricordato è che si tratta di pensatori appartenenti a famiglie di pensiero politico diverse. Se è vero che entrambi non si oppongono allo sviluppo della tecnica e al progresso della scienza in modo aprioristico, in quanto, al contrario, questi fattori possono diventare utili strumenti per migliorare le condizioni di vita di sempre maggiori strati della popolazione, e quindi, come sostiene in particolar modo Dewey, il progresso può diventare un elemento di democratizzazione. L'impianto teorico cui fanno riferimento rimane diverso.

Se è vero ad esempio che il filosofo statunitense sottolinea il fatto che il progresso della scienza e della tecnica non può rappresentare di per sé un fattore di emancipazione sociale, a causa del prevalere dall'appropriazione privata dei prodotti dell'industria e dell'interesse particolare sugli interessi pubblici, i quali di fatto bloccano, come scrive in *Liberalismo e azione sociale*⁵⁴, qualsiasi

⁵¹ Dewey, *Democrazia e Educazione*, cit., p. 371.

⁵² Cfr. G. Preti, *Dewey e la filosofia della scienza*, «Giornale critico di filosofia», 1951, pp. 280-288.

⁵³ Mi sono cimentata in tale confronto in C. Meta, *Antonio Gramsci e John Dewey in dialogo*, «Critica Marxista», novembre-dicembre, 2009, pp. 47-56.

⁵⁴ Cfr. J. Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action*, in Id., *The Later Works of John Dewey*, cit.,

progetto di politica economica programmata su basi redistributive eque da parte dello Stato. Ciò non vuol dire, come è stato sottolineato⁵⁵, fare del pensatore americano un teorico del socialismo: egli resta un pensatore democratico, fortemente critico sia del liberalismo classico e del suo individualismo radicale, ma anche delle forme di potere statolatriche e accentratrici.

Inoltre, per Dewey, è possibile, anzi necessario correggere le storture del capitalismo e il suo principio iniquo di redistribuzione della ricchezza, lasciando in piedi la democrazia; ed è proprio in ragione del nesso che egli stabilisce tra la necessità di una continuità delle istituzioni liberali americane e l'esigenza di una correzione, graduale e progressiva, dell'assetto economico soltanto che egli polemizza con il socialismo, colpevole di adombrare visioni palingenetiche di cambiamento della società. Egli imputa al marxismo, infatti, la responsabilità di annullare il valore dell'incidenza del fattore umano nella storia, criticando quello che, a suo dire, sembra essere il determinismo della monocausalità economica⁵⁶. Ma nonostante questo vi è stato chi ha sostenuto come Dewey sia stato nella sua riflessione molto vicino alle tesi del marxismo. Ad esempio a detta di Cornel West, sebbene il filosofo americano abbia rifiutato il determinismo economicista nella spiegazione dei fatti sociali, avversato, come abbiamo visto, anche da Gramsci, ciò non toglie, che la fusione, nella prospettiva del pragmatismo deweyano, delle rivoluzionarie prospettive epistemologiche dei primi interpreti del pragmatismo americano, con tutta la loro carica eversiva di critica della trazione razionalista occidentale, con l'istanza dell'etica sociale, che gli veniva dagli studi hegeliani, realizzò una felice stagione in cui l'intellettuale si pone seriamente il problema della sua partecipazione attiva nella società civile, e ritiene indispensabile stimolare, soprattutto tramite le agenzie educative come la scuola, e i mezzi d'informazione, la partecipazione degli individui all'interno dell'universale politico⁵⁷.

Inoltre la questione dell'educazione e degli intellettuali che svolgono la funzione di collegamento fondamentale tra la società civile e politica, viene indicata da West come caratteristico sia della filosofia della prassi gramsciana sia del pragmatismo deweyano. Come ha affermato Eric Hobsbawm, parafrasando le parole di West, Dewey attualizza bene la convinzione marxiana per la quale gli uomini prendono coscienza dei loro compiti sul terreno sovrastrutturale delle ideologie, nel momento in cui stabilisce una relazione strettissima tra 'potere', forma della politica, e 'sapere', forma della cultura⁵⁸. In questo quadro Gramsci rappresenterebbe il teorico di un marxismo aperto che rifiuta qualsiasi forma di economicismo riduzionista, sottolineando la stretta interdipendenza fra

vol. 11, tr. it. *Liberalismo e azione sociale*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1946, pp. 34-45.

⁵⁵ Cfr. Alcaro, *John Dewey, Scienza, Prassi, Democrazia*, cit., pp. 128-143.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149.

⁵⁷ Cfr. C. West, *La filosofia americana*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1997.

⁵⁸ Cfr. E. Hobsbawm, *Gramsci in Europa e in America*, a cura di A.A. Santucci, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995.

elementi materiali della struttura e quelli linguistici, simbolico-culturali della sovrastruttura. Egli, in sostanza, non adotta una «teoria unidimensionale del potere», e con il concetto di «blocco storico», fornisce un modello di spiegazione dei fatti storico-sociali in cui non c'è un fattore «aprioristicamente dominante», per usare le parole di Dewey.

La «scuola serena» a Mogliano. Riflessione pedagogica e pratica didattica nell'attività magistrale di Giovanni Lucaroni (1923-1934)

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The «serene school» in Mogliano. Pedagogical reflection and teaching practice in the professional activity of the teacher Giovanni Lucaroni (1923-1934)

ABSTRACT: The present contribution aims to focus on the intellectual and professional biography of the teacher Giovanni Lucaroni who worked for more than forty years in the primary school in Mogliano, near Macerata. Lucaroni – after the entry into force of the Reform of Education by Giovanni Gentile in 1923 – was increasingly inspired by the activist *educational principles* and practices promoted by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice in the primary school programs and started to test them in Mogliano. Thanks to extensive research both in his own archives and in the archives of the primary school in Mogliano, several publications by Lucaroni on the interpretation of the «new school» advocated by the Reform of Education and the diaries in which he told day by day the application of activist principles in his classroom will be presented. Moreover, the system of highly qualified intellectual relations – such as those with Alfredo Saraz and Giuseppe Lombardo Radice – will be reconstructed.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Primary school; Teaching practice; Progressive education; Active learning; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduzione

Il presente contributo intende ricostruire la biografia intellettuale e professionale del maestro Giovanni Lucaroni, che si impegnò per applicare nelle pratiche didattiche svolte quotidianamente in classe nella scuola elementare di un piccolo comune dell'entroterra maceratese gli innovativi principi pedagogici

sostenuti in quegli stessi anni da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e inclusi all'interno dei programmi per la scuola elementare promulgati con la riforma Gentile.

Per fare questo, utilizzeremo la documentazione conservata nell'archivio privato di questo maestro¹ (tra cui lettere, appunti, manoscritti, ritagli di giornale) e nell'archivio della scuola dove insegnò per quarant'anni², che contiene fonti storiche indispensabili al fine di esplorare le reali pratiche educative svolte in classe e verificare se e in che misura le teorie pedagogiche siano state concretamente interpretate e la normativa scolastica sia stata effettivamente applicata. Come già notato da Anna Ascenzi ed Elisabetta Patrizi, questi particolari giacimenti archivistici costituiscono preziose «risorse per la ricerca fino ad ora poco utilizzate, almeno in Italia, sia per le inevitabili difficoltà di conservazione che questa particolare tipologia di fonte comporta, che per le problematiche inerenti all'analisi interna delle stesse»³. Nonostante ciò, ad oggi, sono relativamente pochi i casi in cui la storia della cultura scolastica e del suo farsi è stata indagata attraverso le carte personali degli insegnanti⁴.

Sarà qui preso in considerazione il periodo che va dalla riforma Gentile del 1923 fino al 1934, anno in cui i programmi scolastici subirono un cambiamento sostanziale e la scuola fu sottoposta ad un crescente processo di fascistizzazione,

¹ L'archivio privato di Giovanni Lucaroni è stato donato all'Università degli Studi di Macerata nel 2012 dalla nipote Maria Agostina Marzioli ed è attualmente conservato nell'omonimo fondo presso il Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia (d'ora in avanti: CESCO). Su CESCO e sul suo patrimonio documentario e bibliografico, si vedano: M. Brunelli, *The «Centre for the documentation and research on the history of textbooks and children's literature» in University of Macerata (Italy)*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. IV, n. 2, 2009, pp. 441-452; A. Ascenzi, E. Patrizi, *Inside School Lives: Historiographical Perspectives and Case Studies. Teachers' Memories Preserved at the Centre for Documentation and Research on the History of Schoolbooks and Children's Literature*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 3, n. 1, 2016, pp. 343-362.

² L'archivio scolastico dell'Istituto comprensivo «Giovanni XXIII» di Mogliano non dispone di un inventario, ma è comunque stato possibile consultare le buste all'interno delle quali sono conservati i registri e i diari di classe dei maestri elementari. Sono state analizzate le buste dal 1910 al 1956 e il fascicolo personale del maestro Giovanni Lucaroni.

³ A. Ascenzi, E. Patrizi, *Per una storia dell'esperienza magistrale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: il caso della maestra elementare marchigiana Maria Riccini (1892-1975) tra nuove fonti e nuove metodologie di indagine*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. XIII, n. 2, 2018, p. 422.

⁴ Su questo tema, in particolare, si vedano i contributi di: Ascenzi, Patrizi, *Per una storia dell'esperienza magistrale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, cit.; C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005; M.C. Morandini, *La maestra in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: il caso torinese di Elvira Bono*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 173-190; M. D'Ascenzo, *Alberto Calderara. Microstoria di una professione docente tra Otto e Novecento*, Bologna, Clueb, 2011; Ead., *Educare la Nazione. Le maestre a Bologna tra Otto e Novecento*, in F. Tarozzi, E. Betti (edd.), *Le italiane a Bologna. Percorsi al femminile in 150 anni di storia unitaria*, Bologna, Socialmente, 2013, pp. 85-91; M. D'Ascenzo, G. Ventura (edd.), *Dalla parte delle maestre. La stagione pedagogica di Virginia Predieri (1931-2009)*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2016.

spingendola definitivamente a formare l'uomo nuovo fascista annunciato dalla propaganda di regime⁵.

1. *Giovanni Lucaroni: la formazione e le prime esperienze professionali (1905-1920)*

Giovanni Lucaroni nasce a Caldarola, in provincia di Macerata il 14 gennaio 1891. Si iscrive alla Scuola normale di San Ginesio, dove frequenta nel 1908 corsi speciali sulle tematiche legate ad alimenti e alimentazione, radioscopia e sue recenti applicazioni, tenutisi contemporaneamente ai corsi di lavoro manuale educativo, e nel 1910 consegue il diploma magistrale.

Consacra la propria vita all'insegnamento, esercitando la professione magistrale, a partire dal 1910, a Mogliano, comune dell'entroterra maceratese in cui si trasferisce e sposa, il 1 settembre 1913, Ilda Seri-Molini, anch'essa maestra di scuola elementare.

Nel 1911 frequenta la Scuola magistrale romana di lavoro educativo, diretta da Giacomo Tauro, presso la quale consegue il diploma di abilitazione all'insegnamento del lavoro manuale educativo nelle scuole normali. Nello stesso istituto frequenta anche un ciclo di libere conferenze sulla Storia dell'arte tenute da Luigi Callari e svolge escursioni illustrative nelle varie esposizioni d'arte presenti in Roma.

Allo scoppio della Prima guerra mondiale viene prima riformato e poi chiamato alle armi nel 1916. Tra il gennaio del 1917 e l'agosto del 1919 presta servizio col grado di caporal maggiore nella 6^a Compagnia Automobilisti di Mantova con la qualifica di meccanico, finendo distaccato nei parchi automobilistici militari di Verona, Brescia e Casalmaggiore. Rimane nelle retrovie per tutta la durata della guerra e non viene mai mandato al fronte, scampando così l'immane carneficina che là si stava consumando. Nel 1919 ottiene il congedo e torna a esercitare regolarmente la professione magistrale. Terminata la guerra, nel 1920 ottiene il diploma presso il Corso di perfezionamento per i licenziati delle scuole normali presso l'Università di Roma⁶ che gli vale l'abilitazione all'ufficio di direttore didattico nelle scuole elementari⁷.

⁵ E. Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare (1860-1985)*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1990, p. 108.

⁶ Sulla Scuola Pedagogica romana, più in generale, si rimanda a: A. Barausse, *I maestri all'Università: la Scuola pedagogica di Roma, 1904-1923*, Perugia, Morlacchi, 2004.

⁷ J. Meda, *Giovanni Lucaroni*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *DBE: Dizionario biografico dell'educazione, 1800-2000*, 2 voll., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. 2, pp. 58-59.

2. *L'incontro con Alfredo Saraz e la difesa della «scuola attiva» all'interno dei suoi articoli e delle sue pubblicazioni (1924-1927)*

All'indomani dell'entrata in vigore della riforma della scuola varata da Giovanni Gentile e alla luce dei contenuti dei nuovi programmi scolastici⁸, Lucaroni dimostra immediatamente la sua condivisione dei principi dell'attivismo pedagogico in essi propugnati, sperimentandoli in classe e avallandone l'applicazione nei primi articoli pubblicati su alcune importanti riviste magistrali, tra cui «L'Educazione Nazionale», «La Diana Scolastica», «Toga Praetexta» e «La Tecnica Scolastica». Tra il maestro di Mogliano e il direttore di quest'ultima rivista, Alfredo Saraz, si instaura in particolar modo un rapporto di profonda stima e amicizia. Lo dimostra la ricca corrispondenza esistente tra i due, risalente al periodo compreso tra il 1924 e il 1927, anno in cui Saraz muore prematuramente.

Nelle lettere Saraz dimostra di apprezzare le idee di Lucaroni e lo stile vivido e brillante con il quale espone nei suoi scritti le novità più importanti della riforma Gentile e il contenuto dei programmi scolastici, nel tentativo di far comprendere ai colleghi quella «scuola nuova» che aveva suscitato numerose perplessità e infinite polemiche, in quanto molti maestri ritenevano che fosse stata data «troppa cittadinanza al disegno spontaneo, alle occupazioni ricreative, troppa festa all'infanzia» e non per tutti era facile accogliere una scuola che li invitasse a 'scuotersi' e a lavorare fianco a fianco coi propri alunni⁹.

Saraz – che aveva fondato la rivista nel 1923 insieme a Stefano Fermi e Delfo Martello, con lo «scopo di formare quelli che erano definiti i 'tecnici della scuola', per illustrare i motivi ideali della riforma Gentile e nello stesso tempo aiutarne la pratica attuazione»¹⁰ – condivide con gli esponenti della cultura idealista la «convinzione che il rinnovamento della scuola rappresenti il percorso obbligato per favorire un profondo rinnovamento dell'educazione nazionale e della società italiana»¹¹. Un rinnovamento della scuola che parte dalla riforma Gentile e dai nuovi programmi scolastici, su cui la rivista intende proporre riflessioni e approfondimenti anche grazie «alla collaborazione di

⁸ I programmi furono emanati con Ordinanza Ministeriale dell'11 novembre 1923 in applicazione al R.D. 1° ottobre 1923, n. 2185, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», n. 55, 1923, pp. 4590-4627.

⁹ I. Picco, *Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1951, p. 20. Per un ulteriore approfondimento sul pensiero di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, si vedano: G. Cives, *Giuseppe Lombardo Radice: didattica e pedagogia della collaborazione*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1970; U. Margiotta, *Giuseppe Lombardo Radice: tra attualità pedagogica ed irrisoluzione storica*, Reggio Calabria, Parallelo 38, 1975.

¹⁰ L. Lombardi, *Alfredo Saraz*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 475-476.

¹¹ A. Barausse, M. D'Alessio, «La salvezza della scuola verrà dai tecnici». *La stampa pedagogica in Italia tra idealismo e fascismo: la «Tecnica Scolastica» (1923-1927)*, in J.M. Hernández Díaz (ed.), *La prensa de los escolares y estudiantes. Su contribución al patrimonio histórico educativo*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2015, p. 616.

anime varie e voci provenienti da posizioni diverse per formazione e inclinazione, ma ugualmente coinvolte in un fervore ed un trasporto educativo a cui resta estraneo 'ogni pregiudiziale o religiosa, o filosofica, o politica ed all'infuori d'ogni interesse materiale, o di categoria, o di classe, o di persona'¹².

Tra queste voci c'è anche quella di Giovanni Lucaroni, che pubblicherà numerosi articoli su «La Tecnica Scolastica», nei confronti del quale Saraz nutre una grande ammirazione, tanto da proporgli anche di entrare a far parte della redazione della rivista.

Nella sua prima lettera Saraz si rivolge a Lucaroni chiamandolo «Esimio Sig. Direttore»¹³ e ringraziandolo per l'invio del saggio *Letture ed esercizi di lingua italiana in quinta classe*, che annuncia di voler inviare alla Commissione per la I Gara nazionale tra tecnici della scuola. La lettera è datata 25 marzo 1924¹⁴, anno in cui Saraz era stato nominato Provveditore agli Studi della Basilicata.

Si tratta probabilmente di uno dei primi contatti tra i due, ma già da questa lettera emerge l'apprezzamento di Saraz per il maestro moglianese, col quale si complimenta per l'articolo *L'incaricato*, annunciando che vedrà la luce nel fascicolo di aprile della rivista:

Ella è uno scrittore limpido di cose scolastiche ed un tecnico temprato alla scuola dell'esperienza. Bravo! È inutile dirle che i suoi scritti sono particolarmente accetti dalla Rivista. Penso anzi che Ella potrebbe, se il tempo disponibile glielo concede, preparare un volumetto per la «Biblioteca di pedagogia e di tecnica scolastica»¹⁵ che dirigo, e di cui sono in lenta preparazione una decina di volumetti¹⁶.

Il 1924 rappresenta un anno di fitta corrispondenza tra Saraz e Lucaroni. Il 3 aprile Saraz conferma il proprio interesse per una collaborazione di Lucaroni alla collana «Biblioteca di pedagogia e di tecnica scolastica», fornendogli le indicazioni tecniche sulla composizione dei volumetti e proponendogli di scrivere sui gruppi di lezioni e sulla tecnica dell'insegnamento della lingua italiana secondo i nuovi programmi¹⁷.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 617.

¹³ Giovanni Lucaroni ha ricoperto la carica di direttore didattico nel circolo di Mogliano-Petriolo dal 1921 al 1924.

¹⁴ Lettera di Alfredo Saraz a Giovanni Lucaroni del 25 marzo 1924, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 49.

¹⁵ Alfredo Saraz nel 1923 diede avvio alla collana «Biblioteca di pedagogia e di tecnica scolastica» con la Società Tipografica Editrice Porta di Piacenza, all'interno della quale sarebbero usciti negli anni la sua *Introduzione critica e commento all'attuale ordinamento didattico della scuola elementare* (1923) oltre ai lavori di Eugenio Cipriani, Elda Mazzoni e Evaristo Marsili.

¹⁶ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 25 marzo 1924, cit.

¹⁷ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 3 aprile 1924, in: CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 52.

Nei mesi successivi il carteggio prosegue¹⁸. Il 12 ottobre Saraz – dopo essersi scusato con Lucaroni per il ritardo della risposta a causa del lavoro eccessivo che gli ha impedito di leggere il suo testo – scrive:

Ed eccole il mio giudizio. Il vol. «Gruppi di lezioni e tecnica de l'insegnamento linguistico» costituisce uno scritto assai pregevole per semplicità di stile, per conoscenza pratica della scuola, per completezza di trattazione dell'argomento vastissimo. Ella è riuscita in poche pagine (a stampa, nel formato della «Biblioteca di pedagogia e di tecnica scolastica» non arriveremo alle 90 pagine) a raggruppare buon numero di eccellenti ammaestramenti, ed io penso che i maestri, leggendo il suo volume, si vedranno facilitata l'opera loro. Il volume per ciò farà parte della «Biblioteca» se nulla osta da parte sua. Non le dico però quando il volume sarà pubblicato, perché la tipografia procede con lentezza esasperante. Finora sono stati pubblicati 2 vol., il 3° è in bozze, il 4°, 5° e 6° attendono il loro turno. Il suo potrà prendere forse il 6° posto, oppure il 7°, od, al più, l'8°. Io continuerò a sollecitare la tipografia; tenterò anche di minacciare, e spero che il suo volumetto possa veder la luce in dicembre od in gennaio del prossimo anno¹⁹.

Nell'ultima lettera inviata a Lucaroni nel 1924²⁰, Saraz gli comunica che la Commissione giudicatrice della I Gara nazionale tra tecnici della scuola l'ha dichiarato vincitore del secondo premio per *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua italiana in quinta classe*²¹, un saggio nel quale il maestro marchigiano aveva espresso il proprio apprezzamento per i programmi scolastici. Si tratta di uno dei lavori di Lucaroni in cui emerge in maniera evidente la condivisione dei principi dell'idealismo pedagogico di Lombardo Radice, al punto da arrivare a dire che «sulla strada intravista e suggerita ci siamo finalmente e ne sia lode a chi ha saputo d'un colpo spazzar via tanta infamia»²².

Lucaroni si presenta come un chiarificatore e un illustratore di quella «scuola serena» in cui gli alunni, le loro impressioni, i loro giudizi e le loro capacità sono tenuti in viva considerazione e in cui il rapporto tra essi e il maestro è ispirato alla fiducia, alla partecipazione e alla collaborazione. Dalle parole di Lucaroni emerge grande entusiasmo per le proposte rinnovatrici contenute nei nuovi programmi:

Era necessaria una scuola nuova, ed eccola. Ma di contro ad essa sono i vecchi maestri della vecchia scuola ai quali s'impone oggi un imprescindibile dovere (sia benedetto quest'oggi):

¹⁸ Lucaroni riceve altre lettere di Saraz, datate 2 luglio e 27 agosto 1924, conservate in: CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», cc. 50 e 51.

¹⁹ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 12 ottobre 1924, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 25.

²⁰ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 17 dicembre 1924, in archivio privato della famiglia Lucaroni a Mogliano (d'ora in avanti: APL). L'archivio raccoglie una serie di lettere di estimatori dell'opera di Lucaroni e di attestati ad esso rilasciati nel corso della sua attività professionale non ceduti al CESCO nel 2012 dalla nipote Maria Agostina Marzioli.

²¹ G. Lucaroni, *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua italiana in quinta classe*, in Id., *Per la nuova scuola*, Montegiorgio, Tip. Carlo Zizzini, 1927, pp. 21-43.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

quello di rinnovarsi. Gli educatori di ieri eran carichi di un pesante fardello di tradizioni che deve essere gettato via, tutto intero, coraggiosamente. Nella nuova scuola non si entra che nudi, semplici, con l'animo sgombro di ogni pregiudizio, di ogni preconcetto, di ogni teoria; con un solo desiderio ardentissimo: quello di vivere²³.

La nuova scuola è la scuola dei maestri che non devono più insegnare nel senso di impartire nozioni, creando «dottorelli presuntuosi», in quanto – come afferma lo stesso Lucaroni – essa chiede solo di «insegnare ad imparare! Perché il sapere non si dà: si acquista; perché lo spirito non si riempie: si crea; crea se stesso e il suo sapere, se stesso e il suo mondo, liberamente, spontaneamente, incoercibilmente, obbedendo alla legge eterna che lo governa e che è la base di ogni suo divenire: la libertà»²⁴. Di conseguenza, l'educare diventa celebrazione della vita:

Ma vivere è migliorarsi, educarsi, tener sempre sè dinanzi a se stessi, vigilarli, criticarsi, non esser mai sazi, mai paghi della propria perfezione spirituale che è opera costante d'ogni giorno, d'ogni ora²⁵.

Lucaroni è pronto ad accogliere la *scuola viva*, la scuola dove la personalità del bambino viene rispettata, così come viene rispettata la sua genuinità e la sua ricchezza di espressione, dove il maestro deve *farsi persona* e assume una responsabilità ben precisa, quindi vede l'insegnamento come attività dello spirito scevro dall'imposizione di determinate regole ma tendente al continuo rinnovamento del maestro.

Dei nuovi programmi, il maestro Lucaroni accoglie innanzitutto con favore il fatto che «la grammatica, quella speciale grammatica teorica, fatta di parole vuote di senso per la fanciullezza giuliva, non esiste più»²⁶. Secondo Lucaroni, la grammatica si insegna «insegnando la lingua» e ritiene falso «l'insegnamento della grammatica come grammatica, falso l'esercizio del comporre che, oltre a tutti gli altri difetti, aveva quello di insegnare la falsità»²⁷.

Lucaroni esalta la spontaneità del fanciullo²⁸ «che deve creare da sé il suo sapere» e il ruolo del maestro che deve lasciare intatte «vivezza e acume» del suo frasario, in modo che poi, insieme, possano creare un nuovo pensiero con

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁸ Sarà utile ricordare che la centralità della libera e spontanea espressione del fanciullo nella «scuola nuova» era stata posta da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice al centro del suo: *Athena Fanciulla: scienza e poesia della scuola serena*, Firenze, Bemporad e Figlio, 1925. Più in generale, sulle tecniche tradizionali di insegnamento della scrittura nella scuola elementare italiana e sulla generalizzata inibizione delle forme di espressione grafica infantile che ne derivava, si veda: J. Meda, *Scritture scolastiche: contributo alla definizione d'una categoria storiografica*, in G. Raimondi, H. Champvillair (edd.), *CoDiSV in classe. Proposte metodologiche e didattiche di ricerca applicata*, Roma, Aracne, 2015, pp. 25-41.

una nuova forma attraverso un lavoro di traduzione. Egli sottolinea il fatto che – prima dell’emanazione dei nuovi programmi – non è mai stata data la parola al fanciullo, nel senso che non è stato mai lasciato libero di esprimersi, ma, anzi, è stato costretto a fare la «mummia imbalsamata»²⁹.

Per questo motivo, apprezza anche l’introduzione del «diario della vita di scuola»³⁰ che definisce un’«innovazione», attraverso il quale, finalmente, il fanciullo potrà esprimere se stesso, le proprie impressioni, i propri sentimenti e giudizi:

Che di più bello, di più geniale, di più logico di tale innovazione? L’alunno non dovrà più sobbarcarsi allo sforzo di una falsa invenzione, di una creazione bugiarda, per riempire una pagina di frasi fatte e sfatte, ma dovrà esprimere se stesso, notare ciò che ha, che possiede, che sente. Il Diario ha da essere lo specchio fedele della sua vita, del suo pensiero; il frutto delle sue osservazioni [...]»³¹.

Di questo diario Lucaroni parla anche nel suo *Insegnamento de la lingua nelle scuole elementari*³², dove definisce le indicazioni del programma «chiare ed esplicite» e spiega come il diario possa diventare uno strumento vivo, utile e sincero, dove l’alunno può esprimere liberamente se stesso attraverso «osservazioni, note, pensieri, impressioni e fatti che possono essere e sono realmente svariatisimi per ogni scolaro, e perfettamente liberi sì nella scelta, sì nell’interpretazione, come nel tono personale col quale vengono percepiti e riferiti»³³ dimostrando, infine, l’utilità di esso attraverso la trascrizione di alcuni estratti dai diari degli alunni.

Il maestro moglianese offre un’ulteriore importante riflessione sull’introduzione del diario nel programma didattico dell’anno scolastico 1926/27:

Diario, come prescrive il programma ufficiale, cercando di rispettare il più possibile la spontaneità e l’autonomia degli scolari, pur non trascurando di dare, via via, tutte quelle indicazioni che la pratica giornaliera potrà consigliare o suggerire come necessarie, trattandosi di un documento che proprio in questa classe ha il suo inizio obbligatorio. Benché il programma suggerisce di chiedere il Diario solo qualche volta per le osservazioni, sarà necessario rivederlo spessissimo, specie nei primi mesi; e converrà tenerlo presente come ausilio a tutto il lavoro di insegnamento linguistico e ortografico che, pure svolto in altri esercizi, ha qui la sua prima fonte di osservazione. Le frasi dialettali, l’errato uso dei verbi, la costruzione contorta dei periodi ecc., notati nel Diario, daranno certo la migliore

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁰ Su questo particolare esercizio di composizione, si veda: D. Montino, *La pratica pedagogica del “diario della vita di scuola”*. *Dalla possibilità di una scrittura intima alla necessità di una scrittura disciplinata (1923-1943)*, in A. Castillo Gómez, V. Sierra Blas (edd.), *Mis primeros pasos. Alfabetización, escuela y usos cotidianos de la escritura (siglos XIX y XX)*, Gijón, Trea, 2008, pp. 373-390.

³¹ Lucaroni, *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., p. 34.

³² *Id.*, *L’insegnamento de la lingua nelle scuole elementari*, Montegiorgio, Tip. Zizzini, 1928.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

diagnosi per curare ortograficamente, grammaticalmente e insomma linguisticamente ogni singolo alunno e la classe accumulativamente³⁴.

Dimostra, ancora una volta, di condividere quel tipo di scuola che Lombardo Radice ha cercato di costituire con i nuovi programmi: Lucaroni desidera lasciare l'alunno libero di esprimersi nella sua personalità con quella spontaneità che lo contraddistingue in quanto bambino e considera il diario anche una risorsa importante per l'insegnamento della lingua.

Oltre al già citato saggio, ricco di riflessioni e spiegazioni, il maestro propone altri numerosi scritti su diversi aspetti della riforma che vengono apprezzati da Saraz e pubblicati sulla sua rivista. I due continuano a scriversi e, nel 1926, la corrispondenza diventa fitta³⁵. Nella lettera del 27 aprile, Saraz, oltre a fare riferimento al lavoro del Lucaroni *Il libro delle ore serene*, manifesta la sua intenzione di aprire una rubrica dedicata ai contenuti di questo ultimo volume³⁶. Una proposta che evidenzia quello che già era ormai chiaro, ossia la sua grande stima e ammirazione verso il maestro.

Nella lettera del 15 luglio³⁷ Saraz fa nuovamente riferimento a *Il libro delle ore serene*³⁸, invitandolo a spedirlo a Roma e scrivendo che l'editore Bemporad spera di pubblicarlo per l'inizio dell'anno scolastico. Inoltre, Saraz insiste con Lucaroni affinché riprenda in esame il suo lavoro sulla lingua, in quanto spera di poterlo far entrare nella collezione:

Lo divida in volumetti per le varie classi, e vi aggiunga molte esercitazioni pratiche, alle quali i maestri possano ispirarsi senza ricorrere all'eterna didattica dei giornali.

³⁴ Archivio storico dell'Istituto comprensivo «Giovanni XXIII» di Mogliano (d'ora in avanti: ASICM), busta «Registri di classe 1924/27 Mogliano».

³⁵ Le lettere sono datate 27 aprile, 15 luglio, 12 agosto e 29 ottobre 1926.

³⁶ Nella lettera Saraz parla del volume *Il libro delle ore serene*: «Caro amico, *Il libro delle ore serene* dovrebbe trovar posto nella mia «Biblioteca di Pedagogia e di Tecnica». Io ne l'avrei già fatto pubblicare. E sono persuaso che anche l'Editore ne avrebbe avuto il suo tornaconto. Purtroppo il mio editore (glielo dico in via confidenziale) è di una grettezza e piccineria assolutamente incredibili. Sono giornalmente alle prese con lui, e non riesco neppure ad ottenere le più elementari concessioni. Le basti questo esempio. Il volume del Tarchetti, pronto da circa due anni, l'ho dovuto far rimettere al corrente, e, pur avendone corrette le bozze da più di due mesi, non riesco a vederlo pubblicato, malgrado insistenze e proteste d'ogni genere. Vedrò volentieri che il suo volume prenda il 6° posto della Biblioteca; ma quanto farà attendere l'Editore? Se lei crede opportuno di accettare, le faccio una proposta. Eccola: apro sulla «Tecnica» una nuova rubrica intitolata *Il libro delle ore serene* nella quale pubblicherò a puntate di non meno di sei pagine per fascicolo la sua raccolta. Farò conservare la composizione tipografica ed a pubblicazione ultimata se ne faranno tirare quel numero di copie che d'accordo stabiliremo. In tal caso non vi sarà che la spesa della carta, e pochissime altre. Veda un po' lei, e decida. Sta bene? Saluti cordiali».

³⁷ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 15 luglio 1926, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 7.

³⁸ Questo lavoro di Lucaroni non risulta essere stato pubblicato e – come si vedrà più avanti nel corso di questo contributo – il suo manoscritto deve essere rimasto nell'archivio privato di Saraz.

A questa lettera, ne seguono altre due, nei mesi di agosto e ottobre, ma ben presto la corrispondenza tra i due si interrompe.

Il direttore della rivista, in una lettera del 21 febbraio 1927, ringrazia Lucaroni per il suo ultimo articolo e si rivolge al maestro come «uno dei redattori principali della «Tecnica», anzi fa parte del comitato di redazione» e sottolinea che:

se la Rivista riuscirà ad affermarsi, e diventare quindicinale o settimanale, potrà dirigere una delle rubriche mediante anche un modesto compenso ma tutto ciò è ancora prematuro. E ribadisce che il suo volume sarà pubblicato, senza bisogno di... doterella. Purtroppo Bempeard nicchia. Pubblicerebbe ma senza impegni. A me piace continuare con il Porta che non sa lanciare le sue pubblicazioni. Ho iniziato trattative con altro grande Editore, ma anche lui parla di crisi. Le scriverò in seguito e, spero, buone notizie³⁹.

Questa, probabilmente, fu l'ultima lettera inviata da Saraz, in quanto egli morì prematuramente il 22 aprile 1927. Lucaroni volle rendergli omaggio con il volume *Per la nuova scuola*, nel quale aveva raccolto i principali articoli apparsi su «La Tecnica Scolastica»⁴⁰ tra il 1925 e il 1927, incentrati principalmente sui temi della riforma scolastica e in cui il maestro interpreta i contenuti dei programmi scolastici e li espone in modo chiaro e incisivo rendendoli agili guide per i suoi colleghi.

Dalla dedica iniziale emerge quanto la figura di Saraz sia stata un importante punto di riferimento nella vita professionale di Lucaroni. Dalle parole usate dal maestro si potrebbe anche sostenere che senza l'appoggio di Saraz, Lucaroni non avrebbe raggiunto il successo. Un successo dimostrato dalle numerose pubblicazioni del maestro, così come dalle numerose recensioni ottenute per i suoi scritti e dalle lettere ricevute da ogni parte di Italia, come sarà più avanti illustrato, ma, soprattutto, dall'attenzione che gli riserverà Giuseppe Lombardo Radice.

Lucaroni è un uomo che si è dedicato completamente alla scuola e che ha sempre sentito quel bisogno continuo di rinnovarsi: come maestro è perennemente alla ricerca di una cultura nuova derivante da ciò che lo circonda e dalle esperienze vissute, dalle vittorie raggiunte e dai fallimenti subiti nell'insegnamento. Le cronache di scuola di Lucaroni sono, infatti, ricche di riflessioni in cui egli analizza se stesso, i risultati raggiunti e quelli mancati. Se egli si sente come un «oscuro maestro di scuola», Saraz lo sprona continuamente e sarà probabilmente proprio grazie a questa spinta che il maestro marchigiano

³⁹ Lettera di Saraz a Lucaroni del 21 febbraio 1927, in APL.

⁴⁰ Lucaroni, *Per la nuova scuola*, cit. Il volume contiene i seguenti articoli pubblicati su «La Tecnica Scolastica»: *Il maestro fa da sé, Lettura ed esercizi di lingua in 5ª classe, I Gruppi di Capacità, L'avvicendamento, Il problema teorico e tecnico dell'insegnamento religioso, Punti di vista, L'arte nella scuola d'oggi, Pestalozzi e la nuova didattica, Funzione direttiva, Il libro, 'Attività'*. Inoltre, è stato inserito anche l'articolo *Atteggiamenti* pubblicato su «L'Educazione Nazionale» (maggio 1927).

ha prodotto tanti scritti sulla scuola, lavorando a quelli per «La Tecnica Scolastica» «con affetto di figlio».

Il rapporto tra i due è ben illustrato nella dedica che Lucaroni ha inserito nel volume prima citato:

Verso la fine di marzo 1924 mi giungevano, non chieste e non sperate, parole di sprone, di consiglio e di compiacimento per certe mie poche e povere cose dette in rispetto della Riforma scolastica, che si trovava allora nel suo più turbinoso periodo di applicazione.

Chi mi scriveva era un Uomo che per fede, per ingegno, per volontà, competenza e sapere aveva, ancor giovanissimo, conquistato il suo posto di battaglia nelle più alte gerarchie della Scuola; io un oscuro maestro di scuola – quale ancora mi sono – tutto chiuso nel cerchio del mio lavoro e del mio amore, nutrito di qualcuna di quelle stesse idee che erano state poste a base della Riforma.

[...] il lavoro che mi si richiedeva acui fino alla sofferenza la mia nullità... ma non potevo negare! Mi raccolsi in me stesso e frugai⁴¹.

Da sottolineare anche il passaggio finale nella dedica: «e mi pare dovere raccogliere le sparse membra del mio lavoro – ch'è suo – per offrirlo umilmente alla Sua memoria». Quel «ch'è suo» evidenzia l'importanza della figura di Saraz nella vita di Lucaroni e conferma quanto già detto, ossia quanto egli abbia influenzato lo sviluppo del pensiero del maestro e lo abbia spronato alla realizzazione di numerosi lavori.

Tra le pubblicazioni di Lucaroni, di particolare interesse, risulta anche un altro articolo pubblicato su «La Tecnica Scolastica» dal titolo *Il maestro fa da sé*, uscito nel gennaio 1925⁴², nel quale si pone l'attenzione sul ruolo dell'insegnante.

Il maestro, se vuole essere un buon maestro, ha bisogno del sapere, del metodo e della coscienza dell'importanza e della responsabilità della propria missione:

Il sapere (e qui si fa appello al principio filosofico che posto a base della nuova riforma, ne è l'alimento sostanziale) nessuno può regalarlo, o darlo in prestito, o appiccicarlo comunque come una superstruttura eteronoma. Si acquista (meglio ancora si conquista) realizzando se stessi (il proprio spirito, la propria attività creativa, il proprio io autonomo, libero, incoercibile) e il mondo circostante [...]⁴³.

In questa frase sta tutto il pensiero di Lombardo Radice, quel pensiero che egli ha voluto inserire nella premessa ai programmi di studio e alle prescrizioni didattiche per le scuole elementari: il maestro deve rinnovare continuamente la propria cultura «attingendo non a manualetti in cui si raccolgono le briciole del

⁴¹ Lucaroni, *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., pp. 7-8.

⁴² Lucaroni, *Il maestro fa da sé*, in Id., *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., pp. 9-19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

sapere, ma alle vive fonti della vera cultura del popolo»⁴⁴, quindi alla tradizione popolare e alla grande letteratura.

Ritorna il ruolo del maestro in un altro interessante articolo di Lucaroni – intitolato *Attività*⁴⁵ – in cui possiamo identificare la figura del maestro completamente orientata dai paradigmi idealistici e che evidenzia l'importante ruolo delle doti di umanità dell'insegnante.

Il maestro descritto da Lucaroni «ha bisogno di una cultura che deve via via rinvigorire sinceramente e rinsaldare con sane e frequenti letture sia d'indole filosofica che storica, scientifica, letteraria, religiosa, artistica... Sono stati denunciati i pericoli di una falsa cultura, di una mezza cultura, e di una troppo facile cultura!»⁴⁶.

Lucaroni mette anche in guardia sul vero significato di «scuola attiva», denunciando una interpretazione sbagliata da parte di coloro che «vorrebbero trasformata in scuola attiva ogni scuola, dall'oggi al domani, o comunque introdotto il metodo attivo o del lavoro, con grande facilità e semplicità»⁴⁷. Per il maestro marchigiano si corre il rischio di «immiserire idee, concetti e tentativi, fino a chiamare scuola attiva o del lavoro, quella dove in fin d'anno, con molta pena e qualche liretta spillata sospirando all'arida tasca del maestro, si sian potuti mettere in mostra quattro miserevoli campioncini da nulla»⁴⁸.

Secondo Lucaroni, non è questo il significato di scuola attiva, dove invece «il lavoro è lavoro largamente organizzato a scopo di tutto l'insegnamento e di tutta l'educazione, e non occupazioncella di ripiego»⁴⁹. Al concetto di scuola attiva non deve essere attribuita un'accezione in senso estetico o materiale, ma essa deve avere un significato reale e un contenuto spirituale.

È quindi importante non partire dall'attività materiale, ma da quella spirituale, nella quale gli «alunni impegnano la propria attenzione, la propria volontà, la propria esperienza in un lavoro che chiarifica e realizza il mondo esteriore per poterne prendere possesso. [...] Ogni attività, materiale o comunque esteriore, è primamente attività interiore, spirito che si sistema, si chiarisce, si oggettiva e via via si arricchisce di questa sua stessa oggettivazione»⁵⁰.

La scuola che Lucaroni mette in pratica, rispettando i principi contenuti nei nuovi programmi, ruota intorno al concetto di spirito sia per quanto riguarda gli alunni che il maestro. Infatti, non solo essi debbono impegnare se stessi, ma anche l'insegnante, colui che deve essere in continuo rinnovamento e che trasmette il suo sapere nel rispetto della spontaneità e della creatività

⁴⁴ Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare (1860-1985)*, cit., p. 313.

⁴⁵ Lucaroni, *Attività*, in *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., pp. 169-181.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

del fanciullo, anzi, traendo da esse un insegnamento per migliorare il proprio lavoro.

Lucaroni ribasce questo stesso pensiero anche in un altro lavoro, nel quale sostiene che il maestro, colui che si accinge ad educare, come primo dovere ha quello di educarsi, e cioè «di farsi migliore, vigilare la propria vita interiore, colmare le proprie deficienze, sentirsi uomo per farsi costantemente Uomo»⁵¹ e che «educare è, prima di tutto, vivere, sentire la bellezza della vita, celebrare la vita»⁵².

Lucaroni dimostra non solo di aver letto con attenzione i contenuti dei nuovi programmi, ma anche di averli interpretati, analizzati criticamente e fatti propri. Secondo il maestro, coloro che hanno prestato attenzione, come lui, ai programmi, hanno colto la «necessità imprescindibile di rinnovarsi per portar con sé nella scuola la fiamma della fede e dell'amore, e creare da sé il suo sistema, il suo metodo, le sue leggi, la sua scuola»⁵³.

Saranno molti coloro i quali apprezzeranno quanto Lucaroni scrisse sui nuovi programmi, tra questi anche colleghi, direttori, ispettori e provveditori didattici provenienti da ogni parte del paese.

Nel 1927 riceve i complimenti anche da parte del ministro Pietro Fedele:

Egregio Signore, ho assai gradito l'invio del Suo volume «Per la nuova scuola». Ella ha prospettato importanti problemi scolastici. Le porgo vivi ringraziamenti e Le esprimo il mio compiacimento⁵⁴.

L'apprezzamento per i lavori di Lucaroni è dimostrato anche dalle numerose recensioni dei suoi lavori pubblicate su riviste come «Scuola Fascista», «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», «I Diritti della Scuola», «Scuola Italiana Moderna», «L'Educatore della Svizzera Italiana», «L'Azione Fascista», «L'Educazione Nazionale» e «La Diana Scolastica»⁵⁵.

Anche l'ispettore scolastico Riccardo Dal Piaz – vicino a Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, dedicatosi con fervore a promuovere la riforma scolastica della scuola

⁵¹ Lucaroni, *L'insegnamento de la lingua nelle scuole elementari*, cit., p. 7.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Lettera di Pietro Fedele a Lucaroni del 19 aprile 1927, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 42.

⁵⁵ Le recensioni del libro di Lucaroni, *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., sono state pubblicate sulle seguenti riviste: «La Diana Scolastica», n. 3, 30 ottobre 1932 (di R. Galanti); «Scuola Fascista», n. 26, gennaio 1928; «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», n. 13-14, gennaio 1928; «I Diritti della Scuola», n. 18, febbraio 1928; «Il Gruppo d'Azione», n. 9, giugno 1928; «La Scuola Italiana Moderna», n. 20, febbraio 1928; «L'Educatore della Svizzera Italiana», n. 3-4, marzo-aprile 1928. Le recensioni del libro di G. Lucaroni, *L'insegnamento de la lingua nelle scuole elementari* (cit.) sono invece state pubblicate in: «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», n. 23, marzo 1929; «Scuola Fascista», n. 23, marzo 1929; «I Diritti della Scuola», n. 21, marzo 1929; «La Scuola Italiana Moderna», n. 25, aprile 1929. Le recensioni del libro di G. Lucaroni, *Sulle orme* (Montegiorgio, Tip. Carlo Zizzini, 1929), infine, sono state pubblicate in: «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», n. 41, agosto 1929; «L'Azione Fascista», luglio 1929.

elementare delineata con i programmi del 1923⁵⁶ – dimostra apprezzamento verso i lavori di Lucaroni.

Infatti, con una comunicazione del 23 aprile 1929 segnala a tutti gli insegnanti la pubblicazione *L'insegnamento de la lingua nelle scuole elementari*, definendo Lucaroni come «un direttore didattico che studia con coscienza e conosce a fondo l'anima dei fanciulli» e raccomandandosi di studiare il volume in quanto – insieme a quello del prof. Predome sul disegno⁵⁷ – capace di far scomparire dalle scuole «molti errori d'interpretazione dei nuovi programmi, errori che ancora si riscontrano con troppa frequenza, in troppe scuole, e che son dovuti, non a difetto di buona volontà, ma a scarsa o superficiale riflessione critica e autocritica sul fatto educativo, visto e inteso nei suoi motivi ideali e pratici così come li ha pensati, sentiti e meditati il grande riformatore»⁵⁸.

Come è noto, Dal Piaz è un sostenitore di Lombardo Radice e in un interessante contributo di Giorgio Chiosso dedicato al rinnovamento del libro scolastico in seguito alla riforma del 1923⁵⁹, viene inserito nella cerchia dei «lombardiani», ossia di quegli «uomini di scuola che si ritrovano in piena consonanza con gli ideali e le tendenze educative e pedagogiche di Lombardo Radice»⁶⁰, quindi

maestri, direttori didattici, scrittori per l'infanzia con biografie culturali e storie politiche diverse e dunque dai tratti di partenza quasi eterogenei (socialisti umanitari, nazionalisti, cattolici, lettori di Prezzolini e delle sue riviste, simpatizzanti gentiliani, ammiratori dello slancio futurista), ma tutti accomunati dalla passione educativa, dall'impegno della militanza pedagogica, dalla convinzione che attraverso la scuola si compie il riscatto dei ceti popolari e, attraverso questo, si pongono le premesse per una nuova e più matura coscienza nazionale. Un gruppo di maestri che ritrovano negli scritti di Lombardo Radice e di Gentile un punto di riferimento, un invito all'azione, al superamento del precettismo tardo ottocentesco che ancora innerva la scuola italiana d'anteguerra⁶¹.

Chiosso evidenzia che alcuni di essi stringono rapporti anche molto stretti con Lombardo Radice, comunicandogli le proprie esperienze e ricevendo, in cambio, anche incoraggiamenti. Tra questi, si ritiene che debba essere inserito anche il maestro Giovanni Lucaroni, finora poco noto, ma che comunque per la

⁵⁶ Cfr. L. Lombardi, *Riccardo Dal Piaz*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 428.

⁵⁷ E. Predome, *I disegni dei ragazzi: guida allo studio ed all'applicazione del programma 11 novembre 1923 per le scuole elementari e per i corsi integrativi d'avviamento professionale*, Torino, Paravia, 1928.

⁵⁸ Circolare n. 372/1 di Riccardo Dal Piaz in qualità di Ispettore scolastico della VI^o Circoscrizione di Bolzano, in CESCO, Fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 43.

⁵⁹ Cfr. G. Chiosso, *Il rinnovamento del libro scolastico nelle esperienze di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e dei «lombardiani»*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. I, n. 1, 2006, pp. 127-139.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

qualità del suo intervento educativo e per il suo essere inserito in un sistema di relazioni intellettuali altamente qualificato merita di essere rivalutato.

È importante porre l'attenzione su una figura come il maestro Lucaroni in quanto le sue pubblicazioni – gli articoli usciti su note riviste magistrali e i suoi libri – sono risultati essere un'importante guida in un periodo in cui gli insegnanti si sono ritrovati a dover affrontare un concetto di scuola nuovo e diverso da quello a cui erano stati abituati fino a quel momento.

Quindi, da una parte, attraverso il suo archivio personale, è possibile comprendere in che modo i nuovi programmi abbiano influenzato il mondo della scuola; dall'altra, possiamo capire come il maestro abbia interpretato e applicato i principi della riforma, analizzando anche i suoi registri e diari di classe.

3. *L'influsso di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e l'applicazione dei principi pedagogici attivistici nella pratica didattica svolta nella scuola elementare di Mogliano*

È stato ampiamente dimostrato l'entusiasmo con il quale il maestro Lucaroni abbia accolto la nuova visione della scuola introdotta dai programmi di Lombardo Radice: emerge chiaramente dai suoi articoli e dalle sue pubblicazioni, ma anche dai diari e registri di classe, nelle sezioni riservate ai programmi e alle cronache e osservazioni di vita della scuola.

Nel palesare il suo distacco dal precedente sistema, Lucaroni utilizza anche espressioni molto forti: per esempio, nel già citato saggio *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua italiana in quinta classe*, scrive: «Dio ci perdoni il male che abbiamo fatto! E mettiamoci per il nuovo cammino»⁶².

È quindi pronto e determinato nell'intraprendere quel nuovo cammino che conduce ad una scuola rinnovata e che introduce un nuovo rapporto maestro-alunni. All'interno dell'aula scolastica coesistono il maestro e i suoi alunni, ciascuno dei quali con una propria personalità e un proprio spirito che vanno alimentati attraverso le esperienze, i sentimenti, le impressioni, le idee in un clima di confronto, compartecipazione e fiducia.

Il maestro che deve rinnovare continuamente la propria cultura a cui fa riferimento Lombardo Radice nei programmi del 1923, è colui che riconosciamo nella figura di Lucaroni.

Alcuni passaggi all'interno dei registri di classe lo evidenziano in maniera chiara. Per esempio, nell'anno scolastico 1926/27 Lucaroni insegna per la prima volta in una terza classe elementare e nella premessa al programma didattico⁶³

⁶² Lucaroni, *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua italiana in quinta classe*, cit., p. 31.

⁶³ Il programma didattico è contenuto in un quaderno manoscritto, scritto di proprio pugno

ragiona sul fatto che non sia necessario un programma didattico eccessivamente minuzioso per diverse ragioni.

Innanzitutto, secondo il maestro, difficilmente corrisponderà al reale svolgimento del lavoro scolastico, «pieno di numerose difficoltà che nella compilazione teorica del programma non sono né possono essere quasi mai previste e valutate»⁶⁴ e, inoltre, potrebbe intralciare lo svolgimento stesso dell'azione scolastica tra dubbi, perplessità o deviazioni della scolaresca. Per questi motivi, presenta un programma generale e indicativo – come, tra l'altro, è indicato nei programmi di studio e nelle prescrizioni didattiche per le scuole elementari che, nella premessa, avvisano che si tratta di programmi di studio con carattere indicativo in modo da lasciare libero il maestro di usare i mezzi opportuni per realizzare il lavoro che lo Stato si attende – ed è ciò che intende fare anche Lucaroni, dando priorità all'indicare come intende svolgere i punti essenziali menzionati, «ciò che secondo il mio modesto parere e la mia convinzione, dà veramente valore didattico al programma»⁶⁵.

Lucaroni non vuole indicare nel dettaglio quale sarà il programma da svolgere, proprio per sentirsi libero di trovare i mezzi e gli strumenti necessari nel corso dell'anno, anche in base agli alunni; così come non vuole insegnare né con quella cultura e quella metodologia che ha acquisito in sedici anni di insegnamento nelle quarte e nelle quinte né consultando opuscoli e riviste. Egli vuole sentirsi libero nell'interpretazione dei programmi ministeriali «per serbare maggiore indipendenza didattica e più schietta autonomia di fronte alla scolaresca» e come unica guida intende servirsi di una sua personale intuizione didattica collegata alla conoscenza della mentalità e della capacità culturale dei fanciulli e dell'ambiente.

La diversa concezione del fanciullo introdotta dai nuovi programmi risulta anche da un altro passaggio nel registro dell'anno scolastico 1933/34⁶⁶, quando Lucaroni insegna sempre a una terza classe che risulta sin da subito molto indisciplinata. La reazione del maestro è quella di non considerare subito la classe «cattiva», perché i bambini di 8-9 anni non possono esserlo, ma, secondo lui, sono indisciplinati in quanto abituati a «ciarlar senza scopo, uscire dai posti senza permessi» e disattenti. Di fronte a questo problema di disciplina, Lucaroni è pronto a un mese di lavoro profondo per «afferrarne le teste, le volontà, le intelligenze e piegare – adagio, adagio – a quel... molto lavoro che la classe richiede per il suo programma non certo indifferente»⁶⁷.

da Lucaroni in: ASICM, busta «Registri di classe 1924/27 Mogliano».

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Il registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1933/34 è conservato in: ASICM, busta «Mogliano Registri classe 1933/34».

⁶⁷ Cronaca ed osservazione dell'insegnante sulla vita della scuola del 22 settembre 1933, in Registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1933/34, cit.

Il maestro si prepara quindi a quel ruolo attivo che lo vedrà impegnato a trasmettere il sapere agli alunni cercando di far accendere in loro l'interesse, partendo dalle volontà e dalle intelligenze che appartengono ad essi.

Giovanni Lucaroni oltre ad applicare a scuola i principi della pedagogia lombardiana, riesce ad attirare l'attenzione dello stesso Lombardo Radice, entrando in corrispondenza con lui tra il 1926 e il 1932 e ottenendo – come abbiamo già indicato – l'uscita di alcuni suoi articoli su «L'Educazione Nazionale».

Probabilmente è stato proprio Saraz a far conoscere Giovanni Lucaroni a Lombardo Radice, in quanto il suo nome ricorre in maniera frequente nella loro corrispondenza. A partire dalla prima lettera del 25 ottobre 1926, nella quale si legge:

Carissimo, il nostro Saraz è ben contento che Lei scriva su Ed. Naz. L'articolo, breve, chiaro, scritto magnificamente, va subito in tipografia, con due lievissimi tagli di spunti polemici, ma non toccano affatto la sostanza, ma la [illeggibile]. [...] Veda di diffondere anche questo organo di educazione che mi costa tanta tanta fatica e salute e denaro⁶⁸.

È del 15 marzo 1927 la cartolina successiva inviata da Lombardo Radice, nella quale chiede a Lucaroni:

Egregio Lucaroni, La prego di spedirmi una copia del suo vol. su Mogliano alla Dr. Butts⁶⁹, Bureau intern[ational] d'éducation, rue Charles Bonnet, 4 Genève (Svizzera), e di scriverle una cartolina per spiegarle che si tratta di un 'Heimatbuch' sul tipo di quello da lei citato, ringraziando Osterfingen⁷⁰. Ci tengo molto. Grazie⁷¹.

Lucaroni risponde il 18 marzo 1927⁷² avvisando di aver inviato il volume e dicendo quanto sia

profondamente obbligato dell'interessamento che nè io nè la mia modestissima opera di povero maestro sperduto meritiamo. Vivo nella scuola lavorando per la scuola, col desiderio, mai pago, di compiere il mio dovere; e se qualche cosa di buono posso in qualche modo

⁶⁸ Lettera di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice a Lucaroni del 25 ottobre 1926, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 34.

⁶⁹ Marie Butts (1870-1953), educatrice e scrittrice francese, fu la prima segretaria generale del Bureau international d'éducation di Ginevra dal 1926 al 1953, quando l'organismo internazionale era diretto da Pierre Bovet and Jean Piaget.

⁷⁰ Si fa qui riferimento al volume: Kommission für Heimatforschung der Kanton Schaffhausen (ed.), *Osterfingen: ein Heimatbuch für Jugend und Volk*, Schaffhausen, Bachmann, 1925. Il volume uscì come terzo numero della collana «Beiträge zur Heimatforschung» in qualità di supplemento alla XXXI^a Conferenza degli insegnanti del Cantone di Schaffhausen nella Svizzera tedesca.

⁷¹ Lettera di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice del 15 marzo 1927, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 25.

⁷² Lettera di Lucaroni a Lombardo Radice del 18 marzo 1927, in Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione «Mauro Laeng» di Roma (d'ora in avanti: MSER), fondo «Giuseppe Lombardo Radice» (d'ora in avanti: GLR), serie «Corrispondenza generale», c. L.30.1.

concretare lo devo a Lei che da più anni mi guida con le sue opere e con la sua meravigliosa e sbalorditiva attività⁷³.

Il volume a cui Lombardo Radice ha fatto riferimento nella lettera è quello che Lucaroni ha scritto insieme al collega e amico moglianese Nicola Ripamonti⁷⁴, *Mogliano: leggenda, storia, dialetto*⁷⁵, una guida che presenta, nella prima parte, la leggenda e la storia di Mogliano e, nella seconda parte, è incentrata sul dialetto indicando alcune norme sul linguaggio dialettale ed esercizi per la traduzione⁷⁶.

Lombardo Radice recensisce entusiasticamente questo lavoro su «Scuola Italiana Moderna» in quanto «importante perfezionamento dello studio regionale»⁷⁷. Dopo una premessa nella quale sottolinea come al carattere trattatistico, cioè astratto, dello studio geografico, storico, scientifico, si sia sostituito uno studio sperimentale, ossia lo «studio che impegna l'alunno a rendersi conto della propria esperienza diretta», quindi a osservare e a intuire il proprio mondo, il pedagogo catanese presenta il libro di Lucaroni e Ripamonti tracciandone i caratteri essenziali, per poi affermare:

Chi è maestro, e non solo insegnante, si metta sulla via indicata da Lucaroni e Ripamonti [...] Studii il territorio, frughi nell'archivio parrocchiale o comunale, studii i monumenti del luogo, raccolga le leggende, esamini il territorio sotto ogni aspetto, raccolga piante, insetti; visiti officine, aziende agricole; in una parola spiritualizzi il suo mondo⁷⁸.

Questo lavoro non attira l'interesse solo di Lombardo Radice, ma sono numerosi gli apprezzamenti che giungono ai due maestri. Per esempio, in una recensione pubblicata su «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», l'autore scrive che

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Nicola Ripamonti, maestro, fu collega di Lucaroni a Mogliano e suo caro amico. I due, oltre ad aver scritto *Mogliano: leggenda, storia, dialetto*, hanno pubblicato insieme: *Mogliano nel Risorgimento d'Italia*, Montegiorgio, Tip. Carlo Zizzini, 1927. Ripamonti nasce il 27 aprile 1883 a Mogliano; dopo aver ottenuto incarichi d'insegnamento in alcuni comuni del Fermano e del Maceratese (Massa Fermana, Monte Vidon Corrado, Francavilla d'Ete e Loro Piceno), insegnò nella scuola elementare di Mogliano.

⁷⁵ G. Lucaroni, N. Ripamonti, *Mogliano: leggenda, storia, dialetto*, Montegiorgio, Tip. Zizzini, 1926.

⁷⁶ Su questo tema, in particolare, si veda: M. D'Alessio, *Quei "manualetti" ritrovati: l'insegnamento dal dialetto alla lingua*, in G. Fiorentino (ed.), *Perché la grammatica? La didattica dell'italiano tra scuola e università*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, pp. 158-174; Ead., *A scuola fra casa e patria. Dialetto e cultura regionale nei libri di testo durante il fascismo*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2013; Ead., *La "didattica degli editori" nei manuali per la scuola elementare dopo Gentile: i libri di cultura regionale sulla Basilicata*, in V. Bosna, A. Cagnolati (edd.), *Itinerari nella storiografia educativa*, Bari, Cacucci, 2019, pp. 63-88.

⁷⁷ G. Lombardo Radice, *Osterfingen e Mogliano ovvero: delle "Guide locali" nelle scuole*, «Scuola Italiana Moderna», n. 10, 3 dicembre 1927, pp. 68-69.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

Gli AA., senza dubbio, hanno vinto una bella battaglia a favore della scuola rinnovata, e Colui che cercò di fissarne nei programmi lo spirito animatore, mostra non tanto il desiderio che il libro trovi una larga eco di consensi nel campo magistrale, ma la viva speranza che possa suscitare in una schiera di volenterosi la 'necessità' di porsi sulla via segnata dagli AA.⁷⁹

Il volume costituisce un importante contributo che pone l'attenzione su una novità dei programmi scolastici, ossia quella legata al dialetto a scuola, che aveva suscitato scandalo e perplessità⁸⁰.

Lombardo Radice aveva riservato grande attenzione a questo aspetto «ai fini della salvaguardia della spontaneità infantile» e considerandolo «strumento essenziale per valorizzare le culture locali»⁸¹. Da un'attenta lettura del programma, appare chiaro come il pedagogista catanese attribuisca al dialetto una posizione subalterna rispetto alla lingua italiana.

Ciò è dimostrato dal fatto che sotto la voce «Lecture ed esercizi scritti di lingua italiana», emerge che, per la classe seconda elementare, sono previsti solamente «esercizi metodici e graduati di dettatura, rivolti specialmente a combattere gli errori di ortografia, più frequenti perché suggeriti dal dialetto». Solo a partire dalla terza elementare il dialetto occupa un posto più importante, in quanto nel programma sono introdotte nozioni pratiche di grammatica ed esercizi grammaticali con riferimento al dialetto e gli alunni sono impegnati in esercizi di traduzione dal dialetto utilizzando proverbi, indovinelli e novelline. In quarta e in quinta classe sono ancora presenti i riferimenti al dialetto, sempre relativi all'esercizio della traduzione⁸².

Quello che molti maestri non comprendono è che, in realtà, il dialetto non è stato inserito come materia, ma come dato comparativo che, utilizzato in maniera 'contrastativa' serve per acquisire la lingua italiana e per questo viene elaborato il metodo 'dal dialetto alla lingua' e vengono predisposti numerosi manualetti di esercizi di traduzione dal dialetto⁸³. È stato, quindi, introdotto come avviamento allo studio della lingua.

L'attenzione riservata al dialetto comunque risulta chiara anche dall'indicazione del libro per gli esercizi di traduzione dal dialetto come materiale per lo scolaro, «materiale sceltissimo, tratto dalla più schietta letteratura dialettale, di popolo o d'arte, e di contenuto educativo; accompagnato da annotazioni grammaticali molto sobrie, per il confronto con l'italiano. Una metà dei passi sarà data con la traduzione a fianco; gli altri, senza la traduzione. Le parti dedicate alla quarta e alla quinta classe avranno un piccolo vocabolario dialettale-italiano»⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ Recensione del libro *Mogliano: leggenda, storia, dialetto* (cit.) pubblicata su «La Nuova Scuola Italiana», n. 20, febbraio 1928, p. 605.

⁸⁰ Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

Il ruolo del dialetto a scuola, attraverso il quale si dimostra il rispetto nei confronti della spontaneità del fanciullo e si insegna la lingua, è ben spiegato da Lucaroni nel già citato saggio *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua in quinta classe*, nel quale ritroviamo ancora quel rapporto di compartecipazione tra maestro e alunno. Infatti, Lucaroni sostiene che per insegnare la lingua, non può *travasare* la sua di lingua nella mente del discepolo, ma dovrà incitarlo ad esprimere se stesso, il suo mondo «così come può, come sa, nella sua forma che in quel determinato momento è logica, è perfetta, è viva». Il confronto tra le due lingue⁸⁵ deve permettere al fanciullo di migliorare la sua e di crearne una nuova, ma che sia «sempre rispondente alla sua anima, al suo mondo, al suo pensiero, al suo spirito che si va ricreando e realizzando ad ogni attimo»⁸⁶.

Lucaroni sostiene che la lingua con cui entra l'alunno a scuola va rispettata, in quanto appartiene ad esso e al suo mondo. Compito del maestro è quello di «dar chiarezza al suo parlare»:

Io debbo farlo parlare così, farlo esprimere e farlo anche scrivere così con la vivezza e l'acume del suo frasario: perché il mio ed il suo nuovo lavoro dovrà essere di traduzione. Ecco la sua parola dialettale, ecco la parola nostra italiana; ecco la sua frase, ecco la nostra frase, la frase italiana. Il pensiero è suo, è intangibile, è il suo giudizio espresso francamente lealmente. Insegnerò dunque grammatica insegnando la lingua; insegnerò la lingua facendo in modo ch'egli, col mio aiuto, ricrei la sua lingua, il suo pensiero, il suo sapere⁸⁷.

Lucaroni, quindi, svolge il suo lavoro di educatore nel rispetto della spontaneità e della creatività dell'alunno, in collaborazione con esso e lasciando che egli si esprima su cose realmente viste, vissute. Egli lascia libero l'alunno di esprimere se stesso, le sue impressioni, i suoi sentimenti, i suoi giudizi.

Anche nel registro di classe Lucaroni ribadisce questa sua convinzione. Infatti, nel programma dell'anno scolastico 1928/29⁸⁸, il maestro nella parte riservata a «Lecture ed esercizi di lingua italiana» spiega che

⁸⁵ Si consideri, infatti, che un gran numero di alunni, soprattutto quelli provenienti dalle campagne, conoscevano solo il dialetto come lingua, come confermato dal testimone Dino Giuliani, nato il 20 agosto 1929 a Mogliano e intervistato il 22 settembre 2019. Giuliani, ex-alunno del maestro Lucaroni, ha raccontato: «Io parlavo solo dialetto moglianese, non conoscevo altra lingua, poi a scuola ho imparato un po' di italiano. Il maestro Lucaroni era molto preciso nelle spiegazioni».

⁸⁶ Lucaroni, *Lettura ed esercizi di lingua in quinta classe*, cit., p. 30.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁸ Registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1928/29, in ASICM, busta «Registri di classe 1927/29». Non si comprendono i motivi per cui il giornale di classe V dell'anno scolastico 1928/29 dotato della suddetta sezione riservata alla programmazione didattica non sia stato opportunamente compilato dal maestro il quale, come aveva già fatto negli anni precedenti (anno scolastico 1926/27), provvede su carta libera di proprio pugno al programma didattico 1928/29, mentre nel registro compaiono cronaca e osservazioni dell'insegnante sulla vita della scuola. È altresì interessante notare come i diari di classe prestampati della tipografia C. Zizzini di Montegiorgio utilizzati fino all'anno scolastico 1926/27 non comprendessero al proprio interno sezioni specifiche inerenti la programmazione didattica, motivi per il quale si pensa che il maestro

La lingua non essendo materia a se stante e non potendo quindi per sé stessa essere insegnata, formerà oggetto di cura di ogni altra disciplina. S'insegna lingua parlando di storia, di scienze, di aritmetica, di geografia e più ancora curando l'espressione del linguaggio comune, giornaliero, dialettale.

Lucaroni spiega che alcuni credono che il dialetto sia oggetto di insegnamento, ma in realtà non è così: si tratta solo di un punto di riferimento, una base sulla quale sviluppare il corretto apprendimento della lingua nazionale. Il lavoro da svolgere in classe, secondo il maestro, è «di parallelo, di confronto, di richiamo, di sostituzione; in quanto si deve far notare all'alunno che alla sua frase dialettale, viva, reale, espressiva, corrisponde la tal frase italiana e viceversa; in modo che l'uno e l'altra si vengono integrando e chiarificando man mano che si rende integra e chiara l'idea, il concetto, il pensiero e cioè il sapere organizzato della scolaresca»⁸⁹.

Attraverso questi due esempi, appare chiaro come Lucaroni abbia interpretato in maniera corretta il pensiero di Lombardo Radice sull'introduzione del dialetto a scuola, che permette di mantenere e conservare la genuinità espressiva del fanciullo.

Il maestro marchigiano dimostrerà anche con alcuni successivi scritti la piena comprensione del programma, ma nel 1927, con la morte improvvisa del suo amico Saraz, rischia di perdere per sempre alcuni suoi lavori. Scrive a Lombardo Radice il 20 maggio 1927, a un mese dalla scomparsa del direttore de «La Tecnica Scolastica» esprimendo la sua preoccupazione per alcuni manoscritti conservati presso di lui:

Presso il povero Saraz giacevano i manoscritti di due unici lavoretti (*L'insegnamento della lingua italiana nelle scuole elementari* e *Il libro delle ore serene per le occupazioni ricreative*) che dovevano far parte della Collezione da Lui diretta. Il figliolo Omar mi scrive che Lei assume la Direzione della Raccolta. Le mie umilissime cose non hanno alcun valore e non so se Lei permetterà che si stampino. Comunque, se qualche utile se ne potesse trarre, vorrei che andasse a completo vantaggio della famiglia del Saraz. Faccio appello alla Sua bontà, già immeritatamente dimostratami, perché questa, che può essere una ingenua sciocchezza, non abbia a suonare offesa; il che mi procurerebbe un grande dolore. Ne ho scritto al Sig. [illeggibile] che mi ha chiesto le mie decisioni. La prego caldamente di interpretare il mio sentimento, che è di riconoscenza; e di perdonare tutto il fastidio che ho più volte arrecato. Con ogni deferente ossequio⁹⁰.

Lucaroni, in adempimento a quanto stabilito dalle norme recentemente introdotte dalla riforma Gentile, abbia sua sponte deciso di redigere su carta libera e di proprio pugno dei programmi didattici particolareggiati dell'anno scolastico 1926/27, non trovando spazio necessario all'interno della modulistica ufficiale.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Lettera di Lucaroni a Lombardo Radice del 20 maggio 1927, in MSER, GLR, serie «Corrispondenza generale», c. L.30.2.

Saraz ha rappresentato per molti anni un punto di riferimento nel mondo pedagogico per il maestro marchigiano, offrendogli la possibilità di far circolare le proprie idee sulle novità scolastiche. Il legame è talmente forte che Lucaroni comunica a Lombardo Radice la propria volontà di lasciare eventuali guadagni ricavati dalle pubblicazioni alla famiglia di Saraz e gli esprime la sua più profonda riconoscenza. Da questo momento in poi sarà il pedagogista catanese a offrire supporto a Lucaroni, il quale sicuramente vive questa corrispondenza con grande entusiasmo ed emozione, considerato che ha la possibilità di relazionarsi con colui che ha ispirato la sua vita professionale.

Nella risposta del 31 maggio 1927 Lombardo Radice avvisa Lucaroni che «i manoscritti sono sempre presso i Saraz. Io attendo una risposta di Mondadori; che in verità tarda troppo. Le scriverò appena sarà giunto l'impegno del Mondadori»⁹¹. Lombardo Radice esprimerà nuovamente il proprio apprezzamento nei confronti degli scritti di Lucaroni l'anno successivo, quando, il 28 gennaio, il pedagogista catanese, scrive:

Caro Lucaroni, come è bello, schietto, vivo il suo articolo sulla Pedagogia! Lo pubblicherò, ma se lei mi autorizza a togliere l'unico periodo in cui ci sia un accenno politico, sarò più contento. Coloro che mi vogliono male attribuirebbero a mia voglia di arrivare qualsiasi accenno anche di altri collaboratori da me accolti che scrivesse lode politica. Io sono in disparte e lavoro per tutti, un [*illeggibile*] che così bisogna fare per guardare e tenersi all'interno della scuola, che tanti tanti sacrificano. Perciò voglio dar l'esempio di un contributo sereno sulla vita della scuola scevro di qualsiasi forma di riferimento alla politica, cui non chiedo nulla se non che innalzi la scuola⁹².

Lucaroni autorizza il taglio del periodo «che nulla aggiunge alla povertà dello scritto»

ma Le sono vivamente grato della benevolenza che mi dimostra e che so di non meritare. *Senza Pedagogia* che le ho spedito è (almeno nell'intuizione) la prima di una piccola serie di puntate brevissime sull'argomento. Sono stato fortemente dubbioso sulla forma prescelta, leggera e quasi frivola, ma forse preferita, oggi.

Se crede che la rivista non ci scapiti mi permetterò inviare qualche altra puntata.

Avevo avuto il permesso di compilare sull'argomento un opuscolo; ma so ormai – purtroppo – quante difficoltà si oppongono alla stampa di scritti che non abbiano un indiscutibile valore. Ne sono esempio quelle mie povere cose che trovava presso di sé e Saraz. Se sapesse come ne sono mortificato.

La ringrazio tanto di quel che scrisse su *Mogliano* e di quel che ha scritto per *La Nuova Scuola*. Voglia scusare il fastidio che le arreo, perdonarmi per il tempo che Le rubo ed accettare la mia devozione⁹³.

⁹¹ Lettera di Lombardo Radice a Lucaroni del 31 maggio 1927, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 30.

⁹² Lettera di Lombardo Radice a Lucaroni del 28 gennaio 1928, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 6.

⁹³ Lettera di Lucaroni a Lombardo Radice del 1 febbraio 1928, in MSER, GLR, serie «Corrispondenza generale», c. L.30.3.

Il maggior riconoscimento del valore degli scritti di Lucaroni da parte di Lombardo Radice risiede probabilmente nella citazione che il pedagogista catanese inserisce nel suo *Problema dell'educazione infantile*⁹⁴, nel quale nel paragrafo intitolato «Studi didattici intorno alla riforma della scuola», riporta i lavori più significativi, tra cui, tra quelli che espongono con maggiore o minore larghezza la riforma didattica del 1923, «Per la scuola attiva» di Giuseppe Giovanazzi e «Per la nuova scuola» di Giovanni Lucaroni, considerandoli «più che una esposizione della riforma, un personale contributo allo svolgimento di essa, e un ripensamento originale dei suoi motivi». Inoltre, viene segnalato anche il «pregevole volume su *L'insegnamento della lingua*».

Il pedagogista catanese parla di Lucaroni anche con i suoi allievi: due di loro, infatti, si rivolgono al maestro. Ettore Timi in una lettera del 18 febbraio 1930⁹⁵ esprime gratitudine e ammirazione nei confronti di Lucaroni in quanto gli ha donato alcuni volumi specificando di «avere avuto la fortuna di conoscere un forte e geniale scrittore, il cui nome, a me ancora sconosciuto, fu suggerito dal mio eccelso professore Lombardo-Radice, l'antesignano della scuola pedagogica moderna»; un'altra lettera è quella di una persona di Montefiore Conca (Emilia-Romagna) iscritta a sostenere l'esame di concorso a posti d'insegnante elementare, che scrive «il Prof. Lombardo-Radice, mi ha additato Lei come persona 'di grande ingegno e di cuore generoso' ed io vengo a Lei, con fede piena d'avere una guida buona e una luce che mi illumini e mi conforti»⁹⁶.

Nella vita di Lucaroni, Lombardo Radice è sempre stato un punto di riferimento, attraverso le sue idee e i suoi principi, e lo diventa maggiormente con la morte di Saraz, il quale aveva offerto al maestro sostegno e dimostrato dedizione per i suoi lavori. Se le parole di Lucaroni ci dimostrano e ci confermano continuamente la sua adesione ai principi dell'idealismo lombardiano, anche quelle di Lombardo Radice indicano la grande attenzione rivolta nei confronti del maestro, che si intensifica nel momento in cui viene a mancare colui che probabilmente li aveva messi in contatto.

Lucaroni vuol diventare quel maestro descritto nei programmi ministeriali, quindi quell'educatore che cerca sempre di rendersi migliore ricercando nell'esperienza e in se stesso consigli e suggerimenti. Nei suoi lavori così come nei registri, tende sempre a tracciare una linea di condotta, un piano di lavoro per la nuova scuola. Per lui conta la lettura, che «deve occupare un posto addirittura preminente, il primissimo, forse, fra tutte le discipline scolastiche» e il suo compito è quello di far «capire, a sentire il bello, il buono, il giusto, che

⁹⁴ G. Lombardo Radice, *Il problema dell'educazione infantile*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1928.

⁹⁵ Lettera di Ettore Timi a Lucaroni del 18 febbraio 1930, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 21.

⁹⁶ Lettera del 30 marzo 1927 di Ottaviana Renia Cavolli [?] a Lucaroni, in CESCO, fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «Recensioni e giudizi», c. 16.

serva a configgere nelle piccole anime l'aculeo di quel dolce desiderio che spinge ad essere attivo, a vivere, a creare»⁹⁷.

Uno dei punti cardine del pensiero di Lombardo Radice, come più volte ricordato, è rappresentato dal rispetto della spontaneità infantile. Lucaroni non fa alcuna fatica nell'adattarsi, sin dall'entrata in vigore della riforma, a questo principio, così come nell'aderire completamente al programma indicato, che riporta sempre nel registro, talvolta dividendolo per gruppi di lezioni.

I nuovi programmi sembrano rappresentare nuova linfa per Lucaroni che ha così la possibilità di mettere in pratica ciò in cui ha sempre creduto, come dimostrano i registri di classe analizzati, ossia quelli dal 1924/25 al 1933/34.

È interessante notare che il maestro Lucaroni abbia compilato, negli anni scolastici 1924/25 e 1925/26, il «Prospetto degli alunni divisi in gruppi di capacità» scritti di pugno su fogli di protocollo non prestampati.

Di gruppi di capacità si parla nel programma ministeriale nella parte dedicata all'insegnamento del disegno nella classe 3^a e 4^a: al primo punto è indicato «accertamenti del maestro sul senso del rapporto, della forma, della posizione, del colorito degli oggetti da riprodurre e distinzione degli scolari in gruppi di capacità».

Dal prospetto del maestro appare chiaro che i gruppi di capacità sono stati fatti per tutte le materie. Nel 1924/25 Lucaroni si limita a dividere il foglio in griglie che riportano i nomi dei mesi (ottobre, novembre, dicembre, gennaio e luglio), dove, a ogni mese, corrispondono cinque colonne che indicano, rispettivamente, un giudizio (lodevoli, buoni, sufficienti, mediocri, insufficienti). In queste colonne, ogni mese, il maestro inserisce i nomi degli alunni.

Nel prospetto dell'anno successivo Lucaroni introduce, invece, anche alcune osservazioni sui gruppi di capacità. La divisione è la stessa: all'interno di questi fogli sono state disegnate delle griglie e riportati i mesi di ottobre, novembre, dicembre, gennaio, giugno e luglio, ciascuno dei quali è suddiviso in colonne corrispondenti a cinque giudizi (lodevoli, buoni, sufficienti, mediocri, insufficienti).

Nella sezione dedicata al mese di ottobre, Lucaroni, apponendo la data del 31 ottobre 1925, scrive

Divisione, s'intende molto approssimata e niente affatto assoluta; che riguarda, in ogni modo, non il valore e la classifica dell'alunno per quello che sa, ma per quello che, al lume del primo esame intuitivo, penso che potrà sapere. V'è incluso il giudizio sulla condotta, sull'ordine, sulla pulizia e sulla buona volontà dimostrata in questo primissimo periodo.

Nel mese di novembre – in data 30 novembre 1925 – commenta:

N.B. Il livello intellettuale della classe, intesa come potenzialità e non come fatto, è un poco aumentato, ma rimane pur sempre il gran nemico da debellare: la neghittosità sonnolenta

⁹⁷ Lucaroni, *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., pp. 24, 26-27.

di questi scolari, abituati a dormire in classe, ad occhi aperti, tutti i loro pacifici sonni spirituali. Rimane ancora una avversione grandissima per l'aritmetica nelle scolare e ... molte lacune sono in tutti, che difficilmente saranno potute colmare.

A fine dicembre confessa di non essere ancora soddisfatto:

Volendo ancora esprimere un giudizio complessivo sull'andamento della classe, devo, purtroppo, dimostrare ancora il mio malcontento. La classe non rende! Si possono notare agevolmente deficienze personali sia come preparazione culturale sia come capacità statica. Il vizio capitale di tutti questi ragazzi e specialmente delle alunne è quello di non aver mai capito il modo di stare a scuola. Ritengono ancora la scuola come luogo in cui andare ad ascoltare quattro chiacchiere per ripeterle senza costrutto, invece che un posto di lavoro e di sforzo per migliorare la propria vita!

Dall'analisi di queste prime riflessioni sui gruppi di capacità, essi sembrano essere uno strumento di corredo alla valutazione degli alunni, che è già presente nel registro e che è stata compilata dal maestro Lucaroni ma comprendono anche riflessioni e ragionamenti personali, come quelli del mese di gennaio:

Si è fatto un bel cammino dal 1° di ottobre! Un ragazzo che era stato qualificato assolutamente refrattario in aritmetica, oggi è il migliore, e non solo in aritmetica! È una bella soddisfazione. Ma le alunne! ... Nessuna volontà, nessuna serietà, nessuna applicazione!... Forse un poco è colpa del programma al quale non prendono interesse. Come può riuscire interessante tutta la scienza, tutta la geografia e tutta l'aritmetica che formano invece $\frac{3}{4}$ dell'insegnamento? Potrebbero fare di più, però, e non vogliono: ecco il loro difetto principale al quale però sono state abituate fin dalle prime classi, perché in esse mancano sovente anche i più semplici elementi.

Nello spazio riservato ai mesi di giugno e luglio il maestro riporta solamente i nomi degli alunni sotto la colonna dei giudizi.

I prospetti conservati nei registri di Lucaroni sembrano rappresentare, quindi, il giudizio dell'insegnante nei confronti degli alunni e, attraverso essi, è possibile osservare l'andamento della classe nel corso dell'anno.

Sui gruppi di capacità Raffaele Resta⁹⁸ ha pubblicato due interessanti contributi sulla rivista «I Diritti della Scuola». Nel primo⁹⁹ sottolinea il fatto che il modo d'intendere e di compilare tale prospetto è lasciato alla ragionevole iniziativa del docente. Infatti, come si vedrà a breve, Lucaroni realizza tali prospetti secondo uno schema diverso da quello proposto da Resta.

⁹⁸ Raffaele Resta è stato maestro, direttore didattico, ispettore e professore universitario. Ha insegnato, dal 1924, Pedagogia e Filosofia presso il Magistero di Messina, e nel 1935 passò sulla cattedra di Pedagogia all'Università di Genova, insegnando anche Filosofia della religione e svolgendo l'incarico di preside della Facoltà di Magistero (cfr. G. Zago, *Raffaele Resta*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 403-404).

⁹⁹ R. Resta, *I "gruppi di capacità". Come si formano*, «I diritti della scuola», vol. XXV, n. 22, 23 marzo 1924, pp. 365-366.

Innanzitutto, secondo Resta, «un campo irto di controverse difficoltà si para davanti qualora uno si metta in testa di comporre i gruppi di capacità in base a definizioni psicologiche e logiche, cioè in termini di attitudini sensoriali, rappresentative, mnemoniche, affettive ecc». I maestri devono lasciare da parte la psicologia e devono considerare quattro grandi categorie – delle quali ciascuna prospetta l'unità dell'uomo secondo un distinto tipo di mentalità – le quali sono condotta, discipline umanistiche, discipline realistiche e discipline artistiche, distinte in manuali e vocali. In base al profitto dimostrato, gli alunni possono elencarsi in queste quattro categorie.

Secondo Resta, un elemento essenziale di questi gruppi di capacità dev'essere costituito dal grado con cui gli alunni posseggono le capacità stesse, e ciò vuol dire che i quattro gruppi vanno suddivisi in tre sottogruppi, corrispondenti il primo a lodevole, il secondo a buono sufficiente, il terzo a mediocre e insufficiente. La suddivisione così illustrata non corrisponde, invece, a quella adottata dal maestro Lucaroni, che tiene distinti i cinque giudizi.

In un successivo articolo¹⁰⁰, Resta sottolinea l'importanza di questo prospetto in quanto «strumento di riflessione pratica e di utilità pratica per lui stesso e per il profitto scolastico», che si corrisponde e si integra con un'altra novità dei programmi del 1923, ossia il diario della classe in quanto «il diario della classe riguarda le differenziazioni individuali del profitto e il loro decorso nell'anno (profitto dev'essere inteso ogni aspetto della valorizzazione educativa degli alunni) e il prospetto dei gruppi di capacità riguarda appunto le differenziazioni collettive, cioè di un gruppo, delle forme di profitto scolastico».

Per Resta l'introduzione del prospetto è molto utile in quanto «giova assai alla pronta ed esatta comprensione dello stato e del grado di profitto di una classe; giova al maestro, al direttore e all'ispettore, per l'esame e la valutazione del profitto della classe stessa. Usatelo a questo scopo e ve ne accorgete». Uno strumento da utilizzare come «un organo di vita, non un prospetto o un pezzo di carta da aggiungere agli altri della burocrazia scolastica».

Lo stesso Lucaroni, nel 1925, pubblica un articolo sui gruppi di capacità¹⁰¹. Per Lucaroni è l'occasione per ribadire un pensiero che ritorna spesso nei suoi scritti, ossia il fatto che una parte degli insegnanti elementari applichino la riforma fino ad un certo punto.

Lucaroni trae questa conclusione dalla «leggerezza con la quale si redigono i famosi gruppi di capacità». Dalle parole di Lucaroni è evidente una forte polemica nei confronti di quei colleghi che non hanno compreso a pieno il contenuto della riforma, «nonostante l'esplicito dovere di far da sé, di pensare con la propria testa, di rigenerare e rinsanguare costantemente la propria cultura tuffandosi un po' nell'attività spirituale del loro tempo, trovano tuttavia molto

¹⁰⁰ Id., *I "gruppi di capacità". A che cosa devono servire*, «I diritti della scuola», vol. XXV, n. 23, 30 marzo 1924, pp. 383-384.

¹⁰¹ Lucaroni, *I gruppi di capacità*, in *Per la nuova scuola*, cit., pp. 45-51.

più comodo seguir le vie aperte e spianate, e trincerarsi dietro un: – Così dice il tale – Così dice il tal altro...».

In tanti considerano i gruppi di capacità inutili e un duplicato del diario di classe, ma, come sostiene Lucaroni, non è così nel momento in cui la scuola viene considerata di vita, di poesia, di azione e i documenti scolastici vanno considerati come elementi di vita e giustificati da reali necessità. In questo modo

divengono uno specchio fedele della situazione spirituale e culturale della classe, il barometro intellettuale, l'indice esatto del progresso della scolaresca presa nella sua realtà collettiva, come unità composta di singoli e come singoli che compongono l'unità. Documento di buon senso, per il quale non occorrono né moduli, né caselle, né categorie fisse di classificazione. Occorre invece riconoscergli l'importanza che ha e compilarlo con coscienza, con serietà e, quel che più conta, con sincerità: ed il maestro e la scuola ne trarranno i dovuti vantaggi¹⁰².

Lucaroni ribadisce, quindi, l'utilità del prospetto dei gruppi di capacità, che però non ritroviamo all'interno dei registri degli anni successivi, così come non ne fa alcun riferimento nelle cronache scolastiche, e quindi non ci è dato sapere se non li abbia più compilati o se siano andati persi.

Tra le novità dei nuovi programmi, si nota il ruolo attribuito all'insegnamento della religione, che la legge considera fondamento e coronamento degli studi elementari. Lucaroni, nel programma didattico dell'anno scolastico 1926/27¹⁰³, esprime un suo personale convincimento, ossia che la religione non deve essere insegnata come una serie di nozioni catechistiche o intellettuali, ma come tonalità spirituale e come «quotidiana pratica di bene compiuta in nome di Colui che mostrò con la sua vita terrena il cammino della virtù e del sacrificio». Per questo motivo, per il maestro marchigiano non si tratta di insegnamento religioso, ma di «educazione religiosa», dove gli alunni non devono imparare a memoria norme catechistiche. Appare chiaro che Lucaroni, attraverso questa materia, intende arricchire lo spirito dell'alunno trasmettendo principi di carità, di bontà, di tolleranza, di paternità cristiana e di obbedienza. Tali principi non devono essere solo spiegati con la teoria, ma, affinché gli alunni li comprendano, è sempre richiesta l'applicazione quotidiana.

Dai registri del maestro Lucaroni emergono anche alcune sue posizioni su aspetti della scuola, come le classi miste e l'obbligo di indossare il grembiule.

Infatti, nel registro dell'anno scolastico 1932/33 Lucaroni esprime la sua contrarietà nei confronti della promiscuità, spiegando che «apprezza i vantaggi che teoricamente la giustificano dal punto di vista di un'educazione sociale più maschia e meno unilaterale; ma nella pratica non ha poi riscontrato gran che di utile, mentre ho sempre trovato enormi difficoltà nell'adattamento del programma»¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁰³ Programma didattico dell'anno scolastico 1926/27, in ASICM, busta «Registri classe 1924-27 Mogliano».

¹⁰⁴ Cronaca ed osservazione dell'insegnante sulla vita della scuola del 15 settembre 1932,

Nella cronaca ed osservazione della vita a scuola dell'anno scolastico 1933/34 ribadisce che è sommamente ostile alle classi miste, specie, classi superiori,

I tanto decantati vantaggi dell'educazione promiscua non mi hanno mai convinto, e in pratica non ne ho riscontrato mai che... di ostacoli, gl'inconvenienti e... i danni. Senza contare che lo stesso programma deve subire un molteplici adattamento non tanto facile a concretarsi¹⁰⁵.

Emerge chiaramente anche la sua contrarietà nei confronti dei grembiuli; nel mese di settembre scrive:

Non ci sono ancora i grembiuli funebri e la scuola è festosa come una fiorita! L'occhio vi naviga con piacere. Cerco di leggere negli occhi le impressioni e le espressioni. Ho motivo di essere soddisfatto di qualche viso intelligente¹⁰⁶.

Ma il 19 settembre, per Lucaroni, scompare l'immagine della scuola come una «fiorita», per far entrare «il tetro dei sacchi neri» che «ha invaso quasi totalmente la classe».

Conclusioni

Giovanni Lucaroni, negli anni successivi, continua a parlare di scuola e dai suoi scritti emerge quel cambiamento sostanziale che inizia ad affacciarsi e che culminerà nel 1934 con i nuovi programmi. Dallo scontento dimostrato per le novità introdotte, come il libro unico di stato¹⁰⁷, appare ancora più chiaro il suo legame con il pensiero di Lombardo Radice.

Lucaroni ha a lungo difeso i nuovi programmi di Lombardo Radice, soprattutto criticando quei colleghi che non prestavano attenzione ai loro contenuti e che ne facevano una lettura superficiale, senza comprendere il vero significato della «scuola nuova» in essi propugnata. L'influenza della pedagogia lombardiana nell'esperienza professionale del maestro marchigiano è evidente

in ASICM, busta «Mogliano Registri classe 1932-33», Registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1932/33.

¹⁰⁵ Cronaca ed osservazione dell'insegnante sulla vita della scuola del 12 settembre 1933, in ASICM, busta «Mogliano Registri classe 1933-34», Registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1933/34.

¹⁰⁶ Cronaca ed osservazione dell'insegnante sulla vita della scuola del 16 settembre 1932, in ASICM, busta «Mogliano Registri classe 1932-33», cit.

¹⁰⁷ Per esempio, nel registro di classe dell'anno scolastico 1932/33 (ASICM, busta «Mogliano Registro classe 1932-33»), il maestro, a proposito del libro di stato scrive: «Quei libri di Stato verranno a giorni – purtroppo – e ci penso con un peso... come se mi gravasse sullo stomaco. Che ne farò, che ne faranno i ragazzi delle 600 e più pagine di trattati che formano il sussidiario? Quando si decideranno a tagliarne via $\frac{3}{4}$?».

ed è stata ampiamente dimostrata dall'analisi dei suoi scritti e da alcuni estratti dei registri.

La figura di Lucaroni si identifica perfettamente con quel maestro descritto nella premessa dei nuovi programmi: un maestro che non deve ripiegare su «trite nozioni» ma che coglie nei programmi «la schietta poesia, la ingenua ricerca del vero, l'agile indagare dello spirito popolare, irrequieto e mai sazio di 'perché'»¹⁰⁸.

Per Lucaroni l'errore non è mai solo dell'alunno: egli lo ricerca anche in se stesso, traendo insegnamenti dall'esperienza classe dopo classe, anno dopo anno. Lo spirito dell'alunno va nutrito permettendogli di esprimere i propri sentimenti e le proprie impressioni, lasciandolo libero di osservare la realtà che lo circonda e di descriverla, senza mai frenare tutto ciò con un giudizio che possa influenzare i genuini pensieri di bambino.

Con questo contributo si è voluto così mostrare in che modo la pedagogia lombardiana abbia influito sulla concezione scolastica e sulla metodologia d'insegnamento di un maestro di un piccolo paese dell'entroterra maceratese, il quale ci ha lasciato articoli e libri fino ad oggi sconosciuti che possono contribuire a far luce sulle modalità con cui fu recepita e concretamente applicata la riforma Gentile.

Con questo contributo intendiamo anche sottolineare l'importanza dello studio delle carte conservate negli archivi privati degli insegnanti, spesso dispersi, in quanto esse sono in grado di restituire le complesse dinamiche alla base della loro formazione intellettuale e delle loro competenze professionali attraverso la possibilità di giungere a una ricostruzione fedele delle loro esperienze offerta dai loro scritti, lettere e appunti personali. Allo stesso modo, riteniamo utile ancora una volta sottolineare la necessità di preservare e conservare la documentazione presente negli archivi scolastici, che contengono un patrimonio di inestimabile valore, a lungo marginalmente considerato. Si tratta, infatti, di fonti che rappresentano un'importante risorsa per affrontare le nuove sfide euristiche della storiografia educativa e uno strumento indispensabile per svelare la «scuola reale» dietro quella «legale» studiata attraverso la manualistica e la stampa pedagogiche e la legislazione e dedicarsi finalmente a una nuova storia della didattica e delle reali pratiche educative svolte in classe.

Proprio grazie a queste fonti, è stato possibile ricostruire quasi interamente la biografia intellettuale e professionale del maestro moglianese, la quale continua ad offrire interessanti spunti di riflessione anche nel periodo successivo a quello qui analizzato, quando Lucaroni si evidenzia per le proprie posizioni critiche nei confronti delle nuove disposizioni di legge in materia di pubblica istruzione e prende progressivamente le distanze dalla nuova pedagogia ufficiale del regime, pur finendo nel 1944 tra le maglie del processo di epurazione promosso dall'Alto Commissariato per le Sanzioni contro il Fascismo, prima punito con

¹⁰⁸ Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare*, cit., p. 313.

la momentanea sospensione dal servizio e poi presto reintegrato in servizio¹⁰⁹. Questa parte della vicenda umana e professionale del maestro che aveva cercato di portare a Mogliano la «scuola serena» predicata da Lombardo Radice esula tuttavia dalla presente ricostruzione e sarà oggetto di successive e più approfondite ricerche.

¹⁰⁹ Giovanni Lucaroni è stato Presidente dell'Opera Nazionale Balilla fino al 1937 e poi vicecomandante del comitato comunale dell'Opera nazionale Balilla fino al 1939. Con provvedimento del Provveditorato agli Studi di Macerata del 14 settembre 1944 viene sospeso dal servizio, per ragioni di sicurezza per il titolo di sciarpa littorio. Nella sua difesa, Lucaroni, con lettera del 21 settembre dello stesso anno, si difende sostenendo di essere stato iscritto al partito per pressioni di autorevoli amici. Il 7 dicembre 1944 viene emanato un provvedimento del Provveditorato agli Studi di Macerata di riammissione in servizio (CESCO, Fondo «Giovanni Lucaroni», serie «M.º Lucaroni Giovanni – Titoli e documenti», cc. 6, 51 e 53).

Notices / Recensioni

Notices

Recensioni

Dorena Caroli, Anne Maître (edd.), *La littérature de jeunesse russe et soviétique: poétique, auteurs, genres et personnages (XIX^e-XX^e siècle)*, Macerata, eum, 2018, 362 pp.

Après *Cittadini e patrioti. Educazione, letteratura per l'infanzia e costruzione dell'identità nazionale nella Russia sovietica*, Dorena Caroli, en collaboration avec Anne Maître, édite un deuxième important ouvrage sur la littérature russe et soviétique pour la jeunesse. Il s'agit d'un volume qui recueille les actes de la journée d'études (fruit d'une collaboration entre plusieurs Bibliothèques et équipes scientifiques appartenant à l'École Normale Supérieure de Lyon et aux universités de Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble et Macerata) qui s'est tenue à la Bibliothèque Universitaire Diderot de Lyon le 16 janvier 2017, en concomitance avec une superbe exposition réalisée grâce à plusieurs fonds slaves. Ces fonds, ainsi que l'exposition, sont présentés par Anne Maître dans deux

textes complémentaires, placés en début et en fin de volume. Le premier détaille les collections issues de plusieurs bibliothèques lyonnaises (ENS et Universités de Lyon 2 et 3), des collections patrimoniales de l'ancien Institut National pour la Recherche Pédagogique (INRP), des fonds slaves d'une ancienne bibliothèque jésuite russe et de dons divers. Le deuxième (qui fait office de conclusion) décrit l'exposition, conçue comme un parcours à travers le temps et l'espace qui débute avec les contes folkloriques, continue avec l'évolution de la production pour la jeunesse du XVI^e siècle jusqu'à la période révolutionnaire, se poursuit avec les ouvrages soviétiques des années 1930 et se termine avec les livres de la diaspora russe, en Europe et tout particulièrement en France.

Les contributions ici réunies suivent plusieurs pistes de recherche: le rôle des valeurs éducatives et l'identité nationale, les genres (le conte, la poésie, le roman et l'album), les auteurs les plus significatifs et leurs œuvres, l'interconnexion entre

texte et image (illustrée par un appareil iconographique d'une grande richesse). Dans l'introduction, Dorena Caroli et Anne Maître exposent les problématiques et les questionnements auxquels ont répondu les participants à la journée d'études lyonnaise, ensuite le volume se partage en quatre parties dont le fil conducteur est l'évolution historique, socio-culturelle et poétique du genre.

La première partie réunit deux approches du patrimoine folklorique. Svetlana Garziano se penche sur les figures de la vieillesse et de la mort: un thème récurrent dans ce monde imaginaire qui porte un grand intérêt aux thèmes et aux fantasmes de l'évolution de la vie. Dans les *Contes du peuple russe* (rédaction de V.A. Gatsuk), la vieillesse éternelle est personnifiée par des figures qui ont fasciné les écrivains, comme la Baba Yaga, le Père Gel, le tsar Kaščej, sans compter la Mort elle-même. Valentin Golovin présente ensuite un personnage singulier: Fëdor Rostopčïn, père de la comtesse de Ségur et héros du roman tolstoïen *Guerre et Paix*, qui en 1807 prend la plume pour critiquer l'imitation excessive des traditions françaises dans la littérature de jeunesse de son pays, et affirmer la supériorité absolue des Russes en matière de pédagogie.

La seconde partie porte sur la poésie et la prose pour les enfants dans les années qui suivent la Révolution d'octobre. Dans la décennie révolutionnaire, l'éducation de la jeune génération d'une nouvelle société communiste préside à l'épanouissement de la littérature pour l'enfance, qui connaît alors un extraordinaire renouveau, grâce à l'expérimentation des nouvelles formes stylistiques et iconographiques portées par le courant futuriste russe. Ses meilleurs représentants sont Vladimir Majakovskij et Kornej Čukovskij, auxquels sont ici consacrées plusieurs études. La poésie pour les petits soviétiques de Majakovskij est ana-

lysée par Alexandre Akhsakhalyan, qui brosse un tableau d'ensemble de l'œuvre de cet auteur d'avant-garde, dans laquelle s'exprime une poésie novatrice. Dans une série de livres illustrés, Majakovskij compose des textes en vers sans véritable trame fictive où se multiplient les inventions langagières; c'est une nouvelle poésie porteuse de messages politiques utopiques, mise au service de la nouvelle société inaugurée par la révolution. Dans la même ligne, Kornej Čukovskij est l'autre grand auteur de poésie enfantine de l'épopée révolutionnaire: trois contributions lui sont ici consacrées. Dans la première, Gayaneh Armaganian-Le Vu recherche les échos des classiques et de la poésie d'avant-garde dans les *Contes pour enfants* de Čukovskij: des contes héroï-comiques en vers très travaillés, nourris de la grande tradition littéraire et du futurisme russe, tout comme des nursery rhymes, tandis qu'Héloïse Baudet brosse un tableau complet des illustrations qui ont orné ces livres. Elles sont dues aux nombreux artistes qui ont traduit en images la culture de deux époques, celles du monde pré-révolutionnaire et celle du monde soviétique, en y associant l'imaginaire populaire et intemporel du folklore national. Ces livres riches d'humour et d'imagination sont encore très populaires dans la Russie d'aujourd'hui, mais aussi en France, où ils ont paru chez plusieurs éditeurs pour la jeunesse. Čukovskij a également écrit un roman pour les adolescents où il a retracé un moment crucial de son existence: *L'insigne d'argent*, une œuvre secrète dont Odile Belkeddar retrace la genèse et les réécritures successives, au gré des impératifs idéologiques du régime soviétique. Last but not least, la seconde partie se termine avec un article de Dorena Caroli consacré à un troisième grand maître de la littérature russe pour l'enfance: Samuel Maršak, poète cubo-futuriste, éducateur puis directeur des éditions d'État des livres

pour les enfants, dont l'œuvre va évoluer au gré des normes édictées par le parti. Auteur de vers et comptines riches d'inventions humoristiques dans les années 1920, Maršak va se plier dans les années 1930 au canon du réalisme socialiste, et pour enseigner les valeurs de l'internationalisme et de la supériorité soviétique il se conforme à l'idéologie de l'« homme nouveau ». Après le tournant du congrès de 1924, la littérature pour l'enfance tombe dans la sphère d'influence du parti, se détourne des contes folkloriques et valorise la conscience de classe et le citoyen de l'URSS.

La troisième partie du recueil porte sur la période soviétique, dont on étudie les symboles anciens et nouveaux dans la littérature de jeunesse. Elle comprend deux contributions de Katia Cennet. La première porte sur la figure de Lénine dans les livres d'enfants, et met en évidence le modèle hagiographique qui préside aux biographies romancées du premier chef du parti communiste: après une enfance exemplaire, le « sacro-saint » Lenin connaît le destin exceptionnel d'un héros et d'un martyr, et son sacrifice ultime fait de lui le sauveur de l'humanité. La deuxième analyse la temporalité et la poétique dans l'œuvre d'Andrej Platonov, un écrivain pour lequel l'enfant est le seul être capable de décrypter sa vision archaïque d'un monde étroitement liée à la nature; c'est l'enfant éternel, lié au chronotope idyllique vers lequel l'adulte tentera en vain, sa vie durant, de retourner. Puis Anna Ascenzi, Dorena Caroli et Roberto Sani s'associent dans une étude comparant les intrigues, les personnages et les fonctions symboliques des *Aventures de Pinocchio* de Carlo Collodi et de *La petite clé d'or ou Les aventures de Bouratino* d'Aleksej Nikolaevič Tolstoj. Le deuxième livre n'est pas une traduction, mais une adaptation modifiant profondément le premier: le pantin italien est mis au service

de l'idéologie soviétique, car Bouratino est un leader qui pousse à se révolter contre les injustices sociales et conduit la révolte des faibles contre l'oppression de Caraba Baraba (avatar de Mange-feu transformé en bourgeois exploiteur). La troisième partie se termine par la présentation, par Françoise Genevray, d'un autre livre célèbre de la période soviétique: *Ce que j'ai vu* (1939) de Boris Žitkov. Il s'agit d'un livre sur les objets pour les enfants d'âge préscolaire: des leçons de choses dues à un grand connaisseur de l'enfance qui fait passer le récit par le regard et la voix du petit Alěša. Grâce au travail de Žitkov sur l'expression enfantine marquée par l'oralité et l'émotivité, on suit l'évolution du petit être qui grandit lorsque le monde se déploie devant lui; bien que Staline soit présent dans le texte, il n'y a pas d'endocriticisme.

La quatrième partie du recueil porte sur la période la plus récente. La littérature pour l'enfance va continuer d'être influencée par la poétique normative du réalisme socialiste, et jusqu'aux années 1980 le régime continuera d'y célébrer ses modèles, combattants ou acteurs de la construction de l'État soviétique; puis dans les années 1990 la censure s'affaiblira et plusieurs stéréotypes seront remis en cause. Telle est la représentation canonique de l'enfant à la guerre, qui passe du statut d'enfant-héros prêt au sacrifice à celui d'enfant-victime mort prématurément: Svetlana Maslinskaya met en évidence les différences qui opposent les guerriers idéalisés du *Premier détachement* aux jeunes pionniers sacrifiés de *L'armée céleste*, où la guerre est représentée dans toute sa cruauté. Les personnages féminins vont également évoluer, mais plus lentement; dans la littérature de jeunesse, l'héroïne doit être l'incarnation de l'adolescente soviétique par excellence. Son apparition est d'ailleurs plus tardive, comme le montre

Anna Shcherbakova: les figures féminines des romans de Lev Kassil' sont les premiers personnages féminins crédibles. Ils illustrent l'égalité des sexes affirmée par le discours officiel, se forment aux valeurs étatiques et embrassent une carrière scientifique; si leur éducation sentimentale reste un sujet tabou, l'émancipation et l'éveil de la conscience politique des femmes restent les grands modèles idéologiques. Enfin la représentation du monde soviétique est franchement moquée dans la toute récente trilogie *Manjunja* de Narinè Abgarjan: Laure Thibonnier montre comment, dans ces récits dont le cadre est celui de la république arménienne, grâce à l'écriture humoristique de l'autrice, riche d'effets d'exagération et de déformation linguistique, l'URSS et ses stéréotypes sont moqués et transformés en éléments irrésistiblement comiques.

En conclusion, on peut affirmer que ce volume explore dans sa totalité la poétique de la littérature de jeunesse russe et soviétique, de l'époque de son émergence jusqu'au XXI^e siècle. Par la richesse et la variété des pistes ouvertes à la réflexion, il constitue à ce jour le plus important ouvrage collectif en français dans ce domaine, et il restera comme une contribution majeure sur le sujet au plan international.

Mariella Colin

Lorenzo Planzi, *Il Collegio Papio di Ascona. Da Carlo Borromeo alla diocesi di Lugano*, Locarno, Associazione Amici del Collegio Papio – Armando Dadò Editore, 2018, 350 pp., ill. f.t.

Con copertina cartonata ed elegante sovracoperta, la storia del Collegio Papio di Ascona, che qui si presenta, nasce come una sorta di tributo del cuore, auspicato fin dalla fondazione, nel 1967, dall'As-

soviazione degli Amici del Collegio. L'omaggio è ora soddisfatto dall'ex alunno Lorenzo Planzi con il racconto di una storia lunga oltre quattro secoli, segnata da tante e varie vicende, capace di scandire momenti di continuità e discontinuità: dal grande patrono delle origini, quel cardinale Carlo Borromeo che morì appena pochi giorni dopo aver costituito l'istituzione ai confini settentrionali della sua giurisdizione arcivescovile, fino alla presa in carica dell'ente da parte della diocesi di Lugano, in tempi recenti, per farne uno dei più prestigiosi collegi ai confini meridionali della Svizzera, nel Canton Ticino.

Il Collegio Papio di Ascona fu eretto grazie al lascito di un ricco possidente del luogo, Bartolomeo Papio (1526-1580), e alla volontà di Carlo Borromeo. Papio, infatti, aveva lasciato una consistente somma di denaro – 25.000 scudi ricavati dalla vendita delle case che era riuscito a comprare a Roma, dove aveva servito gli Orsini – per la fondazione di un seminario ad Ascona, sul lago Maggiore, in diocesi di Como. Papa Gregorio XIII volle affidare questa istituzione, benché posta nella giurisdizione del vescovo di Como, all'esperienza dell'arcivescovo di Milano, che aveva già provato ad avviare un'opera analoga nella più popolosa e vicina cittadina di Locarno. Istituita nell'autunno del 1584, essa ospitò i primi sei alunni, quattro dei quali divennero sacerdoti, nel conventino domenicano annesso alla medievale chiesa di S. Maria della Misericordia, accanto alla quale, Pellegrino Tibaldi avrebbe avviato presto la costruzione del nuovo seminario, poi sviluppatosi come collegio, aperto anche a chi non era destinato alla vita ecclesiastica. La nuova istituzione creava una singolare situazione giurisdizionale, opportunamente rimarcata dall'autore (p. 46): mentre il collegio dipendeva dall'arcivescovo di Milano, la chiesa era sottoposta al vescovo di Co-

mo. Pertanto, paradossalmente, mentre all'altare maggiore si celebrava in rito ambrosiano, nelle cappelle, appartenenti alla parrocchia asconese, era in uso il rito liturgico romano, proprio della diocesi comasca.

Il cardinale Federico Borromeo consolidò l'istituzione, chiamando nella direzione gli Oblati milanesi e firmandone *Costituzioni e Regole* (1620), che l'avrebbero plasmata per lungo tempo sul modello borromaico come seminario per chierici e scuola per le comunità circostanti. Ma il rapporto tra la direzione ecclesiastica e le amministrazioni locali, che non fu mai perfettamente felice, entrò in crisi sul finire del Settecento, durante la stagione napoleonica, quando ai cittadini lombardi della Repubblica Cisalpina furono impedito le iscrizioni, e da Roma non poterono più giungere le consuete rendite per l'ordinario funzionamento del collegio. Gli Oblati si ritirarono, la scuola fu chiusa e nel 1800 fu 'nazionalizzata', anche se per un solo anno. Già l'anno seguente, infatti, la Repubblica Elvetica consentì ai parroci del luogo di riaprire il collegio sotto la sorveglianza statale, e così, con l'assenso della Santa Sede, ne assunsero la direzione i curati asconesi. Questa situazione mutò nel 1852, quando nel Canton Ticino si procedette alla secolarizzazione scolastica, cui le autorità asconesi non seppero opporsi, come sarebbe stato conveniente per le scelte pedagogiche e disciplinari operate dai primi responsabili del ginnasio cantonale.

Negli anni della secolarizzazione, dal 1855 al 1863, accanto alla scuola si avviò anche un «gineceo ticinese» per accogliere le prime allieve, che però ebbe vita breve e fallimentare, come del resto l'intera istituzione. Una ripresa si registrò nel 1878, quando il Gran consiglio ticinese decise di restituire il collegio alle cure della diocesi di Como. Vari sacerdoti si succedettero

alla sua guida (Alessandro Verla, Bartolomeo Mercolli ecc.). L'offerta didattica andava dalla scuola elementare a quella ginnasiale, letteraria e tecnica, secondo i programmi governativi. Gli studenti erano comunque meno di cento. Dal 1894 al 1910, con l'arrivo dei Salesiani alla guida del collegio, si aprì anche una Scuola tecnica e commerciale, e sulle cattedre sedettero professori italiani, francesi, tedeschi, austriaci e svizzeri. La mancanza di personale da parte dei Salesiani, nel 1910, coincise con l'arrivo degli Assunzionisti francesi, obbligati a lasciare il loro paese dall'ostile politica ecclesiastica assunta dalla Francia nel 1905, e rimasti alla guida del collegio fino al finire della Grande guerra, fino al 1917.

Con la partenza degli Assunzionisti iniziò il declino del collegio, che, chiuso per diversi anni (1917-1923), ospitò prima i militari e poi un lazzaretto.

Per volontà del vescovo guanelliano Aurelio Bacciarini e l'intelligente disponibilità dell'abate benedettino di Einsiedeln Thomas Bossart, il collegio Papio risorse nel 1923 grazie ai monaci della Svizzera centrale, che si assunsero l'onere, non solo di ripararne le mura in stato di rovina, ma principalmente di ripensare il progetto culturale dell'opera. La scuola ricominciò nel 1927 con una trentina di alunni, ma subito crebbero studenti e docenti. La stima per l'insegnamento dei Benedettini e la loro prudente capacità di relazioni portò all'ottenimento, nel 1933, della maturità federale del Ticino (*Fremdenmaturität*).

I Benedettini, come attesta l'ampia documentazione archivistica consultata dall'autore, seppero organizzare in maniera armonica la vita collegiale puntando a un'educazione umanistica cristiana, che affiancava alla didattica sport, giochi, bagni al lago e sci sui monti, musica, teatro, e 'sport dello spirito'. Questa felice stagione si chiuse nel 1964, l'ultimo anno

scolastico dell'epoca benedettina, che si concluse, oltre a molti altri motivi pratici, per la non felice intesa tra il vescovo Angelo Giuseppe Jelmini, amministratore apostolico di Lugano, e l'abate di Einsiedeln Rainmund Tschudy, che non sembra aver mai avuto molto a cuore «la causa di Ascona» (p. 192). Mentre a Roma si celebrava il Concilio Vaticano II, quel doloroso abbandono spinse la Chiesa luganese, attraverso l'arciprete di Ascona Alfonso Pura, a farsi direttamente carico del Collegio Papio, che riaprì il nuovo anno sotto la guida del sessantottenne sacerdote Martino Signorelli, già rettore del seminario di Lugano durante la guerra. Numerosi sacerdoti si succedettero alla guida del collegio, che crebbe nella contemporaneità con grande vitalità pedagogica – fu del 1972 l'apertura della scuola alle ragazze –, ma anche con prudenza amministrativa, grazie alla Fondazione che si costituì nel 2008 per dare autonomia e stabilità finanziaria all'ente.

Il libro di Lorenzo Planzi costituisce una buona e documentata ricostruzione della storia del Collegio Papio. Quella in particolare degli anni più recenti è vivida e partecipata, con il ricordo di docenti illustri e alunni poi diventati celebri. I fatti sono esposti con passione e gusto narrativo, che qua e là forse meriterebbe un po' di lima stilistica. La bibliografia, almeno quella locale, è ben conosciuta e valorizzata. Ma il ricorso a una ormai consolidata storiografia sull'argomento e l'utilizzo di una bibliografia più generale (sui seminari, la *Ratio studiorum*, i collegi di educazione ecc.) avrebbero senz'altro favorito una migliore contestualizzazione dell'importante istituzione ticinese sia rispetto alla storia d'Europa sia rispetto al progressivo sviluppo della storia delle istituzioni educative.

Simona Negruzzo

Vincenza Iossa, Manuele Gianfrancesco (edd.), *Vietato studiare vietato insegnare. Il Ministero dell'educazione nazionale e l'attuazione delle norme antiebraiche 1938-1943*, Roma, Palombi editori, 2019, 284 pp.

Il ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale, Giuseppe Bottai, in occasione dell'inizio dell'anno scolastico 1938-1939, inviava una Circolare ai Provveditorati e agli Istituti scolastici. Eccone uno stralcio: «Ad alti fini della Scuola fascista ho accennato. Sono essi quelli stessi, che la Rivoluzione persegue nei riguardi di tutto il popolo italiano, riportandolo, libero da intrusioni e da scorie, alla espressione genuina delle sue essenziali tendenze e rendendolo sempre più unito e compatto, per razza e per tradizione, per volontà e per ideali, attorno al suo Duce» (Circolare n. 32 – Inizio del nuovo anno scolastico, 30 settembre 1938).

In queste parole è contenuto lo spirito razzista del regime fascista, all'alba della emanazione delle leggi antiebraiche e all'indomani della pubblicazione del *Manifesto della razza*: con «intrusioni e scorie», nel linguaggio del ministro, si intendeva la presenza nel popolo italiano di cittadini ebrei. Attraverso il Regio decreto-legge del 17 novembre 1938, n. 1728, *Provvedimenti per la difesa della razza italiana*, fu sancita la loro esclusione dalla vita pubblica, a partire dalla scuola, dove l'*epurazione* era già stata attuata prima dell'uscita ufficiale della legge, attraverso il Regio decreto del 5 settembre 1938, n. 1390, *Provvedimenti per la difesa della razza nella scuola fascista*.

Che il fascismo abbia elaborato, scritto e messo in atto le leggi più vergognose della storia di questo Paese è risaputo, ma pochi studi testimoniano la tenace perizia con cui fu perseguito questo obiettivo.

Il presente volume, dedicato all'attuazione delle leggi antiebraiche da parte

del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale, colma dunque un vuoto: *Vietato studiare, vietato insegnare*, curato da Vincenza Iossa e Manuele Gianfrancesco, rappresenta una incredibile testimonianza della determinazione con cui lo Stato fascista colpì la minoranza ebraica, e lo fa da un particolare punto di vista: quello del sistema scolastico. Chi ha compiuto la ricerca alla base di questo volume si è servito della amplissima documentazione presente nella biblioteca del MIUR, in particolare dei Bollettini ufficiali del Ministero dell'Istruzione, che raccolgono tutte le disposizioni regolanti la vita della scuola italiana dal 1874 al 2012.

Tra il 5 settembre 1938 e l'autunno del 1943 furono emanati più di settecento provvedimenti per la «difesa della razza» nel mondo della scuola. Settecento provvedimenti in cinque anni vuole dire che in media due-tre volte alla settimana il Ministero si premurò di diramare documenti attraverso i quali si ribadiva l'esclusione di questa minoranza dall'intero mondo dell'educazione, quindi dalle aule degli istituti di ogni ordine e grado, ma anche dai concorsi, dalle biblioteche, dalle segreterie e addirittura dai libri di testo, che non dovevano essere di autori ed editori ebrei.

Questa mole di documentazione è rimasta seppellita tra gli scaffali della biblioteca del MIUR, fino a che la bibliotecaria Vincenza Iossa e Manuele Gianfrancesco, dottore in storia moderna e contemporanea, con l'aiuto di alcuni studenti universitari, non hanno provveduto a spogliare i contenuti dei Bollettini, alla ricerca delle disposizioni relative all'allontanamento degli ebrei dalla scuola. Il progetto di ricerca ha avuto impulso dalla volontà di comprendere cosa avessero significato concretamente le leggi razziali del 1938 in Italia, a ottant'anni dalla loro emanazione e anche dall'intento di volere valoriz-

zare l'immenso patrimonio documentale presente in questa bellissima biblioteca. Il risultato di tale studio capillare e minuzioso è sorprendente e il lavoro ha più di un motivo per essere giudicato come lodevole e necessario.

Dal punto di vista scientifico ha portato alla creazione di un volume, in formato cartaceo ma anche divulgato in pdf sul sito <<https://www.scuolaememoria.it>>, che contiene, oltre alla parte introduttiva con interessanti considerazioni sul tema del rapporto tra regime fascista, razzismo di Stato e normativa scolastica, un'utile selezione di documenti originali, come spiega Vincenza Iossa nella Presentazione a pagina 12: «Questo libro [...] costituisce una guida ragionata alla lettura di queste norme; consente di orientare chi volesse studiarli nella scelta non solo grazie all'ordine cronologico ma anche alla motivazione che viene riportata accanto a ciascun dispositivo di legge. Le riproduzioni esemplificative che seguono ogni indice, proposte a grandezza naturale, costituiscono una selezione tipologica rappresentativa tra tutti i provvedimenti individuati dalla presente ricerca».

Vista l'impossibilità di riprodurre tutte e settecento le disposizioni, i curatori hanno organizzato il volume in questo modo: i capitoli, divisi per anni, contengono un indice dei provvedimenti e alcuni esempi riprodotti.

Troviamo dunque a pagina 41 il testo integrale del decreto-legge del 5 settembre 1938 in cui, all'articolo 2, viene espresso il divieto di studiare nelle scuole pubbliche: «Alle scuole di qualsiasi ordine a grado, ai cui studi sia riconosciuto effetto legale, non potranno essere iscritti alunni di razza ebraica» e nell'articolo successivo il lapidario divieto di insegnare: «[...] Analogamente i liberi docenti di razza ebraica saranno sospesi dall'esercizio della libera docenza». Da notare la contraddizione

contenuta in quest'ultima frase, dove si afferma che i liberi docenti non possono più esercitare la libera docenza. L'assurdità delle leggi razziali, insomma, emerge anche da questi paradossi sintattici, che nel giro di una riga negano la libertà a chi, come dice la legge stessa, di fatto libero è. Questo prezioso volume, grazie alla sua documentazione riprodotta in copia fedele all'originale, serve anche a fare acquisire ai lettori la consapevolezza della contraddittorietà delle leggi razziali insita nel linguaggio stesso con cui furono formulate.

A testimonianza del clima in cui fu emanata questa normativa, sono presenti nel volume alcuni inserti pubblicitari di materiale bibliografico e didattico prodotto dalla Libreria dello Stato; anche questi documenti sono significativi per comprendere quanto qualsiasi testo e materiale distribuito nelle scuole, controllato politicamente, fungesse da veicolo dell'ideologia del regime. Segnaliamo in particolare i volantini pubblicitari a pagina 64, *Testi ufficiali per i corsi di preparazione politica* e a pagina 108, *Raccolta delle principali leggi fasciste di carattere costituzionale*, interessanti anche dal punto di vista grafico, con il fascio littorio stilizzato che campeggia ovunque come decorazione martellante.

Vietato studiare vietato insegnare, come si è detto, ha un grande valore dal punto di vista scientifico e colma un vuoto per gli studi sul tema del razzismo fascista, ma ancora più apprezzabile è il suo valore dal punto di vista etico, per più di un motivo.

Anzitutto, come afferma nella Premessa a pagina 9 Giuseppe Pierro, Dirigente Generale per lo Studente, l'Integrazione e la Partecipazione del MIUR, «il volume rappresenta un atto di restituzione per quei ragazzi che furono tragicamente colpiti dalle leggi razziali del 1938»; ridisegna il percorso che portò a svuotare migliaia di banchi e di cattedre, chiamando in mol-

ti casi per nome gli esclusi, quindi ricordandoli, come fanno le Pietre d'Inciampo che ormai costellano i marciapiedi delle nostre città. Come dice nella conclusione della Presentazione Vincenza Iossa: «Noi ci siamo accorti di questi banchi vuoti, li abbiamo guardati e adesso vogliamo farli guardare al lettore, allo studioso, nella loro implacabile, fredda, stabile, forma di norma».

Nobile è anche il volere fornire uno strumento di facile utilizzo da parte di docenti e studenti, per capire concretamente come vennero attuati i passi che portarono alla Shoah: esercitandosi sui testi originali si allenano le menti a riconoscere quei meccanismi sociali e politici che potrebbero condurre ad analoghe derive disumane nella società futura. In questo modo, fare memoria del passato serve da monito e prevenzione, perché, come afferma Michele Sarfatti, storico della Shoah, nella Prefazione a pagina 15 «la scuola odierna deve rimanere un baluardo nella difesa dei diritti di tutte le minoranze e nel respingimento dell'antisemitismo e di qualsiasi razzismo. E per questo è opportuno ricostruire, come ottimamente fa questo libro, la nauseante ma vera vicenda del razzismo antiebraico nel sistema dell'istruzione nell'epoca fascista».

Questo lavoro, inoltre, è meritevole anche per l'idea, che traspare dalle sue pagine, di quale debba essere la funzione di una biblioteca; come afferma Iossa a pagina 12, riprendendo le parole di Luigi De Gregori cui la biblioteca del MIUR è intitolata dal 2017, «le biblioteche sono fontane, non serbatoi» e in base a questo principio divengono «luoghi dove la conoscenza non solo si conserva ma viene resa accessibile a chi la ricerca, dove il processo di confronto tra chi studia e il testo produce avanzamento della conoscenza stessa». Come un anziano fragile e saggio, il patrimonio di una biblioteca

va preservato e consultato da studenti e docenti sempre di più, soprattutto oggi che siamo giunti, come afferma Manuele Gianfrancesco nell'Introduzione «al termine di quella che è stata definita l'era del testimone» e «venendo meno quell'impatto emotivo che si produce nel rapporto tra testimonianza orale e studenti, è bene porre una didattica della Shoah che sappia affiancare l'utilizzo delle fonti storiografiche e rinnovarsi con esse».

Infine, in questa recensione, si vuole evidenziare la parte introduttiva del volume, scritta da Manuele Gianfrancesco; si tratta di un vero e proprio saggio, organizzato in due paragrafi, che arricchisce il libro per la profondità delle considerazioni e i molteplici spunti di riflessione che propone. In particolare poniamo attenzione al primo paragrafo, nel quale l'autore si chiede, se sia esistita una scuola profondamente e intimamente razzista in Italia. Dopo avere sviluppato il suo pensiero, con un apparato ricchissimo di citazioni e note cui rimandiamo, Gianfrancesco dimostra che la scuola in quegli anni fu effettivamente razzista, non solo formalmente, al contrario di quanto sostengono coloro che parlano di fallimento della scuola del regime. La mole di documentazione scoperta in questa ricerca testimonia quanto meno lo sforzo enorme compiuto dallo Stato fascista, che in questo senso mostrò di essere caratterizzato da un razzismo proprio e non di importazione tedesca, per costruire un popolo italiano "ariano" e "senza scorie", attraverso l'azione capillare nel sistema scolastico e culturale.

In un ideale dibattito con l'autore, pur non avendo nulla da eccepire alla sua riflessione, ci permettiamo di insinuare un dubbio: lo Stato fascista, che creò effettivamente una scuola razzista, per il fatto che esclude fisicamente migliaia di persone considerandole di razza inferiore e nemica, poté andare oltre questo? Agì davvero

sulle menti e negli animi della popolazione scolastica che rimase tra i banchi, riuscì cioè a creare quell'uomo nuovo ariano che si proponeva di costruire attraverso questa insistente azione nel mondo della scuola? Per rispondere a tali quesiti sarebbe necessario indagare l'altra faccia della medaglia, quella cui la normativa si rivolse, cioè scoprire la voce dei docenti e degli studenti che frequentavano la scuola in quegli anni. Diversi studi sono stati fatti sulla scuola, attraverso le indagini negli archivi scolastici, ma non esiste una ricerca minuziosa e organica da potere accostare a questo volume.

Auspichiamo che ciò venga fatto quanto prima e con questo ci auguriamo anche che il ricchissimo patrimonio archivistico e bibliografico, presente nelle nostre scuole, venga sempre più protetto e aperto agli studi, perché in esso si possono trovare molte risposte ai quesiti relativi a un passato complesso, di cui essere realmente consapevoli, per comprendere anche il presente e pianificare al meglio il futuro.

Nina Quarenghi

*Scientific News
and Activities
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Cronache scientifiche
e Attività
degli istituti di ricerca

Le forme della memoria scolastica. A proposito del primo seminario nazionale PRIN*

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School Memories. About the first national PRIN study seminar

ABSTRACT: This article collects and summarizes all the papers presented at the first seminar about the important national research project «School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)». This seminar represented the first meeting among all the Italian researchers, to establish the guidelines and the goals of this research project, that covers three years. The fundamental aim is to define the sense of the Italian school through the XIXth and the XXth centuries, due to the study of individual and collective sources.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; School Memories; National Research Project; Italy; XIXth-XXIth Centuries.

1. Memoria scolastica: prospettive euristiche e indicazioni metodologiche

Il 27 e il 28 giugno 2019, presso il Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia dell'Università degli Studi di Macerata, si è svolto il primo seminario nazionale PRIN «Le forme

* Il presente articolo è il frutto del lavoro congiunto delle due autrici, tuttavia si specifica che Sofia Montecchiani è autrice del primo paragrafo e che Lucia Paciaroni è autrice del secondo.

della memoria scolastica. Prospettive euristiche e indicazioni metodologiche», iniziativa inserita all'interno delle attività scientifiche programmate nell'ambito del progetto di ricerca «School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)», approvato con decreto del Direttore Generale per il coordinamento, la promozione e la valorizzazione della ricerca del Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (n. 226 del 12 aprile 2019) e finanziato dal medesimo MIUR. Questo rilevante progetto di ricerca, della durata di tre anni, si propone non solo di recuperare l'immagine e il ruolo della scuola italiana così come realmente è stata, ma anche di cogliere complessivamente il processo di definizione del *sentimento* di questa scuola elaborato nel corso del tempo, sia a livello individuale, sia collettivo, basandosi prima sull'esperienza scolastica reale, e poi sui vari agenti sociali e culturali che hanno contribuito alla sua rideterminazione.

Il progetto vede impegnate le Università di Macerata, Roma Tre, Milano Cattolica e Firenze e un buon numero di membri aggregati provenienti da numerosi atenei italiani, i quali dovranno perseguire le finalità del lavoro di ricerca seguendo una comune metodologia di indagine che prevede, oltre alla tradizionale riflessione e ricognizione storiografica, anche la selezione e la sistematizzazione delle fonti, e la promozione di specifiche iniziative di *public history*.

La prima sessione di lavoro, tenutasi nel pomeriggio del 27 giugno, è stata aperta e moderata da Edoardo Bressan, che ha sottolineato il valore e l'importanza di tale progetto di ricerca in quanto «la vita di ciascuno di noi è inevitabilmente connessa alla memoria scolastica, che è da considerarsi non solo come un oggetto di indagine, piuttosto anche come un punto di vista, in grado di abbracciare l'intero sviluppo della società italiana».

Il primo intervento (*La memoria della scuola italiana tra percezione sociale e rappresentazione collettiva, 1861-2001*) è stato di Roberto Sani, responsabile nazionale del PRIN e coordinatore dell'unità di ricerca di Macerata, il quale ha esposto chiaramente le finalità, le modalità di lavoro e le novità del progetto: per la prima volta infatti, sarà necessario rendicontare sistematicamente ogni passaggio del lavoro di ricerca, in modo tale che i due approcci, quello più tradizionale di avanzamento e ampliamento delle conoscenze scientifiche e storiografiche, e quello più moderno legato alla ricaduta sociale delle stesse, possano procedere di pari passo fin dall'avvio dei lavori.

Sani ha quindi precisato come il tema della *School Memories* sia in realtà il frutto di una riflessione scientifica già avviata in precedenza¹, «che si inserisce in un contesto ricco, *effervescente* e naturalmente internazionale», pertanto è necessario che la tematica della memoria scolastica educativa sia studiata attraverso un lavoro d'équipe ben organizzato e attraverso una

¹ Per un ulteriore approfondimento si veda: J. Meda, L. Pomante, M. Brunelli (edd.), *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times*, «History of Education and Children's literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 9-394.

comune metodologia d'indagine. A questo fine, saranno costituite delle commissioni di lavoro che si occuperanno della creazione del portale web (*www.memoriascolastica.it*), dei database e del filone della *public history*; in tempi brevi, ciascun gruppo di lavoro dovrà approntare quindi una stima degli strumenti necessari alla ricerca e dovrà dar prova di estrema concretezza.

Il secondo intervento (*La rappresentazione cinematografica del passato scolastico e la memoria collettiva*) è stato affidato a Paolo Alfieri, che ha illustrato il lavoro che coinvolgerà l'unità di ricerca di Milano Cattolica e le sue rispettive sotto-unità, le quali si occuperanno delle rappresentazioni cinematografiche e televisive della scuola del passato, della memoria degli insegnanti e della memoria e percezione pubblica e collettiva della figura del dirigente scolastico².

Per quanto riguarda le fonti memorialistiche e gli scritti autobiografici di maestri e maestre, Alfieri ha precisato che saranno analizzate dal punto di vista dei ricordi di classe degli insegnanti, facendo riferimento alle scelte personali e alle metodologie didattico-educative, da quello dell'esperienza professionale dei maestri e delle maestre e dell'evoluzione delle loro competenze, e infine dal punto di vista della percezione del loro ruolo sociale, in relazione alle richieste e alle aspettative del contesto socio-politico, culturale e formativo del tempo; in questo modo, la memoria individuale dei maestri si farà espressione della memoria culturale e sarà lo strumento privilegiato di rievocazione di un comune passato scolastico³.

Il lavoro sui dirigenti scolastici si muoverà a sua volta su tre livelli di indagine, ovvero quelli della memoria pubblica, individuale e collettiva, affinché da un generale inquadramento storico sulla figura del dirigente scolastico, si passi poi alla definizione della sua immagine professionale e del suo ruolo sociale, quindi all'emergere delle modalità con cui l'istruzione scolastica statale e privata abbia percepito lo status sociale dei direttori didattici stessi.

Alfieri ha inoltre sottolineato come siano proprio le diverse agenzie di divulgazione e promozione culturale a favorire la rievocazione del passato che, inserito entro dinamiche comunicative e narrative, dà forma alla memoria scolastica collettiva, condivisa da una *comunità immaginata*; tale concetto può essere esteso anche all'esito della fruizione del cinema e della televisione, «poiché in una società *ipermediatizzata* come la nostra, il grande e il piccolo schermo svolgono un ruolo determinante nell'attivare il processo di negoziazione semantica tra i ricordi personali e i ricordi socialmente rielaborati, in cui prende forma la stessa memoria scolastica collettiva, riducendo le distanze temporali e ristrutturando i nostri ricordi».

² P. Alfieri, *Immagine dei nostri maestri. Memorie di scuola nel cinema e nella televisione dell'Italia Repubblicana*, Roma, Armando Editore, 2019.

³ In relazione a questo tema si veda: J. Meda, C. Yanes-Cabrera, A. Viñao Frago (edd.), *New trends in the History of Education*, Springer, Cham, 2017.

Le fonti cinematografiche e televisive possono essere considerate come un materiale documentario globalmente omogeneo, pur con le dovute differenziazioni interne, e devono essere analizzate in quanto rappresentazioni e non in quanto testimonianze della scuola del passato; ciascuna fonte pertanto sarà studiata sia dal punto di vista esterno (collocazione temporale, regista, produttore, attori, canali di diffusione, recensioni, dati sull'audience, premi, pubblicità), sia dal punto di vista interno (analisi qualitativa della rappresentazione della scuola, immagine degli studenti, degli insegnanti e dei dirigenti scolastici, rapporti tra scuola e altre istituzioni educative, ecc.).

Gli esiti della ricerca mirano ad avere un impatto scientifico, formativo e sociale, al fine soprattutto di poter riaccendere l'interesse dell'opinione pubblica e la riflessione intellettuale su tale tematica, e di poter favorire una rinnovata comprensione dell'importanza della scuola e dei suoi imprescindibili compiti educativi e culturali.

Lo stato dell'arte della riflessione storiografica sul tema della memoria pubblica è stato esaustivamente presentato nell'intervento di Anna Ascenzi (*La memoria pubblica della scuola*), la quale ha sottolineato l'importanza della capacità di impatto dei prodotti della ricerca nei contesti socioculturali ed economici, nell'ottica della socializzazione delle conoscenze scientifiche.

Ascenzi ha quindi descritto nello specifico l'attività scientifica promossa dall'unità di ricerca di Macerata, che si concentrerà sul filone della memoria pubblica della scuola e dell'insegnamento e, nel dettaglio, sulla rappresentazione che di essi è stata fornita nell'ambito delle commemorazioni ufficiali promosse dalle istituzioni pubbliche, in base ad una precisa politica della memoria; concretamente, questo filone include lo studio di luoghi della memoria (come musei della scuola o memoriali), l'intitolazione di vie, piazze o edifici, l'inaugurazione di targhe, busti o monumenti, l'attribuzione di decorazioni e onorificenze, l'emissione di francobolli, il conio di serie numismatiche commemorative, le celebrazioni funebri promosse dalle associazioni professionali e dalle istituzioni pubbliche, sulla base delle quali saranno poi realizzati due repertori elettronici e una mappa interattiva digitale scolastica⁴.

Il successivo intervento di Stefano Oliviero (*La memoria orale della scuola*) ha invece spiegato la proposta condivisa dell'unità di ricerca fiorentina, che si occuperà delle testimonianze di maestri, insegnanti ed educatori, e di proporre ed elaborare nuovi paradigmi e nuove modalità didattiche, oltre ovviamente all'implementazione del filone della *public history*⁵. La ricerca intende allargare e

⁴ Lo strumento della mappa interattiva digitale dei luoghi della memoria scolastica prende il via da un lavoro pregresso promosso nel 2014 dall'Osservatorio permanente dei Musei dell'Educazione e dei Centri di ricerca sul patrimonio storico educativo (OPeN.MuSE), costituito in seno al Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia dell'Università degli Studi di Macerata.

⁵ Stefano Oliviero cita anche il progetto coordinato da Gianfranco Bandini, *Memorie di scuola*, un portale (www.memoriescuola.it) in cui sono pubblicate testimonianze di maestri e

formalizzare la rete di lavoro e dei destinatari dei suoi prodotti e, nello specifico, l'action plan prevede la costituzione di risorse digitali online (*digital library of school memories*, MOOC, pagine Facebook e Instagram, percorsi didattici online), ricerche scientifiche di base e la ricognizione con le attività svolte in precedenza, la partecipazione e l'organizzazione di convegni, conferenze e seminari, la disseminazione dei risultati del PRIN, l'organizzazione di eventi di *public history* (eventi di formazione, eventi di *living history*, installazioni fotografiche) e, infine, la costruzione di una rete di soggetti interessati a tali attività in ambito educativo, con i quali si possano prendere contatti formali e informali.

L'ultimo intervento della giornata è stato quello di Carmela Covato (*La rappresentazione letteraria del passato scolastico e la memoria collettiva*), che ha delineato il lavoro dell'unità di ricerca di Roma Tre, caratterizzato da due dimensioni: una di tipo concettuale e interpretativo, dedicato alle riflessioni preliminari della ricerca, e l'altra dedicata al contributo circa la ricostruzione ermeneutico-critica delle memorie scolastiche individuali e collettive, presenti nei filoni dell'immaginario letterario, diaristico e iconografico-pittorico. Covato ha puntualizzato come in realtà la memoria non sia neutra, ma come nelle sue declinazioni individuali e collettive essa si faccia espressione di vissuti reali, pertanto la definizione del suo processo di costituzione permette di analizzare il suo contributo all'edificazione di mentalità collettive, subalterne all'immaginario dominante, o di capire come sia stata capace di anticipare trasformazioni socioculturali in atto, ancora latenti. Le fonti analizzate dal gruppo romano saranno quindi le rappresentazioni letterarie della scuola di maestri e insegnanti, i diari e le scritture autobiografiche delle maestre e dei maestri e, infine, il materiale artistico e iconografico e le illustrazioni per l'infanzia, il cui studio è finalizzato non solo alla descrizione dei contenuti espressi, ma anche alla definizione delle modalità di costruzione della memoria e del ricordo.

Le conclusioni finali della giornata sono state affidate a Roberto Sani, il quale ha sottolineato come il PRIN rappresenti per gli storici dell'educazione una significativa opportunità di riprendere parola e di parlare al nostro tempo, attraverso la *public history* e il recupero e la valorizzazione della memoria del nostro Paese.

2. Aspetti tecnici e organizzativi del progetto PRIN

La seconda sessione del seminario, che si è tenuta la mattina del 28 giugno, ha rappresentato la giusta occasione per affrontare tematiche fondamentali per il concreto avvio del progetto *School memories between Social Perception*

maestre, quasi sempre in pensione o prossimi ad essa, raccolte da studenti, studentesse e volontari.

and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001), in particolare in relazione agli aspetti tecnici e amministrativi del bando, al portale web dedicato e alla progettazione delle banche dati.

Ad introdurre e moderare l'incontro è stato Roberto Sani che ha ribadito lo scopo del progetto, ovvero quello di un'indagine storica che ponga al centro la scuola come protagonista del complesso processo di definizione del suo *sentimento* a livello individuale e collettivo, e il valore della grande sfida che debbono affrontare gli storici dell'educazione coinvolti in tale iniziativa: è importante, infatti, che gli esiti della ricerca abbiano una ricaduta sociale, «affinché il tema della memoria scolastica esca dall'ambito universitario e dagli archivi e diventi patrimonio comune e consolidato».

Il primo intervento della mattinata (*Aspetti tecnici e amministrativi del bando PRIN: alcune indicazioni generali*) è stato di Umberto Silvi che ha avviato un costruttivo confronto tra i partecipanti illustrando i principali aspetti amministrativi del bando.

Silvi, dopo aver evidenziato l'importanza del rapporto di collaborazione che deve necessariamente stringersi tra i funzionari amministrativi dei numerosi atenei coinvolti affinché i desiderata scientifici trovino corrispondenza negli atti amministrativi, ha fornito, in maniera accurata, utili indicazioni relative al budget, alla rendicontazione contabile e scientifica, al finanziamento e alle varie voci di spesa. Silvi ha, inoltre, evidenziato l'importanza della diffusione dei risultati del progetto, come lo stesso seminario oggetto di questo contributo, in quanto si tratta di un altro importante aspetto da rendicontare.

Il successivo intervento, a cura di Luigiaurelio Pomante e Lucia Paciaroni (*Il portale web www.memoriascolastica.it*), ha presentato una prima bozza della struttura del sito web dedicato al progetto, di cui è già stato acquistato il dominio.

La struttura del portale *memoriascolastica.it* prevede tre sezioni dedicate alla memoria in base alle diverse tipologie, quindi memoria scolastica individuale, che consiste nell'autorappresentazione di sé fornita da ex-insegnanti ed ex-alunni attraverso le testimonianze orali, i diari, le autobiografie e la memorialistica in genere, quella scolastica collettiva, composta, invece, dalla rappresentazione che della scuola e degli insegnanti hanno offerto l'industria culturale e il mondo dell'informazione e, infine, memoria scolastica pubblica, costituita dalla rappresentazione che della scuola e degli insegnanti è stata fornita nell'ambito delle commemorazioni ufficiali promosse dalle istituzioni pubbliche in base a una precisa politica della memoria⁶.

In ogni sezione saranno indicate e inserite le diverse tipologie di fonti relative a ciascuna forma di memoria scolastica. Inoltre, sarà presente anche un'area

⁶ Cfr. J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives*, in C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2016, pp. 1-9.

dedicata alle iniziative di *public history* promosse dalle unità di ricerca e sarà riservato uno spazio agli aggiornamenti su eventi e news.

Le banche dati hanno rappresentato il tema dell'intervento di Juri Meda (*Le banche dati sulla memoria scolastica: requisiti generali e caratteristiche specifiche*) che ha chiuso l'interessante incontro.

Meda ha presentato la progettazione delle banche dati e dei repertori elettronici, prevedendo di distinguerle in mediateca digitale delle memorie di scuola, banca dati delle memorie letterarie della scuola, banca dati della filmografia sulla scuola e sugli insegnanti, banca dati di medaglie, decorazioni e onorificenze destinate agli insegnanti, banca dati delle memorie funebri degli insegnanti e mappa interattiva dei luoghi della memoria scolastica in Italia.

Meda ha opportunamente evidenziato l'importanza di una corretta indicizzazione delle varie fonti al fine di assicurarne la reperibilità sulla base anche di ricerche semantiche trasversali. Per questo motivo, la realizzazione delle banche dati e la predisposizione delle relative interfacce di ricerca dovranno necessariamente essere oggetto di una riflessione dei componenti delle quattro unità di ricerca coinvolte. Infatti, tra i compiti da portare a termine, sono stati sottolineati quelli di definire in modo corretto i criteri di classificazione delle forme di memoria scolastica, di identificare i campi descrittivi, di sviluppare un tesaurus per la significazione, la conversione semantica e la descrizione tematica delle fonti sulla memoria scolastica ma anche quelli di predisporre correttamente le interfacce di ricerca delle banche dati, la modalità di visualizzazione delle schede descrittive e delle risorse digitalizzate.

Una sfida accolta con entusiasmo da parte dei partecipanti, che promette di raggiungere risultati importanti nell'ambito della ricerca storico-educativa e nella valorizzazione delle diverse tipologie di fonti che in tale settore possono essere utilizzate.

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