

Alberto Barausse*

***Primary school teachers' associationism
 in Italy from unification to Giolitti's age*****
*Povezovanje osnovnošolskih učiteljev v Italiji od združitve do
 Giolittijevega obdobja*

Izvleček

Namen prispevka je, slediti razvoju učiteljskega združevanja in prehodu iz pretežno lokalističnih, skupnih oblik družbenih organizacij v bolj profesionalne in nacionalno organizirane skupine. Ta proces se je začel konec štiridesetih let 19. stoletja v Piemontu. Po rojstvu italijanske države so se učiteljska združenja množila, zlasti v mestnih središčih, kot so Milano, Neapelj, Rim, Firence, Genova itd. Toda šele v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja so se začele uveljavljati zgodnje izkušnje na nacionalnem nivoju.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to trace the evolution of teachers' associationism and the transition from mainly localistic, mutualistic modes of social organization to more professional and nationally organized groups. This process started at the end of the forties of the 19th Century in the State of Piemonte. But only since the eighties of the 19th Century the early experience began at national character.

Ključne besede: osnovna šola, učiteljstvo, društva, Unione Magistrale Nazionale (Državna zveza osnovnošolskih učiteljev), Italija

Key words: primary school, teachers, associations, Unione Magistrale Nazionale (Primary Teachers National Union), Italy

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Introduction

Only recently scholars of the history of Italian education have focused their attention to the complex vicissitudes of teachers and their association. After the

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pioneering studies of Bertoni Jovine,¹ the first survey that focused on the role of the teacher, his social status, legal location, institutional function, living and working conditions, training, professional organizations and trade unions² was conducted in the 1970s. Until the 1980s, Italian historical research could make use of the studies by Santoni Rugiu and Ambrosoli for secondary school teachers, and of the archival research by De Fort for primary school teachers.³ More recently, the role of the primary school teachers' category, was analyzed by some sociologists sensitive to its historical perspective, such as Dei,⁴ and the history of the primary school teachers' association in the first decades of the 1900s has been further analysed by Barausse,⁵ while that of the Associazione Italiana Maestri Cattolici (AIMC) and of Unione Cattolica Italiana Insegnanti Medi (UCIIM), during the years of the Italian Republic was studied by Sani.⁶ Some surveys on the associative phenomenon have been brought forward as part of broader research on the developments of education locally or as part of the investigation of individual figures of the Italian teachers' reality or teachers' journals. In particular the work of Morandini on the Kingdom of Piedmont, along with those of D'Ascenzo on the Bolognese reality,⁷ of Russo on Basilicata in the first decade of

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- 1 D. Bertoni Jovine, *Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia*, (Bari: Laterza, 1965), pp. 191-198.
 - 2 See G.Vigo, "Il maestro elementare italiano nell'Ottocento. Condizioni economiche e status sociale", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, LXI, n. 1-2, (1977): 43-84; S. Olivieri, "I maestri", *L'istruzione di base in Italia*, (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1977), pp. 165-211; A. Broccoli, "L'insegnante e il sistema scolastico", *Ruolo, status e formazione dell'insegnante italiano dall'Unità ad oggi*, (Milano: Isedi, 1978), pp. 11-131; F. Manzotti, "Il movimento magistrale cattolico e lo stato liberale", *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LII, n.4, (1965), pp. 463-488; G. Chiosso, "Dal mestiere alla professione magistrale. Note sul lavoro dei maestri elementari nel secondo Ottocento", *History of Education and Children's Literature*, [enhance HECL] II, 1, (2007), pp. 85-115.
 - 3 See A. Santoni Rugiu, *Il professore nella scuola italiana. Dal 1700 alle soglie del 2000*, (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1981); L. Ambrosoli, *La Federazione Nazionale insegnanti Scuole Medie dalle origini al 1925*, (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1967); L. Cremaschi, *Cinquant'anni di battaglie scolastiche*, (Roma, Edizioni de I Diritti della scuola, 1952); E. De Fort, "L'associazionismo degli insegnanti elementari dall'età giolittiana al fascismo", *Movimento operaio e socialista*, n. 4, (1981):375-409; Idem, "I maestri elementari dai primi del Novecento alla caduta del fascismo", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, LXVIII, n. 5-6 (1984): pp. 527-576.
 - 4 See M. Dei, *Colletto bianco, grembiule nero. Gli insegnanti elementari italiani tra l'inizio del secolo e il secondo dopoguerra*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994).
 - 5 See A. Barausse, *L'Unione magistrale nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo*, (Brescia: La Scuola 2002).
 - 6 See R. Sani, *Le associazioni degli insegnanti cattolici nel secondo dopoguerra (1944-1968)*, (Brescia: La Scuola 1990).
 - 7 See M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e Nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2003); M. D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso di Bologna (1859-1911)*, (Bologna: Clueb, 1997).

the twentieth century,⁸ of Pruneri on Brescia,⁹ of Miceli on Molise,¹⁰ of Lo Parco on “Sezione maestre e maestri della Camera del lavoro di Milano”,¹¹ of Ghizzoni on the figure of Maria Magnocavallo¹² have expanded our knowledge that, however, is still largely incomplete.¹³

The pioneering period of Italian primary teachers’ association in the years of liberal historic Right government (1861-1876)

The first phase of associative life in Italy is included within the period between pre-unification and that following the birth of the national State. From the limited research conducted on the subject, we know that the origins of the associative phenomenon among elementary school teachers dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the most important pre-unification associations we find the “Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl’insegnanti” (*Teachers’ mutual aid society*) founded in Turin in 1853 and the “Pio istituto di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri privati di Lombardia” (*The Pious Institute of mutual aid for private school teachers of Lombardy*) started in 1857.¹⁴ At the present state of research it has been possible to identify some tracks that reveal the existence of such associations in Bologna¹⁵ and in Naples.¹⁶

8 See T. Russo, *Istruzione e sociabilità in Basilicata 1900-1921*, (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005).

9 See F. Pruneri, *Oltre l’alfabeto. L’istruzione popolare dall’Unità d’Italia all’età giolittiana: il caso di Brescia*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2006).

10 See V. Miceli, “Associazionismo degli insegnanti e bollettini magistrali nel secondo Ottocento. Una ricerca in corso in Molise”, in H. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di metodi, modelli e programmi di ricerca*, (Lecce: Pensa Multimedia): vol. 1, pp. 389-403.

11 See F. Loparco, “La Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano (1893-1898). Parte prima”, in HECL, VIII, 1,(2013), pp. 675-713.

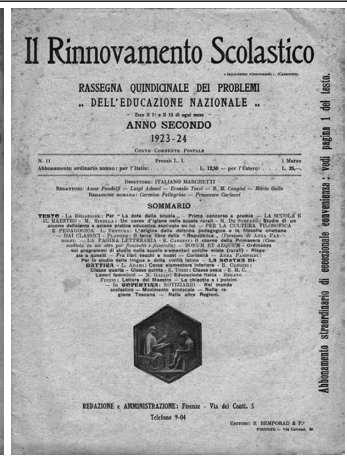
12 See C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 2005).

13 See M. Cattaneo-L. Pazzaglia (Ead), *Maestri educazione popolare e società in “Scuola italiana Moderna”, 1983-1993*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 1997). In particular see C. Ghizzoni, L. Caimi, L. Scurati essays.

14 See Società d’istruzione di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gli insegnanti, *Regolamento generale della Società d’istruzione, di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gl’insegnanti*, (Torino: Tip. scolastica S. Franco e figli, 1861); Rossi, Pietro, *La società d’istruzione, di educazione e di mutuo soccorso fra gl’insegnanti [di Torino]. Monografia presentata all’Esposizione generale italiana in Palermo 1891*, (Torino: Tip. Lit. Camilla e Bertolero, 1891). References to the Turin society’s initiatives as that Milanese also, see M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, cit., pp. 210-220.

15 *Statuti per l’Unione di sussidio ai maestri e sotto maestri delle scuole elementari della città e diocesi di Bologna che si erige sotto gli auspicci di M. Vergine Sedes Sapientiae e dei santi protettori degli oratori delle suddette scuole*, Bologna 1842.

16 This attempt is also certified by a biographical memory of Giuseppe Vago, one of the future leaders of the Neapolitan associations. See G. Vago, *Le mie memorie*, (Napoli: Tip. di G. Errico e Figlio, 1900), p. 84.



Some journals of Italian teachers' associations: *The Lombardy Educator 1857 (L'Educatore Lombardo giornale Pio Istituto dei maestri Anno I), L'Unione, 1873, The Journal of Italian society of educators and mutual aid among teachers (Società italiana educatrice e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti) and The School Renewal 1924. (Il Rinnovamento Scolastico-Rassegna Quindicinale;* <https://www.abebooks.com>; <https://www.ibs.it>, <https://libreriaantiquariacoenobium.it>, accessed 16. 10. 2019)

During the first 15 years of the Italian unification period, only a few associations were able to take root. The geography of the birth and the development of associations is a useful starting point to shed light on the contexts that had a major impact on the development of the afore mentioned phenomenon. At the present state of research it has been possible to identify the setting up of 23 associations, of which 15 were in northern Italy, 3 in central and four in southern Italy. Of 23 associations, 14 were established in the late 1860s, 9 in the early to mid-1870s.

It seems clear that the associationism was predominantly an urban phenomenon, at least in its earlier forms, affecting mainly cities like Milan – who could boast well 2 societies - and Turin.¹⁷ In the years immediately following the birth of the unitary State, alongside two Turin societies the “Istituto di mutuo soccorso fra gl'istruttori ed educatori” was born in 1861 in Milan and a society founded by some primary teachers in Bologna in 1862: both on the model of the Society of Turin education and of education and mutual aid among teachers.¹⁸

17 The data are extrapolated from the counting of G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 1997), [hencefort SPES] and by some teachers' periodicals.
 18 See. M. D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna (1859-1911)*, (Bologna: Clueb, 1997), p. 162 e ss.

Three years later, in 1865, the association of teachers of Naples was founded while in Florence, on the other hand, the association was established in 1866 (“*Società italiana educatrice e di mutuo soccorso fra gl’insegnanti*”).¹⁹ Other associations were established in Palermo, Reggio Calabria, Trieste, Verona and Venice. Among smaller towns there was a mutual aid societies among the teachers in Perugia,²⁰ founded in 1864 and in Parma, founded in 1869,²¹ Legnago (Verona province) and Chiaravalle (Ancona province). The fragmentation of the schools in the area and transportation difficulties forced the teachers to almost total isolation, interrupted only by periodic meeting, like “educational conferences” and the associations’ assemblies, thus offering teachers the opportunity to socialize. We cannot exclude the possibility of the presence of other sodalities during this phase that only careful reconnaissance of the journalism of the time could reveal.

One of the interesting aspects that historiography should consider in more detail, is related to the profile of the pioneers of associationism. Who were early proponents of associative forms? Which is the profile of the promoters of the teachers’ associations? Even from this angle we can see a significant evolution; indeed the development of this phenomenon is accompanied by its own generational change that accompanies many teachers. It is difficult, but not impossible, to detect a more precise identity, also political, in teachers who were involved in associative life. In fact, first associations were born in the wake of a significant pressure by liberal political representatives, together with that of philanthropists, university professors and representatives of school management such as inspectors, supervisors or directors of normal schools, together – rarely with the best teachers. It is difficult, but not impossible, to detect a more precise political identity in teachers who were involved in associative life. Initially, the motivation was represented by the difficult economic and legal conditions around it.

The Turin society emerged within the “*Società d’Istruzione e di educazione*”, which was an expression of pedagogical reflection and policy development of exponents of liberal Catholicism; but it was also the result of the contribution of pedagogues as Aporti and Rayneri and of exponents of liberal Catholicism susceptible to development of education as Lanza, Berti, Boncompagni, Albini, Capellina and others.²² The second was close to the initiatives promoted by Igna-

19 *Statuto della Società Italiana Educatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl’insegnanti stabilita in Firenze*, (Firenze: Tipografia di M. Ricci e C., 1869).

20 *Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl’insegnanti dell’Umbria*, (Perugia: Tip. Santucci, 1864).

21 In a booklet published in the early 1980s refers to the Memorial event for the Association’s founder, Francesco Rossi, Professor of “human letters” dead octogenarian on December 29, 1879, that “for nearly three decade” presided. *Regolamento interno per della Società di mutuo soccorso fra gl’insegnanti del Comune di Parma*, (Parma: Tipografia Adorni Michele, 1880), p. 12.

22 See G. Chiosso, “Educare e istruire il popolo a Torino nel primo Ottocento”, L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia fra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 1994), 227 e ss.; Idem [ed], *Associazionismo e bollettini magistrali. Uno sguardo in Abruzzo e a Brescia*, in Idem, *Scuola e stampa dell’Italia liberale*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 1993), p. 289-292.

zio Cantù and acted in compliance with Milanese pedagogical association (later, Italian pedagogical Society) by Giuseppe Sacchi.²³ Even at the center of initiatives that led to the establishment of the Neapolitan teachers' associations, we find teachers and pedagogues, close to the liberal Catholicism, publicists and everyone responsible for school press with a distinct position compared to their colleagues from Lombardy and Piedmont. Neapolitan teachers were more sensitive towards the demand for autonomy. Since the first associative experiences the interlacement with the pedagogical and teachers' press was very tight.²⁴ The Turin society published newsletters such as "Il saggiatore scolastico" (1854-1855), then the "Bollettino mensile - Atti ufficiali della Società di mutuo soccorso" (1856-1882) and lastly "L'amico dei maestri" (1882-1940), which became an important reference point and a powerful pressure group thanks to the reports that the association, through its press, made an alliance with other scholastic magazines (journals) and increased its members. The presence of periodic school magazine was usually a prerequisite or the voice, for the birth of associations. As regards the Southern Italy experience, initially the director and professors enlivened the pages of the magazine "L'Amico delle scuole popolari", Mauro Valente, the cannon (priest) Giuseppe Vago²⁵ put great effort in supporting the teachers' organization; later academics, professors and directors of normal schools such as Edoardo Fusco and Pietro Rossi gave life to another periodical «Il Progresso Educativo» (1869-1874). They acted as intermediaries both with the teachers of those schools and with many teachers who had graduated from teaching school.²⁶

Nature, initiative and projects of the first teachers' associations

The appearance comes in handy around deepen investigations locally, about the nature of these early teachers' organizations. It is important to bear in mind that the teacher associationism, for at least two decades was primarily an expression of local realities; a phenomenon explained with dependence on primary education by the municipalities and, therefore, the condition of municipal employees of the primary teachers. The first pool would seem to be the prevalent presence of a mutualistic, relief and social security nature of the first associations: they were aiming for economic support for teachers and, sometimes, at protection from breaches of municipalities' breaches. They were supported by

23 See S. Bucci, "Associazioni pedagogiche Nazionali", in M. Laeng (ed.), *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, (La Scuola: Brescia, 1989), p. 1127-1135.

24 See G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 1997).

25 On the figure of Molisan teacher see the profile n. 2238 in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)*, (Milano: Edizioni Bibliografica Italiana 2013) [hencefort DBE], curated by A. Barausse.

26 For these magazines, see SPES, *ad vocem*.

cultural and training aimed for the upgrading of teachers. Although the range of the first associations was predominantly local, it is possible to find an action by the wider breath, especially on mutualistic front. So, for example, organizations from Turin, Milan and Naples wanted to be solid benchmarks for all teachers in Italy as regards the extension of economic forms of mutualism. On this front, however, the two northern organizations proved to be more solid. The financial fragility of associations, often small in the number of members, not allowed to extend the social security interventions.

The Umbra society which provided as intended to “protect the rights and improve the economic and moral condition of teachers”, provided with “grants in cases of illness or other difficult circumstances”, reserving “a better future, to ensure the economic condition of members with decent and stable pensions”.²⁷ The organization established in Florence with the aim of “promoting education [and] to improve the status of teachers” had a social fund for the management of grants and annuities to ensure of predominantly welfare measures. The members, who paid an annual fee of 12 lire, have been enrolled for at least two years, if retired and been members for 15 years could enjoy subsidies; the families of a deceased member could benefit from subsidies if the deceased was enrolled for at least ten years or pensions if he had been a member for at least fifteen years.²⁸ In other cases, the interventions were of cultural character. The first teachers’ associations initiatives, in Bologna,²⁹ were incurred by the pedagogical project to foster the maturation in the teaching staff of a genuinely national cultural identity on ethical and religious grounds; on the other hand they aimed at promoting the development of new municipal-level educational institutions as educational and rural schools, and festive evening schools, supported by circulating libraries and reading rooms as well as from the use of the social fund, together with the attention to popular education,³⁰ the construction of a balanced and solid socio-political system. Such ideas had their roots and culture reflect in the Risorgimento Catholic-liberal education.³¹

Also the associations established in Southern Italy acted in the context of a broader commitment in the spread and promotion of a popular education in the southern provinces and the re-launching of the Neapolitan school, started by the periodical magazine (journal) from its creation.³² In urging both public and

27 *Statuto della Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti dell'Umbria*, (Perugia: Tip. Santucci, 1864), p. 2.

28 *Statuto della Società Italiana Educatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso fra gl'insegnanti stabilita in Firenze*, (Firenze: Tipografia di M. Ricci e C., 1869), p. 3.

29 See M. D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare nell'età liberale. Il caso Bologna (1859-1911)*, (Bologna: Clueb 1997), p. 162 e ss.

30 Ivi, p. 163.

31 See G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, (Brescia: La Scuola 1993), 244-245.

32 “La Società degl’Insegnanti in Napoli”, *L’Amico delle Scuole popolari*, V, n. 24, (1865), p. 369.

private teachers were encouraged “to form a phalanx” to join forces in order to protect and increase their dignity and to improve public education.³³ Moral and material benefits deriving from initiatives³⁴ were traced back to the increasing decorum and the high esteem of the educator, to the ability to offer reciprocal encouragement and protection, foster adequate promotions for those who had conscientiously and successfully carried out their duties, ensuring pensions and benefits even to teachers who had not reached the number of working years required by law. In addition the editorial staff of the Neapolitan journal hoped that through the constitution of a teachers’ association, assistance could finally be given to teachers in the difficult task of choosing textbooks,³⁵ highlighting worthy textbooks that were not widespread and ensuring the publications of new works.³⁶ Last but not least, it was possible to recruit representatives to propose for the municipal and political elections from the teachers’ associations, in order to guarantee the possibility to have their say in leading circles.³⁷

The early post-unification years were characterized by the reactions to the extension of the Casati law throughout the National territory. Teachers’ associations confronted themselves with the legislative measures, expressed by Minister De Sanctis motivated more by a streamlining of administrative bureaucracy desire than by the recognition of the local autonomy, and by Mamiani (parallel to the administrative decentralization projects advocated by Minghetti between January and April 1862); with Berti’s ministerial experience who tried to reorganize the central and peripheral (suburban) school system according to an anti-centralist control, and Coppino’s plan that repealing Berti’s decree, restored the old system.³⁸ Within this context, positions were not lacking of some national significance intended to feed the demands of the teachers’ category. I would like to remind the attitudes assumed by the Association among the teachers of Naples about the trends undertaken by the ministry concerning public education (in the Neapolitan area an important tradition of private schools existed, mainly secondary);³⁹ or, above, the initiatives carried out by the first teachers’ associa-

33 La Redazione, “Per un’Associazione degli insegnanti. Invito”, in *L’Amico delle Scuole popolari*, V, n. 20, (1865), p. 307.

34 “L’Associazione degli’insegnanti in Napoli”, *L’Amico delle Scuole popolari*, V, n. 22, (1865), pp. 337-339.

35 See 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): vol. I, p. 6.

36 “L’Associazione degli’insegnanti in Napoli”, cit.

37 “Statuto organico della Società degli’insegnanti”, *L’Amico delle Scuole popolari*, V, n. 30, (1865): 465-469; Idem, n.31, (1865), pp. 481-484.

38 See G.TALAMO, *La scuola dalla legge Casati alla inchiesta del 1864*, (Milano: Giuffrè 1960); Idem, “Centralismo e autonomia nell’organizzazione scolastica dalla legge Casati alla prima guerra mondiale”, in AA.VV., *Storia della scuola e storia d’Italia*, (Bari: De Donato, 1982), pp. 100-105.

39 *La Società degli’Insegnanti di Napoli e la Relazione del Cav. Gioda sull’insegnamento privato napoletano*, Napoli 1876.

tions, that became supporters (advocates) of the periodical organ of the Turin Society "L'institutore" and several school delegates (a school administrative role) that led to the presentation of a petition in Parliament in 1869 signed by over 5567 primary school teachers with which they were demanding better salaries and the establishment of the pension.⁴⁰

Development of the associationism in the liberal historic Left (1876-1898)

The years between 1876 and 1898, which largely coincided with the historic left government, saw new primary teachers' associations flourish. Up to this point 64 new organizations have been counted, which helped to broaden the geographical base of associations. Of these 31 were established in northern areas of Italy, 17 in central and 16 in southern areas.

Further subdividing the long period it is possible to detect the phenomenon has begun to take on a major extension, during the decade of the 1880s: in this period we notice 55 new associations, and during the first half of the 1890s 30 new more. The number, however, seems to be underestimated. Some articles on the periodical press, in fact, indicate the presence of a number of associations between two hundred and three hundred unit.⁴¹ It is therefore all the more essential to deepen the investigations at local level and cross the information school newspapers to redial a more comprehensive framework and collect the spread of other mutual aid associations, especially those based on the smaller administrative unit (named *circondariali* o *mandamentali* groups) are more difficult to detect than they can be highlighted only through in-depth research of locations.

In the early 1880s, the idea of a national association among teachers began to emerge. This process matured within the framework of a new political scenario, which was the historical left liberal. The 1882 electoral reform that gave the teachers the right to vote represented another turning point for the growth of associative phenomenon and for professional identity as well as the most revengeful and political character of the movement.

In this context, in 1879 a group of Roman schools teachers - Natale Inverardi, assisted by Francesco Triscornia, Angelo Pavesi, Getulio Rossi, Gregorio Pirani, Francesco Rotati, Domenico Beisso and others -, founded the National Association of primary school teachers which recruited a few thousand members with branches that extended also in the North and South of the country. The teachers

40 See *Petizione degli insegnanti elementari italiani al Parlamento Nazionale e al R. Governo preceduta da una succinta Relazione compilata dal Professore Domenico Gagliolo*, (Torino: 1869), pp. 23-24.

41 See E. Berni, "Federazione delle società pedagogiche e magistrali", in *Il Nuovo Educatore*, [hencefort NE], IV, n. 14 (1885), p. 210.

moved to promote the adhesion of the little societies as they arose.⁴² This period saw coexist associations that cultivated both cultural interests and mutual aid protection forms with associations that ripened more advanced positions. Precisely in the Italian capital in September 1880, simultaneously to the pedagogical congress, the first teachers' congress took place, with the presence and participation of the Public Education and the Industry and Commerce Ministers.

The purpose of the association was defined as follows: "Article 1. The National Association of primary school teachers, based in Rome, has as objective the moral and material well-being of teachers and the growth of popular education [...] Article 3. The moral well-being that the association aims at consists in: a) The continuous search to find ways and devices needed to take out teachers from the unhappy conditions they are in with the current law that gives to the municipalities unlimited power in appointing them, and for being often treated unfairly; b) Supporting the exclusive appointment of teachers to district school inspectors [it is an administrative district], to teachers in normal schools; c) The moral support with the Government, the municipal and governmental educational authorities whenever teachers are dismissed unfairly, treated unjustly, and defend them from harassment; and this support must come directly from the Committee to which the teacher belongs, and from the Governing Council of the association, provided that the member is considered worthy of impeccable behavior and accurate fulfillment of every kind of duty; [...] Article 4. The material well-being sought by the association consists in: a) Continuously studying ways and means to achieve a salary increase due to the beneficent work teacher's pay to the Nation, establishing the minimum in 1200 lire; b) Requesting the necessary measures to timely payment of the monthly salary; c) Insisting that an old age pension more convenient than the one fixed by the current law be given, invoking the provisions of the November 13th, 1859 law; and that also the senior (elderly) headmasters and teachers obtain it, to whom the current law denies this benefit, or better this right; d) Promoting teachers' mutual aid societies in the capital of provinces and districts for mutual assistance for illnesses and old age, and for defense in cases of illegal dismissal; claiming for the teachers decent accommodation or reasonable compensation, and a vegetable garden, or a small field for those in rural Municipalities [...]."⁴³

42 See the "Supplemento" a *La Luce*, II, n. 18, (1879): 1. See also "Associazione degli Insegnanti elementari italiani per gli Interessi dell'istruzione popolare" e "Svegliamoci" in *La Luce*, II, n. 2, (1879), pp. 2-3.

43 Statutory general lines and the program of the Association were summarized in a booklet published in Rome in 1883 from the Italian typographic L. Perelli which, however, has not managed to retrieve copies. Founding of the Association acts, however, are reported in Lo "Statuto" e il "Regolamento dell'Associazione Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti primari", in *L'Eco*, I, n. 1, (1881): 4-15. See also D. Beisso - L. Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo. Cronistoria dell'azione magistrale dal 1869 al 1892*, (Roma: Tipografia Diocleziana 1912), p. 38.

It was certainly a more homogeneous association than the previous ones, because it accepted among its members a great number of primary school teachers "that teach in public and private schools". The Governing Body of the Association, the Central Council of elementary teachers promoted the establishment of "Teachers' Committee" and directed the teachers' congresses of 1880 in Rome, 1881 in Milan, 1882 in Naples, 1885 in Turin, 1888 in Bologna, 1890 in Bari, and 1892 in Genoa.

Even more important was the role played by periodical scholastic press in promoting or in resistance to the unitary process among the teachers. The wealth of comparison among teachers appears from survey of the different organs of the Association in the course of its existence, as «La Luce» which followed first «Eco» and then the «Italia Pedagogica». But just as important were the discussions that also involved close periodicals such as «Il Nuovo Educatore» or «Il Rinnovamento Scolastico». A careful examination of the periodicals of the time would make it possible to reconstruct with a wealth of details the debates that accompanied the early development of the Association.

The Association broke away from the previous national experiences moderate mold which was the Italian Pedagogical Society. Usually close to the political leadership of the liberal historical left and marked by a strong laical identity.⁴⁴ These teachers were an expression of a different sensitivity and pedagogical culture, certainly closer to the lesson of positivism. The leadership team expressed an address more oriented to claim secularism and the role of the State in education. The way they approached the school educational issues, reflected the changes in mentality that pedagogical positivism was starting to produce both in terms of design and the role of the school in teaching practices. It was a generation of teachers who drew a secularist vision and strongly anticlerical tones,⁴⁵ a conception intended to affect even the teacher proposed by new associations and journalism of the time, tended towards the idea of the teacher as a lay missionary and teacher as "prolongation" of the mother, can instill feelings and sense of civil duty: "As in the days of Roman decadence, the word of the Carpenter of Nazareth, for everywhere, earned from rethrowing the Consortium – a human character more fair and equitable, as well in our civilization's verb is propagated by teachers will give new and perfect address to progress."⁴⁶

Important was the contribution of protagonists who took part in congressional life (teachers and experts of educational subjects) to the formulation of bills and proposals aimed at improving the economic conditions of the catego-

44 See D. Beisso - L. Farinelli, *A ciascuno il suo. Cronistoria dell'azione magistrale dal 1869 al 1892*, (Roma: Tipografia Diocleziana, 1912).

45 See D. Beisso, *Del miglioramento educativo in Italia. Osservazioni e proposte*, Tipografia economica, Roma 1879;

46 Ivi, p. 9.

ry (increase and leveling salaries, Monte reform etc.). Different proposals were presented as innovative introduction to teaching methods and programs, to the reform of the structure and scholastic organization (the spread of nursery schools of Froebelian stamp, manual labor, drawing, choral singing, the little field, the attempted unification of school textbooks and the study for popular school).

During this time the association embraced the nationalistic Crispi's thesis emerging between the late eighties and early nineties and continued to pursue the goal of allocating public education and content of teaching a more national character. They are testimony to the tones and themes discussed in the 1888 Bologna Conference. Antonio Pastore presented the theme "Of the patriotic sentiment in primary school", through which he intended to return to the question of national identity formation in primary schools. On that occasion were made six proposals to accompany the growth of education in the direction desired by those who promoted the development of the school as "army of the nation" moved by the conviction "that the weapons without the school are ineffective at protecting the States from enemy aggression and pitfalls."⁴⁷ After 1892 the Association had a phase of crisis.

The birth of Unione Magistrale Nazionale

Only with new century, finally, arose the greater national society among primary teachers. It was founded by a group of teachers leaded from a radical deputy, Luigi Credaro, wich on April 1901 gathered up 141 local primary teachers associations and founded a new society, named Unione Magistrale Nazionale (*Primary Teachers National Union*). The story of the UMN accompanied twenty-five years of national history and, in particular, the years of the Giolitti's age, the dramatic years of the first world war and the years of liberal democratic institutions crisis and the rise of fascism. The advent of the new regime brought the association to alienation progressively up to force the leadership to the voluntary disbanding decision after some attempts at absorption by the new organization's primary teachers fascist.⁴⁸

47 They are the words given in the telegram sent by Crispi to promoters of Conference. See *Atti del Congresso Nazionale fra gl'insegnanti elementari. Tenuto in Bologna addì 3, 4, 5 e 6 settembre 1888*, (Roma: Tip. Aldina, 1889).

48 For the history of UMN see A. Barausse, *L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo (1901-1925)*, (Brescia: La Scuola, 2002).

Povzetek

Povezovanje osnovnošolskih učiteljev v Italiji od združitve do Giolittijevega obdobja

Alberto Barausse

Pričujoči prispevek povzema najnoveše študije o fenomenu povezovanja osnovnošolskih učiteljev v Italiji v času med združitvijo in Giolittijevim obdobjem, v dramatičnih letih prve svetovne vojne in letih krize liberalnih demokratičnih institucij ter v času širjenja fašizma. Namen prispevka je slediti razvoju učiteljskega združevanja in prehodu iz pretežno lokalističnih, skupnih oblik družbenih organizacij v bolj profesionalne in nacionalno organizirane skupine. Ta proces se je začel konec štiridesetih let 19. stoletja v Piemontu, zahvaljujoč aktivizmu inšpektorjev, učiteljev ali liberalnih politikov, ki so verjeli v izobraževanje kot vrednoto in orodje za boljši ekonomski, družbeni in politični razvoj. V tem obdobju so se člani združenja zavzemali za širjenje osnovnega in ljudskega izobraževanja, za višjo izobrazbo učiteljev. Promovirali so vrtce, večerne in nedeljske šole, deške in dekliške elementarne šole; hkrati pa so pripravili načrte za vzpostavitev novih »običajnih« šol in novih oblik medsebojne pomoči. Po rojstvu italijanske države so se učiteljska združenja množila, zlasti v mestnih središčih, kot so Milano, Neapelj, Rim, Firenze, Genova itd. Toda šele v osemdesetih letih 19. stoletja so se začele uveljavljati zgodnje izkušnje na nacionalnem nivoju. Zlasti so upoštevani nekateri najpomembnejši primeri združenj osnovnošolskih učiteljev v 19. in 20. stoletju, npr. Nacionalno združenje osnovnošolskih učiteljev Italije (*Associazione Nazionale fra gli insegnanti elementari d'Italia*), ustanovljeno leta 1880, in Nacionalno učiteljsko združenje (*Unione Magistrale Nazionale*), ki je bilo aktivno od leta 1901 do 1925.