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# Gli Argonauti

Rivista di Studi  
storico-educativi e pedagogici



Università degli Studi di Messina



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# Reimagining Italian education. The building of the Italian school system as a entanglement of models (1859-1879)

Angelo Gaudio

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI UDINE



Double blind peer review

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**Corresponding Author:** Angelo Gaudio,  
mail: [angelo.gaudio@uniud.it](mailto:angelo.gaudio@uniud.it)

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IMMAGINARE LA SCUOLA NAZIONALE.

LA COSTRUZIONE DEL SISTEMA SCOLASTICO ITALIANO  
COME INTEGRAZIONE DI MODELLI (1859-1879)

## Riassunto | *Abstract*

The Italian education system is generally regarded as a centralized system and, as such, an imitation of the French system. However, public discussion of education in Italy abounds with references to Germany, England and the United States. The article examines some aspects of these references.

*Il sistema italiano di istruzione è generalmente considerato come un sistema centralizzato, e come tale un'imitazione del sistema francese. Ma la discussione pubblica sull'istruzione in Italia abbonda di riferimenti alla Germania, all'Inghilterra e agli Stati Uniti. L'articolo esamina alcuni aspetti di tali riferimenti.*

## Parole chiave | *Key words*

Comparative education, educational transfers, Italy, Germany, England, 19th century.

*Educazione comparata, transfers educativi, Italia, Germania, Inghilterra, XIX secolo.*



# Reimagining Italian education. The building of the Italian school system as a entanglement of models (1859-1879)

Angelo Gaudio\*

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI UDINE

The topic of this essay has so far been treated only implicitly and occasionally in the history of education literature<sup>1</sup>. The Italian educational system is generally considered to be a centralized system and, as such, an imitation of the French system. However, some recent studies have shown that the so-called French model is at least partly based on the experience of Savoy, formerly the Kingdom of Sardinia<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, in Italian political culture as a whole, this closeness to the French model is tempered by an ideological fascination with English liberalism, relevant German influences, especially in the field of antiquity<sup>3</sup> and, above all, the recognition of the «impossibility of command» as defined by the Italian historian Raffaele Romanelli<sup>4</sup>. The significance of transfer in the history of education is an important tradition of comparative studies<sup>5</sup>.

The aim of article is to complement the descriptions of the English and American educational systems, often written in the form of travelogues, by Italian authors such as

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\* Full Professor of History of Education. Mail: [angelo.gaudio@uniud.it](mailto:angelo.gaudio@uniud.it)

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<sup>1</sup> D. Palomba, *Education and State Formation in Italy*, in Robert Cowen, Andreas Kazamias (eds). *International Handbook of Comparative Education*, London, Dordrecht, Springer, 2008, pp. 195-216.

<sup>2</sup> P. Bianchini, *Educare all'obbedienza. Pedagogia e politica in Piemonte tra Antico Regime e Restaurazione*, Turin, SEI, 2008.

<sup>3</sup> A. La Penna, *Modello tedesco e modello francese nel dibattito sull'università italiana*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi (eds.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, Vol. I. *La nascita dello stato nazionale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993, pp. 171- 212; F. Marin, *Die "Deutsche Minerva" in Italien. Die Rezeption eines Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsmodells 1861-1923*, Köln, Verlag, 2010; M. Moretti, *Toscana, Italia, Europa: la Normale di Pisa e i modelli universitari fra Otto e Novecento*, in «Annali Scuola Normale Superiore», 2011, pp. 11-33.

<sup>4</sup> R. Romanelli, *Il comando impossibile. Stato e società nell'Italia liberale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1988; Id., *Prefazione*, in T. Bertilotti, *Maestre a Lucca*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2006, pp. 5-13 see also G. Chiosso, *Alfabeti d'Italia. La lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita*, Turin, SEI, 2011.

<sup>5</sup> D. Phillipps, *Aspects of educational transfer*, in Robert Cowen, Andreas Kazamias (eds), *International Handbook of comparative education*, London, Dordrecht: Springer 2009, pp. 1061-1077; M. Espagne, *La notion de transfert culturel*, in «Revue Sciences/Lettres», 1, 2013 <http://rsl.revues.org/219>. doi: 10.4000/rsl.219; C. A. Lemke Duque, *Transfer & Translation: Outlines of a Logical Constitutive Model of Cultural Transfer*, in «Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung», 25, 2, 2015, pp. 7-16; L. Manuel Ferraz C. Machado-Trujillo, *Educational Transfer, Modernization and Development: The Transnational Approach in History of Education Studies*, in «Foro de educación», 18, no. 2, 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.14516/fde.852>. About transfers in Italian political discourse see now P. Bernasconi, M. Finelli (eds.) *Il mito straniero. I modelli legislativi esteri nei dibattiti e nei documenti della Camera dei deputati dell'Italia liberale (1861-1922)*, Roma, Camera dei Deputati, 2021.



Pasquale Villari, Dino Carina, Carlo Morelli<sup>6</sup>, Ferdinando Petrucelli della Gattina, who call for greater attention to technical education and a larger role for local self-governing bodies.

## 1. The Legacy of the Franco-Savoyard Tradition

The birth of the Italian school system was generally first established in the Casati Law of 1859, whose origins go back to debates in the Kingdom of Sardinia in the mid-nineteenth century. In particular, the Cibrario project of 1854 is considered a direct source<sup>7</sup>. In the discussion that led to this project, not only in parliament but also in the newspapers and in the press, the essay written by Botta and Parola<sup>8</sup>, which gave a flattering opinion of public schools for training teachers and compulsory elementary instruction, played a significant part.

The report submitted to the king Vittorio Emanuele II before the Casati Law spoke of a «middle system of liberty, supported by prudence kept within due bounds, and by those safeguards which secure and defend it against the open and covert enemies who lead it astray and spoil the fruits».

The goal was to present a kind of happy medium of liberalism, as had happened in France a few years earlier, when Thiers declared that he wanted «la liberté avec le gouvernement de la liberté» during the parliamentary debate leading to the Falloux Law (13 February 1850)<sup>9</sup>.

Casati explained that three possible systems had been considered: the English system «That of a full and absolute liberty, in which, as in England, all government interference is excluded»<sup>10</sup>; the Belgian system, «The one in which, as in Belgium, private institutions are allowed to compete with the state»<sup>11</sup>; and the German system, «Where the State not only secures instruction with its own institutions, but allows private instruction to compete with the State»<sup>12</sup>. That was what was adopted as a minor yet temporary evil.

These statements were quite similar to those Cavour made in a speech to parliament on 21 November 1851:

Before we sat on these benches, we supported the cause of free education with our own pens. [...] We wish, however, to declare hastily that we must apply this theory very carefully and sparingly and that it is necessary to proceed gradually in order to

<sup>6</sup> A. Gaudio, *Carlo Morelli: un esempio di discorso comparativo sulla scuola nell'Italia del XIX secolo*, in H. A. Cavallera (ed.), *Eventi e studi. Scritti in onore di H.A. Cavallera*, Lecce, Pensa multimedia, 2017, pp. 169-175; P. Causarano, S. Oliviero, *L'educazione in Carlo Morelli fra dimensione istituzionale e riformismo scolastico*, in F. Carnevale, E. Diana (eds.), *Carlo Morelli: un riformatore nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Florence, Polistampa, 2017, pp. 113-134.

<sup>7</sup> L. Franchi, *Le fonti della legge Casati*, Modena, Università degli Studi, 1928; M. C. Morandini, *Da Boncompagni a Casati: la costruzione del sistema scolastico nazionale*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (eds.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 9-46; furthermore, see A. Gaudio (ed.), *La difficile attuazione della legge Casati*, in «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 26, 2019, pp. 61-178 and also F. Pruneri, *History of school reforms in Italy: from widespread illiteracy to national education (1861-1918)*, in S.V. Ivanova, D. Caroli (eds.), *Russia-Italia: Collaborazione Nella Sfera Delle Scienze Umane E Della Formazione Nel XXXI secolo*, Moskva, Fgbnu "Istituto Della Strategia Dello Sviluppo Della Formazione Rao", 2021, pp. 285-289.

<sup>8</sup> V. Botta, L. Parola, *Del pubblico insegnamento in Germania: studi*, Turin, Favale, 1851.

<sup>9</sup> J. F. Chanut, *Du comte Falloux aux mécomptes de Bayrou*, in «Vingtième Siècle», 87, 2005, pp. 21-39.

<sup>10</sup> G. Casati, *Relazione a Sua Maestà intorno al riordinamento della istruzione pubblica recata colla Legge 13 novembre 1859*, in *Codice della Istruzione Secondaria classica e tecnica e della istruzione primaria e normale*, Turin, Tipografia scolastica di Sebastiano Franco, 1861, pp. 13-23.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*



accustom the country to this new system. We know very well that a country which has been for centuries under the regime of monopoly cannot suddenly change to the regime of absolute liberty without serious problems<sup>13</sup>.

We must not forget how Bertrando Spaventa, Neapolitan philosopher and politician, at the time living in Piedmont, remarked in the pages of *Il progresso* on 3 November 1851 how the freedom of doctrine had been the instrument of Catholic rule in Belgium<sup>14</sup>. The role of church-run schools varied greatly in the different regions that were incorporated into the new government between 1859 and 1861, and this diversity was further structured by the various events of the transition period<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. The prestige of German education

In 1867 the first Italian edition of the famous *Grammatica della lingua greca per la scuola* (*A Grammar of the Greek Language*, orig. title *Griechische Schulgrammatik*) by Georg Curtius, one of the chief channels of influence of German culture in the Italy of the time, was published<sup>16</sup>. Hermann Loescher, great-grandson of the great German publisher Benedictus Gotthelf Teubner, founded in Turin in 1861 a school book publisher still active today.

A classic example of the reference to Germany as a model to measure Italy's inadequacy can be found in a parliamentary speech by Francesco De Sanctis on 30 May 1878, "Basic Questions from Public Education (Questioni fondamentali della Pubblica Istruzione)", in which he cites as models of German success the development of physical education in elementary schools<sup>17</sup>.

Francesco De Sanctis (1817-1883), an outstanding literary scholar, was then Minister of Public Education and is still remembered for his *Storia della letteratura italiana* (1870-71), the prototype for the presentation of a Italian literature to high school students, one of the most memorable works in contemporary Italian historiography. Furthermore, he reduced the question of physical education to military training and held that Germany's victory over France in 1870 was due chiefly to the good training of her soldiers and chiefly to small-scale (rather than to larger industrial development, as it really was).

In support of this thesis, he referred to a speech by Helmuth Karl Bernhard Graf von Moltke, thus giving credence to one of the chief architects of Prussian militarism. With regard to universities, he noted that Italian universities had been reduced to mere teaching institutions for disciplines such as archaeology, linguistics and philology, while only the creation of German-style centres of excellence would give rise to the necessary conditions for the creation of a "national science" worthy of a modern nation.

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<sup>13</sup> C. Cavour, *Discorsi Parlamentari*, Turin, Botta 1865, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> S. Spaventa, *La libertà di insegnamento*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1920, p. 91; see A. Erba, *L'esprit laïque en Belgique sous le gouvernement libéral doctrinaire (1857-1870) d'après les brochures politiques*, Louvain, Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1967.

<sup>15</sup> A. Gaudio, *Educazione e scuola nella Toscana dell'Ottocento. Dalla Restaurazione alla caduta della Destra*, Brescia, La Scuola 2001, pp. 250-280; Id., *Scuole cattoliche e formazione di base. Cristiani d'Italia* A. Melloni (Ed.), *Chiese, Stato e società 1861-2011*, Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2011, pp. 755-766.

<sup>16</sup> G. Curtius, *Grammatica della lingua greca*, Torino, Paravia, 1867.

<sup>17</sup> F. De Sanctis, *Scritti e discorsi sull'educazione*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1967, pp. 164-177.

### 3. Pasquale Villari

Pasquale Villari (1827-1917) was a well-known history professor, essayist, and politician who was Minister of Education from 1891 to 1892<sup>18</sup>. He was in correspondence with Stuart Mill from 1854<sup>19</sup>. This relationship is a significant aspect of the peculiarities of his liberalism, which was linked to the culture of positivism, while in the environment where he was born, German philosophy, especially Hegel, was predominant<sup>20</sup>.

Villari went to England in 1862 for the Great London Exhibition<sup>21</sup>, where he took on the additional role of adjudicator in matters of public education. At this time, his British contacts were the authoritative MP Ralph Robert Wheele Lingen, Richard Cobden, John Pakington and Arthur Kinnaird. In his report “Primary education in England and Scotland” (1864)<sup>22</sup>, he described the English school system as «a luxuriant forest»<sup>23</sup> characterised by a much greater role for the private sector, particularly the clergy, compared to a much lesser role for the government, which did not run schools but contributed to their funding. On the 1862 debate about the Revised Code, he wrote, «Today, there is a great agitation and almost a Peaceful Revolution whose aim is to make elementary education secular, to organise it with a few general rules, but not to destroy private initiative»<sup>24</sup>.

He showed astonishment and admiration not only for the fullness of the English debate on education, but also for the extensive documentation which was so much the initiative of the government or parliament on which it was based. In this kind of debate on public education, he rediscovered the very essence of British constitutional affairs is a constant compromise between the different parties, day to day experience, temporarily counteracting the more obvious evils and always creating new experiments. There is never a discussion of general principles to be enforced, but there are certain general maxims inherent to all Englishmen which no one debates but which must be accepted by all<sup>25</sup>.

His interpretation of the contemporary British debates that led to the Education Act of 1870 seems flawed from a continental perspective. Indeed, he stated:

The British were finally convinced that much could be learned from the institutions of the continent, which they actually sat down to study in earnest. A system of public education has become a great desire for many of them, and it is remarkable to see how, when we say we must imitate England, we exclude inspectors, the Secretary General and ministers, leave everybody at liberty to teach as he likes, what he likes, without diplomas, without examinations. England, on the contrary, creates

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<sup>18</sup> M. Moretti, *Pasquale Villari Ministro della pubblica istruzione*, in «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», VI, 1999, pp. 219-246; Id., *Villari Pasquale*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2020, XCIX, pp. 356-360.

<sup>19</sup> M.L. Cicalese, *Dai carteggi di Pasquale Villari. Corrispondenze con Capponi, Mill, Fiorentino, Chamberlain*, Roma, Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1984.

<sup>20</sup> A. M. Voci (Ed.), *Un anello ideale tra Italia e Germania Corrispondenze di Pasquale Villari con storici tedeschi*, Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 2006.

<sup>21</sup> V. Barth (Ed.), *Innovation and education at International Expositions*, Paris, Intl. Bureau of Expositions/BIE, 2007; M. Lawn (Ed.), *Modelling the Future exhibitions and the materiality of education*, Oxford, Symposium Books, 2009.

<sup>22</sup> P. Villari, *L'istruzione elementare nell'Inghilterra e nella Scozia*, Turin, Dalmazzo, 1864.

<sup>23</sup> Ivi, p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Ivi, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Ivi, p. 80.



inspectors and ministers, introduces examinations and diplomas for all, tries to imitate many things on the continent<sup>26</sup>.

Such statements remind today's readers of the theories of converging educational systems.

Villari made a prediction:

If the central government is going to take the whole of elementary education on its shoulders, the burden will be too heavy and it will have to resort to a national school system maintained by local taxes and fees. However, the time when this reform can be accomplished is very far off<sup>27</sup>.

The Neapolitan historian's text also included two short second-hand treatises on France and Prussia and Austria. On France, the only source cited was Matthew Arnold's 1861 report. The section on France showed the errors in which he had implicated Cousin in his well-known report on Prussian public education. Villari recalled instead the Pattison Report of 1861, which appreciated the effectiveness of compulsory elementary education as it existed in Prussia.

#### 4. Dino Carina

Dino Carina (1836-1872)<sup>28</sup> had significant experience as a school principal (Istituto Tecnico Toscano and Scuola Nautica di Livorno, that is Tuscany Technical High School in Florence and then Royal Institute of Merchant Navy in Livorno) and as a teacher of economics at the Technical High School in Florence. His approach to the education debate emerged from the perspective of what one defines now as the economics of education. His source was explicitly Charles Dunoyer, a French liberal economist<sup>29</sup>.

Carina's essay *Della istruzione primaria e industriale considerata nelle sue relazioni con la Pubblica Economia* (1868) is known only, until recent studies, to a few specialists<sup>30</sup>, but it seems worthy of the highest attention. His conception of the economics of education was clearly stated:

With this treatise I have proposed to show the effects that education has on the economic and moral condition of the people, and especially of the labouring classes, and so I have narrowed down the subject of discussion to elementary education and industrialisation as the most effectual by two means conducive to the public

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<sup>26</sup> Ivi, p. 157.

<sup>27</sup> Ivi, p. 158.

<sup>28</sup> A. Sanzo, *Dino Carina. Istruzione, lavoro, studi comparativi*, in «I Problemi della pedagogia», 2019, pp. 173-200, pp. 431-458.

A. Sanzo, *Il contributo "comparativo" di Dino Carina alla diffusione dei musei pedagogici e artistico-industriali nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, in «Quaderni Di Intercultura», a. XI, 2019, pp. 223-266. doi: 10.3271/M80.

<sup>29</sup> C. Dunoyer, *De la liberté du travail*, Paris, Guillaumin, 1845 (it. translation C. Dunoyer, *La libertà del lavoro*, Biblioteca dell'economista, seconda serie, trattati speciali, 1859, vol. VII, Turin, pp. 625-653); M. M. Augello, M. E. L. Guidi, *The Spread of Political Economy and the Professionalisation of Economists*, in *Nineteenth-century economic societies in a comparative approach*, London and New York, Routledge, 2001, pp. 1-31.

<sup>30</sup> G. Are, *Il problema dello sviluppo industriale nell'età della Destra*, Pisa, Nistri-Lischi, 1965.



economy, i.e., kindling the sources of wealth and improving the status of that class which is among the greatest producers<sup>31</sup>.

He repeated a common theme of the democratic tradition: a people cannot be truly free unless they are fully educated. The ignorance of the people is a contagion which spreads to still higher classes, to whom little learning suffices to expose the common people, who have no account of their affairs<sup>32</sup>. He proposes a genuine political economy of education:

We want to include public education in its noblest and broadest respect. For us, it is not some genius, the promotion of some branch of study, but this is the consideration of the school as a true economic and civic office, as a means of education and wealth, that education which is so widespread, that wealth which is so unequally distributed, which forms the basis of bourgeois society<sup>33</sup>.

He quotes as the best work on the economics of education by Charles Dunoyer, and in particular the fifth chapter, *Liberty of the Arts*, which works on the formation of moral habits, and especially that part of domestic education and educational institutions which has as its object the formation of habits. Referring to the works of Villari, Carina said that he should consider the people as his audience, while the Neapolitan historian appealed to the legislature, which was his client, and declared that without freedom from ignorance there could be no real equality:

How could one hope for perfect equality in the civil state of all citizens if equal freedom of all minds had not been provided for by loosening the fetters which ignorance, error, and deadly passions, which are their companions, keep entwined about them?<sup>34</sup>.

In Carina's assessment, general education and industry became central to the macroeconomic analysis. The favourable situation in France was attributed to the wisdom of French economists:

A second reason why the people have been able to benefit from education in France is due to the fact that general and industrial [education] has not been considered from a purely pedagogical point of view but as one of the most important economic subjects, as long as it is applied to serious and prolonged study, that most people honour this branch of knowledge<sup>35</sup>.

In the fourth chapter, he talked about the freedom and responsibility of the English people regarding education. The main differences between the English and the Italian situation were described thusly:

The certificates of the English schools certify that the candidate has acquired certain knowledge. With us, one goes further and assures that he acquires some special

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<sup>31</sup> D. Carina, *Della istruzione primaria e industriale considerata nelle sue relazioni con la Pubblica Economia*, Florence, Paggi, 1868, pp. IV-V.

<sup>32</sup> *Ivi*, p. IX.

<sup>33</sup> *Ivi*, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ivi*, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Ivi*, p. 187; E. De Laveleye, *L'instruction des peuples au 19ème siècle*, in «Revue de deux mondes», vol. VI, 1865, pp. 273-300.

ability. And so in England, it is almost never an institution that qualifies for industry. There have been countless schools in which many doctrines for industry have been taught<sup>36</sup>.

His deep knowledge of the interactions between institutions, businesses and schools also flowed into an awareness of the usefulness of comparisons as well as the limitations of possible transfers.

With all this, I do not pretend to assert that the method employed in the English schools could be usefully applied to all. For if a people are to be so freely led that they should already have learned to make use of liberty and gradually that the intervention of 'vanishing authorities should concur that men should have learned to do without them, finding in their judgement the light, and that light which was first obtained by institutions and rules'. Now ours and many other peoples have not yet been able to acquire such provisions, and if all school subjects were relegated to one tract, a serious disruption of public education would probably follow. Indeed, as we see, among ourselves for some years past, while everyone laments the failure of the public schools, private education has hitherto been preserved to acquire a good reputation. And, moreover, while recognising that the British make the very first use of liberty, I must also agree that the custom described is not without its disadvantages and that even there the public culture is much lower than many current schools would expect. But it takes serious study and long experience to find schools that have the best system to make teaching effective in different classes and different needs, and this effect depends chiefly on the methods by which the school is organised and the teaching, research, and how the mechanics make new discoveries every day to reduce the space consumption of all forces and convert them into work, office of the studies you do within the school system, and procuring that all the teaching will gradually convert into knowledge<sup>37</sup>.

It was pointed out that English primary education was not limited to literacy alone. When one speaks of primary education in England, it means something more than learning your ABCs and 123s, and that the real job of primary school among the British is to impart civic education and the citizenry. And this tendency to raise the standard of elementary education, this desire to engage the mind in the work of production between the human forces, which produces more and better, is the result of the sound interpretation economic teachings give them<sup>38</sup>.

He offers a non-free trade interpretation of English educational policy of the time when he says:

The English government has not negligently entrusted popular culture to the charity and goodwill of private individuals, but, without making excuses for the laziness of the citizens, labours to stimulate zeal and regulate their activity, and shows itself very attentive in every part of the educational legislation to that duty which is incumbent upon free states, shall we say, the duty of teaching and guiding the people through good examples<sup>39</sup>.

Carina argues the case for government intervention in education:

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<sup>36</sup> D. Carina, *Della istruzione primaria e industriale considerata nelle sue relazioni con la Pubblica Economia*. pp. 239-240.

<sup>37</sup> Ivi, pp. 241-242.

<sup>38</sup> Ivi, pp. 276-277.

<sup>39</sup> Ivi, p. 280.



It is therefore the advice of economists as to the proper extension of governmental power that is not settled. However, it is quite reasonable to believe that it would provide for all those needs which show public importance and are not satisfied or are too imperfectly provided by private activity<sup>40</sup>.

Since freedom to educate was necessary for industry, some rules were required:

It would therefore be an open contradiction to allow the industry of private persons into public education, inasmuch as industry is not fruitful, that within freedom, education cannot, in our opinion, return effectually without some compulsion and without some rules<sup>41</sup>.

His stated source was Courcelle de Seneuil<sup>42</sup>. Carina concluded his arguments in the following way:

We do not want to populate the world with economists, but with good men who have a perfect knowledge of their offices and of their own interests, who can hold their place in society to become useful to themselves and to others. Morality is the first of the sciences, political economy is the second, and we want them to be carried out and also to expose the moral concept and the economic concept. For only when the mind and soul of every citizen are willingly and resolutely led will the search for what is truly good and truly useful to the conditions and needs of man, only joint efforts of the whole people will come to achieve what is truly a great and honourable society<sup>43</sup>.

He cited Droz as a reference<sup>44</sup>.

## 5. Ferdinando Petruccelli della Gattina

Ferdinando Petruccelli della Gattina (1815 -1890)<sup>45</sup>, journalist and politician, is best known as the author of the anti-monarchical pamphlet *I moribondi di palazzo Carignano* (1862), in which he mocked the politicians of his day. His essay on technical education in England, published in 1879 in the *Official Bulletin of the Italian Ministry of Education* states:

On the continent, everyone responsible for public education imitates the beautiful and better Germany. No one studies the organisation of the same and the system in England. The reason is the highest. On the continent, one is educated, while in

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<sup>40</sup> Ivi, p. 334.

<sup>41</sup> Ivi, p. 335.

<sup>42</sup> J. G. Courcelle de Seneuil, *D'une organisation rationnelle de l'instruction publique*, in «Journal des économistes», Novembre 1864, <https://www.institutcoppet.org/bibliographie-jean-gustave-courcelle-seneuil/>

<sup>43</sup> D. Carina, *Della istruzione primaria e industriale considerata nelle sue relazioni con la Pubblica Economia*, cit., pp. 421-2.

<sup>44</sup> J. Droz, *Économie politique*, Paris, Renouard, 1829.

<sup>45</sup> C. D'Elia, *Petruccelli della Gattina Ferdinando*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/petruccelli-della-gattina-ferdinando\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/petruccelli-della-gattina-ferdinando_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/).

England one is educated. On the continent, attention is paid to the mind, in England to the character of the pupil<sup>46</sup>.

Official sources such as the Parliamentary Inquiry of 1864 and literary sources such as *Nicholas Nickleby* by Charles Dickens, as well as texts by James Kay-Shuttleworth, James Donaldson, John Scott Russel, Ludwig Adolf Wiese and the *Encyclopaedia of Education* edited by Lidle and Schem were used to describe the situation in England. The series of mechanisms for inspecting and funding schools, although not administered by the government, were presented as a form of freedom associated with the most comprehensive English freedoms, in contrast to German nationalism, at the base of which was compulsory military service, which created a true culture of obedience.

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<sup>46</sup> F. Petrucelli della Gattina, *L'istruzione tecnica in Inghilterra*, in «Bollettino Ufficiale Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», June (appendix), 1879, p. 10.



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