

ISSN 1989-5909

34

Diciembre 2025

Cabás

Revista Internacional
sobre Patrimonio
Histórico-Educativo

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Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
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Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko Argitalpen Zerbitzua
Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco

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Otras bases de datos y repositorios



ÍNDICE

Monográfico The School on Display *La escuela en el escaparate*

Presentation. The Role of Educational Exhibitions in the Development of the School Market Between the 19th and 20th centuries <i>Presentación. El papel de las exposiciones pedagógicas en el desarrollo del mercado escolar entre los siglos XIX y XX</i> Francesca Pizzigoni, Juri Meda	8
World Exhibitions and Educational Nation-Building: French Teachers Delegations to Paris in 1867 <i>Las exposiciones universales y la construcción de espacios educativos nacionales: delegaciones de maestros primarios franceses a París en 1867</i> Klaus Dittrich	16
Nationalism and Centralism: Keys to Understanding the First Spanish Educational Exhibition (Madrid, 1882) <i>Nacionalismo y centralismo: claves para comprender la Primera Exposición Pedagógica Española (Madrid, 1882)</i> María del Mar del Pozo Andrés	33
School renaissance through school exhibitions. The case of the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress and the 1874 School Exhibition <i>El renacimiento escolar a través de las exposiciones escolares. El caso del IX Congreso Pedagógico Italiano y la Exposición Escolar de 1874</i> Mirella D'Ascenzo	56
"Making Italians" by Exhibiting the Italian School: School and Teaching Objects at the first Great National Exhibitions of Unified Italy <i>«Hacer italianos» mediante la exhibición de la escuela italiana: la escuela y los objetos didácticos en las primeras grandes exposiciones nacionales de la Italia unificada</i> Francesca Davida Pizzigoni	70
"Something new!". The Presentation of Didactic Objects for Teaching Natural Sciences at School During the World Exhibitions of the 19th century <i>«¡Algo nuevo!». La presentación de objetos didácticos para la enseñanza de las ciencias naturales en la escuela durante las Exposiciones universales del siglo XIX</i> Johann-Günther Egginger	84

Exhibiting, Disseminating, Promoting, and Circulating School Objects, Symbols, and Artefacts: Interfaces Between Universal Exhibitions and Centennial Exhibitions in Brazil – Repertoire and Strategies of a Materiality <i>Exhibición, difusión, promoción y circulación de objetos, símbolos y artefactos escolares: interacciones entre las exposiciones universales y las exposiciones del centenario en Brasil: repertorio y estrategias de materialidad</i>	
Gizele de Souza	101
Hispanic Education and Cultural Heritage at the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition: A University Perspective <i>La educación y el patrimonio cultural hispano en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888. Una perspectiva universitaria</i>	
Juan-Luis Rubio-Mayoral, María-Guadalupe Trigueros-Gordillo	121
A Slow Construction Project: Nineteenth-century School Architecture through Universal Expositions <i>Un proyecto de construcción lento: la arquitectura escolar del siglo xix a través de las exposiciones universales</i>	
Valeria Viola	138
Artículos	
Vincular la escuela y el museo desde un programa de intervención educativa <i>Linking the School and the Museum Through an Educational Intervention Programme</i>	
Bienvenida García-Martínez, Mari Carmen Cerezo-Máiquez, Josefina Lozano-Martínez	154
Drawings and Writings by Children and Young People from Wartime in Europe. Inclusion in the UNESCO World Documentary Heritage Register 2025 and the IRAND Research Network <i>Dibujos y escritos de niños y jóvenes de la guerra en Europa. Inclusión en el registro del Patrimonio Documental Mundial de la UNESCO 2025 y en la red de investigación IRAND</i>	
Jutta Ströter-Bender, Kunibert Bering	178
La educación de las niñas en el franquismo: la construcción de la feminidad a través de la educación del hogar <i>The Education of Girls under Francoism: Constructing Femininity through Home Economics</i>	
Eva María Jiménez Andújar	215
La represión franquista contra el profesorado de Secundaria en Huelva <i>The Francoist Repression Against Secondary School Teachers in Huelva</i>	
María José Banda Vélez	236
Del magisterio franquista a la renovación pedagógica: el caso de la maestra Atilana Fraile <i>From Franco's Teaching Methods to Pedagogical Renewal: The case of Teacher Atilana Fraile</i>	
César Santos Pérez, Miguel Ángel López Gajardo	250



Monográfico

THE SCHOOL ON DISPLAY
LA ESCUELA EN EL ESCAPARATE

PRESENTATION. THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL MARKET BETWEEN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

Presentación. La escuela en el escaparate: el papel de las exposiciones pedagógicas en el desarrollo del mercado escolar entre los siglos XIX y XX

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1. SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The act of “exhibiting”, in other words “putting on display”, has always been closely associated with the concept of commercialisation: showing a product with the aim of selling it was already a common practice among the earliest street vendors, and became even more evident in shops, where shop windows exposed various goods to the gaze of potential buyers (Holleran, 2012)¹. Manufacturers of different kinds of products soon adopted the practice of setting up a permanent exhibition of their goods within the production site itself, in order to enhance their value and allow direct inspection by buyers (as well as by agents, representatives, or specific categories of customers), for whom specific presentations could occasionally be organized (Martínez Ruiz-Funes & Marín Murcia, 2023; Allgayer, 2025).

The world of didactic and teaching aids was no exception to this practice of “exhibition as a means of commercialization”. One need only recall the case of certain teacher-inventors who personally organized presentations in public squares (Ambrosini, 1906), or publishing houses that arranged dedicated rooms in their premises to welcome teacher-buyers and showcase new products for sale (Paravia, 1923). Yet the act of “putting on display” was not exclusively tied to commercial objectives: exhibiting soon came to signify the assertion of excellence, market leadership, and capacity for innovation. At the same time, “exhibition” became an expression of the will to make one’s work known, and at times to impose new methods, products, and ideas—an attempt to generate needs not only at the level of the individual buyer, but also to shape and homogenize ways of thinking across society (Meda, 2016), or even to steer political choices and ideas.

¹ While this paper was jointly conceived by the two authors, the writing of the manuscript was divided between them as follows: Francesca Davida Pizzigoni drafted Sections 1 and 2 and Juri Meda drafted Section 3.

It is also worth noting the bibliographical review *Itinerant Traders, Peddlers, and Hawkers*, dedicated to studies on the history of street vendors —including practices of displaying goods— edited by Anne Montenach for Oxford Bibliographies Online.

The great national and universal exhibitions often served to reaffirm the cultural, economic, and political primacy of a country, in a kind of power play from which school-related products —present since the very first Universal Exhibition in London in 1851 and progressively gaining a more defined space— were by no means exempt (Greenhalgh, 1988; Aymes, 1995; Findling & Pelle, 2008).

Studies dedicated to investigating the history of school materiality, which have become increasingly consolidated over the past thirty years (Gaspar, Meda & De Souza, 2021), have not neglected to address the various meanings of “exhibition”. They have gradually revealed the potential of studying the presence of schools and their objects on display as a heuristic approach, capable of extracting information at different and wide-ranging levels, thereby contributing to the interpretive framework of the history of education through the study of its material supports.

The new line of research that interpreted exhibitions as instruments for disseminating school material culture was opened by the pioneering studies carried out in the early 1980s by María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (1983). She examined the presence of Spanish pedagogy at nineteenth-century universal exhibitions and, by reconstructing the objects, furnishings, and teaching tools with which Spain participated in those events, outlined the “educational image” that the country intended to project abroad.

This thematic insight was subsequently embraced in Spain by CEINCE-Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar in Berlanga de Duero, which in 2007 organized an international seminar devoted entirely to this theme. The proceedings of that seminar (Lawn, 2009) became one of the cornerstones of the literature for those studying the history of school materiality. They definitively recognized exhibitions as places that foreshadow the future, within which the educational materials on display make it possible to identify the developmental trajectories of a given school industry and its related educational policies. From that moment, a significant body of scholarship emerged, devoted to investigating the relationship between nineteenth- and early twentieth-century universal exhibitions and the constant evolution of teaching aids, establishing this as a “field of historiographical analysis in which materialities and their representations are shown to us as a new item for cultural history, within an ethnographic and hermeneutic perspective” (Escolano Benito, 2011-2012: 151).

Alongside the great international exhibitions (Dussel, 2007, 2011; Grosvenor, 2005; Guereña, 2005; Dittrich, 2011, 2013; Matasci, 2015; Trigueros-Gordillo & Rubio-Mayoral, 2018; Viola, 2018; Brunelli, 2020; Bianchini & Pongiluppi, 2024), it has become clear that didactic exhibitions of a more strictly national or local character also offer elements of great interest for interpreting the history of school materiality in a given period. They also provide new pieces with which to complete the broader panorama of historical-educational research (Rico Mansard, 2004; D’Ascenzo & Vignoli, 2008; Meda, 2010, 2016; Durán Rodríguez, 2012; Barausse, 2020; Pizzigoni, 2022). Thus, while some works have focused on exploring how universal exhibitions influenced modern educational models and facilitated the transnational circulation of ideas, models, and technologies (Lawn & Grosvenor, 2009, 2021), other studies have enabled deeper investigations of specific contexts or countries, such as Argentina through the cited works of Dussel, Japan through those of Dittrich, and France through those of Matasci.

Taken together, these works have highlighted both the significant and multiple heuristic potential of exhibitions themselves and of the school materials displayed within them. Such materials, far from being mere “neutral” objects, were the expression of complex dynamics in which economic and political, educational and social aspects were interwoven, extending well beyond the boundaries of the classroom. By combining these two objects of investigation —exhibitions and the school materials displayed therein— both already polyvalent in themselves, the heuristic value and interpretive insights offered by this line of research are exponentially enhanced.

2. “EDUCATIONAL MATERIALITY ON DISPLAY”: INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORKS AND HEURISTIC PERSPECTIVES

To grasp the breadth of this perspective, it is enough to consider how the history of a teaching object on display often intertwines different exhibition levels—international, national, and local—blending them together (for example, objects awarded at a local exhibition that are later presented at an international one, or vice versa). This enables us to reconstruct relations, spheres of influence, economic and commercial exchanges between different countries or companies, and the trajectories of authors and their inventions. Studying the relationship between exhibitions and school materials thus makes it possible to construct what might be called a “multi-layered geography” of schooling and its didactic objects, in which not only pedagogical and educational aspects but also industrial, administrative, associative, and authorial dimensions, among others, come into play.

The showcase of didactic exhibitions offers numerous interpretative keys: from the function attributed to didactic objects according to the educational theories of the time, to the analysis of exhibition categories as expressions of political and organizational choices; from the study of the actors involved (promoters, exhibitors, jurors) to the reconstruction of networks of relations and strategies of representation. The related sources — catalogues, official reports, awards, photographs, and lectures— constitute a documentary heritage of great interest for the history of school materiality.

If we were to summarize the interpretative frameworks that have thus far been most developed within the line of research on “educational materiality on display”, four can undoubtedly be identified.

Exhibitions as showcases of educational modernity, in which participants sought to use schooling as a symbol of national progress. This line of research, developed in the works of Lawn, Grosvenor, Escolano, and Matasci, highlights the role of exhibitions as representational devices where teaching materials, furniture, architectural drawings, and students’ work were displayed not so much to emphasize their pedagogical value, but rather their degree of conformity with the educational and social policies of the time. The presence of schooling in exhibitions thus became above all a message, addressed both internally and externally, as a means of consolidating the position and leadership of the exhibiting nation.

Exhibitions as spaces and opportunities for circulation and exchange among different countries. In this perspective, as emphasized by the works of scholars such as Dussel, Dittrich, Roldán Vera, and Pizzigoni, the exhibition functioned as a facilitator of close observation of practices in other countries, and therefore as a site of cross-fertilization—and at times outright appropriation—of objects, ideas, solutions, models, and projects. Here, the study of exhibitions in a sense “extends” beyond the actual duration of the event, since it also encompasses the subsequent period, allowing us to grasp the impact of the exhibition, the image it projected, and, more explicitly, the repercussions of what was displayed on the school products and practices of various countries in the months and years that followed.

Exhibitions as opportunities to compile a catalogue of the material culture of schooling in a given year. In this interpretation, the exhibition functioned as a concentrator of objects, a venue that brought together all products considered most innovative, technologically advanced, or otherwise most representative of a specific historical moment. The exhibition became an ideal snapshot of its time, a kind of “current archive” that automatically transformed, once the event concluded, into a “historical archive,” enriched with the myriad sources produced or gathered by the exhibition (exhibitors’ catalogues, maps, reports of juries and delegates, official visits, lists of awardees, etc.). The catalogue of exhibitions has thus been used as a privileged source for understanding the typologies of objects, categories, producers, relations among

school materials of different countries, and the evolutionary trajectories of materials and disciplines. In this regard, the works of Barausse, Meda, and Brunelli represent excellent examples of this line of research.

Exhibitions as instruments for defining national and international educational policy. Within this line of research, addressed in the works of Del Pozo and Matasci previously cited, the focus shifts to the role of exhibitions as arenas where national or global educational agendas were defined and presented to policymakers, who in turn could influence the formulation and implementation of educational policies within their respective contexts. The numerous fact-finding missions conducted in these exhibitions from the late nineteenth century onwards by experts appointed by their Ministries of Education —aimed at identifying the most functional pedagogical models, teaching aids, and even school furnishings for the modernization of national school systems— clearly demonstrate this dynamic (Sani, 2022). These movements of objects and people must be investigated in depth, state by state, in order to understand how and to what extent the educational progress promoted in these contexts shaped the broader process of modernization in European society and —through diverse dynamics and varying speeds— in extra-European contexts during the nineteenth century. It is also interesting to note how these exhibitions indirectly reveal that the very idea of “modernity” was closely tied to the development of modes of production typical of capitalist systems, and that the transition to modernity was characterized by strong ethnocentrism and grounded in adherence to economic and social formations considered more dynamic than traditional ones.

Many other aspects could be emphasized, and many other studies and scholars could be cited, yet what matters most already emerges clearly from the data presented here: the time is ripe to dedicate a special issue to the theme of exhibitions. The field benefits from a substantial body of prior scholarship, which now makes it possible to provide a survey capable of gathering plural research perspectives and bringing together, in a single venue these interpretative frameworks. From their convergence, new perspectives may also emerge.

The aim of this special issue is therefore to serve as a forum for sharing viewpoints, ideas, and research in order to take a step forward in the study of the “display” of school materiality in local, national, and international exhibitions—its premises, its implications, and its concrete effects.

3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS SPECIAL ISSUE TO THE ONGOING HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DEBATE

In this special issue we include the contribution of Klaus Dittrich, a pioneer of these studies at the international level, who —focusing on the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867— clearly demonstrates how, in the nineteenth century, universal exhibitions functioned as amplifiers for the diffusion of educational models and pedagogical practices on a global scale. They served as genuine centers of dissemination, reverberating their effects even on the most remote and marginal school institutions, through the mediation of inspectors, headmasters, and teachers who had visited them, absorbed their innovations, and sought to adapt them both to their specific professional contexts and to their wider networks of colleagues. In the long run, this process contributed to the standardisation of a national educational space, aligned with those of other countries and continuously updated in line with modern times.

María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, who—as already noted—was among the first scholars to explore these issues, turns her attention to the National Didactic Exhibition held in Madrid between June and July 1882, following the first National Pedagogical Congress. The characteristics of this exhibition were markedly different from the previous case. It was not a Universal Exposition promoted globally by an

international organising committee, but rather a didactic exhibition promoted in the Spanish capital by the *Sociedad Fomento de las Artes*, a cultural association founded a few years earlier by the urban bourgeois elites to advance popular education. Here too, however, the event pursued a precise aim: to legitimize, in the eyes of Madrid's teaching corps, the innovative pedagogical methods practised by the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, in an attempt to uproot the traditional methods still employed by the majority of teachers. The author highlights how, in that context, the very exhibition layout and the arrangement of the objects reflected the sharp pedagogical tensions within Madrid's educational system between innovators and conservatives. This is further illustrated by the engravings of the exhibition spaces published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* just prior to the opening of the exhibition, with clear promotional intent.

Mirella D'Ascenzo draws attention to a theme still largely unexplored but with wide heuristic potential: the relationship between pedagogical debate and its material repercussions on schooling. Specifically, she examines the didactic exhibitions linked to Pedagogical Congresses in post-unification Italy. Her analysis focuses on the case of the Ninth Italian Pedagogical Congress, held in Bologna in 1874. The study of the materials on display and of the assessments expressed by the Commissions serves as a mirror of the school, revealing the first traces of the introduction of object teaching and, above all, the significance of "grassroots" contributions. The author underscores how innovation often stemmed from the ideas and inventions of teachers themselves, and she identifies in the exhibitions associated with Pedagogical Congresses a valuable source for capturing change and development at the intersection of tradition and innovation.

Also situated within the Italian context is the contribution of Francesca Davida Pizzigoni, who focuses on a different level of exhibiting the "school on display": namely, its presence within the first major national exhibitions of the Nineteenth century. This presence —within events still primarily aimed at fostering the construction of a new unitary idea of the nation— is analyzed not only in its chronological evolution but also along three main axes: who exhibited the school, how the school was exhibited, and which aspects of the school were exhibited. The resulting picture is one of exhibitions that did not, in fact, manage to present a genuine drive for innovation in teaching tools, but rather seemed more concerned with offering the general public a new vision of the school of a unified Italy, in which schooling had —or aspired to have— a specific role in the making of Italians.

In his contribution, Johann-Günther Egginger demonstrates how universal exhibitions held from 1851 to 1889 were used to promote the use of three types of scientific teaching aids: wall charts, clastic models (as models of plants and plant organs by Louis Auzoux), and portable cabinet for the object lessons, known as *musée de l'école* (*literally, school museum*). These innovative objects for the improvement of the elementary science teaching were presented in the educational sections of the first universal exhibitions as tools for implementing the technique of "teaching by appearance" —based on the assumption that "it is enough to see to understand"— through the representation of things in two (wall board) or three dimensions (clastic models) or their presentation in well-designed display cases (*musée de l'école*). In this case too, world fairs serve to amplify the educational emergencies of a society such as the positivist one of the late 19th century devoted to scientific progress as a factor of social, economic and cultural development.

Gizele de Souza uses the lens of the 1922 Centenary of Brazilian Independence Exposition to highlight the role of national and universal exhibitions as drivers for the promotion of social, industrial, and educational modernities between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These events functioned as genuine showcases of material culture and pedagogical innovation, enabling the author to analyse exhibitions as part of broader processes of nation-building and the invention of tradition.

Guadalupe Trigueros Gordillo and Juan Luis Rubio Mayoral present a study of the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition from a particular perspective: the analysis of the presence of Spanish universities on display. By examining the types of materials presented, disciplinary fields, geographical origins, and awards received, the authors provide a quantitative framework that also offers interpretative insights into the presence and evolution of the university on display and the image it projected of itself.

Finally, Valeria Viola —who has previously worked on the history of Italian school architecture, with particular attention to rural schools in southern Italy— studies universal exhibitions to provide a comprehensive overview of the development of Italian school architecture through the reports written by Italian delegates sent by the Ministry of Industry, Handicraft, and Commerce in the early post-unification period. As has already been emphasized, these events offered opportunities to engage with the most innovative aspects of educational models and pedagogical practices in use in the more advanced national contexts, as well as to identify new trends in the design of school buildings and the organization of learning spaces.

The contributions presented in this special issue confirm—on the one hand—the use of exhibitions as showcases of educational modernity and as tools for defining national and international educational policies (Klaus Dittrich, María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Mirella D’Ascenzo’s contributions are explicit) and —on the other— their central role in circulation and exchange of educational models and pedagogical practices among different countries (Johann-Günther Egginger, Francesca Pizzigoni and Valeria Viola).

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WORLD EXHIBITIONS AND EDUCATIONAL NATION-BUILDING: FRENCH TEACHERS DELEGATIONS TO PARIS IN 1867

Las exposiciones universales y la construcción de espacios educativos nacionales: delegaciones de maestros primarios franceses a París en 1867

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Keywords

World exhibitions
France
Paris
Nation-building
Standardisation
Primary education

ABSTRACT: Nineteenth century world exhibitions served as meta-media for the circulation of educational knowledge. Focusing on the *Exposition universelle* in Paris in 1867, this article discusses how the French Ministry of Public Instruction made use of the exhibition in order to communicate with its subordinate personnel. Primary teachers from all over France were invited to Paris. Pedagogical lectures were held. As evidenced by their reports, teachers brought new ideas back to their rural workplaces. The exhibition thereby facilitated the standardisation of a national educational space which in itself was part of the larger process of the educationalisation of the world.

Palabras clave

Exposiciones universales
Francia
París
Nacionalización
Estandarización
Instrucción primaria

RESUMEN: En el siglo XIX, las exposiciones universales sirvieron de meta-media para la circulación de saberes educativos. Este artículo focaliza la *Exposition Universelle* de París de 1867. El ministerio de instrucción pública francés invitó a maestros de educación primaria de todo el país a la capital y se organizaron conferencias pedagógicas para los delegados. Después de los viajes, los informes de los maestros indican la difusión de nuevos saberes en las diferentes regiones. De esta manera, la Exposición Universal contribuía simultáneamente a la estandarización de un espacio educativo nacional y a la creación de un mundo más educacionalizado.

INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the high time of world exhibitions coincided with the implementation of state education systems in European and other sufficiently sovereign countries. This coincidence of the educationalisation of the world (Tröhler, 2017) and exhibitionary practices was visible right from the first two world exhibitions in 1851 and 1855. These events in London and Paris respectively contributed to the mutual discovery of the French and British industries and thereby triggered vivid debates on technical education on both sides of the Channel (Lembré, 2013: 121-164). The second London

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How to cite: Dittrich, Klaus (2025). «World Exhibitions and Educational Nation-Building: French Teachers Delegations to Paris in 1867», *Cabás*, 34, 16-32. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27909>).

Received: 23 september, 2025; Final version: 16 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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exhibition in 1862 introduced an educational exhibit into its encyclopaedic classification which put for the first time an emphasis on elementary instruction.

The *Exposition universelle d'art et d'industrie* in Paris in 1867 continued and expanded the practice of educational exhibits. The exhibition, as Edouard Vasseur's (2023) monograph has recently demonstrated, was intricately woven into the politics of Napoleon III's Second Empire. According to Volker Barth (2007:12), it presented the "materialised ideology" of its big organisers, notably the two Saint-Simonian engineers, sociologists and economists Frédéric Le Play and Michel Chevalier. It featured a unique palace on the Champ-de-Mars whose ingenious layout aimed at presenting the exhibits from all countries and all fields of human activity in the most rational way. Education appeared in group ten that featured "objects especially exhibited in order to improve the moral and physical condition of the population". More precisely, two classes targeted the education of children and adults respectively. Class 89 was dedicated to the "materials for and methods of teaching children", while class 90 focused on "libraries and apparatus used in the instruction of adults at home, in the workshop or in schools and colleges" (Commission impériale, 1867:8). The 1867 exhibition, then, was the first French event to highlight education as one of its key parts.

The educational classes resulted in French and foreign participation. The French Ministry of Public Instruction, since 1863 under the leadership of Victor Duruy, prepared an exhibit in order to advertise its achievements and agendas. Embedded in a rhetoric that was simultaneously imperial, Catholic and progressive, building layouts featured the material aspects of the schools. Textbooks and other educational devices were presented in collaboration with private publishers and producers. Student works were collected from all over France, including writing samples, drawings and needle works (Defodon, 1868:12-38).¹ Addressing the sector of higher education, the Ministry also arranged for the publication of thirty-eight monumental reports on the progress of the sciences and letters in the last twenty years. From beyond France, rural schoolhouses from Illinois, Sweden and Prussia as well as a Saxon educational pavilion in ancient Greek style prominently featured in the park that surrounded the main exhibition palace. These foreign presentations would have a deep impact on French debates on compulsory schooling and engendered the feeling that France was lacking behind in this domain (Dittrich, 2008).

Despite the understandable desire to feature successes at the world exhibition, there was a shared conviction among the French educational bureaucracy that primary education was deficient. This not only concerned the big question of obligation and gratuity as well as the competition between the state and the Catholic church on the control of mass education. It also concerned many other aspects, including the methodologies applied in the classroom that had a direct effect on the knowledge students would master. Organised through the Guizot Law of 1833 and reformed with the Falloux Law of 1850, the Second Empire promoted the further expansion of public primary schools. The liberal and secularising minister Duruy tackled the issue, but his law of 10 April 1867 failed to make primary instruction compulsory. The universal exposition reflected this ambiguous state of affairs.

Addressing the challenges outlined by Duruy, a subscription was launched in late 1866 in order to fund the trips of primary teachers from all over France to the universal exposition in the following year. With female primary instruction only partially institutionalised, primary teachers in 1860s France—those who were delegated to Paris in August and September 1867—were male instructors who in the majority managed an ungraded school in a rural setting on their own. Only half of them had passed through teacher training institutions (Jacquet-Francillon, 1999). For them, the exhibition would serve as a professional training programme.

¹ ANF, F/17/9385, Exposition universelle de 1867. Comité d'Admission (classes 89 et 90). Classe 89. Matériel et méthodes de l'enseignement des enfants.

Transnational perspectives have been at the forefront of innovative scholarship in the history of education for the last decades (Fuchs/Roldán Vera, 2019; Alix/Kahn, 2023). Eckhardt Fuchs (2018), Damiano Matasci (2015), Stéphane Lembré (2013) and many others have shown how world exhibitions played a fundamental role for the transnational circulation of educational knowledge. When attending world exhibitions, nineteenth-century education experts pursued three distinct transnational practices. Firstly, world exhibitions enabled experts to learn from abroad, that is to transfer foreign knowledge into their own institutional context. Secondly, world exhibitions allowed experts to represent their educational achievements which often resulted in nationalistic displays that claimed the superiority of one country over its competitors. Thirdly, world exhibitions made a contribution to international cooperation and reconciliation in the field of education (Dittrich, 2013).

In contrast to these transnational approaches, this article, focusing on the French context, adopts a more decisively national perspective on world exhibitions. It argues that world exhibitions, in concert with other media, played a structural role in processes of educational nation-building. This not only happened through the preparation of national exhibits, but also through using them as a means to mobilise stakeholders all over a national territory. World exhibitions could only have this function in countries where they were regularly held. This was the case in France and, to a minor degree, in the United States (Provenzo, 2012). In this case, world exhibitions did not only serve for horizontal expert-based communication from one country to another. They were also transmission belts for vertical, essentially top-down, communication, from the central Ministry to its subordinate teachers.

This article argues that the teachers' delegation to the 1867 world exhibition contributed to the creation of a more homogeneous national educational space. The first part looks into the organisational arrangement of the visits and is mostly based on archival files of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. The second part analyses the pedagogical lectures that were offered to the teachers in Paris and additionally draws on the volumes, published one year later, that collected all the lectures. The last section focuses on one particular teacher who participated in the scheme. Based on his report preserved in the archives, it provides insights in how one delegate perceived the exhibition in general and the educational arrangements in particular. Despite the distinctly national lens adopted here, this episode from French educational nation-building elucidates the globally wide-spread processes of nationalisation and educationalisation at the critical juncture around 1870 (Gotling, 2025).

1. INVITATION TO PARIS: A SUBSCRIPTION FOR TEACHERS TO VISIT THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION

In a frontpage article signed by its editor Louis Bréton, Hachette's *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* of 17 November 1866 officially announced the launch of a subscription that would allow primary instructors from all over France to attend the universal exposition to be held the following year in Paris (Bréton, 1866). One week later, Charles Robert, councillor of state, secretary general of the Ministry of Public Instruction and strong supporter of free and compulsory primary schooling alongside Duruy, provided more information (Robert, 1866). He stressed the professional aspect of the exhibition's educational classes. Classes 89 and 90 would less address the general visitors, but primarily allow teachers to compare the different systems of education of the participating countries and would thereby contribute to their own professional development. Unfortunately, the article deplored, teachers in France, despite their intellectual standing, would not be affluent enough to attend and profit from the exhibition out of their own pocket. Hence the initiative to enable groups of teachers to attend the event in Paris.

The announcement made explicit reference to previous practices. Nineteenth century international exhibitions attracted organised visits of various kinds. This had started in Britain with organised workers' tours to the Crystal Palace exhibition in 1851 (Strong, 2014). In 1862, more than 750 French workers had been sent across the Channel to study the exhibition and industrial facilities in various British cities. It was the prominent Lyon businessman François Barthélémy Arlès Dufour, a key figure of the world exhibitions of the Second Empire, who had come up with the idea that was soon taken up by the imperial authorities. Similar schemes for workers were again put in practice in 1867 (Vasseur, 2023:50,175-178).

Building on these experiences, the proposed teachers' scheme was quantitatively and qualitatively more comprehensive. The goal was to bring one instructor from each canton to Paris.² The participants were to be selected by their peers, inspired by the practice of the workers' delegations. Formally, this elevated their status and turned them into delegates on behalf of their colleagues. Municipalities or associations could also nominate more teachers provided that they covered the costs. The scheme offered one week of free sojourn in Paris. Delegates were supposed to study the exhibition, especially from an educational point of view. Efforts were made to make the sojourn as instructive and profitable as possible. The organisers also hoped that the delegates by means of contact to colleagues would further spread their new knowledge in their home environments.

The Ministry outsourced, so to say, the organisation of the visits to a private organisation, the *Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Still, the committee was mainly composed of high-ranking officials from the Ministry of Public Instruction. Robert was the president of the organisation. Pierre Philibert Pompée as well as the deputy in the Corps législatif Hippolyte Chauchard, rapporteur of the law of 10 April 1867, served as vice-presidents. Anatole Duruy, cabinet chief of his father, was secretary, while Charles Defodon and a certain Pichard, primary inspector of the Seine department served as adjunct secretaries. Léon was treasurer. Many committee members were also involved in the exhibitionary committees for the classes 89 and 90 as well as the international jury. Although the Minister was officially not involved, Duruy placed reliable confidants in the committee and was therefore in control of the scheme. Even though the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* made the project appear as the realisation of a desire expressed by the teachers themselves, clothing it into a veil of democratic empowerment, it was virtually a private initiative of Duruy and its closest collaborators (Geslot, 2012:355).

The 1867 show was the first world exhibition that profited from a rail network sufficiently dense and connected beyond borders to allow a substantial flow of national and international visitors. As a result, one could now fully make use of the railway system to bring teachers to the capital in a convenient and timely way. The delegates profited from a 50% reduction with most railway companies which also applied to those teachers who purchased their ticket individually. Here it paid out to have Auguste Perdonnet, president of the Société des chemins de fer de l'est and important expert on technical education as a member of the commission.

The *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* regularly furnished lists of subscribers. Duruy, with five hundred francs—the largest single donation, and the commission members appeared as first on the list (Anonymous, 1866a:1181). Notables and businessmen donated in some cases large sums of money. For example, Ferdinand de Lesseps, under whose leadership the Suez Canal would be opened in 1869, gave one hundred francs (Anonymous, 1866b:1231). The aforementioned Arlès Dufour donated the same amount for teachers from Lyon which were jealously watched over by the administrators from the Rhône department for that they would indeed be attributed to teachers from that city.³ The large mass of subscribers were

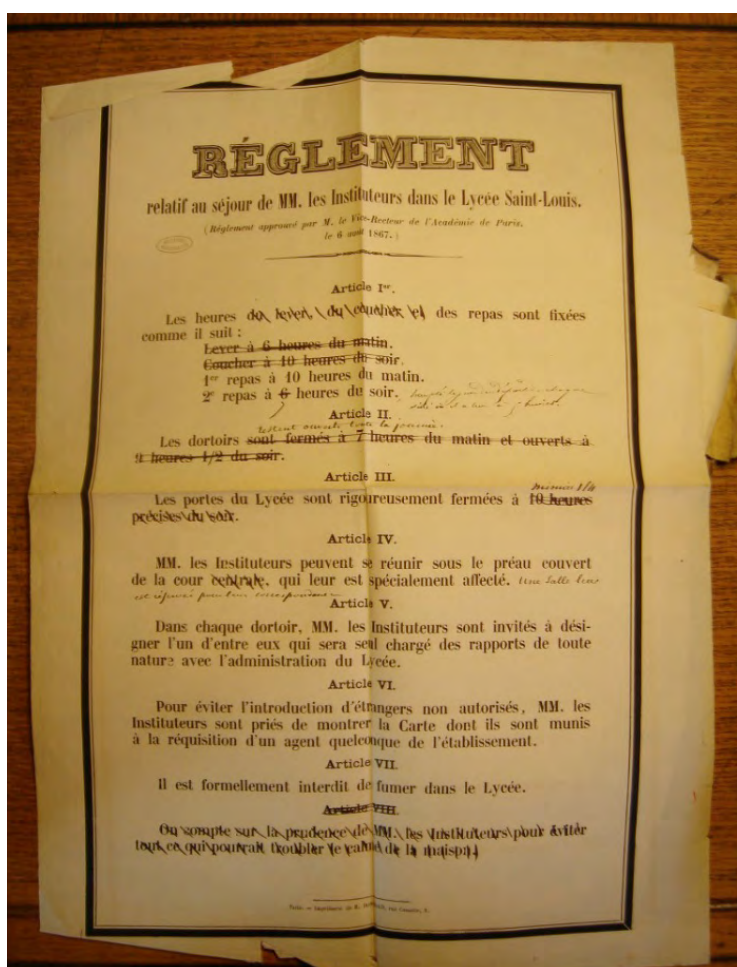
² ANF, F/17/9378, *Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 1866.

³ ANF, F/17/9378, Letter of Aubin (inspecteur de l'académie du Rhône) to the Ministry of Public Instruction, Lyon, 27 July 1867.

ordinary teachers who gave modest amounts.⁴ By August 1867, 36,000 francs had been collected (Geslot 2009:234).

At that stage, more than three thousand teachers made their way to the capital. They arrived to Paris between 20 August and 21 September in four series of seven to eight hundred teachers, each time from a different set of départements. For eight days, most of the instructors stayed in elite lycées that were prepared for accommodating them during summer vacation (in the first place Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Lycée Napoléon, Lycée Saint-Louis) while some found private rooms. Those who stayed in the Lycée Saint-Louis, for example, had to follow strict rules. A draft of a poster on house rules stipulated a schedule that prescribed getting up at six in the morning, bedtime at ten at night, rooms locked during the day with only the courtyard open, a ban to bring strangers inside and no smoking allowed. Some of the more paternalistic rules were crossed out on one archival copy and deleted from the final version (see Image 1).⁵

Image 1. Annotated draft poster with regulations for teachers staying in the Lycée Saint-Louis in Paris



Source: ANF, F/17/9379. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

⁴ See ANF, F/17/9380 for lists of subscribers from different départements.

⁵ ANF, F/17/9379, Annotated draft poster "Règlement relatif au séjour de MM. les instituteurs dans le Lycée Saint-Louis", ca. 1867.

In order to facilitate the teachers' sojourn, various arrangements were made. The office of the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* served as an information point for teachers. The *Société pour l'instruction élémentaire* was also involved, organising accommodation, night lectures and guided visits to the exhibition. Organisers communicated with the exhibition authorities to obtain reduced entrance fees.⁶ Parisian teachers volunteered to show the guests around in the capital. The organising committee prepared a charged official programme. Getting up early was indeed necessary, as lectures often started already at seven in the morning. Visits of museums, to the exhibition, to ministry were organised. Key administrators of the Ministry accompanied group visits.⁷

To the regret of Duruy, not all the materials of the Ministry could be allocated in the palace of the Champ-de-Mars. Therefore, an additional exhibition, especially with the teachers' delegations in mind, was set up in a provisional barrack in the garden of the Ministry's seat at rue de Grenelle. Three rooms were full of students' works as well as pedagogical objects and literature (Defodon 1868:109-178). On 14 August, Empress Eugénie paid a visit to this exhibition, providing official blessings. All the delegations would have an audience with the Minister when visiting the exhibit in rue de Grenelle. High-level meetings did not stop at the ministerial level. On 2 September, seven hundred teachers were received in the Tuileries palace by the Emperor Napoléon III who commended them for their zeal in fulfilling their task (Vasseur, 2023:179).

On 19 September, a big banquet was organised for the teachers and presided by Robert with the participation of many other high-ranking administrators, including committee members, rectors, inspectors and school directors (see Image 2). The numerous toasts pronounced at the event indicate a joyful atmosphere (Defodon, 1868:186-206). Reporting on the gathering, Charles Sauvestre, deemed it opportune to mention that, when toasting, the proviseur of the Lycée Napoléon addressed the primary instructors with "mes chers collègues". This overcoming of boundaries between the two orders, between the academic and non-academic branches of the education system, signalled a new form of recognition to the guests.⁸

Image 2. Invitation to the banquet organised for teachers on 19 September 1867



Source: ANF, F/17/9385. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

⁶ See the correspondence in ANF, F/17/9379.

⁷ ANF, F/17/9379, Brochure "Visite des instituteurs à l'Exposition universelle de 1867. 4e série. Du vendredi 13 septembre, au soir, au samedi 21 septembre, au soir", ca. 1867.

⁸ ANF, F/17/9383, Newspaper clipping "Banquet des instituteurs à l'Exposition" par Ch. Sauvestre, ca. 1867.

2. PEDAGOGICAL LECTURES: THE URGE FOR NEW METHODOLOGIES

This symbolic dilution of boundaries also found expression with the key events of the travel scheme, the pedagogical lectures (*conférences pédagogiques*) organised at the Sorbonne. Gustave Fabien Pillet, the chief of primary instruction in the Ministry and a key pillar of Duruy's work due to his long experience and anticlerical credentials (Horvath-Peterson, 1984:54), put together the programme and pre-selected the speakers. Only hot topics and the most competent speakers, he argued, would attract and profitably entertain the teachers. Such topics would include explanations of the latest laws and policy orientations, the material organisation of schools, hygiene, gymnastics or music. Contents that could easily be found in publications would be superfluous. Duruy rejoiced about the suggestions and annotated Pillet's letter with the statement: "Je trouve tout cela excellent".⁹ The minister then proceeded to invite the potential speakers, making clear that he wanted the talks to be lively and with a real impact on the teachers: "J'attache d'ailleurs la plus grande importance à ce que ces conférences, dans lesquelles la pensée et les vues de l'administration supérieure se trouveront développées, soient préparées avec soin; pour qu'elles produisent quelques résultats, il importe qu'elles soient à la fois intéressantes et d'une utilité réelle et pratique."¹⁰ With a certain patriarchal attitude the minister invited some of his key personnel, reminding them politely to put an effort in their talks and not to digress into idiosyncratic worldviews. As an additional control mechanism, the speakers had to hand in their script beforehand.

The idea of high-calibre speakers lecturing on emerging issues was put in practice as planned. The first lecture was held on 21 August. Pompée (1868) gave an overview of the world exhibition in general and the educational exhibits in particular. Robert talked about the recent school law of 10 April 1867. He boosted the law as of equal importance to the Guizot Law of 1833. With its stipulations against gender-mixed schools and the obligation for municipalities to establish girls' schools, Robert exalted the law as the "real creation of female primary instruction" (Robert, 1868:22). Following the understanding of different male and female spheres, the law would enable girls to receive a distinct but equal education to that of boys so as to prepare them for their future tasks of companion to their husband and mother. In addition, Robert stressed that the law made primary education free of charge for more categories of children. He reassured his audience that this would not result in a loss of income for teachers. Robert in conclusion appealed to the teachers to turn the new law into a success.

Various speakers talked about the *Sociétés de secours mutuels entre instituteurs et institutrices*. These institutions that stood in the liberal French tradition of mutual aid societies distributed risks in case of hardship for the teaching profession. Pillet himself spoke about the primary instructor's task to simultaneously serve as secretary to the mayor in small municipalities. This secretarial function was a burden for many instructors and often resulted in conflicts. Pillet was particularly qualified for this talk, as, in addition to his function in the Ministry of Public Instruction, he served as mayor of Marly-le-Roi in the Seine-et-Oise department. Not without paternalism, Pillet recommended the teachers to be accurate in their work, to follow the rules and not try to make or interpret them, and, above all, not to politicise.

For the lectures on general pedagogy, the Ministry invited the key figures of the "pedagogical Renovation" (Giolitto, 1984:4) in France. Michel Charbonneau (1868), director of the *Ecole normale primaire* in Melun, Augustin Théry (1868), *recteur de l'académie* de Caen, and Eugène Rendu (1868), *inspecteur général de l'instruction publique*, were all authors of influential and often re-edited handbooks on teaching methodology (Charbonneau, 1862; Théry, 1853; Rendu, 1858). The talks were based on the latest

⁹ ANF, F/17/9385, Letter of Fabien Pillet to Victor Duruy, June 1867.

¹⁰ ANF, F/17/9385, Draft letter of Victor Duruy to invited speakers, ca. 1867.

pedagogical thinking. They aimed at reducing the reliance of teachers on memorisation and recitation. This approach, to believe the speakers, was still widespread, but increasingly pathologised as purely mechanical. Against the “old routine”, they concurred that the “Socratic method” would be the way forward. Basing themselves on dialogues and interrogation, teachers should not present the facts but let children discover them on their own. Teachers should become accoucheurs who assist students in bearing their own ideas, in this way configuring students from passive receivers of information into active agents in the classroom. The three experts advised their audience to meticulously plan their class in a coherent way.

Marie Pape-Carpentier was the only female speaker and talked about the field on which she was the uncontested leader in France, the kindergarten (*salles d’asile*) and the application of its methods to the first years of primary instruction (Pape-Carpentier, 1868). In this way, Pape-Carpentier as well contributed to the debate on teaching methodologies. Backed by Duruy who assisted at the first of her five talks, she argued that teaching has to become more practical and that object lessons are the right way forward. She provided various examples with objects she brought to her lectures.

This preoccupation with methodology was the core of the lecture series and, one can argue, the core of the ministerial investment in the exhibition and its related activities. The educational laws of 1833 and 1850 prescribed the subjects that primary schools needed to offer, but did not define a clear methodology. Normal schools had come into being, but in practice classrooms saw a muddling-through with often unclear methodological approaches. Duruy and his collaborators deemed it necessary to convince the teachers that this business as usual would no longer be possible. Too many students would leave schools illiterate. Their message was that new inductive methods were necessary. The insistence of Charbonneau, Théry, Rendu and Pape-Carpentier indicates that many teachers indeed lacked a sense of methodology and planning and did not apply the circular of 1857 on the pedagogical direction of primary schools, that had already hinted at the problem. This document, authored by Rendu under Duruy’s predecessor Gustave Rouland, aimed at making instruction more “profitable” to rural communities, without mechanical memorisation and endless dictation, turning mathematics, for example, into a “course of popular logic applied to the needs and relations of everyday” (Rouland, 1893:716). Instead of discussing grammatical subtleties and abstractions, schools should make instruction substantial, interesting and profitable, as also Robert demanded in his lecture. In this context, Charbonneau advertised the intuitive method that he contrasted to the provision of abstract definitions. Relying on as much visual aids as possible, the intuitive method would go hand in hand with an interrogative approach (Charbonneau, 1868:6-7). The pedagogical lectures in the summer of 1867 thereby saw the beginning of the rise of the intuitive method as an educational future technology that would see its climax during the Third Republic (Ubrich, 2014).

While the simultaneous method was figured out as the best classroom regime, a certain standardisation of timetabling came into being and general methodological considerations promoted the intuitive method, a curriculum for the different subjects was not yet in place. Therefore, finally, various lectures approached pedagogies for the different subjects of primary education: the compulsory subjects reading, writing, arithmetic as well as history and geography, freshly made mandatory by the law of 10 April 1867, and optional subjects such as drawing, music and agricultural education. These lectures revealed the problem of mid-nineteenth century pedagogy. The lectures barely provided practical skills on how to teach these subjects. Instead, they often recurred to abstract concepts and historical analogies reaching back to Antiquity. On the backdrop of the preceding talks on general methodologies that urged for simplicity and applicability, these subject-based lectures almost appeared as negative teaching examples. There was indeed no institutionalised pedagogical science yet.

After the closure of the exhibition, the lectures were published in three volumes under the title *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l’Exposition universelle*

de 1867 (Anonymous, 1868). These volumes had a remarkable success. Standardised demands reached the ministry from all over France. In this regard, the volumes served to further spread the experience of the universal exhibition in the territory.¹¹ This confirms again that the impact of world exhibitions went well beyond the immediate time and space when and where they were actually held, but knowledge circulated in much further circles. But how was the exhibition and the pedagogical lectures actually received by the target audience of teachers?

3. TEACHERS' REPORTS: EMBRACING PEDAGOGICAL PROGRESS UNDER IMPERIAL GUIDANCE

Delegates had to submit a report on their stay in Paris. Michele Strong (2014:223-227) has argued that artisans' reports from world exhibitions constitute a specific nineteenth-century literary genre (see also Pellegrino, 2012). The same can be said of teachers' writings, as the reports on the 1867 exhibition can be placed in a larger framework of French teachers' reports. In 1860, Minister Gustave Rouland solicited rural instructors to write on the needs of primary education from the point of view of the school, the pupils and the teacher (Nicolas, 2012). The submissions revealed many grievances and Robert himself authored several reform-oriented books based on the 1861 memoirs. Jules Malgras, *inspecteur d'académie* in Epinal, addressing the delegates on the improvement of school houses and their equipment, explicitly referred to the memoirs of 1861 and their criticism of the material conditions (Malgras, 1868:164-165). The 1867 educational exhibit and teachers' visit can thus be seen as the ministerial response to the 1861 inquiry, or at least as part of a continuous dialogue between the administration and the teachers.

Pierre Rouland¹² was a fifty-two year old teacher at Neuvy-Pailloux with thirty-three years of experience in public instruction. Based on these details, he belonged to the "Guizot generation" (Nicolas, 2012:73-75) of teachers who joined the profession shortly after the passing of the homonymous law in 1833. Rouland was a delegate of the second series to represent the city of Issoudun and the Indre department, arriving to Paris on 28 August 1867. His report of fifty-four manuscript pages is preserved in the archive (see Image 3).¹³

Rouland's report testifies to an unbroken belief in progress. He put his essay under the motto "L'enseignement doit suivre les progrès de la civilisation, en nécessité d'une réforme de l'Instruction en général." The first paragraph started with the statement: "Nous vivons au milieu de l'époque la plus extraordinaire peut-être qu'ait jamais vue l'humanité." The most important characteristic of this fabulous era, according to Rouland, was that knowledge was not anymore the privilege of a small elite and spread to all people. However, not everything was perfect, he warned, thereby developing a typical theme that is still with us today. Rouland saw progress everywhere, but only education would lack behind. In the whole reform movement, education has remained stationary, he argued, and needed to be urgently reformed. Old-fashioned instruction would not be relevant anymore, he argued, an education related to real life would be needed. In order to produce enlightened men and patriotic citizens, one would need to give up routines and spread practical knowledge to everyone, Rouland embraced the official message. This went hand in hand with support for the Second Empire: "Vive l'Empereur, le père du peuple et de la patrie! Vive l'Impératrice!"

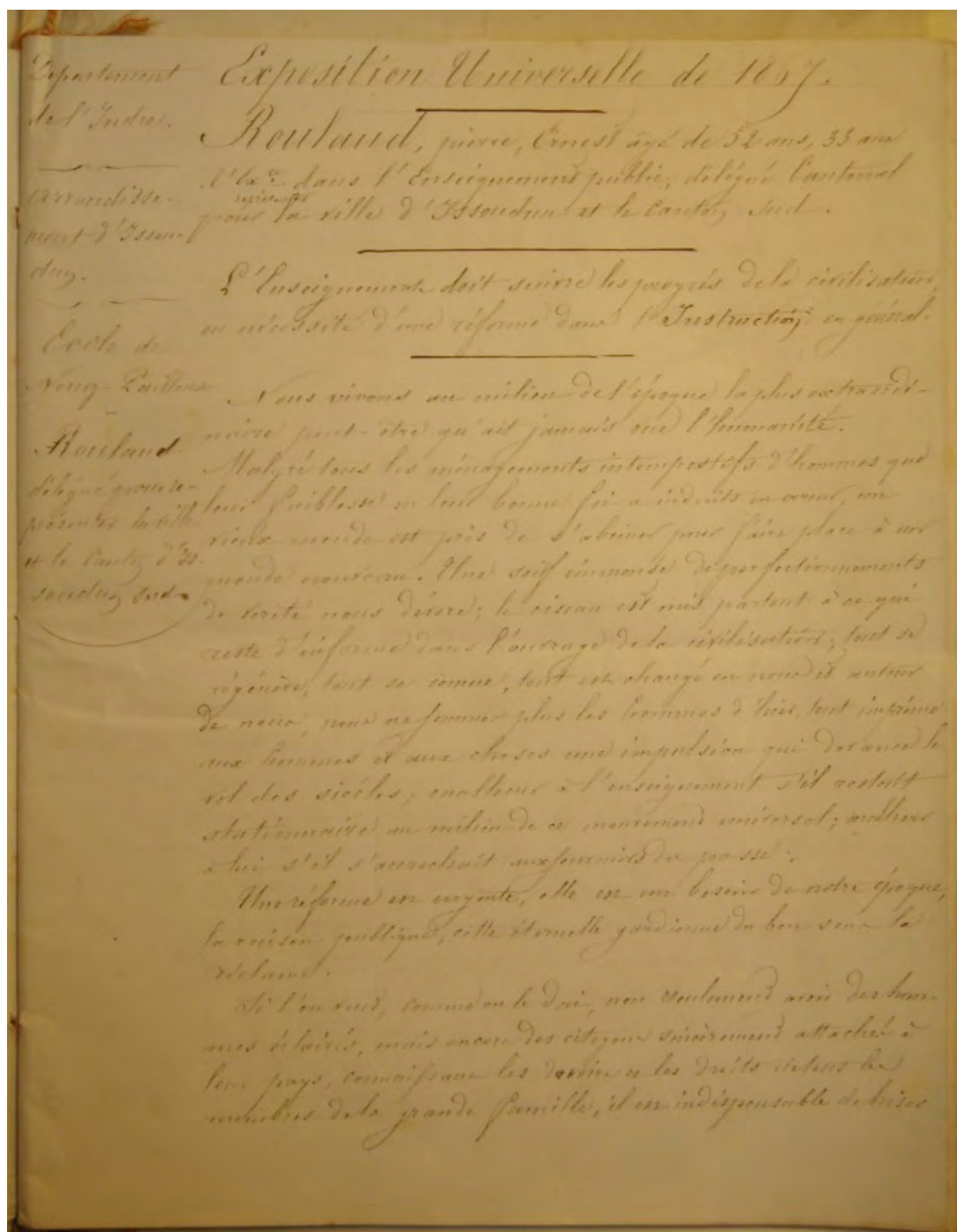
¹¹ See ANF, F/17/9383 for related correspondence.

¹² He had no family connections to the previous minister of public instruction Gustave Rouland.

¹³ ANF, F/17/9385, Pierre Rouland, manuscript report "Exposition universelle de 1867", Neuvy-Pailloux, 19 September 1867.

Vive le Prince Impérial!", Rouland wrote in order to officialise his adhesion to the imperial regime. He also used similarly devotional language for Duruy. Rouland thereby proclaimed the imperial regime as the best guarantor of educational progress. Emperor and Minister, Rouland was convinced, had recognised this trend. Things would now move in the right direction under the enlightened guidance of Louis-Napoléon, Duruy and devote progressive teachers like himself.

Image 3. First page of Pierre Rouland's report on the Universal Exposition of 1867



Source: ANF, F/17/9385. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

Rouland summarised his schedule in a table. In the mornings, he attended the lectures in the Sorbonne. He even did so for three more days after the end of the official programme, attending the events of the following third series. The afternoons were reserved for visits. On the first day he paid his first visit to the universal exposition. On the second day he went to the Imperial Farm in Vincennes. On day three he paid a visit to the Louvre. The following afternoon he inspected the *Corps législatif*, as the parliament was called under the Second Empire, and the Senate on which occasion he saw Napoléon III. On the fifth day he went to see the palace in Versailles. The next day he went to the agricultural annex of the exhibition in Billancourt. The following day he made his way to the Ministry of Public Instruction where he was shown around both in the offices and the special exhibition. It was here that he met Duruy. Finally, he visited the Champ-de-Mars for a second time. Unfortunately, Rouland did not write what he did in the evenings and restricted his report to the official programme.

Rouland intensively reflected on the lectures that he attended. For example, he thought about the way how to handle big classrooms. The simultaneous and mutual method would need to be applied according to the size of the classroom. From his own experience with a class of one hundred fifty students, the “*méthode simultanée mutuelle mixte*” was the most appropriate. The question of discipline was important to him, surely after he had listened to the lecture of Maggiolo who linked discipline to progress. “*Sans elle pas de progrès*”, Rouland noted in his report, warning at the same time that a military glacial silence would not serve neither. He distinguished between a “*discipline extérieure*” or “*apparente*” which exists only on surface and a “*discipline intérieure*” or “*réelle*” that regulates action and edifies the spirit of the students. In any case, education should not be based on punishments and fear anymore. Rouland was also happy about the decline of gender-mixed schools because they needed too much surveillance by the teacher. Segregation would make many things easier.

Following Théry’s lecture on pedagogy, Rouland underlined that careful planning of classes would be necessary. Every hour and every day of the week needs to be planned, he urged, implying that this was not a common practice. The instructor needs to be aware of the methods and contents to employ. Both has to be adapted to the specific situation, otherwise no meaningful connection with the pupils could be built up. He also stated, in accordance with the bureaucracy, that knowledge applicable to all circumstances of life should be conveyed. Theories and grammatical susceptibilities would be out of place. Rouland, thus, connected the lectures to the practical questions that he encountered in his everyday work.

When discovering the classes 89 and 90 on the exhibition ground, Rouland might have followed an itinerary that was provided on a leaflet printed by the Ministry. This hand-out suggested the teachers where to enter the exhibition and which way to follow, so that they would start their visit directly with the exhibit of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The proposed itinerary included all objects of the two classes and ended with students’ works from Bavaria.¹⁴ We ignore whether he indeed followed the itinerary or whether the exhibition featured too many distractions that made a planned visit illusory.

In any case, compared to his paragraphs on the lectures, Rouland’s report is shorter, more descriptive and less inspired when addressing the educational exhibit. He shortly mentioned some instructional maps of France and school layouts that seemed to have caught his attention. Rouland saw the various students’ works in the main palace and in the Ministry’s building without, however, elaborating on them. His passages on the foreign exhibits are more insightful. Rouland first described the Prussian schoolhouse and its interior in an objective manner and shortly touched upon Saxony. What indeed drew his attention was the furniture

¹⁴ ANF, F/17/2757, Exposition universelle de 1867. Ministère de l’instruction publique. Itinéraire à suivre pour visiter, au palais et dans le parc du Champ-de-Mars, l’Exposition scolaire des travaux d’élèves et des moyens d’enseignement, ca. 1867.

in the Swedish schoolhouse that he judged of high quality and in his eyes revealed the Swedish genius (see also Lundahl/Lawn, 2015). Spain as well received a surprisingly good verdict. The United States impressed him with their free schools that were high in number. Rouland came to the conclusion that there is less illiteracy in the United States than in France, but that the overall knowledge of the population would still be higher in his own country. He also deplored that the metric system was not taught on the other side of the Atlantic. Rouland thus balanced between a recognition of foreign models and a certain insistence on the superiority of French practices.

Rouland got the message. He either sincerely embraced the progressive vision presented at the exhibition and in the lectures, or he was at least capable of opportunistically displaying such a stance in his official writing. Rouland's report shows how Louis-Napoléon could embody progressive pedagogies and appear as the guarantor for the continuation of the educationalisation process. The teachers' reports had a performative dimension. Self-censorship, a certain opportunism to support official policies as well as a desire to please the superiors and to align with expectations becomes apparent. Maybe it was because Rouland was particularly skilled in meeting these expectations that his report has been preserved in the archives. But it remains difficult to estimate what he really thought, how he really experienced Paris, what he discussed with his peers from other départements. The sincerity of his writing is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, the large number of teachers on the rails, the exhibitions grounds and the lecture halls of the Sorbonne, as well as the massive reporting certainly mobilised the profession.

4. CONCLUSION

The summer of 1867 saw an imperial coordination of Parisian life (Geslot, 2008:1). A gay crowd of visitors flocked into the cafés, restaurants, museums, theatres and other places of interest (Neuhaus, 2024). French primary teachers could partly join and profit from this “dernier galop” of the Second Empire. The teachers' delegations to the 1867 world exhibition were an unprecedented initiative that required a massive organisational effort. The Ministry tried to control what the teachers would see, hear and experience in Paris, even though some activities were outsourced to private or semi-private organisations for practical, financial or symbolic reasons. This resulted in a seduction of the teachers (Vasseur, 2023:50), as well as a reconciliation between the regime and its teachers (Geslot, 2009:236). The teachers' visits therefore leave a double impression of a paternalistic embrace and professional emancipation.

In 1867, the Second Empire successfully monopolised the embodiment of the highest form of educational progress and civilisation. The entire reform-oriented elite of the Ministry was involved in the scheme. The reformers not only laboured towards an expansion of primary schooling, but also its *aggiornamento* in light of practical pedagogies that would overcome old routines. Driving this “classroom struggle”, as Marcelo Caruso (2015) has somewhat martially termed this process, was the ultimate goal of the 1867 scheme.

While the institutionalisation of education under the sign of progress went on unhindered in the decades to come, the ideological underpinnings would fundamentally change. The conspicuous adherence to the imperial regime would soon be outdated. Teachers would become convinced republicans, if they had not already been so (Ozouf/Ozouf, 1992). Therefore, the experience of 1867 needs to be confronted to the following Parisian universal exposition in 1878 when the practice of pedagogical conferences was repeated in a completely changed political context. The Third Republic was about to overcome the stagnation of the moral order regime, bringing the preparation of the Republican school reforms into full swing. Teachers delegations climaxed with the Paris International Assembly (*Ecole internationale de l'Exposition*), a vast enterprise of science popularisation, into which the lectures for primary instructors were integrated on the occasion of the 1900 exhibition.

The 1867 subscription scheme contributed to the nationalisation of France and the creation of a unified national educational space. World exhibitions were indeed meta media (Geppert, 2004:13), combining the exhibits as such with lectures, study tours and the circulation of printed matter, including massive reporting in pedagogical journals and the distribution of retrospective reports. In his lecture, Pompée declared that instructors had come together in Paris in order to engage in a mutual learning process, “to see us, to know us, to understand us” (Pompée, 1868:16). More than that, he wanted teachers to take their experience home. Every school should become a local permanent exhibitions, Pompée urged. In a similar vein, Théry told the delegates in his talk:

“Vous allez retourner à vos postes, comme des soldats qui ont reçu des armes nouvelles. Ces armes, vous les emploierez vaillamment contre l’ignorance, contre les mauvaises méthodes, contre la routine. Vous n’oublierez jamais que le pays compte sur vous pour le sage développement de l’intelligence de ses enfants et que, selon les paroles récentes de notre Empereur, c’est aux modestes écoles que, grâce à un enseignement religieux, moral et patriotique, reviendra l’honneur de préparer et de consolider l’avenir de la France!” (Théry, 1868:39)

Duruy, eventually, considered the scheme an outright success that promoted educational progress in France:

“La récente visite des instituteurs à Paris aura, je n’en puis douter, la plus heureuse influence sur les progrès collectifs de l’enseignement primaire. Jusqu’ici l’instituteur rural, placé dans un isolement relative, souvent gêné et embarrassé par les exigences de l’enseignement non moins que par les devoirs multiples de sa position, quelquesfois effacé et presque entièrement laissé à lui-même, ne pouvait soutenir son zèle que par l’effort d’un dévouement qui devait tôt ou tard finir par lâcher prise. Maintenant que tous, représentés par un grand nombre élu par eux-mêmes, sont venus se retrouver dans une communication fraternelle, sous les yeux et avec les encouragements de Votre Majesté et de Sa Majesté l’Impératrice, ils ont pu comprendre que leur isolement avait cessé et que mon administration vaillait sur chacun d’eux, comme sur tous. Ils ont pu comprendre que cette fête dont l’Exposition universelle a été l’occasion n’était que le commencement de communications aux moyens desquelles tous leurs efforts seraient complés, et cantuplés par leur union avec l’effort de tous.”¹⁵

As Duruy explained and explicitly welcomed, previously disconnected parts of France were brought into interaction and much more substantially subjected to ministerial power. Teachers working largely on their own were brought in touch with their peers from other parts of France for the first time, forming henceforth a more coherent group. This connects to Eugen Weber’s (1977) influential book *Peasants into Frenchmen*, although in this case the title of its French translation (1983), *La Fin des terroirs* (“the end of regionality”), is even more explanatory. Weber described a “disintegration of local cultures by modernity and their absorption into the dominant civilization of Paris and its schools” (Weber, 1977:486). Local disintegration and national integration were two sides of the same coin.

Volker Barth (2007:226-228) saw the 1867 world exhibition as an “enormous normalisation enterprise”. The educationalisation of France, the continuous implementation of formal education, in the French case under a strong central Ministry that aimed at uniformity over all the territory under its jurisdiction was a tangible aspect of this normalisation process. The 1867 events allow to empirically decipher how a central Ministry tried to impose its agenda.

¹⁵ ANF, F/17/9385, Draft letter of Victor Duruy to Louis-Napoléon, ca. 1867.

This nationalisation process did not only occur in France. Simultaneously, it reshaped education all over Europe (Westberg/Boser/Brühwiler, 2019) and beyond, for example in Japan (Duke, 2009) and some decades later in China (Frölich, 2017). Curiously, it was exactly nation-building that triggered transnational educational transfers. All countries carried out nationalising educational reforms by learning from each other. Damiano Matasci (2025:16) reminds us by paraphrasing Anne-Marie Thiesse (1999) that there is not anything more international than the construction of national education systems. Pedagogical debates around the intuitive method and object lessons circulated beyond national and continental borders (Roldán, 2025). This suggests that this French episode was part of the educationalisation of the world which was after all a global process (Tröhler/Lenz, 2015).

World exhibitions simultaneously allowed to transgress borders and to consolidate nationalisation processes. They brought together the horizontal axis of transnational expert interaction and the vertical axis of corporate communication within the bureaucratic structures of the Ministry. This article discussed the latter aspect. But the 1867 universal exposition allowed Duruy, against the claims of other nations, to stage his institutions as at the forefront of civilisation. Concomitantly, it triggered transnational learning processes, if we think of the French interest in the Prussian school house and the pedagogies around it that would contribute to further reform French primary education in the following decades. The year 1867 also saw the opening of international secondary schools in the vicinity of Paris and London, a Franco-British cooperation that had been initiated at the preceding 1862 exhibition in London and that aimed at bringing the two homogenising national cultures closer together. At the core of all these processes where a variety of communicational nodes came together, world exhibitions were indeed ideal observatories for the educationalisation of the world.

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NATIONALISM AND CENTRALISM: KEYS TO UNDERSTANDING THE FIRST SPANISH EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION (MADRID, 1882)

*Nacionalismo y centralismo:
claves para comprender la Primera Exposición Pedagógica Española
(Madrid, 1882)*

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Keywords

Educational Exhibition
Madrid
Nineteenth century
Nationalism
Educational Reform
School Heritage

ABSTRACT: The Spanish Pedagogical Exhibition of 1882 is often mentioned in educational historiography, but no monographic study has been conducted on it. In this article, I attempt to fill this gap, starting with three questions:

1. To what extent did the spatial organization and distribution of objects symbolize the power struggles within Madrid's education system?
2. What experiences did visitors have and what messages did they receive and convey from the exhibition?
3. In the few existing images of this exhibition, how were educational innovations or characteristics considered to be pedagogical progress visualized?

Palabras clave

Exposición Pedagógica
Madrid
Siglo XIX
Nacionalismo
Reforma Pedagógica
Patrimonio Escolar

RESUMEN: La Exposición Pedagógica Española de 1882 es muy mencionada en la historiografía educativa, pero no se ha realizado ningún estudio monográfico sobre ella. En este artículo intento cubrir esta laguna, partiendo de tres interrogantes:

1. ¿En qué medida la organización espacial y la distribución de objetos simbolizaron las luchas de poder existentes dentro de la educación madrileña?
2. ¿Qué experiencias vivieron los visitantes y qué mensajes recibieron y transmitieron de la exposición?
3. En las escasas imágenes existentes de esta exposición, ¿cómo se visualizaron las innovaciones educativas o las características consideradas como propias del progreso pedagógico?

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How to cite: Del Pozo Andrés, María del Mar (2025). «Nationalism and Centralism: Keys to Understanding the First Spanish Educational Exhibition (Madrid, 1882)», *Cabás*, 34, 33-55. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27765>).

Received: 17 august, 2025; Final version: 15 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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1. INTRODUCTION: THE FIRST SPANISH EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION AND ITS INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL FRAMEWORK

A few years ago, Martin Lawn lamented that the Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs had never been studied in depth by educational historians (Lawn, 2009). However, this trend has been changing, and we now have several historiographical contributions that recognize the role these events played "in disseminating educational ideas and technologies" (Lundahl, 2016, p. 24), in making visible "educational practices and institutions for external validation" (Sobe & Boven, 2014, p. 10). As is well known, the Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs were a characteristic phenomenon of the nineteenth century, functioning as "global showcases" (Viera, 2020, p. 8) in which participating countries displayed their achievements and advances in agricultural and industrial production, as well as their discoveries, inventions, and progresses in the scientific, social, cultural, and educational fields. They were spaces for learning and cultural transfer between different nations, but they were also an arena of comparison and competition, where countries fought to demonstrate their success and supremacy in terms of civilization. All these nineteenth-century exhibitions "represented a symbolic universe constructed by an emerging economic and social elite," so it can be said that "the expositions were instruments of social, political, and cultural hegemony" (Provenzo, 2012, p. 5).

In recent years, many works have been published on education at nineteenth-century World's Fairs, with a particular focus on their transnational dimension (Dittrich, 2010 & 2013). However, educational historiography has not been concerned with studying national educational exhibitions. These emerged even before the educational sections of the Great Exhibitions. Antoine Désiré Lourmand, Secretary General of the Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement, recalled that this society, on his initiative, organized two exhibitions of educational products in Paris in December 1834 and 1835, which went unnoticed and in which books were more prominent than instruments, machines, apparatus, and maps. In June 1853, on the occasion of a conference of mayors promoted by the Lord Mayor of London and intended to discuss the system of public instruction in England, a "small Exhibition of Educational Apparatus" was organized at the Mansion House (Barnard, 1854, p. 365), the official residence of the Lord Mayor. Many educational societies and the principal publishers of educational works sent books and school objects. The exhibition aroused unusual interest; newspaper reports spoke of crowds of visitors who thronged the rooms and made it almost impossible to examine the exhibits closely, and this influx of people was interpreted as evidence of the attention that educational issues were beginning to arouse in English society.

In view of this success, the British Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce decided to organize an international educational exhibition in the summer months of 1854, at St. Martin's Hall in London. One of the reasons for staging this educational exhibition was to make up for the neglect that the subject of education had suffered at the 1851 World's Fair. Therefore, the organizers set out, first, "to increase public interest in education and to showcase pedagogical approaches from around the world"; and second, "to call attention to the need for improvement and progressive approaches in education and the arts in light of changes in manufacturing and commerce" (Roos, 2019, pp. 135-136). To achieve this second objective, the typology of the objects and educational appliances to be presented was clearly defined, and there were three types: "models and plans of school buildings; arrangements, and fittings, books, maps, diagrams, models, apparatus"; "specimens of the work done in schools, viz; drawings, writings, needlework"; and "laws of public instruction, statistics of education, school regulations, timetables" ("Society of Arts," 1854, p. 6). The aim was to make the collection formed for the exhibition permanent and to establish the basis of a national museum of education.

The London Educational Exhibition was a considerable success, attracting exhibitors from the United Kingdom and its colonies, but also from France, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, The Netherlands,

Bavaria, Saxony, Russia, Hanover, Austria, and Switzerland. Even Spain had a small representation. It was here that the Froebel system was first presented in Western Europe (Martínez, 2013, p. 197). In addition, during the time it was open, lectures were given on the theory and practice of education, attended by such illustrious figures as the educationalist Henry Barnard, one of the builders of the American common-school system, and Heinrich Hoffmann, one of the promoters of the Froebelian kindergarten. However, the most important contribution of the 1854 London Educational Exhibition was that it served as a model for the design of the educational departments of the World's Fairs and pedagogical exhibitions held in various European countries from that date onwards. In general, all of these events combined two parallel activities: a congress or series of conferences offering an overview of educational progress and innovations from a theoretical perspective; and an exhibition showing the applications of these educational innovations in terms of manufactured objects and school results.

This model was also applied to the first Spanish Educational Exhibition in 1882, which was held in Madrid in June and July, following the first National Pedagogical Congress. Both were fostered by *El Fomento de las Artes* [Society for the Promotion of Arts] (García, 1987), a society whose name and objectives were similar to those of the British Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, which inspired the London Educational Exhibition of 1854. Although there is a wealth of literature on this event (Batanaz, 1982), one obvious fact has not been pointed out: the congress had a marked centralist character, since it was promoted from Madrid, the organizers were mainly Madrid educators, and the in-person conferences and speeches were also dominated by teachers from the capital. I believe that the hidden agenda behind the congress was to visibilize and validate the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* [Free Institution of Education] throughout Spain. This educational reform movement emerged in Madrid in 1876 and practiced innovative teaching methods in its nursery and primary schools, such as school trips, which it wished to disseminate and extend among Spanish teachers. However, Madrid's public-school teachers generally viewed this private and secular educational reform movement with suspicion, so they managed to secure a significant presence at the conference sessions in order to defend their traditional methods, validated by years of experience, based on memory and repetition, and justified by the poverty of their schools and students. New interpretations of the discourses and discussions at this congress can be made, based on knowledge of the emerging pedagogical elites in Madrid and their struggle to gain hegemony over the school system in the capital. However, this power struggle, which became visible at the National Pedagogical Congress, marginalized most of the educators who came from outside Madrid. Many of them learned during the preparatory session of the congress, that the speaking slots for the debates had already been allocated, with the majority of the speeches assigned to "residents of Madrid," and leaving those from the provinces with the only possibility of expressing their opinions on a sheet of paper, which would later be published in the conference proceedings (Oliveros, 1882, p. 7).

The idea of organizing an Educational Exhibition alongside the 1882 congress was said to have emerged very late, around mid-May, and was presented as the result of improvisation. It was not the first time that educational objects had been exhibited in Spain, as regional and local competitions on agriculture, arts, sciences, industry, and commerce in Barcelona, Zaragoza, León, Lugo, Valencia, Cádiz, Guadalajara, and Pontevedra had included educational sections, as publishers and school equipment manufacturers were considered part of the local industrial network. In some of these, such as the 1877 exhibition in Barcelona, calligraphy, arithmetic, drawings, and crafts by students from public and private schools also began to be displayed. However, the limited and local nature of these exhibitions prevented comparative studies from being carried out, which led some distinguished educators to call for a "national educational congress and exhibition" to be held in order to gain a clearer picture of what was happening in Spain (Rius, 1877, p. 75).

For this reason, from the beginning of 1882, the Madrid press started to propose and assume that a "school" exhibition would be held at the same time as the National Pedagogical Congress, scheduled for

the end of May. It was referred to as a “school exhibition” because it was hoped that pupils from Madrid’s schools would present their work at the exhibition to show the congress participants the recent educational progress made in the capital. However, in mid-April, the newspapers reported that this exhibition would be “of teaching objects” and that a shipment of teaching materials from Germany and Austria was about to arrive, which sparked protests from Spanish publishers and manufacturers, who approached the organizing society, *El Fomento de las Artes*, asking to participate with their own nationally produced teaching materials. *El Fomento de las Artes* responded on April 26, announcing that the exhibition would be called “pedagogical” because it would display almost exclusively educational objects. However, two days earlier, on April 24, the same society had begun inviting Madrid schools to participate in “an exhibition of teaching materials and students’ work” to be held “as a complement to the National Pedagogical Congress,” justifying the exhibition on the grounds that “some foreign companies had offered to exhibit their materials.” (Aguado, 1882).

Therefore, it seems that *El Fomento de las Artes* was encouraged to organize the Educational Exhibition not because of suggestions from the Madrid press, but because of pressure from foreign manufacturers of school materials. The interest of these companies was entirely economic and based on their knowledge of the imminent creation of the Museum of Primary Education, which finally became a reality with the Royal Decree of May 6, 1882. Manufacturers knew full well that these museums were built with the collected materials from the educational exhibits, which very often became marketplaces where teaching aids were bought and sold like any other commercial product, giving rise to a flourishing “school industry” (Meda, 2016, p. 27). The day after the museum’s founding decree was published, the press announced that the State intended to acquire the best objects presented at the Educational Exhibition for the museum, which would enable the development of a new national industry, the educational one. Although no document supported this claim, the number of exhibitors grew exponentially. The avalanche of objects received made it impossible to make any prior selection, so all were accepted and placed in the available space in less than two weeks. Thus, on June 2, access to the Educational Exhibition was granted exclusively to teachers attending the National Pedagogical Congress, and from June 9 —the day of the official inauguration attended by King Alfonso XII— it was opened to the general public.

Although the 1882 Educational Exhibition is well known and frequently mentioned in Spanish educational historiography, no monographic study has been conducted on it. In this article, I propose to analyze its most notable characteristics, attempting to answer three questions:

1. To what extent did the spatial organization and distribution of objects symbolize the power struggles existing within Madrid’s education system?
2. What experiences did visitors have and what messages did they receive and convey from the exhibition?
3. In the few existing images of this exhibition, how were educational reforms or the characteristics considered typical of progressive education visualized?

To answer these questions, we have drawn on the main sources of documentation that exist on the 1882 Educational Exhibition: the extensive report published by the organizers and the observations made by visitors, most of which were published in the press of the time, both national and local. The methodology used was that of the historical-educational method. Therefore, all the publications of the time available in the Digital Newspaper Library of the *Biblioteca Nacional* and in the *Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica* [Virtual Library of Historical Press] —which has a very important collection of local newspapers and magazines— were analyzed in parallel. The non-digitized press was consulted at the *Biblioteca Nacional* and the *Hemeroteca Municipal of Madrid*. To contrast with other British and French exhibitions,

digitized documentation was accessed in The British Newspaper Archive and Gallica. In all cases, the key concept used in the searches was *exposición pedagógica* —and its translations into French and English, “educational exhibition” and *exposition pédagogique*—. The information published by newspapers of different political leanings has been compared and, above all, the information appearing in the “Madrid” and “provincial” press has been confronted, analyzing the different discourses and approaches presented in each publication. Most of the educational magazines of the time were also reviewed, especially *El Magisterio Español*, which devoted several articles to commenting on the exhibition. And, although not used directly for this article, all the catalogs and reports published on the Museum of Primary Education between 1882 and 1894 were explored.

2. SPACES IN THE SPANISH EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1882

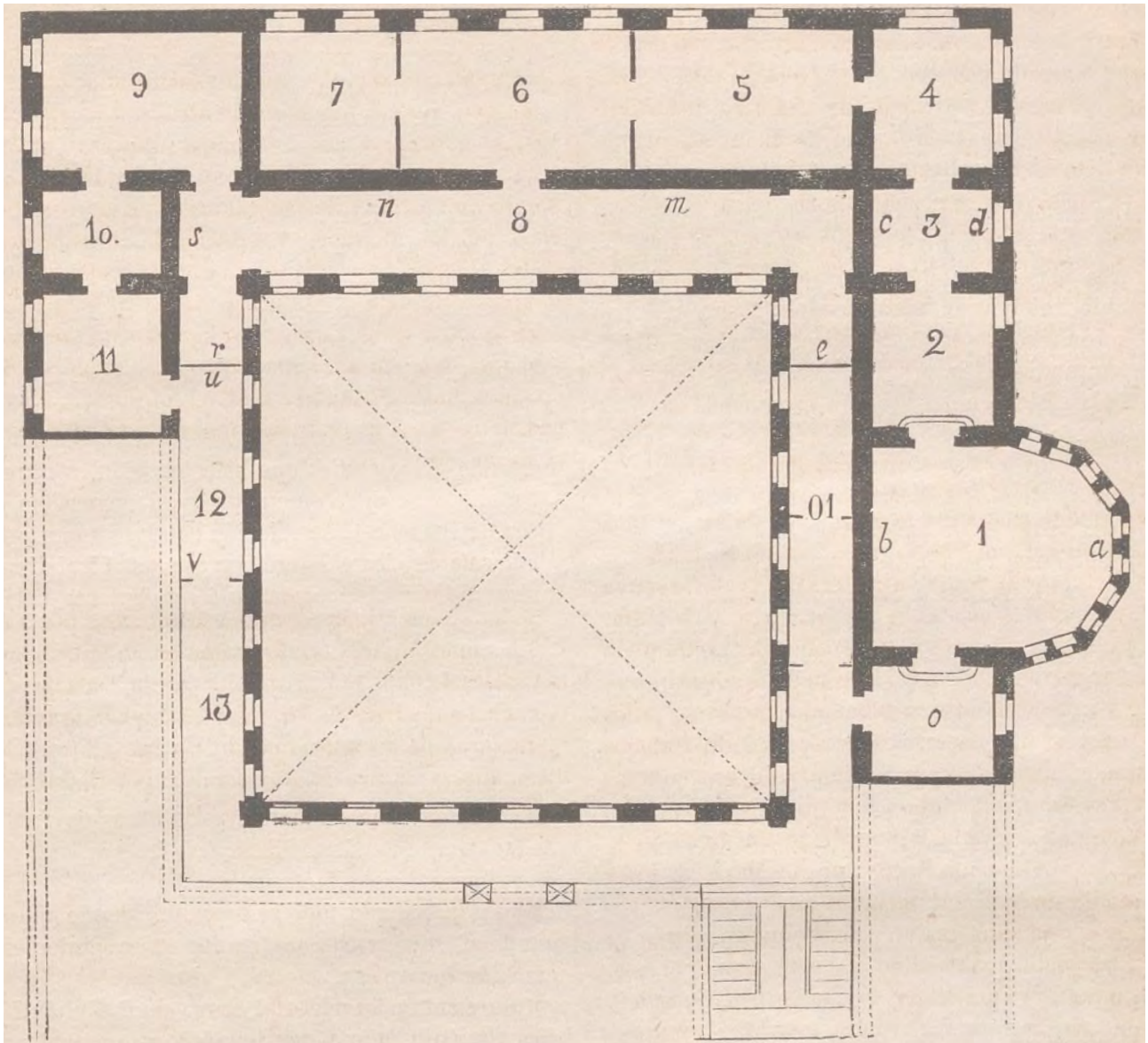
As soon as the Spanish Educational Exhibition opened its doors, the press at the time criticized the “remote and eccentric location” where it had been set up (“Exposición Pedagógica”, 1882a, p. 1). And there was a reason for this: Madrid was not prepared to organize large events and lacked suitable spaces for an ambitious exhibition project. The *El Fomento de las Artes* society had initially planned to hold a small exhibition in its own halls, located in a very central location. But they were forced to find space for 3,615 objects sent by 250 exhibitors (*El Fomento de las Artes*, 1882, p. 7). At the last minute, the State ceded a recently constructed building for the Veterinary School on Embajadores Street. The “eccentricity” of the location was its geographical situation, in a suburb populated by factories and workshops, inhabited by workers and with an urban landscape dominated by shacks and industrial chimneys. It was a little-known place but feared and despised by most Madrileños, especially the upper and middle classes, who were the regular consumers of cultural events organized in the capital in the nineteenth century. The City Council organized special transportation from the Puerta del Sol and also provided free admission for several days a week, but the press predicted that only those very interested in educational issues would venture into these humble neighborhoods. However, against all odds, some 200,000 people visited the Educational Exhibition during the time it was open —from June 9 to 30 and July 15 to 17—, with 42,223 visitors registering on a single day, June 11. These were spectacular figures for a city like Madrid, which had a population of around 450,000 in 1882.

The Educational Exhibition was spread over fifteen rooms and galleries of the Veterinary School; the first two were introductory in nature, which was recognized by the organizers themselves when they numbered these spaces as 01 and 0 on the explanatory sketch drawn to help those who were unable to visit the exhibition in person understand its layout (Image 1). The promoters also planned the walking movements, or “operations of walking,” according to the expression coined by de Certeau (1984, p. 97), which was their only means of helping visitors understand the narrative of the exhibition, as no general catalog was published. After climbing the main staircase, the public came face to face with gallery 01, which was clearly separated from the others and outside the marked route, and then entered through the right wing and had to walk in that direction until “exiting through the left” (Congreso Nacional Pedagógico, 1883, p. 425).

Gallery 01 displayed a prototype rural school designed by the Madrid publishing house Eugenio Sobrino y Dorado, with the teacher’s desk and chair on a raised platform, desks for boys and girls, a crucifix with a canopy, inkwells and quills, several collections of wallcharts, and other objects commonly found in nineteenth-century schools (*Exposición Pedagógica*, 1882b). Some visitors interpreted the marginal location of this model of a rural school as symbolizing its traditional character, its representation of “long-established” teaching systems (“*Exposición Pedagógica*,” 1882c, p. 3). Other visitors explained this isolation as a deliberate decision by Eugenio Sobrino himself, who wanted to “escape the established

competition within the walls” (Ferradas, 1882a, p. 2). This statement shows us that the Educational Exhibition was highly competitive, and in fact some newspapers described it as a “contest” or “competition.”

Image 1. Plan of the rooms of the Spanish Educational Exhibition of 1882



Source: Congreso Nacional Pedagógico (1883). *Actas de las Sesiones Celebradas. Discursos pronunciados y memorias leídas y presentadas a la mesa. Notas, conclusiones y demás documentos referentes a esta Asamblea. Seguido de una revista crítica de la Exposición Pedagógica de 1882, publicado por la Sociedad de Fomento de las Artes, iniciadora del Congreso.* Lib. de D. Gregorio Hernando, p. 431.

With the image of what could have been an idealized Spanish rural school etched in their minds —because the real ones were much poorer— visitors entered the Educational Exhibition through an antechamber marked with the number 0 on the sketch. The vestibules in nineteenth-century exhibition spaces were crucial to understanding the content of the exhibition and to “convey a particular educational message

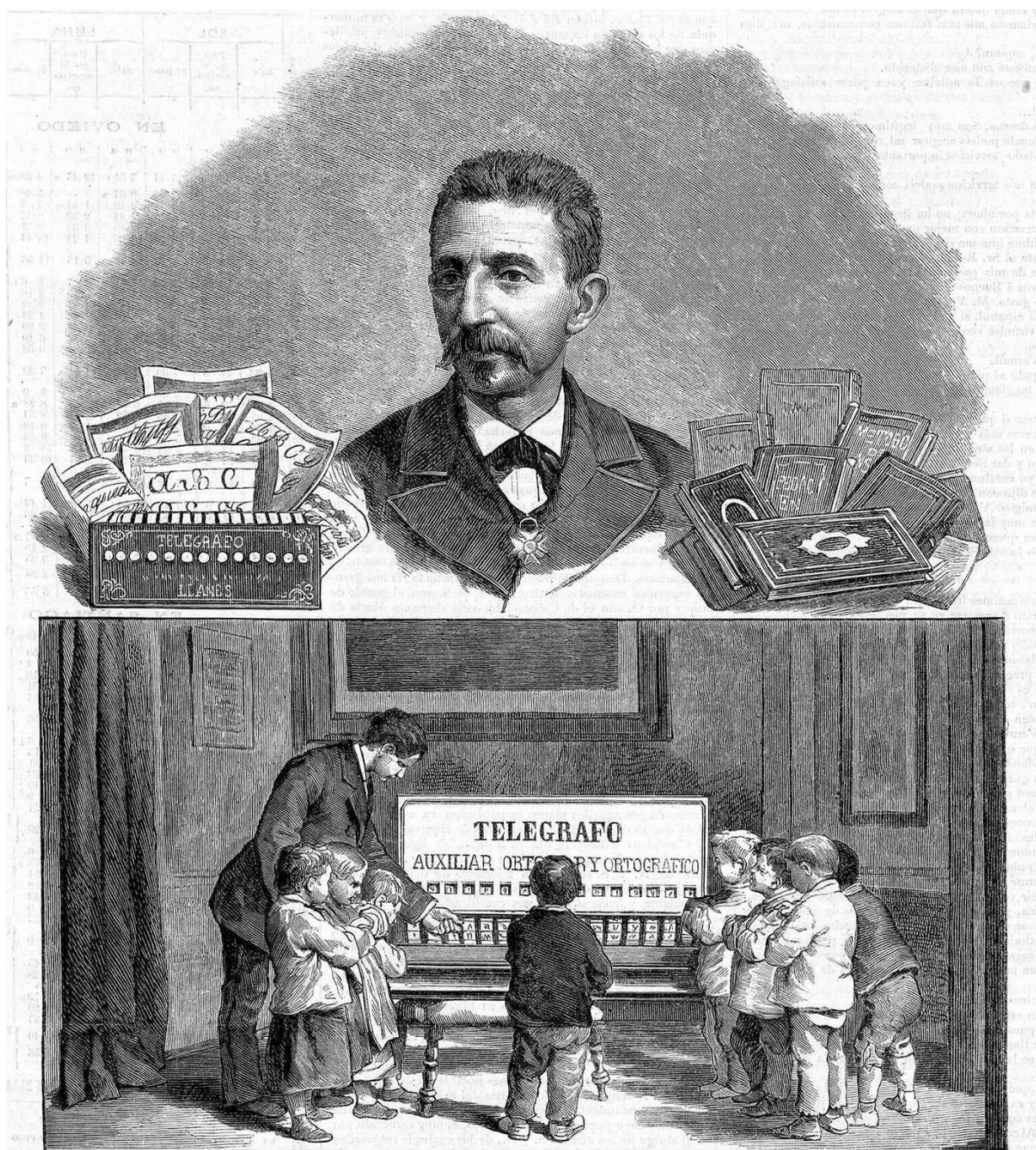
to visitors” (Beck, 2024, p. 209). This antechamber was very soberly decorated with only three elements. The first was a huge map of Madrid, which occupied an entire wall and symbolized the Madrid character of the exhibition. Virtually all teachers from the provinces complained about the predominance of schools from the capital and the poor representation of the rest of Spain; in fact, in articles published in provincial newspapers, the Educational Exhibition was never described as “national” or “Spanish” but rather as “Matritense” [Madrid-based]. But even the Madrid press complained that, although “objects from all over Spain have been able to come to the Exhibition and although many from very different regions are on display, most of the rooms have a marked local character” (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882d, p. 1) and therefore urged the government to organize a truly national exhibition in the future. The second element was a microphone used by the Piarist Brothers in their schools, a clear symbol that private education — and above all Catholic private education — was going to be well represented at the Educational Exhibition. And the third element was a pair of ephemeral columns flanking the entrance to Room 1, specially erected to display the names of important educators from Spain and abroad. However, these names do not even appear in the official review of the Educational Exhibition, which shows that the pedagogical culture of the visitors, even the teachers, was rather limited, and that the latter only identified themselves with the Spanish educator Pablo Montesino (1781-1849), the first director of the Madrid Normal School.

When visitors entered the room marked number 1 on the sketch and called the “rotunda” due to its design, they were met with an explosion of nineteenth-century educational technology. On the right (1a), the most privileged space in the exhibition was occupied by the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*. Despite the age of this municipal school, the small number of students (60) did not justify such a prominent position, which can only be explained by two reasons. One was the enormous investment that the Madrid City Council had made in educational aids and furniture during the renovation of the center in 1878, amassing a collection of extremely expensive educational objects from the best European manufacturers, which it wanted to display and show off to Madrid society (Colegio de San Ildefonso, 1882). The second reason was the great influence that the school’s headmaster, Ildefonso Fernández y Sánchez, had in the organization of the Educational Exhibition and the Pedagogical Congress. This teacher was the one who debated most heatedly with the men of the reform movement of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* the advisability of introducing excursions in primary schools. Although he was opposed to this practice, he wanted to show that his refusal was based on experience and not on an attachment to the pedagogical routines of the past. For this reason, on top of the enormous teacher’s desk, which, together with the “Gothic-style” armchair (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882e, p. 2), presided over his space, he placed some children’s notebooks containing “a detailed account of an educational trip to El Escorial” (Congreso Nacional Pedagógico, 1883, p. 435) organized by himself and carried out by the children of the San Ildefonso school. This is an example of how the discussions at the congress were also continued in the exhibition rooms.

But Room 1 offered many more surprises. In addition to the entire collection of books and teaching aids from the Paluzié publishing house in Barcelona (area 1b), there were different models of desks for one and two students and relief maps that frightened many visitors. There was also a very varied collection of teaching aids with very pretentious names, handcrafted by the teachers themselves, which were intended to make learning to read, write, arithmetic, geography, and physical and natural sciences easier and more attractive. Educational historiography has recently begun to examine the figure of the teacher-inventor, so characteristic of the nineteenth century and so closely linked to World’s Fairs and national and regional exhibitions (Meda, 2024). The 1882 Educational Exhibition offered an extraordinary display of these Spanish teacher-inventors. Their biographies show us that they did not fit the nineteenth-century teacher prototype; all of them had a social and cultural influence that transcended the walls of their classrooms. For example, in Room 1, Vicente Pérez Sierra, photographer, artist, inventor, and teacher at the school in Llanes (Asturias), exhibited his device. It was an apparatus that he patented and called an auxiliary orthological and

orthographic telegraph (Image 2). It was designed to teach reading and writing and replaced the traditional reading charts and primers. It was “cylindrical in shape with several holes made in a straight line, in which the appropriate letters are presented, surrounding several lower discs that are rotated by a handle” (“Obras de lectura,” 1877, n.p.). With this device, children could, from day one, learn and compose syllables, words, and short phrases, grasping the different combinations of the alphabet in a very visual way.

Image 2. Device for teaching reading and writing invented by teacher D. Vicente Pérez Sierra



Source: Nuestros grabados. Don Vicente Pérez Sierra, maestro de Llanes (1882). *La Ilustración Cantábrica*, June 18 (17), p. 198.

Visitors' minds had not yet processed the possibilities of all this educational material when the exhibition tour took them to Room 2, which was entirely devoted to the Piarist Brothers and left even those least inclined toward religious education speechless. There they found an electrical system of microphones, telephones, and loudspeakers designed to facilitate communication within the classroom and between different rooms in the schools, along with a collection of teaching aids, many of them invented by the brothers themselves and awarded prizes at the 1878 Paris World's Fair, and a selection of artistic, geographical, historical, geometric, and calligraphic works by students from the two Madrid schools (San Fernando and San Antón), which bordered on perfection.

With their eyes saturated with images, visitors entered Room 3, which was dedicated to non-Catholic private schools. The atmosphere suddenly became minimalist, as very few objects occupied this space. Area 3c housed the exhibition of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, which was divided between works by teachers and students, since, as explained in their catalog, this school did not want to display any teaching materials, which were, in any case, very modest. The aim was to show the fruits of the teaching process through everyday schoolwork, expressed in products "made with absolute sincerity; incomplete, disordered (...), incorrect." These products, which were the notebooks kept during the excursions and the collections of plants, insects, and minerals assembled at the end of these, demonstrated how the spirit of observation and the learning processes were developing in these children ([Catálogo de los trabajos presentados a la Exposición], 1882, pp. 2-3). The *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, with its mind set on the congress debates and with a hint of arrogance, claimed that it had already carried out more than 600 excursions in the last six years. On the wall opposite the display cases of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* hung a drawing by a boy from a school in Luanco (Asturias). The drawing reproduced in pen and ink, in great detail, an engraving of the palace where the 1878 Paris World's Fair was held. The choice of this flawless children's work, placed directly opposite the schoolwork containing errors produced by the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, was no coincidence, as we shall see in the next section.

Room 4 contained all the objects that the organizers did not know where to place in other spaces, giving it a very heterogeneous appearance. It was filled with some 275 books and various educational objects made by teachers, as well as calligraphy work by the students. Among them was a novel drawing, a plan of the public school in Hernani (Guipúzcoa) made by the children themselves, illustrating the beginning of a pedagogical trend based on children's activities and experiential learning. However, the dominant element was the central table, on which were displayed many exquisite needleworks carried out by girls from private schools, most of them located in Madrid. Room 5 featured an installation by the Madrid bookseller and publisher Manuel Rosado, who exhibited school supplies from his shop, grouping them under the concept of "Spanish Model School" ("Exposición Pedagógica," 1882f). Many observers drew a comparison with the rural school presented in Room 01 and decided that the latter, due to the greater richness of its objects and the high price asked for them, could be the prototype of the urban or city school. While Room 5, although it aroused much admiration for its "purely Spanish" character ("Exposición Pedagógica celebrada en Madrid," 1882, p. 2), elicited few comments, Room 6, called "German," was met with silence, despite its size and the richness and variety of the material on display, which included collections of Froebelian objects. The reason for this invisibility was provided by a journalist: the exhibition was presided over by "the portrait of the Emperor of Germany," which indicated "that the entire section is purely German. You can leave the Spanish language at the door, because everything there is German epigraphs or inscriptions" ("Exposición Pedagógica," 1882g, p. 1). Room 7, occupied entirely by the *Real Colegio de El Escorial*, refounded by the King Alfonso XII, also deserved a similar comment: "it is difficult to find anything in that room that was built in Spain" ("Exposición Pedagógica," 1882h, p. 1), although this center received much more media attention because it was under the protection of the Royal House.

If we study the exhibition floor plan (Image 1), we can see that Room 8 could only be accessed from Room 6, and that visitors, before reaching it, had to pass through Rooms 5, 6, and 7, which contained the most spectacular teaching objects in the entire exhibition, but also those that were most “foreign” and uncommon in Spanish public schools. For this reason, the location of Room 8 has enormous symbolic significance, as it housed all the products from the public schools funded by the Madrid City Council. Next to it, and parallel to it, was Room 10, dedicated to the *Jardines de la Infancia*, Madrid’s first Froebelian school, which was also public and funded by the state. It is clear that this section of the exhibition established a triple dialogue. First, it encouraged a comparison between the “national” —represented exclusively by examples from Madrid— and the “foreign” —magnified by the “German” installation. Second, it highlighted the differences between the “private”— symbolized by the *Real Colegio de El Escorial* — and the “public” — personified by the municipal and state schools of Madrid —. And thirdly, it highlighted the difficult balance maintained throughout the exhibition between the educational objects, which filled Rooms 5, 6, and 7, and the children’s schoolwork, which filled Rooms 8 and 10.

Room 9 housed “the ostentatious installation of the rich and well-known publishing house of Gregorio Hernando” (“Exposición Pedagógica. Séptima visita,” 1882, p. 2), which brought together several hundred schoolbooks and educational objects perceived as more affordable and familiar in most Spanish schools, “from the most modest to the most exalted” (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882i, p. 1). Room 11 was entirely occupied by the *Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y de Ciegos* [National School for the Deaf and Blind], which presented the prizes it had won at the World’s Fairs in Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), and Paris (1878), thus proving itself to be the most awarded educational institution in the entire exhibition. Its objects were completely new and different from those presented in other rooms. For example, they exhibited models made by students to facilitate intuitive teaching for those who could not see, including a large model of a city with all the obstacles that could be found on its streets, designed as preparation for educational walks (Villabrille, 1882, p. 11). The tiny Room 12 was designed as a comparison between the sewing work done by the students of the *Escuela Normal Central de Maestras* [Central Normal School for Women Teachers] and the *Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer* [Association for the Education of Women], the former being a public center, and the latter a private center, founded and inspired by the intellectuals of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. Room 13, which was actually the exit gallery, was filled with objects made by teachers and Froebelian handicrafts made by children from the nursery school in Figueres (Gerona). The marginal and hidden position of these works suggests that there was an intention to make them invisible, despite the interest that Froebel’s methodology aroused among Spanish educators at the time. However, the strategy of concealment did not work.

3. AUDIENCES AT THE SPANISH EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1882

A tour of all the rooms in the exhibition leads us to conclude that the distribution of spaces and objects in the Educational Exhibition was not guided solely by practical, aesthetic, or pedagogical reasons, but was also the result of tensions and negotiations between the producers of the material and its users —the teachers— and power struggles between the different educational elites in Madrid. But how did visitors interpret the messages conveyed by the organizers, and what were their own experiences of the exhibition? We lack the resources used by visitor studies to analyze the emotions of the audiences who visited the 1882 Educational Exhibition, but we do have numerous reports and articles in which the most educated representatives of those audiences recounted their own experiences or those of other visitors they observed during their walks through the rooms.

Clearly, the most illustrious visitor and the one who received the most media attention was King Alfonso XII. He officially opened the Educational Exhibition on June 9, together with the entire royal family and part of

the government. This act was significant enough in itself, because the monarchy did not usually visit poor neighborhoods. His presence, therefore, determined the success of the exhibition. But he did not limit himself to a mere ceremonial tour; he walked slowly through the rooms, talked to several teachers, and delivered messages that were apparently very politically correct and inclusive, in which he praised everyone incessantly. However, only a few exhibitors received his special attention. The first installation he stopped at was that of the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, because it was in Room 1, and there he read the children's notebooks and works with great interest. And that interest acted as a sounding board, as many newspapers reported that this school had made educational trips to El Escorial. He then moved on to Room 2 of the Piarist Brothers, where, at the entrance, a child gave a well-prepared greeting, and where the teachers themselves showed him all the objects, especially a device for learning to read and write invented by Father Mendía, which aroused the king's curiosity and was obviously publicized by the press in the following days. In Room 3, he encountered the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and took note of the plants and minerals collected by the students during their excursions, asking "questions" and making "astute observations", and these two actions suggested a hint of debate ("Exposición Pedagógica", 1882j, p. 1). In Room 5, from publisher Rosado, he signed an elegant souvenir album of his visit, and it does not appear that he made any further symbolic gestures.

From that moment on, the Educational Exhibition was open to the public and, according to press reports, attracted five very specific groups of visitors: teachers, women, children, the working class, and journalists. The distribution of objects and the composition of decorative ensembles were very reminiscent of those established at all World's Fairs, and, in fact, those who attended the 1878 Paris exhibition claimed to have had the same visual impressions. The aesthetic on display was typically Victorian, colorful, crowded with educational objects that were mixed and confused and even repeated in different rooms. It is quite possible that visitors, like those at London's Crystal Palace, felt "overwhelmed" and experienced "symptoms of anxiety" (Alvandi, 2011, p. 13) at their inability to assimilate and interpret the thousands of images before their eyes. This anxiety was evident in the frequent justifications and self-criticism for not listing all the objects on display or for forgetting some of the most important items. They attributed these errors to the lack of a general catalog "that could and should serve as a guide and has not been printed." ("Exposición Pedagógica. Sexta visita," 1882, n.p.). The organizers attempted to alleviate this shortcoming by placing guides in each room explaining to the public the value and use of each of the objects on display. These guides were employees of publishing companies, principals or teachers from the exhibiting schools, and even students from those schools. In addition, visitors developed various strategies to take in the exhibition. The most common was not to go beyond Room 3. Most of the published reviews describe spaces 01, 0, 1, 2, and 3 at length, but say little about the remaining rooms, going no further than a general categorization summarized in a single sentence. The second strategy was to visit the exhibition repeatedly, stopping only in one or two rooms on each visit, thus breaking the official route marked out by the organizers and missing out on the exhibition's storytelling. The third strategy was to copy verbatim the materials described in the catalogs published by some of the exhibitors and summarize very briefly the content of the rooms that did not have a catalog.

The latter was the strategy most commonly used by the few teachers who published extensive reports on the Educational Exhibition. It was open exclusively from June 2 to 6 to those who had attended the National Pedagogical Congress, and 1,913 teachers visited it during those days. In addition, they had the opportunity to visit several of the Madrid schools present at the exhibition—for example, the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* and the *Jardines de la Infancia*—and observed their daily educational practices. Many also visited the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, but it does not appear that any of them got to know its primary school. They listened to a series of lectures organized in the afternoons, when the official sessions ended, and were invited to have "refreshments" (Roure, 1882, p. 395). One might think that, after participating in a conference where

traditions and innovations in education were so heatedly debated, teachers would be very curious to observe and evaluate the results of a progressive school such as the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. But this was not the case. In most of their reports, they copied or summarized the catalog of objects, without personal comments, and clearly showed much reluctance to criticize its procedures, but they did not praise them either. A teacher from Palencia stated that “the intuitive method is the fundamental basis of teaching in this society” (Ferradas, 1882b, p. 2). This was the same conclusion reached by a teacher from Lugo, who did not understand why the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* rejected the use of educational material, which also derived from the same intuitive method. He therefore believed that the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* would achieve the same results “through the intelligent use of various commonly used teaching aids” (Chave, 1882, p. 200). A public-school teacher in Madrid, Pedro Ferrer y Rivero, however, did perceive that the discourse of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* went beyond the pedagogical principle of intuition, because it proposed “the participation of the student in his own work with an educational tendency” (Congreso Nacional Pedagógico, 1883, p. 438). However, this teacher adopted the dominant position defended by his Madrid colleagues at the National Pedagogical Congress, namely: teachers understood the idea of children’s activity and would also be delighted to go on excursions throughout Spain with children if they had a favorable educational environment and the support of families and authorities.

On June 17, the press reported that the Educational Exhibition had been open for eight days and had already been visited by 86.712 people, 90% of whom belonged to the working class (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882k, p. 3). As the organizing society, *El Fomento de las Artes*, sought to educate the working classes, it promoted access to the exhibition for the most disadvantaged groups, but carefully avoided mixing social classes by setting some days with free admission and others with paid admission. It also kept careful records of the number of visitors, and it is very possible that, depending on the circumstances, it reserved the right to admit individuals who did not seem socially acceptable. The press, of course, highlighted at all times the orderly behavior of the visitors and pointed out some anecdotes that demonstrated their limited exhibitionary culture, all of which took place in Room 1. For example, the most repeated anecdote featured a large relief map spread out on the floor, in which “the pieces of sea are so perfectly imitated that, as the map is large, people step back so as not to fall into the stormy waters” (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882i, p. 1).

It seems that the Educational Exhibition had a marked gender bias, with the vast majority of visitors being women. On paid days, a “large number of elegant and distinguished ladies” appeared ([Exposición Pedagógica], 1882l, p. 3), who were only interested in the handicrafts made by girls from public and private schools in Madrid. On free admission days, female workers from the tobacco factory opposite the Veterinary School would attend (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882m, p. 3). They went straight to Room 5, where the work of girls from private schools, some of them only seven years old, was on display, and “there the women form a compact wall every day. A chorus of approving exclamations rises in that space in the presence of so much lace, so much silk, so much embroidery on display” (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882n, p. 1). Both bourgeois and working-class women also visited Room 8, where the public schools were located, and there they spent “several hours examining the meticulous work of the daughters of Madrid’s workers” (“Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882ñ, p. 3). Children visited the exhibition on Thursday afternoons, accompanied by their teachers, on what were possibly the first mass educational excursions in the capital, as every Thursday around a thousand pupils from public and private schools attended, staying at the exhibition for around three hours. The children’s favorite room was Room 6, as among the German exhibitors was Charles Schropp, who presented some toys from his Madrid shop to the delight of the young audience.

The most powerful messages were written in the newspapers. The press of all ideological tendencies agreed to send out a double nationalist message. The first nationalist message sought to reach an audience eager “to see refuted by eloquent facts the disadvantageous and mistaken concept that outsiders have had no

qualms about expressing through maps and magazines” (“La Exposición Pedagógica Española,” 1882, p. 1) about the backwardness of Spanish primary education. The context was that of the World’s Fairs in Paris (1867 and 1878), where a map and a report by Manier on public instruction in Europe were presented. Spain, together with Turkey, occupied the last two places, but “instead of causing public opinion to unite to take steps to improve the situation, the report was not believed and simply dismissed as a false accusation” (Del Pozo, 2009, p. 168). Since then, the press had been engaged in a campaign to prove that Spanish primary schools were on a par with those of other enlightened European countries, and the Educational Exhibition provided the evidence needed to support this claim. The entire press collected testimonies from anonymous but highly educated foreign visitors who declared that “this event placed our country in a preeminent position in terms of culture, dispelling concerns and doing justice to the progress of public education” (“Noticias de la Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882, n.p.). However, the only three foreign visitors identified by name, who were diplomats from Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands, did their profession proud and spoke very courteously, but without making any assessment. Despite everything, the dominant discourse surrounding the Educational Exhibition was markedly triumphalist and aimed at hammering home the idea that Spain, in educational matters, was in a position to compete successfully in future World’s Fairs, so that Spaniards could regain their lost national pride. The second nationalist message was framed in terms of economic protectionism. The Educational Exhibition showcased a large number of Spanish publishers and manufacturers that could supply teaching materials to schools, which were praised once again using the image of triumphant competition at future World’s Fairs. The dominant discourse in the press was reflected in its silence on the contents of the “German” room and in its praise for schools that used materials manufactured in Spain. The aim was to create public opinion favorable to the promotion of a national educational industry.

The Educational Exhibition also had a competition phase, similar to that of the World’s Fairs, although with even more generous prizes. The press showed its intention to influence the juries by reporting specifically and extensively on installations or objects on display that aroused their affinity or sympathy. The opening phrase chosen was always the same: “One of the installations that most catches the eye...” or “Among the objects that most catch the eye...” Their discourse demonstrates, once again, the competitive nature that the press attributed to this exhibition. Thus, the newspaper *El Liberal*, which was very close to the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, devoted two long articles to commenting on the exhibition in triumphalist terms, with the discourse reserved for competitions: “We believe that this school is superior to all others and that none of its competitors (...) could have equaled or surpassed it”; and furthermore, it asserted that she was aware “that her means and resources are superior to those of any other center” (“Exposición Pedagógica. La Institución Libre de Enseñanza,” 1882a, pp. 1-2). These discourses also show that educated visitors were able to interpret and transform some of the messages conveyed in the exhibition. Let us recall that opposite the display cases containing the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* excursion notebooks, a detailed child’s drawing of the 1878 Paris World’s Fair was hung. The organizers’ intention was probably to encourage the public to compare the perfection of this work with the imperfection of the excursion notebooks. However, the journalist’s comparison was different: he saw, side by side, an old system, the fruit of tradition, and a modern system, born “of reason and truth” (“Exposición Pedagógica. La Institución Libre de Enseñanza,” 1882b, p. 2).

And the press played one last role, that of highlighting exhibitors who had gone unnoticed, overshadowed by other much more powerful figures. A prime example is the Froebelian work of the children from the nursery school in Figueres which, as we have already seen, was placed in Room 13 and went unnoticed. The teacher at that school was Esteban Trayter y Colomer. It seems that he learned about the Froebel system at the 1878 Paris World’s Fair, began to apply it in his school, and was encouraged to come to Madrid to publicize his experience, not on his own initiative, but at the urging of other Catalan colleagues. He attended the sessions of the Pedagogical Congress, listened to the lecture on Froebelian methodology

given by its leading representative in Spain, Eugenio Bartolomé y Mingo, the principal of the Madrid *Jardines de la Infancia*, and remained silent throughout. He visited the school, along with many other congress participants, and there he had a “very lively discussion” (Roure, 1882, p. 395) with Mingo. If we interpret the rhetorical expressions of the time correctly, what happened there was that Trayter refuted some of Mingo’s statements, that is, a teacher from a small town in Gerona dared to oppose the great authority in Madrid. From then on, the press began to publish those short articles that began with the phrase “One of the installations that has most caught our attention...”. These articles denounced the fact that Figueres’ Froebelian work had not been appreciated due to its marginal location in the exhibition. Some articles also provided information about Trayter’s identification with the “progressive movement” of modern pedagogy (“La Exposición Pedagógica,” 1882, p. 3), providing details that could only have been known by people close to the teacher. Trayter himself attributed the praise he received in the press to the work of his colleagues, although the campaign was probably successful because some political agents were involved with it. This whole process symbolizes the invisible but very present framework behind the Pedagogical Congress and the Educational Exhibition: the desire of Madrid’s educators to impose their pedagogical leadership on the rest of Spain and the struggle of educators “from the provinces” to prove that innovative schools also existed outside Madrid.

4. VISUALIZING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND PEDAGOGICAL PROGRESS

The Educational Exhibition was a highly visual spectacle, although viewers may have ended up closing their senses to the overexposure of images. It is therefore interesting to analyze the representations of this event that were published, to see if they managed to convey the message of pedagogical progress that appeared repeatedly in the written texts. I have never found a photograph of this event, which is unusual but understandable, as the illustrated press had barely incorporated this technology. Only three engravings were published in the magazine *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, which are well known and have been included several times in other works, but have never been studied. The engravings were made between June 2 and 6, when the exhibition was open only to teachers and when descriptions and comments on the objects on display had not yet been published. The author of the drawings was Juan Comba y García, who has been considered “the father of photojournalism in Spain” (Márquez, 2006, p. 399). His personal relationship with King Alfonso XII and his desire to show the modernization of the country during his reign made him the perfect candidate to illustrate pedagogical progress. The engraving of the exhibition was the first he made as a “graphic set,” defined as such because it presented “various aspects of the news through independent images, shown autonomously on the same page” (Bobo, 2002, p. 170). Juan Comba often created these sets from photographs, a technique he began using after his European trip in 1880-1881, during which he bought a camera. These engravings were therefore constructed as follows: Juan Comba went to the Veterinary School, visited the exhibition, which was almost empty, and took some photographs, and perhaps also made some sketches from life. He decided for himself which three rooms best conveyed the progress of education in Spain, as this was the message that the magazine wanted to convey to the public. He then engraved three images on a wooden plate with burins, which were transferred to paper and published in the magazine just before the opening, to give readers the vivid impression that they too had been at the Educational Exhibition and had participated in the event.

The image that Juan Comba identified with educational progress —understood as methodological progress— was the one found in Room 10, the installation of the *Jardines de la Infancia*, the Madrid nursery school that followed the Froebelian system (Image 3). That is why Juan Comba devoted twice as much space to it as to the other two rooms. His drawing bears a striking resemblance to the written accounts. On the wall to the

right of the image, the teacher's platform and desk were placed next to his baroque armchair, reproducing the frontispiece of one of the school's classrooms. The official chronicler of the Educational Exhibition, Pedro Ferrer y Rivero, commented that the principal of the *Jardines de la Infancia*, Eugenio Bartolomé y Mingo, sat in that armchair every day to explain the Froebelian methodology to interested visitors, and thought that Mingo had "the enormous commitment to accredit these establishments in Spain" (Congreso Nacional Pedagógico, 1883, p. 436), a statement that ignored Trayter's experience, located just a few meters away. On either side of the teacher's desk were two large cabinets containing all the children's work, made according to Froebel's system, from paper cutouts to simple pieces of furniture. That wall was dominated by a bust of the German educator. On the back wall, whose door led to Room 9, there were many wallcharts for object lessons and six maps surrounding the entire room, showing the surface of the earth in different positions, as if viewed from different points in space, the outline of which can also be seen in Comba's engraving. On the left wall, on a table possibly covered with the Spanish flag, the Froebelian material was placed. It was highly valued that this material was made in workshops in Madrid, under the direction of Mingo, and possibly reproducing foreign models also on display on the table, about which nothing was said. The interest shown by visitors in this material is symbolized in Comba's engraving by a male figure who appears to be examining these objects with a magnifying glass. The artist represented the appeal of object lessons for children with two child figures; the older one explains one of the pictures to the younger one, placing her hand on her shoulder, a composition very characteristic of the nineteenth century to visualize mutual teaching between children of different ages. The two women looking at other wallcharts on the same wall seem less interested, one pulling her companion's arm, perhaps to hurry off to the women's workrooms.

Image 3. Installation of teaching materials for schools in the Froebel system (Kindergartens)



Source: Drawing by Comba. Exposición Pedagógica (1882). *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, June 8, XXVI (XXI), p. 349.

Image 4. Froebel nursery school, called “Jardines de la Infancia” (detail)



Source: Drawing by Nao. Madrid. Nueva Escuela Central de Párvulos, sistema Froebel, denominada “Jardines de la Infancia” (1879). *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, May 30, XXIII (XX), p. 356.

No one commented on the fact that in a corner of Room 10 there was an individual desk with its own table, in line with the prevailing model in the United States. The Educational Exhibition was full of these desks, with manufacturers displaying their most modern examples. It seems that they had been adopted in many private schools, which is perhaps why they did not attract attention. They must have been part of the school furniture at the *Jardines de la Infancia*, as other drawings of its classrooms from the same period (Image 4) show similar desks. But what is really surprising is that the center of the drawing was occupied by two rows of desk units, the most characteristic model of what Pedro Luis Moreno has called “old”-style school furniture (2005, pp. 73-74). These were long, narrow tables that could seat six, eight, or ten children, with separate benches and no backrests (Martínez and Esteve, 2024, p. 65). Although they were already outdated in 1840, most Spanish public schools were still using them in 1882. Individual desks such as those in the *Jardines de la Infancia* represented modernity in contrast to these desk units, which they sought to replace. Therefore, the only possible explanation for their presence in the *Jardines de la Infancia* classroom is that they belonged to another room and were placed there by mistake or due to lack of space. Comba photographed and recorded what he saw, thus turning what was to be the central image of methodological progress into a symbol of tradition.

Image 5. Installation of teaching materials at the *Real Colegio de El Escorial*



Source: Drawing by Comba. Exposición Pedagógica (1882). *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, June 8, XXVI (XXI), p. 349.

The second engraving in Comba's composition depicted the *Real Colegio de El Escorial* (Image 5). Its presence was justified by the fact that it was a personal project of Alfonso XII, who had refounded the center in 1875 and entrusted its direction to the priest José Hospital. But it was also a representation of educational progress from a technological perspective. Room 7 was overflowing with rich educational material from abroad, all of which had won awards at various World's Fairs and had been acquired by José Hospital at the 1878 Paris Fair or given to the king by its builders. Although the identity of the center had not yet been defined, it clearly had a Catholic orientation, symbolized in the image by the figure in a cassock and shovel hat, both indicative of his priestly status. The perspective and framing of this engraving are designed to place a French-made box as the central figure, most likely the box of object lessons described in the catalog of this installation, which contained samples produced by nature and their applications to art and industry, explaining how man modified these raw materials to satisfy his three basic needs: food, clothing, and shelter ("Exposición Pedagógica. Sexta visita," 1882, n.p.). Given this description, it is impossible not to wonder whether the box contained the embryo of the first idea of the centers of interest that the Belgian educationalist Decroly would propose twenty-five years later.

Image 6. Installation of teaching materials in Madrid's municipal schools



Source: Drawing by Comba. Exposición Pedagógica (1882). *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, June 8, XXVI (XXI), p. 349.

The third engraving in Comba's composition depicted Madrid's municipal public schools, housed in a large gallery numbered as Room 8 (Image 6). We know that this room had its own discourse because its design was entrusted to the general inspector of Madrid's schools, Valentín María Mediero. This discourse was based on three pillars. The first was authenticity. The gallery housed the five types of public schools funded by the Madrid City Council: nursery schools, elementary schools for boys and girls, high schools, and adult schools, presented as a rudimentary outline of lifelong education. Each one was displayed with the objects and furniture commonly used, and photographs of several municipal schools were even exhibited "to show that nothing has been taken there that does not exist in the establishments" (Congreso Nacional Pedagógico, 1883, p. 428). And indeed, Comba's engraving shows, in the background, an "old"-style desk like the two that appeared in the foreground in the *Jardines de la Infancia*, which makes me suspect that these desks belonged to the municipal schools. The second pillar was the presentation of results. Hundreds of children's works, especially calligraphic drawings and very sophisticated needlework were displayed on the piece of furniture on the right of the engraving. These school products were, of course, in line with a very traditional view of education, but it is also true that this was the type of education that parents,

especially mothers, wanted for their daughters. When the women working at the tobacco factory marveled at the girls' embroidery, what they saw was a better future for those girls. Hence the third pillar of this room, which was the display of a new identity for municipal schools: "open, wide open are their doors to the children of all classes of society" ("Exposición Pedagógica," 1882o, p. 130). A new discourse on public education was beginning to emerge, perhaps remotely influenced by that of the American common school, which also recognized the value of school as a tool for social mobility. Therefore, this engraving represents educational progress in social terms.

Valentín María Mediero wanted to make Room 8 a "classified landscape of education," understood as a space "that envisioned the differentiation, specialization, and democratization of public education" (Mah, 2007, p. 75). Comba's engraving can be considered a schoolscape, as it shows us the visual and spatial organization of the space in which the Madrid public school was represented, and provides relevant information about the placement of furniture and decorative elements. Among the elements it reveals —because they were omitted from the texts— is a composition of national flags and municipal coats of arms symbolizing the nationalism of the authorities and the Madrid teaching profession, and their identification with an idea of Spanishness based on superiority and pride. This nationalism is what prevented any criticism of the exhibition of Madrid's public schools, what concealed or justified their obvious backwardness, and what produced a discourse shared by the teaching profession and the press that was full of grandeur and self-complacency, but very unconstructive.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The first Spanish Educational Exhibition in 1882 was very improvised. No objectives were set, no public announcement was made, and there was no time to select objects. However, invitations were sent to certain individuals and institutions, which indicates that the organizers had an exhibition concept in mind and an idea of what they wanted to show. In the absence of a statement of intent, the only way to know what the exhibition was trying to achieve is to analyze how the spaces were distributed and how the objects were placed in them. The first conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the exhibition was fundamentally Madrid-based. Most of the publishing houses and manufacturers were from Madrid; even the famous "Germans" were Madrid merchants and intermediaries seeking to represent Central European companies. Most of the schools and teachers who attended with their inventions and their students' work were from Madrid. And the visitors and observers of the exhibition were also from Madrid. The underlying intention was therefore to showcase the achievements of Madrid's education system. This is why many of the products sent from all over Spain were placed in marginal or inconspicuous positions, missing out on the opportunity to exchange experiences and learn more about what was happening outside Madrid.

The only three images I know of from the Educational Exhibition do not convey any message of pedagogical progress. It seems that the same mistake was made that was repeated at every World's Fair, which was to impress by creating installations with an abundance of material, but without showing how that material could transform children's education. In fact, all the schools that exhibited highly sophisticated scientific and educational objects failed to provide examples of students' work showing how these objects could be incorporated into everyday educational practices. On the contrary, the work on display —calligraphy, copies of drawings and maps, decorative crafts— tells us of a school that had turned its back on life, but perhaps not on society. The Educational Exhibition was located in a humble area and most of its visitors belonged to the working class. They all admired the work of the public-school students, but the women were particularly enthusiastic about the needlework and decorative crafts done by the girls. Perhaps some of the female

cigarette makers reflected on this and realized that school could offer their daughters a better life than the factory where their mothers worked. Therefore, a perhaps unintended result of this exhibition was to bring public schools closer to their users, the working class.

Most likely, the exhibition was intended to be comparative, and perhaps it was also meant to be a good setting for discussing the shortcomings of public schools and proposing solutions. However, its reinterpretation in a nationalist key prevented any criticism from emerging. The press turned the exhibition into a symbol and proof of Spanish educational progress; a visible demonstration of the supposed falsehoods spread at recent World's Fairs by representatives of other countries. Therefore, only praise was possible. Although the poverty of materials and furniture in Madrid's public schools was very visible —and even more so given the location of its installation— only acclaim was heard about the display of objects in Room 8. Although most of the students' work showed that it was the result of traditional methodologies, its perfection of execution was applauded. The flaws were seen, of course, but they were hidden because the aim was to keep the bourgeoisie and the middle classes in a fantasy world, to continue flattering their national vanity with talk of racial superiority and to continue feeding their national pride with the belief that Spain was a world power. The Educational Exhibition thus became yet another episode in what would soon become known as “the problem of Spain.”

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SCHOOL RENAISSANCE THROUGH SCHOOL EXHIBITIONS. THE CASE OF THE 9TH ITALIAN PEDAGOGICAL CONGRESS AND THE 1874 SCHOOL EXHIBITION

*El renacimiento escolar a través de las exposiciones escolares.
El caso del IX Congreso Pedagógico Italiano y la Exposición Escolar de 1874*

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Keywords

Italian Pedagogical
Congresses
School Exhibitions
Material Culture
of School
Italy
9th Italian Pedagogical
Congress

ABSTRACT: As part of an international reflection on the circulation of pedagogical ideas and teaching practices in 19th-century exhibitions, this study focuses on the pedagogical congresses held in post-unification Italy to stimulate debate on schooling. Based on printed and previously unexplored archival sources, it examines the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress, held in Bologna in 1874 alongside a school exhibition, to explore the educational themes discussed and the material culture of school on display, between continuity and innovation.

Palabras clave

Congresos Pedagógicos
Italianos
Exposiciones Escolares
Cultura Material Escolar
Italia
IX Congreso Pedagógico
Italiano

RESUMEN: Este estudio se enmarca en una reflexión internacional sobre la circulación de ideas pedagógicas y prácticas didácticas en las exposiciones del siglo XIX. Se analiza el papel de los Congresos Pedagógicos en Italia tras la Unificación, con especial atención al IX Congreso celebrado en Bolonia en 1874, acompañado de una Exposición Escolar. A partir de fuentes impresas y archivísticas inéditas, se examinan los temas tratados y la cultura material escolar expuesta, entre continuidad e innovación educativa.

1. INTRODUCTION

The international development of school systems in the 19th century was marked by a progressive pedagogic renaissance, seeking more effective solutions for fighting illiteracy, ensuring access to schools

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How to cite: D'Ascenzo, Mirella (2025). «School renaissance through school exhibitions. The case of the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress and the 1874 School Exhibition», *Cabás*, 34, 56-69. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27668>).

Received: 30 June, 2025; Final version: 15 October, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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and reviewing obsolete educational instruments, which led to a new definition of the material culture of school. The universal, national and local exhibitions promoted by various institutions and on which historiography has focused (Barausse, 2020; Brunelli, 2020; Del Pozo, 1983; Dittrich, 2011; Dussel, 2007; Escolano Benito, 2011-2012; Lawn & Grosvenor, 2005 and 2009 and 2021; Pizzigoni, 2022 and 2024; Trigueros-Gordillo & Rubio-Mayoral, 2018; Viola, 2018) were the opportunity for disseminating new pedagogic ideas and a material culture of schools promoted both from the 'grass roots' of the educational culture and by the growing number of new school book publishers (Meda, 2016).

In Italy, an important role in the debates of the time was played by the pedagogical congresses held in various Italian cities which, from 1861, aimed to discuss the purpose of educational institutions and schools following the Unification of Italy and the educational tools required to assure Nation Building. The material culture of schools included text books and educational museums which, from 1868, were also offered to a broader audience in the form of school exhibitions, contributing to the debate on and circulation of educational materials in schools in Italy and beyond (Barausse, 2020; D'Ascenzo & Vignoli, 2008; Durán Rodríguez, 2012; Meda, 2016; Pizzigoni, 2022 and 2024; Rico Mansard, 2004). As indicated by the Italian scholar Santamaria Formiggini in 1931

an in-depth study of the Pedagogical Congress proceedings would be useful for the history of pedagogy, as the exchanges of opinions, the discussions recorded—usually with the participation of both educational theorists, teachers and professors, therefore people who 'lived' the school and saw its needs and problems with that day-to-day experience—demonstrate the most urgent matters of a period and remind us of certain correct educational viewpoints that perhaps today do not come to the minds of scholars. (Formiggini Santamaria, 1931, p. 117)

Research on the Italian Pedagogical Congresses is still to be fully discovered by historiography (Bertoni Jovine, 1958; Bucci, 1989; Belluzzi, 1872; Buratti, 1877; Formiggini Santamaria, 1931; D'Ascenzo, 1997; Linaker, 1880; Pizzigoni, 2022) as these were truly central to the construction of a national educational community and the role played by educators, teachers and professors in promoting schools and education.

This contribution examines one of these Pedagogical Congresses, the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress held in Bologna in 1874, along with a School Exhibition that saw the participation of schools, book authors and inventors of educational materials and school furniture from all over Italy. We strive to reconstruct the context of this Congress and the related School Exhibition, along with the promoters, issues discussed, leading figures, as well as the exhibitors, the objects on display, the members of the judging panels, the prizes and the final reports and reasons for the final choices made for the prize-giving.

2. THE ITALIAN PEDAGOGICAL CONGRESSES

The origins of the Pedagogical Congresses lie in the 'Risorgimento', the renaissance process following the Unification of Italy. These congresses were organised by the Primary School Teachers' Association of Milan in 1860, bringing together illustrious figures as well as 'all those who devote themselves to instruction and education' (Buratti, 1877, p. 9) and chaired by Giuseppe Sacchi, a protagonist of the post-unification educational battles and issues in Milan (Polenghi, 2013). The Association published the periodical *Patria e Famiglia* ("Countries and Family") which reported on the debates and resolutions taken, initially limited to the Milan area but also referring to international education studies, whether theoretical, methodological or educational. From 1861 it promoted the first Italian Pedagogical Congress precisely in Milan, the main

topic of which was pre-school education and particularly the debate on the introduction of Froebelian methods, educational methods for the deaf-mute, the need for evening and weekend schools to fight illiteracy, the difficult condition of primary school teachers working for the municipalities, literacy teaching methods and the related text books. These topics were returned to also in later Congresses, with an accent on practical and vocational education in the Siena Congress (1862) as part of the 'Pedagogy' section of the Congress of Italian scientists. In the third Pedagogical Congress, also held in Milan (1863), the year in which the Association became the Italian Pedagogical Association (Buratti, 1877, p. 37), the exclusion of dialects in primary schools was discussed, formulating a first idea of a common scientific foundation course for the gymnasium and the technical school, which was later developed during the Congress in Florence (1864) along with the reform of teacher training schools and the issue of scientific subjects. During the fifth Pedagogical Congress in Genoa (1868), the participants debated the reorganisation of primary schools and the legal and economic status of teachers, along with the implementation of compulsory schooling, the introduction of singing and gymnastics, traineeships and higher education for women, all topics that were developed in the following Congress in Turin (1869), during which relations between schools and family, the reform of the secondary school, popular libraries, the importance of popular singing in school and the proposal for a single middle school were debated. The following Congress in Naples (1871) was dominated by matters of social pedagogy, including adult education, child labour, the reorganisation of the schools of arts and crafts and the farming colleges for the integration of young people on the margins of society. Finally, the works at the Congress in Venice (1872) were divided into four sections, relating to primary studies, teacher training, secondary technical education, classical studies and institutions for the deaf-mute and the blind, proposing a reform of technical and grammar school studies and "for the first time the attempt to link data from experimental psychology with school, comparing the teaching procedures with the aptitudes of young people in a report. But the time was not ripe for these studies" (Formiggini Santamaria, 1931, p. 120). So many different topics were discussed in the various Congresses, always closely linked to broader debates on school policies of the time or matters of cultural, educational and pedagogic renaissance.

Starting from the fifth Congress in Genoa in 1868, the School Exhibition was incorporated into the Pedagogical Congresses. This was an exhibition of schoolbooks and teaching materials from a range of municipalities and institutions, aiming to share the material side of schools partly already experimented in the teaching practices of individual teachers or the municipalities themselves as a form of national educational innovation. All the materials on display were judged by a panel that awarded prizes and medals of merit, helping to enhance or reject a particular product.

The Teaching Exhibition in Turin in 1869 was particularly significant. With 400 exhibitors, almost a million educational works arranged in 18 rooms with a "very consistent number of pedagogic and educational works presented by thirty publishers or typographers" (Bucci, p. 3094), testifying to Turin's role in educational innovation through school publishing and the ties with the international pedagogic culture (Pizzigoni, 2022).

3. THE 9TH ITALIAN PEDAGOGICAL CONGRESS OF 1874

At the end of the Congress held in Venice in 1872, the city of Bologna was designated at the site of the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress, held in 1874. Locally, the matter was discussed in the council meetings from 1873 (D'Ascenzo, 1997), coming up against many doubts voiced by the councillors, concerned with the excessive expenditure envisaged and the actual scientific relevance of the event. In fact, for the Municipality of Bologna the organisation required significant funding but was also an opportunity for placing the city

in the broader national pedagogic debate and showing the school system being built in the municipality. From the Unification of Italy, the various municipal administrations had introduced the new school system, parts of which reflected, and others differed from the pre-Unification period. From 1869 the progressist municipal council had approved a new primary education regulation which, in addition to excluding religious education, had worked to modernise the teaching methods in the city's primary schools. The Municipality worked closely with the provincial Society of Teachers of Bologna, a 'grass-roots' teaching association that fostered educational innovation by introducing new textbooks and overseeing the birth of the travelling positivist educational museum (D'Ascenzo & Vignoli, 2008) and continuing to guide municipal school policies in the following years.

The preparatory works for the Congress were overseen by a promoter committee, chaired by Cesare Albicini and then by the new mayor Gaetano Tacconi, along with the municipal councillors and key figures from the local educational scene, including heads of the department of education (Ernesto Masi), school inspectors (Gaspere Armandi), heads of teacher training schools (Adelfo Grosso and Antonio Quirico), municipal school inspectors (Raffaele Belluzzi, Aristide Ravà and Giuseppe Bignami), along with the head of the Education Office Medardo Burzi, the municipal councillors working in education and professors from universities (Francesco Bertolini, Francesco D'Ovidio) and several private schools, as listed in the detailed minutes of the various meetings¹.

The Congress was held in Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, the old university headquarters, at the same time hosting the 5th School Exhibition as well as the 6th National Gymnasium Congress, from 8 September (Proceedings of the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress and the 5th School Exhibition, 1875). The impressive organisation overseen by the Education Office included economic benefits for the participants, such as a discounted travel card, free visits to museums and other key places in the city, also ensuring the success of the initiative with 1,214 participating teachers, university professors from Bologna, provincial school inspectors, as well as private teachers and heads of schools from all over Italy. The Promoter Committee set up two internal commissions for primary and secondary studies, each with 15 members, tasked with examining the proposed interventions at the Congress. At the end of the works, five topics for discussion were presented for primary education and another five for secondary education. This first was politically the "hottest" topic of that historical time, which had already been discussed at the previous Congress but without any conclusions. In Bologna, the Report was delivered by Enrico Panzacchi, former councillor for education in the Municipality, who precisely in 1870 had religious education eliminated from primary schools; he obviously defended the council's decision and, with the support of Sacchi and with a role call and recorded vote, had the motion that the responsibility for dogmatic religious teaching did not lie with the state but with the municipalities approved, at the request of the families, causing fierce debate.

The second topic of the Congress was delivered by Sacchi on the preferred educational orientations for nursery and primary schools. He discussed the need for a greater coordination among the various educational levels, with a view to assuring continuity among the ages of infancy, childhood and adolescence. He praised the nursery schools and the more recent Froebelian Gardens, however claiming the need for trained, educated teachers and a general methodological renewal, in full continuity with primary schools. He banished the doctrinal, mnemonic teachings of infant school, deeming that the purpose of education, i.e., the knowledge of the good, beautiful and true, was better achieved through heuristic

¹ Historical Archive of the Municipality of Bologna, Administrative file of the municipality of Bologna, Title XIV Education, Section 9 Special provisions, 1874 (hereinafter, ASCBO, Education), envelope 957, 9th Pedagogical Congress, *Record of the proceedings of the Promoter Committee of the 9th Pedagogical Congress and the 5th School Exhibition*.

processes that engaged the child's intelligence and intuition. To this end, he deemed that infant schools should be provided

with an ordered collection of real or simulated objects that offered the children a whole range of things representing the interesting spectacle of art and nature. These kinds of educational museums must, with special teaching skill, bring together some of the main products of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, possibly represented by real objects or such as to represent the real with models or graphs. They must also include some textile materials in their natural and processed states; some small forms of construction materials, household objects and common manufactured devices. They shall also include a collection of images of our great men and some of the masterpieces of the Italian arts. This first teaching of children based on objective truths shall be associated with imitating manual and graphic exercises. For this, the highly geometrical use of so-called Froebelian toys is required, also teaching the children to imitate a wide range of commonly used ingenious objects. (Sacchi, 1875, pp. 94-95)

Sacchi therefore showed his familiarity with the innovative pedagogy of the time, which he defined as 'rational', meaning objective teaching, lessons of things, which came to Italy in the 1870s with the translation of the writings of Maria Pape Carpentier, who had illustrated the new method at the Paris Expo of 1867 (Brunelli, 2020; D'Ascenzo & Vignoli, 2008; Pizzigoni, 2022; Morandi, 2023). Sacchi also used the term 'educational museums' rather than teaching museums or school museums to refer to the collections of objects used for objective teaching, indicating in a note that these collections could be found in the educational section of the Industrial Museum in Turin (Pizzigoni, 2022) and "at the Educational Museum set up in Rome by the 'Commendatore' Bonghi" (Sacchi, 1875, p. 94). They could also be found in the nursery schools in Milan and all the Italian deaf-mute institutions, showing how the objective method had spread also to institutions delivering 'special' education which were also seeking effective teaching solutions for learning, all the better when linked to the 'seeing and touching' methods of deaf-mute students.

For the popular primary schools and secondary schools, Sacchi aimed to modernise literacy with nomenclature exercises already introduced into Italy by Ferrante Aporti in the nursery schools in Lombardy and Piedmont (Sideri, 1999), using posters and wall pictures that were also used to compare the names of things between the material language and the official Italian language, recalling the use of educational museums and new text books able to "offer the people's children the first notions of natural phenomena with a few practical farming skills in the countryside and technical skills in the cities" (Sacchi, 1875, pp. 96-97). Sacchi then dwelt on teaching geography, still too mnemonic but "that can be plastically taught with methods already adopted elsewhere, while national history reduced to popular tales can perspicaciously be used to spread a love of our monumental memories" (Sacchi, 1875, p. 97). For composition exercises, he hoped to overcome the grammatical and rhetoric dimension in favour of the students' more spontaneous thought, and associated gymnastics to choir singing in order to create a "strong population" (Sacchi, 1875, p. 97). He also suggested reducing the focus on teaching grammar in favour of classical literature to foster a passion for the philological aspect of words and proceed by imitation, confirming that the teaching of the Italian language was still substantially anchored to the model of classical school whose pedagogic culture and militant schooling was criticised only from the late 19th century onwards (D'Ascenzo, 2011). The excessive teaching of grammar in primary schools was also criticised in the General Report made by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, one of the top experts of Italian Linguistics and a supporter of the importance of dialect and maternal language in primary schools. The other Reports delivered at the Congress concerned compulsory education (by the ministerial official Girolamo Buonazia, famous for an important report that had only recently been published on the matter), the low level of training assured by the teacher training schools and, for the secondary schools, the reform of vocational schools and the proposal for a middle school in preparation for the choice of classical or technical studies after primary school.

4. THE 5TH SCHOOL EXHIBITION

During the 9th Pedagogical Congress, a public exhibition of school objects was organised, and these came from schools of all levels from all over Italy. The specific rules defined the procedures for sending the material to the Promoter Committee well in advance, accompanied by a label on the package, indicating the sender (person or school), the price of the object if available for sale and a brief description of the material (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, pp. 11-13).

All the exhibitors would be assessed by a special panel for each class of materials displayed, appointed by the Promoter Committee, and the individual opinions of the special panels would then be subjected to the opinion of the Upper Council of the Congress, consisting of members of the Chairmen's Council and the Chairmen and Secretaries of each class panel. The names included members of the Bologna Education Department, local professors and noblewomen, as well as some excellent rogues, including Ignazio Cantù (Lombardi, 2013) and the famous poet Giosuè Carducci. Following the judgements, first, second and third prizes were awarded, corresponding respectively to the silver and bronze medals and an honourable mention. The Rules also specified that three silver medals would be awarded to praise-worthy municipalities among the exhibitors at the Exhibition, excluding the winners of the previous years and the Municipality of Bologna that had organised the event; however, the special commission established by the primary school panel (the secretary and speaker of which was the engineer Vittore Ravà) in assessing the primary schools of Bologna praised the conditions of the municipality, and in any case awarded it a silver medal (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, pp. 311-313).

The School Exhibition was held in the halls of the municipal library at Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, and the material was not displayed by city or subject, as in the previous years, but by type of school and for four special classes: works by teachers, teaching materials, building models and school furnishings, educational publications.

The schools type included 15 works displayed by nursery schools from various parts of Italy and five kindergartens, three of which from Bologna. The works included knitting, crochet, woven straw, blankets, knitwear, bonnets, socks, all materials judged positively by the nursery school and Froebelian garden panel, but with no specific prizes: the opinions indicated that the works were beautiful and perfect, as if not all the work of the students but of adults. Prizes were awarded to primary schools from several Italian municipalities to male and female teacher training schools, gymnasium and grammar schools, girls' higher education schools and 44 prizes were awarded to technical schools.

The category of teachers' works was under-represented, as bemoaned by the panel and the assessor Abdon Altobelli: there were plenty of female works, including pin cushions, needlework and embroidery, fruit baskets made of wax. Other works, including handwriting and drawing, were praised but did not receive any prizes. The teaching material was also closely assessed by a specific panel, which complained of the low number of examples on display compared to the need to modernise school teaching. The opinions on the materials invented by individual teachers, considered very ingenious yet too mechanical and impractical, were very confused. Among these, ample room was given to the description of a 'mechanical counting device' invented by Augusto Pirottini from Ferrara, a "kind of abacus for teaching counting and arithmetic. The one hundred balls have four faces each, and are fitted in tens in vertical metal casings that allow unit periods up to tens of millions" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 346). Similar perplexities were expressed over "another kind of mechanical device called presented by Mr Sander, especially for teaching syllables and continuous reading" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 348), an equipped rectangular container used for teaching syllabic reading. The Speaker concluded that

no mechanical device can equal or imitate the work of the teacher; whose voice, gaze, gestures, whose choice of exercises, whose wit and clarity of exposition, we could

almost say becomes enchained in the minds of the children, spreading in their souls the sentiment of their own spiritual power; nor can mechanics, used for such purpose, govern the children's faculties and make them experts who learn when they have trouble *thinking* and *reasoning*. (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 349)

These mechanical teaching materials were therefore negatively assessed, accused of being too complicated and not facilitating or accelerating the teaching and learning process. This opinion condemned such devices to failure on the market: indeed, at the current state of research, none of them have been found to be patented² or in the catalogues of the main manufacturers of school materials, such as Paravia and Vallardi. They in any case constitute an important step in the history of school materials and, although forgotten, bear witness to the attempts to renew teaching tools in the late 19th century proposed by the teaching category.

The Report of the panels on the models of buildings and school furnishings also complained of the few projects received and presented for the schools in the Municipality of Milan, Fano and Imola, all considered unsuitable for several reasons. As regards the furnishings, on the other hand, the carpenter Luigi Brunetti was praised for his exhibits of six different desks, of which four for primary schools (one single desk, one joined double desk, another two-seater joined to a blackboard, one with two independent seats), one for nursery schools and one for design schools. In particular, the two-seater desk was appreciated for its solid construction, the price and the possibility to raise the upper part of the desk for easy cleaning, as well as the very hygienic grille seat and the straight, vertical backrest that guaranteed a correct sitting position, which received a bronze medal. The panel also mentioned another of Brunetti's objects, a very solid double sliding window "which already received an award at the London Exhibition" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 361)³. The desk invented by the engineer Vittore Ravà, brother of the municipal school inspector Aristide, who both worked on the development of the Froebelian kindergarten set up by the "Lega Bolognese for popular education" in 1873 (D'Ascenzo, 1997), was also praised. This desk, made by the carpenter Vellani, was described by Ravà himself as a scientifically oriented invention, as the 'height ratios between the seat and the table are those indicated by Mantegazza and other hygienists'⁴; also for this reason it was awarded as "well designed and very comfortable" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 362) and followed the fate of its inventor who, having moved to Rome to work at the Ministry of Public Education, also worked on the Teaching Exhibitions in Milan, Turin and Paris, and also won a prize at the Teaching Exhibition in Turin in 1898 (D'Ascenzo, 2013b).

The special class of educational publications was the richest, with 476 books on display. The work performed by the members of the responsible panel was particularly relevant, divided into five commissions for Moral, Pedagogy and Literature, Sciences, Languages, Music and Calligraphy and Drawing, coordinated by the Chairman Sacchi and the Secretary Giuseppe Mattioli. This was a particularly arduous task, as can be seen in the minutes of the Commissions and the hand-written file of longer opinions on the individual sheets in alphabetical order. Despite the many publications on display, only four were awarded a silver medal, all on different subjects. Among these were the *Metodo di calligrafia* by Fausto Saggiotti, a "work of fine educational intelligence, and highly commendable for both its written and artistic parts" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 365) which marked the relevance of this Bologna-born author in a

² As emerges from the Trade Marks and Patents database in the Central State Archive in Rome at the link <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/mm/local/> (last access: 24.06.2025) currently under implementation

³ The name of Luigi Brunetti is not among the exhibitors in London, see *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Industrial Department. Third Edition*. London, Truscott, Son & Simmons.

⁴ ASCBO, Education, envelope 959, Hand-written report by Vittore Ravà, p. 1.

subject that was still very important and which disappeared from the *Primary school teaching programmes* from 1923, within the framework of the Gentile Reform.

Among the 13 works that won a bronze medal were texts on various subjects: French grammar, complete courses of the English language, accounting for technical schools, texts on physics and natural history, local history, periodicals for adults and for children, such as *Il nuovo educatore* and *L'albo dei fanciulli* by a successful author like Francesco Veniali) as well as the reading book *I primi anni di Alessandro Manzoni* by the abbot Antonio Stoppani (1835-1911), an author already known for his work *Il Bel Paese* used to promote scientific popularisation and knowledge of Italy among the new generations (Marescotti, 2013). Others who received awards also included Gaetano Beccari (1844-1902), a prominent primary school teacher from Bologna who promoted the simultaneous teaching of reading and writing (D'Ascenzo, 2013b) whose *Metodo della nomenclatura* was rewarded at the Congress as a "commendable work for both its concept and execution" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 365) and in a more detailed manner by Cesare Cavara (1818-1880) the famous primary school inspector of the Kingdom (D'Ascenzo, 2013b) as

a work worthy of greater praise, the variety and at the same time the parsimony used in the choice of subjects, the truly artistic and elegant arrangement of the symmetrical boxes that make up the folders of this work; the exactness and precision used in the nomenclature taken from pure sources, and the several uses of Tuscan, make these posters highly commendable, and that every municipality should provide for its schools. It is proposed to award a bronze medal.⁵

A total of 54 educational publications received a mention of honour. Among these, the text by the primary school teacher from Bologna Luciano Andrioli, *Scuola a officina, secondo libro per gli alunni delle scuole serali e festive* considered "a useful and commendable work for moral and scientific knowledge, suited to children's intelligence" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 367) and the book *Prime letture dei fanciulletti* which was briefly praised at the Congress as a "useful work for the simplicity of its dictations and good order" (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 367) but was more richly described and flattered in the hand-written Report:

these readings educate and entertain at the same time, containing moral concepts that are very well suited to virtuously informing the gentle souls of young children; and all expressed with that light and bright spontaneity that is best suited to children's understanding. This work also assists the learning of language, listing graduated nomenclatures in order to dispose the soul to welcoming all teachings: and for teaching to read it is beyond praise, because, as this work is the continuation of a spelling book, everything in it is ordered into reasonable levels; and the characters vary throughout the edition, to successfully achieve the purpose proposed by the authors, which is to lead the children to read fluently and over time acquire useful knowledge. This work deserves the second prize!⁶

Andrioli's *Prime letture* was written with his fellow teacher Alessandro Graziani (1849-1933), later a successful author of history books for primary schools and school inspector for the Municipality of Bologna towards the end of the century (D'Ascenzo, 2013b).

Salvatore Muzzi (1807-1884), a prolific writer who was already famous prior to Unification and very well known in Bologna (Andreassi, 2013), also won several awards, with six honourable mentions for some

⁵ ASCBO, Education, envelope 957, File of educational publications subjected to assessment, Opinion of Mascioli.

⁶ ASCBO, Education, envelope 958, Prizes and Opinions of some printed educational works.

of his educational works considered “highly useful and practical books that have produced excellent results thus far” (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 371). Muzzi was also mentioned in an important on spelling books and Latin grammar books written by Gaetano Atti (1806-1876), a key figure in the Bologna school world during the transition before and after Unification, and author of many books for training teachers in the city (D'Ascenzo, 2013b). With great precision, Atti described 13 spelling books in Italian and two Latin grammar books, specifying the analytical criteria for the spelling books, divided into analytical method and phonic method “that I praise more because the process is shorter, because you can learn to read in a few months, as I myself have already experimented in three public schools, and because it is the only suitable means for rapidly eliminating the shameful plague of 18 million illiterates we still have”⁷. Atti claimed that the phonic method was invented by the famous Luigi Muzzi in Bologna in 1814, “then followed by Figlinesi, Gazzetti, Parra[vi]cini, Lambruschini, Carbonati, Vandelli, Taverna, and by me, as a *Sillabario fonico* (phonic spelling book) printed in Bologna in 1869 by Zanichelli”⁸ and was later adopted and spread by him. Gaetano Atti's laudable analysis bears witness to the slow and difficult historical passage of instrumental reading learning, and particularly phonic and syllabic learning, before and after the Unification of Italy, ignoring the French works and above all Pestalozzi.

Among the authors most frequently listed in the class of educational works, there were 10 by Pasquale Fornari (1837-1923), who was already active in Milan prior to Unification, specialised in the education of the dead-mute and in the production of books for teachers of dead-mute students, promoter of the oral method and author of school manuals also inspired by Samuel Smiles's self-help and scientific popularisation (Sani, 2013). ‘Only’ five of his works received awards, running from the reading book *Cento raccontini, favolette e poesie* to the applied chemistry book for the people, to educational dialogues on the homeland, to the protagonist *Tommaso, o il galantuomo istruito* “a work worthy of standing side by side with the best works of this genre, praiseworthy for its form and its concepts, useful for popular knowledge of which it is rich” (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 369). The number of awards received by Fornari's works bears witness to the fact that he was already a successful and ‘fashionable’ author in the material culture of schools showcased by the 1874 Pedagogical Congress.

Giuseppe Borgogno (1820-1892) was also one of the most recurrent authors in the class of educational works presented at the School Exhibition of 1874. The literature professor who was already well known before Unification as a prolific author of school books on Italian, arithmetic, geography and history (Chiosso, 2013) presented nine texts⁹ that met with only modest opinions, and only his *Esercizi graduati e pratici di grammatica e lingua italiana* were deemed “very useful, like those that can facilitate good writing” (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 367) received an honourable mention. In contrast to the texts by Fornari, Borgogno's lack of success at the Congress seems to underline a certain intolerance of an author and his books, now considered ‘old’ and to be replaced with new solutions with more innovative contents.

Honourable mentions were also given to scientific texts such as *Aritmetica regionata e principi di geometria ad uso delle scuole elementari* written by Lorenzo Garbieri, primary school teacher from Bologna judged as a “precious book for its practical utility” (Atti del IX Congresso pedagogico italiano, 1875, p. 370).

Two works on Pedagogy were among the educational publications receiving an honourable mention. The first was a positivist book by Salvatore Colonna (1842-1919), *Corso completo di pedagogia elementare*,

⁷ ASCBO, Education, envelope 957, File ‘Panel reports’, G. Atti, *Detailed Report by Prof. Gaetano Atti presented on 7 September 1874 the Promoter Committee of the 9th Pedagogical Congress on 13 Spelling Books and 2 Latin Grammar books*.

⁸ *Ivi*.

⁹ ASCBO, Education, envelope 957, File of educational publications subjected to assessment, Borgogno Giuseppe.

sviluppato in 40 lezioni which was a “successful pedagogy manual used in teacher training schools, which appeared for the first time in 1872 and was reprinted for at least two more decades” (Montecchi, 2013, p. 376), prized as a “very worthy work for the abundance of materials, its intelligent distribution, its parts and the correct language used therein”¹⁰. The second was the manual *La scienza dell’educazione* by Cesare Rosa, judged by Gualberta Alaide Beccari (1843-1906), a leading figure in the battle for female emancipation, director of the periodical ‘La donna’, writer and journalist known not only in Bologna but throughout Italy (Gazzetta, 2013). Beccari’s interpretation was clearly attentive to the female issue. According to Beccari, the author felt women’s education to be necessary but did not consider them as citizens

there is no doubt, he demands better education for women, aspiring to her place as queen of the home, minister of peace and love. But he is not concerned with her condition, which is far from joyous. Indeed, it would appear that he wants to stop progress [and] the revendication of the age-old injustice that weighs on her. And yet if education as was concocted in Rosa’s mind brings its fruits, the first to benefit will be women. But how many preconceived ideas obscure the light of intellect, how to escape this error? [...] Estranged from prejudice, he dared recommend that women should not be guided by reason in investigating all things human¹¹

argumentatively commenting that

and if women, the mothers of humanity, must incarnate in their children that science whose dogmas Mr Rosa is disembowelling, shall they not fully develop their intelligence and all that knowledge that makes them worthy of such high office? The greater an expert she becomes in the hazards of life, the more aware her children will be.¹²

The author in any case proposed an honourable mention, but such a polemic position on the female question enshrined the lively debate on the issue of the duties and rights of women in post-unitary Italy, present at the Pedagogical Congress of 1874, in which Beccari played such a major role. The only foreign author to receive an award was Adolf Pick, the famous populariser of the works of Fröbel in Italy who, with his *Opuscolo sui giardini d’infanzia* judged as a precious work by the municipal school inspector Aristide Ravà, obtained an honourable mention, marking the spread of Froebelism in Italy and in Bologna.

The works of the Pedagogical Congress ended on 20 September 1874 at 12.30, with the entrance of the municipal band and the Prefect of Bologna in Palazzo dell’Archiginnasio, among the general applause and the prize-givings, in a climate of gravitas. In the session of 15 October 1874, the municipal council of Bologna informed that it had received the prize as one of the three deserving municipalities for schools, and that it had received an award also from the Italian pedagogic society with a silver medal awarded by the chairman Sacchi at the closing meeting of the Congress. The School Exhibition left a rich heritage of textbooks on display, and many local authors destined for great success in the publishing world and beyond. The following year, the Education Department of Bologna proposed the adoption of texts for 1875-76 based on the data from the Pedagogical Congress of 1874¹³, which revealed how the complex work

¹⁰ ASCBO, Education, envelope 957, File of educational publications subjected to assessment, Opinion of Babini (?) and Cavara.

¹¹ ASCBO, Education, envelope 957, File ‘Pedagogy’, Cesare Rosa, *Scienza dell’Educazione*, Hand-written report by Gualberta Alaide Beccari, pp. 4-5.

¹² *Ivi*, p. 5.

¹³ State Archive, Bologna, Education Department of Bologna, I series Years 1860-1934, envelope 56, Provincial School Board 1860-1884, 18 October 1875.

performed by the assessors of school manuals at the Congress had been appreciated and the choices maintained in the schools in and around Bologna.

CONCLUSION

The Italian Pedagogical Congresses and related School Exhibitions were the ideal venues for discussing important issues for school policy, the pedagogic culture and the modernisation of teaching following Unification, within the broader nation-building project. During the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress held in Bologna, the topics debated had partly been discussed in the previous years, but some decisions were taken only on that occasion, such as the exclusion of dogmatic religious teaching and the final seal of approval of the Froebelian Kindergartens. These topics returned to the fore also in later Pedagogical Congresses, which were interrupted and resumed in 1898 in Turin with the new name of the National Pedagogical Congresses. The organisation was particularly complex for the host municipality and the Pedagogical Association, and even in Bologna along with the attention to the central focus of the reports proposed, produced by the top authorities of the national school administration and the secular pedagogy of the time, which explained that the choice was also ideological, aiming to reduce the power of spiritualist pedagogy that dominated until that time, and to introduce secularism and pedagogic positivism.

The School Exhibition linked to the 9th Italian Pedagogical Congress in Bologna also underlined some interesting aspects, with different choices made for the displays compared to previous Exhibitions. On one hand, it was undeniably an opportunity for highlighting the best educational experience of the schools and teachers of the Municipality of Bologna, a showcase for the city, as had already happened in the previous Pedagogical Congresses and the previous Universal Exhibitions, where the host country enhanced its own schools and goods as a form of cultural and political power, as already underlined in historiography (Lawn, 2009). On the other, in the preparation for the School Exhibition we can understand the professionalism of the Commissions and the panels chosen for the task —free of charge— of analysing the many samples on display, testified by the accurate opinions, at times enthusiastic and at others scathing, yet all marked by respect along with scientific attention, underlining a strong sense of moral responsibility in the construction of the nation and the new generations through these Pedagogical Congresses.

From the reading of the Proceedings of the Pedagogical Congress and the related School Exhibition, the emerging debate is substantially anchored to purely national topics and references, as is the production of books, educational periodicals, school models and furnishings and references to different local and national school levels. Some exceptions certainly appear interesting. On one hand, the references to the educational museums in Turin and Rome in Sacchi's , which describes the introduction of objective teaching and the collections required; on the other, the accent on the award given to Luigi Brunetti's special window that was presented at the London Exhibition in 1862, but for which no historiographical records were found; in addition, the presentation of English and French language texts, deemed necessary for secondary schools; finally, Adolf Pick's book that bears witness to the spread of Froebelism in the early 1870s in Italy and also in Bologna. In the overall economy of things, these are not particularly consistent references to the international context of either pedagogy or the material culture of schools. This would precisely confirm the delay of Italian pedagogy and the production of teaching aids that the ministerial official Aristide Gabelli had complained of a year earlier, in 1873, on his return from the Vienna Exhibition and widely discussed in historiography (Brunelli, 2018; Meda, 2016; Pizzigoni, 2024; Sani, 2022; Targhetta, 2010).

Despite this, there were many exhibitors at the School Exhibition from many different Italian municipalities, with a huge quantity of books, periodicals, models of buildings and furnishings offered to the public, and

this in any case demonstrates a certain national pedagogic and educational liveliness, between tradition (the books of Muzzi and Borgogno) and innovation (the desks of Brunetti and Ravà), developed by already famous names (such as Stoppani) and unknown primary school teachers who, precisely for the Congress and the Exhibition, came out of obscurity as authors of texts that were not only written and published but certainly adopted in schools (D'Ascenzo, 2013a), thus becoming tools concretely used in teaching practices. This underlines the research for 'grass roots' innovation in schools and in teaching by the school world, with instruments produced by individual teachers, at times without success on the market (like Pirottini's mechanical device or Sander's *'erdosillabo'*), at others destined for success and actual use. In any case they testify to an effervescence of ideas and a strong collective pedagogic tension that fed off the collective enthusiasm for the construction of schools for a new Italian nation, seeking a compromise (and a shift) between pre-Unity tradition and innovation worthy, in my opinion, of great respect and new historiographical attention, as often created by 'grass-roots' teachers and producers interested in exhibiting their goods for the renaissance of the schools of the time. From this point of view, the alarm raised by Gabelli in 1873, underlining the delay in Italian pedagogic and educational modernisation, certainly offered significant impetus to the renewal of schools through pedagogic and educational positivism. This contributed to the birth of new and more modern 'means of mass education' (Meda, 2016), however often passively linked to international models that, while certainly offering new teaching tools, also risked appearing as the remedy for all evils, as they always demanded the specific —not ideological but, in any case, critical— training and educational mediation of teachers. From this point of view, the study of the Italian Pedagogical Congresses and related School Exhibitions can help to enrich the historiographic knowledge of pedagogic debate, as well as the material culture of schools at that historical time, between tradition and innovation, both within Italy and in the more open and perhaps better studied international dimension.

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“MAKING ITALIANS” BY EXHIBITING THE ITALIAN SCHOOL: SCHOOL AND TEACHING OBJECTS AT THE FIRST GREAT NATIONAL EXHIBITIONS OF UNIFIED ITALY

«Hacer italianos» mediante la exhibición de la escuela italiana:
la escuela y los objetos didácticos
en las primeras grandes exposiciones nacionales de la Italia unificada

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Keywords

Great National
Exhibitions
School objects
Nineteenth Century
School materiality

ABSTRACT: This article aims to analyse the first great Italian National Exhibitions in the years immediately following the profound transformation brought about by the birth of Italy itself through the unification process of 1861. The showcase represented by these Exhibitions is used to “read” the elements that can reveal the role attributed to schooling during this delicate phase of constructing a new national identity. At the same time, the article seeks to understand who the agents and materials are that promote the image of schooling within the “showcase” represented by the National Exhibitions. Tracing the evolution of the Italian school system through the lens of its representation in these exhibitions makes it possible to highlight the role of the Exhibitions both as a source for historical research and as a crossroads for multiple interpretive perspectives.

Palabras clave

Grandes Exposiciones
Nacionales
Objetos escolares
Siglo XIX
Materialidad escolar

RESUMEN: Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las primeras grandes Exposiciones Nacionales italianas en los años inmediatamente posteriores a la profunda transformación provocada por el nacimiento de Italia a través del proceso de unificación de 1861. El escaparate representado por estas Exposiciones se utiliza como una clave de lectura para identificar los elementos que permiten comprender el papel atribuido a la escolarización durante esta delicada fase de construcción de una nueva identidad nacional. Al mismo tiempo, el artículo busca identificar quiénes son los agentes y los materiales que promueven la imagen de la escolarización dentro del “escaparate” que representan las Exposiciones Nacionales. Rastrear la evolución del sistema escolar italiano a través del prisma de su representación en estas exposiciones permite poner de relieve el papel de las Exposiciones tanto como fuente para la investigación histórica como como encrucijada de múltiples perspectivas interpretativas.

1. INTRODUCTION

In March 1861, Italy became a single unified nation. The territory that had previously consisted of seven different states (the Kingdom of Sardinia; the Austro-Hungarian Empire; the Papal States; the Kingdom

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How to cite: Pizzigoni, Francesca Davida (2025). «“Making Italians” by Exhibiting the Italian School: School and Teaching Objects at the first Great National Exhibitions of Unified Italy», *Cabás*, 34, 70-83. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27742>).

Received: 06 august, 2025; Final version: 15 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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of the Two Sicilies; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza; and the Duchy of Modena and Reggio) was now, politically, a single entity. Geographical differences were compounded by deep historical divergences, as well as, naturally, political and administrative ones. From practical issues such as the unification of weights and measures to more identity-related matters such as language, and including government regulations, everything needed to be standardised—but more importantly, made understandable and acceptable to citizens.

In this delicate transitional moment, the Exhibitions were seen as an ideal tool: an opportunity to publicly display the characteristics of the newly unified Italy. These events pursued a dual objective: on the one hand, to display —and thus legitimise and give value to— the new defining elements of a unified country (industry, art, natural products...); and on the other, to use the Exhibition as a showcase to disseminate and make those elements known.

The exhibition moment, and particularly the major National Exhibition, was understood at that time as a truly political act (Macdonald, 1998; Olmo & Aimone, 1990; Abbattista, 2014; Coglitore, 2014). In this case, however, the political message was not addressed to foreign powers or intended to stake a claim internationally but rather aimed inward: to send a signal to the country itself and to help forge a new shared imaginary.

One might go so far as to say that, in those first National Exhibitions, the objects on display were of secondary importance compared to the primary objective: not so much to showcase the development of the local economy, but rather to communicate that Italy had become a single, unified nation.

Ma un bisogno più potente, una ragione più intima, una ispirazione più nobile che la semplice ricchezza di produzione promoveva la Esposizione italiana. Era la ragion politica, la quale voleva subito vedere il recente trionfo dell'unità incarnato in un grande fatto. [...] L'Esposizione, proclamata l'unità d'Italia, appariva come un atto che dava compimento effettivo all'opera straordinaria della costituzione della patria. (Relazione generale, 1867, p. 5)

In other words, beyond what they concretely exhibited, the Exhibitions also had a significance that was perhaps more abstract, but certainly broader in scope and greater in impact:

[Queste Esposizioni avevano] il triplice obiettivo di organizzazione del consenso alla nazione, di inventario delle forze produttive e di adesione alla politica dei ceti di governo; la finalità didascalica e didattica, per plasmare ai valori borghesi quelle classi lavoratrici che premevano dal basso per partecipare alla decisioni relative alla cosa pubblica; l'ideologia interclassista, alla ricerca illusoria della pace sociale e di un equilibrio perfetto tra capitale e lavoro; la celebrazione della borghesia attraverso l'esaltazione del progresso e la spettacolarità dei prodigi della scienza e della tecnica. (Levra & Roccia, 2005, XVI)

It is certainly no coincidence that the first national exhibition was organised just six months after the proclamation of Italian unification, and at the initiative of the scientist Quintino Sella, who at the time was serving as Secretary General at the Ministry of Public Education and who, in 1862, would become Minister of Finance.

In other words, it is as though the very concept of “exhibiting” a set of objects underwent a profound shift in meaning: the earliest exhibitions organised by nobles, intellectuals, scholars, or travellers were undoubtedly driven by a desire to astonish, and subsequently to educate and to disseminate knowledge—moving from a public of a few selected individuals to a broader, more widespread audience (Bennett, 1995; Pomian, 2001;

Cazzani, 2006). Certainly, the notion that those who exhibited objects were also, through this act, displaying their own “power” (be it political, economic, or intellectual...) has always been intrinsic to the practice. However, in those earlier contexts, this power had a more personal purpose than what it would come to assume with the type of exhibition under discussion here.

The first *Wunderkammern* or “cabinets of curiosities” (Impey & MacGregor, 1985; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Findlen, 1994) offered a select few viewers curious, rare, precious, or previously unseen and unknown objects, often originating from distant lands and cultures. It was the Renaissance that initiated this specific understanding of “exhibition”, which continued into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries, when *mirabilia*, *naturalia*, and *artificialia* were displayed before a narrow elite with the intention not of teaching, nor of disseminating knowledge or promoting industrial or professional development, but rather of inspiring wonder and amazement. These early collections reflected a concept of accumulation, of collecting—often indiscriminate and lacking any systematic methodological basis—intended to entertain the privileged viewer who was granted access.

The transition from this understanding of “exhibition” to one that came to represent, on the one hand, an opportunity for scientific study (academic museums), and on the other, a means of dissemination for a broader audience (public museums), was fully realised in the eighteenth century. From the mere magnum of objects amassed—at times compulsively—in the *Wunderkammern*, there emerged a thematic and disciplinary subdivision (mineral museums, mechanical museums, art museums, and so on) that would lead to a desire for classification and in-depth exploration of the technical and scientific knowledge underlying each field—an endeavour that would reach its peak in the positivist culture of the nineteenth century.

At the same time, the very notion of the public began to change from a few privileged individuals or specialist experts, a new idea of the potential user of collections developed, along with new understandings of both the meaning and role of the owner exhibiting the collection and of the audience engaging with it (Volpe, 2001; Montanari, 2002; Bencivenni, 2011).

A further shift in meaning occurred in the nineteenth century, the period under discussion here, regarding the act of “exhibition” through the development of the practice of both National and Universal Exhibitions. Beyond the fact that these events took place over a limited period of time, there was no longer a single owner presenting their private collection, but rather a plurality of actors—often very diverse—who contributed to shaping a vision of the contemporary world. In other words, the National or Universal Exhibition aimed to offer a “snapshot” of the state of development of various thematic sectors up to that point, and to showcase excellence and innovation in different fields.

As mentioned, there remained the underlying intention to communicate specific messages (intellectual power, moral strength, economic force, political authority, etc.), but the perspective had changed. The new aims were education, progress, and propaganda, and these were pursued by offering an organised spectacle, rational and encyclopaedic in structure, in which progress and modernity became key elements for exhibiting to a mass audience on both national and international scales (Greenhalgh, 1988; Aymes, 1995; Findling & Pelle, 2008).

The Exhibition, from the moment of its nineteenth-century birth and affirmation, thus inherently carried with it a meaning as a political, pedagogical, and industrial tool. The act of exhibiting within the great Exhibitions became a means of displaying one’s self-image and of “prefiguring the future” (Lawn, 2009).

In light of this epistemological evolution underlying the act of “exhibiting”, in order to gain an understanding of the state of education in post-unification Italy—such as the availability of teaching aids, the presence and vitality of individual educational institutions, the development of the school system and its ministerial provisions—and at the same time to understand the image of schooling that one wished to convey in

relation to the role attributed to education in the construction of a newly unified country, a valid litmus test is undoubtedly represented by the new and significant moments offered by the first National Exhibitions (Caracciolo, 1990). What “place” was assigned to schooling within these national showcases? And how was it represented?

An analysis of the first Italian National Exhibitions of the late nineteenth century can provide elements to answer these questions. The complete list of such events in that historical period includes editions in 1861 in Florence; 1871 in Milan; 1881 in Milan; 1884 in Turin; 1891 in Palermo; and 1898 in Turin. Since the 1880s mark, at the international level, the full affirmation of pedagogical positivism —and with it the centrality of school objects as the foundation of widespread objective teaching— this article will focus on the first four National Exhibitions in order to fully understand the role of such displays in promoting education within the new unified Italy (Picone Petrusa, Pessolano, Bianco, 1988).

2. THE ROLE OF SCHOOLING IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITIONS

If the overall purpose of the National Exhibition was to make Italians themselves understand that they were now all citizens of the same, newly unified territory, then schooling—especially in the post-unification period—had precisely the same objective. In fact, school was identified as the ideal means of shaping the new Italians, and as the most effective tool for achieving the goal of standardising the language, knowledge of weights and measures, currency, and raising the level of literacy. Through what has been called “a law for unified Italy” (De Fort, 1996, p. 58) —referring to the extension to the entire national territory of the school law previously adopted in Piedmont— elementary education was made compulsory and free for both boys and girls.

However, serious disparities between the various regions, structural deficiencies, economic limitations, and the lack of adequately trained teaching staff, in addition to intense political debate (Catarsi, 1988; Genovesi, 2006; Di Pol, 2016), were just some of the major obstacles that undermined the capacity of schooling to serve as a true unifying force for the population, and at the same time to elevate cultural preparation to a uniform national level.

Yet beyond the actual conditions of the Italian school system, it is possible to trace how schooling was represented, and to reconstruct the role it assumed over the course of the nineteenth century within the major Italian National Exhibitions. To do so, three specific indicators —or rather, three distinct analytical lenses— will be considered, each of which, in our view, reveals a key aspect of the contemporary state of education and of how it was represented in exhibition contexts. The presence of schooling will thus be examined through the organisational choices made in curating exhibition sections devoted to education (section 2.1); the subjects responsible for exhibiting schooling (section 2.2); and the educational objects that were displayed (section 2.3).

2.1. How to “Display” Schooling in Unified Italy

The first great Italian National Exhibition was thus organised in Florence in 1861 (Commissione Reale, 1861). Beyond the decision to create an exhibition, the central issue for this first event became how to display —or, more precisely, how to organise— the exhibition. Behind this simple “how” lies the hierarchy of objectives that the organisers intended to attribute to the exhibition, or, in other words, the messages

that they aimed to communicate and highlight through this event. For this reason, the debates concerning the categories and classes of exhibits became highly significant. The structure of the categories used to organise the materials on display inherently reflects the worldview the organisers sought to convey, revealing what they considered important and what they did not.

For the first Italian Exhibition of 1861, the decision was made to adopt the same principles used in the first universal exhibitions, which, after all, had not begun many years earlier: in London in 1851 and in Paris in 1855, 24 exhibition classes had been selected “according to those relations which, besides making the collections more interesting, also allow more easily the establishment of a comparative judgement on the relative merit of the said products” (*ibid.*, p. 17).

At the opening of the Italian Exhibition in Florence, schooling was therefore not assigned a class of its own, but its presence could nonetheless be traced, albeit in a non-organic way. Class IX, dedicated to “precision mechanics and physics,” included a third section entirely devoted to teaching materials, which were in turn divided into three subsections: 1) maps, globes, etc.; 2) calculating machines; 3) objects not included in the previous sections. Another subcategory dedicated to “education, instruction, and recreation” could be found as the sixth section of Class XXI, entitled “Economic Gallery.” This class gathered together “products intended for the use of the less affluent classes, and which are distinguished by low cost, quality of workmanship, or widespread commercial distribution” (*ibid.*, p. 21). In other words, this section assembled what we might today call “consumer goods,” in a *mare magnum* that characterised the class as a collection of non-prestigious objects of mixed nature, as indeed confirmed by the topics of the other subsections: housing and construction; furniture and domestic objects; clothing and linen; food; tools and implements for manual labour. Alongside all these categories, there was also a small space devoted to “books, materials for schools, etc.”

It is evident from this subdivision that, in 1861, schooling did not yet have the strength to occupy a true, autonomous exhibition category. Not only did education not yet possess a sufficiently significant number of materials to display, but it probably had also not yet acquired, at a shared societal level, an identity strong enough to legitimise an entire dedicated category with clearly defined characteristics. Tracing the development of the “space” allocated to schooling within the Exhibitions makes it possible to follow a path of affirmation of the role of education and the meaning attributed to it. Moreover, based on the physical space occupied, one may deduce the growth of a broader and more mature educational production—one that justifies the allocation of dedicated exhibition areas.

It would take another ten years —until 1871— for the second Italian National Exhibition to be held, this time in Milan. The exhibition structure appeared different, organised entirely around eight exhibition classes, each subdivided into subclasses (*Guida ufficiale*, 1871). Yet none of these classes was still devoted to schooling. The turning point came only after another ten years: exactly twenty years after the Unification of Italy and the first National Exhibition, education finally found its legitimate space within the exhibition.

The 1881 Exhibition, once again held in Milan, was divided into eleven groups (comprising sixty-six subclasses), with the eleventh group specifically dedicated to “education, technical instruction, welfare, and charity” (*Relazione generale*, 1883, p. 17). This specific section included as many as 759 exhibitors and was assigned a covered exhibition area of 2,400 square metres.

Within this Group XI, Class 62 was dedicated to higher technical education, while Class 63 was intended for vocational, industrial, and applied arts schools. Exhibitors in these subclasses were invited to participate with a wide range of materials, illustrating everything from the school building itself to the subjects taught; from student-produced works to statistics on the performance of individual institutions or municipalities; from the teaching materials used to the description of selected pedagogical methods;

and from institutional statutes to disciplinary regulations. Still within the same exhibition group XI, Classes 64 and 66 were dedicated to welfare and charitable institutions. These classes explicitly included kindergartens, popular and circulating libraries, institutions for the blind and deaf-mute, for abandoned or “delinquent” children, and so on. Class 65, instead, was dedicated to technical schools and lower-level technical institutes.

As is clearly evident from the classification adopted, there does not appear to be a clearly defined place for “school and didactic materials,” nor for the representation of elementary schooling. However, this initial choice must have been deemed counterproductive, since a letter from the Commission for Group XI, dated 20 January 1881, seems to intervene to correct the “narrow interpretation of the programme of this exhibition group” and to establish a new “Special Commission” tasked with inviting schools and manufacturers of didactic objects to take part in the Exhibition (*Relazione generale*, 1883).

Thus, for the first time, in 1881, specific and deliberate attention was devoted to didactic objects and their producers—whether schools or specialised companies. This date does not seem accidental: it falls at the beginning of the decade in which pedagogical positivism would assert itself more strongly in Italy (Bauselli, 1880; Catarsi, 1988; Chiosso, 2015; Brunelli, 2020), and which would mark the development of the school supply industry (Meda, 2016; Pizzigoni, 2022), with an increasingly widespread presence of didactic materials in the methodological and pedagogical debate.

If 1881 was the year in which a new, autonomous exhibition category dedicated to schooling first emerged within the National Exhibitions, only three years later, the great General Exhibition organised in Turin saw the explosion of this sector. For the first time, one of the eight general sections was entirely devoted to schooling—or, more precisely, to what, for the first time within such a nationally scoped exhibition context, appeared under the name (*Esposizione generale italiana*, 1884).

The true “explosion” of this exhibition sector is demonstrated by the specific internal structure with which it was organised. Indeed, the choice to divide it into classes, each in turn subdivided into sections, and each section into categories, allows us today to gain an overall view of how the “world of schooling” and its components were perceived by contemporaries. The 1884 Exhibition, through this organisational structure, thus marked the nationwide development of sensitivity toward the educational sphere and the identity attributed to it, and simultaneously offered a snapshot of the stage of evolution that had been reached (the choice to dedicate, for example, a specific section to school hygiene reflects the full affirmation of this aspect in the public discourse). As previously mentioned, in order to complete the overview of the nineteenth-century Italian National Exhibitions, one must also take into account the 1891 edition held in Palermo—which, in reality, suffered overall from a lack of success, with limited ability to attract both exhibitors and visitors. This may have been due, at least in part, to a transportation and communication system that was not yet sufficiently developed to facilitate exchanges with the island of Sicily.

It is, however, with the 1884 exhibition that the role of schooling on display —whether in the effort to “make Italians” or, more broadly, to complete the process of affirming the school system and its role within unified Italy— reaches its apex.

Indeed, in that exhibition, not only is the full range of school levels and types called upon to exhibit, but also the breadth of educational aspects represented is fully developed: from furnishings to didactic aids, from school buildings to institutional regulations, from pedagogy to laboratory spaces, from images of schools and their “inhabitants” to statistical data, and so on.

2.2. Who Exhibits Schooling

In order to understand the evolution of the representation of schooling as revealed through its presence in the nineteenth-century Italian National Exhibitions—and at the same time to grasp which actors considered themselves protagonists in the construction of the school system during that historical moment—it may be significant to outline the types of subjects who brought educational materials to the exhibitions. This specific analytical perspective does not focus on the political-institutional image of schooling that the organisers intended to convey—as was the case in the previous consideration, which examined the structural representation of schooling through the allocation and internal organisation of categories and sections—but rather on the more or less spontaneous protagonists who contributed to shaping the various components of the contemporary representation of schooling. In the immediate aftermath of Unification, during the first National Exhibition of 1861, it was mostly private citizens who presented schooling through its material manifestations. It was not the schools themselves, nor the municipalities, who exhibited—as would become the case in later editions—since their new role, acquired with Unification, was evidently not yet fully recognised or internalised. Indeed, the national school law made municipalities directly responsible for elementary education (in terms of providing facilities, teachers, furnishings, and basic materials). Individual public schools, therefore—already facing major economic hardship (Montecchi, 2015)—most likely did not yet perceive themselves as potential agents capable of producing or promoting educational materials. Even specialised firms such as printing houses or publishers of school manuals did not appear as key participants. It is mostly individual authors who exhibit—figures who, far from being “simple” elementary school teachers (as will become clearer especially from the 1880s onward), are highly specialised experts in specific disciplinary fields and who produce materials for schools that were, in fact, originally conceived for other uses. This is the case, for example, of military geographers such as Major Martino Cellai from Florence, or the well-known Pietro Giusti from Siena, an internationally renowned woodcarver who had also received awards at the first International Exhibition in London, and who adapted his art and products to the educational context. Another example is Salvatore Castellani from Pistoia, who was actually a paper manufacturer. In all these cases, the exhibitors were individuals who were not directly connected to the school world, yet who nonetheless chose to exhibit in the sections dedicated to education at this first National Exhibition in 1861. Publishers, although present at the exhibition, preferred to present their work in sections distinct from those dedicated to education, limiting their participation to aspects of a purely technical-typographical nature (*Commissione Reale*, 1861). The evolving perception of the school theme within the exhibition space—by those involved in the education sector who gradually began to consider themselves as potential exhibitors—can be traced by observing the changes in exhibitor types at the 1871 National Exhibition. Here, schools began to play a more prominent role, exhibiting primarily the didactic outcomes of their activities, understood as the product of students’ hands-on and laboratory-based work. In this way, they demonstrated how their educational practices contributed to the acquisition of practical and professional skills and, as a result, supported economic development. These were not schools seeking to emphasise their primary mission, which at the time (according to the ministerial programmes in place) was primarily focused on teaching “reading, writing, and arithmetic,” but rather their practical outcomes. The individual authors present as exhibitors continued to be recognised professionals, often active in fields adjacent to formal education, and were typically secondary school teachers. Although formally listed in the exhibition section dedicated to printing, the publishers present began to highlight those products specifically intended for use in schools. While Treves and Paggi—both known at the time to be involved in the production of school textbooks—chose not to display such materials at the exhibition, the situation was different in the case of Vallardi and Paravia, who did include school textbooks and geographical maps for educational use (*Guida Ufficiale*, 1871). The presence and role of educational institutions within the National Exhibitions was definitively consolidated with the 1881 edition in Milan, when an entire class (Class 63)

was dedicated to vocational and industrial schools (*Esposizione industriale italiana*, 1881). Another class (Class 66) was devoted to kindergartens and schools for disabled pupils, and yet another (Class 65) to technical schools. Materials began to appear at the exhibition that aimed to illustrate the didactic methods employed, the results achieved, statistical data, but also school buildings and furnishings—thus expanding the conception of what “school on display” might entail. Still predominant were examples of schools exhibiting samples of student work (drawings, needlework, examples of manual labour, models). However, there was also a growing presence of schoolbook authors, and for the first time, a kindergarten teacher was among the exhibitors: Ms. Emilie Kuhne of Bordighera. Another significant first among the exhibitors in the educational sector was the presence of a pedagogical museum: the Pedagogical Museum of Genoa, though established only a few years earlier, already positioned itself as a key player in shaping the public image of education and, above all, in directing the concept of schooling as presented to the broader public through the showcase offered by the National Exhibition (Innocenti-Ghini, 1883). The role of museums intersected, for the first time, in a meaningful way with the educational and scholastic life of the country: another type of museum also exhibited in this section. This was the Merchandising Museum of Turin, which presented a special collection of leathers, thus initiating the practice of classification and the display of samples—a practice that would become characteristic of educational use linked to the dissemination of objective teaching, driven by pedagogical positivism. In this 1881 Exhibition, even municipalities themselves—evidently now fully aware of their role in the national expansion of education—chose to present materials in the exhibition, as did, for example, the Municipality of Verona. Another significant addition among the new exhibitors in the educational sector was a private company which, based on its corporate designation (Engineering Company), might have been expected to participate in other exhibition sections, but which instead chose to present products in the category dedicated to education—products that one would not ordinarily associate with a technical firm, such as:

collezione degli oggetti e preparati per l'insegnamento della storia naturale, collezioni speciali di mineralogica, geologia, botanica etc., collezioni speciali di entomologia, erbari speciali, scheletri montati, collezioni tecnologiche e merceologiche, tavole, quadri murali. (Catalogo generale, 1883, p. 430)

Another notable aspect of this turning point among educational exhibitors in 1881 is represented by publishing houses which, rather than simply including their school-related materials within broader exhibition categories more closely aligned with their sector of production, chose instead to multiply their presence by specifically highlighting the disciplinary-educational fields touched by their output. The publishing house Paravia, for example, in addition to participating in the section dedicated to printing, also entered the didactic section, specifying the now well-defined and differentiated nature of its products, and placing particular emphasis on its didactic materials—especially for the teaching of nomenclature and history—no longer including them, as before, in a single, more generic group of “typographical products”.

The line drawn in the 1881 Exhibition concerning the typology of exhibitors in the school section was confirmed in the 1884 Turin edition, which in fact marked the definitive consolidation of two major groups of educational exhibitors: teachers on the one hand, and publishers on the other. Their “exhibition identity”, if we may use this term, in relation to the purpose with which they contributed to the theme of “school on display”, evolved and established clear boundaries. These very identity boundaries suggest to us the image of schooling at the time—how it presented itself and how it wished to influence the future of education.

The principal materials in this exhibition section became didactic objects, marking a shift from the two-dimensionality of school products—represented mostly by textbooks or wall charts—to full three-dimensionality. It is certainly no coincidence that some exhibition classes dedicated to individual school

subjects also included specific subclasses devoted to the didactic objects used in teaching that particular discipline (*Esposizione generale italiana di Torino*, 1884, p. 29).

Through their participation, teachers also began to present a professional profile that appeared transformed: no longer only as authors of textbooks or of a single didactic invention, but also in a sense as “school artisans”, with practical and manual skills that combined didactic and methodological knowledge with personal and hands-on experience. As will be seen in the next paragraph, for instance, they exhibited self-produced sample collections or gathered materials such as plants, woods, and small insects.

If didactic kits, natural specimens, and collections entered forcefully into the pedagogy of the 1880s, it is evident that these exhibitors demonstrated, on the one hand, how such approaches had already been grasped by the world of schooling, and on the other, how they were interpreted as products of excellence and innovation worthy of being presented at the exhibition to contribute to the emerging vision of education.

It is precisely this type of material that also led to the broadening of the range of museum institutions participating in the section dedicated to education: civic museums, zoological museums, and natural history museums increasingly came to see their collections as tools at the service of schools.

For the same reason, other firms whose core business was industrial production chose to diversify their target audiences by producing miniature versions of their own products to serve as teaching models. This was the case, for example, of the agricultural machinery manufacturer Sintoni & C. of Forlì, which undertook the production of a collection of didactic models of agricultural machines.

Associations, charitable organisations, and educational societies also began to expand their presence in the school-related sector of the exhibition, and —moving beyond the boundaries that had previously linked them more closely to the categories of welfare and charity— started to present themselves as producers of materials and collections, as shown by the case of the *Società Educativa Mafruccino-Frantana*, which exhibited its own school museum.

With this 1884 National Exhibition, the presence of publishers such as Paravia and Vallardi was consolidated. These now appeared to claim a full dual productive identity: traditional publishers within the sections dedicated to printing and manuals, and at the same time genuine producers of what we might call three-dimensional “technical-educational materials”, as will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.3. What Is Exhibited of Schooling

Just as the perspective offered by the National Exhibition allows us to “read” the subjects involved in schooling and their evolution over time, it likewise offers a mirror of school-related production—or, in any case, of those materials that contemporaries considered capable of representing the school of their time.

In the first post-unification exhibition in Florence, schooling was represented mainly through geographical teaching aids such as maps and topographic plans. One aid designed to facilitate numerical calculation, particularly addition, appeared as “a walnut box with a brass wheel-operated machine” (*Commissione Reale*, 1861, p. 185). Other materials mostly concerned the world of books and included samples of bookbinding, types of paper, or actual manuals featuring calligraphy samples or reading and writing guides.

The scarcity of materials is not entirely surprising, given the date of 1861, which coincides with an embryonic phase in the development of the Italian school system. However, even at the subsequent exhibition ten years later, the materials on display still failed to convey a comprehensive image of schooling: the schools that exhibited —primarily vocational institutions— chose to present, in particular, student work

in the fields of sewing and embroidery. A school desk timidly appeared in the education section, but beyond that, most items were books presented by individual authors.

The role of publishers, however, seems to have begun to shift. In the 1871 exhibition, we find two publishers who, alongside textbooks, started to “expand” the notion of school materials: Antonio Vallardi presented “maps, engravings, books, etc., from his own establishment” (*Guida Ufficiale*, 1871, p. 55), while Paravia offered a “large exhibition of books, geographical maps, pictures, etc., for use by the youth” (*ibid.*, p. 56).

A greater variety in the types of materials considered educational and exhibited began to emerge with the 1881 National Exhibition in Milan. Alongside textbooks presented by many private individuals and drawing or manual work samples submitted by many schools, we also find school furnishings and didactic objects. Notably, Professor Vincenzo de Castro of Milan stood out for the range of inventions he presented, this time listed in detail, ranging from furnishings to specific didactic aids:

- 1.° Apparato meccanico Vittorino da Feltre per l’insegnamento della lettura, del calcolo e del disegno lineare.
- 2.° Modello d’un banco binato per gli Asili ed i Giardini d’Infanzia.
- 3.° Altro per le scuole elementari.
- 4.° Modello di una cattedra ad uso dei maestri elementari.
- 5.° Modello di una lavagna mobile.
- 6.° Piccola libreria, contenente opere pedagogiche e didattiche pubblicate dall’esponente, che potrà pure servire come modello di un museo pedagogico per le scuole elementari (Esposizione industriale italiana del 1881, 1883, p. 421).

Also present in the didactic section were educational tools aimed at facilitating learning for the blind, such as the globe used at the Institute for the Blind of Genoa, created by Professor Giovanni Bistolfi; a guiding machine designed to facilitate writing instruction for the blind, developed by Giuseppe Cardani of the Archimede Society of Milan; a raised relief map of Italy exhibited by the Institute for the Blind of Genoa; and a method for teaching music to the blind promoted by the Institute for the Blind of Padua. Among the exhibited objects were also collections self-produced by the schools themselves, including “a small museum for use in kindergartens” (*ibid.*, p. 77). A new and broader concept of “school objects” also emerges thanks to the items exhibited by museums participating as exhibitors, as demonstrated by the list of objects presented by the Civic Pedagogical Museum of Genoa:

Banco di scuola ad un sol posto; Dujardin, banco di scuola Ravano; Banco ricavato da un modello del Museo Pedagogico di Roma e lievemente modificato; banco di scuola (Ricci) ad un sol posto; apparato per sostenere modelli di disegno e tavola per disegnare; piccola farmacia da campagna; paste alimentari; ortica tessile (collezione di cento prodotti), album di disegni di casamenti scolastici di Genova. (Ivi, pp. 422-3)

In the same way, municipalities also embraced this broader variety of school-related objects, as exemplified by the Municipality of Verona, which exhibited: “a school desk and chair, geographical maps, photographs, types of schools, and scientific materials for technical or vocational schools” (*ibid.*, p. 423). The various manufacturing companies entering the school supply market were the decisive factor marking a turning point in the conception of what constituted educational materials suitable for exhibition: from globes to models of geometric solids; from collections of specimens from the different kingdoms of nature or various branches of production to herbaria; from wall charts to didactic boxes; from taxidermied animals to skeletons and plaster models. The 1884 Exhibition witnessed a proliferation of exhibited objects specific

to individual school subjects: devices for teaching reading and writing, playing cards designed to initiate literacy, picture cards, movable alphabet boards—all multiplied to support the teaching of Italian. Likewise, numbers printed on blocks, educational games, counters, fraction tools, and much more were designed to support the learning of mathematics. The same expansion occurred in all other disciplines. For example, with regard to geography, the exhibition included mechanical calendars, planispheres, armillary spheres, three-dimensional geographic panels, relief maps, an economical teaching device for demonstrating movement, a waterproof topographic model, and projection apparatus for geographic instruction. Materials appeared for disciplines that had previously been absent. For instance, in the field of ethnographic education, busts representing “the five principal types of the human race” were exhibited. Both general and specialised collections multiplied: school museums, as well as collections of feathers, eggs, minerals, fossils, woods, and more. Similarly, miniature models expanded widely, ranging from anatomical models to those related to transport, communication, industry, and technological innovation—each scaled to dimensions appropriate for educational use (*Esposizione generale italiana*, 1884, pp. 51-112).

3. CONCLUSIONS

If, as Escolano Benito (2012) has shown, exhibitions can rightfully be considered a valid field of analysis for studying the material culture of schooling, then—alongside the major Universal Exhibitions, which offer a mirror of the general representation of schooling, the image that each country intends to promote concerning the development of its own education system, and the directions in which it wishes to “steer” its schools (del Pozo, 1983; Grosvenor, 2005; Lawn & Grosvenor, 2009; Dittrich, 2013)—certainly in the Italian case, the analytical perspective offered by the early National Exhibitions allows us to understand in depth the role attributed to schooling in a newly unified nation, while also revealing the reflections of its developments. Through the mirror provided by the presence of school materials on display at these national events, it becomes possible to read the “movements” within the world of education—understood both as political intent, as active agents, and as a reflection of school life itself. The proliferation of three-dimensional didactic objects supporting an ever-increasing number of disciplines, which began with the 1871 Exhibition and was definitively consolidated in the 1884 edition, allows us to grasp the didactic-methodological orientations that were gaining ground in Italy during those years, as well as the role of teachers in affirming these orientations. It also reveals the emergence of new disciplines (such as school hygiene, ethnography...) and of aspects of school life that, depending on the historical moment in which the Exhibition took place, were selected for display: from student practical work in the early editions, to the development of school buildings in the later ones; from the predominant role of textbooks to the centrality of collections of materials and miniature models. At multiple levels, we witness a phenomenon that we may summarise with the term “expansion”: expansion of the exhibiting actors; expansion in the types of materials on display; and expansion in the types of students and educational levels represented in the exhibitions (Morandini, 2021). The image returned by the analysis of the National Exhibitions is that of a country in which, although schooling had been formally assigned a fundamental role at the legislative level, it was not yet fully clear—even to itself—what that role was, what its needs were, and what its future development might be. Only at a later stage did a plurality of actors come into play to contribute to the key role of schooling as a driver of innovation and development for the new unified nation—a role that had previously only been assigned to it formally, but which it would later begin to genuinely take on. Starting with the 1881 Exhibition, one can discern through the displays the emergence of a real set of forces and actors actively engaged in developing the role of schooling in Italy. A decisive role in this process seems to have been played by manufacturing companies, which on the one hand understood the developmental directions and adapted accordingly, and on the other hand influenced those directions through their

products. If the role of publishers in this regard is no longer surprising —as they increasingly expanded their presence in the school sector by diversifying their offerings beyond initial textbooks (Targhetta, 2006; Brunelli & Targhetta, 2024)— more notable is the arrival within the educational field of technical, scientific, agricultural, industrial, and engineering firms, which —certainly for educational purposes, but likely also in recognition of the existence of a promising sales market— began producing “school versions” of their products. If, according to contemporary observers (such as Sacchetti, in his report on the prizes awarded by the Jury at the 1881 Exhibition, or Vincenzo, in his monograph dedicated to schooling on display at the 1884 National Exhibition, published the following year), the “school things” showcased at the early Italian National Exhibitions did not, in reality, succeed in advancing educational innovation, they certainly contributed to offering the broader public a new vision of a unified Italy in which schooling held—or aspired to hold—a specific role in the making of Italians.

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“SOMETHING NEW!”. THE PRESENTATION OF DIDACTIC OBJECTS FOR TEACHING NATURAL SCIENCES AT SCHOOL DURING THE WORLD EXHIBITIONS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

“¡Algo nuevo!”.
*La presentación de objetos didácticos
para la enseñanza de las ciencias naturales en la escuela
durante las Exposiciones universales del siglo XIX*

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Keywords

Education
Natural sciences
Didactic objects
World exhibitions
Pedagogy

ABSTRACT: The gradual introduction of universal science education in Europe and the rest of the world during the 19th century was a sign of unprecedented educational reform and represented a lucrative new market for a large number of companies. They then developed educational objects and presented them at the World Exhibitions held from the middle of the 19th century onwards. The purpose of this article is to study the modalities and significance of the successive exhibitions of three types of educational objects dedicated more specifically to the teaching of natural sciences: wall charts, clastic models and school museums.

Palabras clave

Educación
Ciencias naturales
Objetos didácticos
Exposiciones
mundiales Pedagogía

RESUMEN: La introducción gradual de la educación científica universal en Europa y el resto del mundo durante el siglo XIX fue un signo de una reforma educativa sin precedentes y representó un nuevo y lucrativo mercado para numerosas empresas. Estas desarrollaron objetos educativos y los presentaron en las Exposiciones Universales celebradas desde mediados del siglo XIX. El propósito de este artículo es estudiar las modalidades y la importancia de las sucesivas exposiciones de tres tipos de objetos didácticos dedicados específicamente a la enseñanza de las ciencias naturales: gráficos murales, maquetas clásicas y museos escolares.

INTRODUCTION

Spectacular, world exhibitions have left their mark on the collective memory and remain precious witnesses of their times: they undoubtedly constitute one of the rare means capable of restoring to us, as a whole, the society of the second half of the 19th century. Through the objects they exhibit, they showcase the

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How to cite: Egginger, Johann-Günther (2025). «“Something new!”. The Presentation of Didactic Objects for Teaching Natural Sciences at School During the World Exhibitions of the 19th century», *Cabás*, 34, 84-100. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27948>).

Received: 14 october, 2025; Final version: 15 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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full range of human activities and familiarize an international public with the latest progress made in all sectors of production, including education and instruction. Thus, they allow visitors —members of the jury, specialists and the general public— to evaluate and compare the progress of a national school system. For historians of education, world exhibitions are therefore a source of information on the evolution of public education in the world, both organizing and exhibiting countries. We are interested here in the progress made in elementary scientific education, by highlighting the innovative school objects dedicated to the teaching of natural sciences that were presented at the various successive universal exhibitions up to the turn of the 20th century. The focus on this teaching is related to a political idea of many progressive governments that the mission of primary education is not only to teach reading, writing and counting, but also and mainly to develop the intellectual faculties (observation) and morality of the student, giving him at the same time the greatest possible quantity of useful knowledge (agriculture, hygiene, etc.). Three main questions are posed here: What does it mean to exhibit a school object? Which objects in the teaching of natural sciences are most often exhibited? How does the display of these objects comply with the recommendations of school curricula? The sources consulted to provide elements of response to these questions come from the extensive literature on world exhibitions: reports, guides, specialized publications, articles, illustrated albums, commercial catalogue (Pizzigoni, 2024, pp. 14-16), etc. On the methodological level, these different sources have been cross-referenced diachronically and synchronically.

1. DISPLAY SCHOOL OBJECTS TO THE WORLD

1.1. Bringing together the extraordinary from all continents

World Exhibitions have emerged in Europe in the mid-19th century and have closely accompanied the development of industrial capitalism and modern mass societies. Because they promote comparisons between the past and the future of humanity, between the civilizations of the world, between the diversity of human productions, these exhibitions promote a universalism of technology (Demeulenaere-Douyère & Hilaire-Pérez, 2014, p. 7-25). Lasting an average of six months and organized in national pavilions since the Paris Exhibition of 1867, they represent the showcase of the know-how of the organizing country and the participating nations. Thus, the Universal Exhibitions are an opportunity for each people to realize, by comparing themselves with others and by looking back on themselves, the progress they have made and what remains to be pursued. In addition, they are exceptional places of discovery, meeting and sociability, thus facilitating future commercial exchanges, as evidenced by the values of the number of exhibitors per exhibition —with the respective share of national exhibitors— and the number of visitors which is in the millions, the record being held by the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1900 with more than 50 million visitors (Aimone & Olmo, 1993, p. 303).

The exhibitions are also all immediate or commemorative celebrations for the organizing countries. They are almost always anchored in symbolic dates: 1855 was for France the bellicose celebration of the Crimean campaign, as was 1867, which consecrated the military victories of Emperor Napoleon III; 1878 celebrates national reconciliation after the fall of the Second Empire, the bloody clashes of the Paris Commune and the advent of the Third Republic; 1889, that of the centenary of the Revolution; and 1900, a round date of emphatic virtue, an opportunity to take stock of the past century. This dimension inspired all other countries: the United States, which, in 1876, saw in the Philadelphia exhibition the opportunity to celebrate the unity of the reconquered nation a hundred years after the Declaration of Independence; the Habsburgs celebrated in Vienna, in 1873, both the twenty-five years of reign of Emperor Franz Joseph and the integrity of the Empire despite the military defeats and the split of Hungary.

Every article produced or obtained by human industry, whether of raw materials, machinery, manufactures, or fine arts, divided into different classes and sections, are admitted to the exhibition. Not all of these categories of items were presented at the first exhibition, it happened gradually. Thus, at the first London Exhibition in 1851, machines and manufactured goods were the only novelties that attracted the curiosity of visitors. With the Paris Exhibition of 1855, the fine arts made their entrance on the scene, followed in 1862 by the school objects presented at the second London Exhibition. It is not without reason that the Royal Commission wished to give an increasingly important place to the things of teaching and to everything that concerns education, since this industry, if we may so speak, is the starting point and in some way the foundation of all the others:

“C’est par une éducation bien réglée, sage et féconde, appropriée aux diverses aptitudes et ne laissant en friche aucune des portions du fonds national, qu’un peuple agrandit de jour en jour la sphère de son activité et de sa puissance.” (Hanriot, 1878, p. 47)

The function of the exhibitions is therefore not only to bring together the most recent innovations, to make an educational effort to inform visitors, to promote the know-how of many companies related to the field of education, but also to evaluate and compare the progress of a national school system (Matasci, 2015, p. 98).

1.2. The staging of school systems

It was therefore from the third Universal Exhibition, that of London in 1862, that achievements relating to popular education were exhibited for the first time: a class was then specially created, class XXIX, under the name “Educational works and appliances”. The classification adopted for this exhibition was as follows: books, maps and models; furniture and equipment used in teaching; toys and games; and models for science education.

The 1867 Exhibition in Paris confirmed the innovation of the London Exhibition of 1862 in the field of public education and developed it by creating Group X which brought together the objects especially exhibited in order to ameliorate the physical and moral condition of the population (Geslot, 2012, p. 347-359). It is in this group of “social causes”, and more particularly in class 89 devoted to “Materials for and methods of teaching children” that we find the objects of interest devoted to the scientific instruction of children, the next class being dedicated to the instruction of adults. The Imperial Commission therefore created Group X to receive objects specially exhibited with a view to providing the working population of the countryside and cities with the means of improving their condition, in order to bring them out of the ignorance, misery and demoralization in which they still found themselves more or less immersed in the second half of the nineteenth century. We can thus find in the school exhibition of group X a large number of objects that could have been placed in other classes of the first nine groups. For example, when a member of the agricultural and penal colony of Mettray in Indre-et-Loire (France) for young delinquents exhibits a pair of clogs, it is not the more or less imperfect making of this crude shoe that attracts the attention of the judges, it is the result of a system of education whose aim is to remove a child from all the consequences of a first fault that is honored. Comparing the first two “universal” school exhibitions, that of London 1862 and that of Paris 1867, we see an increase in the number of nations that took part in these events, but also in that of the exhibitors of these various nations. The same was true for all the universal exhibitions that followed one another until the end of the nineteenth century (see figure 1), when some states of the German Empire (Second Reich), founded in 1871, were not present, for political reasons, at certain school exhibitions held on European territory.

“Something new!”

Figure 1. Education experts studying the New Jersey educational exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893



Source: Dittrich, 2010, p. 3.

In admitting for the first time an educational section to the London Exhibition of 1862, the Royal Commission had not only brought together in a single classroom all the objects which were to be included in it, but it had also assigned to it a separate room where the products of all nations, brought together, made it possible to make an easy comparison. From the Paris Exhibition of 1867, with the increase in the number of exhibiting nations, the creation of national pavilions, and the multiplication of classes and objects on display, visitors lost the ability to be able to take in an entire school section at a glance, without travel and without fatigue. Where the Imperial Commission has not been able to devote a separate room or compartment to a single category of objects of elementary education, “it has assigned them a special place, either on the walls of the various rooms [made available to the two classes of group X], or in a series of cabinets or showcases isolated or united.” (Pompée, 1868, p. 38). The disoriented public then had to rely on official catalogues and other visitor guides to be able to look for what they had an interest in seeing and studying.

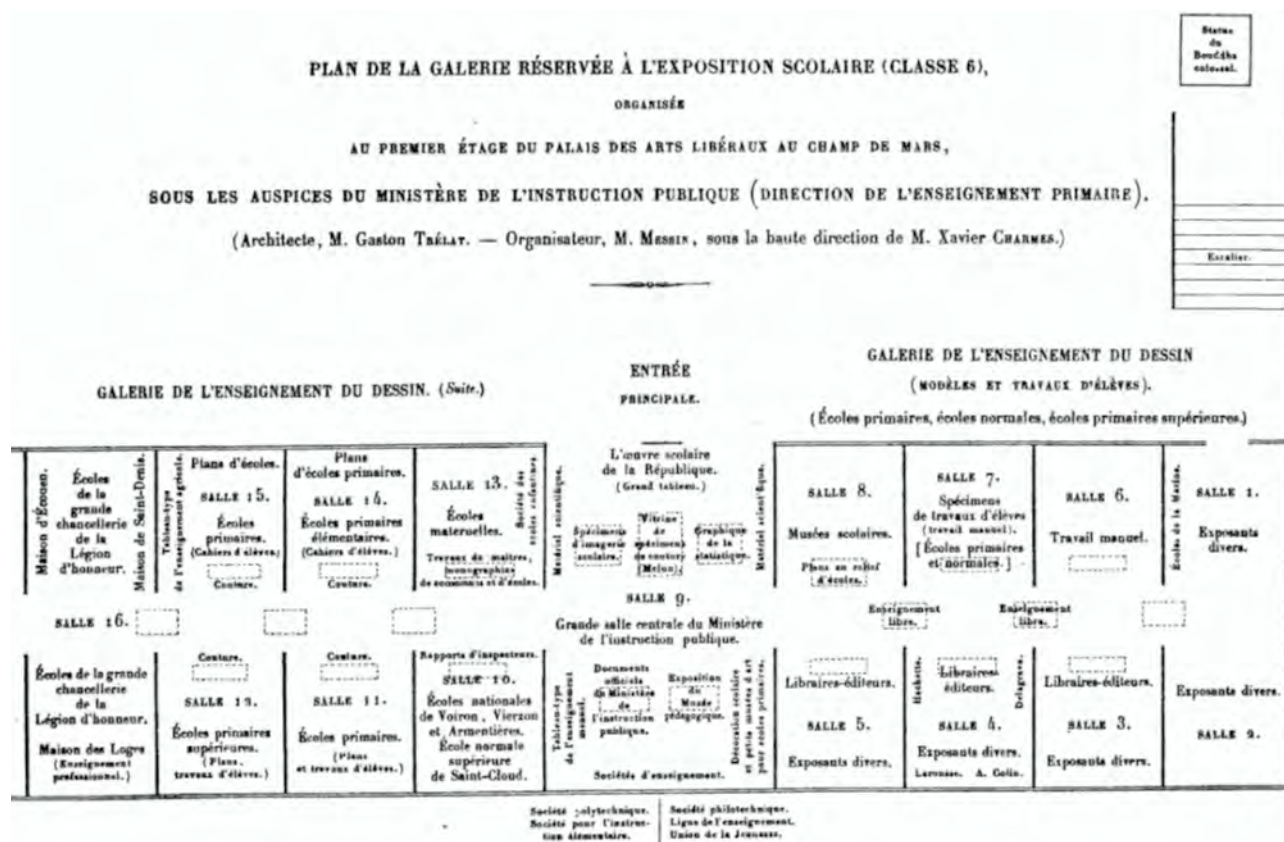
1.3. What should be included in a school exhibition

It is interesting to compare the official titles of the sections of the exhibitions reserved for educational matters, i.e. what each school section should contain, with the observable reality described by specialist

visitors and the general public, with a plan to support it (see figure 2), in search of possible discrepancies. On what the school part of a universal exhibition must necessarily and in the first place, the opinion of Charles Hanriot, inspector of the academy, is enlightening:

“Plan de maisons d’école, matériel d’enseignement, devoirs de tout genre faits par les écoliers, travaux à l’aiguille, etc. Mais ce ne serait pas suffisant ; il faut qu’on voie le for intérieur de notre enseignement, c’est-à-dire nos méthodes.” (Hanriot, 1878, p. 47-48)

Figure 2. Plan of the school section at the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition (class 6), located on the first floor of the Palais des arts libéraux located on the Champ-de-Mars



Source: Picard, 1891, p. 26.

To read it implicitly, the producers of school objects that are exhibited are mainly ministerial and academic authorities, users (teachers and students) and publishers of school materials. Over the course of the exhibitions, other objects will be presented: monographs, models and photographs representing a type of primary school (nursery, elementary, upper primary, normal, primary, upper normal). At the Paris Exhibition of 1889,

“une école modèle avait été installée [à l’initiative du ministère français de l’instruction publique] à l’Esplanade des Invalides [...]. L’intérieur de l’école modèle, le logement de l’instituteur, le préau, etc., tout avait été mis à la disposition du Syndicat du mobilier scolaire à qui incombait les frais de la construction ; et sous l’encombrement des

“Something new!”

cartes, tableaux, images, appareils en tout genre apportés par chaque éditeur, les qualités propres à l'œuvre de l'architecte disparaissaient complètement.” (Leblanc, 1900, p. 19)

Other nations have presented such constructions within their respective pavilions. For the Paris Exhibition of 1900, only a model class, by its presentation and its tools, had been presented by the French ministry. The type chosen was the one most frequently found in France: the classroom of the one-teacher school, with its most common school furniture.

On the specific level of the elementary teaching of the natural sciences and its subjects, the first reports indicate that this usual and useful knowledge

“doivent être mises à la portée des enfants par des lectures convenablement choisies et dont on exigera périodiquement des résumés, par des explications familières, des entretiens qui, sans être des leçons techniques, n'en vont pas moins au but pratique, simple et indiqué par le bon sens, qu'il faut atteindre.” (Hanriot, 1878, p. 61)

In the early days of popular scientific instruction in France, the book of current readings was therefore the object most commonly used in the classroom, as well as at home (Egginger, 2010, pp. 65-79). But in other European countries, new objects were recommended by pedagogues such as William Tuckwell, an English Anglican clergyman. He was headmaster of New College School, a private preparatory school for boys aged 4 to 13 in Oxford, then of Taunton College School, a modern public school. Because he was an advocate of teaching elementary science in these schools, Tuckwell contributed to the development of science education for all:

“It would be nearer the fact to say that the especial importance of science-teaching in schools, is in its serving beyond any other known means to open children's minds, to stimulate their reasoning powers; not to teach dull formulas, learnt by a memoria technica, but to start boys and girls on a course of realising and comprehending life and nature. This statement (as is right with a statement concerning physical science) is one to be tested by direct experiment.” (Inconnu, 1870, p. 49)

Tuckwell was a pioneer of school science, and it was he who really first introduced a regular course of instruction amounting to no less than three hours per week per boy (Inconnu, 1936, p. 914). In these schools under the leadership of Tuckwell, science is not made optional. It is taught simply, and with inexpensive apparatus (every boy is also required to collect his own specimens, to perform his own experiments, and to show at every step that he knows what he is doing). For schools which have large purses or liberal friends, Tuckwell recommends from 1869 the purchase of clastic models from Dr. Auzoux which he admired in the London Exhibition of 1862 and Paris Exhibition of 1867:

“Dr. Auzoux's models of plants and plant organs, ranging in price from 20 to 100 francs, and ten times the size of life, form a luxuriant assistance to beginners, which only those can appreciate who have worn out their eyesight and their temper over a composite floret or glume of a small grass. The same excellent modelist, whose catalogue is on the table, provides every organ necessary for the study of comparative and human physiology; and his prices ought not be beyond the reach of any prosperous school. In any case, a skeleton will be necessary, and will cost about £ 5; and if the Committee of Council were to authorise the reproduction of such typical physiological cases as, from the skilful hands of Mr. Charles Robertson of the Oxford Museum, drew so many admirers in the Exhibition of 1862, theses would find immediate purchasers in many of our schools.” (Tuckwell, 1869, p. 19)

Thus, innovative objects for the improvement of the elementary instruction of science, presented in the school sections of the first universal exhibitions, were spotted by certain pedagogues who advertised them around them. The culmination of this was the New Orleans World's Fair 1884-1885. The participation of the French Department of Public Instruction in this American exhibition was facilitated by the fact that France had a ready-made school exhibition, which had just been shown at the *International Health Exhibition* of London a few months earlier and which was therefore to be "recycled" (Acland, 1884, pp. 164-165). The largest exhibition ever held abroad, it covered almost all branches of education, but mainly those that have received the most considerable increases since the consolidation of the Third Republic, in particular elementary scientific education for all. Two rooms, out of the nine assigned to the French school section, contributed to it: room III, which presented the teaching materials of primary education and the work of pupils in elementary primary schools; and room V, dedicated to equipment and work relating to the primary normal schools (Buisson, 1886, p. 5). And this innovative school equipment will be the focus of the second part of this study.

2. EMBLEMATIC OBJECTS OF THE ELEMENTARY TEACHING OF NATURAL SCIENCES

2.1. Wall Paintings

Jean-Jacques Rapet, Inspector General of Primary Education and French rapporteur for the first of the Universal Exhibitions, which proposed a school section, that of London 1862, pointed out the existence of books with images that

"servent de base à ces leçons sur les choses usuelles, dont l'usage, déjà général en Allemagne, s'est beaucoup répandu depuis quelques années en Angleterre [...] et usitées seulement dans nos salles d'asiles sous le nom de *leçon de choses*." (Rapet, 1862, p. 49)

He indicates that it would therefore be of great interest to introduce these object lessons, by modifying their character, in primary schools in France. To illustrated books intended for science teaching, however, he recommended adding representations of things, in the form of large images (wall boards) or smaller ones (good points), so that students could grasp scientific concepts by sight, considered as "the best way to make people understand the facts." He also regrets that these objects are not currently in the classrooms and that French producers, apart from the Dezobry compaigny cited in its report for its collections of images intended for asylum rooms (future nursery schools), do not seem ready to fill this gap. But he must have been wrong because a few years later, the French school industry would be aware of its glory as far as wall boards otherwise known as wall paintings (charts) were concerned.

In fact, the school section of the 1884 New Orleans Exhibition in the United States has deserved to be marked in the history of education as the archetype of school exhibitions on the subject of the objects of the elementary teaching of the natural sciences. Benjamin Buisson informs us that many private and public American schools, even at the primary level, have begun to acquire for several years, either paintings such as the *Charts of the Human Body for elementary instruction in physiology and hygiene* of Milton Bradley & Co., of Springfield, (Massachusetts), let the nine physiological plates of Cutter (Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia) or, as is the case for nearly two thousand schools in the state of Indiana, the twelve anatomical tables of Professor Eckardt of Vienna (Austria), on which an American publisher (D. D. Van Vie,

“Something new!”

of Indianapolis) had explanatory captions applied in English. But this is “nothing” compared to the French section of education:

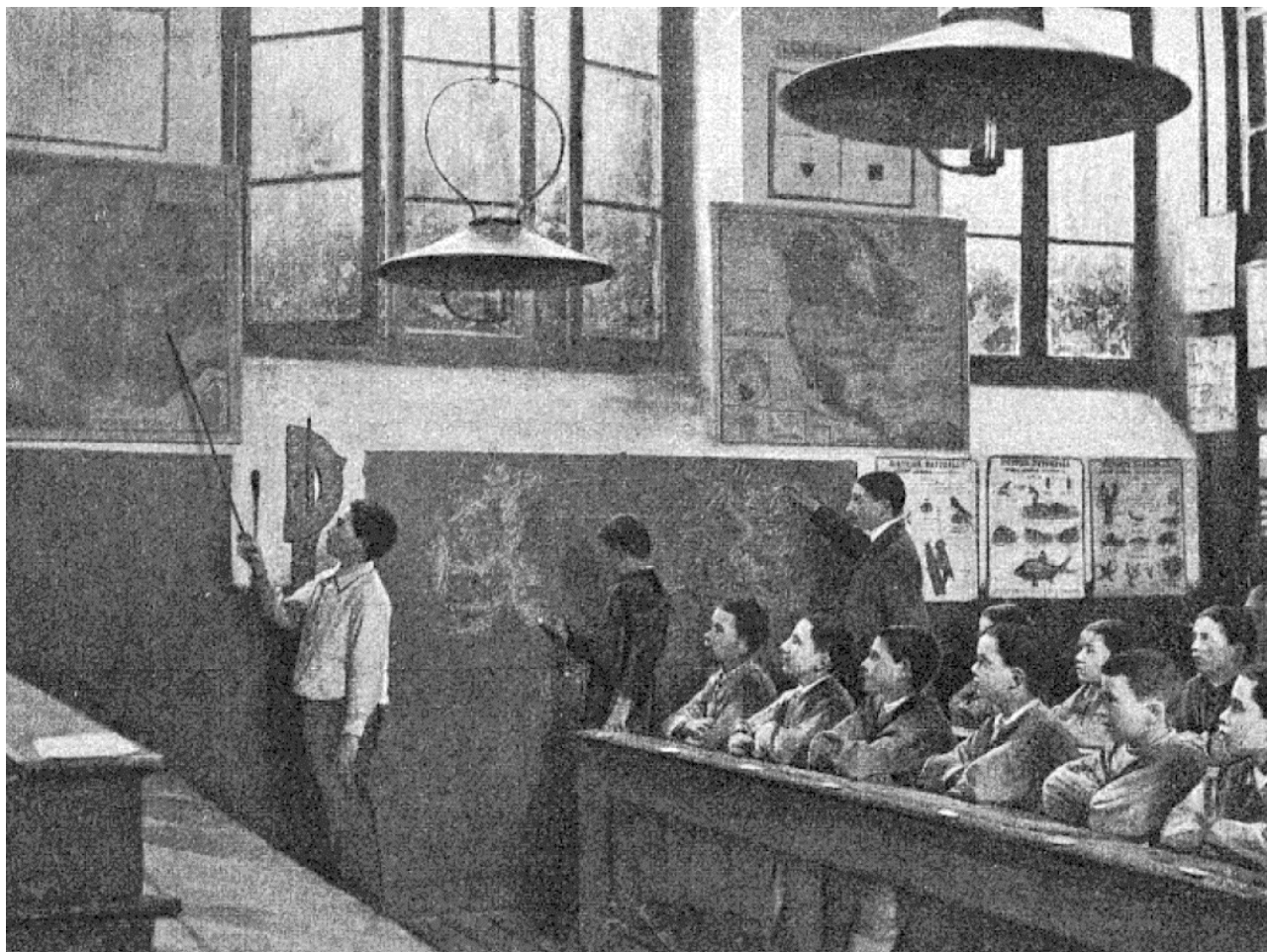
“The American teacher visiting the crowded gallery containing this exhibit will be struck [...] by the many evidences that instruction is carried outside the text-book, as far as possible, to objects and their relations, teaching theories by things and not by sentences learned by rote. The tendency is strongly in this direction in our own country, but the French carry it farther than we do, seeking in many ways to make the pupil familiar with the main facts in natural science, and with the practical sides of life.” (Inconnu, 1885, p. 198)

Many wall paintings published by French companies are shown there. The best known of all is the Parisian compagny Deyrolle (Faure, 2023, p. 221-222). She presented three different collections in New Orleans (Buisson, 1886, p. 50):

- *Musée scolaire, Émile Deyrolle* (Elementary School). It’s a series of wall pictures for teaching natural science. This series is divided into three parts. The first illustrates the elements of natural science, and is intended for small schools (the figure 3 shows two of these tables illustrating the animal kingdom, particularly vertebrates: one devoted to birds, and one showing reptiles and fishes). The second part illustrates metallurgical processes, coal-mining, glass-making, animals useful and injurious to agriculture, mushrooms and fungi, the most common poisonous plants. The third part, intended for girls’ schools, illustrates the history of textile plants, such as flax, hemp and cotton; the ceramic processes, faience or earthenware, porcelain or China, stoneware, pottery; the cereals and the oleaginous and aromatic plants; the structure of a hen and changes of the egg during the process of incubation.
- *Musée Deyrolle* (Higher Primary School). This collection has been prepared in order to meet the requirements of the higher primary schools. It consists of a wall picture (75 inches by 35 inches), representing the human skeleton; of another picture representing the skeleton of a bat.
- Deyrolle Émile, 23 Rue de la Monnaie, Paris. This collection purpose natural history diagrams.

In his report on the London Exhibition of 1862, Rapet also advocated the use of collections of “the most common” objects in the classroom, which some call *school museums*.

Figure 3. Three teaching wall paintings by the Parisian compagny Deyrolle (Vertebrates, birds; Vertebrates, reptiles and poisons; Invertebrates) hanging on the wall of the Beaufort municipal school (photograph presented at the 1900 Paris exhibition)



Source: Ministère du commerce, de l'industrie, des postes et des télégraphes, 1902, p. 50.

2.2. School Museum

It was during the Paris 1878 Exhibition that a very large number of school museums were exhibited, due to the initiative of teachers with the help of their pupils, and to private industries. These collections are intended to give children clear, accurate ideas about everything around them. During this exhibition, the first room of the French compartment for class 6 (Education of young children and primary instruction) could have been called the *publishers' room*, because of the considerable displays made by the compagnies of Belin, Hachette, Colin, Delagrave, etc. The entire room, however, was not exclusively devoted to books: there were also innovative materials for the elementary teaching of science. In his visit report, Hector de Backer recommended to teachers a school museum published by the Delagrave company under the commercial name of *Petit nécessaire pour leçons de choses* and which attracted his attention:

“C’est une boîte divisée en trois compartiments principaux, subdivisés chacun en un grand nombre de cases, renfermant, dans un ordre méthodique, divers échantillons,

“Something new!”

à l'état brut et à l'état travaillé, des principales matières que l'homme emploie pour la satisfaction de ses premiers besoins : alimentation, vêtement, habitation.” (Backer, 1879, p. 79)

He pointed out that this “small library of things” cost only 25 francs, that it was certainly not as good as the school museums produced by the teachers themselves and also presented at the exhibition, but that it could nevertheless be of very useful service to them.

Figure 4. *Musée des écoles* by Doctor Safray published by Hachette & C^{ie}



Source: Picard, 1891, p. 316.

At the next Universal School Exhibition, that of New Orleans 1884-1885, other Parisian publishers in turn presented their own school museum, The Deyrolle company thus highlighted its *Musée Deyrolle* (Higher Primary School). This collection has been prepared in order to meet the requirements of the higher primary schools. It consists of a collection of 100 useful and noxious insects, all indigenous to France; representatives of the myriapoda, arachnida, crustacea, annelida, vermes (amongst which there is to be found the trichina), mollusca, echinodermata, polypes, sponges. Geology is illustrated by a collection of rocks, one of fossils, and one of minerals. Botany is illustrated by two herbaria, one of 100 plants, the other of 50 cereals. There are also instruments for collecting and preserving specimens, and a guidebook for carrying on these operations. The Hachette company exhibits its *Musée des écoles* of Doctor Saffray (see figure 4). These are several collections of specimens and samples of raw or worked materials intended for the practical teaching of object lessons and the teaching of natural sciences. Each collection is contained in a wooden box with compartments: box n° 1, stones and metals; box n° 2, boxwood, ceramic, glass; box n° 3, heating and lighting; boxes n° 4 and 5, calving; boxes n° 6 and 7, food. Each box of about 115 samples costs 28 francs. An explanatory catalogue in which the teacher will find the essential elements of the object lessons accompanies each box. Finally, the Delagrave company presents another object, on the border between wall paintings and school museums, entitled *Musée industriel scolaire Dorangeon*. This is an interesting collection illustrating the processes of 75 trades and containing more than 1,200 samples and specimens. This collection was designed by Charles Dorangeon, a professor of industrial technology in Amiens.

2.3. Clastic models

Among the innovative objects presented in the school sections of the World Expos, there are also substitutes for nature that teachers and their students can observe and handle at leisure: models that can be dismantled, in parts, known as clastic models (Egginger, 2025, p. 24-25). Whatever the universal exhibition envisaged, from London 1851 to Paris 1889, the clastic anatomy of the French doctor Louis Auzoux did not suffer too much from competition, both from his French colleagues and from foreign exhibitors:

“M. Auzoux s’est distingué plus que tout autre dans ce genre. Ses travaux, déjà si remarquables aux dernières Expositions françaises, auraient mérité plus qu’ils n’ont obtenu à l’Exposition de Londres. Il y a une puissance d’invention, et presque du génie, dans la manière dont il parvient, avec une matière susceptible de moulage, et pouvant donner un nombre illimité d’exemplaires à reproduire, quant à leurs attributs physiques, toutes les parties de l’organisation de l’homme et de certains animaux, depuis les plus grands jusqu’aux plus petits, depuis le cheval jusqu’à l’abeille.” (Roux, 1855, p. 5)

To read these words, from the first presentation at the first of the Universal Exhibitions, the craze was total, even though, due to English modesty, only the model of the equine flayed was certainly broken down and recomposed in front of visitors, but in a remote corner of the first floor of the Crystal Palace. Then, for successive exhibitions, a large number of human, animal and plant models were presented to everyone, specialists and the general public, just like what happened at the Paris Exhibition of 1867:

“La grande chambre d’anatomie clastique de M. Auzoux est, j’ose le dire, l’une des plus intéressantes expositions du Champ-de-Mars. Partout on met sous les yeux d’un public plus ou moins facile à séduire des œuvres d’art, des engins, des curiosités dont je ne saurais nier l’utilité et le mérite. M. Auzoux étale devant une foule sans cesse compacte l’engin le plus merveilleux de la création, le corps des animaux. L’anatomie

“Something new!”

clastique permet de montrer pièces par pièces, morceaux par morceaux, tous les organes, tous les détails du corps d'un animal, comme dans une véritable dissection. C'est de l'anatomie imitative.” (Garrigou, 1867, p. 491)

The clastic models of Dr. Auzoux were not presented, in the early days of the Universal Exhibitions, in the classes reserved for the elementary teaching of science, since they did not exist until the London Exhibition in 1862. In 1851, during the *London Great Exhibition*, “the temple of the world’s industry”, the Auzoux models are classified in the VIth division, the one reserved for instruments of science and the arts (Laya, 1851, p. 6; Roux, 1855, p. 4-6). For the first Parisian exhibition in 1855, Auzoux products “composed of solid parts that can be dismantled one by one” (Commission impériale, 1855, pp. 89-90) are classified in the 6th section of the 12th class of the group IV, the one which brings together the objects of industries specially related to the learned professions and related to hygiene, pharmacy, medicine and surgery. From the first school exhibition proposed by the London Exhibition of 1862, the Auzoux models were brought together in the 29th class reserved for the methods and materials of elementary education, even though some nations had sent objects that could be used at the three levels of education: primary, secondary and higher education. Among the new productions exhibited that enrich the Auzoux collection extended to the plant kingdom —the catalogue for the year 1855 consisted of only fifty-three numbers, that of 1862 has eighty— the report of the international jury mentions, among other things, the *Gland du chêne débarrassé de ses enveloppes* (see figure 5) (Cloquet, 1862, p. 114).

Figure 5. Photograph of the Auzoux clastic model of the *Gland germé* [Fruit of the Oak *Quercus robur*] débarrassé de ses enveloppes (Egginger, 2018, p. 31)



Source: Musée National de l'Éducation, inventaire 2009.00512.

Of the Vienna Exhibition in 1873, the jury report of group XXVI cites the collection of clastic anatomy of flowers, made by the German Robert Brendel of Breslau (now Wrocław in Poland), but without forgetting to indicate in a rather chauvinistic way “that M. Auzoux, who had not exhibited Vienna, is the creator of clastic anatomy.” (Levasseur, 1875, p. 382).

After the death of Dr. Auzoux in 1880, his widow continued for some time the work of her husband, helped by her own brother Amédée Montaudon. At the New Orleans Exhibition 1884-1885, several iconic models from the collection were presented like Clastic Man, Egg of Hen, Heart of Adult, Complete Eye, Ear, Larynx, Foot of Horse, Stalk of Stock (*Cherianfhus cheiri*), Grain of Wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), Spikclet of Wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), Kipe of Cherry, and Piece of dicotyledonous woody stem (*Quercus communis*). These clastic models complement those presented by the widow of Dr. François Germain Lemer cier, who was long assistant of Dr. Auzoux. La collection Lemer cier exposées comportait : Structural Anatomy of Man, Stomach expanded (two parts), Structure of the Stomach, Gastric Peptic Gland, The Same withered, A Cystose Gland, Gastric Mucous Gland, Glands of Brunner, Structure of the Small Intestines, Glands of Lieberkiihn, Villus of the Small Intestines, L'Écorché de Houdon (an anatomical human model), Maxilla, with its Support, the famous Big Molar-Tooth, Typical Foot of the Horse, A Bean, A Germ, A Small Nut, and Two Grains of Pollen (Buisson, 1886, p. 50).

3. ALSO TO SHOW WHAT IS NOT VISIBLE: THE ART OF TEACHING

3.1. Teaching by aspect

“Ce n'est pas l'objet en lui-même qui doit être jugé, c'est son utilité pour l'éducation de l'homme, c'est l'examen du but qu'il doit atteindre, c'est la discussion et la constatation des résultats obtenus.” (Pompée, 1868, p. 33)

To judge in what way, by what method the elementary teaching of the natural sciences is given in the schools of the exhibiting countries is a rather difficult thing. In the early days of school exhibitions, student work represented the largest part of the objects presented. Selected with great care by those who exhibit them, they show the results of teaching at its best. In going through them, many successive juries note that the natural sciences are taught in a more scientific way than the programs, which are also often exhibited, seem to require: they contain “a host of scientific details that are often not within the reach of children from 7 to 13 years old, which the assiduous student will no doubt easily learn by heart, but that he will not understand.” (Gobat & Hunziker, 1890, p. 33). Elementary education is clearly not reduced to simple explanations of the most indispensable, usual and useful notions of the natural sciences. If it is permissible to judge the teaching of these sciences by the exhibition, it must be recognized, on the other hand, that the means of teaching play a preponderant role. Among the first of these to be exposed are intuitive means. The report of Charles Barbier, a municipal teacher in Paris and member of the jury of the class of 89 at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, praised the presence of “paintings for teaching by appearance” (Barbier, 1868, p. 117) hanging on the walls of the model classroom of the largest school building installed in the exhibition grounds, that of the Prussian School. The same was true at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, during which a very large number of objects relating to teaching by aspect were exhibited in the Austro-Hungarian section (Levasseur, 1875, p. 389-399). The use of wall boards intended to be placed before the eyes of pupils in the classroom began to develop throughout Europe. Many schools were then equipped with these new objects intended to illustrate the lessons of the teachers and to complete their demonstration based on observation, comparison and then generalization. By seeing them, students observe, judge, remember,

“Something new!”

imagine and reason no longer on words or ideas but on what they observe, in class or elsewhere. They learn to see, to examine, to know, and even to listen attentively to the teacher commenting on the illustrations on the plates. It is to educate the senses first, and then to exercise judgment through inductive reasoning. The wall boards are therefore at the service of teaching through appearance and observed knowledge, the cardinal virtue of the scientific spirit. They are also teaching materials suitable for collective use. They do not take the place of gigantic pages of textbooks but are more “wall paintings representing the objects that the teacher maintains with all the pupils” (Berger, 1888, p. 2854) and which he does not have at hand or which could not, in real size, be placed before them. Wall boards are exact representations of “natural” or unnatural objects, represented in the form of good, life-size, coloured drawings that are so attractive as to excite the curiosity of those who look at them. Quite often, a few explanations appear next to the illustrations.

3.2. Object-based teaching

Teaching by appearance is reinforced when the thing represented in two dimensions on a wall board is placed in front of the pupil and in his hand, but rather the thing in three dimensions. This is what the school museum allows, this collection of all kinds formed by the teacher or bought ready-made with a view to his teaching. This term must be understood in a more restricted sense to designate the usual objects used by the teacher in the teaching process called object lessons. The school museum is founded on the simple idea that it is enough to see to understand and is therefore “a valuable auxiliary to the object lesson” (Fatalot, 1888, p. 1991), a lesson on the thing and by the thing symbol of a science education for all.

Very quickly, criticism was levelled at school museums published by many education industries. The most serious were sent by the zoologist and academician Eugène-Louis Bouvier. He thinks that they contribute to completely disinterested the teacher and the students in the constitution of the museum. He also points out that ready-made museums, containing the most vulgar objects alongside relatively rare samples, are necessarily expensive, which makes their acquisition difficult. If they are cheap, like the *Dorangeon Museum*, the very numerous samples must be reduced in size, and they thus lose a large part of their value for teaching (Bouvier, 1886, p. 233). It is finally Dr. Saffray who indicates the way to follow in the notice placed at the beginning of his *Catalogue raisonné du Musée des écoles*:

“Le musée de l'école, dit-il, tel que le comprennent nos éducateurs, doit être composé de deux parties bien distinctes. La première, ou *Musée-type*, comprend les objets nécessaires pour l'enseignement par l'aspect, pour la démonstration tangible qui doit accompagner toute leçon de choses, toute causerie d'histoire naturelle. La seconde, ou *Musée annexe*, comprend des objets destinés à donner des notions un peu détaillées sur les productions et les industries de la région : on y joint des spécimens de tous genres que les dons, les échanges et les recherches des élèves permettent de réunir.” (Saffray, 1885, p. 5)

Saffray thus proposes a “hybrid” school museum, which would be composed of a limited part of the sound samples of his *Musée d'école* manufactured, and objects brought by the master and his pupils. Reduced to these proportions, the museum sold by publishers would be more easily accessible to all budgets, and exotic products would be better represented. Some objects intended for lessons on the things of nature are not only observed and touched, they can also be broken down and then recomposed.

3.3. Teaching by action

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the reform that sought to transform the elementary teaching of the natural sciences continued by developing still further the faculties of observation, comparison and generalization, according to the intuitive and inductive method. To this end, many school curricula in Europe introduce practical exercises such as animal and plant dissections. As this requires equipment that is still not very present in many primary schools, it is often the teacher alone who “operates” on his desk with the help of clastic models. Manipulable and dismountable, they make it possible to study living beings from several aspects. Often magnified more than ten times to better represent the organization, their large format facilitates the demonstration of the master at a distance. They are therefore pedagogical, because they serve the art of teaching natural sciences, and didactic, because they explain to students the biology of animals and plants. They also serve to set up a teaching of comparative anatomy which will be continued, for the most deserving students, towards the higher grades of the primary order. However, the rather high cost of clastic models is a definite obstacle to the individual practice of dissection and does not allow the student to be given a very active role. Some publishers then sought to adapt to this problem and developed their commercial offer by offering new inexpensive clastic models made of resin and soon of plastic material.

4. CONCLUSION

For his elementary teaching of natural sciences, the teacher brings to class samples taken from the nearby nature that the students are invited to observe attentively, or even to dissect. But he can also rely on samples from the classroom’s manufactured school museum, comment on the teaching boards hung on the classroom walls and manipulate the school’s clastic models. The place of objects from the school industry is therefore not negligible within educational spaces and the World Expos have played a significant role in their promotion and dissemination in Europe and the rest of the world, cheapness being an essential condition for success (Rapet, 1862, p. 50). The school sections of the Universal Exhibitions, designed and organized in a pedagogical and didactic spirit, were aimed not only at the initiated, but also at the general public whom they wanted to seduce and attract. They offered him the means of forming an idea of the methods of teaching, of comparing the principal methods, of noting the results, of appreciating the effects, here of indifference, there of general devotion to the public school; so that each visitor, if he knew how to observe and judge, could easily conclude from this examination whether he had reason to be proud or humbled of the rank of his country in the scale of education and progress. In order that each exhibition may remain a lasting monument, testifying to the great place that education has held in it, each organizing state has a detailed catalogue drawn up of the entire school section, and asks an international jury for education to report on all the objects exhibited. It is these types of documents, among many others, that constitute valuable sources for the historian of education. In fact, precursors or witnesses of the pedagogical reforms of primary science education that followed one another during the second half of the nineteenth century, are to be identified, inventoried, restored for some and enhanced, within the framework of heritage campaigns that we must all carry out at our level.

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EXHIBITING, DISSEMINATING, PROMOTING, AND CIRCULATING SCHOOL OBJECTS, SYMBOLS, AND ARTEFACTS: INTERFACES BETWEEN UNIVERSAL EXHIBITIONS AND CENTENNIAL EXHIBITIONS IN BRAZIL – REPERTOIRE AND STRATEGIES OF A MATERIALITY

*Exhibición, difusión, promoción y circulación de objetos, símbolos
y artefactos escolares: interacciones entre las exposiciones universales
y las exposiciones del centenario en Brasil:
repertorio y estrategias de materialidad*

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Keywords

Universal exhibitions
Centenaries
School material
culture

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the role of Universal and National Exhibitions —particularly the Brazilian Centenary commemorations— as arenas for promoting social, industrial, and educational modernities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using primary sources such as official reports, commemorative albums, catalogues, medals, and photographic records, as well as journals including *Revista A Ilustração* and *Revista Nacional*, it explores how these events functioned as showcases of material culture and pedagogical innovation. The discussion is informed by historiographical perspectives from Hobsbawm, Nóvoa, Escolano Benito, and Pesavento, framing the exhibitions as part of broader processes of nation-building and the invention of traditions. Methodologically, the article adopts a historical-cultural approach, intersecting the history of education with the study of materiality. Findings indicate that these exhibitions not only reinforced projects of modernisation but also contributed to the diffusion of schooling practices, educational repertoires, and materials —including Montessori apparatus and school furniture— thereby aligning Brazil with international movements of active and progressive education.

Palabras clave

Exposiciones
universales
Centenarios
Cultura material
escolar

RESUMEN: Este artículo analiza el papel de las Exposiciones Universales y Nacionales, en particular las conmemoraciones del Centenario de Brasil, como espacios para la promoción de la modernidad social, industrial y educativa a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX. Utilizando fuentes primarias como informes oficiales, álbumes conmemorativos, catálogos, medallas y registros fotográficos, así como revistas como *Revista A Ilustração* y *Revista Nacional*, se explora cómo estos eventos funcionaron como escaparates de la cultura material y la innovación pedagógica. El análisis se basa en las perspectivas historiográficas de Hobsbawm, Nóvoa, Escolano Benito y Pesavento, enmarcando las exposiciones como parte de procesos más amplios de construcción nacional e invención de tradiciones. Metodológicamente, el artículo adopta un enfoque histórico-cultural, que entrelaza la historia de la educación con el estudio de la materialidad. Los resultados indican que estas exposiciones no sólo reforzaron proyectos de modernización, sino que también contribuyeron a la difusión de prácticas escolares, repertorios y materiales educativos —incluidos aparatos Montessori y mobiliario escolar—, alineando así a Brasil con los movimientos internacionales de educación activa y progresista.

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How to cite: De Souza, Gizele (2025). «Exhibiting, Disseminating, Promoting, and Circulating School Objects, Symbols, and Artefacts: Interfaces Between Universal Exhibitions and Centennial Exhibitions in Brazil – Repertoire and Strategies of a Materiality», *Cabás*, 34, 101-120. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27923>).

Received: 28 september, 2025; Final version: , 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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1. INTRODUCTION: THE ADVENT OF WORLD EXHIBITIONS AND THE “REFERENCE SOCIETIES”

The theme of Universal Exhibitions has already mobilised significant efforts on the part of scholars of history and of historiographical production in education, resonating both in their role as arenas of visibility—functioning as “showcases” of the modernity desired by nations—and in the idea of a national model to be followed or even projected. Sandra J. Pesavento (1997) argues that.

As exposições funcionaram como síntese e exteriorização da modernidade dos ‘novos tempos’ e como vitrina de exibição dos inventos e mercadorias postos à disposição do mundo pelo sistema de fábrica. No papel de arautos da ordem burguesa, tiveram o caráter pedagógico de ‘efeito-demonstração’ das crenças e virtudes do progresso, da produtividade, da disciplina do trabalho, do tempo útil, das possibilidades redentoras da técnica, etc. Por meio das exposições, a burguesia encontrou um veículo adequado para a circulação não só de mercadorias, mas de ideias em escala internacional. Ou seja, as exposições não visavam apenas ao lucro imediato, advindo do incremento das vendas ou do estímulo à produção industrial pela comparação entre os potenciais das diferentes nações. As exposições foram também elementos de difusão/aceitação das imagens, ideais e crenças pertinentes ao ethos burguês. (Pesavento, 1997, p. 14)

At the same time, as Dussel (2011) aptly observes, the Exhibitions played a significant role in the process of hybridisation and meaning-making, in which education assumed a symbolic function in defining national modernity.

In this article, the aim is to discuss the world exhibitions —particularly the Paris Exhibition of 1889— in connection with the National Exhibition (Brazil) of 1908 and the Centenary Exhibition of Brazil in 1922, understood as events that conveyed repertoires and strategies of a certain visual, exhibitiv, formative, and pedagogical materiality.

To achieve this goal, the study draws on sources from newspapers and magazines that had an impact on the Brazilian context of the period, as well as on photographs, documents, and visual collections originating from the aforementioned events.

From a theoretical and methodological standpoint, the text engages with historiographical reflections on the topic of world exhibitions and also draws on the specific literature addressing the material culture of schooling and pedagogical renewal.

Universal Exhibitions established themselves as showcases for the nineteenth century (and, by extension, at the beginning of the twentieth), within a context of acceleration and expansion of the industrialisation process, driven by the strategies of imperialist expansion of capitalism—a hegemonic project centred in Europe. According to the analysis of Heloísa Barbuy (1996), these events introduced the first mass phenomena, the metropolitanisation of cities, and, with it, crowds as well as new experiences and sensations. From 1851 onwards, the first Universal Exhibitions were held, constituting the most condensed material representation of the capitalist world project. They brought together, within a single space, representations of expanding regions (European countries and the emerging United States), of regions under a full colonial regime, and of distant regions (from the imperialist perspective), promising sources of raw materials such as Latin America (Barbuy, 1996, p. 211).

Werner Plum (1979) argues that the World Exhibitions of the nineteenth century were imbued with the character of grand spectacles of socio-cultural transformation, and affirms that they constituted incarnations of the future, projecting attractions of visuality for that very purpose. The author highlights

the symbolic force present in the monuments erected in the spaces of the Exhibitions, such as the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, the Statue of Liberty, exhibited while still unfinished at the Paris Exhibition in 1878, and the Eiffel Tower, emblem of the Paris World Exhibition in 1889. “In order to be recognised by all as the beginning of a new era, it must be endowed with symbols” (Plum, 1979, p. 29).

Image 1. Engraving of the construction works (15 April 1889) at the Champ de Mars and of the Eiffel Tower for the Paris Exhibition



Source: *Revista A Ilustração*, Paris-RJ, 5 de maio de 1889, n. 9, p. 132.

The engraving above, depicting the construction at the Champ de Mars in Paris with the Eiffel Tower in the background, conveys this idea of building symbols of global visibility. The Brazilian press followed the unfolding of these events and the activities of the national delegations, most often publicising the settings and investments of European nations, while establishing goals for Brazil to affiliate itself with such achievements. For example, with regard to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889, an image was published of the space dedicated to the press itself, intended to highlight both the grandeur of the event and the role assigned to the press.

Image 2. Press exhibition space, Campo de Marte, Paris Exhibition, 1889.



Source: *Revista A Ilustração*, Paris-RJ, 20 de abril 1889, v. 8, p. 121

Mariano Pina, director of *Revista A Ilustração*, in a chronicle on the opening day of the Exhibition in May 1889, states that

tudo isto que para aqui tenho estado a declamar, não é tanto para lhes descrever ou dar uma vaga impressão do *pitoresco* de Paris, vendo-se todas as casas, todas as ruas, todas as avenidas, cobertas de bandeiras de todos os países, de troféus onde a bandeira de França se entretejava com o estandarte da China, ou do México, onde as bandeiras de Portugal e do Brasil se mesclavam com as bandeiras da Rússia, ou dos Estados-Unidos ou da Turquia, ou do Japão, o que dava a Paris um aspecto, *não de Paris, capital da França*, mas principalmente de – *Paris, capital do mundo!* (*Revista A Ilustração*, Paris-RJ, 20 de maio de 1889, n. 9, p. 146, grifos do original).

European nations, such as Paris at the 1889 Exhibition, regarded as modern, function as reference societies. The researcher Jürgen Schriewer (2000) argues that these nations would serve

[...] como unidades de referência, que podem ser trazidas a lume por vários argumentos políticos. Por outras palavras, elas são transformadas em “sociedades de referência [...] tornam-se, portanto, ‘condutoras’ de uma suposta ‘internacionalidade’, revestidas do caráter de modelos: transformam-se em países que estão à frente da civilização do mundo. (Schriewer, 2000, p. 106)

Brazil not only followed but also took part in these international events, as seen in the publicised installation of the Brazilian pavilion at the Paris Exhibition, which took place on 14 June 1889. The cover of *Revista A Ilustração* presents this representation through the following engraving.

Image 3. Engraving of the installation of the Brazilian Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition, 1889



Source: *Revista A Ilustração*, 5 de julho de 1889, n. 13, p. 185.

The editor of the magazine details that the exhibition of the Empire of Brazil extended over an area of 2,500 square metres and including a main pavilion, a gallery linking and connecting two buildings, and a small annex pavilion (referred to as the testing pavilion). According to the magazine, the main pavilion covered an area of 400 square metres, including three floors, and was constructed of iron, wood, and brick.

Image 4. Brazilian Pavilion at the Paris Universal Exhibition.
View to the left of the fountain and beneath the Eiffel Tower, 1889. Paris, France



Source: Acervo Arquivo Nacional.

Brazil took part in these international events, devised strategies to showcase its national products, sent delegations, and publicised such efforts through images and photographic albums.

Image 5. Paris Universal Exhibition: Brazilian Exhibition [album cover], 1889. Paris, France



Source: Acervo Arquivo Nacional.

According to historian and researcher Claudia Beatriz Heynemann, the album “Exposição Universal de Paris 1889 - Exposição Brasileira”, preserved in the National Archives, “is an event in itself, that of the diffusion of photographic language, establishing the visuality of an era, not only through what it chooses to show, but also by casting upon these settings the aura of modernity with which those societies were imbued.” The album, composed of sixty-one photographs, is dedicated to Brazil’s participation in the event, which celebrated the centenary of the French Revolution and of the Republic and attracted 32 million visitors. The Universal Exhibitions disseminated the advances of industry, commerce, and cosmopolitanism.

There was an ongoing debate regarding the necessity of Brazil’s participation in these universal events, despite internal criticisms circulating in political circles and in the press concerning this involvement, due to the absence of an industrialisation policy and the persistence of a markedly slaveholding society. The rhetoric of modernity fostered this sense of belonging and of sharing the signs of material progress, the transformations stemming from the industrial process, and a model of economic development and civilisation.

Beyond the Brazilian context, the theme of world exhibitions —and more specifically the Paris Exhibition of 1889— became one of the most frequently discussed topics in the French press. Alda Heizer (2009) examined periodicals that circulated in France during the second half of the nineteenth century and found that *Le Figaro* published a special issue devoted to the event, *Le Figaro Exposition*. Other periodicals, memoirs, reports, catalogues, and magazines such as the *Revue de l’Exposition Universelle de 1889* also dedicated special issues to these celebrations, presenting significant information. “There one can see depicted not only the Empire of Brazil within the French imaginary, but also articles that serve as documentary sources on the conceptions of science, progress, and civilisation intertwined with the texts” (p. 2). The press —both in France and at the Court of Rio de Janeiro— played a crucial role in the debates concerning topics such as Brazil’s participation in the Paris Exhibition of 1889 and the abolition of slavery in Brazil.

2. IN THE WAKE OF THE UNIVERSAL EXHIBITIONS, BRAZIL WOVE SCHOOL-RELATED SYMBOLS AND MATERIALITIES INTO THE COMMEMORATIONS OF CENTENARIES

Brazil understood the importance of organising such commemorative events and, in the first decades of the twentieth century, held two major exhibitions: in 1908, the Commemorative Exhibition of the Centenary of the Opening of the Ports, promoted by the Federal Government with the aim of publicising the country’s economic progress of that period; and in 1922, the Exhibition of the Centenary of Independence, in Rio de Janeiro.

At the 1908 Exhibition, the strategy of constructing spaces and palaces for the states (Brazilian regions) had a dual purpose: monumental exhibition areas with stands displaying products from all the states of the Federation, set out on the two floors of the ballrooms and reception halls of the Brazilian political elite.

Image 6. National Exhibition of 1908, Rio de Janeiro, RJ



Source: Augusto Malta. Acervo Museu da República.

In the images above are records made by Augusto Malta (1864-1957), the official photographer of the City of Rio de Janeiro, who produced a collection of photographs of the National Exhibition of 1908—Agricultural, Industrial, Pastoral, and of the Liberal Arts. This exhibition, held to commemorate the Centenary of the Opening of the Ports to Friendly Nations and located at Praia Vermelha in the Urca district, expressed the ideal of celebrating international trade networks and the capitalist and industrial way of life that became consolidated in the twentieth century.

Among the strategies for creating commemorative symbols and preserving the memory of the events was the circulation of a set of objects. Examples include medals and certificates of participation and awards for merchants, who, in possession of these titles, used them as criteria for social distinction and commercial promotion (this also extended to the educational field).

Image 7. Exposição Nacional de 1908, RJ



Source: Augusto Malta. Acervo Museu da República.

Image 8. Obverse and Reverse of the Gold Medal of the National Exhibition of 1908



Source: Museu Paranaense. Medalha de Ouro. N.º de registro: MP.MO.1276

Image 9. National Exhibition Certificate, 1908, RJ

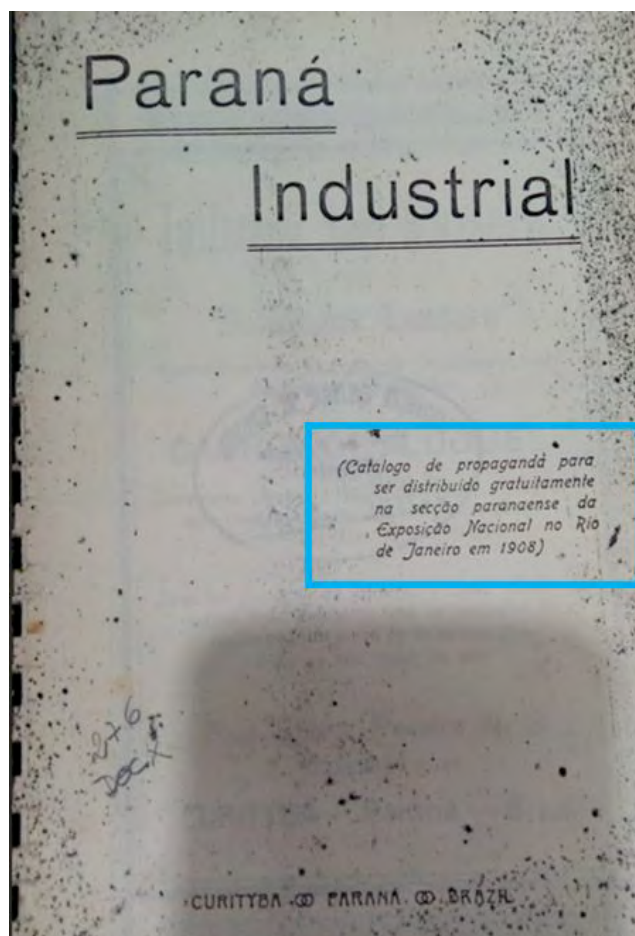


Source: Museu Paranaense.

The states of the Federation organised themselves to present their products at the 1908 Exhibition and to promote their merchants. The state of Paraná, for instance, established a commission and prepared a catalogue of the “Paranaense industry” to circulate among the stands and visitors of the event in Rio de Janeiro.

Gecia Garcia (2024), in her Phd thesis, presents and discusses school furniture merchants present at these events, such as Pedro Rispoli, Carlos Stephan, and Affonso Lubrano.

Image 10. Catálogo das Indústrias Paranaenses



Source: Paraná Industrial. Typ, Romário Martins, 1908
apud GARCIA, 2024, p. 169.

The use of awards for merchants can also be observed in another Exhibition—that of the Centenary of Brazil's Independence (1822-1922). According to Gecia Garcia (2024), at this Exhibition of 7 September 1922,

também gratificou os participantes das mostras com menções honrosas e medalhas. No caso do estado do Paraná, o 'jury internacional de recompensas' laureou com o grande prêmio a indústria Muller e Irmão pelo maquinário em lavoura e com medalha de prata o empreendedor Salvador Maida pela confecção de uma carteira escolar. (Brasil, Exposição Internacional, 1922, p. 7)

The historian Eric Hobsbawm argues that these awards were part of the creation of traditions that hark back to the nineteenth century, since the affirmation of the Nation-State and the rapid transformations of the period required “new devices to ensure or express social identity and cohesion, and to structure social relationships” (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 271). For this author as well, the invention of public ceremonies guaranteed and continually reinforced the power of the state and the sense of satisfaction among citizens. From this perspective, the ritualisation of local, national, and universal exhibitions would propagate the legitimization of prosperity, of technical progress, and would publicise those States with greater economic strength. Hence the importance of the production of commemorative materialities, since they were imbued

with the “advertising value of anniversaries, as clearly demonstrated by the fact that they frequently provided the occasion for the first issue of historical prints or similar items in postage stamps, the most universal form of public symbolism” (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 289).

Image 11. Pavilion of the Great Industries, Centenary Exhibition of 1922



Source: Acervo Museu Histórico Nacional, RJ.

The Centenary Exhibition was inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro on 7 September 1922 and concluded on 24 July of the following year (O Paiz, 25 July 1923). It “stood out as the most ambitious of the commemorative activities then planned to demonstrate the degree of progress and civilisation that Brazil, and its capital, had achieved in that century of independent life” (Motta, 2004, p. 31).

Photographic albums, catalogues, and commemorative stamps may be understood as part of the effort of the “invention of traditions,” in the sense articulated by Hobsbawm (1997), that is, a phenomenon that extended across several nations concerned with creating symbols and materialities that would function didactically in fostering and preserving social cohesion.

Agustín Escolano (2018) observes that the theme of Universal Exhibitions —extended here also to national exhibitions— assumes a high testimonial value for historians of the empirical culture of schooling. For the author, the exhibitions provided publicity and social visibility to the earliest representations of the contemporary world.

Image 12. Commemorative Stamp of the Centenary Exhibition, 1922



Source: Acervo Museu Histórico Nacional, RJ.

These events made possible the promotion and dissemination of school-related goods —books, furniture, writing utensils, toys, magazines— a diverse and powerful repertoire for school instruction, serving as showcases of pedagogical modernities.

In order to fulfil the objective of “being the expression of the economic and social life of Brazil in 1922”, the National Exhibition was to consist of 25 sections representing the country’s main activities: education and teaching; instruments and general processes of letters, sciences, and arts; material and general processes of mechanics; electricity; civil engineering and means of transport; agriculture; horticulture and arboriculture; forests and harvests; food industry; extractive industries of mineral origin and metallurgy; decoration and furnishing of public buildings and dwellings; yarns and textiles (Motta, 1992).

The Centenary Exhibition of Brazil’s Independence had an international character, with thirteen countries represented: the United States, Argentina, and Mexico (America); England, France, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Norway (Europe); and Japan (Asia). The 1922 Exhibition was the first to be held after the First World War, and for Brazil it was a timely opportunity to present the image of a modern nation.

Sven Schuster (2014) points out that the congresses held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 not only provide a national perspective on how the political and cultural elite sought to give meaning to Brazil’s history, but

also constituted transnational spaces in which there was a rich exchange among Latin American, European, and North American scholars.

At the Centenary Exhibition of Brazil's Independence in 1922, school materials aimed at educational innovations were disseminated. The Companhia Melhoramentos of São Paulo, a publishing company that played an important role in the production and commercialisation of a range of school objects in the early decades of the twentieth century, on that occasion presented a display promoting books and didactic materials¹. According to Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha:

(...) criada em 1890, a Companhia Melhoramentos deslocou os seus investimentos, a partir de 1915, da impressão e encadernação para a edição de livros, a produção e a venda de materiais escolares os mais diversos, com vistas a dar suporte às práticas escolares, ao mesmo tempo em que buscava suscitar novas necessidades de consumo e ampliar os seus negócios, num contexto marcado pela difusão da escola primária em São Paulo. (ROCHA, 2019, p. 95)

According to Rochele Allgayer (2020), *Revista Nacional*, a publication edited by Companhia Melhoramentos of São Paulo, recorded the grand prizes of the International Centenary Exhibition.

Segundo a publicação o Diário Oficial da União do Jury Internacional da Exposição do Centenário no julgamento à parte escolar, compreendendo as 6 classes seguintes: 1.^a Educação da criança, Ensino primário, Ensino de adultos, 2.^a Ensino secundário, 3.^a Ensino Superior, Instituições Científicas, 4.^a Ensino especial artístico, 5.^a Ensino agrônomo e 6.^a Ensino especial, industrial e commercial. Nesse julgamento proferido por uma comissão técnica que fizeram parte delegados especiais representantes de diversas nações, São Paulo salientou-se brilhantemente, obtendo tres Grandes Premios, conferidos um ao Governo do Estado, outro ao Lyceu de Artes e Officios desta Capital e o outro à Secção Editora da Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo, que se inscreveu nas 6 classes referidas. (*Revista Nacional*, ano II, abril 1923, número 4, p. 251 apud ALLGAYER, 2020, pp. 48-49)².

By way of exemplification, I present a selection of images from the Exhibition organised by Companhia Melhoramentos for the 1922 Centenary, with the aim of illustrating the presence and circulation of certain school materials at these events.

¹ Companhia Melhoramentos of São Paulo was a publishing company founded in 1890, with a significant role in the production and commercialisation of a vast inventory of school objects intended for primary education in the early decades of the twentieth century. Initially created to focus on printing and bookbinding, from 1915 onwards the company turned its attention to the publication of books and the production and sale of various school materials, with the aim of supporting educational practices while simultaneously seeking to generate new consumer needs and expand its business. This development took place within a context of the growing diffusion of primary schooling in São Paulo, which required specific didactic materials. In 1926, Lourenço Filho entered into an agreement with Melhoramentos and organised the country's first collection of pedagogical texts, entitled *Biblioteca de Educação*, which he directed until his death (Ruy Lourenço Filho, ABE, 1966). Hernâni Donato, in his work *100 Anos da Melhoramentos 1890-1990*, reports that in 1925 Melhoramentos already included "one of the most established figures of the New School movement, Professor Manoel Bergstrom Lourenço Filho." As editorial consultant for the company, Lourenço Filho produced around 30,000 evaluations of children's books and didactic works. According to Donato (1990, p. 82), the *Biblioteca de Educação* aimed to introduce into the country the philosophical and educational currents developed in other centres of debate. Lourenço Filho prepared 35 titles for this collection, signing translations, adaptations, and revisions of texts, while at the same time advancing the New School movement, influenced by American and European philosophical and pedagogical traditions (Allgayer, 2025, p. 220).

² The original spelling from the magazine source has been preserved.

Image 13. Exhibition of Companhia Melhoramentos, at the Centenary of Brazil's Independence, 1922



Source: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. Source cedida por Rochele Allgayer.

Image 14. Exhibition of Companhia Melhoramentos, at the Centenary of Brazil's Independence, 1922



Source: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. Source cedida por Rochele Allgayer.

Image 15. Exhibition of Companhia Melhoramentos, at the Centenary of Brazil's Independence, 1922



Source: Companhia Melhoramentos de São Paulo. Fonte cedida por Rochele Allgayer.

The record of the images makes it possible to identify lithographic and typographic material, world maps, a map of the metric decimal system, cartographic material, books, uniforms, games, Montessori materials—items that circulated not only in Brazilian exhibitions but also in European and North American contexts. Part of this material, such as that of Maria Montessori, forms part of the repertoire of proposals and methods considered innovative, through which public instruction and early childhood education could be brought into alignment with the projects of active education.

The debate and contribution to early childhood education from the perspective of the active school can be found in the work of Ferrière³:

Escola Ativa, fundamentada na ciência da infância, evoluiu e continuará a evoluir; seria vão esperar que ela se fixasse em fórmulas definitivas e categóricas: no dia em que isso acontecesse, ela deixaria de existir. Mas esperar? A infância não espera. Ela vive, cresce, lança sobre nós seus olhares inquisitivos. Nós, que abominamos os métodos coercitivos do passado que violam e mutilam a natureza humana, o que faremos? A abstenção também é uma solução, mas muito mais prejudicial do que a escola no

³ Third edition of the book *La Scuola Attiva*, by Adolphe Ferrière, published in Italy in 1929. I am grateful to Rochele Allgayer for providing a copy of this material, made available through her doctoral sandwich research at the University of Turin.

estilo antigo! Resta, portanto, apenas uma saída: estudar, compreender e então agir: transformar a escola; não tolerar mais tudo o que é imposto de fora para dentro, ao corpo e à alma da criança, uma formação que muitas vezes é deformadora! Introduzir na escola o ar, a vida, o amor, para que a criança floresça ali e desenvolva, de dentro para fora (com o processo próprio de tudo o que vive, cresce e prospera), as energias saudáveis que nele dormem e esperam sua hora para se realizar, para amadurecer nele o melhor que tem. (Ferrière, 1929, p. XXIV, tradução minha)

This discussion on the active school leads to the circulation of the New School movement. According to Rosa Fátima de Souza (2013), in Brazil the New School became the guiding ideal for the renewal of primary education from the 1920s onward. By the end of that decade and the early 1930s, several Brazilian states had implemented educational reforms based on modern pedagogy, which proposed not only methodological changes in teaching but also new aims for education—linking the school to broader projects of national modernisation and social reconstruction. The author goes on to argue that two aspects characterised educational renewal under the New School:

“the so-called active school, involving formulations such as the globalisation of teaching, the adoption of centres of interest, active methods, the emphasis on activities such as excursions, subject-specific classrooms, the project method, etc., and the auxiliary school institutions. It is within these innovations that one can understand the new meanings attributed to teaching objects and the material reconfiguration of primary schools.” (p. 109)

In light of this statement, it becomes clear that the display of posters, world maps, and other school objects was grounded in the debate on pedagogical renewal and the material provisioning of schools. This fostered an organic relationship between discussions on pedagogical knowledge, the promotion and dissemination of educational objects and materials by companies and manufacturers, and the State operating at the intersection of pedagogy and the market.

Gecia Garcia (2024) discusses the “culture(s) of provisioning” and advances historiographical studies by defining material provisioning as “a way of investigating the forms of distribution, supply, and the meanings attributed to the school desk. In its process of idealisation, manufacture, and commercialisation, it reveals not only the challenges but also the strategies and actions that the State, mediated by educational agents, mobilised to create and institutionalise the primary school” (p. 49). In this sense, I understand that the promotion and advertisement —by the commercial house Melhoramentos, as shown in Figures 13, 14, and 15— of lithographic and typographic materials, world maps, metric-system charts, cartographic materials, books, uniforms, games, and so forth, constitute this “culture of provisioning” and the pedagogical urgencies that had been framed as renewal since the late nineteenth century and became prominent in the twentieth century.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The Universal and National Exhibitions (such as the Centenary Exhibitions in Brazil) served as stages for the promotion and visibility of a social, industrial, and educational machinery, intended to reiterate and disseminate actions and auspices of modernity, which were not always fully achieved.

Such events contributed to the promotion of instruction and to the constitution of a pedagogical and school repertoire. Institutionalisation, access, and school attendance are processes that emerged amidst lengthy and significant debates and that profoundly altered the lives of families and children. The establishment

of this “social invention”—the school—took place within contexts of disputes and tensions. For António Nóvoa, the school became an

(...) componente essencial do Estado-nação e de um ideal de sociedade produzido e difundido, sistematicamente, por uma série de atores e agências. Ele não é fruto do acaso ou de um processo imprevisível. Ao contrário, é o resultado da conjugação de vários esforços, conduzidos por intelectuais, homens de Estado e educadores. (Nóvoa, 2006, p. 197)

It is important to recognise that the circulation of projects and knowledge concerning the schooling of childhood, which took shape and spread forcefully at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, also relied on Exhibitions (both universal and national) as powerful and strategic spaces of promotion.

Given the purpose established for this text regarding the role of world exhibitions and their connections with national exhibitions —such as those held in Brazil in 1908 and 1922— it can be noted that the strategies of these events, beyond projecting, disseminating, and displaying the achievements regarded as progress in social, economic, and cultural life, also positioned these international exhibition environments as arenas for the promotion of science and of what, at the time, was understood as pedagogical modernities. Researcher María-Gabriela Mayoni (2021), in analysing the devices for teaching nature in Argentine schools at the end of the nineteenth century, argues that these exhibition spaces and “other forms of communication of scientific knowledge of the period—such as books, newspapers, magazines and newsletters, lectures, and scientific displays—gave rise to a material and visual rhetoric defined within the framework of a culture of consumption and a mass market, in which audience attention and the experiences offered were at stake” (p. 187). The author, in dialogue with the historiography on world exhibitions, also emphasises that

las ferias mundiales fueron otra gran manifestación de las prácticas seriadas características de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Los hombres de las ciencias aprovecharon estos espacios para forjar la idea de universalización, tanto de la ciencia como de la educación. Las exposiciones universales fueron una expresión de culto al progreso y a la industrialización, a las máquinas y a los objetos científicos, por eso llamaron su atención ya que multiplicaban el interés por la ciencia y favorecían un atisbo de diálogo intercultural en el marco de una hegemonía cultural europea. (Mayoni, 2021, p. 188)

Another dimension highlighted by this study concerns the strategies for using the prizes awarded to merchants at these national and international events, which served not only to promote and publicise their products but also contributed to their commercial visibility and acted as instruments of social and market distinction.

Finally, a further central aspect relates to the dimension of material culture and its connection with the school world. In these circuits of national and international exhibitions, the display of books, pedagogical materials, and games was not merely intended to showcase the teaching objects in circulation at the time; rather, through these school objects—understood as social vectors—pedagogical knowledge, commercial rivalries, and representations of childhood, science, and the world were expressed. It is useful here to draw on Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s (2014) reflection and his idea of “connected histories” (p. 27) in examining the relationship between Europe and Asia, since this perspective allows us to move beyond the classical historiographical stance that treats the relations between international and national events as mere instances of influence exerted by the former upon the latter, and that views educational objects merely as replications of auspicious technological progress. I understand that school objects, as well as the circulation of knowledge within these spaces, express the “intense cultural and economic exchanges and

the continuous movement of people and things across political, religious, and linguistic borders” (Marcocci, 2014, p. 9). In this sense, school material culture both reflects and enables scientific, cultural, economic, commercial, and pedagogical circuits. The exhibitions—whether universal or national—thus become stages for these strategies of exhibiting, disseminating, promoting, and circulating school objects, symbols, and artefacts.

4. FUNDING

This work is part of the project “Observing to (re)invent: analysis of experiences of childhood, education, assistance, and school material culture”, funded by the Brazilian government through a CNPQ Productivity Scholarship (Category B).

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HISPANIC EDUCATION AND CULTURAL HERITAGE AT THE 1888 BARCELONA UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION: A UNIVERSITY PERSPECTIVE

*La educación y el patrimonio cultural hispano
en la Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888.
Una perspectiva universitaria*

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Keywords

Universal Exposition
Barcelona
Educational Heritage
International Education
Participation of Faculty
and Researchers

ABSTRACT: This work focuses the object of study on the advances presented by lecturers, researchers and universities at the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition, as part of the image of education and culture in its international projection. The historical method has been used for this purpose. The results were obtained by analysing the type of materials presented, the awards, their geographical origin and the main areas of knowledge to which they belonged. The sources included documentation centres and national archives. This work is part of an ongoing open research line and contributes new data to existing publications, investigating the active projection of this type of competition as part of a necessary overview.

Palabras clave

Exposición universal
Barcelona
Patrimonio Histórico-
Educativo
Educación internacional
Participación
de profesores e
investigadores

RESUMEN: El trabajo centra el objeto de estudio en los avances presentados a la Exposición Universal de Barcelona en 1888 por docentes, investigadores y universidades, como parte de la imagen de la educación y la cultura en su proyección internacional. Para ello se ha empleado el método histórico. Los resultados se han obtenido a partir del análisis del tipo de materiales presentados, los galardones, la procedencia geográfica y las principales áreas de conocimiento a las que pertenecen. Las fuentes proceden de centros de documentación y de archivos nacionales. El trabajo continúa una línea de investigación abierta y aporta nuevos datos a las publicaciones existentes, investigando la proyección activa de este tipo de certámenes como parte de una necesaria visión de conjunto.

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How to cite: Rubio-Mayoral, Juan-Luis; Trigueros-Gordillo, María-Guadalupe (2025). «Hispanic Education and Cultural Heritage at the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition: A University Perspective», *Cabás*, 34, 121-137. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27686>).

Received: 08 july, 2025; Final version: 15 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the exhibitions and fairs organised during the second half of the 19th century, the Universal Exhibitions initiated in London (1851) stand out. The diverse approaches to preserving and disseminating the value of educational heritage gave rise to dedicated educational museums (Greenhalgh, 1989). This research analyses the material participation of Spanish universities and their faculty at the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition, highlighting their internationalisation process and significance as educational heritage, nurturing university museology. The historical method and quantitative analysis of sourced data are employed to examine exhibitors, object typologies and geographical provenance, providing a preliminary assessment of the roles of educators and researchers at the event (Viera, 2013).

The amplification, transfer, and integration of innovations exhibited by a range of institutions via pedagogical material and practices alongside advancements in knowledge were the key factors driving the commercial success of 19th-century universal exhibitions. From their inception, these events were conceived as propaganda platforms for participating nations, presented through public Fairs. Their dynamism stemmed from mercantile logic, offering a diverse range of goods to meet the needs of Western societies' rapidly growing productive economies and foreign trade. The term 'universal' reflected the diversity of both the products exhibited and participating nations. The 1851 Great Exhibition in London successfully launched this model of society-orientated events, although industrial powers and Western colonial empires pursued different ends (Hauser & Vallotton, 2015).

In the case of the Barcelona Universal Exposition, propaganda was used to simultaneously showcase the finest Catalan products and foster competitiveness among producers. This could help explain the earlier exhibitions that preceded the 1888 event. The General Exhibition of Barcelona was held in 1844, followed by the Exhibition of Industry, Arts, and Crafts in 1860, the Catalan General Exhibition in 1871 and the Catalan Products Exhibition in 1877. Similar events were held in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Regional Exhibition of Galicia in 1875. Demonstrating technical progress and its application to production in Catalonia was an affirmation of the region's economic and social development, both domestically and internationally, paving the way to the creation of the 1888 Universal Exposition. This event launched the city of Barcelona onto the international stage, placing it alongside the great European metropolises. The exposition occupied an area of approximately 450,000 square metres, attracted two and a half million visitors and 556 exhibitors over five months (Prado, 2021).

It was the Galician entrepreneur Eugenio Rufino Serrano de Casanova (1841-1920), a resident of Paris, who in 1883 proposed holding the Exposition to promote the Spanish State while showcasing the economic and productive development sparked by the first industrial revolution. This process stimulated regional growth, consolidating Catalonia's industrial bourgeoisie and providing Barcelona with an architectural identity defined by constructive modernism. The organisational agreement with the City Council was signed on June 9th, 1885. Following King Alfonso XII's death on November 25th, 1885, political changes returned Francesc de Paula Rius i Taulet (1833-1890) to the position of city mayor, securing the city council's support for Serrano's proposal. To ensure that the Exposition would take place, Taulet leveraged parliamentary fiscal support, forging alliances between Barcelona's prominent political, academic, banking and industrial figures. However, Catalan nationalists such as Valentí Almirall opposed the project. The Exposition eventually ran from April 8th to December 9th, 1888 in Ciutadella Park, near the Ribera district, refurbished to this end. Urban reorganisation also transformed the Columbus Monument site in Portal de la Pau square, where Passeig de Colón meets La Rambla, adjacent to the present-day Moll de la Fusta.

Modernity and identity were two of the phenomena that coincided with the 1888 Exposition during the Restoration period in Catalonia (Mackay, 1989), as an expression of early alliances between economic capital and the bourgeois aristocracy, the driver of industry, commerce and culture as identifying characteristics of nationalist politics. Politically, the Restoration period (1874-1931) reinstated a parliamentary constitutional system, which restored the Bourbon dynasty to the throne. Following General Martínez Campos' *pronunciamiento* (*The Sagunto Pronouncement*) (1874), a period ensued during which Práxedes Mateo Sagasta's Liberals and Antonio Cánovas del Castillo's Conservatives took turns in power peacefully.

Culturally, the Catalan *Renaixença* influenced urban design through architects such as Lluís Domènech i Montaner and Josep Puig i Cadafalch, with the latter serving as President of the Mancomunitat de Catalunya (*the Commonwealth of Catalonia*) (Bohigas, 1973). Meanwhile, Enric Sagnier i Villavecchia, the architect of the Palace of Justice, descended from two elite commercial families. Industrialists such as the López, Güell and Milà families, patrons of Antoni Gaudí, and Baron Quadras blended their artistic sponsorship with nationalism through the Lliga Regionalista (Mackay, 1989, p. 63). The Exposition drew conceptual inspiration from its predecessors in London (1851, 1862), Paris (1855, 1867, 1878), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876) and Melbourne (1888). Twenty-two nations took part in the Barcelona event.

2. METHODOLOGY

The educational heritage presented by Spanish universities at the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition has been studied using the historical research method and quantitative analysis tools. The objectives of the research were as follows:

- a) To identify the overall contribution made by Spanish universities
- b) To analyse the impact of Spain's presence in the press
- c) To identify the awards received
- d) To initiate research into the contributions made by the Spanish universities that took part in the exhibition.

Primary sources found in libraries and research centres in Spain were consulted for the study of this subject, notably the National Library and the National Historical Archive. The materials consulted were supplemented with reports from the International Jury, documents from some exhibiting institutions, the Exhibition catalogues (1888a, 1888b, 1888c, 1888d), legislation and periodicals.

A data collection instrument was developed to analyse the official classification of exhibitors, objects, exhibiting entities or individuals, object type, and awards or medals to provide concrete results. These findings were complemented with the investigation of Spain's participation in parallel events and the overall impact on public opinion. The variables analysed included exhibited objects and typology, participating provinces, exhibitor identification and awards received.

3. RESULTS

We posit that the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition played a significant role in developing national education systems by acting as a catalyst for pedagogical ideas and practices during Western nations'

consolidation of modern training systems spurred on by the First Industrial Revolution. It helped disseminate cutting-edge educational concepts, teaching materials, textbooks and methodologies, evidencing contemporary teaching trends. Notable among these were advances in science and in research materials, such as Santiago Ramón y Cajal's award-winning histological preparations, which were of undoubted value for the genesis of neuronal theory and later earned him the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine from the Swedish Academy.

Furthermore, the Exhibition served as a platform where twenty-two participating nations showcased education's contribution to consolidating national identities. It highlighted the growing relevance of universal access to schooling as part of progress and citizenship ideals among politically, economically and culturally influential nations. In this context, industrialisation, made possible by scientific advances and technical development, influenced education policies by highlighting the necessity to incorporate these scientific and technical advancements into teaching systems and emphasising the need for citizens to be prepared for the demands of the productive system and for skilled labour to meet the requirements of new production models.

3.1. The Reality of the Exhibition

Shortly before the event's opening, scheduled for April 8th, 1888, specialist journals such as *El Monitor de Primera Enseñanza* reported that few exhibitors had applied for display spaces. Requests from public and private school teachers and boards of educational institutions across Spain remained limited despite high expectations for this exhibition sector. Issue 6 of the journal detailed the categories established by the Technical Commission of the General Council of the Barcelona Universal Exposition for objects intended to showcase the current state and progress of public education in Spain.

The solution was seen in the number of Barcelona-based exhibitors, as the result of a project initiated by Executive Board First Vice President Manuel Durán y Bas: 'to demonstrate Barcelona's intellectual forces through memoirs, books, journals, pamphlets, works of art and all materials that reveal or display these forces' (lit.) (Universal Exposition, 1888, p. 115). Organisers also anticipated that 'conferences and six congresses alongside the exhibitions of Modern/Retrospective Art, Sciences and Public Education' would lend the Exhibition 'a character of progress and advancement, demonstrating Spain's albeit slow harmonisation of moral and material advancement to emulate the glories of the most educated and advanced peoples' (lit.) (Universal Exhibition, 1888, p. 116).

A total of 1,656 collective contributions came from Spanish organisations. Geographical analysis shows that Barcelona accounted for 38% and Madrid for 26% of exhibits, jointly representing 64.8% of the total. Granada province (5%) followed a long way behind, then Seville province (3.1%), with the Balearic Islands (2.8%) and Girona province (2.7%) close behind. The remaining provinces contributed barely 1% of exhibits each, as detailed in Table 1.

Table 1

Distribution of Educational Contributions
to the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition by Province

Province	Number	%	Province	Number	%
Barcelona	630	38.0	Almería	6	0.4
Madrid	444	26.8	Zamora	6	0.4
Granada	82	5.0	Cádiz	5	0.3
Sevilla	51	3.1	Gipuzkoa	5	0.3
Baleares	47	2.8	Huesca	5	0.3
Gerona	44	2.7	Isla de Cuba	5	0.3
Jaen	21	1.3	Lugo	5	0.3
Bilbao	20	1.2	Palencia	5	0.3
Vizcaya	20	1.2	Santander	5	0.3
Alicante	14	0.8	Segovia	5	0.3
Toledo	14	0.8	Valladolid	5	0.3
Logroño	13	0.8	Huelva	4	0.2
Málaga	13	0.8	Navarra	4	0.2
Oviedo	13	0.8	Pontevedra	4	0.2
Córdoba	12	0.7	Teruel	4	0.2
Mallorca	12	0.7	Valencia	4	0.2
Burgos	11	0.7	Álava	3	0.2
Tarragona	11	0.7	Cuenca	3	0.2
Ávila	10	0.6	León	3	0.2
Badajoz	10	0.6	Pamplona	3	0.2
Lérida	10	0.6	Santiago	3	0.2
Coruña	9	0.5	Canarias	2	0.1
Salamanca	9	0.5	Castellón	2	0.1
Gijón	8	0.5	Soria	2	0.1
Ciudad Real	7	0.4	Puerto Rico	1	0.1
Murcia	7	0.4	Filipinas	1	0.1
Zaragoza	7	0.4	Menorca	1	0.1
Albacete	6	0.4	Total	1,656	100

Source: prepared by the authors.

3.2. Global Data

The official exposition catalogues were the reference source initially used to analyse the global contribution that areas linked to education made to the various sections. The first study, focused on Product

Classification, was published in 1877 as an organisational and analytical guide (Barcelona Universal Exposition, 1887, 1888a, 1888b, 1888c).

Table 2

Classification of Objects Presented at the 1888 Universal Exhibition

Section	Group	Category	Description
1 (Materials)	1	1-7	Natural organic matter.
		6	Forestry exploitation products.
	2	8-12	Natural inorganic matter.
		8	Mineral production.
2 (Force)	3	13-17	Engines.
	4	18-43	Operating machines-tools.
3 (Labour and subsidiaries)	5	44-101	Useful accessories and work procedures for satisfying physical needs.
		93	Pharmaceutical material and chemical arts procedures applied to pharmacy. C. Books and study/teaching material.
		94	Medical material and procedures in general. G. Drawings, photographs, descriptions and anatomical collections, etc.
		99	Recreational and scientific toys for children and adults. Domestic games and amusements.
		100	Popular amusements, games and exercises.
	6	102-110	Useful accessories and work procedures to meet intellectual needs.
		105	Elementary teaching organisation, material and procedures.
		106	Secondary teaching organisation, material and procedures.
		107	Higher education material and procedures.
		108	Organisation, material and procedures used to teach the blind and deaf-mutes.
		109	Material, method and organisation for free public teaching establishments.
		110	Scientific research material, method and organisation.
	7	111-117	Useful accessories and work procedures to meet affective needs.
4 (Human Needs)	8	118-169	Industrial products to meet physical needs.
		139	Laces, tulle, embroidery and trimmings.
		144	Basketry products.
		145	Manufactured iron products.
	9	170-177	Products of human labour to meet intellectual needs.
		171	Scientific tools and apparatuses.
		172	Printing and bookshop products.
		173	Positive results of teaching.
		174	Scientific research works and practical results.
		175	Complementary general teaching works.
		176	Museums and scientific collections complementary to higher education.
	10	178-187	Products of human labour to meet affective needs.
		178	Lithographs and engravings.
		179	Oil and other paintings.
		184	Literary and musical works.

Source: prepared by the authors.

Table 3

Categories related to education, ordered by frequency and percentage of objects presented at the 1888 Universal Exhibition

Category	Frequency	%	Category	Frequency	%
Organisation, material and procedures used to teach the blind and deaf-mutes	355	24.43	Oil and other paintings	4	0.28
Higher education material and procedures and Positive results of teaching	297	20.44	Mineral production	3	0.21
Positive results of teaching	191	13.15	Laces, tulle, embroidery and trimmings	3	0.21
Secondary teaching organisation, material and procedures and Positive results of teaching	169	11.63	Scientific research material, method and organisation	2	0.14
Secondary teaching organisation, material and procedures	129	8.88	Scientific tools and apparatuses	2	0.14
Elementary teaching organisation, material and procedures	93	6.40	Products of human labour to meet intellectual needs	2	0.14
Without specifying category	61	4.20	Natural inorganic matter (in particular, category 12 H.)	2	0.14
Lithographs and engravings	29	2.00	Engines (in particular, category 15 A.)	2	0.14
Complementary general teaching works	28	1.93	Natural inorganic matter (in particular, category 10)	1	0.07
Manufactured iron products	21	1.45	Medical material and procedures in general. G. Drawings, photographs, descriptions and anatomical collections, etc.	1	0.07
Higher education material and procedures	10	0.69	Scientific research material, method and organisation	1	0.07
Basketry products	10	0.69	Useful accessories and work procedures to meet affective needs (in particular, category 115)	1	0.07
Forestry exploitation products	7	0.48	Industrial products to meet physical needs (in particular, category 120)	1	0.07
Recreational and scientific toys for children and adults. Domestic games and amusements	6	0.41	Scientific research works and practical results	1	0.07
Laces, tulle, embroidery and trimmings	6	0.41	Products of human labour to meet affective needs (in particular, category 180)	1	0.07
Literary and musical works	5	0.34	Products of human labour to meet affective needs (in particular, category 185)	1	0.07
			Total	1,448	

Source: prepared by the authors.

Based on these criteria, we have selected the sections, categories and subjects directly related to education, and all others with some possible form of indirect connection. Among other reasons, this is due to the detailed descriptions of certain parts of the exposition contrasting with others for which we have no other information than the brief notes included in the official catalogues, which are typically sparse and use standardised wording.

Our analysis begins with the categories with the highest number of contributions, reporting the percentage of awards obtained and analysing their essential characteristics to determine the geographical area of the Iberian Peninsula from which they originate. We started with the hypothesis that the individuals and institutions represented were primarily concentrated in the areas of influence of Barcelona and Catalonia due to the physical location of the Exposition. Added to these were contributions from Madrid as the capital of the Kingdom. These two regions, therefore, accounted for the highest volume of contributions, the widest range of categories in which they participated, and the highest percentage of awards and distinctions received. This hypothesis implied that the most significant advances in the field of teaching and scientific research were similarly concentrated in these areas of Spain, with all the implications that this entailed.

3.3. Medals and Diplomas

The Exposition featured a wide range of categories and sections to accommodate the participating companies, entities, institutions and individuals from various social, cultural and economic spheres. Gold, silver and bronze medals were awarded as prizes, based on different criteria and justified reasons, alongside diplomas and commendations that, at the time, were formalised as official documents. Furthermore, to document and publicise the results of the awards, the organisers of the 1888 Barcelona Exhibition published the various award categories to ensure legal certainty and prevent fraud.

In the first phase of the research, based on official sources, we found that the total number of awards and honourable mentions related to teaching, education, and training was 464, meaning that 28% of the total contributions had been recognised for their particular merit. Of these, 308 were awarded to educational institutions and entities, while 156 were given to individuals who took part in the exhibition.

Table 4

Awards given to Spanish participants at the 1888 Universal Exhibition
in categories related to educational heritage

Category	Gold Medal	Silver Medal	Bronze Medal	Honourable Mention	Diploma
Forestry exploitation products		2	1		
Natural organic matter			1		
Mineral production		1			
Useful accessories and work procedures for satisfying physical needs (in particular, category 75)			1		
Recreational and scientific toys for children and adults. Domestic games and amusements.	1		2		
Popular amusements, games and exercises	2	2	1	1	
Elementary teaching organisation, material and procedures	1	12	25	38	
Secondary teaching organisation, material and procedures	6	20	35	21	1

Category	Gold Medal	Silver Medal	Bronze Medal	Honourable Mention	Diploma
Higher education material and procedures	9	8	10	4	2
Organisation, material and procedures used to teach the blind and deaf-mutes	5	1	1	2	
Material, method and organisation for free public teaching establishments				1	
Scientific research material, method and organisation		2			
Industrial products to meet physical needs (in particular, category 130)		1	1		
Industrial products to meet physical needs (in particular, sub-category 137)				1	
Laces, tulle, embroidery and trimmings		1			
Basketry products			1		
Manufactured iron products		1	3	2	
Industrial products to meet physical needs (in particular, category 151)	22	24	21	26	2
Industrial products to meet physical needs (in particular, category 152)					1
Scientific tools and apparatuses		1			
Positive results of teaching	20	56	54	50	1
Scientific research works and practical results	1	2			1
Complementary general teaching works	7	8	16	6	
Lithographs and engraving		3	4	2	
Oil and other paintings		1			
Products of human labour to meet affective needs (in particular, category 182)	1	1			
Products of human labour to meet affective needs (in particular, category 186)				1	
Products of human labour to meet affective needs (in particular, category 187)	1				
Elementary teaching organisation, material and procedures <i>and</i> Positive results of teaching		1	2		
Secondary teaching organisation, material and procedures <i>and</i> Positive results of teaching	10	16	16	28	
Higher education material and procedures <i>and</i> Positive results of teaching	5	10	13	6	
Higher education material and procedures <i>and</i> Lithographs and engravings					1
Total	91	174	207	189	9
Total Medals			472		
Total Medals and Honourable Mentions				661	
Total					670

Source: prepared by the authors.

3.4. Teaching Results

After progressing the research by determining the contributions related to teaching distributed by the geographical area, section, group and category in which they were presented, and the distribution of the various awards and honourable mentions, we decided to verify the reliability of and validate the statistical data before continuing. We began by analysing the categories with the highest number of contributions, selecting from them the specialisation area in which we have developed a significant part of our research, to focus the process on the validation of the data based on the materials presented by the Universities.

We started with Category 173, which grouped “Positive results of teaching in general”, and included among its eight sub-categories “Studies, projects, works, and academic tasks of students in higher education”. Categories 173 and 107, “Positive results of higher education”, jointly totalled 20.44%, with Category 107, “Materials and procedures of higher education”, representing 0.69%. Without computing section C of 173, the data indicated that at least 21.13% of the contributions came from universities. We decided to apply the awards obtained by each category in the sample as a selection criterion to begin our analysis. We knew that 20 gold medals, 19 silver medals, 39 bronze medals and 34 honourable mentions were awarded in Category 173. Category 173/107 included 5 gold medals, 10 silver, 13 bronze and 6 honourable mentions, while Category 107, despite representing only 0.69% of the total, received 9 gold medals, 8 silver, 10 bronze, 4 honourable mentions and 2 diplomas.

Although the selected sample was representative, the analysis involved a minimum of 179 contributions. We, therefore, opted to apply a second selection criterion based on materials awarded gold medals, which limited the sample to 34. As we began the study of the gold medals obtained by universities, the complexity involved in validating the statistical data obtained in the first phase became apparent. Determining anything else about the participation of many institutions beyond the categories and data in the catalogues is complex, as contributions are associated with individuals participating in the Exposition. The various official Exposition catalogues only recorded the participation of five Spanish universities: Santiago (2 contributions)¹, Salamanca (3), Barcelona (18), Oviedo (12) and Granada (94). When we attempted to determine the scope of these contributions as a preliminary step, in contrast to the research on the awards obtained in the categories grouping elements of university teaching, the data detailed below were verified.

3.4.1. Universities

The University of Salamanca submitted only a small set of annual reports from the University and its district (3 contributions). The University of Santiago de Compostela took part with a comprehensive and systematically classified collection of minerals from Galicia (2). The University of Granada presented nearly one hundred contributions (94), characterised by a large number of works related to the humanities and law (18). Noteworthy were unique contributions in the field of botany (Amo) and practical medicine, including at least nine anatomical models demonstrating methods used in higher education. These were accompanied by a *Descripción del astrolabio* (*Description of the Astrolabe*) by Almagro, *Modelos de circulación fetal* (*Models of Fetal Circulation*) and *Preparaciones microscópicas* (*Microscopic Preparations*) by Solá. Contributions in mathematics, physical sciences, and natural sciences were minimal beyond those already mentioned.

Among the works awarded a gold medal were: *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas* (*Etymological Glossary of Spanish Words*) by Eguilaz; *Literatura clásica* (*Classical Literature*) by González Garbín; *Atlas de*

¹ In brackets, the number of contributions recorded in the official awards catalogue.

Geografía (Atlas of Geography) by Antero; and *Bibliografía española del Derecho (Spanish Bibliography of Law)* by Torres Campos. Silver medals were awarded to the *Memorias acerca del estado de la Universidad y de los Establecimientos de enseñanza del distrito en los cursos académicos 1876 a 77, 77 a 78, 78 a 79, 79 a 80, 80 a 81 y 81 a 82 (Reports on the State of the University and the Educational Establishments of the District for the Academic Years 1876-77 to 1881-82, 6 volumes)*; *Estudios literarios filosóficos e históricos (Literary, Philosophical and Historical Studies)* by Villarreal; *Derecho eclesiástico (Ecclesiastical Law)* by Manjón; *Gramática elemental de la lengua latina (Elementary Grammar of the Latin Language)* by Gurriá; *Las siete Tragedias de Esquilo (The Seven Tragedies of Aeschylus)* by Briebe; *Historia de la metafísica (History of Metaphysics)* by Lledó; *Derecho romano (Roman Law)* by Rada; *El Faro de la juventud (The Beacon of Youth)* by Vico Bravo; and *Tratado de Aritmética y de Álgebra (Treatise on Arithmetic and Algebra)* by Rochano. A diploma was granted to a broad *colección de obras científicas, escritas por diferentes autores (collection of scientific works written by various authors)*.

The University of Oviedo submitted twelve contributions, almost half of which were related to law and political science. Silver medals were awarded to *El Parlamentarismo (Parliamentarism)* and *Principios de Derecho político (Principles of Political Law)* by Adolfo Posada. In the field of economics, notable works included *La nueva ciencia penal (The New Penal Science)* by Félix de Aramburu, *Los Foros (The 'Foros')* by Rogelio José Bravo, and *Programas de Economía Política (Political Economy Programmes)* by Buylla, Alas and López Estrada. A second silver medal was awarded for *Historia de la Universidad (History of the University)* by Fermín Canella. Photographs and architectural plans of the university building were also submitted as a symbol of prestige, aligning with the value placed on educational infrastructure promoted by universal expositions. Other contributions included various *Memorias (1876-77 and 1885-86)*, *Discursos inaugurales (Inaugural speeches) (1878-1888)* and a model of educational furniture, a desk and a bench. This furniture adhered to the guidelines of the *Museo Pedagógico Nacional (National Pedagogical Museum)*, prioritising ergonomics and enabling a new classroom layout.

As an institution, the University of Barcelona was represented mainly through works and monographs authored by its faculty. However, due to the generic nature of the catalogues, it is impossible to determine the titles, authors or fields of these contributions. Also submitted were various teaching programmes and questionnaires, speeches and textbooks, all listed in official documents with the same imprecise classification. Reference is made to two types of *escanógrafo (scanograph)*, described only as 'teaching materials', and to a work entitled *El libro de las niñas (The Girls' Book)*, with no identified author. Among these materials, a silver medal was awarded to the speech delivered at the *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico de Barcelona (Barcelona National Pedagogical Congress)* on *Educación artística de la mujer (Artistic Education for Women)*, and a diploma was awarded for a collection of *memorias inaugurales y datos estadísticos (1845-1888) (inaugural lectures and statistical data, 1845-1888)*. However, as later confirmed, it was the individual contributions of faculty members, presented on their own behalf, that received the greatest recognition and, indirectly, represented the various universities to which they belonged and where they carried out their academic work.

3.4.2. University Professors

As an exploratory approach, we analysed the gold medals awarded during the exhibition as a preliminary indication of the state of higher education in Spain. As posited in our hypothesis, apart from the categories established in the catalogues, nearly all the medals awarded to individuals were confirmed to have been given to professors from the University of Barcelona, with the sole exception of one awarded to a faculty member from the School of Pharmacy at the University of Granada. Of these, more than half were in the

Barcelona Faculty of Medicine. Three were awarded for research work, two for technical innovations and the rest for publications, theoretical works and academic projects.

Paradoxically, the catalogue lists the future Spanish Nobel laureate as: ‘s/n. Cajol, Santiago. Barcelona. Preparaciones Micrográficas. O” (p. 30). Given the significance of Santiago Ramón y Cajal for the history of science and education, and in light of the recognition given to professors from the University of Barcelona, we focused our research on this specific context.

3.5. Medicine

As previously noted, at least eight staff members at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona were awarded gold medals. Three received the award for their research, most notably Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934), Professor of Histology, for his *preparaciones micrográficas* (*micrographic preparations*). He was joined by Joaquín Bonet (1852-1913), Professor of Obstetrics, rewarded for his *trabajos plásticos y roturados sobre obstetricia* (*labelled obstetrics models*), and Laureano Coll y Soler, for his *preparaciones plásticas* (*models*).

Two additional gold medals were awarded for technical innovations. Antonio Morales Pérez (1848-1930), Professor of Surgery, was recognised for several *aparatos de su invención* (*devices of his invention*) related to *termo-eterización* (*thermo-etherisation*) as a method of surgical anaesthesia.

The remaining awards, including some to the previously mentioned individuals, were given in recognition of their publications. Two professors of Physiology received awards: Juan Magaz y Jaime received his for his *Tratado de Fisiología humana* (*Treatise on Human Physiology*), while Ramón Coll y Pujol was recognised both for his *Programa de fisiología humana* (1882) (*Human Physiology Programme*) and for *Un enemigo invisible. Estudios familiares relativos a la trichina y la trichinosis* (1883) (*An Invisible Enemy: Family Studies on Trichina and Trichinosis*). Bartolomé Robert y Yarzabal (1842-1902), Professor of Medical Pathology, received an award for his *tratados de Medicina* (*treatises on medicine*). In addition to his prize for the *termo-eterización* procedure, Antonio Morales Pérez received a second gold medal for various works, especially his *Tratado de operatoria quirúrgica* (*Treatise on Surgical Techniques*), published in two volumes (1881), which was used as a textbook by several generations of students.

The Faculty of Medicine was located in the Hospital de la Santa Cruz, where Ramón y Cajal conducted research with limited materials. Despite this, his work led to significant advances in knowledge, making 1888 what he later described as his ‘pinnacle’ and ‘year of fortune’. During this period, he discovered the foundations of neuron theory through a key finding using the *cromo-argéntico* (*silver chromate*) staining method and a double-staining procedure, which revealed the individuality of nerve cells. This gives exceptional value to the histological preparations that he presented at the Universal Exhibition, for which he received a gold medal.

Antonio Morales Pérez was awarded for his *Tratado de operatoria quirúrgica en dos tomos* (*Treatise on Surgical Techniques in Two Volumes*), which became a widely used textbook. He was also recognised for several ‘*aparatos de su invención*’ (*instruments of his own design*) related to thermo-etherisation as a surgical anaesthesia method. He had been applying this proprietary procedure to induce patient narcosis since 1888. His research on anaesthetics continued, and its innovations were incorporated into his surgical practice and teaching.

Joaquín Bonet received recognition for his *preparaciones plásticas* (*models*). A senator and writer, he devoted much of his work to combating puerperal infection, a central theme of his talks given to the Royal

Academy of Medicine of Barcelona (1885 and 1896). His colleague at the Faculty, Joan de Rull i Xuriach (1828-1891), Professor of Obstetrics, was awarded a medal for a medical instrument of his invention called the *Traqueotomos (Tracheotome)*. Apart from having served as secretary, dean, and vice-rector of the University, he presided over the Congress of Medical Sciences (1888).

Juan Magaz y Jaime (1823-1901), Professor of Physics and Medical Chemistry at the University of Barcelona since 1851, had previously modified an apparatus to detect arsenic (1855). Following the removal of his subject area from the curriculum, he became Professor of Physiology and authored a *Tratado Elemental (Elementary Treatise)*, 1869, which earned him the gold medal at the 1888 Exposition.

Also honoured was Bartolomé Robert y Yarzabal, Professor of Medical Pathology (appointed in 1875) at the University of Barcelona, who received a gold medal for his *tratados de Medicina (medical treatises)*. He presided over the Academy and Laboratory of Medical Sciences and was involved in relocating the Faculty of Medicine and the Hospital de Sant Pau. He contributed numerous articles to *La Vanguardia*, among which one devoted to university autonomy stands out.

The above demonstrates that, from the 1870s on, the Faculty of Medicine in Barcelona underwent a transformation led by a generation of young lecturers and researchers known as the '*generación médica catalana del 88*' (*Catalan Medical Generation of '88*), so named due to their prominence during the Universal Exposition. Their innovations and outcomes in therapeutics and research were partly due to their connections with Europe through publications and their eagerness to improve their knowledge through visits to centres in France and Germany.

They also launched journals such as the *Gaceta Médica Catalana (Catalan Medical Gazette)*, founded in 1881 by Joaquín Bonet, who also organised the International Congress of Medical Sciences, incorporated into the Universal Exposition. As president of the Medical Academy, Bartolomé Robert led the institutional efforts that culminated in the construction of the new Faculty of Medicine and Hospital Clinic, inaugurated in 1906 under the rectorship of Joaquín Bonet. In the same year, the Swedish Academy awarded the Nobel Prize to Santiago Ramón y Cajal, who was appointed president of the newly created *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios (Board for the Advancement of Studies)* the following year.

3.6. Pharmacy, Sciences and Philosophy and Letters

Alongside Medicine, gold medals were also awarded to professors identified by their affiliation with subjects in the Faculties of Pharmacy. One of these was Fructuoso Plans y Pujol (1832-1890), Professor of Mineralogy and Zoology Applied to Pharmacy at the University of Barcelona, who received an award for his work *Lecciones de farmaco-zoología (Lessons in Pharmaco-Zoology)* (1870). Another recipient was Julián Casaña y Leonardo, Professor of Organic Chemistry at the University of Barcelona, a full member of both the Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts and the city's Royal Academy of Medicine. Having participated in the Catalan Exhibition of 1877, he presided over both the Pharmaceutical and the Pedagogical Congresses held as part of the 1888 Universal Exposition. As Rector of the University of Barcelona, he was recognised for his *Treatise on Organic Chemistry Applied to Pharmacy and on Chemical-Organic Pharmacology* (1877), along with his proposal entitled *Notes for the Reform of Teaching at the Faculty of Pharmacy* (1865). Also included was Mariano del Amo y Mora (1809-1894), Professor of Botany and Dean (1853) of the Faculty of Pharmacy at the University of Granada, who founded the faculty's herbarium and was director of the Botanical Garden. He received an award for his work *Flora fanerogámica de la Península Ibérica (Phanerogamic flora of the Iberian Peninsula)* (6 vols., 1871-1873).

To these names can be added Lauro Clariana y Ricart (1842-1916), Professor of Differential and Integral Calculus at the University of Barcelona (1881-1916), awarded for his *Exercises and Problems in Plane Geometry* (1876). The subtitle on the cover of the work indicated it was 'Of great utility for Secondary Education and Preparatory Schools', and further detailed that the exercises were 'Collected and duly developed by Mr. Lauro Clariana y Ricart, Engineer and Mathematics Teacher at the Provincial Institute of Tarragona', a position that he held from 1870 to 1881. The book was accompanied by an atlas containing over two hundred figures. His other recognised works included an *Elementary Treatise on Calculus* (1886) and an *Elementary Treatise on Pure Kinematics* (1879).

In addition, Ramón Manuel Garriga Nogués (1835-1906), Professor of Hebrew (1867), philologist and Hellenist, who later served as Rector of the University of Barcelona (1900-1901), was awarded for various works, including *Elements of Hebrew Grammar* (1866) and the *Practical Manual of the Hebrew Language* (1867), primarily aimed at students in seminaries and theology faculties. Cayetano Vidal y Valenciano (1834-1893), professor at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Barcelona, also presented several works, including the novel *La vida en lo camp (Life in the Countryside)*, which received an award, and a *Historical Overview of the University of Barcelona* (1881).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The object of study of this research has evolved beyond quantitative counting and statistical analysis in line with the progress made in the investigation itself. It can be stated that validating the results required contrasting contributions made by institutions with individual contributions to assess the true impact that education had at its various levels and forms in the framework of the Universal Exposition.

As part of the findings, this study documents the institutional participation of Spanish universities and of affiliated professors who participated independently, with the goal of better understanding the real impact of higher university education. As such, the results cast doubt on the reliability of the statistical data initially used, while also helping to calibrate their significance.

The relevance of one area of Spanish medical science, represented by Santiago Ramón y Cajal, is a determining factor in the importance given to scientific research. Similarly, the value of the award-winning academic work of Ramón y Cajal's colleagues at the renewed Faculty of Medicine at the University of Barcelona highlights the impact of teaching. Additionally, the presence of recognised scholars in fields such as Organic Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Botany, all linked to the Faculty of Pharmacy, and the pedagogical reach of mathematical science represent a counterpoint to the so-called 'Spanish science controversy'; a debate that resurfaced in the final third of the 19th century around the figure of Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and his work *La ciencia española (Spanish Science)*, the definitive version of which was published in 1887.

However, if we include awards given to works submitted by Philology and Philosophy and Letters teachers, we see that most were awarded for works with a practical value. This supports the claim of a fertile intellectual reality in the construction of knowledge and academic output, contrary to accusations of intellectual sterility. Even so, no definitive arguments exist to resolve the broader controversy as to whether Spanish universities were truly capable of producing modern and competitive knowledge at the cutting edge.

It remains a fact that only four Spanish universities were officially represented. Moreover, it was professors at the University of Barcelona who garnered nearly all the top awards. This is consistent with the number of institutions and individuals linked to Barcelona's (and Catalonia's) educational system that participated in the Exposition, although this needs to be corroborated in detail.

Faced with an intellectual tradition in Spain that had historically been regarded as sterile, in his 1897 lecture *The State's Duties in Relation to Scientific Production*, delivered just before the turn-of-the-century crisis, Santiago Ramón y Cajal called on the government to shoulder the 'inescapable obligation' to promote and stimulate culture through 'a scientific policy aimed at generalising instruction and benefitting the common good by nurturing all useful and fertile talents emerging from the heart of the nation' (Ramón, 1971, p. 154).

Study findings help us assess the effort to highlight the state of Spanish education during the period, while also emphasising the value of Universal Expositions as significant sources for ongoing investigation into educational heritage, its typologies and manifestations. Similarly, these events provide a valuable lens through which to understand the work of professors and researchers.

A thorough evaluation and analysis of the educational and heritage materials presented, beyond a mere quantification of the facts, is essential. This research is ongoing and will offer a comprehensive overview that represents a major opportunity to analyse educational methods and resources used throughout Spain.

Nonetheless, Universal Expositions can be affirmed to have become cultural and technological events that contributed to the development and modernisation of education systems. Consequently, they became an important factor in consolidating policies that linked education to the ideals of progress, industrialisation and citizenship, hallmarks of Western societies during the transition from the 19th to the 20th century.

5. FUNDING

This article is part of the project *La historia pública de la Educación en Andalucía (1990-2020): Mostrando recursos y experiencias*, funded by the University of Malaga's Second Internal Plan and ERDF funds.

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A SLOW CONSTRUCTION PROJECT: NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE THROUGH UNIVERSAL EXPOSITIONS

*Un proyecto de construcción lento:
la arquitectura escolar del siglo XIX a través de las exposiciones universales*

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Keywords

History of Education
School Architecture
Nineteenth Century
Universal Expositions

ABSTRACT: This article aims to provide an updated overview on the developments in national school architecture during the early post-unification period through the highly heuristic perspective of universal expositions. These events represented a unique opportunity for the participating nations to assimilate—through observation—innovative and effective aspects of educational systems, pedagogical practices, and architectural spaces. The analysis is drawn primarily from the Italian delegates' reports—retrieved from the Library of the former Ministry of Industry, Handicrafts, and Commerce—, intended to enrich the current reflection on this subject, offering new insights and an updated bibliographic reference for further scholarly inquiry.

Palabras clave

Historia de la Educación
Arquitectura Escolar
Siglo XIX
Exposiciones Universales

RESUMEN: Este artículo actualiza los desarrollos de la arquitectura escolar nacional en el primer período posterior a la unificación italiana, adoptando la perspectiva de alto potencial heurístico que ofrecieron las Exposiciones Universales. Estos eventos constituyeron para las naciones participantes una valiosa oportunidad para observar y asimilar las innovaciones más eficaces en sistemas educativos, prácticas pedagógicas y configuraciones espaciales. El análisis se basa en los informes elaborados por los delegados italianos, consultados principalmente en la Biblioteca del ex Ministerio de Industria, Artesanía y Comercio, y pretende enriquecer la reflexión sobre el tema, ofreciendo nuevas claves interpretativas y una bibliografía actualizada.

1. INTRODUCTION

[...] Un'Esposizione universale è una gran scuola di mutuo insegnamento dell'universalità del genere umano. La riunione degli oggetti di tanti paesi, e la facilità grandissima di aver notizie ed informazioni di tutte le parti del mondo, offrono tale e tanta opportunità per fare degli studi, che in pochi giorni si può giungere a conoscere ciò che in altri tempi avrebbe richiesto lunghissimi viaggi e la vita di un uomo. (Cavour, Devincenzi, 1863, p. 4)

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How to cite: Viola, Valeria (2025). «A Slow Construction Project: Nineteenth-century School Architecture through Universal Expositions», *Cabás*, 34, 138-152. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27774>).

Received: 19 July, 2025; Final version: 15 October, 2025.

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This contribution resumes the reflection on the heuristic potential of the theme of universal exhibitions, first presented at the III International Conference on School Material Culture, held in Macerata from 12 to 13 September 2017, titled *School of Modernity: School Furnishings and Teaching Aids on Display at the World Expositions*. The paper, which presented the outcomes of the research conducted on museums of industrial art and design and ornament journals widespread throughout Europe in the 19th century thanks to world exhibitions (Viola, 2015a; 2015b; Viola, 2018a), served as an opportunity to explore the possible developments such documentation could offer for a comparative investigation of an aspect then still largely unexplored: the architectural dimension of school space.

World expositions indeed represented a crucial arena for international comparison, promoting the modernization of school institutions, pedagogical practices, and —equally important— construction techniques and formal typologies of school buildings. The present contribution aims to update the analysis of national school architecture in the first four decades after Italian unification, considering the documentation relating to the education sections of the exhibitions. This documentation consists predominantly of printed sources, such as journals published specifically on the topic, illustrated albums, pedagogical journeys, and reports written by Italian scholars or members of study commissions dispatched to the events by the Ministry of Public Education (MPI) or by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (MAIC)—which oversaw technical higher education and vocational training (Viola, 2016a). These sources were retrieved from the former MAIC library and the digital platform Google Books.

The research trajectory pursued, already outlined during the presentation in Macerata, has been shaped by the scientific framework developed since the 1980s by María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (1983), and later refined during the international seminar organized by the Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE) in Berlanga de Duero, Spain, in 2007, whose proceedings were compiled by Martin Lawn (2009). This line of inquiry has been further advanced at the national level since the early 2010s by scholars such as Juri Meda (2011, 2016), Fabio Targhetta (2010), Marta Brunelli (2018; 2020), Alberto Barausse (2020), and Francesca Pizzigoni (2022), who have, each in their own way, helped foster scholarly interest in the heuristic potential of universal and educational exhibitions in relation to pedagogical practices, school materiality, and the educational market.

This paper intends to further update the ongoing reflection on the topic of national school architecture during the early post-unification period by analyzing an expanded body of sources, now also including the growing body of literature specifically devoted to universal exhibitions from a historical-educational perspective. These studies are essential for measuring the influence that participation in such events exerted at the national level on the shaping of educational policies, the advancement of teaching practices, the dissemination of pedagogical museums, and for understanding how Italy «intendeva rappresentare sé stesso rispetto agli aspetti scolastico-educativi in queste vetrine internazionali» (Pizzigoni, 2022, p. 144). After presenting the topic of school architecture within the framework of current historiographical scholarship, the analysis will aim to highlight the heuristic potential of universal exhibitions. By tracking the recurrence of the entry dedicated to this theme within the examined sources, the study seeks to reconstruct —through a comparative perspective— the cultural legitimization process of educational architecture. Finally, the analysis will seek to assess the extent to which Italy's participation in these events contributed to shaping the earliest initiatives in support of the construction of the national school system and the definition of an architectural culture oriented toward education.

2. WORK IN PROGRESS. SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE WITHIN THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH OF THE HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK

In the special double issue 12-13 of the journal *Historia de la Educación* (1993-94), Viñao Frago argued that school space represented «una cuestión desatendida o descuidada, como otras, tanto por la historiografía española como por la extranjera. Hay excepciones, por supuesto; pero son eso, excepciones» (Frago, 1993).

Italy was no exception. Only a few and sporadic studies have been devoted to school architecture, even after the outbreak of the French historiographical revolution at the end of the 1990s, sparked by the works of Julia (1996) and Chervel (1998). This historiographical shift definitively displaced a history of education based primarily on theories and the study of official documentation, advocating instead for an approach attentive also to material culture (Sani, 2023). Within this renewed scholarly landscape, the school building gradually began to attract the attention of researchers. More often than not, however, it was traversed hastily, without due regard, as scholars were eager to reach the “classroom,” the “spazio educativo per eccellenza” (Viola, Miceli, 2016, p. 83), regarded as a privileged site for studying disciplines, teaching practices, and the historical-educational heritage (Meda, 2011, 2013).

In truth, there are not many schools to be explored, particularly from the first four decades following Italian unification. In the absence of school buildings designed with specific architectural criteria, it was common for “the school” and “the classroom” to coincide. The national educational architectural heritage was mainly concentrated in large urban centres exhibiting an uneven and non-widespread distribution across the territory. The long-standing cultural deficit that hindered the development of a distinct educational architectural identity in Italy, coupled with the scarcity of financial resources, encouraged la logica e la pratica dell’adattamento dei locali già esistenti» (Andreassi, Viola, 2024, p. 601).

Nonetheless, for the purposes of our inquiry, it is crucial not to overlook the fact that the school premises —whether purpose-built or adapted— always reflect the socio-cultural context to which they belong, as well as the idea and significance that the school institution has held within the collective imagination. At the same time, buildings designed specifically for educational use, characterized by particular construction standards and structured into spaces functionally related to teaching, always mirror the pedagogical, hygienic, and political conceptions of their time.

El espacio-escuela no es sólo un «contenedor» en el que ubica la educación institucional, esto es, un escenario diseñado desde presupuestos exclusivamente formales en el que se «sitúan» los autores que intervienen en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje para ejecutar un repertorio de acciones. La arquitectura escolar es también por sí misma un programa, una especie de discurso que instituye en su materialidad un sistema de valores, como los de orden, disciplina y vigilancia, unos marcos para el aprendizaje sensorial y motórico y toda una semiología que cubre diferentes símbolos estéticos, culturales y aún ideológicos. Al mismo tiempo, el espacio educativo ha reflejado obviamente las innovaciones pedagógicas, tanto en sus concepciones generales como en los aspectos más técnicos. (Escolano, 1993, p. 100)

When integrated into the urban fabric, the school building has conveyed —and continues to convey— to the community the role that the state, at the time of construction, attributed to education. Its external facades prefigured the function of discipline and control that contemporary educational policy intended to exercise within its walls, ultimately positioning the school as a kind of three-dimensional educational manifesto

addressed to the citizenry. Martin Lawn, revisiting the work of Markus (1996), emphasized that school buildings exerted moral authority through architectural symbols and that the distribution of space marked the hierarchical roles of its actors. Particularly insightful is Lawn's observation, drawn from Hamilton, that school space reflects "riflesso delle idee sociali sulle istituzioni e sull'educazione, create per promuovere, ad esempio, la produzione di massa e l'efficienza sociale" (Lawn, 2023, pp. 495-496). It follows that the school, in its architectural dimension, functioned —and still functions— as an effective pedagogical device akin to any other. This was already noted by Escolano:

El edificio-escuela, como es bien sabido, ha servido de estructura material para colocar el escudo patrio, la bandera nacional, las imágenes y pensamientos de hombres ilustres, los símbolos de la religión, algunas máximas morales e higiénicas, la campana y el reloj...Ello expresa toda una instrumentación de la escuela al servicio de los ideales nacionales, religiosos y sociomorales. (Escolano, 1993, p. 108)

This concept was reiterated more recently within the Italian scholarly context by Carmela Covato, who asserted that school spaces express "una precisa connotazione sociale della prassi formativa e trasmettono, fra l'altro, il valore che, in ogni tempo, i ceti dirigenti hanno dato al ruolo dell'istruzione e della scuola" (Covato, 2016, p. 16).

Despite the stimulating nature of such reflections, they have failed to attract widespread interest among scholars in the field. Another reason for the scarcity of studies devoted to school architecture likely lies in the limited willingness of historians to "[...] integrar puntos de vista profesionalmente distantes tales como el médico-higienista, el arquitectónico, el pedagógico y el político-administrativo" (Viñao, 1993-94, p. 13). Only from the early 2010s did the national bibliography on the subject begin to include, alongside the few references found in the school surveys promoted by the Ministry of Public Instruction —such as those by Giacomo Cives (1960) and Tina Tomasi (1981)— some titles in the form of essays and articles, notably those by Lorenzo Cantatore (2001; 2004). These contributions, marked by a multidisciplinary approach, helped sketch an initial floor plan of the State school.

Although slower than other aspects of the school's material culture, scholarly interest in the subject has grown over time, partly influenced by the aforementioned Iberian research spearheaded by Viñao Frago (1993) and Escolano (1993), and especially since the establishment of the Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE) in 2004. This model later inspired the foundation of the Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico Educativo (SIPSE) in 2017 (Brunelli, 2017).

The VII Scientific Meeting of SEPHE, titled *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* and held in Donostia-San Sebastián from June 29 to July 1, 2016, marked a clear turning point in the development of scholarly discourse on the topic. It constituted a major opportunity for international exchange, also attended by Italian researchers who offered insightful local contributions, useful for assessing the territorial specificities of school architecture and its divergence from and/or adherence to national building standards (Cantatore, 2016; D'Ascenzo, 2016; Viola, 2016b). Viñao Frago, in his introduction to the volume of conference proceedings, stated that school space was no longer "una cuestión desatendida o descuidada":

Entendemos que la vida de los sujetos históricos transcurre en un tiempo y en un espacio. No obstante, la historiografía, en general, ha priorizado el tiempo como material del oficio de historiador. Sin embargo, en las últimas décadas, el espacio se ha introducido en el quehacer de los historiadores e historiadoras, no como un mero contexto territorial o referencial, sino como un objeto sustancial del discurso histórico. A esta nueva forma de entender la historia han contribuido los planteamientos

interdisciplinarios e historiográficos centrados más en analizar las relaciones de poder en los espacios que en el tiempo. El espacio, por lo tanto, forma parte ya de las tareas de los historiadores e historiadoras, también en el ámbito de trabajo de la educación. (Viñao Frago, 2016, p. 21)

The research strand on school memory (Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao, 2017; Brunelli, Meda, Pomante, 2019; Meda, Paciaroni, Sani, 2024) has prompted scholars to view the school building as a site of social construction, of practices and collective representations specific to the communities in which it is embedded. Architecturally defined schools, within contemporary historiographical inquiry, now represent:

fonti materiali che, integrate con quelle tipiche della documentazione amministrativa, politica e teorica, oltre ad agevolare la comprensione delle pratiche educative del passato, consentono di ricostruire le realtà vissute e rielaborate nella memoria individuale e collettiva permettendo di entrare in relazione con gli immaginari educativi condivisi dalle diverse generazioni. (Viola, 2018b, p. 254)

The school, in its material dimension, constitutes a highly complex subject within historiographical reflection due to the multiplicity of interpretative layers it offers, being at once a tangible asset and a repository of meaning, a space, and a place. The school building is configured as a space in its three-dimensional physical structure; it becomes a place when a process of social and cultural construction, meaning attribution, and symbolization occurs within it (Viñao, 1993, p. 19). This premise allows for a better assessment of the heuristic contribution provided by studies on world expositions. Through the analysis of relevant documentation, it is possible to reconstruct the process by which school architecture gained recognition within the educational culture of the time, tracing the theme's recurrence across various editions of these events. Moreover, the consultation of this documentary corpus helps shed light on the extent to which the observations conducted by more advanced countries during such events influenced the formulation of the educational project of the first national state an initiative to be implemented, wherever possible, within buildings whose architectural design expressed an Italian identity.

3. SCHOOL BUILDING AS SEEN THROUGH THE UNIVERSAL EXHIBITIONS

The following pages aim to outline the trajectory of the process by which school building asserted itself within educational culture in the early post-unification period, noting the presence and recurrence of the theme within the programmes of the universal expositions. At the same time, through an examination of the reports by Italian delegates, a comparative analysis to understand the differing degrees of importance ascribed to school architecture by the various participating countries will be provided. This reflection will be useful in assessing the extent to which the 'model' countries in the field of school architecture influenced the decisions made by national educational policy. The latter began to feel more strongly the need to provide buildings specifically designed and constructed (Daprà, 1986, p. 77) for school use especially after participating in the universal expositions, which for a long time represented one of the few channels whereby national builders and educators could stay updated in the field of school construction. The Regulation for elementary education of 1860 had proven ineffective at regulating and, in many cases, even initiating, the work on the state school building sites. Various factors hindered the construction of the State school: the financial constraints of the municipalities, the lack of an educational architectural culture among national builders, and the general difficulty that the school continued to encounter in establishing itself in the collective imagination as the primary educational agency. For a long time, schools were far from being those "salubri, con molta luce, in luoghi tranquilli e decenti per ogni riguardo, e adatte per

ampiezza al numero degli allievi obbligati dalla legge a frequentarle". Arising in premises adapted for the purpose, it was also very difficult to ensure separation between female and male classes; it was utopian to hope for the provision of a "grande sala od una tettoia attigua per la ricreazione" or for "cortile fornito dei principali attrezzi occorrenti agli esercizi ginnastici". An additional impediment lay in the absence of a comprehensive economic investment plan to support the Casati Law and the absence of penal provisions for potential non-compliance (Daprà, 1986, p. 78). Furthermore, the protracted procedures required for school construction likewise impeded the advancement of scholarship in school architecture, a fact underscored by the Public Works Law of 20 March 1865, which encompassed roads, railways, telegraphs, waterways, ports, lighthouses, public edifices, and the conservation of art monuments, yet conspicuously omitted any provision for schools (Daprà, 1986, pp. 83-84). The reality, therefore, was far from resembling that envisaged by the regulation and even further from that of the Northern European countries, showcased in the pavilions of the universal expositions through three-dimensional models, floor plans, and designs. It should be emphasized that the process of affirming school architecture was gradual throughout Europe, following the more general process affecting education as a whole.

The first exhibitions held in London in 1851 and in Paris in 1855 had not even planned a section dedicated to education. At the Paris exposition, furniture and educational books were included in the group of industries related to science and teaching. Things began to change starting with the London Exhibition of 1862, in whose programme appeared Class XXIX entitled Educational Works and Appliances. But it was within the programme of the 1867 Paris Universal Exhibition that a significant step was recorded: Group 10 would collect "Oggetti esposti specialmente allo scopo di migliorare la condizione fisica e morale delle popolazioni". This specification amounted to a declaration of the recognized status of education as a factor of civil, social, and economic progress, which forced governments to pay greater attention to issues related to educational practices and their spaces. Descriptions of schools, especially at the outset, were almost always entrusted to reports accompanied by floor plans, rarely to three-dimensional models; in most cases, the theme of the buildings appeared as a complement to other aspects more strictly related to education in general and to didactics. The impression one gets when comparing the exposition reports is that the pace of the process affirming school architecture was always set by the model countries, especially those of Northern Europe, which acted as a stimulating factor in the advancement of construction sites in the participating states. Carderera, author of the text *La Pedagogía en la Exposición Universal de Londres en 1862*, asserted that attention to educational architecture was stronger in the more advanced countries, while in others there was a tendency to address the issue according to the principle of adaptation.

Donde esta enseñanza prospera, las escuelas se hallan instaladas en locales mas o menos lujosos, pero propios y adecuados a su objeto, contruidos a costa de enormes é incalculables sumas, que en países menos adelantados e consumen en obras de lujo, en cuarteles y en pertrechos de guerra, o en teatros y lugares de recreo. (Carderera, 1863, p. 141)

From the Spanish report, for example, it emerges that England witnessed an increase in the number of buildings constructed for educational use which, like other public buildings, were characterized by elegant and restrained lines. The often sumptuous architecture, made possible by private donations, was criticized by Carderera on the grounds that resources useful for erecting a greater number of buildings were allocated to a single one. This architectural care, however, did not represent a constant throughout Europe. In northern countries such as Belgium and Switzerland, schools had a simple and economical character. France, which boasted numerous newly built schools, some of them in sumptuous forms, recommended simplicity and economy in their construction (Carderera, 1863, pp. 148-149). The Netherlands, through regulations and other official provisions, advocated for school buildings to be modest in form and rigorous

with respect to hygiene criteria (Carderera, 1863, p. 142). In the ideal ranking drawn up by the Spanish delegate, the podium was occupied by Prussia:

Tal es la importancia que tiene en Prusia la casa de escuela que la ley descende á describirla, estableciendo las condiciones que debe reunir, condiciones copiadas al pie de la letra en la mayor parte de nuestros tratados de pedagogía. (Carderera, 1863, pp. 141-142)

The typical burdens of a newly formed state justified Italy's general unpreparedness, particularly in the educational sector:

Poco favorables eran las circunstancias de Italia al prepararse la Exposicion universal para pensar en la educacion y la enseñanza, asuntos que de suyo requieren tranquilidad y calma. (Carderera, 1863, p. 115)

Indeed, Italy's participation in the 1862 exposition represented, more than anything else, an opportunity to make its debut on the international political and economic stage as a united state and to begin learning, through observation, from those states that boasted virtuous educational models. The two ministries responsible for education, namely the MPI and the MAIC, adopted the practice of organizing "viaggi pedagogici" documented and disseminated through monographic volumes or in the pages of ministerial bulletins by special envoys belonging to the school policy and pedagogy sector. The reports were to serve as a fundamental tool for national educational policy to identify the effective examples to imitate and the corrective actions to undertake, based on the observation of the prodigy states in the educational field. School building emerged as one of the most difficult fields to manage since, as Cantatore asserted, there was no:

adeguato sistema di strutture edilizie costruite con l'apposito intento di fare scuola e di accogliere i bambini per favorirne un rapporto sereno e gioioso con l'istruzione e l'educazione. Molte scuole pubbliche erano per lo più ospitate in locali d'affitto originariamente concepiti come residenze private (appartamenti angusti, sporchi, privi di aria e di luce) o, nei casi più fortunati, furono collocate in spazi in ex conventi espropriati agli ordini religiosi soppressi. (Cantatore, 2021, p. 115)

It was evident that, at the universal expositions, Italy had much to observe and little to showcase. Pietro Donna, envoy to the Paris exposition of 1867, indeed wrote:

A questo cimento l'Italia non era in grado di presentarsi con decoro [...] che molti Comuni italiani considerano le scuole come cosa di lusso [...] che pochissimi sono i popolani disposti a rinunciare ad un fiasco di vino nella settimana, per mettere in comune quei pochi soldi, a fine di fondare e mantenere una scuola [...] (*L'Italia alla Esposizione Universale di Parigi nel 1867*, 1868, p. 329)

This situation widened the gap with a country like Prussia, which confirmed its podium position even for the Paris edition. Vittorio Cosse thus described the village school model that had earned Prussia a gold medal:

La casa esposta dal Ministero prussiano è una scuola completa. È composta di un solo piano, elevato rispetto al suolo da alcuni gradini. Il disegno che ci è stato fornito e che accenna a una scala indica che questa installazione, pur essendo completa in sé, può tuttavia essere ampliata. L'edificio, semplicissimo ma ben distribuito, si apre con un vestibolo che dà accesso da un lato alla scuola e dall'altro all'appartamento del maestro. L'alloggio, ridotto alle dimensioni più modeste, si compone di una sala

da pranzo, di una cucina, di un dormitorio e di un gabinetto da lavoro. È difficile fare di meno. La sala destinata alla classe è un parallelogramma lungo dieci metri, largo sei, alto altrettanto, ben aerato e illuminato, arredata con tavole e panche per gli allievi, un banco elevato su un piccolo palchetto per il maestro, una lavagna su un cavalletto per le composizioni e due busti: uno del re di Prussia, l'altro della regina Augusta. (*L'Esposizione Universale del 1867 illustrata*, 1868, p. 535)

It should be emphasized that in Italy, during the first post-unification decades, the configuration of school spaces could not represent a priority in the face of the more urgent problem of the shortage of schools, mainly resulting from the municipalities' difficulty in building and maintaining them. In 1870, only 1200 out of 7000 municipalities had premises suitable for hosting a school (Viola, 2018c, p. 69). Italy welcomed the new decade with the majority of schools in a state of perpetual emergency, where pedagogical principles succumbed to a condition of poverty and ignorance difficult to remedy, as evidenced by the following excerpt from "Il Nuovo arredamento scolastico" published in *Patria e Famiglia* in 1870:

Girate pei nostri villaggi per andare in cerca della scuola, là dove pure esiste una scuola, e la troverete per lo più rintanata in qualche sozza topaja, fra le sozzure villereccie e le impurità delle stalle e spesso persino nella bettola. Talvolta è nell'unica stanzuccia ove dorme il maestro o la maestra che appiè del loro notturno giaciglio e fra la fuligine del camino da cucina si veggono accatastate poche scapigliate creature, condannate ad apprendere l'alfabeto, ora fra le rigidezze invernali di mal difese pareti, ed ora fra l'afa ammorbante di una specie di carcere cellulare. (*Patria e Famiglia*, 1870, p. 66)

More than ten years after national unification, the reality described in the periodical was common to many contexts, especially in the most backward areas where the value of secular and state education struggled to take root among the population. By 1873, it was common in Italy for the teacher not to be recognized and respected as the parish priest was and for the Church to be considered "come l'edificio più splendido che v'abbia in tutto il paese" while the school was "una catapecchia" (Garelli, 1873, pp. 39-40). At the universal exposition in Vienna in the same year, national school building languished just like the rest of the education sector. Aristide Gabelli wrote:

All'Esposizione di Vienna, a quella sterminata Esposizione, dove i confronti sono pure tutt'altro che facili, non passò, né avrebbe potuto passare inosservata la differenza grande che corre fra la mostra scolastica italiana e quella degli Stati germanici. La differenza è tale da non richiedere studio o attenzione per essere avvertita, balzando da sé agli occhi anche di coloro che gironzano per il Palazzo dell'industria e per gli edifici di quel misero Prater, così crudelmente sboscato e denudato, per semplice passatempo. A chiunque, dopo molto peregrinare e andar vagando, sia accaduto di affacciarsi alle esposizioni del gruppo XXVI della Germania e dell'Austria, e poi a quella del medesimo gruppo appartenente all'Italia, non parve sicuramente che si riferissero neppure allo stesso soggetto e alla stessa materia, tanto poco l'aspetto delle une rammenta quello dell'altra, e tanto è diversa l'impressione che ne riceve il visitatore. La sola cosa in cui si vedano convenire e accordarsi si riduce a quel numero XXVI scritto sopra le porte, promettitore menzognero di impressioni simili destinato a farne notare ancora più la troppa disparità. (*L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata*, 1873, p. 394)

In any case, the Vienna exposition contributed to drawing the attention of Italian school policy to all aspects of education, including spaces. The Viennese exposition:

L'attenzione generale si dirige sempre più verso l'educazione e l'istruzione della generazione attuale. Lo stesso popolano sente istintivamente che è necessario

prendersi cura dei figli e si occupa con molto zelo di procurar loro una buona istruzione facendoli frequentare le scuole. È un segno dei tempi. Quasi tutti i giornali, piccoli e grandi, secondano l'inclinazione generale e trattano le questioni pedagogiche del giorno. Ma dove la grande importanza data all'educazione e all'istruzione era affatto manifesta, si fu all'Esposizione di Vienna, dove quasi tutti i popoli del mondo, anche i cinesi, vi si fecero rappresentare e si sforzarono di far risaltare nel modo più ricco questa parte della loro produzione intellettuale. (*L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata*, 1873, p. 572)

From this moment onward, the school building began to gain greater recognition and significance. The special programme of the Viennese exposition of 15 January 1872 stipulated that the illustration of each category of school objects should begin with the school premises. Italy deemed it appropriate to represent only popular schooling through “modelli di edifici scolastici nelle dimensioni naturali”, because it was recognized as having “universalissima importanza” due to being “nel più intimo connesso col paese e col popolo e cerca di adattarsi pienamente alla diversità degli stessi” (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 38). For all other schools, “piante e vedute istruttivamente disposte” would be of greater service. In a footnote to the programme text, it was stated:

Sarebbe da preferirsi: per piani di scuole superiori una scala di 1/100 della grandezza effettiva, vale a dire di un centimetro per metro; per piani di scuole medie e popolari una scala di 1/50; per piani generali d'interi gruppi di edifici scolastici, giardini botanici, ecc., una scala di 1/200; e finalmente come misura unitaria pel formato dei disegni 0.25 m. di lunghezza per 0.18 m. d'altezza. (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 38)

Bonghi, deputy to the national Parliament, professor at the University of Rome, and member of the Superior Council of Public Education, wrote that Italy had conceived its exhibition «in maniera diversa da quella che avevano fatta gli altri Governi», which had employed «modelli in legno, o piante in grandissime tavole degli edifici, e nel rimanente gli oggetti stessi usati nelle scuole» (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 23). Italy did not exhibit «né i mezzi d'insegnamento, né la mobilia delle scuole» nor «una notizia riassuntiva dello stato, delle condizioni, dell'organizzazione dei vari gradi d'insegnamento nel Regno», but for each «una statistica generale o speciale, cioè una gran mole di libri, relazioni». This modus operandi highlighted the great distance in terms of educational progress between our country and others such as Austria and Germany. Bonghi looked especially to countries like France, which had presented the theme of education, giving proper space to school building. He was particularly astonished by the city of Paris, which had provided:

[...] più ordinata e piena rappresentazione delle sue scuole, che nessun' altra città abbia fatto o potesse fare. Vi si vedeva il tipo d'un gruppo scolastico, che comprendeva una scuola di fanciulli, una di fanciulle, un asilo. Il modello era al cinquantesimo del vero, e aveva due annessi, l'uno inteso ad indicare la distribuzione del pian terreno, l'altro quella del 1° piano. Poi v'erano aggiunte con riduzione al 10° una sala di classe di codesto gruppo colla sua mobilia; e del pari, fornita di questa, la sala d'esercizio dell'asilo. Vi si vedeva altresì il modello al 10° del magazzino della mobilia scolastica, del materiale d'insegnamento, e della fornitura di classe, un'utile istituzione, che qualche gran comune in Italia, quello di Napoli, per mo' d'esempio, potrebbe imitare con frutto. Poi il modello d'una sala di disegno e delle sue dipendenze colla mobilia, nelle stesse proporzioni. Le piante di molte altre scuole comunali, costruite dal 1860 al 1873, erano riprodotte con fotografie a 5 millesimi, e con altre si rappresentavano le sale d'asilo e le scuole, mentre i bambini v'attendevano allo studio, e la mobilia di esse. De' banchi e delle panche di scuole ad altezza mobile, introdotti, per prova, nelle scuole

superiori, si vedevano in un modello ridotto altresì al decimo. Dei Collegi municipali e delle scuole superiori municipali eran presentate le piante. (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 9)

It was now clear to Italian envoys that observing the progression of construction work in model countries in the sector was not enough; it was necessary to train domestic builders capable of assigning an explicitly educational purpose to their constructions. This would have been possible if the science of building for education had been included within the broader training and updating programme reserved for national education staff, which Bonghi envisioned being delivered through a museum institution. The future minister envisaged this institute based on the model of the Permanent exhibition of educational materials established by the Vienna Municipal Council in 1872, «inteso a raccogliere, a comparare costantemente tutti gli oggetti che sono adatti a far parte d'un'esposizione universale» starting from «piante delle migliori scuole che si costruiscono negli Stati civili di Europa e di America» (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 33). The idea was also to adapt to the needs of MPI schools the museum model already experimented with in Italy by the *Museo Industriale di Torino*, established by Royal Decree of 23 November 1862 n. 1001 by the MAIC, born with the goal of «promuovere l'istruzione industriale ed il progresso delle industrie e del commercio» (Viola, 2018a, p. 253). By Royal Decree of 15 November 1874, in agreement with Gaspare Finali, minister of the MAIC, Bonghi, new minister of Public Instruction, established the Museum, to which would later be added a publication «venduta per picciolo prezzo ad ogni altro, tutta scolastica» entitled *Giornale del Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione* (Barausse, 2020; Cantatore, 2020; Brunelli, 2020). Its widespread circulation throughout the national territory would have guaranteed the diffusion of the contents and the results of the permanent exhibition, enhancing its formative effectiveness (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1, p. 2). In Bonghi's vision, the Museum and the Journal were intended to address the lack of specialized expertise in the management of educational matters, a deficiency that had become evident through participation in international expositions.

Basta di fatti entrare in parecchie delle scuole appartenenti ai Comuni più meritevoli di elogio per la cura e la spesa che mettono in esse, per convincersi, come tutto ciò, che oggi in una scuola è oggetto di molti studi e ricerche per rispetto a' modi in cui dev'essere fatto, costruito, apparecchiato, è presso di noi determinato più volte senza veruna competenza, o scelto a caso e come se non desse luogo a dubbio di sorta, ovvero col consiglio del libraio più vicino, o del legnaiuolo abituale di casa. (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1, p. 5)

School constructions represented an «important argument» in the periodical's programme. In issue four of 15 February 1876, the editorial team announced to readers the publication of «una serie di studi e di notizie» on the theme in order to «far conoscere le cure avute, le disposizioni date e le regole seguite in tale riguardo presso di noi e presso le nazioni più colte». The illustration of the care taken so far by the national government was entrusted to Engineer Bongiovannini, also author of the in-depth study dedicated to primary school buildings contained in issue eight of the same year. The intent was to make the journal a venue for comparison capable of collecting «di buon grado gli appunti e le altre indicazioni» coming from architects, teachers, and administrations and of providing those from the «commissione tecnica addetta al Museo» (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 4, p. 100). Despite the presence of the Museum and the circulation of the Journal, Italy failed to present itself competitively even at the subsequent Paris exposition of 1878, which devoted so much space to the problem of school building.

In questo campo l'Italia non è ancora in grado di partecipare all'Exposition, ma pedagogisti, ingeneri, architetti e medici seguono con interesse quanto viene proposto dai più avanzati stati europei. (Daprà, 1986, p. 108)

France still occupied a vanguard position on the matter, as demonstrated by the extensive treatment dedicated by *La revue général de l'Architecture et des Travaux publics* in 1880. For Antonino Parato, Italy, however, was no less. In the Christmas issue of 1878 of *Del maestro elementare italiano e dell'educatore*, national progress was recorded by highlighting, in the author's view, some of the most exemplary cases—namely, a number of Turin schools which, like their French counterparts, featured classrooms illuminated from above through continuous clerestory windows. The quality of national school building was represented by more than 50 drawings of school buildings sent from various Italian cities, such as those «del Collegio Camerini, dell'asilo Primo di Bologna, il palazzo delle scuole di Palermo, di alcune scuole di Milano». Indeed, the album sent by the Municipality of Turin, to which a school topographical map was attached, «non gli parve superato da altro in qualsiasi delle sezioni straniere» (*La mostra didattica italiana nell'Esposizione di Parigi*, 1878).

The certain fact is that in 1878 the good examples of school building in Italy still had an episodic character. It was precisely in 1878, in fact, that the theme of school building was addressed in a more decisive and organic manner through the enactment of Law 18 July n. 4460 entitled *Dell'intervento dello Stato in favore dell'edilizia scolastica*, intended to assist municipalities with loans and credits in constructing new school buildings. The measure, which enshrined the principle of state involvement in school building initiatives, proved to be inconclusive—much like the subsequent ones. Nonetheless, the measure was of considerable importance, as it triggered a period of vigorous legislative activity aimed at expanding the school building infrastructure—an effort which, over time, came to reflect an increasing attention to shaping a national architectural identity.

Minister Bonghi, with circular no. 441 of 1875 entitled *Sussidi e prestiti ai Comuni per la costruzione di edifici scolastici*, communicated to the prefects the full support of the MPI to ensure that every inhabited centre was equipped with suitable school premises. The Royal Decree No. 5808 of 11 November 1888 finally approved the first Regulation and technical-hygienic instructions for the execution of Law 8 July 1888 on school buildings, followed by the Technical-Hygienic Instructions concerning the drafting of projects for the construction of new school buildings approved by R.D. no. 5808 of 11 November 1888, which more strongly marked the MPI's tendency to characterize the morphology and organization of school spaces in a pedagogical sense (Viola, 2018c, p. 71). A frequently unattained objective. Despite the efforts, the infrastructure struggled to develop adequately and to assume dignified and uniform characteristics. In the Report to H.E. the Minister of Public Instruction, on Elementary Education in the academic year 1895-96, it is stated:

Le leggi del 18 luglio 1878 e dell'8 giugno 1888 intendevano agevolare ai comuni la costruzione di nuovi edifici scolastici e l'ampliamento ed il restauro di quelli già esistenti; ma né esse, né i regolamenti per la distribuzione di sussidi destarono, specialmente in alcune parti del Regno, quella gara di domande che era lecito sperare. (*Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica*, 1897)

Work on the national school's construction site remained in progress, and Italy seemed distant from securing a place among the winners of the peaceful competitions of progress that the expositions represented.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This rapid excursion, whose aim has been primarily to emphasize the complexity and high research potential of the source apparatus relating to the universal expositions for the study of school building, draws to a close. In particular, the reflection has sought to highlight the multiple levels of interpretation offered

by this type of sources for investigating the school building both as a material space and as a place of representation of the political and educational identity of each participating country. Within the «il grande teatro del mondo» (Escolano, 2023, p. 141), set up within the exposition palaces, the competitors, utilizing three-dimensional reproductions or floor plans, succeeded in conveying to visitors the extensive scope of the importance they ascribed to education. This practice long aroused in Italy a feeling of inadequacy and frustration that persisted beyond its debut as a united state at the 1862 London Exhibition. Until the end of the century, Italy always had much to observe and little to showcase. The analysis of the recurrence and the space dedicated to the theme of school building, carried out with a comparative lens through the reading of programmes and reports by Italian and foreign envoys to the expositions, returns the image of the national school construction site as stationary or at least slow. From the envoys' reports it emerges that the pace of the work was influenced by the slow cultural and political process of affirming the secular state school. At present, the data derived from this documentary corpus, though substantial, are insufficient to delineate the architectural features of a building representative of Italian state education, unlike what is possible, for instance, for the Northern European countries. In conclusion, the sources examined are crucial for gaining insight into the broader evolution of school building practices of the era and for discerning how construction directives from more advanced nations were assimilated and adapted by others. The focus of this discussion intends to underline how participation in the universal expositions inevitably influenced the formulation of architectural provisions adopted by Italian educational policy. Furthermore, it contributed to disseminating a culture that favoured the development of architecture specifically designed for educational use, serving the pedagogical needs and instruction of the Italian population.

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Artículos

VINCULAR LA ESCUELA Y EL MUSEO DESDE UN PROGRAMA DE INTERVENCIÓN EDUCATIVA

*Linking the School and the Museum
through an Educational Intervention Programme*

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Palabras clave

Vinculación escuela-
entorno
Educación
intercultural-inclusiva
Estudio del patrimonio
cultural
Enseñanza no formal

RESUMEN: Este trabajo presenta los resultados de una investigación sobre un programa de intervención realizado en el Museo Etnológico de la Huerta de Murcia, que busca conectar la escuela con su entorno para promover la educación intercultural e inclusiva. Participaron 1.167 estudiantes y 69 docentes de siete centros educativos del municipio de Alcantarilla. Se utilizó una metodología mixta, combinando enfoques cualitativos y cuantitativos. Los resultados indican que el programa resultó eficaz para mejorar el aprendizaje curricular y fomentar el respeto a la diversidad. Se concluye que enseñar sobre el patrimonio cultural local ayuda a alcanzar los objetivos educativos formando ciudadanos más democráticos.

Keywords

School-environment
linkage
Intercultural-inclusive
education
Cultural heritage
studies
Non-formal education

ABSTRACT: This paper presents the results of a research on an intervention programme carried out in the Ethnological Museum of the Huerta de Murcia, which seeks to connect the school with its environment in order to promote intercultural and inclusive education. A total of 1,167 students and 69 teachers from seven schools in the municipality of Alcantarilla took part. A mixed methodology was used, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. The results indicate that the programme was effective in improving curricular learning and fostering respect for diversity. It is concluded that teaching about local cultural heritage helps to achieve educational objectives by forming more democratic citizens.

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Cómo citar / How to cite: García-Martínez, Bienvenida; Cerezo-Máiquez, Mari Carmen; Lozano-Martínez, Josefina (2025). «Vincular la escuela y el museo desde un programa de intervención educativa», *Cabás*, 34, 154-177. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27465>).

Recibido: 09 abril, 2025; aceptado: 10 junio, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Las sociedades actuales, cada vez más multiculturales y complejas, demandan soluciones educativas que respondan a los graves problemas que las acucian. Las investigaciones que se están realizando en el terreno educativo tratan de rastrear los mecanismos que las permita avanzar e intervenir en beneficio de todos, sin excluir a nadie (Sales y Moliner, 2021).

A través de estrategias educativas ofrecidas desde la educación no formal para complementar la educación reglada, se llevó a cabo un programa de intervención para el estudio del patrimonio cultural local, como estrategia educativa que vinculará la escuela con el territorio, y favoreciera en el alumnado, la adquisición de habilidades sociales basadas en conocimientos interculturales y el valor de la diversidad.

2. REVISIÓN DE LA LITERATURA

2.1. Entorno comunitario: museo como agente educativo para el cambio

La educación, en su sentido más amplio, es un proceso continuo que trasciende los límites de la escuela (Suárez *et al.*, 2013). En una sociedad tan heterogénea y compleja, la educación debe ser capaz de incluir a todo el alumnado. Esto implica establecer vínculos sólidos entre la escuela y la comunidad que respalden el Proyecto Educativo Inclusivo, sin olvidar las voces de los estudiantes (Susinos, 2009). Por ello, construir escuelas comprometidas con la educación inclusiva requiere la interacción de diversos elementos, procesos y factores que se relacionan entre sí y que deben considerarse tanto en el contexto escolar como en el entorno externo (Ainscow *et al.*, 2012).

El entorno comunitario de los estudiantes constituye una fuente importante de aprendizaje, dado que en él transcurre gran parte de su tiempo y, en consecuencia, se erige como un agente social clave para su desarrollo (Cueto *et al.*, 2017), según se contempla en la estrategia Place-Based Education (PBE) (Sobel, 2004). Este modelo educativo intenta revalorizar la colectividad situando en el centro el espacio comunitario (Sánchez y Murga, 2019). De este modo, el movimiento Ciudad Educadora, según Páramo (2020), deberá ampliar los ambientes educativos, que ya no estarán concentrados en los centros escolares, sino que se dará en distintos lugares: museos, iglesias, parques, etc.

Por ello, la participación e implicación de todos los agentes educativos: maestros, estudiantes, familia, etc. favorece el apego al lugar y la apropiación de la identidad, que repercute en la toma de conciencia en la que los estudiantes asumen su responsabilidad en el ámbito que les rodea y se sensibiliza con su papel en la sociedad favoreciendo la convivencia con los demás (Benavides, 2007).

De este modo, la Agenda de Educación 2030 insta a la colaboración entre la enseñanza reglada y la enseñanza no formal (Hinzen y Schmitt, 2016), con el fin de que vinculen la escuela con su entorno. También el Plan de Acción Global de Educación para el Desarrollo Sostenible (PAG) reconoce a la educación no formal y a sus actores como elementos destacados para el desarrollo local sostenible (Matas-Reyes, 2019). De igual modo, el artículo 3.5 bis, de la Ley Orgánica 3/2020 que modifica la Ley Orgánica de Educación (LOMLOE, 2020) considera que la educación formal y la no formal son complementarias y deben promover el desarrollo de la personalidad y los valores comunitarios entre el alumnado.

La cultura colaborativa entre la escuela y otros sectores socioculturales de la comunidad insta al alumnado a sentir aprecio hacia su entorno natural y cultural, a partir del cual construyen nuevos conocimientos (Sales *et al.*, 2018). Las acciones formativas generadas en ambientes lúdicos y distendidos, bien sea en contextos formales como informales, favorece el rendimiento escolar (Martínez-Sanmartín, 2016) y

los hace más inclusivos (Arnaiz, 2012). La implementación de propuestas educativas por parte de los museos puede servir como recurso de aprendizaje complementario a la educación no formal. Los grupos escolares que visitan el museo pueden aprovechar estos recursos en su proceso de aprendizaje. Además, el proyecto educativo del museo se enriquece con las aportaciones de la comunidad educativa, que no solo puede participar en la planificación del proyecto, sino también colaborar en su puesta en marcha. Este tipo de acciones contribuyen a fomentar el trabajo en equipo y la colaboración entre diferentes disciplinas, involucrando distintos niveles de enseñanza y aprendizaje (López-Basanta y Sabaté-Navarro, 2024), así como perfiles diversos de alumnado, reflejando la diversidad creciente de nuestra sociedad. Sin embargo, a menudo faltan iniciativas que aprovechen la potencialidad que ofrecen los recursos del entorno comunitario, de los museos, faltan estrategias que hagan viable una colaboración efectiva entre la escuela y la comunidad (Cueto *et al.*, 2017).

2.2. Estudio del patrimonio cultural del entorno para conformar una identidad intercultural e inclusiva común

Los humanos, como seres sociales que son, necesitan configurar estructuras comunitarias junto a otros miembros de su ámbito geográfico. Están influidos por el medio físico, histórico-cultural y por circunstancias derivadas de la interacción social. Desde su nacimiento, los individuos interiorizan maneras de hacer y pensar, y actúan de acuerdo con unas normas que se conforman mediante costumbres, ritos, valores, símbolos y, sobre todo, a través del lenguaje (Magallanes-Palomino *et al.*, 2021). Estos patrones culturales, que comparten con el resto de los miembros de la comunidad, inspiran el sentimiento de pertenencia a la misma (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2016), ligada estrechamente al concepto de identidad, entendido como la identificación de un grupo frente a otros. Aunque la identidad social rastrea en nuestros orígenes y la herencia cultural recibida tratando de interpretar los mecanismos que configuran el grupo y favorezca su desarrollo (Rojo-Álvarez y Rueda-Silva, 2021); sin embargo, la identidad social es una construcción que se va configurando mediante procesos de socialización.

A pesar de que la identidad se ha vinculado tradicionalmente al territorio compartido con el resto de los miembros del grupo, y se ha fundamentado en un pasado histórico común (Valencia, 2020) reconocido por todos, no es así para las personas inmigrantes, desplazados o refugiados (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2016). No se debe olvidar su dinamismo y capacidad de transformación, su compleja configuración, de tal manera que la apropiación de la memoria histórica para sustentar la identidad de una comunidad es un concepto permeable y dinámico en las sociedades líquidas actuales que pueden debilitarse e, incluso, fragmentarse (Quintana-Suarez *et al.*, 2024).

La educación debe promover desde las primeras etapas de Educación Infantil modelos identitarios fuertes que contribuyan a aceptar la diversidad como la norma, y a respetar a los demás como iguales. En este sentido, la Unión Europea (UE, 2015) destaca el potencial que tiene el estudio del patrimonio para promocionar la diversidad y el pluralismo cultural en Europa, así como su carácter integrador que enriquece la cultura (Bákula, 2017). Desde las primeras etapas educativas, se debe capacitar al alumnado para que comprenda los distintos grupos sociales de su entorno (Aranda, 2016). El patrimonio es un recurso que puede potenciar la creación de una comunidad viva, creando vínculos entre la escuela y su entorno, actuar como un espacio donde relacionarse, compartir y crear nuevas experiencias que ayuden a avanzar hacia una sociedad más sostenible (Ponsoda y Lucas-Palaciós, 2024). Sin embargo, algunos autores señalan la falta de interés por implementar conocimientos relacionados con el patrimonio cultural y la historia local (Gómez-Carrasco *et al.*, 2020). El presente estudio ahonda en el potencial que tiene el entorno comunitario de los estudiantes como espacios generadores de aprendizajes vinculados a la escuela, y plantea la

siguiente cuestión: *¿los recursos patrimoniales del entorno pueden ser utilizados por el alumnado como estrategia que permita adquirir enseñanzas contempladas en el currículo escolar favoreciendo, a su vez, la educación intercultural e inclusiva?* A partir de un programa de intervención se ha buscado obtener respuestas que nos permitan extraer una conclusión. Así, los objetivos propuestos son:

1. Recabar las opiniones de docentes y discentes de centros educativos de Educación Infantil y Primaria acerca de las actividades que conforman el programa y que buscan acercar el entorno patrimonial de la escuela para favorecer los aprendizajes dentro de una educación inclusiva.
2. Evaluar si las propuestas implementadas desde la educación no formal para la enseñanza del patrimonio cultural contribuyen a formar ciudadanos más democráticos y a dotarlos de competencias interculturales.

3. MÉTODO

3.1. Diseño de la investigación. Programa de intervención

En el estudio se ha buscado analizar la cuestión planteada desde diferentes perspectivas usando una metodología mixta (González-Pedraz *et al.*, 2017), combinando metodologías cuantitativas y cualitativas. De este modo, se ha tratado de neutralizar los puntos débiles que pudiera haber (Borao y Palau, 2016) y, si bien, la principal herramienta de recogida de información ha sido un cuestionario que ha posibilitado extraer qué perciben los encuestados, también se han utilizado otras técnicas más propias de la investigación cualitativa: el diario de campo (DC), que ha permitido recoger los comentarios hechos por los docentes (D) y el alumnado (A). La suma de ambas estrategias metodológicas ha permitido realizar una triangulación de los datos, aportando una mayor riqueza a la información obtenida (Colás *et al.*, 2019), así como una mayor fiabilidad que afianza su validez (Bayo y Moliner, 2021).

Como estrategia para dar respuesta a las cuestiones planteadas se diseñó un programa de intervención (Abreu, 2012) consistente en una visita al Museo Etnológico de la Huerta de Murcia con talleres implementados desde la enseñanza no formal en él, dirigidos a estudiantes de los centros educativos de Educación Infantil y Primaria del municipio que quisieron realizarlos voluntariamente. Con él se pretendía explicar, de una manera divertida y didáctica, cómo y por qué las sociedades evolucionan y se transforman. En su elaboración se tuvo en cuenta la proximidad del Museo a los centros escolares, esto hace que el Museo se constituya en un espacio ideal para desarrollar actividades que contribuyan al estudio del patrimonio cultural y a favorecer la consecución de competencias que complementen a la educación reglada, de una manera transversal, dentro de una perspectiva intercultural e inclusiva, buscando favorecer el respeto a la diversidad cultural del alumnado que conformaba la muestra.

Con la finalidad de alcanzar los objetivos descritos, el programa se diseñó de manera que pudiese ser adaptado a los diferentes niveles educativos, y al alumnado con necesidades específicas de apoyo educativo (NEAE). Los contenidos se fueron ajustando para incorporar otros que se estuviesen trabajando en clase en cada grupo de alumnado. Así, los docentes pudieran elegir entre las diferentes propuestas:

- Taller «Pequeños arqueólogos».
- Aula de la Naturaleza.
- Laboratorio de Cocina.
- Taller de Danzas y Músicas del mundo.

3.2. Contexto y participantes

Antes de implementar las actividades, nos pusimos en contacto con las autoridades locales del municipio de Alcantarilla, población en cuyo término se encuentra el Museo, para solicitar los permisos y recabar su apoyo. Esta localidad es una de las más pobladas de la Región de Murcia con 42.559 habitantes, de los cuales el 10.29% es población migrante, y tiene un nivel socioeconómico medio-bajo. En ella se inscriben diez centros educativos, dos de los cuales son privados-concertados, en los cuales están escolarizados 4.757 estudiantes, de ellos el 25.39% son de origen extranjero. En estos centros trabajan 344 docentes (CREM, 2024).

En este estudio se llevó a cabo un muestreo no probabilístico casual, compuesta por 1.167 estudiantes de Educación Infantil (EI) y Educación Primaria (EP) y 69 docentes que trabajan en siete de los centros que participaron en las actividades durante los cursos 2019/2020, periodo en los que se recogió la información. El análisis de fiabilidad aporta un nivel de confianza del 95% con un error muestral de ± 5 y, por tanto, adecuado para realizar un estudio local generalizado (García-Martínez *et al.*, 2021).

En la realización de los talleres colaboraron también seis chicas y chicos con necesidades educativas especiales que intervinieron como monitores de uno de ellos, el *Taller Aula de la Naturaleza*, en la medida que, en ese momento, se encontraban cursando un módulo de jardinería en el Centro de Educación Especial «Maestro Eusebio Martínez», situado en el municipio de Alcantarilla, que estuvieron supervisados por dos de sus maestros. Además, se contó con la colaboración de dos técnicos en Gestión Cultural, un profesor de música y una graduada en Educación Primaria, en la especialidad de Educación Física.

En el análisis descriptivo de la muestra de estudiantes se observa que las diferencias de participación entre niñas (50.9%) y niños (49.1%) es mínima. Del total de participantes, el 73% son de origen español y el resto de origen migrante. No obstante, estos porcentajes varían según se trate de centros (C) públicos (71.7% y extranjeros 28.3%), o centros privados-concertados (83.6% españoles y 16.4% extranjeros). Según el nivel-curso escolar, aunque en las actividades participaron alumnado de todos los cursos (desde Educación Infantil hasta sexto de Educación Primaria) fueron los estudiantes de sexto (26.5%) y los de segundo (19.3%) de Educación Primaria, la muestra más numerosa.

Respecto al perfil de la muestra de docentes, se observa que el 81.16% son maestras y el resto maestros. El grupo participante más numeroso fueron docentes que trabajaban en colegios públicos (76.81%) y el 23.19% lo hace en centros privados-concertados. Pese a que participaron docentes de muchas especialidades, los más numerosos fueron los maestros de Educación Primaria (64.9%) seguidos por los de Educación Infantil (14%). Además, más del cuarenta por ciento de los participantes tenían más de veinte años de experiencia docente.

Cabe indicar que todos los participantes, independientemente de sus edades, pudieron optar por unos u otros talleres, sin distinción. Las actividades duraban una mañana completa y los grupos-clase solían realizar varias de ellas, según habían sido seleccionadas por los docentes. La totalidad de los participantes realizaron la visita adaptada según sus edades. Además, el 70% de los participantes, comprendidos entre los 4 y los 12 años, realizaron el taller «Laboratorio de cocina»; el 60% participó en el taller «Aula de la Naturaleza»; el 40% en «Pequeños arqueólogos» y el 30% en «Danzas y músicas del mundo». Por edades, los niños y niñas de entre 8 y 12 años realizaron preferentemente los talleres de cocina. El taller «Aula de la Naturaleza» fue realizado tanto por estudiantes de Educación Infantil (3-6 años) como por niños y niñas de hasta 12 años. El grupo más numeroso que participó en el taller «Pequeños arqueólogos» fue el de niños y niñas de 6 a 12 años, mientras que el taller «Danzas y músicas del mundo» fue realizado por niños y niñas a partir de los 7 u 8 años.

3.3. Instrumentos de recogida de información

Para la recogida de información se elaboraron dos cuestionarios uno que cumplimentaron los docentes y otro los estudiantes (ver Anexos I y II), que fueron validados, previamente, por seis expertos: dos profesores de la universidad de Murcia especialistas en Didáctica y Organización Escolar y Métodos de Investigación, un maestro, una psicóloga-terapeuta especializada en alumnado con necesidades especiales, una arqueóloga y directora del Museo y una técnico en Gestión Cultural (García-Martínez *et al.*, 2021; 2023). Estos cuestionarios fueron cumplimentados al finalizar las actividades. Previamente, se habían sometido a un análisis de fiabilidad, en los que obtuvimos un resultado de .820 en el cuestionario de los estudiantes y .880 en el cuestionario de los docentes al aplicar el Coeficiente Omega, y .842 según el Coeficiente alfa de Cronbach, siendo un valor alto-aceptable (Rodríguez-Rodríguez y Reguant-Álvarez, 2020), que está dentro de los límites (.70-.90), tal como señala Campo-Arias y Oviedo (2008). Ambos cuestionarios se dividen en tres dimensiones y están compuestos por 11 ítems tipo Likert, cada uno funciona como variable de criterio, más una última pregunta abierta. Para las respuestas de los ítems se utilizó una escala numérica de cuatro grados (Tabla 1).

Tabla 1

Opciones de respuesta de los ítems de los cuestionarios

Docentes

Totalmente en desacuerdo	Desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
1	2	3	4

Estudiantes

Mala/Nunca/Muy poco	Regular/Casi nunca/Poco	Bueno/A veces/ Regular	Muy buena/Mucho/ Siempre
1	2	3	4

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Aunque, en un principio, sólo se elaboró un formato del cuestionario dirigido al alumnado, tras los primeros talleres, se observó la dificultad para recoger los datos de los niños de Educación Infantil y primer curso de Educación Primaria; como también de los estudiantes con necesidades específicas de apoyo educativo (ACNEAE). Por consiguiente, se decidió, adaptar este cuestionario mediante pictogramas extraídos de páginas gratuitas que se encuentran en internet (ver Figura 1) que fueron validados por los expertos (García-Martínez *et al.*, 2021). Además, conviene señalar que las dos últimas preguntas de este cuestionario iban dirigidas sólo al alumnado de origen extranjero. Con ellas se han podido reunir algunos datos referentes a las diferencias y parecidos que estos estudiantes han encontrado entre nuestras costumbres y las de sus países de origen.

Figura 1. Cuestionario adaptado para alumnado de Educación Infantil, primer ciclo de Educación Primaria y para alumnado ACNEAE

DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN
Datos correspondientes a su perfil como alumno

1. Marca en la casilla que corresponda.

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2. ¿Qué edad tienes? (Marca en la casilla que corresponda.)

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3. Sobre tu familia (Marca en la casilla que corresponda.)

3.1. Tu familia ha vivido siempre en España.

3.2. Tu familia ha llegado de otro país fuera de España.

*SOLO rellena si tu familia ha venido de otro país, ¿podrías escribir el nombre del país?

DIMENSIÓN I. EDUCACIÓN NO FORMAL COMPLEMENTARIA DE LA FORMAL

1. ¿Qué piensas de esta salida fuera del colegio en el museo de la huerta?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

--	--	--	--

2. ¿Piensas que con estas salidas al museo se puede aprender más fácilmente que con los libros y demás materiales que se utilizan en clase?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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DIMENSIÓN II. ACTIVIDADES EXTRAESCOLARES PARA DESARROLLAR PRÁCTICAS INCLUSIVAS Y CONSTRUIR COMUNIDAD.

3. ¿Te gusta trabajar en equipo?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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4. ¿Piensas que el trabajo en equipo ayuda a aprender mientras nos divertimos?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

--	--	--	--

5. Si tu maestra te pone en un equipo con compañeros que no son tus mejores amigos, ¿Te gusta?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

--	--	--	--

6. ¿Piensas que salir fuera del colegio, para ver el museo de la huerta, la barrosa y hacer talleres como el de cocina, etc., son actividades buenas para conocer mejor a tus compañeros?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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DIMENSIÓN III. ACTIVIDADES EXTRAESCOLARES Y EDUCACIÓN PATRIMONIAL PARA CONSTRUIR UNA CIUDADANÍA INTERCULTURAL-INCLUSIVA

7. ¿Has oído hablar sobre las costumbres que tenían nuestros abuelos, bisabuelos, tatarabuelos, etc.?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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8. ¿Te gusta conocer las costumbres que tenían nuestros abuelos, bisabuelos, tatarabuelos, y cómo vivían los huertanos?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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9. ¿Sabías que en Murcia habían vivido otros pueblos como los iberos, romanos, árabes y judíos?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

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10. ¿Te gusta saber las costumbres de otros países diferentes al tuyo?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

--	--	--	--

*SOLO debes Rellenar las siguientes preguntas si tú o tu familia NO habéis nacido en España.

11. ¿Has visto algún parecido con las costumbres del país donde tú o tu familia nacisteis?

(Marca la casilla con la que estás más de acuerdo.)

--	--	--	--

12. Escribe las costumbres que más te llaman la atención de Murcia.

12.1. Escribe costumbres que son iguales o parecidas del país donde naciste tu familia.

12.2. Escribe costumbres que son diferentes a las del país donde naciste tu familia.

Fuente: elaboración propia.

3.4. Procedimiento y análisis de datos

En cuanto al procedimiento seguido, los grupos-clase eran divididos en equipos de unos seis niños cada uno, cabe señalar la heterogeneidad de los grupos participantes, por lo que para favorecer la inclusión de todos, se siguió el orden de lista para conformar los equipos, de este modo se quiso favorecer la interrelación del alumnado y favorecer que todos, sin excepción, se conocieran mejor. Durante el recorrido de la visita, tanto docentes como discentes de los centros asistentes, conocieron cómo y por qué nuestra cultura ha estado influida por los pobladores de culturas anteriores de la zona, la cual ha ido evolucionando y conformando nuestro rico patrimonio cultural.

La visita al Museo resultó ser el hilo conductor del resto de actividades pues se utilizan recursos como un teatrillo improvisado por el propio alumnado, a partir del tercer curso de Educación Primaria, y un cuento adaptado, más didáctico, para que los más pequeños lo pudieran manipular (Figuras 2, 3, 4 y 5), y que fue extraído de una página web (<https://es.slideshare.net/slideshow/cuento-la-huerta-de-murcia/4202841>).

Figuras 2, 3, 4 y 5. Cuento adaptado



Fuente: elaboración propia.

Los datos cuantitativos recogidos a través de los cuestionarios fueron analizados con el programa estadístico SPSS.24, mientras que el análisis cualitativo de las anotaciones recopiladas en las últimas preguntas abiertas de los cuestionarios, en el diario de campo (DC) y en las redacciones (RE) que los estudiantes nos hicieron llegar, se realizó mediante el programa Atlas. ti.7.

4. RESULTADOS

Los resultados que se presentan a continuación irán dando respuesta a cada uno de los objetivos descritos, para facilitar la lectura y mejor comprensión del texto. Para ello, en primer lugar, se exponen los resultados del análisis descriptivo e inferencial de los ítems (I) de ambos cuestionarios.

Una vez realizado el análisis descriptivo de los datos, se procedió a realizar un análisis inferencial. Este nos permitió comprobar si algunas de las respuestas dadas a los ítems por los participantes de la muestra, han estado influidas por los datos del perfil de ésta.

A continuación, se irá dando respuesta a los objetivos descritos. Sólo se exponen los ítems que dan respuesta a cada uno de ellos y que se circunscriben dentro de cada una de las dimensiones (Dimensión I; Dimensión II y Dimensión III), en las que se dividen los cuestionarios; y en los que se han observado diferencias estadísticamente significativas, según el estadístico Chi-cuadrado de Pearson (χ^2) en tanto a $p = .000^*$ o a $p = <005^{**}$ y que parecen estar influidas por algunas de las variables del perfil de la muestra. Para complementar el análisis se han extraído algunos comentarios recogidos en las preguntas abiertas (PA) de los cuestionarios y, también, del diario de campo (DC).

En cuanto al primer objetivo: *Recabar las opiniones de los docentes y los discentes acerca de las actividades que conforman el programa y que buscan acercar el entorno de la escuela para favorecer los aprendizajes dentro de una educación inclusiva*, en la (Tabla 2), se presentan los resultados del análisis de los ítems de la Dimensión I del cuestionario de los docentes (ID.1;ID2;ID.3;ID.4), y los ítems (IA.1;IA.2) de esa misma dimensión del cuestionario de los estudiantes, que versan sobre el complemento que aporta la educación no formal a la enseñanza reglada.

Tabla 2

Análisis descriptivo de los ítems de los cuestionarios
en relación con el primer objetivo descrito

DIMENSIÓN I:

Educación no formal complementaria de la educación reglada

Código ítem	Descripción ítems docentes	Opciones de respuesta (4-Totalmente de acuerdo; 3-De acuerdo; 2-Desacuerdo; 1-Totalmente en desacuerdo)			
ID.1	La educación no formal presenta mayor flexibilidad que la educación formal.	4 60.9%	3 37.7%	2 1.4%	1 —
ID.2	La educación no formal, en cuanto a tiempos, temáticas, materiales, técnicas y procedimientos, da mayor libertad y permite una relación más horizontal de disciplinas y contenidos, al no estructurarse jerárquicamente.	4 66.7%	3 31.9%	2 —	1 1.4%
ID.3	La educación no formal no busca homogeneizar y permite abordar intereses individuales y variados.	4 55.1%	3 40.6%	2 4.3%	1 —
ID.4	Las actividades desde la educación no formal son un buen complemento de la educación reglada. Contribuyen a la adquisición de estándares educativos y favorecen la interrelación con otros alumnos.	4 75.4%	3 23.2%	2 1.4%	1 —

Código ítem	Descripción ítems estudiantes	Opciones de respuesta (4-Muy buena/siempre; 3-Buena/A veces; 2-Regular/Casi siempre; 1-Mala/Nunca)			
		4	3	2	1
IA. 1	¿Qué te ha parecido esta actividad fuera del colegio?	75.6%	20.8%	3%	0.6%
IA.2	¿Piensas que con esta actividad se puede aprender más fácilmente que con los libros y demás materiales que se utilizan en las aulas?	45.5%	49.6%	3.1%	1.8%

Fuente: elaboración propia.

En la tabla anterior se contempla que prácticamente la totalidad de los docentes consideran que la educación formal es más flexible y, por tanto, permite mayor libertad y horizontalidad de los contenidos (ID.1; ID.2). También están de acuerdo en que este tipo de actividades complementan la educación reglada y favorecen la socialización entre iguales de la totalidad del alumnado (ID.3; ID.4). No obstante, se ha detectado que existen algunas diferencias estadísticamente significativas ($p < .000^{**}$), dado que son los docentes con más de veinte años de experiencia en la enseñanza los que se han mostrado más de acuerdo con que este tipo de propuestas *de la enseñanza no formal favorece que se puedan abordar intereses individuales y variables sin caer en la homogeneización* (ID.3).

En ella también se observa que la mayoría del alumnado se ha mostrado muy satisfecho con estas propuestas educativas fuera del colegio (IA.1) y, más el noventa y cinco considera que éstas favorecen los aprendizajes (IA.2). Sin embargo, el análisis inferencial muestra que son las niñas ($p = .003^{**}$) las que parecen estar más satisfechas con las actividades que realizaron en el Museo (IA.1); y que son los estudiantes de los cursos quinto y sexto ($p = .000^{**}$) los que más de acuerdo están en que con ellas es más fácil aprender ciertos contenidos (IA.2).

Como complemento del análisis estadístico de los datos cuantitativos, el análisis de contenido de los datos recogidos a través de las preguntas abiertas de los cuestionarios (PA), las redacciones (RE) y las anotaciones que el investigador recopiló en el diario de campo (DC), ha permitido realizar una triangulación de los resultados que ha enriquecido el estudio. En la (Tabla 3) aparecen representadas las categorías extraídas, en las que se detecta mayor frecuencia (co-ocurrencia) de respuesta entre los docentes (D) y el alumnado (A) en complementos curriculares (271), metodología activa (328) y vinculación escuela y territorio (280).

Algunos comentarios que hicieron los docentes y los estudiantes, recogidos a continuación, constatan estos resultados anteriores: [...], han sido unas actividades muy dinámicas en las que todos los niños y niñas han podido participar y trabajar diferentes contenidos de manera muy lúdica» (C2;D2;PA). «[...] hicimos de arqueólogos y excavamos en un arenero para encontrar cosas [...]. También hicimos otras actividades [...] plantamos lechugas y brócoli» (C3.1;A150;RE).

Tabla 3

Frecuencias (co-ocurrencias) de las categorías y subcategorías vinculadas al primer objetivo

Categoría	Subcategoría	Frecuencias (PA;DC)	Frecuencia Docentes	Frecuencia Alumnado
(C.1) Beneficios académicos de la enseñanza no formal y su complementariedad con la educación reglada.	(C.1.1) Complementos curriculares	401	148	253
	(C.1.2) Metodología			
	— Aprendizaje transversal	297	126	171
	— Metodología activa	328	111	217
	— Metodología adecuada	31	25	
	(C.1.3.) Vinculación escuela y territorio.	280	112	168
	(C.1.4) Apoyo institucional	116	57	59

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Para dar respuesta al segundo objetivo descrito: evaluar si las propuestas implementadas desde la educación no formal para la enseñanza del patrimonio cultural contribuyen a formar a ciudadanos más democráticos y a dotarlos de competencias interculturales, se analizaron algunos ítems de la Dimensión II (ID.5; ID.6) y de la Dimensión III (ID.8; ID.9; ID.11) del cuestionario de los docentes. También los ítems IA.6; IA.9; IA.10; IA.11 extraídos de las Dimensiones II y III del cuestionario de los estudiantes (Tabla 4).

En la Tabla 4 se aprecia cómo, prácticamente, la totalidad de los docentes señalaron que las actividades realizadas habían permitido a los estudiantes trabajar valores democráticos y desarrollar el espíritu crítico que les capacite para valorar la diversidad (ID.5), y permitirles la participación y el aprendizaje entre iguales (ID.6). De igual manera, los docentes consideran que el patrimonio es el reflejo de la sociedad, que evoluciona igual que lo hace ésta (ID.8), y su estudio permite a los estudiantes comprender mejor los cambios sociales al tiempo que favorece el sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad (ID.9). Están de acuerdo en que las actividades extraescolares enfocadas al estudio del patrimonio cultural, permite a los estudiantes adquirir conocimientos de otras culturas y a valorar la diversidad cultural existente (ID.11).

También casi todos los estudiantes estuvieron de acuerdo en que este tipo de actividades que se realizan fuera del centro escolar favorece el compañerismo (IA.6). Aunque, algo más del treinta por ciento del alumnado no tenía conocimientos de que en esta zona habían vivido otras culturas anteriores que nos dejaron su legado (IA.9), pero más del noventa y cinco por ciento se muestran muy interesados por conocer culturas diferentes (IA.10). Como se ha comentado anteriormente, con el ítem IA.11 se pretendía conocer la opinión del alumnado de origen extranjero acerca de los parecidos que han encontrado, entre sus culturas de origen y la nuestra. Los resultados obtenidos muestran que algo más de la mitad de estos estudiantes sí han encontrado parecidos.

Tabla 4

Análisis descriptivo de los ítems de las Dimensiones II y III de los cuestionarios

Dimensión II. Actividades extraescolares para desarrollar prácticas inclusivas y construir comunidad.

Dimensión III. Educación patrimonial para construir una ciudadanía intercultural e inclusiva

Código ítems	Descripción ítems docentes	Opciones de respuesta (4-Totalmente de acuerdo; 3-De acuerdo; 2-Desacuerdo; 1-Totalmente en desacuerdo)			
ID.5	A través de estos talleres y actividades extraescolares se pueden trabajar los valores democráticos, enseñando al alumnado a valorar la diversidad, y contribuyen a formar ciudadanos tolerantes, responsables y con espíritu crítico.	4 55.1%	3 40.6%	2 4.3%	1 —
ID.6	En estas actividades el alumnado aprende de manera colaborativa en grupos de trabajo heterogéneos, y se fomenta la interacción entre iguales para que también ellos, además del profesor, enseñen a los demás.	4 88.4%	3 11.6%	2 —	1 —
ID.8	El patrimonio cultural no es algo estático, sino que se halla en un proceso inacabable de construcción y reconstrucción, siendo su estudio necesario para que los alumnos aprendan cómo y por qué las sociedades van cambiando.	4 82.6%	3 17.4%	2 —	1 —
ID.9	La educación patrimonial contribuye a fomentar el sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad o grupo y a construir ciudadanía.	4 84%	3 16%	2 —	1 —
ID.11	Las actividades propuestas favorecen el conocimiento de otras culturas y favorecen la educación intercultural.	4 78.2%	3 21.8%	2 —	1 —
Código ítems	Descripción ítems alumnado	Opciones de respuesta (4-Siempre/Mucho; 3-A veces/Regular; 2-Casi nunca/Poco; 1-Nunca/Muy poco)			
IA.6	¿Crees que las actividades y salidas que se realizan fuera del centro escolar favorecen conocer mejor a otros/as compañeros/as?	4 59.5%	3 31.8%	2 5.1%	1 3.6%
IA.9	¿Sabías que en Murcia habían vivido otras culturas (íberos, romanos, árabes, judíos)	4 38.8%	3 29.3%	2 17.9%	1 14%
IA.10	¿Te gusta saber sobre otras culturas diferentes a la tuya?	4 75.1%	3 15.2%	2 5.9%	1 3.8%
IA.11	¿Has encontrado algún parecido con las costumbres de tu país de origen?	4 23.1%	3 33.6%	2 16.8%	1 26.5%

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Al realizar el análisis inferencial de Pearson (χ^2) en tanto a $p = .000^*$ o a $p < .005^{**}$, se han detectado ciertas diferencias que resultan estadísticamente significativas según el estadístico Chi-cuadrado. Se observa que algunas respuestas están influidas según algunas variables del perfil del alumnado. En este sentido, parece que son los estudiantes de los centros públicos ($p = .003^*$) los que más de acuerdo están en que las actividades extraescolares favorecen el compañerismo (IA.6), especialmente el alumnado de quinto y sexto. También, se han detectado diferencias entre las respuestas dadas por el alumnado de origen inmigrante ($p = .000^*$), y son los estudiantes latinoamericanos y los procedentes de Marruecos, los que han encontrado mayores parecidos entre su cultura y la nuestra.

Las categorías y subcategorías que se han extraído del análisis de contenido de los datos cualitativos corroboran los resultados anteriores y permiten dar respuesta al segundo objetivo de este estudio (Tabla 5).

Tabla 5

Frecuencias (co-ocurrencias) de las categorías y subcategorías vinculadas al segundo objetivo

Categoría	Subcategoría	Frecuencias (PA;DC;RE)	Frecuencias Docentes	Frecuencias Alumnado
(C.2) Fomento de prácticas inclusivas para atender a la diversidad	(C.2.1) Construir comunidad /nivel de socialización	263	67	96
	(C.2.2) Educación intergeneracional	34	14	20
	(C.2.3.) Enseñanza-aprendizaje colaborativo/trabajo equipo	259	102	157
	(C.2.4) Inclusión/diversidad	118	43	75
	(C.2.5) Trabajo en equipo	157	102	157
	(C.2.6) Metodología: — Aprendizaje crítico — Gamificación	34 64	17 38	17 26

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Entre los comentarios de los docentes, se comprueba que resaltan los beneficios de la metodología activa empleada, a través de juegos en los que todos han participado de manera colaborativa, lo que ha permitido al alumnado aprender más nociones relacionadas con el patrimonio cultural: «estas actividades han despertado el interés de todos los estudiantes que han estado conectados en todo momento» (C2;D1;PA). «Los niños y niñas han disfrutado mucho aprendiendo cosas sobre nuestros orígenes culturales que desconocían» (C7;D1;DC).

De igual modo, los estudiantes se muestran muy satisfechos con las actividades extraescolares para el estudio del patrimonio cultural: «nos hemos divertido mucho, ojalá que vayamos otro día y aprendamos tanto, que hagamos juegos interesantes en equipo, como jardinería, arqueología... (C5;A10;RE). La mayoría muestra curiosidad por conocer otras culturas: «un niño árabe y otro latino comentan que ¡Alaa! Es lo mismo que ¡Dios mío!» (C3;A7-A18;DC).

5. DISCUSIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES

En este apartado, y a tenor de los resultados, se procede a realizar una discusión de estos que nos permita dar respuesta a los objetivos descritos en el estudio.

En cuanto al primer objetivo planteado: *recabar las opiniones de los docentes y los discentes acerca de las actividades que conforman el programa y que buscan acercar el entorno de la escuela para favorecer los aprendizajes dentro de una educación inclusiva*, los resultados de la investigación nos lleva a concluir sobre los beneficios observados en las actividades implementadas desde la educación no formal para el estudio del patrimonio cultural, en las que han colaborado distintos agentes educativos —colegios y agentes socioeducativos locales— (Lozano *et al.*, 2018). Los resultados constatados a través de las opiniones del alumnado y de los docentes, se encuentran en la línea de los resultados de investigaciones anteriores. Así, se ha comprobado lo adecuado de que exista una aproximación entre la educación formal y la enseñanza no formal, que permita realizar proyectos conjuntos que favorezca obtener beneficios sociales (Manzano-Arrondo, 2015). El uso de técnicas variadas y de los recursos patrimoniales del entorno del centro, permite establecer una comunicación horizontal entre distintos sectores socioeducativos y culturales, que contribuyen a mejorar la calidad de la enseñanza (Martínez-Agut, 2021) y a favorecer el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje basada en la interculturalidad e inclusión, para un desarrollo social sostenible (Lozano y Cerezo, 2020; Martínez-Carmona y Martínez-Carmona 2023). No obstante, aunque el compromiso educativo en el que está implicada la totalidad de la comunidad educativa es un principio de inclusión (Solla, 2013), se observa que no todos los centros educativos se encuentran en disposición, y son reacios, a poner en práctica este tipo de iniciativas, dada su complejidad derivada de una serie de cambios (curriculares, didácticos e institucionales) que habría que afrontar (Ainscow, 2015).

Centrándonos en el segundo objetivo: *evaluar si las propuestas implementadas desde la educación no formal para la enseñanza del patrimonio cultural contribuyen a formar a ciudadanos más democráticos y a dotarlos de competencias interculturales*, resaltamos que los resultados obtenidos muestran que, tanto docentes como estudiantes, han manifestado su satisfacción tras haber realizado las actividades. Las han valorado muy positivamente como una estrategia que se descubre muy eficaz para adquirir conocimientos sobre el patrimonio cultural (Carrión, 2015), y que debe incluirse en el currículo escolar para explorar otros puntos de vista e interpretaciones de este, de manera que los individuos puedan conectarse con su entorno y puedan favorecerse las relaciones interpersonales (Alves y Pinto, 2019; Fontal e Ibáñez, 2015).

A modo de conclusión, se constata la importancia de este tipo de actividades para el estudio y enseñanza del patrimonio cultural. Su papel activo ha contribuido al acercamiento de los estudiantes al patrimonio local y ha favorecido insuflar en ellos el sentimiento de pertenencia (Marqués-Valea *et al.*, 2020; Pinto y Zarbato, 2017). La participación activa del alumnado en los talleres ha conseguido establecer relaciones entre la escuela y el entorno de ésta, creando un puente entre la institución académica y la comunidad (Pizzigoni, 2022). Se comprueba la idoneidad de la colaboración entre distintos agentes educativos, formales y no formales, que han permitido la participación conjunta de un grupo muy heterogéneo de personas, con edades distintas, capacidades intelectuales y de movilidad diversa, y de diferentes procedencias y religiones. Estas propuestas contribuyen al empoderamiento del alumnado con necesidades específicas de apoyo educativo (ACNEAE), tal como se ha constatado en el taller *Aula de la Naturaleza*, que ha contribuido a estimular a los estudiantes del centro de educación especial Maestro Eusebio Martínez, de Alcantarilla, quienes han sido monitores de este, y que se han sentido muy valorados por el resto de los estudiantes participantes (García-Martínez *et al.*, 2021). Por tanto, se comprueba que este tipo de actividades contribuye a edificar una identidad compartida basada en el respeto a la diversidad en una sociedad que aspira a ser más democrática y justa (Ponce-Gea y Ortuño-Molina, 2018), más sostenible (Ponsoda y Lucas-Palacios, 2024).

Los resultados indican el programa desarrollado en el Museo de la Huerta de Murcia promueve una educación flexible y adaptada a los cambios sociales, favoreciendo la inclusión en una sociedad multicultural. Las actividades extraescolares que complementan el currículo y forman parte de programas de intervención en centros educativos ayudan a reducir desigualdades, aumentan el compromiso estudiantil y disminuyen conductas disruptivas y absentismo. Sin embargo, es importante evaluar cuáles de estas actividades ofrecen mayores beneficios socioeducativos y cómo motivar a los estudiantes con mayores dificultades.

No obstante, aunque la mayoría de docentes valoran positivamente estas actividades como complemento de la enseñanza formal, observamos que algunos aún prefieren métodos tradicionales y no perciben plenamente la importancia de la educación fuera del aula. De igual modo, aunque la mayoría de los estudiantes consideran que estas actividades facilitan el aprendizaje, algunos, especialmente los de cursos inferiores, prefieren métodos más tradicionales. Además, comprobamos que aún existen barreras económicas y sociales que limitan el acceso a recursos culturales y actividades extraescolares, afectando especialmente a alumnos de entornos socioeconómicos bajos. Sin embargo, los docentes están de acuerdo en que son precisamente estos estudiantes quienes más disfrutan y valoran las actividades, resaltando la necesidad de que las administraciones públicas faciliten el acceso equitativo a estas oportunidades.

Finalmente, destacamos la importancia de fortalecer la relación entre la escuela y su entorno sociocultural, promoviendo una educación que integre la enseñanza formal y no formal, vinculando los centros educativos con su territorio para potenciar una innovación educativa transformadora.

6. AGRADECIMIENTOS

Esta investigación ha sido posible gracias a la implicación del Ayuntamiento de Alcantarilla, así como de todos los docentes y del alumnado de los centros participantes de esta localidad: CEIP Jacinto Benavente, CEIP Vistabella, CEIP Ntra. Sra. de la Salud, CEIP Jara Carrillo, CEIP Ntra. Sra. de la Asunción; y los centros concertados Sagrado Corazón y Samaniego. En especial, nuestro agradecimiento a los chicos y chicas del Centro de Educación Especial «Maestro Eusebio Martínez» y a su equipo directivo y a José Carlos, profesor y tutor de estos estudiantes.

7. FINANCIACIÓN

El proyecto fue registrado como *Talleres educativos interculturales e inclusivos*, en el Registro General de La Propiedad Intelectual de la Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Región de Murcia, con el número de asiento registral 08/2018/90, según lo dispuesto en La Ley de Propiedad Intelectual (Real Decreto Legislativo 1/1996, de 12 de abril). Ha sido realizado en colaboración con el Ayuntamiento de Alcantarilla, el Museo Etnológico de la Huerta de Murcia, la Asociación EnClaves, y el CPEE «Maestro Eusebio Martínez» de Alcantarilla.

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FICHERO COMPLEMENTARIO DEL ARTÍCULO CUESTIONARIO PARA EL PROFESORADO-DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN

Datos correspondientes a su perfil docente

1. Edad

22-30 años	30-40 años	Más de 40 años
------------	------------	----------------

Marque con una **X** en la casilla que corresponda.

2. Género

Femenino	Masculino
----------	-----------

Marque con una **X** en la casilla que corresponda.

3. Especialidad

Educación Infantil	
Educación Primaria	
Educación Física	
Educación Musical	
Educación Artística	
Profesor de apoyo	
Idiomas	
Otras	

Marque con una **X** en la casilla que corresponda.

4. Experiencia en la docencia

De 1 a 5 años	De 5 a 10 años	De 10 a 20 años	Más de 20 años
---------------	----------------	-----------------	----------------

Marque con una **X** en la casilla que corresponda.

5. Años de permanencia en el mismo centro

Entre 1 y 5 años	Entre 5 y 10 años	Entre 10 y 20 años	+ 20 años
------------------	-------------------	--------------------	-----------

En su opinión:

Para responder a los ítems de las siguientes DIMENSIONES seleccione sólo una de las respuestas y exprese el grado de acuerdo con el enunciado propuesto, graduado en una escala de 1 a 4:

4: totalmente de acuerdo

3: de acuerdo

2: desacuerdo

1: totalmente en desacuerdo

Dimensión I. Educación no formal complementaria de la educación reglada

1. La educación no formal (la cual hace referencia a todas aquellas actividades que se llevan a cabo fuera del ámbito escolar, pretendiendo desarrollar competencias intelectuales y morales de los individuos) presenta mayor flexibilidad que la educación formal.	1	2	3	4
2. La Educación no formal, en cuanto tiempos, temáticas, materiales, técnicas y procedimientos, facilita la creatividad y libertad permitiendo una relación más horizontal de disciplinas y contenidos, al no estructurarse jerárquicamente.	1	2	3	4
3. La Educación no formal no busca homogeneizar y ofrece la oportunidad de abordar intereses individuales y variados.	1	2	3	4
4. Las actividades propuestas desde la enseñanza no reglada, son un buen complemento de la Educación Formal, contribuyen a la adquisición de estándares educativos y favorecen la interrelación con otros alumnos.	1	2	3	4

Dimensión II. Actividades extraescolares para desarrollar prácticas inclusivas y construir comunidad

5. A través de estos talleres y actividades extraescolares, se pueden trabajar los valores democráticos enseñando al alumnado a valorar la diversidad (personas de origen distinto al propio o con algún tipo de Necesidades Específicas de Apoyo Educativo-NEAE), contribuyendo a formar ciudadanos tolerantes, responsables y con espíritu crítico.	1	2	3	4
6. En estas actividades el alumnado aprende de manera colaborativa en grupos de trabajo heterogéneos (parejas, pequeños grupos o con toda la clase) y se fomenta la interacción entre iguales para que también ellos, además del profesor, enseñen a los demás.	1	2	3	4
7. En estas actividades se evalúa el proceso y se reconoce el error como algo necesario.	1	2	3	4

Dimensión III. Actividades extraescolares y educación patrimonial para construir una ciudadanía intercultural-inclusiva

8. El patrimonio cultural (usos y costumbres) no es algo estático, sino que se halla en un proceso inacabable de construcción y reconstrucción, siendo su estudio necesario para que los alumnos aprendan cómo y por qué las sociedades van cambiando.	1	2	3	4
9. La educación patrimonial contribuye a fomentar el sentimiento de pertenencia a una comunidad o grupo y a construir ciudadanía.	1	2	3	4
10. En estas actividades extraescolares, inscritas dentro del estudio del patrimonio cultural, los alumnos aprenden y participan cocinando, creando arte, literatura, música, danza de diversas culturas, etc., y adquieren conocimientos sobre la vivienda, el medio natural y urbano, la ropa y la decoración de su Región, que son herencia de los pueblos que en ella han vivido.	1	2	3	4
11. Las actividades propuestas (inscritas dentro del estudio del patrimonio cultural de la Región de Murcia) favorecen el conocimiento de otras culturas que han estado en esta Región y la enseñanza intercultural.	1	2	3	4

Le agradeceríamos nos dejara sus OBSERVACIONES Y COMENTARIOS QUE DESEE INCORPORAR SOBRE ESTA TEMÁTICA Y EL DESARROLLO DE LOS TALLERES. Gracias por colaborar.

FICHERO COMPLEMENTARIO DEL ARTÍCULO

CUESTIONARIO PARA EL ALUMNADO-DATOS DE IDENTIFICACIÓN

Datos correspondientes a su perfil alumno

1. Marca con una X en la casilla que corresponda

Niño	
Niña	

2. ¿Qué edad tienes?

6 años	
7 años	
8 años	
9 años	
10 años	
11 años	
12 o más años	

Marca con una X en la casilla correcta.

3. Tu familia

1. Ha vivido siempre en España	
2. Ha llegado de otro país fuera de España	

Marca con una X en la casilla correcta.

* Si tu familia ha llegado de otro país, ¿podrías escribir el país de procedencia?

Dimensión I. Educación no formal complementaria de la formal

1. ¿Qué te parece esta actividad fuera del colegio?

Muy buena	Buena	Regular	Mala
-----------	-------	---------	------

2. ¿Piensas que con esta actividad se puede aprender más fácilmente que con los libros y demás materiales que se utilizan en las aulas?

Siempre	A veces	Casi nunca	Nunca
---------	---------	------------	-------

Dimensión II. Actividades extraescolares para desarrollar prácticas inclusivas y construir comunidad

3. ¿Te gusta trabajar en equipo?

Siempre	A veces	Casi nunca	Nunca
---------	---------	------------	-------

4. ¿Crees que trabajar en equipo ayuda a aprender mientras nos divertimos?

Siempre	A veces	Casi nunca	Nunca
---------	---------	------------	-------

5. Si te toca ir en un equipo con compañeros y compañeras que no son tus mejores amigos o amigas, ¿te importa?

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Muy poco
-------	---------	------	----------

6. ¿Crees que las actividades y salidas que se realizan fuera del centro escolar favorecen conocer mejor a los compañeros del colegio?

Siempre	A veces	Casi nunca	Nunca
---------	---------	------------	-------

Dimensión III. Actividades extraescolares y educación patrimonial para construir una ciudadanía intercultural-inclusiva

7. ¿Conocías las costumbres de tus antepasados (bisabuelos, tatarabuelos...)?

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Muy poco
-------	---------	------	----------

8. ¿Te ha gustado conocer las tradiciones y costumbres de tus antepasados?

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Muy poco
-------	---------	------	----------

9. ¿Sabías que en Murcia habían vivido otras culturas como íberos, romanos y árabes?

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Muy poco
-------	---------	------	----------

10. ¿Te gusta saber sobre otras culturas diferentes a la tuya?

Mucho	Regular	Poco	Muy poco
-------	---------	------	----------

*** CONTESTA las siguientes preguntas, SÓLO si tus padres y familiares NO SON DE ORIGEN ESPAÑOL:**

11. ¿Has encontrado algún parecido con las costumbres de tu país de origen?

Muchos	Algunos	Pocos	Ninguno
--------	---------	-------	---------

12. ¿Podrías escribir aquellas costumbres idénticas y diferentes que más te han llamado la atención?

Costumbres idénticas _____

Costumbres diferentes _____

DRAWINGS AND WRITINGS BY CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE FROM WARTIME IN EUROPE. INCLUSION IN THE UNESCO WORLD DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE REGISTER 2025 AND THE IRAND RESEARCH NETWORK

*Dibujos y escritos de niños y jóvenes de la guerra en Europa.
Inclusión en el registro del Patrimonio Documental Mundial
de la UNESCO 2025 y en la red de investigación IRAND*

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Keywords

Children's and youth drawings
Wars of the 20th century
Holocaust
UNESCO Memory
of the World

ABSTRACT: The 20th century is considered the heyday of European children's and youth drawing culture. The dramatic events of the years 1914-1950 form the framework for the proposed selection of 19 exceptional European collections: drawings, paintings, writings and two youth diaries. These drawings are documents of serious events and provide deep insight into biographies, private lives and social changes.

In 2025, the collection of drawings, compiled by Jutta Ströter-Bender and Kunibert Bering in collaboration with Kristell Gilbert (Musée de l'Education Rouen), was included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register.

Palabras clave

Dibujos infantiles y juveniles
Guerras del siglo xx
Holocausto
Memoria del Mundo
de la UNESCO

RESUMEN: El siglo xx se considera el apogeo de la cultura del dibujo infantil y juvenil en Europa. Los dramáticos acontecimientos de los años 1914-1950 constituyen el marco de la selección propuesta de 19 colecciones europeas excepcionales: dibujos, pinturas, escritos y dos diarios juveniles. Estos dibujos son documentos de acontecimientos graves y proporcionan una visión profunda de las biografías, las vidas privadas y los cambios sociales.

En 2025, la colección de dibujos, recopilada por Jutta Ströter-Bender y Kunibert Bering en colaboración con Kristell Gilbert (Musée de l'Education Rouen), fue incluida en el Registro Memoria del Mundo de la UNESCO.

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How to cite: Ströter-Bender, Jutta; Bering, Kunibert (2025). «Drawings and Writings by Children and Young People from Wartime in Europe. Inclusion in the UNESCO World Documentary Heritage Register 2025 and the IRAND Research Network», *Cabás*, 34, 178-214. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27768>).

Received: 19 august, 2025; Final version: 10 september, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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The UNESCO preamble states:

“Since wars originate in the minds of men, peace must also be anchored in the minds of men. This statement and the critical examination of it have characterised the conceptual development of peace education. The concept of a culture of peace developed within this framework has become a globally recognised point of reference for peace education. With the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World (2001 to 2010), the United Nations has also given peace education a further international frame of reference. Although the importance of individual peace skills is beyond question, given the complexity of the causes and forms of violence, peace education must always also aim to exert political influence and change social structures.”¹

At its 221st session, which took place in Paris on 10 April 2025, the Executive Committee of the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme added 17 important collections of drawings and writings by children and young people from European times of war and peace (1914-1950) to its register. The works come from 17 collections in Europe and Canada and represent exceptional, authentic sources on the profound events of the past century from the perspective of children and young people (Edmondson, R.; Jordan, L.; Prodan, A. C., 2019).²

The French UNESCO Commission took the lead in submitting the international application. The nomination project was initiated and coordinated by the research network IRAND (International Research and Archives Network for Historical Children's and Youth Drawings). The art educators Professor emeritus Dr Jutta Ströter-Bender and Professor emeritus Dr Kunibert Bering led the project together with Kristell Gilbert from the Musée National de l'Éducation in Rouen.

The World Documentary Heritage has been one of the pillars of UNESCO's heritage programmes since 1992, alongside the World Cultural and Natural Heritage and the Intangible Cultural Heritage. A key objective of the programme is to open up documents of outstanding value worldwide through digitisation, to safeguard their existence and thus to enable access for present and future generations. The programme's preamble states:

“The Programme's vision is that the world's documentary heritage belongs to all, should be fully preserved and protected for all and, with due recognition of cultural mores and practicalities, should be permanently accessible to all without hindrance [...]. Documentary heritage is a legacy of humankind, through which we can look back into the past, enrich our present lives, and look into the future with the boldness forged by enduring memories.”³

¹ https://berghoffoundation.org/files/publications/glossar_2012_07_Friedenspaedagogik_Grundsaeetze.pdf, p. 1, in German (last accessed on 01-08-2025).

² This text is based on the volume Kunibert Bering - Jutta Ströter-Bender: *Blicke auf die Welt. Zeichnungen von Kindern und Jugendlichen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Krieg und Frieden (1914-1950)*, Bielefeld 2025 (Athena-Verlag im wbv) as well as on the application text written by Jutta Ströter-Bender and Kunibert Bering for the inclusion of the collection of works in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

³ <https://www.unesco.org/en/memory-world/about> (last accessed on 02-08-2025).

1. CHILDREN'S AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S DRAWINGS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Children and young people drew their experiences during the two world wars, the Spanish Civil War and the years of persecution and extermination of the Jews by the Nazi regime in Germany, particularly in the Terezín and Buchenwald concentration camps. The drawings and writings show facets of cultural memory that have been little researched to date and are evidence of young people's view of existential changes in their lives and society. These works are often the only remaining traces of their lives, which were often wiped out by war and mass murder (Ströter-Bender, 2021).

The collections recognised by UNESCO were mostly created under difficult conditions and are of great cultural value, transcending narrow national and social boundaries through their expressive language. Above all, it is the expressions of defenceless and defenceless adolescents in times of war that they document in a haunting way and thus enable a broader view of conflicts.

The works included in the UNESCO World Heritage List are documents of fundamental historical events and also refer to biographies, everyday life, social changes, communication with peers and adults and school contexts. The underlying element between the collections is the temporal context to which they owe their creation. The cultural heritage of boys and girls connects successive age groups as well as different social classes and different European cultural landscapes.

Many of the works only partially correspond to contemporary ideas of children's drawings in their elaboration and design. They were often made with thin pencils, faint coloured pencils or delicate-coloured glazes on simple paper and in a small format. Felt-tip pens and colour-intensive opaque paint boxes were just as unavailable as large paper formats, which could give room for other creative freedoms.

Leonhard (2021, p. 1), aptly remarks:

"Childhood and youth in their environment, also in threat and impairment: how did children themselves see their respective environments and, more precisely: how did they thus also see themselves? How did they express their experiences, their joy and hope, their sadness and fear, even their threat and fear in drawings and small paintings that they made at school, at home or in other places, including many in concentration camps, in earlier times, when they depicted their surroundings and/or themselves on paper with pencil and brush?

Children's drawings as documents of their own individual lives and suffering, but also as evidence of collective memory: they can be found in old portfolios of today's adults, as special collections in many museums, archives and libraries around the world and give us an insight into the child's view of all kinds of topics that stimulate the child's sensitivity, imagination and fantasy. These could be everyday things, but also wars and crises, hardship and death. Historical eyewitnesses and contemporaries, i.e. in a different way than we record in historical documentary channels as subsequent reflections of today's adults, but as snapshots with the senses of a child and its independent view of itself and the circumstances. In other words, not labelling as retrospective and reflective classification and assessment, but synchronous drawing in the practical sense on paper and as simultaneous imprinting in the child's eidetic memory." (translation by the authors)

The visual language of children and young people has many facets and just as many functions in the lives of adolescents: in their drawings, adolescents engage with their world, they appropriate the world and shape ways of life but also construct counter-worlds (Bering and Ströter-Bender, 2025, pp. 15-16).

The focus is on the drawings as *historical documents* that not only provide information about the developmental phases of the child or its psychological state but rather demonstrate adaptation processes in dealing with the existing world of images and innovative combinations of elements from a large, historically evolved reservoir of images. At the same time, however, it is also a matter of securing traces of the individually experienced moments and situations in which the children and young people were placed, in connection with the presentation of different national contexts.⁴

In European culture, wars and images have belonged together for thousands of years - images depict wars and supposed heroes, thematise farewells, death and mourning, celebrate victories, offer disinformation as a weapon and influence people's thoughts and feelings. Children and young people cannot escape these images; in fact, society's repertoire of images characterises the world view of adolescents. Their drawings therefore prove to be the result of the —consciously or unconsciously— received reservoir of images and at the same time constitutive elements of this culture that is essentially determined by images.

The considerations presented here attempt to follow the intentions of children's and young people's drawings and to see their works as documents of contexts that can be grasped in terms of the history of mentalities. Children's drawings have been part of school education since the 19th century at the latest, albeit in different forms. In 1887, Corrado Ricci's ground-breaking book *L'arte dei bambini* significantly revalued juvenile drawing. Around 1900, reform pedagogy in particular believed that it had discovered the "genius in the child" (Hartlaub) - consequently, aspects of "aesthetic behaviour" were at the forefront of the debate on children's drawings. In addition, there were research approaches that examined the drawing activities of adolescents primarily as an expression of psychological developments and inner states.

Beyond this, however, these images represent fundamental vehicles for shaping processes of socialisation, identity formation and education, which not only reflect the carefree moments of childhood, but in particular the fundamental, existential problems of their respective present. The depictions of war, genocide and expulsion are therefore of particular importance.

A variety of reception processes play a decisive role here: the orientation towards models from the current world of images is not a mere "colouring in" but proves to be a fundamental process of appropriation of pictorial formulas and the ideas they convey.

Through perception in conjunction with creative practices, processes of self-assurance and identification with socio-cultural structures are formed and at the same time open possibilities for changing them. Images thus enable reflection on fundamental questions about basic orientation in the world, but also about existential problems and metaphysical dimensions.

The world of 20th century adolescents was essentially characterised by images. Their reception is based on —conscious or unconscious— criteria, which is why images require interpretation: they must be given meaning to be used as elements for the construction of new compositions. Interpretation and reception take place within meaningful horizons determined by culture and society.

The "horizon" marks an ultimately intangible, constantly changing boundary, which Ludwig Wittgenstein described as follows: "The inexpressible (that which seems mysterious to me and which I am unable to express) perhaps provides the background on which what I have been able to express acquires meaning" (Wittgenstein, 1984, p. 472).

The perceived images often originate from heterogeneous contexts and come together in new constellations to form contexts in which the adolescent's world view is articulated. This world view often

⁴ For the historical context see Dávila and Naya, 2026.

also determines the hierarchies of values that characterise their lifestyles in adulthood.⁵ This also makes it clear how porous the repeatedly postulated boundary between childhood and adulthood is.⁶

As historical documents and first-class sources, the drawings of adolescents refer not only to individual experiences through their motifs and design, but also to world views, indoctrination and ideas as well as the chequered history of curricula and their content in the history of education systems.

2. THE 17 ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND INSTITUTES LISTED IN THE UNESCO MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER (IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE COLLECTIONS)⁷

I. *World War I (1914-1918) and its consequences:*

- Musée de Montmartre, Paris (France).
- Museum Elbinsel Wilhelmsburg, Hamburg (Germany).
- Institute for Personal History, Bensheim (Germany).
- National Arts Education Archive | Yorkshire Sculpture Park (United Kingdom).
- School Museum Nuremberg / School History Collection of the University of Erlangen Nuremberg (Germany).

II. *The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939):*

- Archives of Ontario, Toronto (Canada).
- Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country, San Sebastián (Spain).

III. *Children and Young People in the Holocaust:*

- Düsseldorf City Museum (Germany).
- Mémorial de la Shoah, Paris (France).
- Židovské muzeum v Praze (Jewish Museum, Prague) (Czech Republic).
- Bibliothèque Nationale de France / Maison d'Izieu (France).
- Archive for Contemporary History ETH Zurich (Switzerland).

IV. *World War II (1939-1945) and its consequences:*

- Musée National de l'Éducation, Rouen (France).
- Pestalozzianum Foundation, Zurich University of Teacher Education (Switzerland).
- Archiwa Państwowe, Warsaw (Poland).
- Saarbrücken City Archives (Germany).
- Pestalozzi Children's Village Foundation, Trogen (Switzerland).

⁵ It is particularly important to consider aspects of a culture of remembrance: Ströter-Bender: *Erinnerungskultur I*; cf. also Drygas: *Der ferne Krieg*, *ibid.* unpag.

⁶ On the (supposed) boundary between childhood and adulthood from a general perspective, see Wittmann (2018, pp. 8-11).

⁷ A link with the addresses of all collections by the German UNESCO Commission: <https://www.unesco.de/staette/zeichnungen-heranwachsende-in-kriegszeiten/>

3. PRESENTATION OF THE COLLECTIONS WITH SELECTED DRAWINGS

3.1. World War I (1914-1918) and its consequences

The events of World War I had a profound impact on the lives of children and young people, who often tried to come to terms with the events in drawings. The resulting works often depict the perceptions beyond the widespread war propaganda with their repertoire of images, so that their own confrontations with the phenomenon of “war” become visible.

Picture 1. Hella Klauzner (14 years old):
Farewell to her father, probably 1917/1918, linocut, 37.5 × 54 cm



Source: Čížek Collection, National Arts Education Archive, No. BHFCPD00085 and BHFCPD00003 (Work collected by Francesca M. Wilson for exhibition purposes. On loan by Wanda Stanley).

Austria / United Kingdom

The work “Abschied des Vaters” was created in the classroom of the art teacher Franz Čížek (1865-1946), who developed innovative concepts for the promotion of youthful creativity with his art school founded in Vienna in 1897 and achieved international renown with his diverse exhibition activities (Laven, 2006). “Experts around the world regard the reformer Franz Čížek as one of the pioneers of children’s education,” says Rolf Laven in his groundbreaking research and exploration of Čížek’s work.⁸ His teaching activities had a great impact on the following generation of artists who received their first lessons and inspiration from him, including the Viennese painter and art educator Friedl Dicker-Brandeis (born 1898, murdered in Auschwitz in 1944), who initiated art education work with interned children in the Theresienstadt concentration camp over 20 years later (see below).

⁸ Fundamental Laven 2006: 81 ff., 121 ff., 133

The works presented here from Franz Čížek's youth art class are part of a collection that was brought together by the British teacher and humanitarian aid worker Francesca Wilson (see Chapter 6) for travelling exhibitions after the end of the war to raise money for aid organisations, and which is now in the National Arts Education Archive YSP in England (Roberts, 2017).

Germany

The following drawings were made at a school in Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg in the first two years of the First World War (Drolshagen, 2021; Kass, 2015; Kay, 2014; 2019). In 2012, they were found in the attic of the Museum Elbinsel Wilhelmsburg. There, 353 drawings by boys and girls from the surrounding working-class neighbourhood had been brought to safety from the storm surge of 1962. "The works with themes relating to the First World War were created in drawing lessons at the local primary school. They are divided into four class sets from three age groups (10 to 14 years). The series of drawings, created with simple materials, cover the themes of land warfare, air warfare, naval warfare and military hospitals. We do not know today what information these Wilhelmsburg children had, what they knew from their own experience, what they were told by their parents, siblings, friends, teachers at school and in clubs. But it can be assumed that they were exposed to the intensive war propaganda of the German Empire, because schoolchildren were also seen as a target group for national war ideologies (Drygas and Ströter-Bender, 2022).

Picture 2. Glöckner (12 years old):

Air war over France, 1914-1915, Coloured pencils, 269 × 362 mm



Source: Museum Elbinsel Wilhelmsburg.

Drawing lessons were not unaffected by the events of the war. The drawing "Air combat over France" combines various pictorial elements. The upper half of the picture is reserved for the depiction of an air battle, while in the lower part two bombs hit, one of which causes a house to go up in flames. The action is

evidently taking place in France, as the smaller airship and the aeroplanes are marked by French flags, while the imperial war flag flies at the stern of the dominant airship. The depiction of the air battle is based on popular models: the pupil may have been inspired by a depiction of the so-called Christmas raid by British air units on the airship base at Cuxhaven in 1914, as depicted on a contemporary postcard.

The mechanisation of war since the 19th century resulted in a new spatial awareness, which the pupils also reflected in their drawings during the First World War. While the wars of the past took place horizontally on the surface of the earth, the fighting in the First World War increasingly extended into the dimensions of airspace and the underwater world: Submarines, airships and aeroplanes negated the earth's surface. Great Britain, for example, built over 200 airships during the First World War, which were mainly used as submarine fighters. In this combination of airspace with the spaces below sea level combined the newly conquered dimensions of warfare. The Wilhelmsburg drawings on naval warfare deal with these developments, which were to become of fundamental importance for the 20th and 21st centuries.

The sinking of the British passenger liner "Lusitania" on 7 May 1915 off the south coast of Ireland went down as one of the most momentous events in the history of the First World War, as this action provided the reason for the United States to intervene in the war with its own troops on the European continent the following year and ultimately decide the war in favour of the Allies. The end of the "Lusitania" came with a torpedo from the German submarine U 20-1998 people lost their lives (Bering, 2024).

The naval war had a special significance for the Wilhelmsburg schoolchildren as children on the coast, especially as the Kaiser had issued the slogan "Our future lies on the water!" in 1898. The unusual drawing from the Wilhelmsburg school depicts the sinking of the "Lusitania": the composition shows the moment immediately before the passenger liner finally sinks into the sea in the left half of the picture; only part of the stern is still protruding from the water. In the lower third of the picture, the German submarine lies parallel to the edge of the picture (Bering, 2024).

Picture 3. Möller (12-13 years):
Lusitania, 1914-15. Coloured pencils, 269 × 362 mm



Source: Museum Elbinsel Wilhelmsburg.

As the horizon is very high in this drawing, the view falls diagonally from above onto the water surface and in particular onto the position where the passenger ship is sinking. At this point, the pupil only draws the waves that have engulfed the ship. This impression of emptiness emphasises the horror of the event - the composition thus avoids exaggerated drama and the widespread cheerful patriotism that characterises many depictions of comparable war events.

This also applies to the depiction of a military hospital scene. The sheet drawn by A. Scharweit shows a nurse striding to the left, carrying a stretcher, only half of which is visible. A wounded man with a head bandage is lying on it. A white cloth envelops the body of the wounded man. However, the depiction largely dispenses with the narrative elements that characterise the usual drawings of adolescents or pictorial propaganda. Instead, the events in the drawing take place against a monochrome ochre-coloured background. With this reduction of the formal apparatus, the depiction achieves a high degree of concentration on the central message, the visualisation of the soldier's wound and the nurse's care. Details such as the nurse's strained facial expression and the trace of blood on the wounded soldier's head emphasise the trepidation of the scene and the associated feelings of the schoolchild.

Picture 4. A. Scharweit (12 years old):
Military hospital, 1914-15. Coloured pencils, 269 × 362 mm



Source: Museum Elbinsel Wilhelmsburg.

The eleven-year-old schoolboy Ernst Hopp from Windsbach in the district of Ansbach in Middle Franconia (southern Germany) had completely different intentions. He dedicated his drawings of wartime events to his teacher, the priest Egon Langheinrich, who was called up for military service as a field chaplain and medic in February 1916. The 15 drawings were apparently created on this occasion.

Overall, the depictions show the entire spectrum from marches, combat operations and hospital scenes to soldiers' graves in which Ernst Hopp's "heroes" lie. One unusual motif is the battle of houses that Ernst

Hopp drew, which probably took place in the town of Rethel in northern France. The burning church and the neighbouring house in flames serve as the scene of dramatic fighting in the drawing: German troops attack from the right edge of the picture and put the French to flight, who flee from the windows and doors of the house.

Picture 5. Ernst Hopp:
Battle for a town (Rethel on the Aisne?), 1916

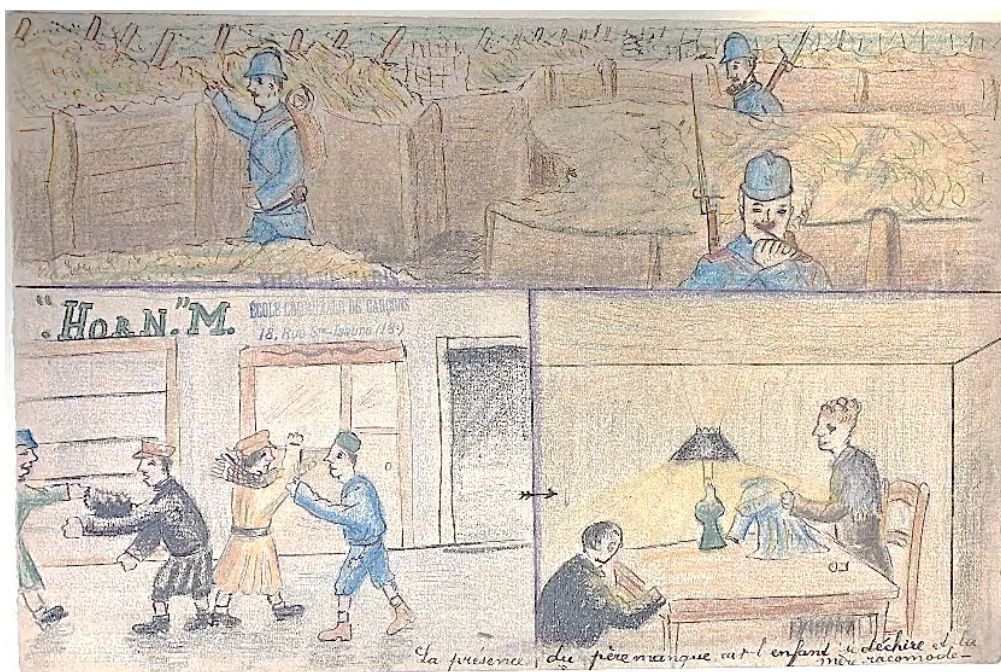


Source: Institut für Personengeschichte, Bensheim.

France

The Musée du Montmartre in Paris preserves an impressive collection of drawings made by boys during the First World War (Pignot, 2004; 2024). They show everyday scenes in the Parisian neighbourhood of Montmartre between 1914 and 1918. One outstanding sheet combines the procurement of food with the thought of his father in the trenches and waiting for his father to return from the war.

Picture 6. The father in the trenches - Procuring food - Consolation during the father's absence - Pencil, coloured pencil



Source: Musée de Montmartre.

Germany

In the period between the world wars, themes of a more peaceful world dominated the repertoire of pupils' work, despite the widespread economic hardship in those years. This is shown by the collection of the primary school teacher Wilhelm Daiber, which is kept in the School Museum of the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg.

The director of the museum, Mathias Rösch (2023, pp. 1-2), writes about this collection:

"The holdings are entitled the 'Daiber Collection' and include over 4,500 drawings by nine to 14-year-old pupils at the primary school in the small town of Stein near Nuremberg in Germany from the years 1924 to 1929. The drawings were created in the classroom and under the guidance of primary school teacher Wilhelm Daiber, a reform and art teacher who later became renowned throughout Germany. Daiber began his consciously organised art lessons in 1924 with his then fourth class and continued these lessons with the same children in the following school years until 1929. The

collection thus includes almost all the drawings of these selected children from the fourth to the eighth grade, the year they left school. These drawings show motifs from nature, from the forest to animals and insects to bouquets of flowers as well as fairy tales and scenes from the children's everyday lives, from nativity scenes, Christmas parties and other festivities to houses and depictions of living spaces to work and play equipment. The children usually frame their drawings with floral motifs or simple coloured lines. The drawings were usually created on white paper with pencil sketches and then coloured in with watercolours. The lines of the preliminary drawing were then traced with a thin ink pen and certain details were added from time to time. All the drawings were realised with remarkable care, richness of detail and filigree strokes. The children's drawings are mostly 20 cm × 30 cm in size, portrait or landscape format. They are labelled on the back. This means that each drawing is clearly assigned to a pupil, a class, a subject and a school year. The drawings were divided by Wilhelm Daiber into thematically orientated, small bundles ("bundles"), which are held together by banderoles."

Wilhelm Daiber —influenced by his own war experiences in the years 1914-1918 in changing positions at the front— wanted to strengthen the children mentally and physically through an art therapy concept he had developed. Daiber was clearly influenced by the ideas of art theorist Gustav Britsch (1879-1923), whose approaches to education in the field of art and aesthetics were widespread at the time.

In promoting the children's drawing activities, Daiber was also concerned with conveying knowledge to them through close observation. The realisation of this intention is particularly evident in the large series on the forest, in which trees, animals and people are combined with delicate strokes to form a kind of colour fabric.

Picture 7. Unknown: Animals in the forest, Pencil drawing, glazed with watercolours, 1927



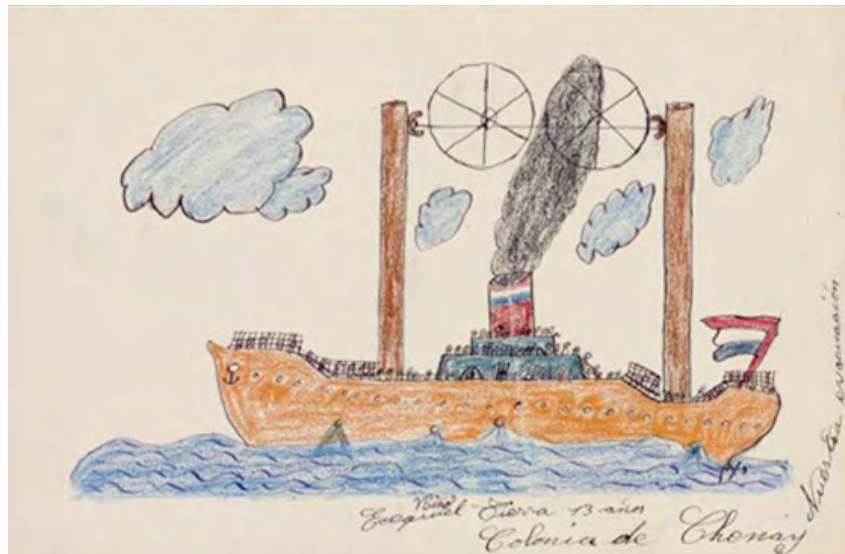
Source: Wilhelm Daiber Collection, Nuremberg School Museum - Photos: Ströter-Bender.

3.2. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

Canada

The new collections in the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme also include drawings from the context of the Spanish Civil War, such as works from holiday colonies of evacuated Spanish children abroad, which are now kept in the Archives of Ontario in Toronto, Canada. They were created between 1936 and 1939.

Picture 8. Esquirel Tierra (13 years old): Our evacuation, 1936-39



Source: Toronto, Archives of Ontario's (Alexander Albert MacLeod fond).

Picture 9. Miguel (age 10): The war at the front

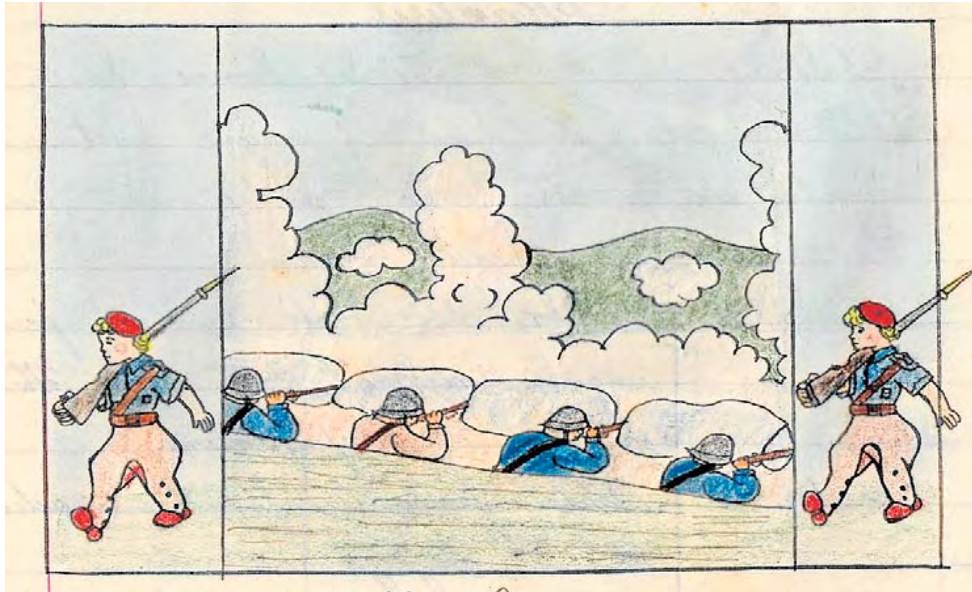


Source: Drawing from the "Casa España", between 1936 and 1939. Toronto: Archives of Ontario's (Alexander Albert MacLeod fond).

Spain

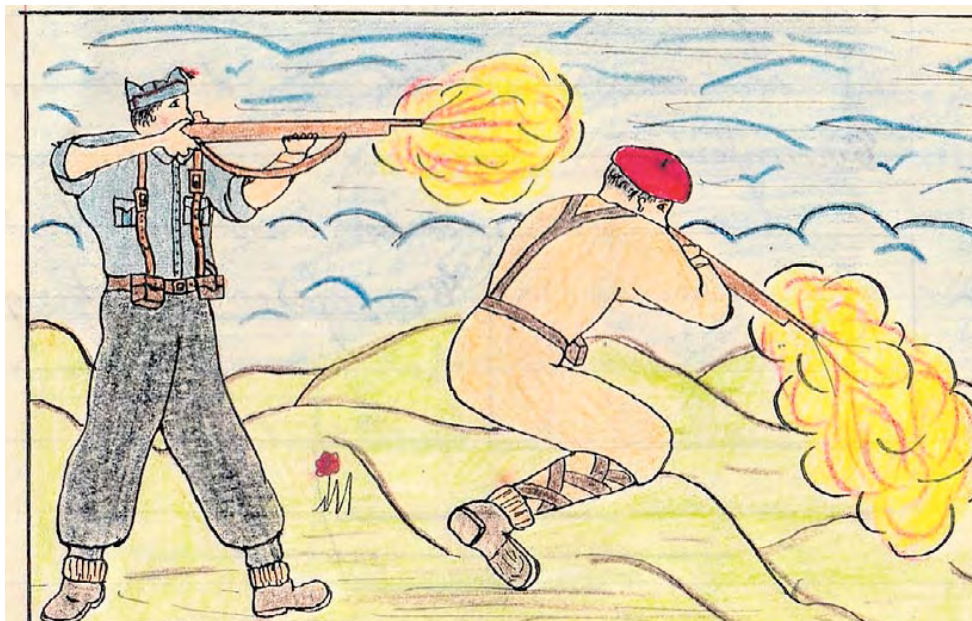
The Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country is archiving and researching further outstanding collections of drawings by young people in 75 exercise books from the time of the Spanish Civil War.

Picture 10. Carmen Sancho, Marching soldiers, 1938



Source: Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country.

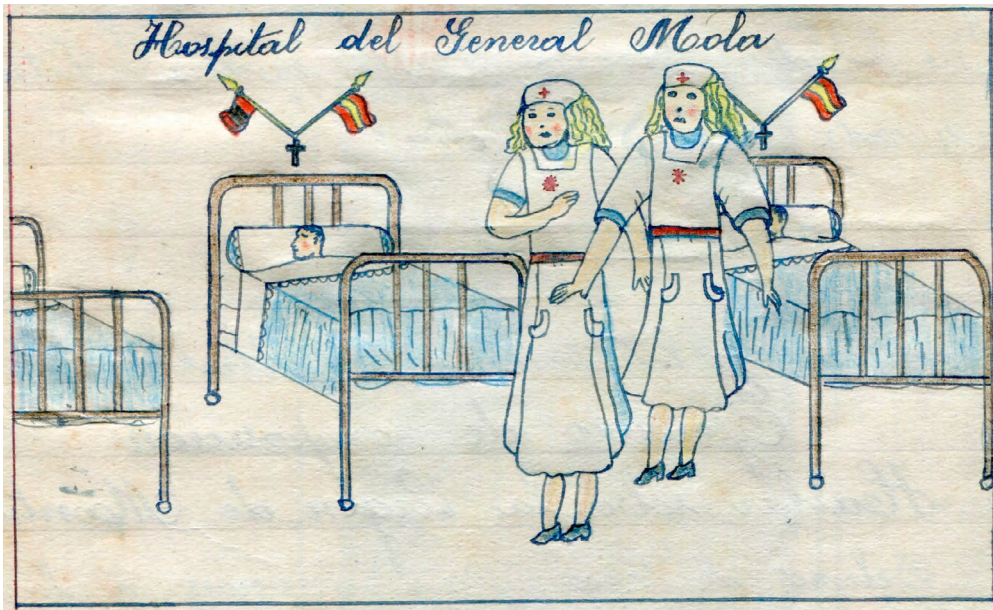
Picture 11. Carmen Sancho, Soldiers in battle, 1938



Source: Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country.

The following sheet was created in a school context in the Basque Country after the conquest by Franco in 1937 and is based on popular models. In 1938, Carmen Sancho drew a scene from a military hospital with the beds of injured soldiers and two nurses facing the viewer. The hospital programmatically bears the name of General Mola, one of Franco's leading combatants at the beginning of the coup in 1936. During the civil war, Mola commanded the "Northern Army" and died in a plane crash in 1937.

Picture 12. Carmen Sancho, Hospital del General Mola, 1938



Source: Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country.

Picture 13. Carmen Sancho, Dying soldier, 1938



Source: Museum on Education of the University of the Basque Country.

Another drawing depicts a soldier fatally injured in the Spanish Civil War and his helping comrades and was probably created by tracing. The red beret of the helping soldier refers to the so-called *Requeté*, monarchist troops fighting on Franco's side. The depiction clearly documents the appropriation of historical pictorial forms. The underlying motif is part of a pictorial tradition that goes back to the motif of the "Lamentation of Christ" and demonstrates the penetration of this motif into popular depictions of the war, which is thus simultaneously ennobled: the death of the soldier becomes a "heroic death".

3.3. Children and Young People in the Holocaust

Germany

The pictures of Jewish children from the time of National Socialism and the Second World War impressively reflect their troubled present against the backdrop of persecution, deportation and the threat of annihilation. The Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf owns an outstanding collection of works compiled by the Jewish artist and drawing teacher Julo Levin. Levin (born in Stettin in 1901, murdered in Auschwitz in 1943) studied painting at the School of Arts and Crafts in Essen and at the academies in Munich and Düsseldorf (Scheffler, 2025). He was not only a member of the "Rheinische Sezession" and the "Junges Rheinland", but also taught at several Jewish schools during the National Socialist persecution, for example at the private Jewish primary schools in Düsseldorf and later from 1937 at schools in Berlin (Scheffler, 2015, pp. 43-53). The themes of the approximately 2,000 works document everyday Jewish life with religious festivals as well as scenes of farewell and the visualisation of places of longing such as Palestine or New York as the dreamed destinations of people oppressed by persecution and exclusion.

Picture 14. Ilse Marx: Job, watercolour, October 1936



Source: City Museum Düsseldorf.

Against the backdrop of growing repression, the fifteen-year-old schoolgirl Ilse Marx painted the figure of the suffering Job in 1936. Ilse Marx depicts a seated male figure facing left, looking up to the sky and opening his mouth as if to cry out. His left arm is twisted, and his hand is missing. In the Old Testament figure of Job, the pupil reflects not only the fate of Judaism in the past, but also Jewish suffering in her own present.

The motif of “farewell” is frequently encountered in Julo Levin’s collection, as in the scene selected here as an example. The depiction shows a family just before embarking on an ocean liner, which is moored on the quay in the upper third of the picture. In the centre of the picture, several people are waving, apparently relatives or friends who have stayed behind. The lower half of the picture is dominated by the departing family with the central figure of the father with two suitcases. The entire scene is backdropped by a grey surface that vividly conveys the sombre atmosphere of farewell.

Picture 15. Unknown: Emigration, coloured pencil, graphite pencil, n.d.



Source: Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf.

Czech Republic

Several of the collections inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2025 reflect the fates of deported and murdered Jews in the drawings of children and young people who were imprisoned in the concentration camps (Heuberger 1991; Goldman, 2000; Blodig, 2003). These include, in particular, Friedl Dicker-Brandeis’ collection of around 5,800 children’s drawings from the “Terezín Ghetto”. They are among the earliest authentic documents of the Nazi genocide of more than 6 million Jews during the Second World War. The drawings were made between 1941 and 1945 and are kept in the Jewish Museum in Prague (Kass 2015; Heuberger 1991; Hošková-Weissová 2004; Jewish Museum Prague 1999). They are often the only remaining documents of 15,000 murdered children and adolescents who were deported to Theresienstadt

during these four years and of whom only around 150 survived this terrible time. The other adolescents died of hunger and disease or were deported from there and murdered in the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau (Hošková-Weissová 2004; Jewish Museum in Prague, online).

Picture 16. Vilém Eisner (1931-1944). Drawing lessons in a boys' dormitory, Terezín (undated, March 1943-October 1944), watercolour, 21.0 × 27.7 cm



Source: Jewish Museum Prague, inv. no. 129.357.

The Jewish ghetto administration in Theresienstadt had organised extensive care for the interned children and young people, including lessons and artistic activities, in order to make life more bearable for the adolescents. When the Austrian artist and art teacher Friedl Dicker-Brandeis (1898-1944) and her husband Pavel were deported to Theresienstadt in December 1942, she began organising art lessons for the imprisoned children and young people, mostly aged 14-18, in 1943. As a young student at the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts, Friedl Dicker-Brandeis had attended courses with the reform pedagogue Prof. Franz Čížek, and later courses at the Bauhaus with Johannes Itten.

“Friedl Dicker-Brandeis pursued the same goals in her lessons in Theresienstadt and met her pupils with a similar basic attitude, which was characterised by great respect, accompanied by the greatest possible freedom, which she conveyed to the children and which, according to this understanding, served as a prerequisite for the development of the children’s creative powers [...]. This freedom became the centre of her work and stands in direct contrast to the ‘lack of freedom’ of the children in their entire existence in the ghetto. She saw creativity and imagination as a source of energy inherent in every child that only needed to be activated.” (Kass, 2015, p. 40)

Picture 17. Jiří Beutler (1932-1944):
Ghetto guard and man with the Star of David (undated, March 1943-May 1944)



Source: Jewish Museum Prague Inv. no. 125.426r.

The depiction of the “night train” of fifteen-year-old Alice Gutman, murdered in Auschwitz in 1944, is particularly depressing (fig. 18). It is presumably a depiction of deportation or of the trains that picked up prisoners under cover of darkness to transport them to certain death in the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Alice Gutmann’s work reproduces in the medium of drawing what Helga Hošková-Weissová (born 1919), painter and Holocaust witness, survivor of Theresienstadt and Auschwitz, described in an interview with Sarah Kass:

“It was very bad, so this fear of being put on a transport, that always hung over us. But it was said to be even worse when such things happened at night. So they would come at night with a torch and look for the person who was to be put on a transport. Invitation to a transport, but at night. We were afraid, as I said, this fear hung over us, but we still didn’t know what to expect. We thought it would be something bad, but nobody expected it to be this bad, nobody imagined it. We didn’t know anything about it. We also didn’t know where the transports were going. They were just called ‘East transports’. Simply to the east, but we didn’t know where.” (Hošková-Weissová, quoted in an interview by Kass 2015, p. 161)

Picture 18. Alice Gutman (1928-1944):

Night Train (undated, March-September 1943), graphite on paper, 21.5 × 29.3 cm



Source: Jewish Museum Prague, inv. no. 131.753.

France

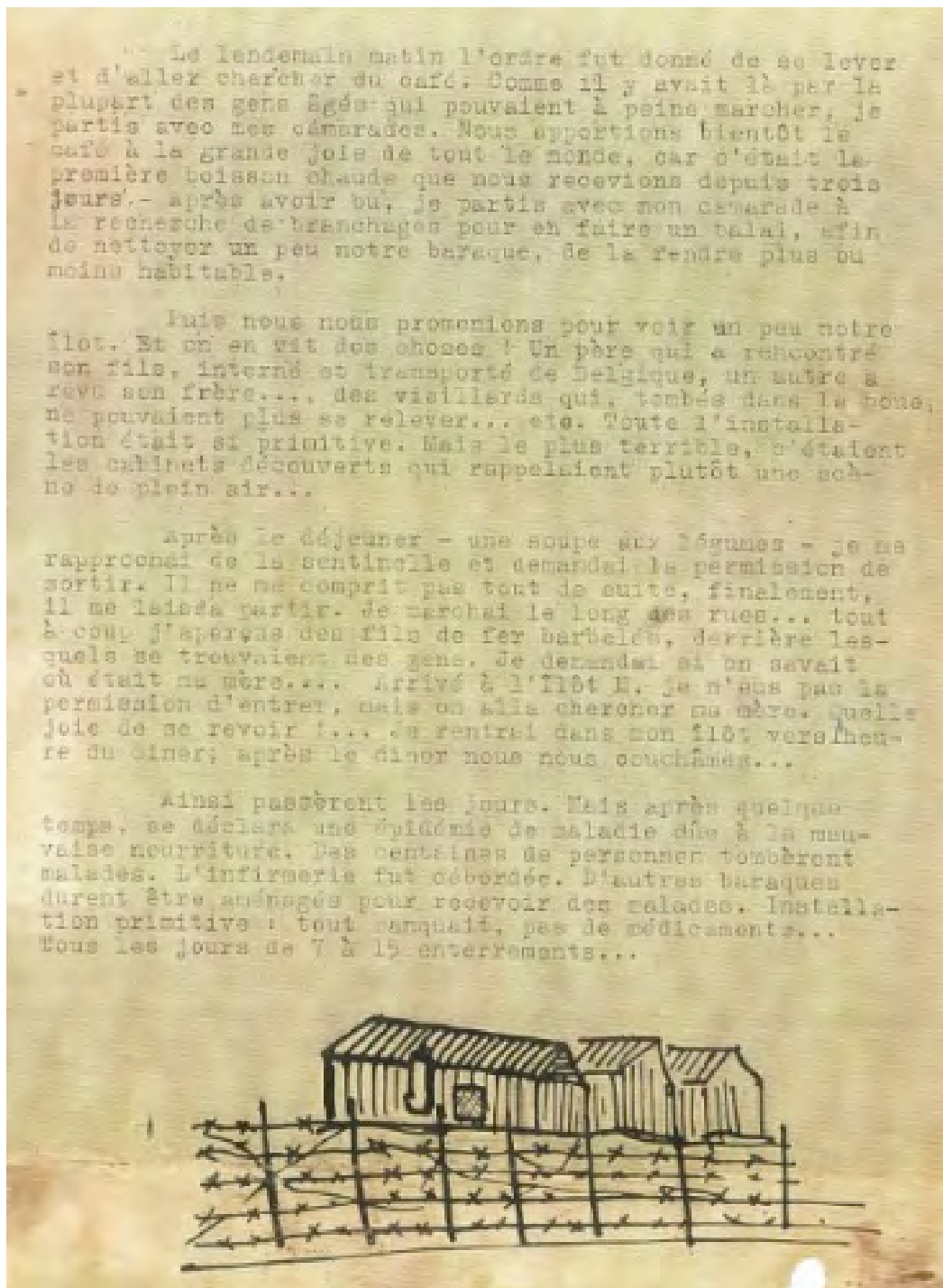
Further aspects of the fates of Jewish children and young people are discussed in the “Journal de Chabannes”, a youth magazine from 1942 from a Jewish children’s home, archived in the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris (Perlstein, 1942). Such homes were established in France after the Pogrom Night in November 1938, when unaccompanied children and young people from Germany and Austria were sent to France by their parents to save them from deportation to concentration camps.

The “Château de Chabannes” was one of these children’s homes (also known as children’s colonies) run by the OSE (“Œuvre de secours aux enfants”) in the village of Chabannes between November 1939 and January 1944, located in the occupation zone of the German Wehrmacht and the Vichy regime. The establishment of the home is due to the courage and intrepidity of the home’s director, Félix Chevrier (1884-1962).⁹ To mark the two-year anniversary of the children’s colony in 1942, the home’s management

⁹ Together with the local population, Chévrier rescued more than 1,000 children of Jewish origin who were able to survive in various places in the region (cf. Klarsfeld, 2007, p. 344).

organised the publication of an anniversary publication featuring the children and young people: The "Journal de Chabannes". The journal is a mixture of school newspaper, collection of essays and photo album. The texts, some typed or handwritten in French, are illustrated with drawings and collages.

Picture 19. Ludwig Meier: Essay "I was in the camp" with drawing of internment buildings "Journal de Chabannes", 1942, Fond Félix Chévrier, code CCCLXXIV-1



Source: Mémorial de la Shoah, Paris.

Picture 20. Sheet no. 39: David Hirsch (13 years old): Drawing of a camp, blurred pencil drawing “Journal de Chabannes”, 1942, Fond Félix Chévrier, code CCCLXXIV-1



Source: Mémorial de la Shoah, Paris.

In addition to the team of young people, the psychologist and educationalist Ernest Jablonski (1913-1988), who was appointed educational director of Chabannes with his wife Lydia Jablonski at the beginning of 1942, was also responsible for editing the journal. Due to persecution and his activities in the underground of the French Resistance, he took the name Jouhy from 1943.

From April 1943 to April 1944, the OSE's “Maison d'Izieu” children's home, 60 kilometres from Lyon, offered similar protection from Nazism and the Vichy regime to more than 10 Jewish children until they were sent to the Auschwitz extermination camp by the Gestapo (Biscarat, 2003, 2014; Boissard 2022; Klarsfeld, 2001; Pintel, 2024, Vidau, 2018).

The home was run by Sabine Zlatin, art historian, artist and sister of the Red Cross (1907-1966) and her husband Miron Zlatin (1904-1944). Everyday life was organised with many cultural activities for the children and young people, including drawing and painting.¹⁰ In their drawings, the young people liked to adapt pictorial motifs that they knew from the literature made available to them. One example is a work by the twelve-year-old Belgian Max Tetelbaum, who was murdered with his little brother in Auschwitz in April 1944. Max Tetelbaum only lived in Izieu for just over three months. A booklet designed by him contains a total of 13 drawings, including depictions of landscapes, people, animals and historical scenes as well as a picture of a bold flight manoeuvre of a biplane in the Andes. It was inspired by a book published by the French “Aero-club” in 1938.

¹⁰ The Sabine Zlatin estate comprises 47 documents drawn by the children of the Maison d'Izieu (including 2 notebooks with 17 drawings, 6 decorated birthday greetings, 3 films with 2 strips each), 24 pieces, sometimes double-sided. Cf. La collection Sabine Zlatin - Maison d'Izieu (memorializieu.eu).

Picture 21. Max Tetelbaum:
Manoeuvre of a biplane in the mountains, Pencil, watercolours, 1944



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Source: Collection Sabine Zlatin. Bibliothèque Nationale France (BNF)/Maison d'Izieu.

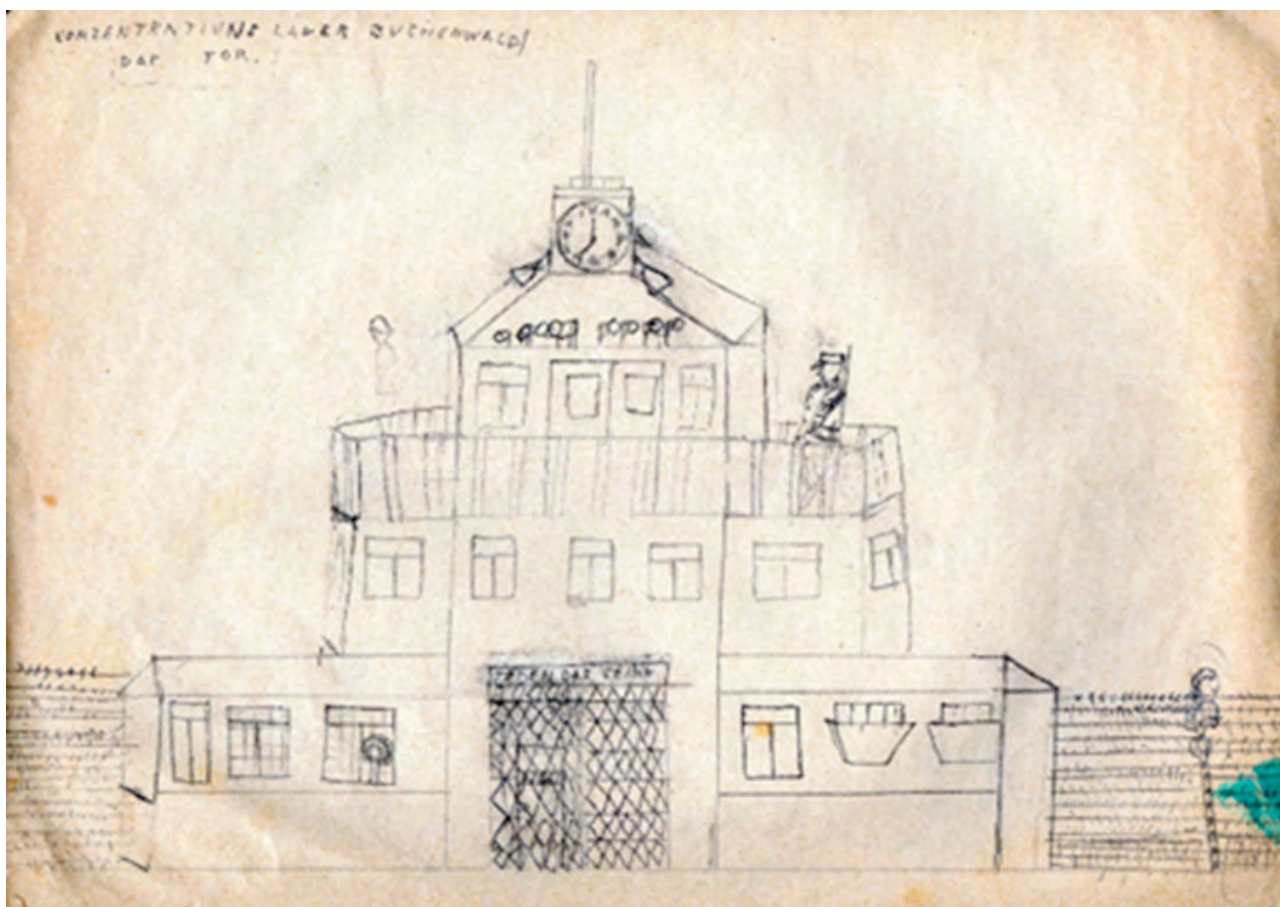
In April 1944, forty-four children and young people aged between four and seventeen and seven carers were loaded onto lorries in Izieu, most of whom were deported to Auschwitz on transport 71 and murdered there.

Switzerland

When the Buchenwald concentration camp was liberated, the American troops found over 900 children and young people in a miserable, completely traumatised state. Numerous children and young people had previously been imprisoned in the Auschwitz extermination camp and had travelled from there — in the final months of the war on so-called “death marches” — to the concentration camp in Buchenwald near Weimar (Trunkwalter, 2015).

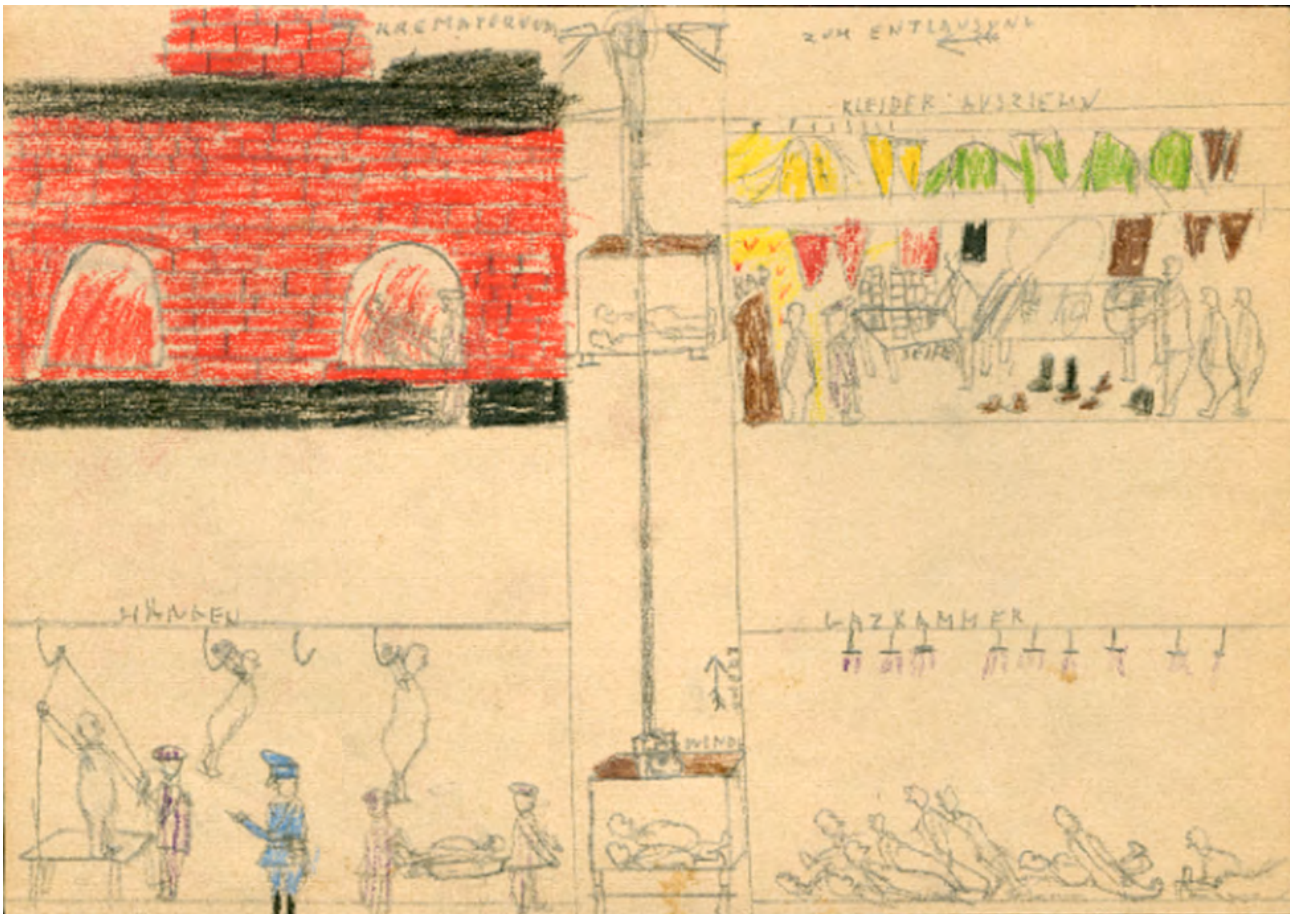
However, the “Buchenwald children”, as they were soon known, were not accepted in Switzerland without reservation, as it was feared that they would want to stay permanently. However, there were very committed teachers who provided them with intensive care and therapy as part of recreational stays. In addition to teaching activities, this also included drawing to help them process and overcome their traumatic experiences in the concentration camps and writing about their experiences (Weber, 1997, pp. 183-282). Today, the “Archive for Contemporary History (AfZ)” at ETH Zurich preserves the drawings of the Buchenwald children. We have the teacher and writer Charlotte Weber (1912-2000) to thank for looking after the adolescents and collecting their work (Trunkwalter, 2021, pp. 189-194). Here are some of the detailed drawings by Henryk Reicher (born 1929 in Cieszyn/Poland) and Kalman Landau (born 1928), two survivors of the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration and extermination camps.

Picture 22. Henryk Reicher (16 years old): Buchenwald - Gate building, 1945/46



Source: Archive for Contemporary History - ETH Zurich.

Picture 23. Henryk Reicher (16 years old): Extermination camp, 1945/46



Source: Archive of Contemporary History - ETH Zurich.

Picture 24. Kalman Landau: Gas chamber, 1945



Source: Archives of Contemporary History - ETH Zurich.

Picture 25. Henryk Reicher: Executions and graves 1945/46



Source: Archives of Contemporary History - ETH Zurich.

Picture 26. Henryk Reicher (16 years old): “The liberation in Buchenwald”, 1945/46



Source: Archives of Contemporary History - ETH Zurich.

3.4. World War II (1939-1945) and its consequences

France

Children and young people often suffered particularly from the life-threatening events of the wars. The Parisian teacher and artist Adrienne Jouclard (1882-1972) collected almost 300 drawings of children and young people from the time of the Second World War, which are kept at the Musée de l'Éducation in Rouen (Gilbert, 2012; D'Onville, 2014). Adrienne Jouclard (1882-1972) taught drawing from 1907 as a teacher in the city of Paris at various girls' schools, which are similar to today's vocational colleges.¹¹

Picture 27. J. Aglave: Darkening of Paris, between 1939 and 1940



Source: Coll. Adrienne Jouclard, Musée National de l'Éducation, Rouen, inv. no. 1979.09325.9.

¹¹ As a recognised artist (Prix Rosa Bonheur 1914 and numerous other awards), Jouclard possessed great formal skills in drawing and painting. Mademoiselle Jouclard's teaching was highly appreciated by both the school management and her pupils. The artist, who is counted among the most important post-impressionists of her time, participated intensively in the cultural life of the city alongside her professional activities, so that these aspects are also reflected in many ways in her works. Among other things, she became famous for her outstanding paintings of public and sporting events. At the same time, Jouclard repeatedly devoted her artistic attention to her pupils and school life by capturing art lessons in paintings (see Marie d'Onville et Association Jeanne D'Arc 2014). Many of her works can be found in European museums.

Picture 28. Monique Chanot: General mobilisation, 1939



Source: Coll. Adrienne Jouclard, Musée National de l'Education, Rouen, inv. no. 1979.09323.3.

Picture 29. C.S.A. Lupoli (aged 14-16):

On the way to the air-raid shelter, Autumn 1939/Spring 1940, drawing paper, gouache, 16.2 × 24.7 cm



Source: Jouclard Collection, Musée National de l'Education, Rouen, inv. no. 1979.09325.1.

The girls' drawings from the war years thus provide exemplary impressions of the effects on the civilian population in France. They depict scenes from the air raid shelter as well as food shortages, hunger and worries. These schoolworks on small pieces of paper are created with classic writing and school utensils (pencils, coloured pencils, gouache) and are comparable to authentic written documents in their uniqueness and aesthetic diversity, often oscillating between pictorial signs and writing. At the same time, they are of great painterly quality in the design of the colour areas and shading.

Kristell Gilbert (2021, p. 64) writes about the drawings in the Jouclard Collection:

“The girls' drawings are of immense importance for France's national memory culture as well as for European memory culture and are highly significant for the collective memory of the events of the civilian flight and life during the Second World War. They are authentic testimonies and legacies of a young generation at the time. The exceptional quality of their design reflects the great pedagogical commitment of art teacher Adrienne Jouclard. She was aware of the importance of her pupils' drawings, which she carefully preserved through the events of the war and handed over to the French state as cultural heritage.”

Switzerland

Switzerland was not unaffected by the war, even if there was no immediate danger to life. From 1939, school and drawing lessons began to address the issues of mobilisation with a wide variety of tasks, as Anna Lehninger's research explains in detail: “The natural treatment of the topic in drawing lessons illustrates how deeply the experiences and perceptions of general mobilisation affected children's everyday lives.” (Lehninger, 2015, p. 64)

“The Defence of the Territory” is a collection of school drawings by the reform pedagogue and teacher Jakob Weidmann (1897-1975), which is kept at the International Institute for the Study of Drawing by Young People, Pestalozzianum Foundation in Zurich. In 1932, the committed educationalist founded the “International Institute for the Study of Drawing by Young People” there as a separate department and built up an important collection of children's and young people's drawings until 1969. Today, the archive contains around 70,000 drawings, most of which can be viewed digitally.¹²

One of founder Weidmann's main aims was to document the development of drawing lessons. Like the pedagogue Wilhelm Daiber (see Chapter 3), Weidmann was a committed representative of the “New Drawing” reform movement, which aimed to promote imaginative drawing and the imagination of adolescents with specific themes (folk art, everyday scenes, depictions of nature and landscapes, fairy tales and imaginations).

Nevertheless, Weidmann confronted the current political situation and created series of motifs such as “Der Aufmarsch (Defillé)”, “Schweizer Soldaten”, “Bei der Übung” and “Im Gefecht”. The resulting drawings provide an insight into the perception of militarisation from the perspective of schoolchildren.

¹² The fully digitised collection of the holdings: <https://sammlungen.pestalozzianum.ch/>

Picture 30. E. Birchler (9 years old, 3rd grade, teacher Jakob Weidmann):
War, Pencil, coloured pencil, 14.0 × 21.1 cm



Source: Pestalozzianum Collection Zurich Sign. IJ 013 090.

Poland

It is not only from Terezín and Buchenwald that children and young people report in detail on atrocities in the medium of drawing; in Poland, too, there are large collections with depictions of corresponding events from the years of German occupation that the adolescents experienced. In 1946, the Polish Ministry of Education organised a nationwide drawing competition in which schoolchildren of various ages depicted their experiences of the horrors they had lived through during the Second World War and the German occupation from 1939 to 1945. Around 7,000 works were created, extraordinary historical documents that document the crimes of the German Wehrmacht, the Gestapo and the SA in detail. The works are now in the Polish National Archives Archiwum Akt Nowych in Warsaw (Sadowska, 2019).

Picture 31. Barbara Wrotkowska:
“Rewizja domu” (House search during the German occupation)



Source: Warsaw Archives (Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie).

Picture 32. Danuta Trąpczyńska (10-11 years old):
“My memories of the prison cell in 1940, when I was 4 years old”



Source: Warsaw Archives (Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie).

Picture 33. Jadwiga Idzikowska (4th class):
Rounding up civilians and children in the Warsaw Uprising, 1944 (180,000 Poles lost their lives),
Pencil, coloured pencil



Source: Warsaw Archives (Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie).

Germany

In the culture of remembrance of the city of Saarbrücken, Germany, a small album designed by young girls as a thank you for food aid from Ireland and Switzerland, the “Thank You Book”, is of great importance (O’Herlihy, 2020). It is now kept in the city archives of Saarbrücken. In autumn 1946, at the suggestion of the school management, their teachers and the Red Cross, schoolgirls from Saarbrücken’s Cecilien School designed this “Thank You Book” with drawings, letters and poems for previously unknown representatives of Irish food aid.¹³ The works show views of the destroyed homeland, imaginary maps and landscapes with scenes of food deliveries; everyday life in the ruins of the city or the distribution of urgently needed meals.

¹³ O’Herlihy - Ströter-Bender - Kulturstadt Saarbrücken 2020 (with complete image catalogue of the Danke book); cf. virtual exhibition | Landeshauptstadt Saarbrücken (saarbruecken.de).

Picture 34. Anita Reinhart:
Sheet no. 7 from the "Saarbrücken Thank You Book", 1946



Source: Saarbrücken city archive.

In view of the horrors and misery of the Second World War, the Swiss editor and writer Walter Robert Corti (1910-1990) drew up a plan to establish a children's village for war children and orphans (Corti 1944, pp. 50-52; Schmidlin 1996, pp.137-259). In 1946, the foundation stone for the first houses of the children's village was laid in Trogen in the canton of Appenzell with the help of numerous volunteers from European countries (Corti 1955).

In 1950, another of Corti's most important goals was fulfilled at the Pestalozzi Children's Village: the first issue of the Children's Village magazine "Freundschaft" (Amitié = Amicizia = Friendship = Filia = Ystävyys = Przyjaźń) was printed (Pestalozzi Children's Village, 1950). The publication project was intended to be an expression of international friendship between the children and young people of the international village community, a sign of solidarity, tolerance and hope for the peaceful coexistence of nations in the future. Corti explicitly referred to the guiding principle of UNESCO, which was founded in London on 16 November 1945 as a special organisation of the United Nations for the promotion of science, culture and education in association with 37 states: "Since wars arise in the minds of men, peace must also be anchored in the minds of men."

Picture 35. “Friendship. Friendship, Amitié, Amicizia, Friendship, Filia, Ystävyys, Przyjaźn”



Source: Early covers of the magazine Friendship.

4. CONCLUSION

The inscription has strengthened the visibility of children’s drawings collections across Europe and beyond, promoting further research, exhibitions, and cultural dialogue around children’s experiences in war.

The nomination project for the children’s drawings has had a profound international impact, fostering collaboration and research, nurturing new relationships, and generating novel perspectives and concepts. A comprehensive review of the extant literature reveals a marked strengthening and enrichment of international research in the domain of historical children’s and youth drawings, attributable to innovative research questions and exchanges, promoting also the Memory of the World Program and its objectives.

IRAND (International Research and Archives Network ‘Historical Child Art’) is a significant catalyst for the establishment of an international network of extensive archives containing collections of historical drawings by children and young people. Further information and contacts are welcome.

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LA EDUCACIÓN DE LAS NIÑAS EN EL FRANQUISMO: LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA FEMINIDAD A TRAVÉS DE LA EDUCACIÓN DEL HOGAR

*The Education of Girls under Francoism:
Constructing Femininity through Home Economics*

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Palabras clave

Franquismo
Educación femenina
Currículo
Niñas
Patriarcado

RESUMEN: Este estudio analiza las representaciones de la feminidad durante el Segundo Franquismo (1950-1968) mediante fotografías y trabajos escolares del Fondo Romero Marín de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Su objetivo es visibilizar cómo la educación femenina promueve un modelo de mujer alineado con los ideales del régimen, centrado en la formación para el hogar. Se utiliza una metodología cualitativa y análisis de contenido sobre 24 fotografías y 7 trabajos escolares. Los resultados han sido organizados en tres ejes: ideal de mujer doméstica, instrumentalización de la feminidad y segregación educativa, muestran cómo la escuela reforzaba el adoctrinamiento y la desigualdad.

Keywords

Francoism
Female education
Curriculum
Girls
Patriarchy

ABSTRACT: This study analyses the representations of femininity during the Second Franco regime (1950-1968) through photographs and school work from the Romero Marín Fund of the Complutense University of Madrid. Its aim is to make visible how female education promotes a model of women aligned with the ideals of the regime, centred on training for the home. It uses a qualitative methodology and content analysis of 24 photographs and 7 school works. The results have been organised along three axes: the ideal of the domestic woman, the instrumentalization of femininity and educational segregation, showing how the school reinforced indoctrination and inequality.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La identidad de la mujer y la niña ha sido un elemento clave en la configuración de patrones y roles de género a lo largo de la historia. En las sociedades occidentales, los rasgos atribuidos a la personalidad femenina se han construido bajo la influencia de principios sociales y culturales que, tradicionalmente, han relegado a la mujer y a la niña a las funciones de madre y esposa, en el marco de un pensamiento patriarcal (González-Pérez, 2009).

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Cómo citar / How to cite: Jiménez Andújar, Eva María (2025). «La educación de las niñas en el franquismo: la construcción de la feminidad a través de la educación del hogar», *Cabás*, 34, 215-235. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27582>).

Recibido: 29 mayo, 2025; aceptado: 01 julio, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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La escuela como institución socializadora, ha desempeñado un papel fundamental en la transmisión y conservación de los roles de género. A través de contenidos pedagógicos desarrollados en las diferentes leyes educativas españolas, desde la Ley de Instrucción Pública de 1857 hasta la Ley General de Educación de 1970, las niñas han estado sujetas a un currículo diferenciado, especialmente durante el franquismo mediante una clara división de itinerarios educativos para niños y niñas.

Durante esta etapa, el franquismo promovió un modelo educativo orientado a la construcción de una feminidad acorde con sus ideales, en el que mujeres y niñas, estaban formadas exclusivamente para ocupar el espacio doméstico. En este contexto, la educación se convirtió en un instrumento esencial para la consecución de este objetivo. Como señala Marta Mauri (2014), «era imprescindible que la educación contribuyera a ello a base de inculcar unos valores que se transmitían con nitidez: religiosidad, abnegación, sacrificio, servicio, disciplina, docilidad, conformidad política, jerarquía y autoridad, rigidez ideológica» (p. 223).

Estos valores basados en el nacionalcatolicismo estaban diseñados para asegurar la reproducción hegemónica patriarcal: el niño varón como futuro sustentador económico y la niña como futura madre y esposa. Los modelos sociales y políticos de familia, promovidos desde los entornos escolares y religiosos, han constituido referentes culturales y sociales que han perdurado hasta nuestros tiempos (Parra y Sarrate, 2020).

A partir de esta perspectiva, el presente estudio se propone visibilizar esta problemática mediante el análisis de fuentes primarias disponibles, con el objetivo principal de examinar y dar visibilidad a la educación femenina en España durante el período del Segundo Franquismo, con especial atención a la formación para el hogar impartida a las niñas entre los años 1950 y 1968.

Para ello, se ha adoptado una metodología cualitativa de carácter descriptivo, basada en el análisis de contenido de una muestra de imágenes y trabajos escolares extraídos de las memorias de prácticas elaboradas por estudiantes de Pedagogía de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid entre los años 1950 y 1968. Estas memorias, conservadas en el Fondo Romero Marín del Museo/Laboratorio de Historia de la Educación «Manuel Bartolomé Cossío» de la misma universidad, constituyen una fuente privilegiada para estudiar la relación entre las prácticas educativas y la construcción de la identidad femenina en el contexto franquista.

Para el tratamiento del material recopilado se ha empleado un análisis de contenido de tipo cualitativo, con enfoque temático y por categorías. Se han definido una serie de dimensiones analíticas que permiten observar, de manera sistemática, los elementos ideológicos, pedagógicos y simbólicos presentes en los documentos. En particular, se han analizado: 1) los contenidos curriculares explícitos e implícitos vinculados a los roles de género; 2) la representación visual de las tareas y espacios femeninos en las imágenes; 3) los valores y actitudes promovidos en los ejercicios escolares; y 4) los lenguajes discursivos y visuales empleados en la transmisión del ideal de feminidad franquista. Estas dimensiones nos han permitido reconstruir, no solo la estructura formal del discurso educativo, sino también los mecanismos cotidianos de socialización de género presentes en la práctica escolar durante estos años.

Cabe destacar que, tanto las memorias de prácticas como los ejercicios de los cuadernos escolares que se muestran representan una valiosa fuente documental de análisis de la educación femenina durante el franquismo, puesto que permiten acceder tanto a la perspectiva institucional como a la experiencia cotidiana de las alumnas en el aula.

Las memorias de prácticas, elaboradas por los estudiantes de Pedagogía durante su formación, recogen observaciones directas, descripciones de metodologías, fotografías, ejercicios originales y reflexiones sobre la vida escolar, ofreciendo un testimonio privilegiado sobre la educación de las niñas. Asimismo, las

producciones originales de las alumnas mediante dibujos escolares reflejan de manera tangible los saberes, valores y prácticas que se enseñaban, así como la interiorización de los roles de género promovidos por el régimen (González-Pérez, 2021; Rabazas y Poveda, 2014).

El análisis conjunto de estos materiales permite reconstruir la estructura formal de la educación franquista, así como las estrategias de socialización y adoctrinamiento que utilizaban en el día a día escolar, ofreciendo un enfoque integral sobre la construcción de la identidad femenina en este período histórico.

2. LA EDUCACIÓN DE LAS NIÑAS Y EL IDEAL DE FEMINIDAD EN EL FRANQUISMO

Como ya se ha adelantado, la educación femenina durante el segundo franquismo se configuró como un instrumento determinante en la consolidación del modelo de mujer promovido por el régimen, caracterizado por la sumisión, la religiosidad y la dedicación exclusiva al ámbito doméstico y a los cuidados. Este modelo educativo, fuertemente influenciado por el nacionalcatolicismo, se caracterizó por la estricta separación de sexos, la diferenciación curricular de niños y niñas y la formación doméstica en la vida de escolar femenina (Parra *et al.*, 2023; Rabazas, 2001).

En este contexto, el régimen franquista, consciente del poder de la educación como mecanismo de control social, diseñó e implementó un currículum específico para las niñas, abandonando la pedagogía coeducativa desarrollada durante la Segunda Republicana y justificando la segregación por razones morales y de eficacia pedagógica. Fue, especialmente, la Ley de Enseñanza Primaria de 1945, donde se institucionalizó la segregación por sexos y la diferenciación curricular, orientando la educación de las niñas al hogar, al matrimonio y a la maternidad (Gil-Pino *et al.*, 2022; Peinado y Astra, 2013), aspectos que determinarían su rol social.

Muestra de ello fue la asignatura del Hogar implantada y regulada de forma obligatoria en la enseñanza media femenina a partir de la década de 1940. Esta fue una piedra angular del currículo franquista para las niñas y adolescentes (Ruiz de Salazar, 2020). Su objetivo principal era formar a las jóvenes en los conocimientos y destrezas considerados esenciales para desempeñar su papel como futuras madres y esposas dentro del modelo familiar promovido por el régimen franquista (Gil-Pino *et al.*, 2022).

Esta materia abarcaba contenidos muy variados, todos ellos orientados a la gestión y al cuidado del hogar: economía doméstica, cocina, costura, corte y confección, trabajos manuales, puericultura, higiene, decoración, administración del presupuesto familiar, limpieza, organización de la vivienda y educación de los hijos e hijas (Ballarín, 2001; Diego y González, 2024; Grana, 2007).

La formación recibida en esta materia preparaba a las alumnas para asumir de manera natural las funciones de esposa y madre. Se trataba de una educación práctica y moral, que no solo capacitaba técnicamente a las niñas para las tareas domésticas, sino que también interiorizaba la sumisión, la obediencia y la entrega a la familia como virtudes femeninas (De Dios, 2013; Sánchez y Hernández, 2012; Serrano de Xandri, 2007).

La Sección Femenina de la Falange, encargada de su diseño y control, insistía en que la felicidad y el éxito de la mujer dependían de su capacidad para hacer del hogar un espacio ordenado, limpio y acogedor para el marido y los hijos e hijas. Así, la asignatura del Hogar no solo respondía a necesidades utilitarias, sino que era un instrumento de adoctrinamiento ideológico y social, destinado a perpetuar el modelo de familia tradicional y la desigualdad de género en la sociedad española del franquismo (Ballarín e Iglesias, 2019; Parra *et al.*, 2023).

Cabe considerar que, a pesar de la intensificación de la enseñanza doméstica bajo el franquismo, esta modalidad educativa cuenta con una larga tradición en España. Desde principios de siglo xx, pedagogas como Rosa Sensat, María Carbonell y María Baldó defendieron la necesidad de una enseñanza práctica y científica de las tareas del hogar, inspirándose en el modelo de las écoles ménagères europeas, que buscaban superar el enfoque teórico y mecánico predominante en la mayoría de los centros educativos (Gil-Pino *et al.*, 2022; Pérez-Villanueva, 2015).

Una de las herramientas de adoctrinamiento fueron los cuadernos escolares, tanto individuales como de rotación. Este material recogía ejercicios, redacciones, dibujos, dictados y copias que mostraban la visión social de la feminidad y la masculinidad (Dávila y Naya, 2015; Martín, 2010). En ellos se reflejan temas recurrentes como la familia, la formación para el hogar, la obediencia o la religión, entre otros, todo ello orientado a consolidar un modelo de niña y mujer franquista (Rabazas, 2001). Esta herramienta educativa no solo servía para el aprendizaje, sino como instrumento de control. Este material permitía a las maestras vigilar el cumplimiento de las tareas y a los inspectores supervisar el trabajo docente y la correcta transmisión de los valores franquistas (Del Pozo y Ramos, 2005; 2013). De hecho, en algunos casos, las portadas y contenidos de los cuadernos llegaban a incluir propaganda política y religiosa, reforzando el adoctrinamiento desde lo visual y lo textual.

Para esta investigación, el análisis de los ejercicios escolares ha permitido reconstruir tanto los contenidos curriculares, como las expectativas sociales programadas sobre las niñas durante el franquismo. Como subraya la investigación de Hernández Sánchez (2017), el estudio de narrativas y materiales escolares femeninos aportan una visión integral de la experiencia educativa, mostrando cómo la escuela fue un espacio privilegiado para la transmisión de valores franquistas.

Estos materiales, no solo suponen una herramienta didáctica, sino también un testimonio esencial del proceso de socialización y adoctrinamiento de las niñas. Su análisis ha permitido y permite comprender en el alcance de la política educativa franquista en la configuración de la identidad femenina y de la desigualdad de género en la sociedad española.

3. METODOLOGÍA

Una de las fuentes históricas clave para conocer la cultura escolar femenina en este estudio son los documentos iconográficos que sirven como fuente valiosa de recuperación de la memoria feminista (Escolano, 2006; Del Pozo y Rabazas, 2012). Las imágenes de las niñas, sus tareas escolares y actividades son fundamentales para analizar cómo se representaba la educación femenina, especialmente en el contexto de una ideología franquista que la relegaba al ámbito doméstico (Sonlleve *et al.*, 2018).

Para ello, las fotografías de la escuela nos ofrecen una ventana para conocer la historia de la educación, las prácticas escolares, los materiales y recursos (Sanchidrián, 2011), pero también otros detalles que requieren de una revisión más profunda, y que van más allá de lo académico. Hablamos de reglas de conducta, de roles y estereotipos de género y de espacios programados para ello. Es indudable que el análisis de estas imágenes bajo una perspectiva feminista permite responder a preguntas clave sobre el porqué, cuándo y cómo se establecieron estas representaciones (Burke, 2001).

Desde esta perspectiva, las imágenes actúan como una memoria colectiva que puede ser recuperada por las generaciones futuras. Esto pone de manifiesto la importancia de conservar estos materiales en archivos históricos.

A pesar de las consideraciones técnicas que implica el uso de la fotografía en la investigación social, Del Pozo y Rabazas (2012) han destacado el gran valor de estas fuentes para la recuperación de la memoria escolar y el análisis de la educación de las niñas en distintas épocas. El acceso a estos materiales posibilita conocer más profundamente cómo era la educación, los contenidos curriculares, los diarios de maestros y maestras, y, en general, el patrimonio histórico-educativo que fundamenta la segregación por sexos, el adoctrinamiento y la influencia del régimen patriarcal.

3.1. Método y muestra

Como se ha planteado al comienzo de este artículo, el estudio se presenta bajo un enfoque cualitativo de carácter descriptivo e interpretativo, centrado en el análisis de contenido de fuentes primarias correspondientes al período del Segundo Franquismo (1950-1968).

Este análisis se ha llevado a cabo a partir del material existente en el Fondo Romero Marín, el cual alberga una amplia colección bibliográfica y de materiales pedagógicos de valor histórico (Rabazas y Ramos, 2016; Ramos, 2020). Este fondo cuenta con un total de 891 memorias de prácticas de los y las estudiantes de Pedagogía de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid realizadas de 1950 a 1975. Para este estudio, se seleccionaron aquellas memorias que contenían material original (con o sin texto explicativo), así como trabajos escolares realizados por niñas (muestras de cuadernos escolares y cuadernos de rotación).

Se revisaron un total de 172 memorias de prácticas que contenían este tipo de material. Sin embargo, no todas eran de niñas ni contenían trabajos realizados por ellas o fotografías, por lo que finalmente se seleccionaron 54 memorias, de las cuales se pudieron extraer 24 fotografías y 7 trabajos escolares con buena calidad.

El material seleccionado para el análisis corresponde principalmente a trabajos o actividades escolares realizadas por niñas en el contexto formativo de la educación del Hogar, así como las fotografías que fueron escogidas por su relevancia visual y por la claridad con que ilustran los valores, roles y espacios asignados al género femenino en el contexto educativo del franquismo.

Las fuentes iconográficas, como las fotografías escolares aquí analizadas, destacan por su naturaleza singular dentro de la investigación histórica. No solo constituyen documentos visuales de la vida cotidiana en las aulas, sino que permiten captar matices de la cultura escolar femenina que rara vez se encuentran en otras fuentes de carácter escrito. Estas imágenes ofrecen información valiosa sobre la organización de los espacios, la indumentaria, los gestos y las interacciones, elementos que reflejan tanto la realidad vivida como las representaciones sociales y los discursos de género promovidos durante el franquismo. Así, la fotografía escolar se configura como un documento histórico complejo, cuya interpretación exige considerar el contexto de producción, la intencionalidad de quienes la generaron y los usos institucionales que se les asignaron. Todo ello les confiere un valor excepcional para recuperar la memoria femenina y analizar los mecanismos de socialización y control propios de esta época (Del Pozo y Ramos, 2003; Del Pozo, 2013).

Por otro lado, el uso de las memorias elaboradas por estudiantes durante sus prácticas docentes requiere una contextualización específica. Estos documentos están marcados por la subjetividad de las autoras y las condiciones institucionales bajo las cuales fueron redactados. No se trata de relatos objetivos, sino de textos que reflejan tanto las experiencias personales como los modelos pedagógicos y normativos impuestos por el sistema educativo franquista. En este sentido, resulta fundamental abordar su análisis desde una perspectiva crítica, reconociendo su carácter situado y evitando extrapolaciones directas sobre la educación en el hogar. El valor de estas memorias radica en su capacidad para ofrecer una aproximación a la vivencia individual y colectiva de la educación femenina, siempre que se consideren las limitaciones inherentes a su origen y se sitúen en el marco más amplio de la cultura escolar del franquismo (Moreno y García, 2024).

Como señala Sanz (2019), Sonlleve *et al.* (2018) y Ramos (2020) estos materiales tienen un carácter inédito por su volumen y alcance geográfico, ya que las memorias de prácticas se realizaron no solo en todo el territorio español, sino también América Latina y Europa. La muestra seleccionada corresponde a trabajos realizados en las Comunidades Autónomas de Aragón, Madrid, Castilla-La Mancha y Andalucía.

Para enriquecer la interpretación de las memorias y fotografías del Fondo Romero Marín, y evitar una visión limitada, se ha procedido a una triangulación con otras fuentes documentales relevantes. En este sentido, el análisis se ha complementado con estudios previos que han abordado en profundidad la educación en el hogar y la cultura escolar de las niñas durante el franquismo, así como con documentación oficial (normativa educativa e informes de inspección), así como con testimonios orales recogidos en investigaciones recientes (Colmenar, 2017; Poveda y Rabazas, 2014). Esta triangulación permite contrastar la información procedente de las memorias, elaboradas en un contexto específico y con una finalidad formativa concreta, con otras perspectivas y contextos, aportando una visión más amplia sobre la educación de las niñas durante el franquismo (Rabazas y Ramos, 2016).

3.2. Procedimiento e instrumentos de análisis

Una vez recopilados los materiales, se realizó el conteo y clasificación del material extraído según el eje principal de estudio: «La educación de las niñas». Este análisis inicial permitió identificar categorías y subtemas relacionados con dicho eje (tabla 1). Los subtemas fueron establecidos en función de los argumentos representativos que emergieron de las imágenes extraídas (Valle, 1993).

Tabla 1

Categorías, subtemas e indicadores observables del material

Categoría principal	Subtemas	Indicadores observables
Roles y funciones asignadas	a) Doméstico b) Reproductivo	— Tareas realizadas (cocina, costura, limpieza, cuidado). — Representación como madre o cuidadora.
Espacios representados	a) Hogar b) Escuela	— Fondo o entorno donde ocurre la acción. — Presencia de símbolos religioso.
Apariencia femenina	a) Indumentaria b) Postura y expresividad	— Ropa tradicional/moderna. — Actitudes de docilidad o sumisión. — Expresiones de alegría, obediencia, etc.
Valores transmitidos	a) Religiosidad b) Obediencia	— Actos de servicio, trabajos manuales. — Frases escritas o lemas visibles.
Lenguaje escrito	a) Léxico religioso b) Mandatos asociados al género	— Frases prescriptivas de género.

A partir de las categorías y subtemas establecidos en la tabla 1, se procedió al análisis sistemático de las imágenes seleccionadas mediante una ficha de análisis visual estructurada. La codificación se llevó a cabo con el apoyo del software ATLAS.ti., lo que permitió organizar, clasificar y comparar los datos de manera rigurosa y sistemática.

Este proceso facilitó la identificación de patrones temáticos y simbólicos que fueron agrupados en tres núcleos interpretativos de mayor nivel analítico: 1) el ideal de «mujer doméstica», 2) la instrumentalización

de la feminidad y 3) la segregación educativa por género. Dichos núcleos sintetizan los significados dominantes en las representaciones escolares de la educación femenina durante el franquismo y permiten comprender con mayor profundidad los mecanismos que llevaron a la discriminación de las niñas.

4. EXPOSICIÓN DE RESULTADOS

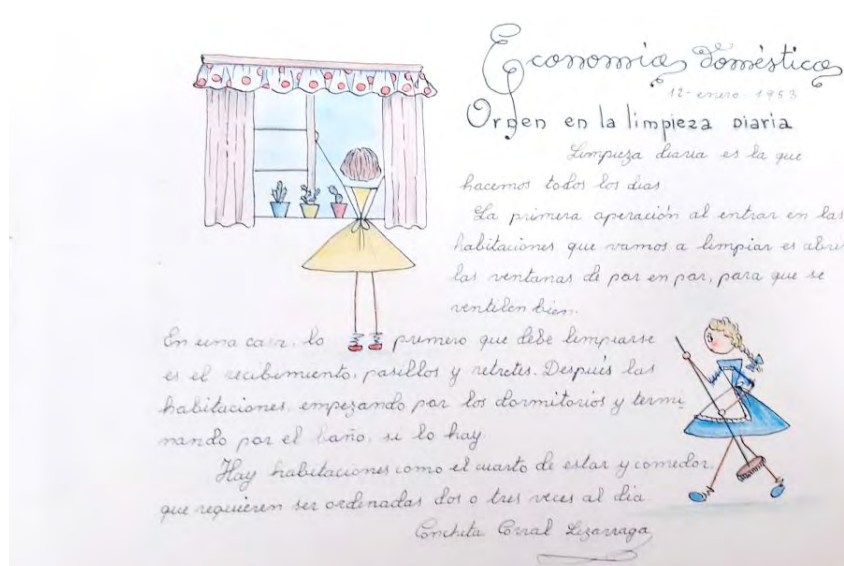
4.1. Configuración de roles: domesticidad

Como se viene mostrando a lo largo del artículo, uno de los aprendizajes fundamentales de la educación de las niñas era el hogar. Este se fundamentaba como el espacio simbólico y material de mayor relevancia en la vida de una mujer. Los materiales analizados muestran cómo la escuela y, en particular, la asignatura del Hogar, contribuían a la construcción de una visión idealizada y normativa del hogar, entendida como el centro de la vida femenina (Arenas, 1996; González-Pérez, 2014).

El hogar se convertía así en lo que el franquismo consideraba el escenario privilegiado para la realización personal de la mujer. A su vez, suponía también el límite de sus aspiraciones sociales y profesionales. La escuela era la encargada de transmitir la idea de que el éxito femenino se medía por la capacidad para crear un ambiente hogareño feliz, ordenado y cristiano, reforzando la identidad entre mujer y espacio doméstico (González-Pérez, 2009).

Una de las imágenes más representativas de este núcleo temático es la que contiene el trabajo escolar titulado «Orden en la limpieza diaria» (figura 1). El contenido del texto refleja de manera explícita cómo la escuela fomentaba una interiorización temprana de las tareas domésticas como eje central de la identidad femenina.

Figura 1. Dibujo escolar sobre «Economía doméstica»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Transcripción figura 1. Economía doméstica // 12-enero-1953 // Orden en la limpieza diaria // Limpieza diaria es la que hacemos todos los días. // La primera operación al entrar en las habitaciones que vamos a limpiar es abrir las ventanas de par en par, para que se ventilen bien. // En una casa, lo primero que debe limpiarse es el recibimiento, pasillos y retrete. Después, las habitaciones, empezando por los dormitorios y terminando por el baño, si lo hay. // Hay habitaciones como el cuarto de estar y comedor, que requieren ser ordenadas dos o tres veces al día. // Conchita Corral Lizarraga.

El lenguaje empleado es directo y normativo («lo primero que debe limpiarse...», «la primera operación...»), lo que muestra un aprendizaje orientado no solo a la instrucción técnica, sino al adoctrinamiento en cuestiones de género. La mención concreta de espacios del hogar; recibimiento, pasillos, dormitorios, baño, cuarto de estar y comedor, no es un elemento casual puesto que transmite una noción de responsabilidad sobre el ámbito doméstico y naturaliza la presencia femenina como única responsable de ese espacio. Además, la organización metódica de las tareas diarias revela un modelo disciplinado de feminidad, basado en el orden, la limpieza y la entrega.

Este tipo de producciones escolares refuerzan la imagen de una niña que se prepara desde la infancia para reproducir el rol tradicional de ama de casa, en coherencia con los valores promovidos por el régimen franquista, puesto que en los dibujos se representan niñas/jóvenes realizando las tareas del hogar.

Por otro lado, y como se observa en la figura 2 y figura 3, se puede apreciar a un grupo de niñas y monjas en un aula educativa. Esta referencia deja de manifiesto la presencia de las religiosas como encargadas de enseñar estos contenidos, y evidencia el control ideológico de la Iglesia en la formación de las niñas, reforzando los valores tradicionales de la feminidad y la obediencia. Este tipo de enseñanzas promovían la sumisión de las niñas a un orden social y familiar determinado, como se ha mostrado anteriormente, donde las mujeres eran vistas principalmente como encargadas del hogar y el bienestar familiar (Flecha, 1989; Monforte-García y Castán-Esteban, 2024).

Figura 2. Fotografía y texto de las «Clases de Hogar»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 277).

Transcripción figura 2. Hace algunos años que la Sección Femenina de la Falange ha establecido los Estudios de Hogar obligatorios para todas las alumnas de Bachillerato, por eso están organizados en todos los colegios las clases adaptadas a dicho programa. Se dan clases de Higiene, Economía doméstica, Música, Labores, etc. Todos estos temas son explicados por las Religiosas excepto la Política que es por la Instructora.

Figura 3. Fotografía en clase de bordados



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 98).

El hecho de que las clases fueran estrictamente segregadas por género y orientadas a la instrucción de habilidades domésticas acentúa la función socializante de la educación franquista, que, al igual que otros aspectos del régimen, buscaba reforzar el control sobre las mujeres mediante la formación de futuras madres y esposas (Cruz, 2016).

Otra de las cuestiones que se inculcaban en las aulas eran los contenidos referidos a los cuidados. Las imágenes de niñas cuidando muñecos bebés, acompañadas de los títulos «Puericultura» y «Ternura infantil» se observan en la figura 4. Estas fotografías contribuyen con el ideal de mujer como madre dentro del sistema educativo franquista. Unas representaciones visuales que muestran a las niñas asumiendo un rol de cuidado y protección, donde se las preparaba desde la infancia para desempeñar una de las funciones más valoradas en la sociedad patriarcal del régimen: la maternidad.

Si se hace referencia al enfoque en puericultura, cabe señalar que se refiere al cuidado infantil y a la educación de los bebés. Para ello, las niñas eran formadas para ser las cuidadoras y educadoras de sus hijos e hijas. Este tipo de enseñanza no solo les proporcionaba los conocimientos necesarios para cuidar a la infancia, sino que también promovía un sacrificio maternal guiado por la «ternura infantil» que debían desarrollar como madres, en la que la mujer también debía anteponer el bienestar de sus infantes al suyo propio, reafirmando su rol de madre (Hernández, 2017).

A partir de esta cuestión, es fundamental conocer que no solo los cuidados eran desde la maternidad. En una de las imágenes analizadas, concretamente en la figura 5, se observa a varias niñas desempeñando tareas de cuidado sanitario, ataviadas como enfermeras y realizando prácticas de vendaje sobre otras compañeras. Esta escena escolar no solo buscaba enseñar técnicamente a las niñas en primeros auxilios básicos, sino que reforzaba el aprendizaje de una función social tradicionalmente asignada a la mujer: el cuidado hacia los demás como extensión del rol doméstico.

Figura 4. Fotografías de niñas en Puericultura



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.ºs 465 y 297).

Figura 5. Fotografía de jóvenes realizando actividades de enfermería



ZARAGOZA - GRUPO ESCOLAR COSTA. Aprendiendo a vendar

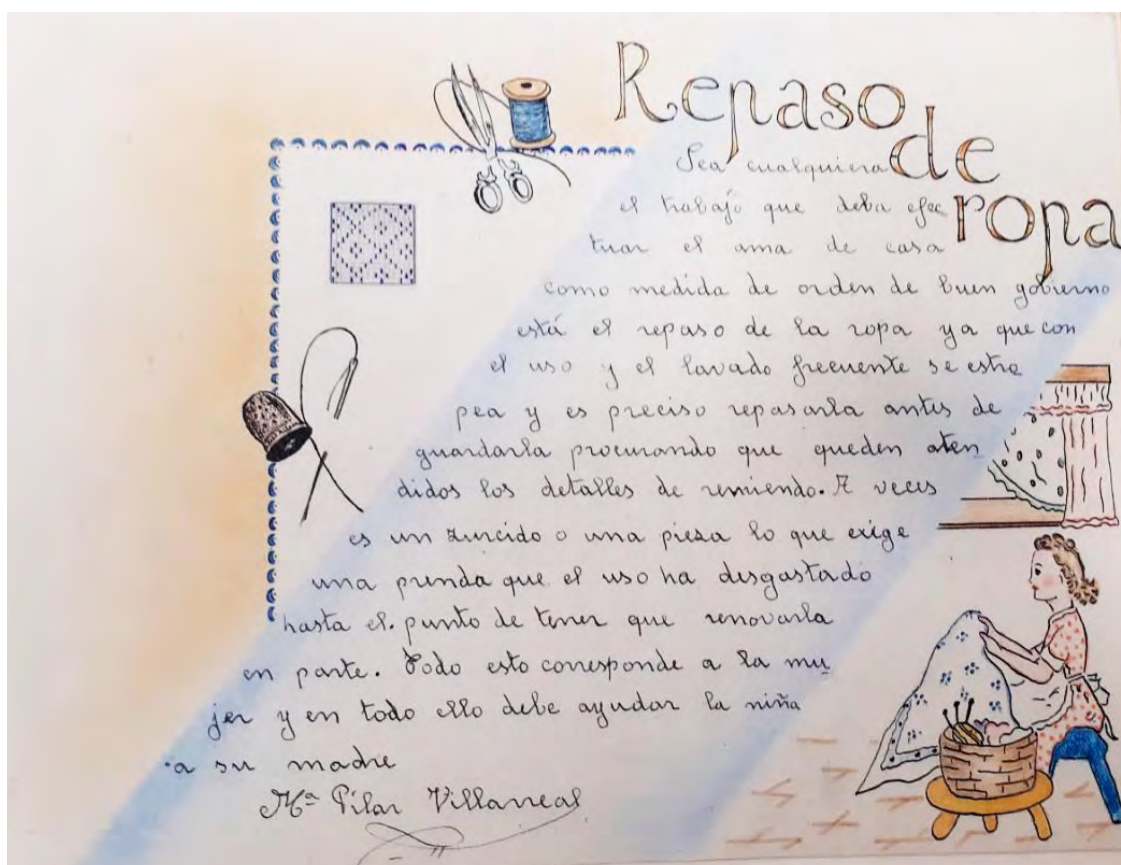
Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 50).

La actividad, enmarcada dentro del currículum, enfatizaba la interiorización de valores como la atención, obediencia y servicio, pilares fundamentales del modelo de feminidad de la época. La representación simbólica de la niña como cuidadora proyectaba desde la infancia una identidad vinculada a la asistencia y al sacrificio, alineada con el ideal de madre, enfermera o esposa, reproducido a través de una didáctica afectiva (Peinado, 2016; Rabazas, 2001).

4.2. Representación de la feminidad: espacios, gestos y apariencia

Otra de las cuestiones a destacar se observa en el trabajo presentado en la figura 6 con el título de: «Repaso de ropa». Este material refleja cómo las niñas, dentro del currículum educativo franquista, no solo se las enseñaba en tareas domésticas, sino también en el cuidado de su apariencia y la de los miembros de su familia, especialmente en lo que respecta al cuidado de la ropa. El texto que acompaña al dibujo subraya la importancia de mantener el orden y la limpieza de las prendas, un acto que no solo responde a la funcionalidad doméstica, sino que también está vinculado con la gestión de la imagen dentro del hogar.

Figura 6. Dibujo escolar de «Repaso de ropa»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

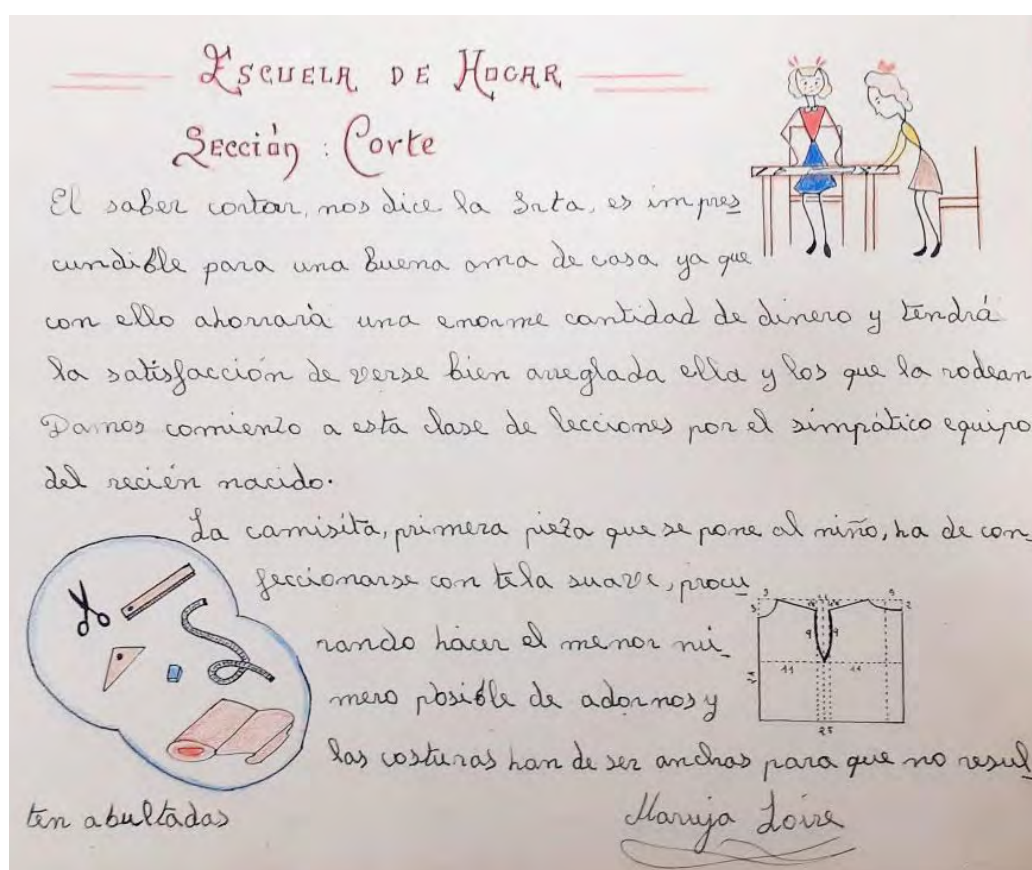
Transcripción figura 6. Repaso de ropa // Sea cualquiera el trabajo que deba efectuar el ama de casa como medida de orden de buen gobierno está el repaso de la ropa ya que con el uso y el lavado frecuente se estropea y es preciso repararla antes de guardarla procurando que queden atendidos los detalles de remiendo. A veces es un zurcido o una pieza lo que exige una prenda que el uso ha desgastado hasta el punto de tener que renovarla en parte. Todo esto corresponde a la mujer y en todo ello debe ayudar la niña a su madre. // M.ª Pilar Villareal.

La tarea de repasar la ropa se presentaba como una actividad necesaria para mantener la presentación adecuada de la familia, lo cual es parte de la educación visual y corporal que se les impartía a las niñas. De este modo, se refuerza la idea de que la mujer, además de ser responsable de las tareas domésticas, también debía encargarse de la imagen exterior de la familia, asegurando que todos y todas se vieran presentables y cuidados, una expectativa que asumía completamente la mujer.

Además, el hecho de que se mencione en el texto a las niñas ayudando a sus madres en estas tareas, destaca cómo desde edades tempranas se interiorizaban las responsabilidades relacionadas con la apariencia y el cuidado físico, resaltando su rol en la gestión del espacio doméstico.

Otra de las tareas educativas que se presentan, es la que se muestra en la figura 7 y que hace referencia a: «Escuela de Hogar». Al igual que en la anterior figura, en este caso se vuelve a mostrar el cuidado exterior de la familia a partir del corte de ropa como una habilidad esencial de la mujer. Para ello, se muestra cómo se promovía la feminidad ligada al cuidado del cuerpo y la vestimenta (Diego y González, 2024). La instrucción sobre confeccionar prendas, en este caso concreto, para los bebés, especialmente la camisita para el recién nacido, destaca la importancia del orden, la funcionalidad y la estética en las tareas domésticas.

Figura 7. Dibujo escolar de «Escuela de Hogar», concretamente «Sección: Corte»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Transcripción figura 7. Escuela de Hogar // Sección: Corte // El saber cortar, nos dice la Srta., es imprescindible para una buena ama de casa ya que con ello ahorrará una enorme cantidad de dinero y tendrá la satisfacción de verse bien arreglada ella y los que la rodean. // Damos comienzo a esta clase de lecciones por el simpático equipo del recién nacido. // La camisita, la primera pieza que se pone al niño, ha de confeccionarse con tela suave, procurando hacer el menor número posible de adornos y las costuras han de ser anchas para que no resulten abultadas. // Marija Loire.

Haciendo mención especial al texto que acompaña al dibujo, se indica que, al cortar la ropa, la mujer ahorrará dinero y se verá bien arreglada, subraya cómo la educación en tareas domésticas no solo estaba orientada a la eficiencia y el ahorro como economía doméstica, sino también a garantizar que las mujeres y sus familias cumplieran con los estándares de presentación física esperados en la sociedad franquista.

En lo que respecta a la imagen de las niñas como ejemplo de esa feminidad cuidada que se transmite a la familia y desde la familia, se observa en la figura 8, representada con dos niñas cosiendo. Estas se ven sonrientes, con el pelo recogido en dos coletas decoradas con lazos. Esta escena proyecta una feminidad infantil cuidadosamente construida, donde el cuerpo aparece forzado no solo por la postura y la actividad (coser implica quietud, atención, delicadeza), sino también por los elementos estéticos: el peinado simétrico y los lazos refuerzan una imagen de dulzura y orden.

Figura 8. Fotografía de niñas cosiendo



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 465).

Por otro lado, la sonrisa compartida entre las niñas, mientras realizan una labor tradicionalmente asociada a las mujeres, sugiere que estas prácticas eran naturalizadas e interiorizadas con afecto, como parte de una socialización temprana del rol femenino. Esta imagen es representativa de cómo la escuela moldeaba la feminidad desde lo corporal y lo emocional, generando una identidad visual coherente con el ideal de la niña «bien educada».

4.3. Educación sentimental y moral: religiosidad y deber

Tal y como se presenta a continuación, en conjunto, las transcripciones de las imágenes relacionadas con el lavado de ropa, la cocina y el cuidado de la ropa refuerzan el ideal de mujer doméstica que se viene mostrando. Estas actividades no solo se centraban en el aprendizaje práctico de las tareas domésticas, como se ha expuesto anteriormente, sino que también estaban influenciadas por valores morales y sentimentales, como la dedicación al hogar, la responsabilidad familiar y el deber patriarcal.

Figura 9. Dibujo escolar de «Cocinar»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Transcripción figura 9. Cocinar // Batido con frutas // Se baten separadamente las yemas de las claras, ambas con azúcar. // Se pone en el fondo de la copa bizcochos, previamente empapados en vino moscatel; encima una copa de yema batida y después una de merengue. // Se adorna con frutas variadas. // Carmen Borges.

En el caso del trabajo sobre la receta del batido con frutas que se presenta en la figura 9, se destaca la meticulosidad y precisión en la preparación de los alimentos. Era imprescindible que una buena ama de casa fuera capaz de preparar comidas adecuadas y estéticamente agradables para su familia. De la misma manera que el lavado de ropa o el repaso de prendas de las figuras 10 y figura 6, ambas actividades reforzaban la imagen de la mujer encargada no solo de la gestión de la casa, sino también de crear un ambiente armonioso en la familia, utilizando el trabajo doméstico como un acto de sacrificio y amor familiar.

Figura 10. Dibujo escolar de «Lavado»



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Transcripción figura 10. Lavado // En la escuela tenemos clase de lavado. // Después de mojar la ropa le damos jabón y la dejamos un rato para que se ablande lo sucio y salga con facilidad sin necesidad de frotar mucho las prendas. // Luego la lavamos bien procurando que el jabón penetre por todo, aclaramos la prenda en el agua y volvemos a darle jabón hasta que se quede limpia del todo. // Por último se aclara bien si es de color se tiende a la sombra. // M.^a Luisa Sagaste.

Este tipo de contenidos educativo contribuía con la visión de la mujer como responsable de mantener un hogar bien ordenado. Esto suponía que las tareas como la cocina, la limpieza y el cuidado de la ropa no solo eran cuestiones de organización práctica, sino también de deber moral y disciplina que recaía únicamente en la figura de la mujer como responsable de ello. Al mismo tiempo, los valores de ternura y cuidado asociados a estas actividades también estaban relacionados con los principios de religiosidad que se transmitían en las aulas.

En este sentido, la imagen y texto correspondiente a la figura 11, así como la figura 12, en la que se muestran a las niñas en la cocina, reflejan diferentes cuestiones en torno a las funciones femeninas. La primera de ellas representa distintos roles durante una comida; ama de casa, señor del hogar, convidado o doncella, en la que ilustra de manera simbólica y pedagógica el proceso de interiorización de los papeles sociales asignados a cada género. Esta actividad encierra un fuerte componente educativo: no solo

aprenden a cocinar, sino también a reproducir conductas de cortesía, jerarquía y obediencia, asumiendo los comportamientos que se esperaban de ellas en el entorno familiar y social.

Figura 11. Fotografía de niñas en clase de cocina



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 277).

Transcripción figura 11. Una vez hechas la comida las niñas se quedan en el Colegio a saborear el rico menú por ellas mismas preparado y se aprovecha para que aprendan prácticamente las normas sociales que regulan este acto.// Se sienta a comer y cada una representa un papel distinto, una es el ama de casa, que ha de distribuir conveniente en la mesa a todos los convidados; otra será el señor de la casa; otra un convidado; otra en fin la doncella que ha de servir aquél día la comida, teniendo en cuenta los detalles que pide una exquisita educación.

A través de esta actividad, la escuela no solo formaba a las niñas en el «saber hacer», también en el «saber ser» dentro del modelo social franquista: disciplinadas, serviciales, obedientes y responsables del bienestar doméstico. Esta experiencia práctica reforzaba el ideal de una educación sentimental ligada de nuevo al deber, donde la organización del hogar y las normas sociales se presentaban como elementos naturales y deseables de su identidad femenina. Muestra de ello es la primera imagen en la que se observa a las niñas sonrientes para la realización de la actividad planteada.

Finalmente, y como parte esencial de esta educación femenina, en todos los trabajos escolares realizados por las niñas se ha podido apreciar una caligrafía extremadamente cuidada, junto a dibujos limpios y detallados que hemos visto en las representaciones anteriores, y se aprecia con mayor detalle en la figura 13 que corresponde con un pequeño fragmento extraído de otro trabajo.

Figura 12. Fotografía en clase de cocina



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Figura 13. Fragmento de un dibujo escolar



Fuente: Memoria de Prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín (n.º 297).

Esta estética del orden no responde solo a una razón artística, sino que refleja una dimensión moral e ideológica. La escritura y la presentación cuidada se convierten en manifestaciones visibles del deber, la disciplina y la sumisión, valores fundamentales en la construcción del ideal femenino franquista. Esta exigencia de perfección formal en los cuadernos y textos no es casual, forma parte del proceso de adoctrinamiento, donde la pulcritud y la repetición fomentaban la interiorización del orden social jerárquico.

5. DISCUSIÓN Y CONCLUSIONES

Con esta investigación y a partir del análisis de los trabajos escolares y las fotografías de las memorias de prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín, ha permitido visibilizar los contenidos educativos impartidos en la asignatura del Hogar durante régimen franquista, utilizando la educación de las niñas como un potente mecanismo de socialización de género, orientando a ellas hacia un modelo de feminidad subordinado y centrado en la dedicación al hogar. A través del currículo segregado y la educación doméstica obligatoria, se consolidó un sistema de valores que definió el rol de la mujer exclusivamente dentro del ámbito doméstico, reforzando estereotipos de género y perpetuando la desigualdad en la sociedad española (Ballarín, 2001; Gil-Pino *et al.*, 2022).

En este contexto, uno de los elementos clave fue el aula. Esta funcionó no solo como un espacio académico, sino como un lugar de adoctrinamiento ideológico donde se formaron las identidades de las niñas, impartiendo conocimientos teóricos y prácticos sobre economía doméstica, puericultura, higiene, costura y otras actividades vinculadas al hogar. La propagación de lo religioso y los valores patrióticos del régimen franquista en las lecciones también señaló la función moralizante y normativa de la educación, consolidando una imagen de la mujer como madre, esposa y cuidadora (Cruz, 2016; Parra *et al.*, 2023).

Con esta investigación se ha evidenciado cómo, a través de la educación formal y de las prácticas escolares cotidianas que se llevaban a cabo, se establecieron los cimientos de un modelo de mujer determinado, cuya principal función era la perpetuación del sistema patriarcal, eran sirvientas del sistema (Peinado, 2012). Todas las imágenes y los textos analizados no solo proporcionan una visión del proceso educativo, también permiten comprender los mecanismos de control social que se ejercieron sobre las niñas durante esta época.

Poder proporcionar una mirada crítica hacia estas prácticas educativa, supone contribuir con una memoria histórica de las mujeres y las niñas, donde se observa y cuestionan las dinámicas de género y la instrumentalización de la escuela en la construcción de la identidad femenina, instalada en nuestra cultura y sociedad.

Asimismo, cabe considerar la riqueza del material analizado, pero este estudio presenta ciertas limitaciones que conviene señalar. En primer lugar, la muestra de memorias de prácticas, materiales escolares y fotografías se limita a un número reducido de centros educativos y regiones, lo que puede condicionar la representatividad de los resultados. Por otro lado, la perspectiva adoptada centra el análisis en la educación formal, sin abordar en profundidad otros ámbitos de socialización como la familia, la iglesia o los medios de comunicación, que también desempeñaron un papel relevante en la construcción de la feminidad franquista.

Por todo ello, sería un elemento a tener en cuenta para futuras investigaciones, ampliar la muestra a distintas regiones y etapas históricas para identificar similitudes y diferencias en la socialización de género. Además, estas podrían integrar otras metodologías, combinando el análisis documental con fuentes orales a antiguas alumnas y profesoras, lo que permitiría enriquecer el estudio de las experiencias vividas.

Finalmente, cabe señalar que comprender nuestro pasado educativo es clave para construir una sociedad más justa e igualitaria. Solo desde la memoria crítica podremos transformar la escuela en un espacio de equidad para las futuras generaciones.

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LA REPRESIÓN FRANQUISTA CONTRA EL PROFESORADO DE SECUNDARIA EN HUELVA

The Francoist Repression Against Secondary School Teachers in Huelva

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Palabras clave

Franquismo
Represión
Depuración profesorado
Ideología
Control

RESUMEN: Este estudio analiza la depuración ideológica del profesorado de secundaria en Huelva durante la Guerra Civil y los primeros años del franquismo (1936-1945). Aunque la investigación sobre el personal docente de la educación primaria es más amplia, este trabajo se centra en la educación secundaria. El franquismo identificó opositores al nacionalcatolicismo para afianzar su proyecto educativo totalitario. La investigación, centrada en institutos de enseñanza secundaria del municipio de Huelva, Aracena y Nerva, emplea metodología histórica para evaluar el impacto según categoría profesional, ubicación geográfica y género. También compara resultados con otras provincias para comprender el fenómeno a nivel nacional y entre el colectivo docente.

Keywords

Francoism
Repression
Purging Teachers
Ideology
Control

ABSTRACT: This study analyzes the ideological purging of secondary school teachers in Huelva during the Civil War and the early years of the Franco regime (1936-1945). Although research on primary education teaching staff is broader, this paper focuses on secondary education. Franco's regime identified opponents of National Catholicism to consolidate its totalitarian educational project. The research, focused on secondary schools in the municipalities of Huelva, Aracena, and Nerva, uses historical methodology to assess the impact according to professional category, geographic location, and gender. It also compares results with other provinces to understand the phenomenon at the national level and among the teaching community.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La represión franquista en la enseñanza secundaria constituyó un instrumento para consolidar el nacionalcatolicismo entre 1936 y 1945. Los institutos de Huelva, Nerva y Aracena fueron afectados por las políticas de depuración, lo que impactó, tanto en el personal docente como en el alumnado, mediante expulsiones y sanciones. Asimismo, los contenidos curriculares se modificaron con el objetivo de fomentar la sumisión y erradicar el pensamiento subversivo. Según Martín y Grana (2019, p. 73), la figura docente en los contextos dictatoriales se transforma en

un elemento esencial en la consolidación de la nueva estructura de poder y el mantenimiento del orden impuesto. Para ello, se le obliga a reproducir la nueva

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Cómo citar / How to cite: Banda Vélez, María José (2025). «La represión franquista contra el profesorado de Secundaria en Huelva», *Cabás*, 34, 236-249. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27651>).

Recibido: 27 junio, 2025; aceptado: 31 octubre, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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ideología y se intenta evitar que difundan cualquier idea contraria al régimen totalitario. Pero es que, además, los gobiernos autoritarios que llegan al poder después de una guerra o de un golpe de Estado, una de las primeras tareas que emprenden es el control de la memoria y de la historia.

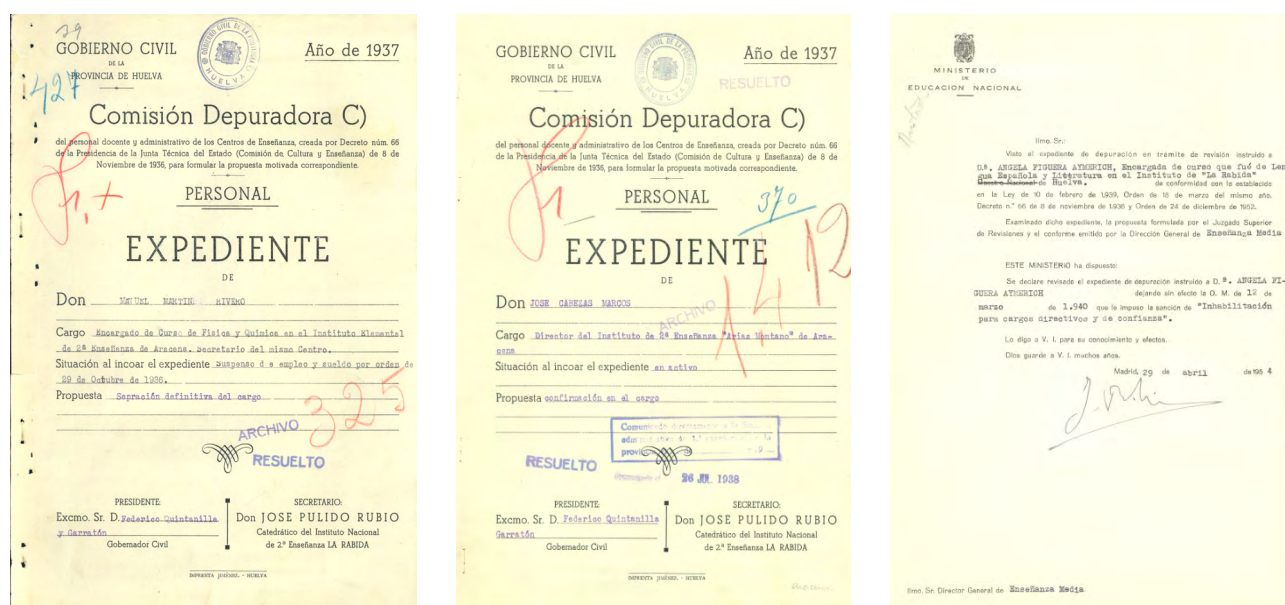
Todas las políticas educativas implementadas por el franquismo transformaron profundamente el panorama cultural y social al instrumentalizar la represión y los procesos de depuración aplicados al personal docente como herramientas de imposición ideológica. El proceso depurativo, iniciado durante la Guerra Civil y consolidado bajo el primer gobierno de Franco, se convirtió en uno de los mecanismos represivos de mayor impacto sobre la sociedad. A pesar de los avances en la investigación de este fenómeno, persisten algunas lagunas en el conocimiento sobre sus efectos en el ámbito de la enseñanza secundaria. Las investigaciones históricas han permitido profundizar en las causas y las consecuencias de estas medidas, visibilizando al personal docente como uno de los colectivos más afectados por la represión. Esta nueva narrativa ha impulsado procesos de justicia histórica, reparación de la memoria y reconciliación social, elementos fundamentales para la construcción de una sociedad más equitativa y justa (Ramos, 2021). Diversos autores como Barruso (2006), Álvarez (2009), Martín, Grana y Sanchidrián (2011), Agulló (2012), Serra (2013), Negrín (2015), Ibáñez (2017) y García (2019), entre otros, coinciden en señalar la necesidad de profundizar en el análisis de los expedientes de depuración y en el estudio del impacto que ejercieron los mecanismos represivos y depurativos sobre la enseñanza secundaria. Aunque en los últimos años se han logrado avances muy importantes en esta línea de investigación, sigue siendo prioritario llevar a cabo estudios que examinen de forma exhaustiva las consecuencias sociales y educativas de estas políticas. En este sentido, trabajos como los de Reyes y de Paz (2009), Gudín de la Lama (2013) y Martínez (2015) han arrojado luz sobre todos los procesos represivos en la enseñanza primaria, lo que pone de relieve la máxima importancia de extender estos enfoques analíticos también al contexto de la enseñanza secundaria, con el fin de alcanzar una correcta comprensión del aparato represivo en el sistema educativo.

Los expedientes vinculados a la depuración franquista dejaron una profunda huella en el profesorado de los institutos diseminados por toda España y constituyen un elemento clave del patrimonio histórico-educativo del país. Más allá de su función administrativa o disciplinaria, estos expedientes representan una fuente documental de primer orden para el estudio de la historia de la educación española. Permiten reconstruir las trayectorias vitales y profesionales de cientos de docentes, analizar la cultura escolar en la Segunda República y observar los efectos del conflicto bélico y la dictadura sobre las comunidades educativas. De este modo, se convierten en testimonios tangibles de la memoria pedagógica de una época, de las políticas de exclusión ideológica y de la pérdida —frecuentemente silenciosa— de un capital humano comprometido con la modernización y la democratización de la enseñanza. Como parte del patrimonio histórico-educativo, estos expedientes requieren no solo conservación y digitalización, sino también una lectura crítica y contextualizada que contribuya a visibilizar el impacto de la represión franquista en la educación. Además, brindan un enfoque minucioso sobre las estrategias implementadas por el franquismo para llevar adelante su política de exclusión sistemática dentro del ámbito docente. El proceso tenía como finalidad apartar al personal docente cuyas ideas políticas se percibían como incompatibles con los intereses de control del régimen. El análisis de estos expedientes revela la magnitud de la represión y los mecanismos utilizados para garantizar la continuidad del profesorado afín al régimen, consolidando así una educación alineada con el nacionalcatolicismo. Constituyen una fuente esencial para entender el alcance y las secuelas sociales de dicha represión.

Más que unos simples documentos administrativos, los expedientes de depuración revelan los intrincados mecanismos de un sistema que instrumentalizó la educación como medio esencial para afianzar el dogma ideológico dominante. Esta investigación muestra cómo un espacio concebido para cultivar el pensamiento crítico y abierto fue transformado en un escenario orientado a imponer la uniformidad

ideológica. La educación, lejos de mantener su autonomía intelectual, fue profundamente reestructurada y convertida en una herramienta para moldear a las generaciones de acuerdo con el nacionalcatolicismo. Las consecuencias del proceso de depuración en la educación fueron profundas, ya que impactaron tanto en el colectivo docente como en los cimientos estructurales del sistema escolar. Miles de docentes vinculados a corrientes pedagógicas innovadoras fueron apartados de sus funciones, lo que frustró los intentos de reforma y modernización educativa. Esta ruptura favoreció la imposición de una lógica uniformadora que erradicó la diversidad ideológica y metodológica en los centros educativos. Simultáneamente, se establecieron restricciones que sofocaron la posibilidad de innovación pedagógica. La imposición ideológica resultante no solo deterioró la calidad de la enseñanza, sino que también obstaculizó el desarrollo intelectual y cultural necesario para construir una sociedad justa. En este marco, los expedientes de depuración constituyen hoy una fuente clave del patrimonio educativo español para entender los conflictos y cambios del sistema escolar en el siglo xx.

Imagen 1. Expedientes de maestros de la Comisión Depuradora C de la provincia de Huelva



Fuente: Archivo General de la Administración (AGA).

2. METODOLOGÍA

Dada la naturaleza del tema de estudio, se ha llevado a cabo la metodología histórica, teniendo en cuenta que:

La historia no es una cuestión solo de memoria. Es una responsabilidad científica la que tenemos a la hora de buscar la verdad de los hechos históricos. Si con ellos ayudamos a honrar la memoria de personas y grupos olvidados, tanto mejor. Pero ese no debe ser el objetivo exclusivo, ya que en la investigación histórica pueden aparecer también sucesos y acontecimientos que pongan en cuestión la imagen que tenemos de esta o aquella persona, o de este o aquel hecho. Y el historiador debe procurar contarlos todo, sin cortapisas ni frenos de ningún tipo. Desgraciadamente, en relación con nuestra historia reciente, las posibilidades de escribir con base en la

documentación escrita u oral, sin pelos en la lengua, todavía no son completas. Y en casos tan sensibles como la depuración del profesorado, en los que hay víctimas, verdugos, responsables e intermediarios, es fácil hablar de las víctimas y muy difícil hacer de verdugos, responsables e intermediarios. (Pérez, 2012, p. 330)

Este estudio tiene como objetivo analizar el impacto de las políticas represivas y los procesos de depuración sobre el personal docente de los institutos de enseñanza secundaria durante el periodo comprendido entre 1936 y 1945, que abarca tanto los años de la Guerra Civil como la etapa inicial del gobierno de Franco. A través del enfoque de la investigación histórica complementado con metodologías cuantitativas y cualitativas, esta investigación se propone examinar no solo las consecuencias estructurales y humanas de la represión ideológica en el ámbito docente, sino también visibilizar la representación y especificidad de estos procesos en el contexto provincial onubense. La depuración del magisterio alteró profundamente la organización y el funcionamiento de los centros escolares, dejando una huella imborrable en las trayectorias profesionales y en las vidas del personal docente. Aunque otras provincias han sido objeto de análisis en estudios precedentes, el caso de la provincia de Huelva aún presenta vacíos historiográficos. Por todo ello, este trabajo pretende contribuir a subsanar esa laguna mediante una investigación detallada del profesorado que ejerció en los institutos localizados en Huelva, Nerva y Aracena, proporcionando una perspectiva completa sobre los conflictos y las transformaciones sufridos por la educación.

Se estudian las actuaciones de la Comisión Depuradora Provincial C, encargada de evaluar la idoneidad ideológica y profesional del profesorado, emitiendo resoluciones que abarcan desde la confirmación en el cargo hasta la suspensión de empleo y sueldo por un tiempo determinado, el traslado forzoso dentro o fuera de la provincia o, en los casos más severos, la separación definitiva del servicio con baja en el escalafón. El estudio identifica tanto el perfil del personal docente afín al régimen como el de quienes fueron sancionados por su oposición política, ofreciendo así una visión integral del fenómeno. Las variables consideradas incluyen la categoría profesional, la ubicación geográfica y el sexo, en un marco metodológico que incorpora la perspectiva de género para visibilizar todas las desigualdades estructurales y el impacto diferenciado de las medidas represivas y depurativas según el género (Grana y Martín, 2015). Aunque el tamaño de la muestra es limitado, resulta adecuado, ya que refleja fielmente la composición real del profesorado en los tres institutos ubicados en Huelva, Nerva y Aracena. El análisis se realiza a nivel provincial y comarcal, integrando comparaciones con otras provincias españolas a fin de comprender con mayor profundidad las implicaciones del proceso depurador y sus derivaciones represivas.

En este contexto, se llevó a cabo una investigación exhaustiva que, mediante el análisis de datos procedentes de múltiples fuentes, permitió una comprensión integral y fundamentada del fenómeno estudiado. La combinación de las metodologías cuantitativas y cualitativas ha permitido construir una perspectiva amplia y multidimensional que facilita el abordaje de las distintas dimensiones del objeto de estudio. El enfoque contribuye a una valoración equilibrada de los diferentes niveles y enfoques presentes en la información recopilada, garantizando así un análisis integral y sólidamente argumentado. En este mismo contexto, los expedientes de depuración se destacan como una fuente documental fundamental e importante del patrimonio histórico educativo español, conservados en el AGA. Se analizaron 39 expedientes correspondientes al profesorado de Huelva, de los cuales solo uno registra a una mujer en situación de excedencia¹. La recuperación y el análisis de los documentos no solo enriquecen el

¹ Este tipo de situación se presenta cuando existe un número determinado de docentes en una especialidad o cuando se eliminan asignaturas debido a cambios en los planes de estudio, lo cual, en muchos casos, puede generar la necesidad de cubrir determinadas plazas docentes.

conocimiento histórico, sino que también constituyen un aporte relevante a la memoria colectiva y a la justicia histórica. Los testimonios recuperan trayectorias profesionales olvidadas y conectan estas políticas represivas del pasado con los retos educativos actuales (Fernández y Agulló, 1998). Además de estos, se han consultado otros documentos inéditos del Archivo Histórico Provincial de Huelva, así como las numerosas publicaciones del *Boletín Oficial de Junta de Defensa Nacional*, *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Educación Nacional*, *Boletín Oficial del Estado* y *Boletín Oficial Provincial de Huelva*. La documentación analizada ha permitido profundizar en las estrategias represivas y depurativas del gobierno de Franco, dirigidas a la exclusión del ámbito educativo al profesorado con ideas contrarias a sus intereses de control.

De acuerdo con la estructura institucional sobre la que se articuló el proceso depurativo, este se encontraba cuidadosamente organizado, lo que permitía su desarrollo de forma eficiente y estratégica. En él participaron activamente la Comisión Depuradora Provincial C, encargada de supervisar las numerosas gestiones relacionadas con la depuración del profesorado, y la Comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza, cuya labor se centró en los asuntos educativos y culturales. Posteriormente, intervino la Comisión Superior Dictaminadora de Expedientes de Depuración, responsable de emitir los dictámenes correspondientes a los casos examinados. Finalmente, el Juzgado Superior de Revisiones de Expedientes de Depuración asumió la tarea de revisar y resolver los expedientes instruidos, con el fin de garantizar un procedimiento formalmente equitativo. Es necesario destacar la ausencia de 18 expedientes pertenecientes a profesorado sobre quienes no se dispone de certeza respecto a si lograron o no superar este proceso depurador. Esta gran carencia documental representa un importante obstáculo para realizar un análisis completo, restringiendo el acceso a información clave. Situaciones de este tipo son frecuentes en estudios centrados en el nivel de enseñanza secundaria, a diferencia de los trabajos dedicados a la educación primaria, en cuyo caso se conserva la gran mayoría de los expedientes en el AGA.

3. RESULTADOS

La depuración del personal docente de la enseñanza secundaria constituyó una herramienta clave de control social e ideológico, enmarcada en un sistema represivo de carácter autoritario y totalitario. A través de la Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas, promulgada en febrero de 1939, el régimen franquista impulsó un proceso sistemático de exclusión y persecución contra quienes se alejaban de los preceptos del nacionalcatolicismo, eje doctrinal que estructura el aparato represivo. El proceso depurativo del magisterio fue una pieza clave del engranaje represivo. No se trataba de una evaluación profesional: era parte de un mecanismo mucho más amplio para reconstruir el país bajo los valores del régimen franquista y suprimir cualquier rastro del pasado o pensamiento disidente. La depuración como forma de represión no fue un hecho aislado, sino extensivo, y se usaron criterios profesionales para justificar las decisiones tomadas por razones ideológicas, políticas y religiosas.

Esta estrategia no solo buscaba silenciar voces disidentes, sino también reconfigurar el sistema educativo conforme a los principios ideológicos impuestos, consolidando así una cultura de la obediencia y del pensamiento único. Este proceso no se limitó a reprimir a quienes sostenían ideales contrarios, sino que también tuvo un carácter preventivo y punitivo, destinado a eliminar cualquier vestigio republicano que cuestionara la nueva autoridad. La educación se convirtió en una herramienta fundamental para la consolidación del régimen franquista y la construcción de un modelo social alineado con el nacionalcatolicismo. En ese contexto, el colectivo docente fue estigmatizado como potencialmente subversivo y, por tanto, objeto de vigilancia y persecución. Las depuraciones arbitrarias y la violencia política presentes tanto en las organizaciones como en instituciones educativas fueron promovidas

directamente desde la Jefatura del Estado. Estas prácticas sentaron las bases de un régimen excluyente y represivo concebido para imponer una uniformidad ideológica y garantizar un control sobre la población.

Durante la Guerra Civil, el régimen implementó un extenso conjunto de normativas dirigidas a la depuración del cuerpo docente, prestando una especial atención a los profesores de enseñanza secundaria. Este conjunto de medidas tenía como finalidad garantizar un control ideológico sobre los docentes de todos los niveles educativos, alineando así los valores del sistema educativo con los principios del nacionalcatolicismo. En este contexto, los profesores fueron clasificados en estas tres categorías según los informes emitidos sobre su conducta y adhesión ideológica. El primer grupo estaba compuesto por aquellos profesores que recibían informes negativos, lo que llevaba a su cese de la actividad docente. Un segundo grupo reunía a aquellos con conducta sospechosa; en estos casos, eran sometidos a investigaciones exhaustivas para determinar su permanencia en sus cargos. Finalmente, el tercer grupo incluía profesores que obtuvieron informes favorables, quienes no solo lograban mantener sus cargos. Con estas medidas, se consolidó una educación diseñada para inculcar el nacionalcatolicismo.

Todas las investigaciones estaban bajo la responsabilidad conjunta de la Junta Provincial y los ayuntamientos de Huelva, Nerva y Aracena. Estas entidades operaban siguiendo un reglamento que culminaba en el Rectorado del Distrito Universitario de Sevilla. En noviembre de 1936, fue promulgado el Decreto n.º 66, publicado en el *Boletín Oficial de Estado* n.º 27, mediante el cual se intensificaron las políticas represivas ya instauradas en el contexto del conflicto bélico y la configuración de autoridad del poder. Uno de los elementos más significativos de esta normativa fue la creación de la Comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza, que constituyó una transformación relevante en la conducción del proceso de depuración ideológica, al desplazar su gestión desde las autoridades militares hacia instancias civiles. El proceso derivó en una intensificación de todas las dinámicas represivas dirigidas contra docentes, profesionales de la cultura y personas trabajadoras vinculadas al ámbito educativo, lo que impactó no solo en las trayectorias laborales y vitales del profesorado, sino también en la diversidad ideológica y la solidez del entramado cultural del país.

Entre noviembre de 1936 y febrero de 1937, se crearon la Comisión Nacional A y B, así como la Comisión Provincial C y D, con el principal objetivo de examinar al personal docente de todos los niveles educativos. Estas evaluaban tanto los datos profesionales como los aspectos más personales, basándose en los informes emitidos por las autoridades competentes. El expediente de depuración se reabría y era instruido con la finalidad de incorporar nuevas acusaciones y las sanciones ya formuladas, evidenciando así con mayor claridad el estricto control ideológico y social ejercido sobre el ámbito educativo. La medida se implementó en un contexto de marcada inestabilidad sociopolítica y tensiones constantes, en el marco de un proceso de transformación estructural que afectaba transversalmente a las múltiples dimensiones de la sociedad. En este entorno, los cambios no solo eran recurrentes, sino que también estaban impregnados de una profunda incertidumbre que incidía tanto en la vida cotidiana como en la esfera política.

Entre el 18 de julio y el 19 de septiembre de 1936, tras la toma de la provincia de Huelva por parte de las fuerzas sublevadas, se creó la Comisión Depuradora Provincial C. La presidencia estuvo a cargo, primero, el gobernador civil militar Gregorio de Haro Lumbreras, a quien luego sustituyó Federico Quintanilla Garratón. La secretaría la ostentó José Pulido Rubio, profesor y catedrático del Instituto Nacional de Enseñanza Secundaria de Huelva. Las vocalías fueron ocupadas por personalidades muy destacadas en el ámbito técnico y educativo: Ricardo Aldea Lafuente, director de la Escuela Normal; Juan Tejero González, director de la Escuela Elemental de Trabajo y Pablo Suárez Sánchez, ingeniero responsable de la Junta de Obras de la Autoridad Portuaria de Huelva. Todos fueron designados por decisión de la Junta Técnica del Estado a propuesta de la Comisión de Cultura y Enseñanza. En noviembre de 1936 se sumó un vocal representante de la FET-JONS, lo que reflejó el creciente control político del régimen sobre este órgano.

Finalmente, el 25 de octubre de 1940 se estableció un plazo de 15 días para cerrar sus trabajos y enviar la documentación al Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Durante el primer gobierno de Franco, la educación en la provincia de Huelva, al igual que en el resto de España, sufrió el impacto de las políticas represivas y depurativas. El sistema educativo adoptó un enfoque más conservador y quedó bajo el control de la Iglesia católica. En el curso escolar de 1938-1939, se reabrieron numerosos centros escolares, aunque algunos continuaron cerrados. Las evaluaciones realizadas a todos los docentes buscaban garantizar su afinidad con los principios del nacionalcatolicismo y evidenciaron desigualdades en función del género, de la categoría profesional y la ubicación geográfica. En 1937, un total de 39 personas pertenecientes al profesorado de instituto fueron sometidas a proceso de depuración; de ellas, 35 eran hombres y 4 mujeres. Entre quienes fueron sancionadas, se registraron 10 hombres y 3 mujeres, mientras que una mujer fue clasificada como excedente, por lo que quedó excluida del procedimiento depurativo. Esta distribución revela no solo la dimensión punitiva del proceso, sino también el gran impacto diferenciado por razón de género, categoría profesional y de ubicación geográfica dentro de las estrategias represivas. Se aplicaron sanciones para garantizar el cumplimiento estricto de la normativa escolar, que incluyeron desde ceses temporales hasta expulsiones definitivas, traslados forzosos, inhabilitaciones y reubicaciones del profesorado. Estas medidas buscaban mantener el funcionamiento de los centros con criterios de proporcionalidad.

4. DISCUSIÓN

En términos generales, en la provincia de Huelva la plantilla del personal docente era bastante reducida, concentrándose el mayor número de profesionales en el Instituto de Huelva. Las vacantes se cubrían mediante un sistema de oposición-concurso, las cátedras estaban destinadas exclusivamente al personal numerario con plaza fija, mientras que las demás categorías permitían la postulación de otras personas aspirantes.

Tabla 1

Profesorado de Instituto de Secundaria depurado en la provincia de Huelva

	H	M	Total
Huelva	23	2	25
Aracena	7	1	8
Nerva	5	0	5
Total provincia	35	3	38

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los expedientes de depuración.

En tal sentido, nos encontramos con que, en la ciudad de Huelva, ejercieron el 65,79% (25 docentes) del profesorado depurado, en el municipio de Aracena el 21,05% (8 docentes) y en Nerva el 13,2% (5 docentes). También es importante señalar que la composición del profesorado estaba integrada mayoritariamente por hombres, lo que evidencia una desigualdad estructural profundamente arraigada en la sociedad. La situación repercutía tanto en la percepción social como en lo profesional. Por otro lado, el proceso de depuración trajo consigo la imposición de sanciones que dejaron una huella significativa y duradera en el ámbito educativo. Estas medidas afectaron de manera especialmente profunda al personal docente. Las consecuencias de este proceso no solo comprometieron la trayectoria profesional del

profesorado, sino que también marcaron un punto de inflexión en su labor docente y personal dentro de la educación de la provincia. Este acontecimiento alteró la dinámica educativa en la provincia onubense, dejando secuelas que se extendieron durante varias décadas, tanto a nivel profesional como personal para quienes se vieron implicados.

En cifras globales, tal y como se aprecia en las tablas 2 y 3, en la provincia de Huelva fueron depurados 38 docentes, de los cuales fueron sancionados un total de 13 profesores. También, se observa una diferencia de género, a pesar del escaso número de mujeres que ejercieron en la segunda enseñanza. De los 38 docentes depurados, solo 3 eran profesoras, 1 de ellas catedrática. Del total de profesorado catedrático —18 en total, 17 hombres y 1 mujer—, fueron sancionados 7 hombres y la única mujer. Del resto de profesorado de secundaria de la provincia, que ascendía a un total de 20 docentes —18 profesores y 2 profesoras—, fueron sancionados 3 profesores y la totalidad de las profesoras (2). De forma pormenorizada por institutos, en la ciudad de Huelva, 13 catedráticos fueron depurados (12 hombres y 1 mujer), de las cuales 7 resultaron sancionadas. En Aracena, de los 3 catedráticos, fue sancionado uno. Y, en Nerva no hubo sancionados en el cuerpo de catedráticos. En cuanto al resto de profesorado, se observa que, en Huelva de los 12 docentes, fueron sancionados 3, 2 hombres y 1 mujer. En Aracena, de 5 profesores depurados, fueron sancionados 1 hombre y 1 mujer. Y, por último, en Nerva, tampoco hubo sancionados.

Tabla 2

Catedráticos depurados y sancionados en la provincia de Huelva (1936-1945)

Catedráticos	Depurados (n)			Sancionados (n)		
	H	M	Total	H	M	Total
Huelva	12	1	13	6	1	7
Aracena	3	0	3	1	0	1
Nerva	2	0	2	0	0	0
Total provincia	17	1	18	7	1	8

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los expedientes de depuración.

Tabla 3

Resto de profesorado depurado y sancionado en la provincia de Huelva (1936-1945)

Profesorado	Depurados (n)			Sancionados (n)		
	H	M	Total	H	M	Total
Huelva	11	1	12	2	1	3
Aracena	4	1	5	1	1	2
Nerva	3	0	3	0	0	0
Total provincia	18	2	20	3	2	5

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los expedientes de depuración.

Si analizamos estas tablas cualitativamente desde la perspectiva de género, el impacto de la depuración fue claramente más alto en los hombres porque eran mayoría en el cuerpo docente. Sin embargo, a pesar de las pocas mujeres depuradas, fueron castigadas en su totalidad, lo que da al proceso un carácter de

represión sexuada. Geográficamente, Huelva capital concentra el mayor número de casos, lo que puede explicarse por ser el núcleo educativo más grande y con más personal. Por su parte, Nerva y Aracena muestran menor volumen, pero no están exentos del proceso. En cuanto a la diferenciación por cuerpos docentes, los catedráticos fueron proporcionalmente más sancionados que los profesores. Esto podría deberse a que ocupaban cargos visibles o de mayor responsabilidad, por lo que eran más susceptibles de ser considerados «peligrosos» por el régimen. Por otro lado, quienes superaron el proceso de depuración fueron confirmados en sus cargos y siguieron ejerciendo las funciones docentes.

La justificación del análisis minucioso de las capacidades, conocimiento y competencias de los docentes durante los procesos depurativos tiene raíces tanto pedagógicas como políticas, especialmente si hablamos del contexto histórico de la depuración del magisterio. Este tipo de evaluación no era meramente técnica, cumplía una función ideológica y del control social. Algunos puntos importantes son los siguientes: revisión de la idoneidad profesional, perfil de docente, depuración ideológica y profesional, control social y cultural, legitimación de las medidas represivas y depurativas, instrucción de expedientes de depuración y establecimiento de precedentes.

Su rol como transmisores de conocimiento y valores convirtió al profesorado en un blanco prioritario para aquellas fuerzas que buscaban consolidar su poder eliminando cualquier tipo de oposición ideológica o social. Además de someterse a un extenso y complicado proceso de depuración que marcó profundamente a quienes se desempeñaban como docentes, este colectivo fue víctima de una profunda represión que se expresó a través de múltiples y dolorosas formas. Los actos de violencia, entre ellos los asesinatos, las persecuciones y las detenciones sin fundamento alguno, se llevaron a cabo con una gran crueldad y severidad inusitadas. Estas acciones represivas alcanzaron una magnitud inquietante, superando de manera considerable los devastadores efectos que medidas similares ocasionaron en otros ámbitos profesionales. En este sentido, el impacto y el sufrimiento del sector profesional resultaron exponencialmente intensificados por la naturaleza sistemática y desproporcionada de la opresión ejercida contra todos ellos. El profesorado fue uno de los grupos más afectados y perseguidos durante la represión y depuración de la guerra civil y los años posteriores. Estos docentes enfrentaron una difícil realidad, marcada por la sospecha y persecución, debido a su influencia en la formación de las ideologías de las generaciones futuras.

Se trataba de afirmar un nuevo orden educativo, que en declarada antítesis con los ideales y realizaciones republicanas recuperara las llamadas esencias patrias y contribuyera al avance del irrenunciable destino histórico de España. En esa dirección y para asegurar la pertinencia ideológica de unos profesores para después de una guerra, el régimen emprendió una triple acción: controlar al profesorado en ejercicio, sancionando a los que se alejaban de la norma establecida; seleccionar profesores afines y reprimir cualquier conducta sospechosa, vigilando políticamente la formación y selección de los nuevos profesores y la actuación de todos (Martín, Grana y Sanchidrián, 2011, p. 245).

Es esencial que todas las comparaciones se fundamenten en un análisis detallado, que dé prioridad a la evaluación cuidadosa de las medidas precautorias adoptadas para gestionar de forma adecuada la información general. Este enfoque garantiza no solo la confiabilidad, sino también la integridad y precisión del estudio efectuado. En este contexto, se presentan las sanciones más habituales impuestas al profesorado durante el proceso de depuración llevado a cabo por la Comisión Depuradora Provincial C de la provincia de Huelva. El propósito de esta exposición es ofrecer una mirada mucho más amplia y completa sobre las acciones ejecutadas, promoviendo una mejor comprensión de todos los mecanismos empleados y de su repercusión en el conjunto del procedimiento.

La tabla 4 refleja la aplicación desigual de la depuración franquista del magisterio en la provincia, evidenciando una mayor concentración de sanciones en la capital frente a la escasa incidencia en Aracena

y la inexistencia de casos en Nerva. En Huelva capital fueron sancionados 10 docentes (8 hombres y 2 mujeres), predominando las medidas más severas, como la inhabilitación para cargos directivos y la separación definitiva del cargo, lo que sugiere una política represiva especialmente intensa en el núcleo urbano. En Aracena, con solo tres maestros sancionados, también destacan los castigos más drásticos como la separación definitiva y baja en el escalafón o el traslado fuera de la provincia, mientras que en Nerva no se registran actuaciones, como ya hemos adelantado.

Tabla 4

Profesorado sancionado en la provincia de Huelva por tipo de sanción y género

Tipo de sanción	Huelva			Aracena			Nerva		
	H	M	Total	H	M	Total	H	M	Total
Cese temporal	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Separación definitiva de cargo y baja en el escalafón	2	1	3	1	1	2	0	0	0
Inhabilitación para ocupar cargos directivos y de confianza en instituciones educativas	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Traslado forzoso dentro de la provincia	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Traslado forzoso fuera de la provincia	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	8	2	10	2	1	3	0	0	0

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los datos de expedientes de depuración.

Con respecto a las sanciones que recibieron las mujeres, se observa cómo en Huelva el 100% de las profesoras sancionadas fueron separadas del cargo y baja en el escalafón. En Aracena, se repite el mismo patrón: la única mujer sancionada fue separada definitivamente del cargo. Estos datos evidencian que la represión ejercida sobre el colectivo femenino no se fundamentó exclusivamente en la presunta «desafección política», sino que también se sustentó en la transgresión de los códigos de conducta asociados a la moral franquista. En este sentido, las sanciones reflejan no solo un control ideológico, sino también un mecanismo de control social orientado a reforzar el modelo de feminidad promovido por el régimen.

Teniendo en cuenta los estudios ya realizados por otros investigadores/as sobre depuración del magisterio de segunda enseñanza (Álvarez, 2004; Negrín 2005 y 2015; Grana, 2010 y 2019; Ibáñez, 2017), podemos afirmar que la represión fue un proceso de una gran complejidad y la heterogeneidad del proceso represivo articulado por el franquismo a partir de 1939. Si bien el régimen impuso un marco jurídico unificado a través de las comisiones depuradoras y de la Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas, su aplicación respondió a lógicas dispares en función del territorio, del volumen de población docente y de presión socio política local. Mostramos a continuación los datos absolutos de depurados y de sancionados en las distintas actuales Comunidades Autónomas españolas, así como el porcentaje en cada una de ellas respecto al total de sancionados en toda España.

Del total de sancionados en España que ascendió a 1.744 docentes de secundaria, casi el 19% de sancionados correspondió a Andalucía, superando a otras regiones como Madrid (14%) y Cataluña (9,81%) y Valencia (7,28%). Por otro lado, Ceuta y Navarra resultan ser los lugares con menor porcentaje de sancionados (0,17% en ambos casos). Los sancionados en el resto de las Comunidades Autónomas oscila entre el 4% y el 8% del total.

Tabla 5

Comparación de docentes depurados y sancionados por comunidades autónomas

C. Autónoma	Depurados (n)			Sancionados (n)			% Respecto al total de sancionados en España
	H	M	Total	H	M	Total	Total
Andalucía	382	39	421	300	27	327	18,75
Aragón	96	30	126	69	26	95	5,45
Asturias	79	15	94	59	14	73	4,19
Baleares	42	4	46	14	4	18	1,03
Canarias	49	2	51	30	1	31	1,78
Cantabria	30	1	31	24	1	25	1,43
Castilla y León	196	26	222	126	21	147	8,43
Castilla-La Mancha	145	22	167	107	20	127	7,28
Cataluña	196	33	229	147	24	171	9,81
Ceuta	9	0	9	3	0	3	0,17
Extremadura	71	5	76	55	5	60	3,44
Galicia	174	22	196	120	20	140	8,03
Madrid	270	65	335	192	52	244	13,99
Melilla	6	0	6	4	0	4	0,23
Murcia	53	4	57	40	3	43	2,47
Navarra	8	2	10	2	1	3	0,17
País Vasco	93	11	104	67	9	76	4,36
La Rioja	36	7	43	25	5	30	1,72
Valencia	156	23	179	111	16	127	7,28
Totales	2.091	311	2.402	1.495	249	1.744	100,00

Fuente: autora. Elaboración propia a partir de los datos de AGA, y de estudio de Sanchidrián, Grana y Martín (2019).

En cuanto a la diferencia de género, el menor número de profesorado sancionado se corresponde con mujeres, para interpretar este dato hay que tener en cuenta que su número era menor. Llama la atención en Madrid de 244 sancionados, 52 fueron profesoras. Este dato nos sugiere que la provincia de Madrid, como centro neurálgico de las políticas educativas tuvo una mayor represión entre el colectivo de mujeres. Después de Madrid, las Comunidades Autónomas con mayor número de mujeres sancionadas son Andalucía (27), Aragón (26) y Cataluña (24). La provincia de Huelva confirma la tendencia nacional: las mujeres fueron numéricamente marginales entre el personal docente, pero recibieron sanciones severas. El 100% de las profesoras depuradas en Huelva fueron sancionadas, una pauta que no se repite en otras provincias. Por ejemplo, Cataluña 24 sancionadas, de las 33 depuradas (72,7%), o en Madrid 52 sancionadas de las 65 depuradas (80%), en Valencia, de 16 mujeres sancionadas, fueron 23 depuradas (69,6%).

En conjunto, la provincia de Huelva representa un ejemplo de cómo la represión franquista se articuló incluso en contextos periféricos, reproduciendo, a menor escala, las pautas de las grandes ciudades y contribuyendo a consolidar un sistema educativo depurado ideológica y moralmente según los principios del nacionalcatolicismo. Su importancia, por tanto, no radica únicamente en los números absolutos, sino en la intensidad, proporcionalidad y severidad de las medidas adoptadas. El carácter local y regional de la provincia estudiada, fue motivo por el cual sus docentes se encontraron en un contexto de gran vulnerabilidad estructural, con una ausencia de redes de protección institucional, con conflictos laborales previos que facilitaron el control social y la represión, incluso sin oposición organizada, a diferencia de otras provincias con mayor visibilidad o estructura de defensa a favor del gobierno republicano. En definitiva, y desde un análisis global de todos los datos apuntados, el mapa nacional de la depuración docente muestra una gran desigualdad territorial y una discriminación de género. La depuración no solo reconfiguró el cuerpo docente en función de la lealtad al régimen, sino que reforzó valores conservadores, clericales y patriarcales, dejando una profunda huella en la educación de posguerra.

Este escenario plantea una serie de preguntas relevantes y consideraciones profundas sobre las condiciones subyacentes que prevalecen, así como sobre la naturaleza precisa del desarrollo de los procesos y métodos implementados. Es fundamental analizar con detenimiento cómo todos estos procedimientos afectan no solo al entorno inmediato, sino también cómo se interrelacionan con otros factores más importantes, generando un entramado de circunstancias complejas que exigen una evaluación crítica y detallada. Cada dimensión del área requiere atención minuciosa para comprender cabalmente sus implicaciones y posibles repercusiones.

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DEL MAGISTERIO FRANQUISTA A LA RENOVACIÓN PEDAGÓGICA: EL CASO DE LA MAESTRA ATILANA FRAILE

*From Franco's Teaching Methods to Pedagogical Renewal:
The case of Teacher Atilana Fraile*

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Palabras clave

Franquismo educativo
Renovación pedagógica
Nacional-catolicismo
Formación docente histórica
Transformación educativa

RESUMEN: Atilana Fraile Vadillo, maestra rural formada durante el franquismo, es el eje de este estudio, que analiza su trayectoria profesional a partir del examen de sus cuadernos de campo y su testimonio vital. La investigación evidencia la impronta del modelo pedagógico formativo franquista y el proceso de transición hacia enfoques metodológicos más renovadores en su trayectoria docente. Inspirada por Rosa Sensat y Paulo Freire, protagonizó una transformación educativa significativa en contextos rurales desfavorecidos. Este trabajo contribuye a la recuperación de la memoria docente femenina y visibiliza el papel de las maestras como agentes de cambio en escenarios adversos.

Keywords

Educational Francoism
Pedagogical renewal
National Catholicism
Historical teacher training
Educational transformation

ABSTRACT: Atilana Fraile Vadillo, a rural teacher trained under Francoism, is the central figure of this study, which analyses her professional trajectory through the examination of her teaching notebooks and personal testimony. The research highlights the imprint of the Francoist formative pedagogical model and the process of transition toward more innovative methodological approaches in her teaching career. Inspired by Rosa Sensat and Paulo Freire, she led a significant educational transformation in disadvantaged rural contexts. This work contributes to the recovery of female teaching memory and sheds light on the role of women educators as agents of change in adverse educational settings.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Durante el franquismo, la escuela fue un instrumento de control que, a través de valores nacionalistas y religiosos, fomentaba la obediencia y silenciaba el pensamiento crítico (González Pérez, 2018; Martín Fraile et al., 2024; Viñao, 2014). Este modelo impregnó el currículo y las identidades de género, relegando

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Cómo citar / How to cite: Santos Pérez, César; López Gajardo, Miguel Ángel (2025). «Del magisterio Franquista a la renovación pedagógica: el caso de la maestra Atilana Fraile», *Cabás*, 34, 250-270. (<https://doi.org/10.1387/cabas.27629>).

Recibido: 24 junio, 2025; aceptado: 31 octubre, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



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a la mujer a un papel sumiso y doméstico (Parra Nieto *et al.*, 2021). La disciplina docente reforzaba este adoctrinamiento político (Martín Fraile, 2017). Con la Transición, surgieron propuestas pedagógicas críticas y democráticas, que otorgaron un papel activo al alumnado, un rol clave al docente rural y fomentaron la educación de adultos como motores de transformación social (Groves, 2011; Groves, 2017). En este contexto de cambio y renovación educativa se inscribe la trayectoria de Atilana Fraile Vadillo, una maestra extremeña nacida en Cabezuela del Valle (Cáceres) en 1947, cuya vida profesional estuvo marcada por la ilusión y el compromiso con la educación en valores. Tras obtener el título de maestra en 1964 en la Escuela del Magisterio de la Sagrada Familia de Plasencia y convalidar su formación en Salamanca, inició su carrera en Cataluña, donde trabajó en diversos centros privados y públicos, destacando su esfuerzo por adaptarse a las nuevas metodologías y lenguas, logrando la acreditación en catalán en 1987. Su trayectoria la llevó a participar en innovadores grupos de trabajo sobre metodología de rincones. En 1988 regresó a Extremadura, donde ejerció como directora en colegios rurales hasta su jubilación en 2008. Apasionada por su profesión, siempre defendió una enseñanza inclusiva y respetuosa con el ritmo de aprendizaje de cada estudiante. Este estudio pretende preservar el patrimonio histórico educativo y dar voz a la memoria docente femenina, siendo su objetivo analizar su formación docente durante la dictadura, sus prácticas educativas posteriores y la evolución de su enseñanza (Milito y Groves, 2013; Parra Nieto *et al.*, 2021), mediante un análisis documental histórico y temático de sus cuadernos de campo realizados durante sus prácticas en Magisterio, junto con un análisis fenomenológico interpretativo de una entrevista semiestructurada que reconstruye su trayectoria profesional.

2. FUNDAMENTACIÓN TEÓRICA E HISTÓRICA

A continuación, se aborda la fundamentación teórica que se desarrollaban en los contextos histórico-educativos en los que transcurrieron la formación y trayectoria docente de Atilana Fraile.

2.1. Escuela del magisterio de la Sagrada Familia

Para comprender los cuadernos de campo de Atilana Fraile, es necesario situarse en su contexto de origen. La Escuela de Magisterio «Sagrada Familia» fue fundada en 1958 en Plasencia por las monjas de la Sagrada Familia de Burdeos (Armero, 2008; Mateos, 2015). Ubicada en la Casa del Deán, funcionó hasta 1969 como parte de una red de instituciones religiosas impulsadas por el franquismo para formar maestras que perpetuaran los valores del régimen y la Iglesia, mediante una educación basada en el nacionalismo, la moral católica, la segregación de género y la obediencia (Sánchez De la Calle, 2009; Zaballos, 2012). Estas escuelas ofrecían alojamiento, manutención y formación religiosa, convirtiéndose en un entorno familiar y clave en la feminización del magisterio local (Armero, 2008). Además, seguían las directrices de la diócesis de Salamanca, que promovía congregaciones femeninas en ciudades como Plasencia para formar maestras afines al ideario nacional-católico (Alonso, 2012). Este control se afianzó con leyes como el Concordato con la Santa Sede (1953), que otorgó a la Iglesia autoridad sobre el currículo, reforzando estereotipos de género mediante asignaturas como Labores del Hogar o Corte y Confección, incluso la vestimenta de las alumnas era supervisada por las profesoras (Zaballos, 2012).

Imagen 1. Edificio de la Escuela del Magisterio «Sagrada Familia» en Plasencia (Casa del Deán)



Fuente: fotografía de los autores.

2.2. Formación docente Franquista

Este centro seguía el sistema educativo franquista, concebido como herramienta de control político y social para consolidar los valores del régimen (Cruz Sayavera, 2016; Viñao, 2014). El profesorado fue clave en la transmisión de estos ideales (González Pérez, 2018), mediante un currículo diferenciado que priorizaba obediencia y disciplina, en línea con un proyecto de «reconstrucción nacional» sustentado en el nacional-catolicismo como eje de control social (Parra Nieto *et al.*, 2024). Los programas educativos no solo enseñaban contenidos, sino que moldeaban comportamientos. Cruz Sayavera (2016) señala que se prohibía el pensamiento crítico y se promovía una identidad nacional homogénea, lo que se reflejaba en una formación docente diseñada para perpetuar la ideología del régimen. Libros de texto y cuadernos exaltaban la Guerra Civil como «cruzada patriótica», fomentando lealtad y obediencia (Martín Fraile *et al.*, 2024). Además, el régimen seleccionaba al profesorado según criterios políticos y religiosos, excluyendo a quienes no mostraran plena adhesión (González Pérez, 2018). Oraciones diarias, asignaturas de religión, la vocación docente como llamada divina y la decoración escolar con símbolos nacional-católicos (Martín Fraile, 2017) reforzaban esta influencia (González Pérez, 2018). Los cuadernos de campo recogen esa impregnación religiosa con alusiones a la obediencia a Dios y la exaltación moral cristiana (Martín Fraile, 2017; Viñao,

2014). Además, la Iglesia contribuyó a mantener un sistema educativo segregado por género, reforzando roles tradicionales mediante la supervisión de instituciones femeninas (González Pérez, 2018). La educación femenina promovía valores que limitaban a las mujeres al ámbito doméstico. Asignaturas como «Labores del hogar» eran centrales en el currículo desde el bachillerato hasta la carrera (Grana y Alonso, 2009), junto con manuales de urbanidad que inculcaban la administración del hogar y la crianza como función principal femenina (Martín Fraile y Ramos Ruiz, 2015). Las maestras eran formadas mediante lecciones y prácticas que reproducían modelos de conducta afines al régimen (Cruz Sayavera, 2016), lo que limitaba su desarrollo profesional (González Delgado y Groves, 2020). Martín Fraile (2017) señala que estas prácticas consistían en escuchar la lección, interpretarla y representarla visualmente. Esta estructura ideológica y pedagógica estuvo respaldada por un marco legislativo que la institucionalizaba. El Decreto 378/1937 estipulaba que las mujeres debían ser «buenas patriotas, cristianas y esposas» (Viñao, 2014). La Ley de Educación Primaria (1945), citada en Martín Fraile (2017), consolidó el control de la Iglesia sobre contenidos y metodologías (Martín Fraile *et al.*, 2024) e introdujo una estructura más racional del sistema y algunos cambios pedagógicos como la enseñanza por objetivos, sin alterar su carácter autoritario y segregador.

2.3. Movimientos de renovación pedagógica, pedagogías transformadoras y docencia rural como agente de cambio

Tras la dictadura, muchos valores franquistas perduraron en el sistema educativo, sobre todo en zonas rurales y sectores conservadores (Groves, 2011). España inició una transición democrática y educativa orientada a la modernización. El fin de la segregación de género supuso un punto de inflexión al permitir una formación más equitativa para las mujeres (Nieto *et al.*, 2024). Martín Fraile (2017) destaca que esta transición se apoyó en una nueva reforma educativa impulsada por la nueva legislación educativa. La LODE (1985) avanzó hacia la equidad, reconociendo el derecho a una educación básica de calidad y promoviendo la participación educativa. La Constitución de 1978 trajo consigo otra reforma educativa, la LOGSE (1990) supuso una ruptura más profunda al implantar una educación comprensiva, y establecer la atención a la diversidad, fomentando metodologías activas y nuevas especialidades docentes para una educación más inclusiva vinculada a la Escuela Nueva (Martín Fraile, 2017). En este contexto, se revalorizó la figura docente, así como los movimientos de renovación pedagógica se consolidaron como referentes frente al modelo autoritario franquista (Esteruelas *et al.*, 2015; Groves, 2016; Dávila, 2018; Parcerisa *et al.*, 2023).

Según Melcón *et al.* (2007), estos movimientos fueron clave para cuestionar el modelo patriarcal y autoritario heredado del franquismo, introduciendo prácticas igualitarias en las aulas. Se destaca el movimiento Rosa Sensat en Cataluña, que defendía una pedagogía activa y centrada en el alumnado, uniendo libertad educativa con compromiso social y cultural (Codina, 2010; Esteruelas *et al.*, 2015). Según Martín Fraile (2017), estas corrientes apostaban por una educación personalizada, evaluación continua y programación didáctica adaptada a intereses y necesidades individuales, fomentando el aprendizaje cooperativo, la creatividad y el diálogo. Parcerisa *et al.* (2023) subrayan que las escuelas de verano de Rosa Sensat ofrecían herramientas prácticas que facilitaban metodologías innovadoras (Codina, 2002). Estas propuestas transformaron la dinámica de aula y, como indica Groves (2012), generaron redes de docentes que compartían experiencias y promovían una comunidad educativa crítica. Los maestros formados bajo este enfoque profundizaron en los fundamentos pedagógicos del movimiento, enriqueciendo el sistema educativo y favoreciendo su democratización e inclusión (Esteruelas *et al.*, 2015). No obstante, Milito y Groves (2013) advierten que parte de su impacto transformador fue limitado por los restos franquistas que aún existían en las instituciones, aunque su legado persiste como símbolo de resistencia pedagógica.

Otro movimiento clave fue el influido por el pensamiento de Freire. Este proponía una pedagogía dialógica, donde el alumnado participaba activamente en la construcción del conocimiento, lo que supuso un giro frente al autoritarismo educativo (Prieto González, 2016). Groves (2016) añade que, su enfoque impactó notablemente en la renovación pedagógica en España, especialmente en la educación de adultos. Su propuesta de alfabetización crítica y emancipación educativa ofrecía herramientas para superar las limitaciones del sistema franquista, impulsando prácticas más democráticas y participativas y promoviendo debates sobre derechos humanos y empoderamiento en contextos desfavorecidos (Milito y Groves, 2013).

El movimiento Freinet resurgió en los años 60 como una corriente que unía renovación educativa y transformación social. Este movimiento, con sus técnicas de cooperación y expresión libre, favoreció el desarrollo de la coeducación docente y la ruptura de estereotipos de género en las escuelas (Melcón *et al.*, 2007). Defendiendo una educación participativa y basada en valores democráticos, con docentes como agentes de cambio cultural y educativo. Pese a las resistencias institucionales, los defensores del movimiento lograron tejer redes de colaboración por toda España como alternativa al modelo autoritario (Groves, 2017). Durante la transición, se consolidó como vía de transformación social, promoviendo conciencia crítica y participación democrática (Groves, 2011). Por último, la docencia rural ha sido clave en la transformación educativa y social de comunidades marginadas, al ejercer no sólo como transmisores de conocimientos, sino como mediadores entre la escuela y su entorno, promoviendo la alfabetización, la cohesión social y el pensamiento crítico (Groves, 2016; Martín Fraile, 2017). En contextos marcados por la escasez de recursos y las desigualdades, estos docentes extendieron su labor más allá del aula, convirtiéndose en referentes culturales capaces de adaptar metodologías activas e inclusivas a las necesidades del alumnado y de la comunidad, fomentando así una educación más humana y transformadora (Groves, 2017). Sus experiencias, relatadas desde la vivencia y el compromiso, reflejan trayectorias marcadas por la entrega, la creatividad y el vínculo afectivo, haciendo de la escuela rural un espacio de resistencia pedagógica y transformación colectiva (Terán, 2009). Todo ello refuerza el papel histórico de la docencia rural como agente esencial en la construcción de comunidades más justas, participativas y conscientes (Molina y Sanchidrián, 2023).

2.4. Objetivos del Estudio

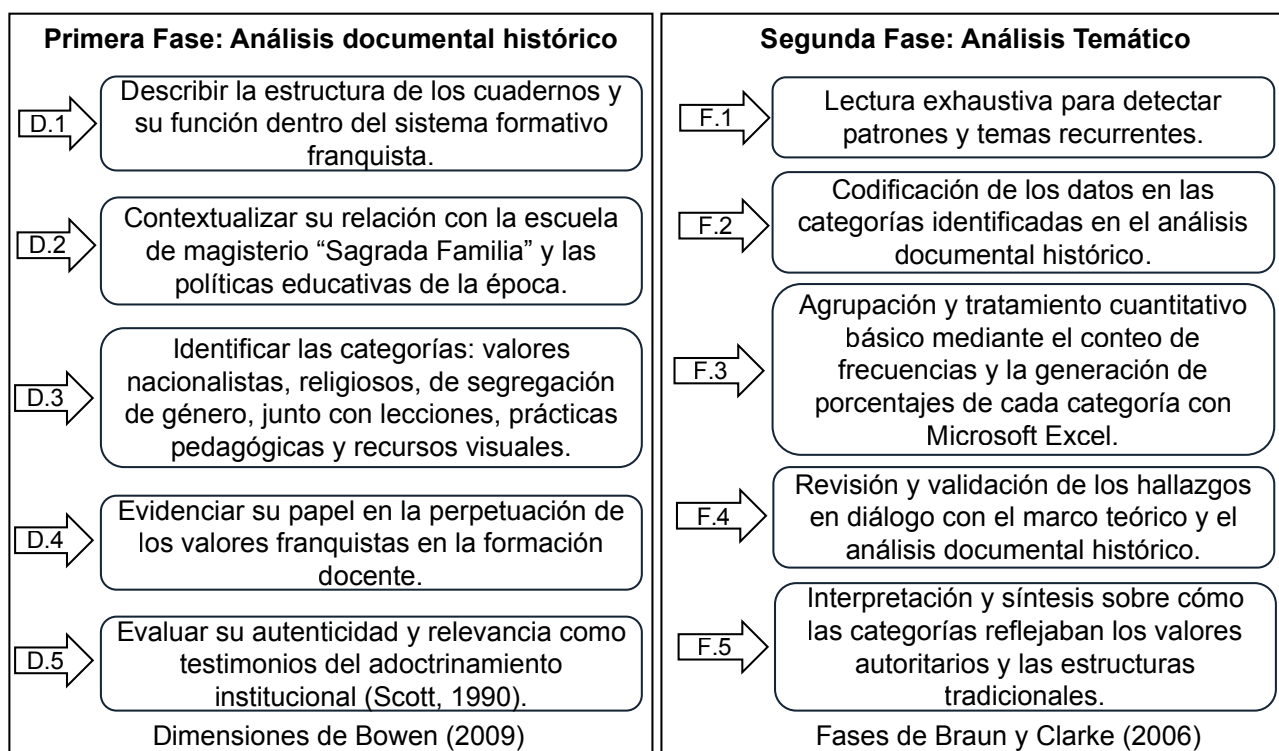
Este estudio explora la formación docente de Atilana Fraile durante un periodo caracterizado por prácticas educativas nacional-religiosas (González Pérez, 2018; Viñao, 2014), especialmente en la educación femenina, donde se promovían valores de obediencia y segregación de género (Martín Fraile y Ramos Ruiz, 2015; Parra Nieto *et al.*, 2021). Asimismo, se abordarán sus prácticas docentes posteriores en un contexto de cambio pedagógico, marcado por las metodologías renovadoras y la necesidad de una formación continua (Codina, 2002; Milito y Groves, 2013). Por tanto, el objetivo principal es analizar su formación docente durante el franquismo, su trayectoria profesional y los procesos de renovación pedagógica que fue incorporando, así como la comparación desde dicha formación hasta la consolidación de prácticas pedagógicas renovadoras a lo largo del tiempo. A través del estudio de los cuadernos de campo y el análisis del testimonio de Atilana, se explorará la tensión entre la formación franquista y la renovación pedagógica en la postdictadura. El trabajo también pretende poner en valor la memoria docente femenina, valorando el papel transformador de la maestra en contextos adversos (Martín Fraile *et al.*, 2024). Este objetivo pretende dar respuesta a las siguientes preguntas de investigación que guían la elaboración de este. En primer lugar, ¿Cómo fue la Escuela del Magisterio «Sagrada Familia» de Plasencia durante la elaboración de los cuadernos?, y ¿De qué manera estos reflejan el modelo pedagógico impuesto por el franquismo, limitando sus lecciones y prácticas pedagógicas el pensamiento crítico? En segundo lugar, ¿Cómo se desarrolló su trayectoria docente en relación con la incorporación de metodologías renovadoras

promovidas por movimientos de renovación pedagógica? ¿Y cómo se desarrolló su implicación en la educación de adultos y su papel como docente rural integrando recursos locales? Y, por último, ¿En qué medida influyó la formación inicial recibida durante el franquismo en la evolución de las prácticas docentes de Atilana, y qué tensiones surgieron entre los valores tradicionales del régimen y las estrategias pedagógicas renovadoras que adoptó en contextos de cambio?

3. METODOLOGÍA

La metodología del estudio se estructura a partir de dos ejes de análisis complementarios. En el primer eje, se analizaron dos cuadernos de campo: Prácticas Pedagógicas de 2.º de Magisterio (1963) y Prácticas de Observación de 3.º de Magisterio (1964). Ambos fueron digitalizados con el fin de preservar su formato original, su fidelidad documental y se encuentran referenciados, transcritos por uno de los autores de este artículo. El procedimiento metodológico se articuló en dos fases complementarias permitiendo contextualizar y desentrañar los contenidos presentes. La siguiente imagen muestra cómo la primera fase siguió las dimensiones de Bowen (2009) para el análisis documental histórico y la segunda fase se desarrolló según las fases de Braun y Clarke (2006) para el análisis temático:

Imagen 2. Procedimiento de Análisis de Datos de los Cuadernos



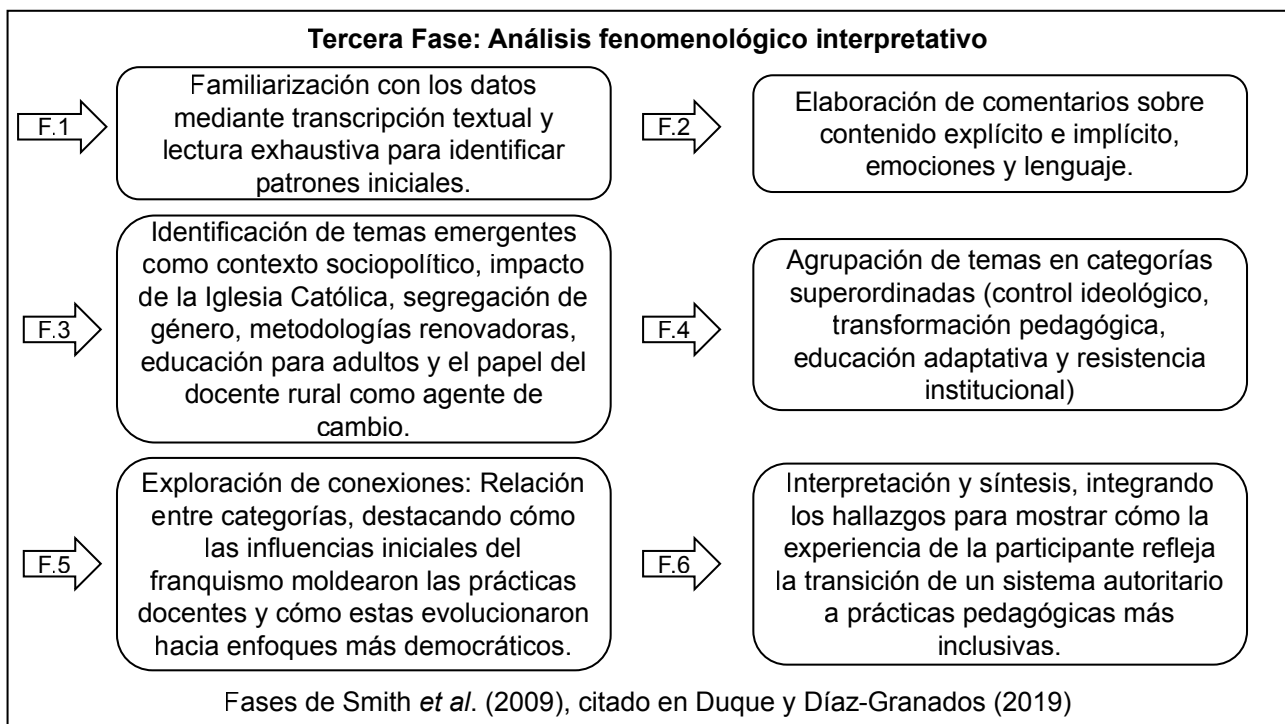
Fuente: elaboración propia.

En el segundo eje, se diseñó una entrevista semiestructurada específica para este estudio, compuesta por diez preguntas clave en torno al contexto político del franquismo, la formación inicial, la incorporación de metodologías innovadoras y los desafíos encontrados en el ejercicio docente. Un ejemplo de las

preguntas formuladas fue: «¿Cómo influyó la formación religiosa en su práctica docente inicial?». La entrevista a Atilana (Fraile Vadillo, 2025), tuvo una duración aproximada de 90 minutos, fue realizada de forma presencial en un espacio privado, y se transcribió de manera íntegra para captar tanto el contenido verbal como los matices emocionales que enriquecieron el análisis. Se obtuvo el consentimiento informado de la participante, quien fue debidamente informada sobre el propósito del estudio, los procedimientos implicados y el uso de los datos recogidos, respetando en todo momento su privacidad y sus derechos como informante clave.

En relación con el enfoque metodológico, se optó por un enfoque cualitativo basado en un análisis fenomenológico interpretativo. Este pretende explorar cómo vivió su formación en un contexto autoritario y cómo transitó hacia prácticas pedagógicas más renovadoras, queriendo proporcionar una comprensión profunda de las dinámicas de adoctrinamiento, así como del papel de la participante como agente de cambio pedagógico. El análisis de los datos se muestra en la siguiente imagen, comprendiendo la tercera fase del estudio. Esta siguió las fases establecidas por Smith *et al.* (2009), tal como aparecen descritas en Duque y Aristizábal (2019).

Imagen 3. Procedimiento de Análisis de Datos de la Entrevista



Fuente: elaboración propia.

Para reforzar la validez y fiabilidad del estudio, se aplicó una triangulación metodológica que integró el análisis documental histórico, el análisis temático y el análisis fenomenológico interpretativo. Esta combinación, tal como señalan Okuda y Gómez (2005), permite abordar el fenómeno desde múltiples perspectivas, reduciendo posibles sesgos y aumentando la consistencia de los hallazgos. La integración de estos enfoques no sólo contextualizó los cuadernos en el marco ideológico y pedagógico del sistema educativo franquista, sino que también facilitó la identificación de patrones y prácticas significativas. Además, la incorporación del análisis fenomenológico interpretativo posibilitó una interpretación

estructurada de la experiencia vivida por la docente, mediante la transcripción literal y la doble revisión de los datos, lo que fortaleció la coherencia interna del análisis (Duque y Aristizábal, 2019).

4. RESULTADOS

Los principales hallazgos del estudio se mostrarán por orden cronológico a la trayectoria docente. Respecto a los cuadernos, se han analizado 315 códigos distribuidos entre ambos cuadernos de campo, siendo el de 1963 el que concentra una mayor cantidad de registros (232 frente a 83 del cuaderno de 1964). No obstante, antes de dar paso a ellos, es conveniente tratar los hallazgos de la institución que los supervisaba.

4.1. Escuela del magisterio «Sagrada Familia» de Plasencia

Los cuadernos fueron escritos como actividad práctica en la Escuela del Magisterio «Sagrada Familia». Esta institución ofrecía una formación docente profundamente influida por el ideario nacional-católico y una estricta segregación de género. Los cuadernos de campo analizados (imagen 4) reflejan un modelo pedagógico tradicional, unidireccional y autoritario, donde predominan los métodos expositivos y una participación pasiva del alumnado. La enseñanza se articulaba en torno a valores afines al régimen, con una clara función adoctrinadora que trasciende lo académico para moldear conductas y mentalidades.

Imagen 4. Cuadernos de Campo (portadas)



Fuente: Fraile Vadillo, 1963 y 1964.

Dicha práctica refuerza los contenidos alineados con el régimen, subrayando la autoridad de las monjas como formadoras y del internado como espacio de socialización femenina, donde se fomentaba un ideal de mujer sumisa dedicada al cuidado del hogar y la patria (Fraile Vadillo, 1963 y 1964). Asimismo, la organización escolar estaba marcada por una disciplina estricta y jerarquizada, con escasa cabida para la innovación pedagógica o el pensamiento crítico. No obstante, los cuadernos también evidencian que la experiencia práctica con niñas pequeñas y el vínculo con el entorno local aportaban una dimensión vivencial y emocional significativa al proceso formativo, permitiendo a las futuras maestras conectar, aunque de forma limitada, con realidades sociales más allá del discurso oficial.

4.2. Valores nacionalistas

En ambos cuadernos de campo se observa una presencia similar de contenidos relacionados con los valores nacionalistas, representando un 6,03% del total. Esta categoría se ejemplifica en la imagen 5, que muestra una nube de palabras con los principales términos asociados. Estos valores se promueven a través de actividades como celebrar el día de la raza o cantar himnos patrióticos. Proyectándose una identidad nacional homogénea, en la que se entrelazan referencias locales como monumentos extremeños, figuras históricas masculinas o danzas folklóricas con el imaginario nacional, consolidando así un sentimiento de pertenencia alineado con los intereses del régimen.

Imagen 5. Nube de palabras sobre los valores nacionalistas



Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

4.3. Religión y su moralidad

La categoría de religión y moral aparece con mayor presencia en el cuaderno de 1964 (8,43%) respecto al de 1963 (6,90%), lo que refleja una continuidad del enfoque confesional en la formación. La imagen 6 ilustra visualmente esta tendencia a través de una nube de palabras con los códigos más frecuentes, articulados en torno a la enseñanza de Dios, la creación divina, el bautismo como vía para la redención del pecado original. Así como, la constante presencia de símbolos y contenidos catequéticos en la práctica docente. Esta dimensión no solo cumple una función educativa, sino que actúa como un mecanismo de control moral y social, orientando la formación de las futuras maestras hacia el modelo de mujer católica, piadosa y obediente.

Imagen 6. Nube de palabras sobre la religión y su moralidad



Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

4.4. Segregación de género

La segregación de género experimenta un aumento en el segundo cuaderno, pasando del 12,93% en 1963 al 19,28% en 1964, lo que evidencia una fuerte persistencia de esta práctica. Esta dinámica se visualiza en la imagen 7, que recoge los términos clave extraídos y emerge como un eje transversal. Se manifiesta a través de bailes regionales, manualidades y el uso repetitivo del femenino en el lenguaje, así como el ensalzamiento de figuras históricas únicamente masculinas visibilizando un currículo específicamente diseñado para reforzar el rol doméstico femenino.

Imagen 7. Nube de palabras sobre la segregación de género



Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

4.5. Lecciones

Las referencias a lecciones ocupan una parte destacada en ambos registros, con un 27,16% en 1963 y un 22,89% en 1964, lo que refleja la importancia atribuida a esta dimensión didáctica. La imagen 8 acompaña esta categoría con una nube de palabras representativa de las lecciones recibidas. Estas transmiten los conocimientos básicos según los principios del régimen, reflejando una planificación homogénea y prescriptiva que no deja margen a la innovación y que se centra en el aprendizaje sobre contenidos enciclopédicos, con un marcado carácter memorístico y repetitivo.

Imagen 8. Nube de palabras sobre las lecciones recibidas



Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

4.6. Prácticas pedagógicas docentes en su formación

Las lecciones se complementan con prácticas pedagógicas unidireccionales, donde las monjas adoptan un rol autoritario y jerárquico, actuando como únicas transmisoras del conocimiento. La metodología se caracteriza por la exposición oral, el dictado y el uso de preguntas cerradas, limitando la participación crítica y activa de las alumnas y reforzando la disciplina en el aula. Estas prácticas tienen un peso especialmente notable en el cuaderno de 1963 (34,48%), aunque su presencia desciende a un 19,28% en el de 1964. La imagen 9 proporciona una síntesis visual de los principales conceptos más repetidos.

Imagen 9. Nube de palabras sobre las prácticas pedagógicas



Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

4.7. Recursos visuales

Asimismo, los recursos visuales empleados láminas ilustradas, mapas coloreados en el encerado, espigas de trigo o figuras religiosas no solo buscan apoyar el aprendizaje, sino también fortalecer el adoctrinamiento mediante imágenes que ensalzan el orden natural y divino, la patria y la feminidad tradicional.

Imagen 10. Nube de palabras sobre los recursos visuales

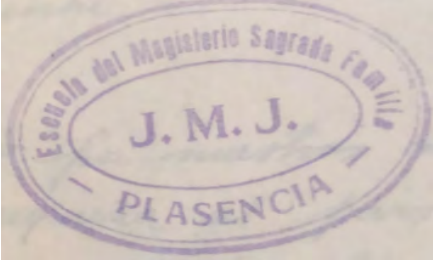


Fuente: elaboración propia. A partir de Wordart.

Su uso adquiere mayor protagonismo en el segundo cuaderno (24,10%) frente al primero (12,50%), sugiriendo una posible evolución en el enfoque didáctico. La figura anterior ilustra estos recursos al ejemplificar tales recursos.

Tabla 1

Iconografía nacional-religiosa en los cuadernos de campo

<i>Imagen de Dios</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1963, p. 1)		<i>Puente de Cabezuela del Valle</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1963, p. 17)	
<i>Campanario de Plasencia</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1963, p. 27)		<i>Catedral Placentina</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1963, p. 29)	
<i>Puerta de palmas de Badajoz</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 5)		<i>Agricultores extremeños</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 6)	
<i>San José, María y Jesús</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 9)		<i>Bautismo</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 9)	
<i>Apóstoles</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 10)		<i>Dios y Jesús</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1964, p. 17)	
<i>Sello institucional</i> (Fraile Vadillo, 1963; Fraile Vadillo, 1964).			

Fuente: elaboración propia, a partir de Fraile Vadillo, 1963 y 1964, transcritos por Santos Pérez.

Incluso cuando se abordan temas con potencial reflexivo, estos son resignificados bajo un discurso patriótico-religioso, como se evidencia en referencias que invitan a dar gracias a Dios por los sentidos o a afirmar que España tiene buenos profesionales. Este enfoque era validado mediante el sello institucional que simbolizaba la aprobación docente y el control de calidad ideológico. Sirva de ejemplo de estos recursos visuales la tabla anterior.

4.8. Renovación pedagógica

Tras acabar la formación de Magisterio, la maestra Atilana Fraile empezó a trabajar en diferentes centros fuera de Extremadura, dando paso al inicio de su trayectoria docente, la cual se caracterizó por la adaptación constante en su enseñanza.

Empezando por los movimientos de renovación pedagógica. Estos se incorporaron progresivamente en sus enseñanzas, marcando una transición hacia enfoques participativos alejados del franquismo. El testimonio recogido muestra una implicación directa en formaciones promovidas por Rosa Sensat en campamentos de verano y Freire, lo que supuso un giro significativo respecto al modelo tradicional aprendido en su formación. También participó en cursos realizados en Vilanova centrados en educación especial, educación física y metodologías centradas en el alumnado. Estas metodologías adquirieron una dimensión especial, al enraizarse en la vida cotidiana del alumnado y conectar el saber escolar con el entorno físico y cultural. La entrevistada, Atilana Fraile, narra cómo integró el medio natural en el aula mediante estrategias como la metodología de rincones y el uso de elementos del entorno como conchas, arena, árboles, trigo o frutos tanto en Cataluña como en Extremadura. Esta conexión con la naturaleza no solo enriquecía el aprendizaje, sino que también fortalecía el vínculo afectivo del alumnado con su entorno. Esta trayectoria vital también implicó adaptaciones lingüísticas, como el aprendizaje del catalán: «en Cataluña tuve que aprender catalán para poder quedarme allí trabajando, ya que empezaron a exigirlo» (Fraile Vadillo, 2025, p. 4). Su enfoque renovador fue consolidándose como una seña de identidad profesional.

4.9. Alfabetización de adultos

Por otra parte, los hallazgos muestran cómo la educación de adultos también fue un pilar clave. Está evolucionó desde un enfoque inicial centrado en la alfabetización básica hacia uno más crítico y práctico, alineado con las necesidades y con las metodologías de Freire y Freinet. Durante sus primeras experiencias, la enseñanza se limitaba a contenidos esenciales como lectura, escritura y cálculo, reflejando la influencia de su formación inicial. Sin embargo, con el tiempo, Atilana adoptó estrategias renovadoras, enfocándose en las necesidades concretas de los estudiantes: «Pasamos a centrarnos más en los contenidos específicos que el alumnado necesitaba aprender, dejando de lado, de forma progresiva, los valores impuestos por el régimen» (Fraile Vadillo, 2025, p. 7). Este tránsito fue acompañado de un cambio en la perspectiva docente, que pasó de transmitir valores preestablecidos a fomentar la autonomía, el pensamiento crítico y la funcionalidad del aprendizaje. Incorporándose en actividades como la enseñanza moral y ética, conectando la educación con sus realidades locales. En contextos rurales, este enfoque fue especialmente significativo, promoviendo no solo la alfabetización funcional, sino también la cohesión social en comunidades desfavorecidas. Su trabajo con personas adultas no se limitó a la instrucción académica, sino que implicó una implicación emocional y comunitaria, reflejando el espíritu transformador de la educación popular.

4.10. Maestra rural

Por último, en relación con la figura del docente rural como mediador cultural y educativo, el testimonio de Atilana Fraile permite visibilizar una dimensión profundamente transformadora. Lejos de reproducir mecánicamente modelos pedagógicos tradicionales, Atilana construyó una práctica docente enraizada en el territorio, adaptando las metodologías renovadoras a la realidad concreta de las comunidades rurales. Esta capacidad de conexión con el entorno se materializó desde sus primeros años en Cataluña, donde realizaba salidas al mar e integraba elementos como conchas, arena de playa o piedras en las dinámicas escolares, rompiendo con la lógica del aula cerrada. Posteriormente, al trasladarse a Extremadura (concretamente al Valle del Jerte) adaptó esa misma filosofía a un nuevo paisaje, utilizando hojas, cerezas, trigo, ramas o frutos del campo como materiales pedagógicos vivos, generando así experiencias de aprendizaje contextualizadas y multisensoriales. Tal como relata: «En el CRA (Colegio Rural Agrupado) de Rebollar, trabajé con alumnado de diferente edad. Además, procuré siempre incorporar materiales relacionados con el entorno» (Fraile Vadillo, 2025, p. 5).

Su labor como docente rural fue más allá de los márgenes curriculares, activando procesos de participación y revalorización del patrimonio natural y cultural del territorio. Esta actuación no solo fomentó el aprendizaje significativo y el pensamiento crítico, sino que también promovió una identidad educativa propia, en la que la escuela se convertía en un espacio de encuentro entre saberes escolares y saberes populares. El hecho de trabajar en un CRA, con alumnado de distintas edades en una misma aula, la llevó a implementar metodologías inclusivas como los rincones y a diseñar adaptaciones específicas para el alumnado con dificultades, consolidando una práctica que respondía simultáneamente a la diversidad y al arraigo. En este sentido, la figura de Atilana encarna una renovación no sólo metodológica, sino también ética y territorial, entendiendo que educar en lo rural exige una sensibilidad especial para transformar el contexto desde dentro. Finalmente, la implementación de estas metodologías fue valorada positivamente por la inspección educativa, llegando a ser nombrada directora tras una visita en la que el inspector observó su programación, el uso de rincones y materiales naturales.

4.11. Evolución de sus prácticas docentes

Esta evolución se sintetiza en la figura comparativa que se muestra a continuación:

Imagen 11. Síntesis comparativa

	Formación Docente	Trayectoria Docente
Contexto	Escuela del Magisterio "Sagrada Familia" (Plasencia), bajo ideario nacional-católico y segregación de género.	Diversos centros rurales y urbanos (Cataluña y Extremadura). Contextos con variedad lingüística, cultural y social.
Ideología	Adoctrinamiento nacional-católico. Refuerzo de roles femeninos tradicionales.	Ruptura con el ideario franquista. Educación crítica, ética y emancipadora.
Contenidos	Homogéneo, rígido, enciclopédico. Temas vinculados al régimen.	Adaptado al entorno y a las necesidades del alumnado. Enfoque funcional, vivencial y multisensorial.
Innovación	Nula o muy reducida. Metodología y planificación rígida, enciclopédica, control ideológico, ausencia de pensamiento crítico.	Renovación pedagógica a través de metodología de rincones, trabajo con materiales del entorno, adaptación a multiedad y diversidad.
Recursos	Láminas, mapas, objetos simbólicos con carga ideológica.	Conchas, frutos, arena, hojas, piedras. Materiales naturales como herramientas pedagógicas vivas.
Entorno	Escaso y subordinado al discurso oficial.	Fuerte conexión territorial. Escuela como espacio de encuentro entre saberes escolares y populares..
Lenguaje	Uso exclusivo del español. Lenguaje marcado por género y obediencia.	Aprendizaje del catalán e inclusión de la realidad lingüística y cultural del alumnado.
Diversidad	Ausencia de estrategias inclusivas. Segregación y homogeneidad.	Prácticas inclusivas (rincones, adaptaciones). Trabajo en aulas multiedad. Sensibilidad a las diferencias.
Adultos	No se contemplaba	Evolución de alfabetización básica a educación crítica y comunitaria. Enfoque personalizado y ético.
Figura rural	Reproductora del régimen, subordinada, moralizante.	Mediadora cultural, innovadora, comprometida con la transformación social.

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Esta transformación pone de manifiesto no solo un cambio en el enfoque educativo, sino también un cambio del rol y de su manera de ejercerlo. Este tránsito no fue inmediato, sino el resultado de un proceso de adaptación constante, nutrido por el entorno, la formación autodidacta y la experiencia compartida con las comunidades educativas.

A pesar de los avances pedagógicos logrados, la implementación de metodologías renovadoras por parte de la docente generó resistencias en su entorno profesional, evidenciando las tensiones entre la tradición heredada del franquismo y las propuestas de renovación. Como señala la propia Atilana: «no se comprendía por qué aplicaba estas metodologías», reflejo de una incompreensión generalizada entre sus compañeros (Fraile Vadillo, 2025, p. 8). No obstante, el respaldo de la inspección educativa permitió sostener su propuesta y le facilitó el acceso a puestos de responsabilidad, lo que implicó cierto reconocimiento institucional. Su experiencia pone de relieve una apropiación crítica de las corrientes renovadoras, adaptadas al contexto y orientadas a responder a las necesidades, pese a las limitaciones estructurales como la escasez de recursos (Fraile Vadillo, 2025). Cabe señalar que, aunque durante su formación bajo el régimen franquista ya se utilizaban elementos del entorno, su uso estaba supeditado a un currículo rígido y doctrinario. En cambio, en la etapa de transición democrática, estos mismos recursos fueron resignificados como herramientas para fomentar la reflexión crítica y la participación activa.

4.12. Validez y fiabilidad

En definitiva, la triangulación metodológica mediante el análisis documental histórico, el análisis temático y el análisis fenomenológico interpretativo fortaleció la validez del estudio al permitir abordar el fenómeno desde diversas perspectivas (Okuda y Gómez, 2005). Esta estrategia no solo facilitó la contextualización ideológica de los cuadernos en el marco del sistema educativo franquista y la identificación de patrones pedagógicos significativos, sino que también garantizó una reconstrucción coherente de la trayectoria docente analizada. La convergencia entre los datos documentales, narrativos y experienciales aportó solidez interpretativa al análisis, en consonancia con lo señalado por Duque y Aristizábal (2019). En esta línea, Scott (1990) subraya el valor de los cuadernos escolares como fuentes relevantes para comprender las prácticas y discursos educativos en contextos históricos determinados.

5. DISCUSIÓN

A lo largo de estas páginas se ha intentado recuperar no solo la trayectoria profesional de una docente, sino también las huellas de un sistema educativo que moldeó generaciones desde las aulas del magisterio. El relato de Atilana Fraile permite entrever cómo el franquismo operó como estructura ideológica, marcando sus primeros pasos como maestra, y cómo fue posible resistir, crear y transformar. Con estos hallazgos, se ha buscado también preservar el patrimonio educativo y dar voz a la memoria docente femenina. Lejos de ser una simple cronología biográfica, su testimonio constituye una ventana privilegiada para comprender cómo el franquismo moldeó saberes y prácticas, pero también cómo algunas de esas huellas fueron erosionadas por la pedagogía renovadora.

Los cuadernos escritos entre muros de vigilancia y rezos en la Escuela del Magisterio de la Sagrada Familia, dan cuenta de una escuela concebida para formar a la «maestra ideal» del régimen: dócil, patriótica y devota (Martín Fraile, 2017). Como han señalado Armero (2008) y Zaballós (2012), este centro pertenecía a una red educativa religiosa orientada a consolidar un magisterio femenino al servicio del franquismo,

función ideológica que se encarnaba tanto en las materias impartidas como en los rituales cotidianos. El internado reforzaba este control moral, como describe Alonso (2012), regulando no sólo la enseñanza, sino también la conducta íntima. Los contenidos eran homogéneos y acríticos (Martín Fraile *et al.*, 2024), diseñados para perpetuar una identidad nacional unificada (González Pérez, 2018; Melcón *et al.*, 2007), y un modelo de mujer sumisa y religiosa (Grana y Alonso, 2009; Martín Fraile, 2017). Las páginas de aquellos cuadernos están marcadas por símbolos patrióticos, rezos, himnos (Martín Fraile y Ramos Ruiz, 2015) y ejercicios sin lugar para la duda. Esta pedagogía, vertical y memorística, anulaba toda posibilidad de pensamiento crítico (Cruz Sayavera, 2016; Viñao, 2014). Sin embargo, entre líneas asoman también trazas de afectividad: vínculos entre internas, referencias a Plasencia o a los cuidados que tejieron comunidad entre quienes no tenían otra familia más que la del convento (Parra Nieto *et al.*, 2021). Es ahí donde el relato empieza a desbordar la rigidez de la doctrina.

Lejos del aula uniformada de su formación inicial, la trayectoria de Atilana se despliega como un relato de apertura metodológica, compromiso comunitario y transformación progresiva. Desde su trabajo en Cataluña y Extremadura con pedagogías activas hasta sus enseñanzas en educación de adultos, se percibe una apropiación crítica del legado de Rosa Sensat, Freire y Freinet: educación como acto de liberación, pedagogía activa, diálogo horizontal y conexión con las vivencias del alumnado (Groves, 2017; Milito y Groves, 2013). La propia Atilana tradujo esos principios en acciones concretas: charlas de sexualidad, colaboración con familias, uso del entorno natural como recurso didáctico, en coherencia con las propuestas metodológicas de la Escuela Nueva (Codina, 2010; Esteruelas *et al.*, 2015). En el ámbito rural, integró saberes locales para fomentar el pensamiento crítico (Martín Fraile y Ramos Ruiz, 2015) a través de los rincones adaptados al nivel del alumnado. Esta vinculación entre escuela y contexto junto con las metodologías renovadoras permitió superar parte de las limitaciones estructurales, ofreciendo a sus estudiantes una alfabetización crítica (Groves, 2011) y convirtiéndose en referente educativo y social. Estos referentes impregnan la lógica de los rincones, la observación del alumnado, la alfabetización de las personas adultas y la organización del espacio. Por otra parte, su papel como docente rural integrando recursos locales fue igualmente decisivo. En comunidades con profundas carencias estructurales, convirtió la escasez en posibilidad pedagógica, utilizando el saber popular, el paisaje, las costumbres y las necesidades reales del entorno como parte del currículo. Esta visión coincide con la figura de la maestra rural comprometida descrita por Parra Nieto *et al.* (2024), como agente de cohesión social y mediador cultural. Tal como señalan Groves (2017) y Terán (2009), la escuela rural, lejos de ser una institución marginal, se convierte en espacio de resistencia pedagógica, afecto, entrega y transformación colectiva.

Por último, la influencia del franquismo no desapareció al obtener el título. La formación recibida dejó una huella (González Pérez, 2018; Viñao, 2014). Pero también sembró, paradójicamente, una necesidad de ruptura. Atilana vivió en carne propia las tensiones entre lo aprendido en los cuadernos y lo que demandaban los nuevos contextos educativos. El paso hacia metodologías más participativas no fue inmediato ni lineal. Afloraron resistencias del entorno profesional, incomprensiones, inercias (Martín Fraile, 2017). Sin embargo, el apoyo de los movimientos de renovación, el acompañamiento institucional y la experiencia práctica consolidaron ese tránsito (Groves, 2016). Así, se inscribe en esa generación de maestras que, pese a haber sido formadas bajo un modelo autoritario, supieron convertirse en agentes de cambio tanto en zonas urbanas como rurales (Groves, 2017). Como muestran los estudios de Parra Nieto *et al.* (2024), no se trató de una sustitución total, sino de una negociación constante entre tradición e innovación. En el caso de Atilana, esa negociación se resolvió a favor de una pedagogía crítica, que dejó huella en las personas con las que compartió el aula.

En síntesis, el objetivo de este estudio se alcanza al analizar de forma articulada la formación docente recibida durante el franquismo, su impacto en las primeras prácticas profesionales de la protagonista y la posterior incorporación progresiva de metodologías renovadoras. Los hallazgos evidencian una trayectoria

de cambio que parte de un modelo autoritario, centrado en la obediencia y la transmisión de valores del régimen, hacia la consolidación de prácticas pedagógicas orientadas al pensamiento crítico.

5.1. Limitaciones y prospectivas de futuro

Aunque el testimonio de Atilana y sus cuadernos de campo ofrecen una mirada profunda al magisterio femenino durante el franquismo, el estudio se ve limitado por la ausencia de otras voces que permitan contrastar o ampliar perspectivas. Centrarse en una sola docente impide captar la diversidad de experiencias del profesorado y de otros agentes educativos, como alumnado o familias. Además, al no incluir testimonios de docentes varones, quedan sin explorar las vivencias masculinas bajo el mismo sistema de control ideológico. Como línea futura, sería valioso incorporar nuevos relatos y materiales didácticos de la época, ampliando así el mosaico de memorias que nos permitan comprender con mayor riqueza cómo se vivieron, resistieron y transformaron las prácticas educativas durante y después del franquismo.

6. CONCLUSIÓN

El presente trabajo ha permitido recuperar la trayectoria formativa y profesional de Atilana Fraile Vadillo, una docente cuya vida representa el tránsito complejo desde un modelo de formación franquista, hacia prácticas pedagógicas renovadoras. Los cuadernos de campo elaborados durante su paso por la Escuela del Magisterio reflejan la influencia del nacionalcatolicismo, la segregación de género y la orientación adoctrinadora que caracterizó a la formación docente femenina durante el franquismo. Las lecciones, la pedagogía unidireccional, los recursos visuales ideologizados y la función disciplinaria construyeron un ideal de maestra acorde al régimen. En este sentido, el análisis de la trayectoria profesional de Atilana evidencia un proceso de transformación pedagógica, marcado por la incorporación progresiva de metodologías activas, la influencia de movimientos pedagógicos renovadores, y un firme compromiso con una enseñanza centrada en el alumnado, respetuosa con los ritmos individuales e integrada en la vida cotidiana. La alfabetización crítica y la conexión con el entorno se consolidaron como ejes fundamentales de su práctica, especialmente en el ámbito de la educación de adultos y en contextos marcados por la desigualdad. Lejos de aplicar de forma mecánica las propuestas renovadoras, supo reinterpretarlas desde la experiencia, adaptándolas a las necesidades reales de su comunidad escolar.

En este recorrido, la figura del docente rural adquiere un papel clave, encarnando una forma de enseñar arraigada en el territorio, donde el entorno se convierte en recurso didáctico, el aula multigrado en espacio de inclusión, y la escuela en motor de cohesión social. Su capacidad para transformar elementos locales en materiales pedagógicos vivos y para integrar saberes populares en propuestas metodológicas activas demuestra que la innovación no depende de los grandes centros ni de los recursos abundantes, sino del compromiso, la creatividad y el conocimiento del contexto. La escuela rural, en su testimonio, se revela como un escenario privilegiado para la renovación educativa. La tensión entre la formación recibida bajo el franquismo y la evolución posterior de su práctica docente pone de manifiesto una negociación constante entre tradición e innovación, que no estuvo exenta de resistencias ni de incomprensiones. A pesar de ello, el respaldo institucional, su formación continua y su sensibilidad pedagógica le permitieron sostener y legitimar su propuesta educativa.

Finalmente, este trabajo contribuye a visibilizar la memoria docente femenina y a recuperar una experiencia vital que interpela tanto al pasado como al presente de la educación. Comprender cómo se vivieron y

resistieron los modelos pedagógicos impuestos por el franquismo, y cómo algunas docentes supieron transformarlos desde dentro, resulta fundamental para seguir construyendo una escuela más democrática, inclusiva y vinculada al contexto. En este sentido, la historia de Atilana se convierte en patrimonio educativo y en legado ético para las futuras generaciones de maestras y maestros. De este modo, será posible seguir tejiendo una memoria del magisterio que contribuya a resignificar críticamente nuestro presente educativo.

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