

A SCHOOL COMMUNITY BETWEEN WAR AND IMPERIAL ILLUSIONS: THE WORLD SEEN FROM THE ARCHIVE OF A HIGH SCHOOL IN MILAN (1935-45)

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Abstract: This essay aims to investigate the connection between a local archive and global history, with a glocal perspective in a school environment. The work will deal with the archive of a high school in Milan, Italy, and examine how this community, with its principal, teachers and students, looked at (and was involved with) international events between 1935 and 1945. This was the period when fascist Italy declared war on Ethiopia and took part in the Second World War in its quest for an Empire and, later, for a new role in a Nazi-ruled Europe. Fascist foreign policy, which meant “war policy” in that period, and the way the Italian schools dealt with it became part of the totalitarian design of the regime. Changes in the local perspective regarding international events reflect changes in the regime’s political agenda.

Keywords: Italian school, fascist regime, totalitarian education, war education, glocal perspective.

INTRODUCTION

The interaction between the local dimension of an archive and that of global history can be of interest even when we consider a school archive and the community it talks about, not least from the perspective of micro-history (Ginzburg 1994). This text will deal with the way students and teachers from the “Carducci” Liceo Classico (Classics High School) in Milan observed the world during the intense period of the tragic fascist wars – the Ethiopian war (1935-36) and the Second World War (1940-45). This observation will allow us to go inside a glocal historical dimension through local readings on significant events during a very particular period of contemporary history

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in Milan, Italy and the rest of the world. During this time, Italy's international life coincided with the imperial ambitions of the fascist regime. The school was a tool of Italian totalitarianism and took part in "indoctrination, which was not only ideological and content but also concrete and organizational" (Vittoria 1981: 457): it played a role in building the "new fascist man" (Gentile 2002: 235-264; La Rovere 2017). The school also looked at international events through the lenses of propaganda and with pedagogical aims.

The archive documents used here are "Verbali delle adunanze", reports of meetings with the school principal and teachers about the school's daily issues. Those documents show us how single schools enforced the National Education minister's¹ ordinances². We must keep in mind that the school archives inform us about small fragments of community life filtered by a few or only one person. The school principal could choose the documents to be kept and guide topics and decisions during his meetings with teachers. For this reason, varied sources are helpful: newspapers from that time and the school magazine produced by the students themselves but presumably checked by the school principal³ (Ostenc 1981; Charnitzky 2001; Ricuperati 2015; Galfrè 2017).

The "Regio Liceo-Ginnasio Giosuè Carducci" (to give it its full name) high school in Milan was founded in 1932⁴. It was the fifth Classics high school in the city⁵. It was necessary to establish this school to meet the demographic needs of the main city in Lombardy⁶ and to educate its ever-growing elite. According to the reform made by philosopher Giovanni Gentile, the Classics high school offered an "elite education" and provided direct access to universities (Charnitzky 2001: 114-130; Scotto di Luzio 1999). This Classics high school was the first to be located outside the historical city centre, in the north-east between the industrial area and agricultural fields. The school was named after the Tuscan poet Giosuè Carducci (1835-1907), which was decided upon by the school principal, Mr Giuseppe Modugno, and its teachers⁷. It was a break-away from Milanese tradition as schools were usually named after people from the city itself. However, it was a clear sign of adhesion to fascist fervour as Carducci, a bard who sang about the splendour and



grandeur of “the new Italy” after the unification in 1861 and the first Italian to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1906, was a poet that Benito Mussolini loved (De Felice 2001a: 11-16). In Carducci’s work, there were also allusions to the “Aryan myth”, with an anti-Semitic and anti-Christian point of view (Raspanti 2001; Fournier-Finocchiaro 2012).

FOREIGN POLICY AND WAR EDUCATION

When this high school was founded, “fascistisation”, pushed by the Mussolini regime, was already present in the schools. During the 1930s, the policies of fascist ideals were already at an advanced level in everyday life in schools. The relevance which the regime’s foreign policy – imperial and colonial policies – had during the 1930s, marked an increase in interest for international events even in schools (Collotti 2000).

The new Minister for National Education, General Cesare Maria De Vecchi di Val Cismon (1884-1959) (Santarelli 1991), appointed in January 1935, was given the duty by the “Duce” of preparing the youth for a new imperial projection of fascist Italy. The aim was to prepare the military background of young Italians and, at the same time, overcome the so-called “bourgeois” aspects of the schools which had been inherited from liberal Italy and from the Gentile reform itself, as De Vecchi’s successor, Giuseppe Bottai (1895-1959), explained (Bottai 1941²: 1-59). Hence the decision was made to introduce a new school subject for students, “military culture”, increasing by 30 hours annually. It became an exam subject whose objective was to educate the “citizen soldiers” of the new Italy (Charnitzky 2001: 412-417). Girls were subject to “women’s duties”, which were supposed to consolidate the subordinate role of women in the hierarchy designed by the fascist regime (De Grazia 2007³: 207-217). Army officers taught “military culture”, and it represented the completion of a pre-military indoctrination that the fascist youth groups had been organising for some time (Koon 1985; Dogliani 2014: 172-174). One of the minister’s intentions was that the new subject should work mainly on the students’ characters (Bellucci, Ciliberto 1978: 323-337). A few years later,



Bottai added that the “military culture” had to give young people “the taste and intelligence for arms, which, on a par with art and science, are an integral part of civilisation and hence the culture of a country” (Bottai 1941²: 222-225).

In the autumn of that year, the rhetoric of the “Duce” on the balcony of Palazzo Venezia and that of pro-regime newspapers moved up a level: a warmongering sentiment was put into action on the war field. On 3rd October 1935, the invasion of Ethiopia began. This project was intended to redeem the defeat in Adua in 1896 and place Italy among the European imperial powers. However, the war in Ethiopia provoked a reaction from the League of Nations (LoN), of which the African state was a member. The LoN placed economic sanctions on Italy from 18th November (De Felice 2006b: 597-757; Collotti 2000: 247-278; Del Boca 2009; Labanca 2015). They were bland sanctions and with many exceptions, to which the non-LoN member countries were not bound. The fascist regime benefited from these circumstances: there was a sense of being under siege due to international sanctions leading to national unity within the sanctioned country (Colarizi 2009²: 193-196). Many Italians went along with the war: the nationalists thought it would be an opportunity to increase Italian prestige, the underclass hoped they could have new job opportunities, and some Catholics and the Catholic Church were focused on a missionary perspective in Africa (Fattorini 2007; Formigoni 2010²: 127-128; Ceci 2013; Moro 2020).

In this climate of enthusiasm for the nation, even the “Carducci” high school actively took part in what was happening in Africa. On 18th November, when the LoN sanctions came into force, a rally against the “Geneva covenant”, but in support of the regime, took place in Milan. The leading Italian newspaper, “Corriere della Sera”, reported that hundreds of young people gathered in front of the “Casa del Fascio” which was the party’s provincial headquarters, “having crossed the city’s streets singing fascist songs”. They listened to the speech of the Milanese secretary of the fascist party, who condemned the sanctions and declared his faith in the Mussolini regime⁸. Among those present were some students from the “Carducci” high school who had decided to participate in the rally that morning,

having made arrangements outside the school itself just before entering.

The event was a cause of embarrassment for the principal and teachers. The rally was a demonstration of faith in fascism and support for its war and therefore commendable in their eyes and those of the school and civil authorities. However, it was also a violation of the strict discipline the fascist school expected from its students. They had skipped classes without asking permission and, consequently, should have received some form of punishment. On 20th November, a teachers' meeting was held with the principal to decide how to proceed. The principal explained to his colleagues what had happened two days previously: the students "had walked through some streets in Milan without shouting or committing acts of vandalism. They called out the Duce's name, and the protests increased while passing in front of the consulates of the sanctioning countries". The principal added that, while the students were parading through The Galleria⁹, they provoked admiration from the on-lookers and smiles of approval from the traffic wardens. The excellent behaviour of the students was confirmed by a religion teacher who was present at the rally. At the same time, the principal made other inquiries from which it emerged that the students "were not pushed by the desire just to skip school". The principal then presented the facts explaining that he had invited all the students who had attended the rally to go to the lecture hall the following day. He gave them a lecture "on the one hand praising them for the feelings which had animated them, but on the other scolding the way they had expressed this feeling". According to Mr Modugno, the students had shown "maturity in coming to the aid of their homeland in a moment of need, but measures had to be taken adapting them to the circumstances so as not to give the impression that the teachers disapproved".

After the principal's speech, a heated discussion followed among the teachers. Some pointed out that the exceptional situation dictated by "the measures taken by Geneva" meant that the students should not be punished. Principal Modugno agreed but added that "the sense of discipline that fascism restored, with great benefit to public order" had to be reiterated. The teachers thus voted to take disciplinary measures

against the students and, in the end, they decided to deduct a mark from their good behaviour report. However, they could overturn this mark and eliminate it if the students behaved correctly over the coming weeks¹⁰.

The school's attention to fascist intervention in Africa did not end that day. The whole school year was marked by a commitment to the war and the imperial projection of Italy. A few days following, on 25th November, Mr Modugno requested the teachers "to keep the students informed about the main events of the African campaign and the most important deliberations of the national government in such a way that the teachers' and students' spirit is constantly mobilised for the service of the homeland"¹¹. Later, the principal adapted his skills as a Greek scholar for the political cause of fascism. On 9th February 1936, he held a lecture at Biblioteca Ambrosiana (a historic library) in Milan, entitled *La Società delle Nazioni e un suo precedente* (The League of Nations and its predecessor). He compared the League of Nations to the ancient Amphictyonic League, which in the 4th century B.C. brought about the expulsion of Phocis and the consequent increase in power of the Macedonians: the latter then increased their dominance over the rest of Greece (Doukellis 2005). The lecture, during which the principal compared the behaviour of Great Britain – which Italy accused of using the LoN to its advantage – and ancient Macedonia, had a considerable amount of public success and was reported at length in the "Corriere della Sera" newspaper¹².

The war in Ethiopia saw the involvement of the girls in the school, in addition to the boys and teachers. They were the central figures in an initiative supporting the Italian soldiers engaged in Africa. Even if their approach was typically "feminine" in terms of fascist logic, they were part of a broader plan by the regime to militarise Italian women in specific ways (De Grazia 2007²: 363-369). The girls set up an exhibition of baby linen they had sewn, which was to be given along with other items to the families who had soldiers in Ethiopia. The exhibition also displayed 60 albums in which "Piccole Italiane" had collected photographs and speeches made by the "Duce", images of soldiers who had died in the war, and cartoons. "After seeing the exhibition," the newspaper reported, "Piccole and Giovani Italiane,



Balilla and Avanguardisti¹³ from ‘Carducci’ high school paraded in perfect order in front of the party leader¹⁴, the principal and teachers”¹⁵.

The war in Ethiopia ended in the spring and, on 9th May 1936, Mussolini declared the birth of the Empire. During the same period, minister De Vecchi completed the military and imperial education process with a school curriculum reform, which had already been heavily “fascistised” in the previous years. In a speech in the Senate on 16th March 1936, De Vecchi stated that all teaching had to be traced back to the “Roman times” that inspired the “Duce”. According to the minister, Italy was the bearer of a superior civilisation that was to be “given” to the world if it wanted it or “imposed” if it rejected it (De Vecchi 1937: 247-268). It was the acme of a long-term exaltation of the Roman world, bent to the totalitarian interests of fascism (Arthurs 2012; Giardina, Vauchez 2021²: 212-287), and that held a particular meaning for a Classics high school, focused on the teaching of ancient Greek and Latin.

Moreover, with the new curriculum, it was necessary to extend the teaching of contemporary history up to the war in Ethiopia; in geography, meanwhile, it was necessary to explain the division of human society into “races”, the centrality of Italy and its “race” and the role of Italy in other continents (G.U. 1936; Gabrielli 2015: 178-184.). Racism, therefore, entered the classrooms directly and became a cornerstone of the new imperial fascist system of education (Bidussa et al. 1994; Labanca 2000; Gillette 2002; Gabrielli 2015: 75-82). There was a specific way racism spread during that phase of the colonial history of Italy (Labanca 2021: 411-424). However, it also contributed to preparing public opinion and the school system for anti-Semitic measures in 1938. These were the culmination of a long process of progressively dismantling the liberal State approach towards non-Catholic religions and Jews in particular (Matard-Bonucci 2016; Sarfatti 2018³). As a result, the perspective from which the world was looked at was increasingly Italy-centric.

During the school year 1936-37, “Carducci” high school changed its school principal. Carlo Culcasi, a literary man, author of patriotic texts, and lover of poetry and music, took over the role. During the same period, the minister of National Education

was also changed. With the arrival of Giuseppe Bottai as minister, the “Duce” now intended to complete the inclusion of the Italian school in the totalitarian project of fascism (Cassese 1971; Guerri 1976). As the new minister stated to the Chamber of Deputies in March 1937, it was time to make the school suitable for a “modern empire” (Bottai 1941²: 93-110). In the following months, schools – and hence “Carducci” high school – conformed to the measures that increasingly orientated education in a warlike direction. There was also a new youth organisation, “Gioventù italiana del littorio” (GIL), which in October 1937 brought together existing youth organisations, becoming the direct link between school and the fascist party (Koon 1985; Gibelli 2019). The empire and the greatness of the new Italy in the world had to be the subject of daily interest in schools.

On 24th January 1938, the principal held a meeting specifically on this subject. He stated that classes should talk about the prestigious aviation event of those days: the trans-Atlantic flight piloted by Attilio Bisco, Antonio Moscatelli and Bruno Mussolini – the son of the “Duce”. The flight had left that very day from Italy for Rio De Janeiro (Garello 2006). Professor Mario Bendiscioli, a well-known historian and scholar of the history of Christianity (Torchiani 2016), was commissioned to organise conferences about Italian East Africa for the students¹⁶. Professor Vincenzo Zardini, who taught Italian, had to raise awareness among the students so that they could collect “memorabilia of Italy’s colonial enterprises”, which were then to be used for a contest in Milan¹⁷. In short, the mobilisation was general, and all the teachers had to contribute to get the students involved in the celebration of imperial Italy.

Furthermore, because of the ministerial programmes and their rigid application in the “Carducci” high school, the world was viewed through the prism of fascist Italy’s interests. Without the regime’s filter, there was no space in schools to perceive reality or what was happening on an international level. The young students were educated to have a limited and self-referential perception of the world. International events were relevant only if they had some importance for Italy or if Italy was the main subject of the events. In the same way, the interdisciplinary relationship between geography and history



was subordinate to the logic of the regime, and there was not an honest dialogue between interdependent social sciences (Braudel 1997).

THE NEW WORLD WAR

The outbreak of war in Europe on 1st September 1939, with the German invasion of Poland, brought about the first rations and sacrifices in Italy despite the position of Rome as a “non-belligerent” ally (De Felice 2006c: 626-793). The war climate made itself heard in “Carducci” high school too. During the first meeting at the beginning of the school year, the principal asked the teachers to “set an example of serenity and virile calmness, of that firm and silent faith which has won Italy the praise of the world” because “if the nation is not yet at war, it is on the verge”. Even the school could contribute to the future war by paying attention to only use Italian products: “Italian products meaning those made in Italy, with Italian origins and Italian production patents”¹⁸.

When Italy entered the war alongside Germany on 10th June 1940, the country was fully involved (De Felice 2006c: 794). So, after a summer of preparations and with the first people and even students called to the front, the new school year started with words of solidarity for the Italian soldiers involved in military operations. The principal underlined their spirit of sacrifice, which had increased “the prestige of our homeland in Europe and the world”. According to Mr Culcasi, all the teachers had to feel mobilised “for the war and victory”¹⁹. In January, a committee was set up to support the families of “Carducci” high school who had relatives in the army. The committee had to “collect all sort of items to be sent to the glorious troops who were fighting for the greatness of the nation, to relieve their sacrifice and make up for their material and moral needs. No one is to get tired of spreading propaganda to the students from the high school so that the collection of these objects can continue to the greatest extent possible”²⁰. As envisaged in the rigid gender discipline rules,

women (teachers and students) were busy making woollen clothes for the soldiers²¹.

At the end of January, the lecture hall in “Carducci” high school held a concert dedicated to Giuseppe Verdi in 1941, the 40th anniversary of his death. Leading figures from politics and schools in Milan attended, for example, the “podestà”²² Gian Giacomo Gallarati Scotti and the “provveditore agli studi”²³ Carlo Balestri (Auria 2006: 22-23), and the general public²⁴. The concert was intended to collect funds to buy wool to be sent to soldiers on the front. Even if it was not explicit, we can only imagine the concern of the students and teachers from “Carducci” about the news from the front. At that time, Italy was involved in a disastrous military campaign against Greece. Apart from the Greek army’s tenacious resistance, the Italian soldiers had to deal with severe supply shortages: one of these was a lack of winter clothes (Rochat 2005: 271).

Even the new high school student magazine, “La Voce dello Studente”, mentioned the event²⁵. The magazine came about thanks to a group of students who wished to make their own contribution to Italy’s international effort, and it lasted from February to May 1941. The editors’ thoughts were for “those who are fighting and who are suffering in admirable silence over there and have no comfort”²⁶. The student magazine was not noted for exalting fascism: it seems that the students’ main concern was not praising the “Duce” but what was happening to the soldiers in war who were young like themselves and were often their relatives. The students’ commitment to the war brought about a substantial collection of gifts: “100 packages with handmade woollen clothes made by our schoolmates along with food packs have been sent to our soldiers in Libya, and another 100 packages have also been sent to Albania”²⁷. Shortly after, the principal organised another charity concert during which there was a lottery with prizes donated by the students²⁸. Some soldiers who had been wounded in the war were also invited to the concert²⁹.

The following school year coincided with a notable worsening of Italy’s military situation with increasing commitments on several fronts (in North Africa, the Balkans and the Soviet Union), an increasing number of victims and an increase in enemies

with whom Italy was at war (the USSR and the USA). Once again, the principal asked teachers and students to pay the greatest attention to what was happening far from Italy, on the war fronts, and to turn their thoughts to “the brave fighters of the Italian army and ‘the man’ who directs the destinies of the nation during this difficult time”³⁰. “The man” was Mussolini.

It was to become a daily commitment. The high school students had to fill in a “military and patriotic culture notebook; the students and teachers [...] will read and comment on the most important events in the newspapers, the most important acts performed by our soldiers and so on [...], this is to have an ever more active participation of young people in the great war that Italy is fighting on land, sea and in the air”³¹. To explain to the students the reasons for an inexplicable war against France, the principal got in touch with “Gruppo di Azione Corsa” (Corsican Action Group), a fascist irredentist organisation that preached the Italian annexation of Corsica³², and asked the teachers to spread propaganda about the island’s Italian identity. The teachers then had to ask students to subscribe to the “L’Azione Coloniale” and “Rivista dell’Africa italiana” magazines. Finally, an afternoon Japanese language course was organised in homage to Italy’s ally who had just entered the war against the United States³³.

The world was increasingly looked upon only in terms of war, and the reading of international facts coincided with the needs and concerns of the fascist regime. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason – the continuous weakening position of the regime and the tragic course of the Italian war – that the high school’s initiatives in favour of the army decreased. In addition, the situation had become considerably more complicated with the fall of the fascist regime in July 1943 and the split of Italy in two: the South, which had been freed by the Allied troops, and the North, which was occupied by the Germans with the consequent creation of the Italian Social Republic (RSI) led by Mussolini (Osti Guerrazzi 2012; Franzinelli 2020). The absence of documentation regarding special initiatives supporting the fascist war does not mean that, in everyday life, the teachers and students did not continue to involve themselves with it. However, signs of a decrease in enthusiasm were seen in the months



after July 1943. Furthermore, the everyday life of families and of the school itself became more and more difficult: shortages of everything; damage caused by bombings; and, during the last two winters of the war (1943-44 and 1944-45), the absence of heating, which reduced the number of days in the classroom, with classes being replaced by self-study during the last winter. On the other hand, very few students were left as most of them had been sent to the countryside away from the bombings (Ganapini 1988; Restelli 2000; Cortesi 2018). In 1943-44 there were just over 70 students in “Carducci” high school³⁴ while three years previously there had been 1,238 (Annuario 1940). The only extraordinary initiatives supporting the Italian war effort were those set up by the fascist party and not by the school. On 19th January 1944, the high school held a lecture by a soldier blinded in the war³⁵. The party’s youth group organised it, but violent incidents broke out between students and party militants who had beaten a female student. She was taken to safety by the principal, who later complained to the school authorities about this episode of violence in his school³⁶. Afterwards, the teachers and students boycotted one of the party’s initiatives supporting engagement in the fascist war, sending material to Italian workers whom Mussolini had sent to German factories to help the Nazi military efforts with cheap labour. In the report, the principal wrote “negative” in the space where he had planned to write the school’s contribution³⁷. It was undoubtedly a form of the “non-violent resistance” to the Nazi-fascists that was taking place in the school world in those years (Ongaro 2013: 117-125).

In any case, between 1943 and 1945, as we will see below, several students and teachers from “Carducci” high school took part in the Resistance. Some of them paid the toll to the Nazi occupiers and their fascist collaborators because of their – actual or suspected – adherence to the Resistance movement (Peli 2004; Flores, Franzinelli 2019). Two teachers, Professors Augusto Massariello (Liberal Party) and Giorgio Cabibbe (Action Party), were part of the clandestine structure of the six members of the National Liberation Committee for the school sector in Milan. Prof. Mario Bendiscioli was arrested twice, in September 1943 and October 1944 (Torchiani 2016: 74). The professor

of religion, Don Vincenzo Locati, used to offer hospitality to the partisans who arrived in the town (Mazzolà 1960: 61-69) and was arrested in June 1944 but immediately released because of a lack of evidence³⁸. The principal himself, Prof. Culcasi, was arrested because his wife, who was Jewish, had escaped³⁹. Prof. Quintino Di Vona – notoriously socialist and long kept under surveillance by the police – used the school archive to hide Resistance propaganda, with the help of the school secretary, Antonia Palazzo (Di Vona Caprio 1954: 127-128): he was arrested by the fascists and shot by the Nazis in September 1944 (CLN scuola 1944: 1). In July 1944, Prof. Maria Arata was arrested and deported to Ravensbrück concentration camp, from which she returned after the end of the war (Arata 1979: 17). A communist student, Armando Cossutta, wrote that he used to carry weapons to the city partisans in his backpack from Sesto San Giovanni, a factory workers' stronghold where he lived, near Milan; he was arrested in January 1944 and later released (Cossutta 2004: 35-36). In December 1944, the student Enzo Capitano, who belonged to the same resistance group as Di Vona, was arrested and deported to Mauthausen camp, where he died in May 1945. Some students joined the RSI military formations: two of them, Enrico Martucci and Sergio Bertoli, enlisted in the fearsome "Ettore Muti" Brigade (Griner 2004); the latter was killed by the partisans in April 1945 (Conti 2019: 94).

In short, the process of "fascistisation" of the lenses through which the Italian school viewed the world, transforming it into a projection of interests of the needs and imperial illusions of Mussolini's regime, ended up reducing the involvement of the "Carducci" high school students and teachers in what was happening on the war front. In the war's final years, it was clear that every initiative for soldiers no longer meant supporting the nation's involvement in world affairs: the initiatives just contributed to feeding the propaganda and interests of fascism. In this sense, the local history of a small community – which nevertheless represented a certain cultural elite of the country – can serve as a concrete experience for a better understanding of the evolution of public opinion and the level of adhesion to fascism in the final years of the regime's life.

NOTES

¹ In 1929 the name of the Ministry of Public Education had been changed to the Ministry of National Education.

² Archivio Storico del Liceo Carducci [hereafter ASLC], armadio riservato [hereafter a. R].

³ The students' magazine, "La Voce dello Studente", is kept in the personal archive of the Cuzzoni family (the student Renato Cuzzoni was its editor) and has now been digitised by "Associazione Carducciani" (www.carducciani.org).

⁴ The education path of "Liceo-Ginnasio" (or "Liceo classico") included the lower secondary school ("Ginnasio inferiore", three years long), the upper secondary school ("Ginnasio superiore", two years long), the high school (properly "Liceo classico", three years long), overall from 11 to 19 years of age.

⁵ The other "Liceo classico" high schools in Milan were: "Cesare Beccaria" (founded in 1603 as "Sant'Alessandro"), "Giuseppe Parini" (founded in 1774 as "Brera", then "Porta Nuova"), "Alessandro Manzoni" (1884), "Giovanni Berchet" (1911).

⁶ Milan had 701,000 inhabitants in 1911, 818,000 in 1921, 961,000 in 1931, 1,116,000 in 1936.

⁷ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 18th October 1932.

⁸ *Milano contro le sanzioni*, in "Corriere della Sera", 19th November 1935.

⁹ Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, in Milan.

¹⁰ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 20th November 1935.

¹¹ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 25th November 1935.

¹² *Un'antica Società delle Nazioni*, in "Corriere della Sera", 10th February 1936.

¹³ They are the names of the fascist youth organisations. "Piccole Italiane" were girls aged 8 to 14; "Giovani Italiane" were girls aged 15 to 17; "Balilla" were boys aged 8 to 12; "Avanguardisti" were boys from 13 to 17. As of 28 October 1935, there were 1,798,879 "Piccole Italiane", 298,506 "Giovani Italiane", 2,117,058 "Balilla", 676,585 "Avanguardisti" in Italy (excluding overseas colonies) (Istat 1936: 230).

¹⁴ It means the leader of the female branch of the local fascist party.

¹⁵ *Iniziativa di Giovani Italiane per le famiglie dei richiamati*, in "Corriere della Sera", 28th March 1936.

¹⁶ In addition to the newly conquered Ethiopia, Italian East Africa also included Eritrea and Italian Somalia.

¹⁷ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 24th January 1938.

¹⁸ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 15th September 1939.

¹⁹ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 15th September 1940.

²⁰ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 3rd January 1941.

²¹ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 14th January 1941.

²² During the Fascist era, "podestà" was the head of the municipal administration, appointed by the government.

²³ "Provveditore agli studi", appointed by the Ministry of National Education, was the highest school authority at the provincial level.

²⁴ *Pro lana ai soldati. Una commemorazione di Verdi al «Carducci»*, in "Corriere della Sera", 30th January 1941.

²⁵ *Cronaca scolastica*, in "La Voce dello Studente", 14th February 1941.

²⁶ *Ai signori professori e agli alunni*, in "La Voce dello Studente", 7th February 1941.

²⁷ *Patriottico gesto*, in "La Voce dello Studente", 21st February 1941.

²⁸ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 2nd April 1941.

²⁹ *Cronache scolastiche*, in "La Voce dello Studente", 4th April 1941.

³⁰ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 5th October 1941.

³¹ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 27th October 1941.

³² Corsica had been under the rule of the Republic of Genoa and it was later annexed by France in 1769.

³³ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 24th February 1942.

³⁴ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1932-1944), 25th October 1943.

³⁵ *Raduni di propaganda nelle scuole medie*, in "Corriere della Sera", 21st-22nd January 1944.

³⁶ ASLC, a. R, Anni 1940/41 – 1943/44, *Lettera del preside al provveditore*, 22nd January 1944.

³⁷ ASLC, a. R, Verbali delle adunanze (1944-1956), 9th November 1944.

³⁸ Archivio di Stato di Milano [hereafter ASMI], Prefettura di Milano, Gabinetto, Carteggio dal 1938 al 1955, II serie, b. 366, *Locati don Vincenzo*.

³⁹ ASMI, Prefettura di Milano, Gabinetto, Carteggio dal 1938 al 1955, II serie, b. 365, *Lettera di Guido Fabris al podestà*, 26th June 1944.

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