

CONSTITUTION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN BRAZIL: ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS, CULTURE AND SCHOOLING

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Introduction

Analyze the educational initiatives of Italian immigrants in the region of Campinas, in the context of Brazilian education and Sao Paulo in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth. Scales the relationship between state and education and how these initiatives fit into it. These can be characterized either by the establishment of schools for mutual aid associations, such as the Circolo Italiani Uniti of Campinas, as the demand for groups of emigrants who settled in colonial settlements, as well as individual initiative (emigrants who offer to teach individuals and teachers who open schools) classes. We show that the Italian immigrants in particular, not only worried, as did the education strategy of socializing in the new company and possibly to preserve cultural values of origin in the case of schools established and maintained by Italian¹ immigrant settlers. In the new society, organized to keep alive referential cultural identity, particularly through the teaching and learning of the Italian language.

Create schooling possibilities for others also seems to be a strategy that is being seen as an opportunity to work either in the city or in the rural universe. Thus the educational initiatives differ, the purposes who are implied to them. Given the limits of this paper we will refer only to the educational initiative by the Association Circolo Italiani Uniti City of Campinas, located in the state of São Paulo, Brazil .

SCHOOLS OF CIRCOLO ITALIANI UNITI

The creation of schools of the Association "Circolo Italiani Uniti" founded in Campinas in August 1881, is coupled to the binding of the idea of mutual aid. These schools were opened five years after the founding of the association on May 2, 1886.'s Understanding of its organization and operation, may give up in the midst of creation and consolidation of extinction of this association. The schools of the Circolo worked the late Empire to a significant portion of the First Republic by the year 1920.

Although these schools have been opened, after the inauguration of the association, however they have made up one of the objectives thereof. Here's an excerpt of the Articles of Association: *esta fundado em Campinas um club sob o nome de "Italianos Unidos", cujo fim é a união, a instrução, a moralidade e o socorro mutuo entre os italianos...*². Previám também os estatutos que, *chegando o fundo social a 2:000#000rs o Circolo mantera para os italianos de todas as edades as aulas de Italiano, Portuguez, Arithmetica e desenho linear (Capt. IV, art. 17).*

¹Hutter faz referência sobre a existência de uma única escola no Núcleo colonial Campos Sales em 1907, a teuto brasileira, mantida pelos colonos e subvencionada pelo Estado. Obra citada, p. 155.

² Capítulo I, grifos nossos.

Note that there were curricular determination. Although this article is very broad in the sense of offering classes for Italians of all ages, the twelfth emphasized that social equity is applica in mutual aid between the partners in schools for the children of the poor Italians and the workmen adults and in works of beneficence. (Chapter IV, art. 12). The meaning of equity to be broader than the social background, applies to all goods and finances of the company and on the precípuas purposes of the association. However, extending the service to all the children of immigrants when the equity reaches the ceiling established 2:000 \$ 000.

The opening of schools Circolo deserves to be highlighted, not only due to programming inauguration which was published in the newspaper Diário de Campinas May 1, 1886 as well as the long article that the writer of this paper reported the next day to this event: Circolo ITALIANI UNITI programs and the opening of the parties SCHOOLS

On 2 mp month of May, the dawn broken there will be a 21-gun salute in front of the building society. By midday shall be open to the public rooms of the establishment, remaining open until 4 hours. During this period will be received entries from students of both sexes of any nationality.

The 4 pm meeting tera log associations and members of the colony in Correia de Mello square.

The 5 -hour onsite the Circolo, general meeting chaired by Ilmo. Mr. Inspector 's literary district, who declared open classes. After that the word will be granted those who want to pronounce Mr allusivos to act speeches then discover it is the portrait of honorary president Mr. Rocco di Marcco exquisite artistic work of Antonio Carlos Sampaio Ilmo Mr. Peixoto, specially made to appear in honor of hall of Circolo.

When the session will remain open until the rooms of the building 10 hours of route. (...)

Of all the Italian colony and the general public expect your competition to brighten this act of fair delight to carry more of the purposes for which the association is proposed.

Campinas, April 30, 1885

The Secretary³

Guisseppe Beviglieri.

What we think as scheduled inauguration ceremony of these schools seems to demonstrate, first, the importance of the colony⁴ of Italian immigrants Campinas attributed to education and, secondly, the need to do so to recognize, through this project, the company location. This can be inferred from the very programming that tries to draw the attention of the population of the city of Campinas, waking her up to witness the event through the 21-gun salute in front of the building society at daybreak. But this does not suffice to make that opening a public act, it was necessary then to franchise the doors of the establishment to the public performing applications from students of both sexes of any nationality. This has an important symbolic meaning of educational and social point of view, since the opening of schools in the Circolo occurs in a context of dominance of private initiative in education in Campinas.

³ Diário de Campinas 1/05/1886, Arquivo Edgard Levenroth, grifos nossos.

⁴ A colônia italiana de Campinas, assim se identifica principalmente através dos seguintes imigrantes: Emílio Gerogetti, Atilio Bucci, Giulio Machi, Pietro Ramires, Rocco de Marco, Luigi Boteli, Guisseppe Beviglieri, Rafael Pisani, Miguel de Tulio, Salvatore Careli, Antonio Marraccini, entre outros. Ver Diário de Campinas no período entre 1880 e 1889. Esses nomes aparecem assinando convites e convocações para reuniões da diretoria da associação com seus associados.

"Campinas in 1870 has reached nine private schools with a total of four hundred boys and girls enrolled in the following⁵, schools: College of John Pupo de Moraes, Malachias Garland School, School Store Loyalty, School of Firmus Antonio da Silva and Severino Borges Martins School for boys, Colegio Carolina Florence, Cezarino College, School of Eufrozina Antonia D. Amaral and German School for Girls. In the following decade, in 1887, there were four female and eight male chairs of public instruction, private schools surpassed by Luis de Camões, Penteado Ferreira, Ferreira Filho, Independence Store (linked to Freemasonry), Confederata Italian Society, International College, College Florence D. Ignacia, Josephina Sarmento, German Society for Education and Reading, School garland.⁶

The inauguration of the Circolo schools represented an initiative that would give greater prominence to social participation of Italian emigrants in Campinas, taking into account the growing need for elementary schools and schooling set for the Campinas population in general and in this universe, to migrants in particular. So it would add up to the already existing towards not only spread a level of instruction for those who had access to it, as on the other hand, would be contributing to minimize the situation existing demand for education in the State of Sao Paulo⁷ and generally in Brazil during the empire.⁸ According to the report of the General Directorate of Statistics - 1876 Census, the population of the country was 8,419,672 inhabitants with the dismal figure of 6,856,594 illiterate - 81.43, and the State of São Paulo had the percentage of 79.27 % illiterate. Sure enough, after ten years after this realization, the situation would be no different. This picture undoubtedly contributed to that migrants create their own schools:

In Campinas, immigrants founded their own schools for the education of their children. In 186, Antonio Exel, Cristiano Mayer, Krung Jorge, all the German colony founded the German

5 Almanach de Campinas para 1871. Organizado e publicado por José Maria Lisboa. Campinas Typ. Do Gazeta de Campinas, 1870, p. 8. (CMU)

⁶ Idem e Almanach organizado por Henrique de Barcelos para 1887.

⁷ Em São Paulo existiram as seguintes escolas italianas: "Scuola Italo-Brasiliana Alessandro Manzoni, in Santos, fundada nel 1901, ad iniziativa della Società Italiana di Beneficenza"(...); Scuola Italo- Brasiliana Gabriele D' Annunzio, in Campinas, fundada em 1932(...); Scuola Italo-Brasiliana Roma, in Ribeirão Preto, fundada soto gli auspici del lolocal Cominato della Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri (...); Scuola Italo- Brasiliana, in Batatais, fundada sotto il patrocínio del Fascio e della Società Italiana del Luogo (...); Scuola Irtali-Brasiliana, in Bauru, fundada sotto gli auspici del Fascio e della Casa d'Itália(...); Scuola -Italo Brasiliana in Cravinhos, fundada a de iniziativa della locale Società de Mutuo Soccorso (...); Scuola Italo-Brasiliana in Jaboticabal, fundada sotto il patrocínio del Fascio e della Società Italiana del Luogo (...); Scuola -Italo Brasiliana Dante Alighieri, in Jahu, fundada ade iniziativa della locale Società Italiana ononima e patrocinata dal Fascio (...); Scuola Italo_Brasiliana Carlo Del Croix in Jundiáhy, fundada presso il Núcleo Barão de Jundiáí, della locale Società Italiana di Mutuo Socorso (...); Scuola Italo_brasiliana Duuca D'aosta, in Limeira, fundada ad iniziativa del Fascio locale e della casa d'Italia (...); Scuola del Fascio, e il Centro de Cultura Italo Brasileiro, in Piracicaba, fondati sotto gli auspici del Fascio e delle Società Italiane locali (...); Scuola Italo-Brasiliana Vito Leprega, in Rio Claro, fundada nel 1933 ad iniziativa del Fascio locale e della Csa d'Italia". PISANI, Salvatore. Lo Stato di San Paolo nel Cinquantenario dell'Immigrazione. São Paulo, Typ. Napoli, 1937.

⁸ Durante o império o problema de falta de escolas e portanto da instrução pública popular foi constante. Paiva registra a preocupação com essa situação através dos debates legislativos, ocorridos principalmente no final do império. Para essa autora, entre tais preocupações estava a de que "o surto do progresso material do período, os primeiros passos no sentido da instalação de manufaturas, tornava o ensino uma fonte de preocupações. Além disso, as elites brasileiras chegadas de seus estudos europeus – penetradas de ideias liberais e dos ideais de instrução elementar e gratuita - e conscientes do estado lamentável de nosso sistema de ensino de primeiro grau, preocupavam-se em desenvolvê-lo para que a Nação brasileira pudesse ser citada entre os "países cultos". Até mesmo os conservadores alienavam-se a tais preocupações: o atendimento da população em idade escolar pelo sistema elementar de ensino não atingia 10%. (...) Rui Barbosa ao destacar a situação de absoluta miséria do ensino popular no país, chamava atenção para a pequena percentagem do orçamento que a nação consagrava à educação (1,99%) enquanto as despesas militares se elevavam a 20,86% da despesa total do império". PAIVA P. Educação popular e Educação de Adultos, p.72.

Society of Instruction for the maintenance of a school of first letters. The almanac Campinas 1871 refers to this society had 75 members and held two primary schools, one female and one male with 75 students, working at Mother New Street, No. 72 the Almanac of Campinas 1901 records 60 member. And operation of two schools in new address at Rua Visconde do Rio Branco, paragraph 90 attended by 90 students.⁹

The social and economic contingencies experienced by migrants in cities, as in colonial settlements, allowed them, on the one hand, create forms of sociability and education becomes one of them, constituting a kind of passport to labor relations and primarily to safeguard their nationality. It also represents an attempt to fill an allowed by the government over the lack of educational actions by the state particularly in a period in which social demands are to be larger in terms of numbers on the demand for elementary education, swelled by migrant populations gap.

In general, it can be considered significant foreign participation in the educational field in Campinas. In 1909, the yearbook of education records the existence of only three foreign primary schools, serving a total of 272 students with free education for 98 children.¹⁰ Meanwhile, in 1917 they appear in larger quantities. Totals nine, serving 467 students, which can be seen by the chart below, which is the greatest presence of Germans followed by Italians:

Table 1 - Foreign Schools in Campinas in 1917

Discrimination	No. of pupils in primary school	Nº of teachers	Nationalities
Mixed School (German)	16	1	German
New German School	132	4	German
German School	80	1	German
German School	98	3	German
German School of Education	36	1	German
Portuguese School	18	1	Portuguese
Circolo Italiani Uniti	35	1	Italian
The Berlitz Language	13	1	Italian
Italian school	19	4	Italian

Source: Yearbook of Education of the State of Sao Paulo¹¹

In Brazil, in 1908 the number of Italian schools was 232, with 13,656 enrollments in 1911 added up to 303, with 16.295alunos enrolled, in 1913 the number rose to 396 with 23,323 enrollments and in 1924 with record drop to 329 and enrollment of 18,940. In those same years, the state of São Paulo is the state that has the highest presence of Italian schools. In 1908 they numbered 115, and in 1911, totaling 80 122 in capital. In 1913 the number rises to 187 and 121 in the capital, and finally in 1924 decreased to 87, with 46 in the capital, with record registration only for this year, which was 10,626.¹²

⁹ Apud, SOUZA, Rosa F. de. O Direito à Educação: lutas populares pela escola em Campinas, p. 152.

¹⁰ Anuário de Ensino do Estado de São Paulo, 1909 – 1910, Typ. do Diário Oficial, p. 128

¹¹ Apud, Souza, opus cit, p. 153.

¹² Idem.

Republicans debate towards more offers¹³ public schools and educational gratuity for the national population were felt at the time of opening of schools in the Circolo. Any educational initiative, even though nature was particularly welcome, especially when sourced from foreign groups. Observe below how the newspaper *Diário de Campinas*, refers to the opening of schools Circolo:

(...). Labeled hour in the party program, the partners sahiram embodied the Circolo, pupils from their schools and SMP Luis de Camões, with competent standard. Ahead of the Italian music band followed his banner the Circolo .

After having traversed several streets of the city, went to the prestito social edifice which had held the official opening ceremony.

Opened the meeting by the chairman Mr. Emilio Georgeti was asked Mr Inspector of Literary district to chair the meeting. The main Logares were ocupados by Ilmo. Mr. Mayor and Alderman Joaquim Monteiro de Carvalho e Silva; enclosure in him were brilliantly represented all classes: - a splendid brotherhood saw in the arts side of the despatches, the trade side of the industries, magistrates and representatives of the press.

The living room of the building regorgitava of people. Were made to represent all institutions d ' this city. (...).

Inaugurated the classes given by the Circolo said Mr. Amador Florence, Mayor that saluting the founders of Circolo Italiani untit did see how this institution became every day more praiseworthy, because their efforts not only took advantage of their compatriots, but also humanity. Regeneration III store was brilliantly represented by mr. dr. Augusto Ribeiro de Loyolla; this gentleman in an amazing improvisation welcomed the fighters as well, which, despite its uninterrupted labutações still have time to devote to his fellow plucking them from the clutches of ignorance and misery. (...).

The scene which then has not disclosed; all good feelings, recognition, gratitude, and appreciation have given up there hands. If joy moves, in him when everyone felt commovidos; there was the silence of the great moments; when it passed the first impression of Marco Rocco and AC Sampaio Peixoto were narrowed in a prolonged hug. (...) ¹⁴.

¹³ Segundo o Almanaque Seckler, em fins de 1886 o ensino público primário em Campinas achava-se organizado: Escolas masculinas: 1ª cadeira – Joaquim de Oliveira Leite, com 70 alunos; 2ª cadeira – Manuel de Camargo Penteado Jr., com 20 alunos; 3ª Cadeira – João de Oliveira Fagundes, normalista com 58 alunos; Freguesia de Sta. Cruz – Adriano Boucault, normalista; Bairro de Sta. Cruz – Gabriel Eugênio de Andrade; Valinhos – Cristiano Wolkart, normalista, com 30 alunos; Atibaia – Guilherme de Oliveira Monteiro, normalista, com 30 alunos; rebouças – Antônio Caetano Botelho; Escolas Femininas: 1ª cadeira – D. Ana Elisa de Carvalho Monteiro, com 25 alunos; 2ª cadeira – D. Maria do Carmo S. Neger, com 33 alunos; 4ª cadeira – D. Rita Apud. RODRIGUES, J. L. Subsídios para a História de Campinas. Monografia Histórica de Campinas, p. 411.

¹⁴ *Diário de Campinas*, 4/05/1886. (AEL). Como dissemos, o artigo é muito longo, razão pela qual importa dizer que todos os representantes das instituições presentes discursaram: Amador Florence, Presidente da Câmara Municipal, o Sr. Cardamone representado a Confederata, Augusto Ribeiro de Loyola pela Loja Regeneração III e Sociedade Portuguesa de Beneficência, o Sr. Francisco Glicério pela loja Independência, o Sr. João de Oliveira Fagundes pela Artística Beneficente, o Sr. Luis Gilgani pelo Clube 20 de Setembro, o Sr. Alfredo Carneiro pela Sociedade de Dança Recreio dos Artistas, e o Sr. Benselum, pela A. S. B. Lidgerwood.

The columnist writes movingly. The above passages indicate that this opening formed in a event that mobilized the entire city and could not be otherwise since members came out in procession with band music in the streets, not to mention the aforementioned saved twenty-one shots.

With only five years of existence, the association *Circolo Italiani Uniti* found through the educational bias their moment of peak and relieved social recognition and respect. The term all classes, composes a representation that summarizes the presence of intellectual and economic elite of the city and the people and finally, by overflowing the room. Noteworthy is also the concept of education that straddles the speech of the representative of Freemasonry, to which the work of the association would further like plucking the clutches of ignorance and misery. It means thinking about the contribution of Italian emigrants in combating poverty. Education is understood here as the first condition for overcoming the same. Already in 1869, the Pompey senator, speaking at the session of the Senate of September 1, referring to the need for the State to compulsory primary education, points out that ignorance in the lower classes is the danger that most threatens society because it is almost always the source of disorder, crime and misery; that the most effective means of preventing such disorders is the diffusion of the lights is amazing the darkness of ignorance¹⁵. Would then another opportunity to spread the spirit lights in darkness. Thus, the creation of schools for these emigrants, as strategy of social interaction scales dual function: on the one hand, the possibility to save people from the condition of absolute poverty and on the other, intrinsically linked to this, the value of the act of promote education. This dimension is evident in the speech of the mayor to commend the efforts of the group in favor of his countrymen and of humanity, especially in a society where the value of education lies in how much it can mean as civility factor.

The schools were formed by the *Circolo* classes and, during this period, each of which is called school, with students at different learning levels. "Is the 1509 Montaigne program that is the first time in Paris a division precise and clear of students in classes. This is graded divisions stages or levels of increasing complexity according to the age and knowledge acquired by students."¹⁶

The *Diary of Campinas* newspaper publishes a separate list the names of Brazilian students passed the examinations of the *Circolo* schools.¹⁷ The only lists of students had access *Circolo* which date back to 1899¹⁸ and bring the supremacy of the presence of children of Italian immigrants enrolled in this school. See the chart below:

¹⁵ CHAIA, J. *Opus cit.* p. 95.

¹⁶ Mir, G. C. (1968) *Aux sources de la pédagogie des juites: Le modus parisiensis*. Roma, p. 160. In: HAMILTON, D. *Sobre as origens dos termos classe e Curriculum*. Revista Teoria e Educação, 6, Porto Alegre, 1992, p. 39.

¹⁷ Dentre os alunos brasileiros tiveram: 1º prêmio na terceira classe, Adão Capretz e Joselino de Oliveira, na 2ª classe teve o segundo prêmio aluno Jocelino Pires de Carvalho e na 1ª classe alcançou o primeiro prêmio Diogenes Wadt. *Diário de Campinas*, 19/12/1888. (AEL)

¹⁸ Lista corresponde ao mapa escolar, anexa ao ofício enviado pelo secretário G. Pizzoni ao Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Campinas em 18 de maio de 1899. A classe era dirigida pela professora Adeli Cristofoleti Pinzoni

Table 2 - List of members of a class of the Circolo

Nº	Names	Nacionali	Idade	filiation	City
11	Nicola Russo	Italian	112	Vicenzo e Carolina Gazarra	Campinas
02	Giulio Passini	Italian	112	Giovanni e Malvina Maranini	Campinas
03	Gioachino Passini	Italian	110	Giovanni e Malvina Maranni	Campinas
04	Galileo Suriani	Italian	77	Giovani e Anna Troiani	Campinas
05	Dante Suriani	Italian	110	Giovani e Anna Troiani	Campinas
06	Vicenzo Palermo	Italian	110	Francesco e Domenica Rosa	Campinas
07	Antonio Palermo	Italian	07	Francesco e Domenica Rosa	Campinas
08	Dominico di Pilla	Italian	11	Sabatini e Filomena Batista	Campinas
09	Antonio di Pilla	Italian	06	Sabatini e Filomena Batista	Campinas
10	Adolfo Marracini	Italian	11	Antonio e Maria Clementina Poli	Campinas
11	Donato Marracini	Italian	07	Fortunato e Cecília Morina	Campinas
12	Nicola Russo	Italian	06	Emilio e Giovana di Marco	Campinas
13	Angela Russo	Italian	11	Emilio e Giovana di Marco	Campinas
14	Giuseppe Russo	Italian	11	Luigi e Giovana Fiovanti	Campinas
15	Emilio Russo	Italian	10	Luigi e Domenica Fiovanti	Campinas
16	Girolano Perussini	Italian	07	Luigi e Luigia Raiotta	Campinas
17	Luigi Monzani	Italian	08	Angelo e Teresa	Campinas
18	Quirino Salvicci	Italian	07	Angelo e Felicia Russo	Campinas
19	Nicola Rossi	Italian	08	Felici e Catarina Cortisani	Campinas
20	Michele Amendola	Italian	09	Giovani e Maria Filipalti	Campinas
21	Dante Pisani	Italian	10	Raffaele e Amelia Barzuglia	Campinas
22	Michele di Pivo	Italian	07	Davide e Francesca Germani	Campinas
23	Eugenio Massaro	Italian	12	Luigi e Lucia Barretto	Campinas
24	Vittorio Erbolatto	Italian	09	Geovani e Emilia Franceschi	Campinas
25	Umberto erbolato	Italian	08	Geovani e Emilia Franceschi	Campinas
26	Vicenzo Romeo	Italian	10	Silverio e Giselda Alessandro	Campinas
27	Guissepe tavani	Italian	07		Campinas
28	Felice Lombardi	Italian	07	Rocco e Nocolina Coccerella	Campinas
29	Dante de Granceseli	Italian	10	Giacomo e virginia di Sopia	Campinas
30	Angelo Fattori	Italian	10	Fu Giacomo e Rosa Fattori	Campinas
31	Rodolfo Salateo	Italian	07	Luigi e Angela Derani	Campinas
32	Educardo Giacomino	Italian	06	Vicente e Carmela	Campinas
33	Lucia d'Alessandro	Italian	07	Cosino e Cosetta Battista	Campinas

The composition of the class is very heterogeneous in terms of age. Note also that there are three children six years of age, which is quite early for the season, as well as children from the same family. The teachers of this group were the Honourable. Adeli Cristofolotti and Livia Pizzoni, at least that's the office that records sent by the board of the Circolo Interior Secretary José Pereira de Queiroz. It is possible that these teachers have remained ahead of the female classes by the year 1914.¹⁹

The first picture below is of a male class, dated 1911. Ratifies a number of significant demand for school schools the Circolo. Indeed, already in 1888, the Almanac of Campinas recorded the enrollment of 54 girls and another ninety boys. In this regard also the book II

¹⁹ Os Almanques de Campinas de 1908 e 1914 registram essas professoras como responsáveis pelas classes femininas. Ao contrário da sessão masculina que parece apresentar maior mudança de professor: em 1906 o professor responsável é Arnaldo Massucci; em 1908, Gino Pochini e em 1914, João Moscardo.

Brasile and Gli Italiani, records for 1906 a total of 144 students enrolled. The second, a female class, also containing a significant number of students.



Figure 1: Men's Class, Circolo Italiani Uniti School, 1911 (ACMU)



Figure 2: Women's Class, Circolo Italiani Uniti School, 1911 (AP)

In December 1886 this school accomplishes its first examinations, almost six months after opened. The boys were examined in the rudiments of history, reading, accounting, geograph, calligraphy lessons, things in Portuguese and Italian²⁰. The following year²¹, boys and girls are assessed through school subjects, over which we have no information regarding the content they were taught. Unlikely, however, should be taken differentiated from the

²⁰ Nesse ano a banca examinadora foi composta pelos Srs: D. Eugênio, E. Georgetti, J. de Toledo, e o professor Breviglieri, além segundo o jornal, das conceituadas professoras Exmas. Sras. dd. Carolina Florence, E Augusta Georgetti e diversos convidados. Gazeta de Campinas, 21/12/1886.

²¹ Diário de Campinas, 24, 25 e 27/12/1887. Os exames realizaram-se no dia 26 e os examinadores foram os Srs. Dorindo Prado, Horacio Scrosopi e Gaetano Marone. O jornal noticia também que os alunos em geral mostraram muito adiantamento nas disciplinas nas diferentes matérias em que foram examinados. Posteriormente procedeu-se a distribuição de prêmios aos alunos e alunas que mais se distinguiram durante o ano letivo.

previous year. But, the *Gazeta de Campinas*, registers these examinations highlighting work began at ten in the morning and ended at one o'clock²². Lists only the names of the girls who have distinguished themselves and exposure of needlework which were much appreciated. In the year 1888 exams deal with: "arithmetic, reading in Italian and Portuguese, geography and memory exercises"²³ for boys and "arithmetic, Portuguese and Italian doctrine and accounting"²⁴, for the girls.

School exams are in rituals historically situated by the differentiation of practices relating to students aiming countersignature them fit a range of skills that require very versatility and arises from multiple forms of awards and the school knows how to make them contemporary. Foucault points out that the exam is a normalizing control, a watch that lets you sort and punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which they are differentiated and punished. That is why, in all devices of discipline examination is highly ritualized²⁵. The ritual of examinations of schools *Circolo* you do realize by composing the examiners²⁶ and the presence of representatives of *Newspapers and Daily Mail Campinas*²⁷, and Mr. Hugo Rizzi *Journal of the Tevere* and people in general. This ritual is also used as a political strategy that relationship can be exemplified through the letters sent by the board of the *Circolo* local councilman and later mayor of Campinas, to watch the school exams. Dare we say that the ritual allows to work with the idea of visibility in several respects: the examination board; Italians who run schools; school and *Circolo* itself as an institution plays an important role in the city; students who are examined and then rewarded; without losing sight of the latter is distinguished by the approval and awards, made public by the press. Through this, it is released under different formats: in 1886 at the earliest boys is given the task of reciting poetry in Italian. The girls names were released in order of ranking, preceded by the words distinguished themselves²⁸. In 1888, the distribution of awards is done by class and in order from largest to smallest²⁹. The *Diary of Campinas* newspaper publishes separate lists the names of Brazilian students passed the examinations of the *Circolo* schools³⁰. They

²² A comissão examinadora esteve assim composta: Exma. Sra. d. Augusta Georgetti, Srs. Dorindo Prado e Dr. Castro Pardo, Botelli e Horacio Scrosoppi. *Gazeta de Campinas* 1/12/1887 (AEL).

²³ *Diário de Campinas*, 19/12/1888.(AEL)

²⁴ *Diário de Campinas*, 27/12/1887.(AEL)

²⁵ FOUCAULT, M. *Vigiar e Punir*, p. 164.

²⁶ Nos exames finais de 1888 das escolas do *Circolo*, para a classe masculina a banca examinadora foi composta pelos Srs: E. Giorgetti, Natele Belli, Dorindo Prado, Romano Lippi. Das classes, femininas: Sras: DD. Augusta Georgetti, Herminda Lameneres, Claudina Vignili e Srs. Horacio Scrosoppi, Dorindo Prado e Romano Lippi. *Diário de Campinas*, 18 e 19 de dezembro de 1888.

²⁷ Em ofício enviado em 1895, a diretoria do *Circolo* convida o intendente municipal Sr. Antônio Lobo para assistir aos exames, em 1908, solicita ao prefeito da Câmara municipal nomear uma pessoa para aos exames das escolas do *Circolo*; em 1909, solicita que prefeito nomeie uma pessoa de confiança e em 1910, convida o prefeito Orozimbo Maia para assistir aos exames. Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Campinas.

²⁸ Julia Caruso, Helena Malfatti, Rocca Pelegrini, Paulina Vignolli, Ema Corsi, Cândida da Silva, Maria Paulina dos Santos, Josephina Maria das Dores, Maria Rita Rodrigues, Carmela Ricci, Thereza Luchtti, Malvina Maria Lucca, Brigida dos Santos e Maria Lobato.

²⁹ Os alunos que mais se distinguiram no ano de 1888 foram: "3ª classe 1º prêmio, Guisepe Melilo; 2º dito, Michele Malfatti; 3º dito Domingo Pelegrini; 2ª classe 1º prêmio, Giuseppe Venere; 2º dito Guisepe Pisani; 3º dito Luigi da Vello; 1º dito, Pasquale Purchio; 1ª classe 1º prêmio Narciso Riodo; 2º dito Americo Cerri; 3º dito Antonio Basso; 4º dito Orozio Bevigliri. *Diário de Campinas*, 19/12/1888.

³⁰ Dentre os alunos brasileiros tiveram: 1º prêmio na terceira classe, Adão Capretz e Joselino de Oliveira, na 2ª classe teve o segundo prêmio aluno Jocelino Pires de Carvalho e na 1ª classe alcançou o primeiro prêmio Diogenes Wadt. *Diário de Campinas*, 19/12/1888. (AEL)

are distinguished by the performance they had, and serve to endorse the service that the Italian school and migrants provide to Brazilians.

From the point of view of curriculum differentiation for girls there with the inclusion of accounting and suppression of geography teaching. Probably the accounting component has been designed in order to meet the demands of household activities or even in guiding women to participate in commercial work with the family and city.

In both curricula, think-if the English and Italian languages. These data allow us to suppose about the intentions of this proposal for education and, so to speak, that training undoubtedly translate into certain effects due to the appropriation of distinct linguistic references.

It follows then proceed speculating on the impacts that the construction of cultural identity of the generations since, learn Portuguese seems to indicate the need for ownership of linguistic codes of the new cultural order and so distinct that in a social life and its process consolidation becomes essential, while it is appropriate to preserve the mother tongue, Italian, both as a reference, as a substrate nationality and identity that must remain alive in memory of the following generations and distant homeland.

To Silberstein *"la italianidad, propuesta como identidad compartida por lo menos idealmente por el conjunto de la población, constituiría el contexto sobre el cual se desarrollaría la educación mutualista"*³¹. This author also believes that *la transmisión y conservación del idioma respodía también en parte aquella actitud de auto preservación presente en todo grupo que atraviesa por la experiencia de la inmigración*³². In fact the group wants to preserve itself through what essentially identifies with the country of origin, language³³. And in this case, it is through it that will attempt to defend and permanence of culture. This understood in the sense given by Geertz as webs of meaning man himself wove³⁴. Therefore, the language contains many cultural references, including to identify themselves as Italian, the Italian land, as an ethnic group, a nationality. In the specific case of the group that organized and directed the Circolo, this may have had this meaning, though it can not be thought of in terms of historical reference nation. But precisely because of that culture (located) in the minds and hearts of men³⁵ can say that while not having to Italy by then, a tradition of unity given by the language, who can tell us that she no longer loved as earth and at the same time are discovered in Brazil Italian? Even for those who did not dominate what could be called the Italian language, but they spoke dialects? Petrone believes that in *certain cases, the use of Italian identified with the most educated and economically more high worth social categories, while the dialect identified himself especially with the rustic and culturally subordinate categories*³⁶. It is not about whether or not to speak the

³¹ SILBERSTEIN, C. L. F. de. Educación e Identidad. Un Analisis del caso Italiano en la provincia de Santa fe (1880 – 1920), p.272

³² Idem.

³³ É muito difícil falar de identidade nacional quando nos referimos a imigrantes italianos vindos para o Brasil no período deste estudo. Não havia muito tempo que a Itália tinha sido unificada (20 de setembro de 1870), quando ocorreu a imigração maciça para o Brasil. Para Petrone, "a heterogeneidade lingüística foi um traços significativos da presença do imigrante italiano no Brasil, quer nos quadros urbanos, quer nos rurais". Cf. BONI, L. A. (org.). A Presença Italiana no Brasil. P. 605.

³⁴ GEERTZ, C. As Interpretações da Cultura. p. 15.

³⁵ Idem, p. 21.

³⁶ PETRONE, P. Italianos e descendentes no Brasil: escola e língua, p. 605.

dialect is Italian, but for the Italian immigrant in Brazil. Here, the spaces in which he settled, he was not distinguished as Roman or Venetian, but simply as someone originating from Italy. And this is not just a reference to be used by national, but also by the emigrant. Even if one considers the different dialects spoken among those migrants with lower purchasing power. Do this reading is at least an attempt to jettison the poorest emigrant 's right to be identified as an Italian, so you have a reference to nationality, even on such terms as we mentioned above.

Bilingualism, present in schools Circolo also represented a political and peaceful social coexistence strategy, so to speak, alongside a must everyday emigrant faced with the need to integrate, since that time had not yet requirement by the state and federal government required the Portuguese language teaching in foreign schools. Such requirement was only made later in 1898 making it compulsory in these schools not only the teaching of Portuguese as the history and geography of Brazil.

The teaching of the Portuguese language, everything leads to believe, was carried out in the background. The textbook was in Italian as was most of the existing Italian schools in the State of São Paul. There is evidence that the book was adopted by Edmundo de Amicis, titled " The Heart"³⁷. On the twentieth anniversary of the association on May 10, 1908, as part of the programming of this event, students of these schools, placed in the hall of honor Circolo, a portrait of this writer, they offered. There would be another reason to honor him was not because they were following their directions? Another element can be exemplified from the following fact: although it has been announced that the Portuguese language composes the list of subjects of the curricula of these schools since its founding is not surprising that in 1903, the direction of this association head to municipal Commissioner through an application requesting funds for payment of a Portuguese teacher to teach classes to those already existing and those who come in need of the students association, precisely because they want to add in their classes teaching of the Portuguese language and due to already spending large resources to maintaining the current teaching³⁸. That is to say: if you want your language to be taught, then they pay to do it.

The Circolo schools had a relatively long history. Was thirty-four years of existence. From its founding in 1886 closed its doors on September 13, 1920³⁹. During this period, the organizers used it more as a strategy of relationship with society and Campinas since he was part of the association Circolo Italiani Uniti. In this sense we refer to Bourdieu in relation to what people do with objects that are imposed⁴⁰ on them. This is a reflection of what the Italian

³⁷ Esse livro sofre severas críticas da comissão de seleção e revisão de livros didáticos, apresentada por Sampaio Dória em 1918. Diz o parecerista: "...Coube-me nos pareceres preliminares, examinar os livros quanto a propriedade dos assuntos. Por este aspecto se entendem duas coisas principais: o interesse do assunto, como perfeita adaptação dele ao preparo e a idade do escolar, e a conveniência moral do mesmo, como fator de formação moral das crianças...todos os compêndios de geografia, de história, de ciências físicas e naturais, cadernos de caligrafia, trabalhos manuais, cartanagens, devem ser rejeitados. Assim como o Coração de E. de Amicis, que, incomparável e modelar, não serve aos objetivos de nossa formação patriótica e nacionalista, maiormente onde intensa é a população descendente da Itália. Aquele livro é antes um admirável padrão, por onde os assuntos nacionais podem ser vazados, para cooperar na manutenção e desenvolvimento da consciência nacional." Anuário de Ensino do Estado de São Paulo, 1918, p.115 e 158.

³⁸ Ofício endereçado pelo presidente do Circolo Italiani Uniti ao Intendente Municipal. Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Campinas, cadernos de correspondências.

³⁹ BRITO, J. História da Cidade de Campinas, p. 116.

⁴⁰ Ver nesse sentido, BOURDIEU, P. Sociologia. Ortiz, R. (org.).

immigrants held in the social interaction process at the conditions they found in the social spaces in which they settled through the practices and means used to live new experiences and create conditions for survival in Brazilian society.

It should be mentioned that the association promoted contests for the entry of teachers in their schools. The information brought in the notice of invitation to tender published in newspaper *Diário de Campinas* May 30, 1888 allows us to quote it in full:

“CÍRCOLO ITALIANI UNITI IN CAMPINAS⁴¹

AVVISO DI CONCORSO

Per rinuncia spontanea del sig. Guiseppe Breviglieri e della signora Teresa Nizzolli Breviglieri restano vacanti i posti di maestra delle scuole di questa associazione. Per tanto, fino a tutto il maggio p. f., ne resta aperto il concorso per titoli e per esame.

L' annuo stipendio é fissato in rs. 900\$000 per maestro e rs. 600\$000 per la maestra.

I concorrenti dovranno presentare a questa segretaria, entro il termine suddetto, la loro domanda d' ammissione corredata dai seguenti documenti: 1° fede di nascita, 2° certificati de moralità, 3° fede di specchi

Le materie su cui verranno esaminati i concorrenti sono le seguenti:

1° Lingua Italiana; 2° Lingua Portoghese; 3° aritmetica e sistema metrico decimale; 4° pedagogia; 5° caligraphia; 6° storia patria; 7° geographia; 8° religione.

Gli esami saranno scritti e cominceranno il 12 maggio. Alle 8 antimediane.

Campinas, 30 de Aprile 1888⁴²

Note the hierarchy of disciplines for which the prospective teacher should demonstrate mastery. The first is the Italian language and the requirement to deliver it, believe were made citizens of Italian origin, which is why the ad is published in that language. Another important factor is not the minimum education requirement. Considering the period of the contest, this could be a minimum requirement to be taken. So why had normalistas being formed in the province of Sao Paulo. Therefore, we can say two things: First, make public the contest would mean an alleged form of democratization of access for teachers to the schools of the association and, according to local society demonstrate rigor in hiring these professionals. Actually what prevailed was a certain domain of general knowledge among people checked the Italian colony. From this perspective emphasizes that Petrone the humble work, *not always pedagogically sound, hundreds and hundreds of teachers, not always with proper training, it was often the only opportunity offered to thousands of children, and Italian descent, do not remain illiterate and completely ignorant*⁴³.

⁴¹ **Tradução:** CÍRCULO ITALIANO UNIDOS DE CAMPINAS AVISO DE CONCURSO: Devido a renúncia espontânea do Sr. Giuseppe Breviglieri e Sra. Teresa Breviglieri, acha-se vago o posto de mestre de associação. Portanto, no decorrer de maio próximo futuro, me resta abrir concurso por titulo e por exame. O salário é fixado em 900\$000 para professor e 600\$000, para professora. O concorrente deve apresentar a esta secretaria no prazo acima mencionado, o seu pedido de admissão munidos dos seguintes documentos: certidão de nascimento, certificado de moralidade e certidão de conduta. As matérias sobre as quais os concorrentes serão examinados são as seguintes; 1° língua italiana; 2° língua portuguesa; 3° aritmética e sistema métrico decimal, 4° pedagogia, 5° caligrafia; 6° história pátria; 7° geografia; 8° religião. Os exames serão escritos e terão início em 12 de maio. As oito em ponto. Campinas 30 de Abril de 1888.

⁴² *Diário de Campinas*, 3 de Maio de 1888. (AEL). Em 1910 a associação realiza novo concurso para professor, constante de provas escritas e orais. Dos candidatos inscritos, o único habilitado foi a Sr. João Lato. *Gazeta de Campinas*, 24 de junho de 1910.

⁴³ PETRONE, P. opus cit., p. 611.

Finally, the association Circolo Italiani Uniti seems to have extended its educational purposes beyond the elementary school opened in 1904 as preparation for admission to the school gym and complementary courses and in 1908 held an overnight trading course for adults taught by the President of Mr. association. Moscardi and school inspector sr. Setti.

From the point of view of educational initiatives based on mutual-aid associations, those strategies differ obviously not as possibility of access to schooling, but as an organized way to create them. In the broadest sense, these organizations will provide beyond school education, gradual social networking opportunities.

Final Thoughts

It can be said that the creation of associations for Italian emigrants, occurs on one side, for what remains of slave society and is expressed through acceptance not always receptive of it, and on the other, fundamentally, with the expectation that he came here to replace the slave. Reason why he would need to build mechanisms that would allow you not only get recognition from society, what needs to be demonstrated with competence to be given by that differentiate the slave element.

The associations can be understood as a result of expectations that the emigrant had in relation to making America. Expectations rich, social climbing from decent and wholesome conditions of life and work. What did not occur in most, making had to build their own ways of dealing with adversity in the places to which they went in Brazil.

In this context, education is a means of seeking among those dealing with the local social life, precisely because of that, while the Italian emigrant creates conditions for their education he does in his own language. Why the association lends itself to dual role, that of giving conditions to stay and at the same time, to defend nationality. Education optics that plays this role since it references used are not Brazilian but the Italian. Otherwise, we may ask: why these immigrants made the defense of nationality through school if they were coming from an Italy that had no tradition as a nation? The answer can be given in that state that this was due to the conditions he had to emigrate and survival conditions on Brazilian soil generally speaking. It seems to us that if it had not been designed as an extension of the slave, your chances of reception and reconstruction of life would certainly have been different.

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