

## **Educate in order to emancipate: the educational approaches of Ellen Key and Alessandrina Ravizza**

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### **Abstract**

The article intends to reconstruct significant aspects about two women, Ellen Key (1849-1926) and Alessandrina Ravizza (1846-1915), who lived in different countries, but contemporaneously. In examining common, but also different aspects between these figures, then the attention will focus on the key role played by them in favor of delinquent and abandoned children, both in phase of theoretical processing and practical action. As has been reported by numerous research on this subject, the battles fought by feminists at the beginning of the twentieth century were intended not only to achieve full recognition of women's rights, but also to promote a new idea of childhood and the rights associated with this. The hypothesis put forward is that the prominence of women's movements facilitated a true change in perspective, leading to the recognition of childhood as being in a category of its own, separate from that of adulthood. Claims and struggles waged by feminists, intertwined with constant action, and this promoted the creation and development of numerous initiatives on behalf of minors that can be considered as the initial core of services dealing with children's needs.

**Keywords:** children's rights, delinquency, abandoned children, reform of juvenal penal system, preventive measures.

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### **Introduction**

This paper aims to reconstruct significant aspects about two women, Ellen Key (1849-1926) and Alexandrina Ravizza<sup>1</sup> (1846-1915), who lived in different countries, but contemporaneously. The history of these figures is related to that of other women (Ersilia Majno, Sibilla Aleramo, Lucy Bartlett, etc.), who were also engaged in the same difficult, and sometimes utopian, "mission": to the commitment to aid those from derelict, deviant and disadvantaged childhoods. It is important to remember the friendship between Alessandrina Ravizza, Sibilla Aleramo, Ersilia Majno and Ellen Key, which can be seen by studying their correspondence.

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As has been reported by numerous research on this subject (Buttafuoco, 1988; Pironi, 2010), the battles fought by feminists at the beginning of the twentieth century were intended not only to achieve full recognition of women's rights, but also to promote a *new* idea of childhood and the rights associated with this. The hypothesis put forward is that the prominence of women's movements facilitated a true change in perspective, leading to the recognition of childhood as being in a category of its own, separate from that of adulthood. It is a turning point with regards to the defining of the concepts of childhood and adolescence, which is part of a process based on the principle that "to enjoy a happy childhood [it was] necessary to clearly separate the child from the adults and to recognize their own characteristics and needs"<sup>2</sup> (Cunningham, 1997, p. 193).

The change states that the outset of the *Century of the Child* (Ellen Key, 1906) represented a new way of thinking about childhood, supported by the belief that only by placing children at the heart of any interests could humanity be regenerated. As stated by Alessandrina Ravizza: "today we understand the importance of the child who represents the next generation" (Ravizza, 1908, p. 192). These words are reminiscent of Ellen Key, who, a few years earlier, dedicated her famous book to "parents who hope to educate the new man in the new century".

During the early part of the twentieth century, characterized by a strong impetus for the emancipation of women, which belonged to so-called "practical feminism", there emerged the political, socio-cultural and educational fundamentals for the recognition of children's rights, which was of considerable significance among the achievements of the second half of the twentieth century. To better understand these processes, we must start from the premise that women and children were considered to be the "weak links" of society, and the conditions in which they lived were well known.

In Italy the alarming number of abandoned, destitute and criminal children, now quantified with precision thanks to the development of statistical science, attracted the attention of legislators and reformers, but especially that of the women belonging to the emancipation movement, who began to evaluate the drama of a similar problem. The abandoned state of many children, the inhuman working conditions, the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children and the organization of the juvenile detention system were some of the principal grounds on which women focused their political and social action. Claims and struggles waged, intertwined with constant action, and this promoted the creation and development of numerous initiatives on behalf of children: the asylum, Mariuccia, established in 1902 by Ersilia Majno in Milan for the rehabilitation of girls who suffered poor economic conditions or violence at home, who were at risk of being forced into prostitution<sup>3</sup> (Buttafuoco, 1985); the institute for the protection of abandoned children founded in Padua in 1895 by Stefania Omboni (Mori, 2009, pp. 75-88); the workhouse for children

founded at the Human Society of Milan (Pironi, 2011; Scaramuzza, 2004); the *asili-famiglia* founded by Felicitas Buchner who took abandoned children away from the bleak life in institutions and educated them in a rural environment<sup>4</sup> (Buchner, 1901).

These initiatives, which assisted deviant and destitute children, can be considered as the initial core of services dealing with children's needs. They consisted of practice not exclusively with charitable purposes, which were the antithesis of the traditional models of care: their promoters thought of these institutes as places to train those who had been excluded in emancipation – for history, conditioning, culture – for any possible aspect of social redemption. They were united by the distinctly educational values of their intervention: by the need to establish education with a transformative potential as offered by a governed and orderly lifestyle and through the exercise of work, considered from a training and non-professional point of view. Such activities were preceded by similar experiences seen in the fields of deviance and marginality whereby, with satisfactory results, educational measures were utilized as an interventional method. By way of example, we cannot forget the wide network of church and secular institutions, such as charities, hospices and houses of correction, within which the work was no longer considered as a mere punishment but as a social imperative, livelihood and personal fulfillment. The aim of the intervention also took on an educational and moral aspect. The main difference of the two was that those reported by Ravizza demonstrated the practical implementation of the theories<sup>5</sup>.

But also abroad – further argued Alessandrina Ravizza – the houses of salvation or refuge in Switzerland<sup>6</sup> provided groundbreaking examples, the so-called *Rettungsanstalt*, educative communities of a familial type, strongly influenced by the theories of Rousseau from even the choice of location for these establishments, generally in the open country, not protected by a wire fence<sup>7</sup>:

Think to one of our simplest, but cleanest, rural schools; place it in the midst of other small buildings, without pretense, and place a settler with his wife; and remember the dreams of Jean Jacques Rousseau. [...] all located on top of a hill crowned with many plants; situated next to a fountain [...] and so you will have an exact image of the House of Refuge of Switzerland; entrance free of charge and a warm welcome, and it will be worth the visit<sup>8</sup> (Ravizza, 1908, p. 201).

The experiments and projects which have been explored are a clear testimony of a new perspective which was hoped for at the dawn of the twentieth century and which was sustained according to the following imperative: “Everything that can be done to remove the child offender from idleness and from the bad example of prison must be supported” (Laschi, 1900, p. 16).

## **Minors and crimes at the end of XIX century: a dramatic scenario**

The reform of juvenile penal institutions, defined with an incisive pun as “Institutes of Corruption” rather than “Institutes of Correction” (Montesi, 2007, p. 52), with all their subsequent implications, represented the starting point of a debate that involved not only the authorities who for various reasons revolved around the prison system (from the Ministry of the Interior, to the management of prisons and reformers, and to directors of institutes). In this regard, the contribution of Martin Beltrami Scalia was important, who since 1879, held the post of Director General of Prisons and his successor Alexander Doria. Both Doria and Beltrami Scalia’s interest in the improvement of prisons resulted in active engagement in favor of the issuance of important measures. Beltrami Scalia favored the enactment of the General Regulations of prison establishments and government reformers of 1891, which was followed by the enactment of the Criminal Code Zanardelli in 1889, the first fundamental document of the penal institutions of post-unitary. Among the reforms that promoted Doria, we can remember the administrative separation between the reformers and the prisons, the preparation of the pedagogical staff working in government Reformers (rd December 22, 1904 n. 716), the establishment of the professional figure of censor, vice-censor and tutor (rd July 14, 1907 n. 606), which determined a particular focus on the scientific preparation of these new professions (Lentini, 2012, pp. 465-467; Bortolotto, 2002, p. 34).

We can not forget that between the years 1872-1930, the commitment of lawyers and practitioners was embodied in a series of international conferences, which attracted the attention of the technical problems to the prison. The International Penitentiary Congress was particularly important, which was held in Rome in 1885. This conference marked the beginning of a new orientation in the criminal justice system based on the continuous improvement of technical and correctional treatment, the gradualness and flexibility of the pains (Viaggiari, 2006, pp. 81-83).

The criticality of the situation emerges clearly from those reported by the sociologist and criminologist Scipio Sighele:

The statistics revealed everywhere, with striking uniformity, the same evil. In Russia, over the last twenty years, the number of juvenile offenders has increased by 19%; in Prussia, 50%; in Holland, they doubled; in Spain they tripled; in France, over 50 years, they quadrupled; in Italy, from thirty thousand in 1892, the number rose to seventy thousand in 1906! And one sees that as with this number, so did the severity of the crimes committed by minors increase<sup>9</sup> (Sighele, 1911, p. 19).

This data, indicative of a social framework undergoing alarming change, demonstrates the extreme complexity and problematic nature of the destinies of the children and adolescents involved:

Relentlessly condemned by a vindictive rather than a rehabilitative justice system, [the minor] is banished to one of those houses of correction, which are the antithesis of the end they pursue and the greatest disgrace of our criminal laws: and there, in contact with the most corrupt of minds, schooled by the most experienced criminals, senior in age, he learns the arts to ensure impunity for future wicked deeds<sup>10</sup> (Giordani, 1904, p. 10).

In this regard, it also recalls what had expressed Lino Ferriani “sick of crime, locked up in penitentiary establishments, become chronic” and Cesare Lombroso “reformers are a den of evil” (Ravizza, 1908, p. 206).

Judicial reformers or juvenile offenders, workhouses, houses of correction and pious institutions had displayed a segregationist and impersonal profile, totally antithetical to the aim of enhancing the subjectivity and improving the physical, moral and intellectual development of the child. Thus the rational social discipline, which was at the basis of this system, and its operators for a correctional rehabilitation, had to be reformed.

The unlivable conditions within prisons legitimized and created consensus around a set of claims about deviant and derelict childhood by feminists, as first becomes clear from the comprehensive documentation produced by them and from the numerous inquiries that they promoted. The women, as symbols of motherhood, therefore, took on the task of carrying out a social maternity, claiming their leading role in the protection, promotion and rehabilitation of children especially of those who did not wish for any kind of representation.

The most effective summary of the debate leading up to the early twentieth century, especially as directed by feminism, is found in the writing of Alessandra Ravizza, the famous Milanese philanthropist:

For children what is urgent is to avoid their entry into prison because, apart from the company of the detainees, it leads to tremendous upheaval in the most hardened soul of the most hardened child<sup>11</sup> (Ravizza, 1908, p. 201).

It was precisely the so-called “practical” or “social” feminism that became the mouthpiece for the overthrow of the system of the detention of children in houses of correction and for the introduction of new rehabilitative and no longer depersonalizing methods (see for example the proposal by Maria Montessori, in favour of the extension of the Ricchi-Bilancini method, set on manual and artistic work, experienced

at the Reformatorio San Michele in Rome in 1907). Through the channel of international conferences and the same internationalization of the alarming problem of juvenile delinquency in Italy in 1904, with the approval of the Law Ronchetti, the measure that defined conditional sentence was implemented and legitimized in the legal debate. This measure shows its limitations, as it is not accompanied by the introduction of the probation officer, an educational guide to accompany the minor during the trial period of social reintegration (entry in our Code only in 1988).

In particular, Alessandrina Ravizza insisted that young people needed to be treated differently than adults. This special code does not speak of punishment, but of correction, the prohibition of handcuffs and especially the enlargement to minors - persons under eighteen years of benefit. This is conditional on the American example: the establishment of a Juvenile Court, where even as early as 1899, they could boast what was considered to be the most pedagogically advanced.

All of the new movement and actions of the Juvenile Court signify educational forces aiming to prevent the crime. The old system has changed so much that instead of destroying, we want to construct. The intention of punishment is replaced by a desire to elevate. The hatred is replaced with love. And this program does not mean weakness of feeling. The operation of the Juvenile Court demonstrates that there is a need for firmness but not for brutality<sup>12</sup> (Ravizza, 1908, p. 195).

There is no doubt that the American experience became the point of reference to which not only Italy regarded with great admiration; starting with the experiment of Chicago similar institutions were created in other parts of the world: on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1905 the first Juvenile Court was founded in Birmingham, and the following month a circular from the Home Office recommended the establishment of similar institutions in each district of United Kingdom. To complete the work in favour of minors, the Children's act was approved on 21 December 1908.

In Italy the reform movements and philanthropic women in the early twentieth century not only fueled the spread of new ideas about children's rights, but also contributed to the realization of certain experiments in disciplinary intervention for minors. In this area the establishment of charitable institutions for minors was particularly significant, subject to conditional sentences, in order to create pilot projects to promote the acceptance of responsibility on the part of institutions especially in regard to prevention. The first of these institutions was founded in Rome on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1906 by Lucy Bartlett, a representative in Italy of the English society the Howard League, which was involved in the study of reforms of the penal and prison systems (Montesi, 1999, pp. 153-174). The company took its name from John Howard (1726-1790), philanthropist and reformer of penitentiary systems whose name is closely linked to his most famous work *The State of Prison in England and Wales*: its analy-

sis and reflections on the rights of prisoners stemmed the justifications for reforming and utilitarian nature of the punishment. The patronage of Rome was founded with the specific intention of going to fill the gap. This gap was left open by the Ronchetti law: “When this patronage was born [...] wanted not only to complete an incomplete law, that on conditional sentence, offering voluntary assistance to minors convicted and left in freedom, but it also wanted to lend assistance with this difficult methods entirely new” (Bartlett, 1909, p. 3). Among the tasks that the patronage was intended there was also to employ the minor in production workshops and shops.

In 1908, the Patronage was established in Milan, for which Alexandrina Ravizza became vice president. This institution was built with the aim to “provide moral and material assistance to minors sentenced conditionally [...] in order to prevent it from falling and start them to an honest industriousness” (Negri, 1909).

The extraordinary participation of women in problems of juvenile delinquency continued to be extremely significant from 1907 to 1908, when three important conferences promoted by feminine advocacy took place: this refers to the Conference of Milan in 1907 and the Congress of Italian Women and the Congress of Milan in 1908 (Pironi, 2010a).

During the Milan Congress of 1908 issues related to juvenile delinquency were discussed by Alessandrina Ravizza, who intervened with an extensive report entitled “Measures for Abandoned, Corrupt and Delinquent Childhood”, which upheld the need to question the restrictive prevailing attitude regarding the imprisonment and marginalization of juvenile delinquents, favoring instead the path of rehabilitation.

Society has available a more suitable means of preventing child delinquency than the prison: education. By accepting these rational theories put in practice with special methods, adapted to the character of adolescents and established by the use of a particular pedagogy, one arrives at this result: to have in both criminal and civil law this simple distinction: between children and adults. With the former we turn to education; with the latter to sanctions<sup>13</sup> (Ravizza, 1908, p. 198).

In her agenda, which established the presence of women in prison commissions, she presents certain proposals, one of which is the promotion of the education of delinquent adolescents, the creation of “special prison regulations for minors”, involving popular theatres and sports clubs “to ensure to grab their attention and sympathies without their realizing it, so that they are distanced from the temptations of vice and their shame” (Ravizza, 1908, p.199). Theatre and sport could become an effective tool for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, in that they were more able to present a privileged space for the harmonious and balanced development of the bodies and minds of children and adolescents, with the ultimate goal being the promotion of a “pedagogical action, no longer repressive to minors” (Pironi, 2010, p. 93).

## **Educating and raising: Ellen Key's contribution**

In the Italian and English version of *The Century of the Child* an entire chapter is devoted to the discussion of the problem of delinquency. It is the final chapter, "Child labour and delinquency", in which Ellen Key exposed the harsh criticism directed towards the industrial revolution in light of the adverse effects on living conditions of women and children: "Wherever industry is developed, the woman is taken away from the home, the child from play and school". It is certainly not a novelty that poor children of the nineteenth century would provide their labor not only in mining, but also in the factories where they worked hard for twelve or more hours a day.

I have to work without light, and I'm scared. I go to work at four and sometimes at half past three in the morning and finish at five-thirty in the evening. I never go to sleep. Sometimes I sing when there is light but not in the dark: I dare not in that case (Pichbeck & Hewitt, 1973, p. 352).

In fact, Ellen Key affirmed that with industrial development and the consequent transfer of large masses of labor from the countryside into the city, new large working-class neighborhoods had arisen and were soon characterized by poor hygienic conditions and the difficult life which were forced upon many families. Epidemics, violence, alcoholism and danger became part of everyday life on the streets and in the homes of these neighborhoods, every one equal to each other: in architecture, in social composition, in hardship. In contexts so unhealthy and inhospitable, the care for the growth of each child was far from assured, and generations of children were deprived of the necessary family welfare, of firm points of reference and of stable and positive educational models. In most cases, even school was abandoned, while the industries took advantage of child labour.

Ellen Key also shows some statistics about infant mortality and juvenile delinquency extrapolated from studies in the various European countries that she visited. Underlying this propensity for quantitative studies is the positivistic perspective that characterizes her interest in social issues. Reflecting on the data, Ellen Key shows the transnational nature of the phenomenon of child exploitation in Europe. Consequently she invokes the intervention of social policies for the protection of women and children because they are considered "inseparable factors of the same problem" (Key, 1906, p.91) and urges society to make an educational piece for future parents and to implement measures to protect the child. For more serious situations, this could be implemented through a limitation of the rights of parents over children. In this regard, she refers to some innovative experiments conducted in England and Germany, where "there are also laws which allow children to be taken from parents



who, through misuse of that relationship, injure the child's spiritual or bodily welfare" (Key, 1906, p. 224).

According to Ellen Key, responsibility for the misconduct of children who became unruly, idlers, and vagabonds, had to be attributed to their parents and to the horrible living conditions of the poorest families. This phenomenon is characterized by a precise explanatory model based on cause-effect:

Mothers who have over-exerted themselves, drunken fathers, bad dwellings, like those where the poor dry out newly built houses for the rich, induced by the low rate of rents, insufficient nourishment, inherited diseases, especially syphilis, too early work, all this shows its result in the emaciated, shriveled, ulcerated bodies of children who occasionally are cured of their momentary disease in hospitals, but cannot be freed from the results of the conditions of life under which they were born and brought up (Key, 1906, p. 227).

Furthermore:

It is possible, with sufficient certainty, to show from criminal statistics that degenerate children are the creation of society itself. By allowing them to be forced into "the path of virtue" by punishment, society behaves like a tyrant, who has put out a man's eyes and then beats him because he cannot by himself find his road (Ibidem).

Poor families were considered the "weak link of the system" (Perrot, 1992, p. 86). These families became the main target of a debate and a legislation that allow the state to regulate private lives in order to fight degeneration and delinquency. Bad behavior of children was a direct result of bad examples set by their families.

In the criminological debate, imitation had been recognized as a degenerative factor; therefore, bad conduct exhibited by relatives was one of the main explanations for the perversion of children. Given this situation, the issue of abandoned children, in its broadest sense and in its specific need to deal with and prevent its deviant outcomes, assumed a political and social importance at the turn of the century. In the process of identification among abandoned, poor and delinquent children, even the word abandonment undergoes a significant change, expanding its semantic sphere to include moral laxity (Montesi, 2007, pp. 85-87). International penitential conventions produced debates and reflections which reinforced and favored this interpretation. In 1889 at the conference on homelessness and child protection held in Antwerp, the term "morally abandoned" was coined for children victims of familial negligence and difficult living conditions. In the same year in France the *Roussel law* for the first time "decreased" parental authority, protecting children from their own parents (Rollet-Echalier, 1990; Gaillac, 1991, p. 251).

Next to those who blamed the bad behavior of young to the parents who abandoned their task, the voices of those who drew attention to the rules of the Civil Code, which penalizes women and also penalize the children began to rise. In particular, the article 189 of code Pisanelli was put under accusation because it prohibited the investigation of paternity “except in cases of rape or violent rape”. A large number of young offenders consisted of children without parents: it was a thesis that secular feminists were repeated for decades, also indicating some practical solutions to the problem, including the reform of legislation back and deaf to the suggestions that came from other European countries (Scaramuzza, 2004, pp. 152-157).

## Conclusion

At the turn of the century, a renewed form of infant care characterized by an unprecedented attention of the child was implemented. The reform has lasted throughout the twentieth century, focusing particularly on the effective protection and re-education of the younger generation. From the positivistic culture, then prevailing the forces of reform drew those assumptions that did not serve merely to stigmatize and confine, rather were intended to prevent and promote services aimed at disadvantaged children. It was necessary – as affirmed Alessandrina Ravizza – “a powerful action of security, before handcuffing and imprisoning children” (Ravizza, 1908, p. 93), to create those environmental conditions which would represent an antidote to the degradation and disintegration of the human personality. It was also necessary in the familiar context that allowed each child to achieve harmony both physically and mentally, that the contexts in which the pedagogical values were also conveyed by the aesthetic dimension, would also instill a sense of morality. In this “new” mentality, new regulatory requirements were added, representing the result of the first constitutional principles on the right to education and the protection of minors, in perfect contrast to the practice of institutionalizing the minor (Key, 1906, p. 163).

With bold awareness that has always distinguished her, Ellen Key said: “This awareness will make our children, their birth, care and education of the pin every social duty, around which together laws, customs and tradition; the fundamental point that will determine any resolution and any judgment”.

Today, after 115 years, her words still resonate as a warning, as a stimulus to deal with ethics and professionalism, that still press and urgency, that is in fact not yet concluded. Thanks to women like Ellen Key and Alessandrina Ravizza who laid down the initial ground work in this field, making it possible to pave the way towards understanding.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Alessandra Ravizza had several assignments in various welfare projects and played assiduous activities for young offenders and prostitutes. These fruitful efforts made her well known in Milan, especially among the poor people: she was called “Lady of the Poor” (Negri, 1911) or the “Countess of broth” (Dolens, 1915, pp.25-26).

<sup>2</sup> “[...] per godere di un’infanzia felice [fosse] necessario separare nettamente l’età infantile da quella adulta e riconoscerne caratteristiche ed esigenze”. Translated by the author.

<sup>3</sup> Ersilia Majino was particularly active in Milan: she worked for the creation of the center The Fraternal, reserved for “piscinine”, dialectal term with which she showed girls who perform activities of apprentices at seamstresses. She was also president of the Italian Committee against white slavery; in Milan in 1899 she constituted the Unione femminile (Union female) which became operational in 1900.

<sup>4</sup> The organization is based on the concept of establishing artificial families. This organization consists of 6 to 8 boys and girls, and is led by loving female figures that support their education.

<sup>5</sup> The study carried out as part of the Ph.D in Education on Italian correctional houses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, shows the gap between the regulations and statutes predicted in theory and actual application in practice (Raimondo, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Alessandrina Ravizza lists the four types of establishments in Switzerland: the orphanage, home education for poor children, the house of salvation or shelter and the correctional institution.

<sup>7</sup> The methods of education foresaw work in the fields of various kinds, for example: basic literacy. Ultimately, the goal was to turn the children into honest and industrious citizens.

<sup>8</sup> “[...] Pensate a una delle nostre scuole campestri delle più semplici, ma delle più pulite; collocatela di faccia o in mezzo ad altri piccoli edifici, senza pretesa, mettetevi un colono colla moglie sua; e ricordatevi i sogni di Gian Giacomo Rousseau. La casetta delle imposte verdi che si distacca sul bianco o sul rustico bosco coll’annesso frutteto, collocate il tutto sopra un’altura coronata di verzura, con accanto una fonte e davanti uno di quei panorami che cerchiamo a prezzo di fatiche di un’ascensione fortificante, e così avrete esattamente l’idea della Casa di Rifugio della Svizzera; entrate senza complimenti e sarete ben accolti, e la visita ne varrà la pena”. Translated by the author.

<sup>9</sup> “La statistica rivelava ovunque, con una uniformità impressionante, l’identico male. In Russia, negli ultimi vent’anni, i delinquenti minorenni aumentavano del 19%; in Prussia, del 50 %; in Olanda, raddoppiavano; in Spagna triplicavano; in Francia, in 50 anni, quadruplicavano; in Italia, da trentamila che erano nel 1892 salivano a settantamila nel 1906! E si noti che, col numero, cresceva la gravità dei delitti commessi dagli adolescenti”. Translated by the author.

<sup>10</sup> “Condannato inesorabilmente da una giustizia punitrice, non educatrice, [il minore] viene cacciato in una di quelle case di correzione, che sono la negazione del fine che si prefiggono e il più gran disdoro delle nostre leggi penali: e là dentro, al contatto di esseri più perversi, alla scuola dei più provetti delinquenti, maggiori a lui d’età, impara le arti per assicurarsi l’impunità nelle malvagie gesta future”. Translated by the author.

<sup>11</sup> “Pei minori ciò che urge è l’evitare il loro ingresso in prigione, perché questa – a parte la compagnia dei detenuti – porta come un tremendo cataclisma nell’anima più indurita del più indurito fanciullo”. Translated by the author.

<sup>12</sup> “Tutto il nuovo movimento e l’azione stessa della Juvenil Court significano forze educative tendenti a prevenire il delitto. Il vecchio sistema è cambiato tanto, che invece di distruggere, si vuol edificare. L’intenzione di punire è sostituita dal desiderio di elevare. L’odio viene sostituito coll’amore. E questo programma non significa debolezza di sentimento. Il funzionamento delle Juvenil Court dimostra coll’evidenza che occorre fermezza ma non brutalità”. Translated by the author.

<sup>13</sup> “La società dispone riguardo ai fanciulli d’un mezzo più idoneo [del carcere] a impedire la delinquenza: l’educazione. Accettando queste teorie razionali messe in pratica con metodi speciali, adattabili alla natura dei ragazzi e completati da una particolare pedagogia, si arriverebbe a questo risultato: di non aver più nel diritto penale come nel civile che questa sola distinzione: minori e adulti. Coi primi, si ricorre all’educazione; coi secondi alla penalità”. Translated by the author.

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