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A Partial Agenda for Modern European Educational History

James C. Albisetti

Attempting to establish an agenda for one's own research is often challenging; trying to do so for a broad swath of one's field is even more so. I accepted the invitation to propose one in the hope that graduate students and younger colleagues—especially those willing to put in the work to obtain at least reading fluency in foreign languages—might benefit from the suggestions of potentially fruitful research topics from someone who has been reading widely in modern European educational history for almost forty years. Such an agenda is partial in both meanings of the word: it does not come close to exhausting all possible topics, and it necessarily reflects my own areas of expertise and interest. That means a focus primarily on the nineteenth century, with more attention both to secondary than to either elementary or university education, and to girls' schooling than to boys'. As a caveat, I may not be cognizant of all that has been published or is in the works even for the themes suggested.

Scholars interested in modern European educational history should know that the best place to meet colleagues and learn about work in progress is the annual meeting of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), which usually takes place in July or August. Created in 1979 to bridge the Iron Curtain, ISCHE now attracts significant participation from North and South America, Australia, Asia, and Africa. There has been a regrettable drop-off in attendance by scholars from Eastern Europe since the demise of subsidies for the "traveling cadres" under the communist regimes. The journal *Paedagogica Historica* devotes a double issue (February to April) each year to selected papers from the conference held a year and a half earlier.

More closely focused on European topics is Network 17 of the European Educational Research Association—roughly the equivalent of Division F of AERA—which meets in the early autumn. The annual meetings of the British History of Education Society also attract significant international participation, although for many Americans it is difficult to travel across the pond in late November or early December.

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My work as a coeditor, with Joyce Goodman and Rebecca Rogers, on a recently published anthology, *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World*, can serve as a jumping-off point for this partial agenda.[1] That work contains an extensive bibliography of works in English, and notes to the individual contributions provide additional references in many languages. Through the editing process, I rediscovered the frustration of learning about scholarship I cannot read, despite having worked extensively with sources in German, French, and Italian and on occasion "deciphered" some Spanish and Dutch. Somewhat surprising is the fact that this is not a major issue for Russia, where much of the best history of education has been originally published in English. Southeastern and northern Europe, though, are a different story. Birgitte Possing, for example, published two decades ago a 600-page biography of Danish headmistress Natalie Zahle, a figure of comparable importance to female education in her country as Dorothea Beale or Emily Davies was in England, Helene Lange in Germany, or Isabelle Gatti de Gamond in Belgium.[2] It is fortunate that the book has a fifteen-page English summary, but that merely whets one's appetite for more. Scholars such as Possing whose native language is not widely spoken clearly face a dilemma in publishing for their fellow nationals or for a wider scholarly community; it is certainly doubtful that a sufficient market exists to justify a translated version. I came away from the editing with an even greater appreciation for those—especially Dutch and Dutch-speaking Belgian scholars—who publish frequently in English.

Working on the anthology highlighted the varying depth and breadth of scholarship in women's history in the different countries. Several of the contributors—Goodman on the British Isles, Rogers on France, Juliane Jacobi on German-speaking countries, Tom Ewing on Russia, Mineke van Essen and Hilda Amsing on the Netherlands, to some extent Eliane Gubin on Belgium—could draw on multiple monographs related to their topics. Goodman and Jacobi, in particular, could even emphasize regional variations in the provision and structure of girls' secondary schools. The other contributors—Simonetta Soldani on Italy, Consuelo Flecha on Spain, Helena Araújo and colleagues on Portugal, Agneta Linné on Scandinavia, and Krassimira Daskalova on the Balkans, especially Bulgaria—had no such luxury. In southern and southeastern Europe, existing research has focused heavily on the period since the late nineteenth century; for the Catholic countries

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[1]James C. Albisetti, Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers, ed., *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World; From the 18th to the 20th Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[2]Birgitte Possing, *Viljens styrke: Nathalie Zahle—en biografi om dannelse, kon og magtfuldkommenhed* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1992).

in particular, there appears to be little scholarship that explores the contribution of convent schools and teaching orders in the way that Rogers and others have done for France.

The coeditors regretted the omission of some countries from the anthology, but in the cases of Poland and Switzerland, in particular, they knew of no scholars well positioned to write a survey of the last three centuries. The former, of course, suffered partition for over a century, which meant its schools were influenced by Russian, Prussian, and Austrian regulations. In the latter, education remained in the hands of the individual cantons, complicating any attempt at synthesis. Although there has been much excellent research on women at Swiss universities, scholarship on secondary schooling is spotty.

In general, contributions to the anthology suggest that more work needs to be done, especially from a comparative perspective, on two areas where I published rather sweeping articles back in the 1990s: the feminization of teaching, and the rhetoric and reality of coeducation.[3] At both the elementary and the secondary level, the percentages and roles of women teachers varied in ways that defy easy explanation. Generally the lower salaries for women did not come close to resulting in similar percentages of female teachers. Neither did religion play a clearly decisive role in shaping the gender mix. Why, for instance, did the French insist for decades on single-sex elementary schools as the norm, with men teaching boys, whereas in Italy almost all such teaching was in the hands of women? Why did France, in contrast to almost all the rest of Europe, not only tolerate, but encourage, that women teachers continue to work after marriage, and what use did foreigners make of this example in their own debates about celibacy clauses? How could a very high level of feminization in Russian elementary schools, especially in the cities, coexist with one of the most male-dominated systems of girls' secondary schools? In fact, a study of Russian secondary education for girls before 1917, which had by far the highest enrollments of any European country, is urgently needed; the old survey by Sophie Satina does not measure up to recent scholarship on other countries or on other aspects of Russian educational history.[4]

Until the 1960s and 1970s, coeducation at the secondary level in Europe meant the admission of girls, usually in limited numbers, to existing boys' schools. That this practice emerged in some Catholic and some Protestant countries, but not in others, remains perplexing.

[3]James C. Albisetti, "The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (September 1993): 253–63; and James C. Albisetti, "Catholics and Coeducation: Rhetoric and Reality in Europe before *Divini Illius Magistri*," *Paedagogica Historica* 35, no. 3 (1999): 667–96.

[4]Sophie Satina, *Education of Women in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, trans. Alexandra Putschine (New York: n.p., 1966).

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Economic "backwardness" and a resulting unwillingness to spend on a system of girls' schools seem to have played an important role in Italy, Spain, and Portugal; yet, neither Russia nor Ireland adopted mixed education at this level. The experience of pupils and of teachers in coeducational secondary schools before their proliferation in the 1960s and 1970s has been little studied. Of particular interest might be examination of how the possibility of coeducation affected the organization and militancy of women teachers: in Germany and England, with very few mixed secondary schools until after 1945, women teachers and headmistresses seem to have played a more prominent role in feminist movements than they did elsewhere.

Mirroring general trends in European educational history, many of the contributors to *Girls' Secondary Education* had little to say about the years since World War II, and particularly since the rise of mass secondary education during the 1960s and 1970s. In German history, for example, recent years have finally seen major, archive-based publications on schooling during the immediate postwar period.[5] For later decades, there is certainly a plethora of works by sociologists and educational policy experts; but it seems time for European historians to explore the rapid growth of the secondary schools, the significant spread of coeducation, and the feminization of the merged faculties. Which countries handled the changes most successfully? Where did the greatest controversies arise? Which groups of students and of teachers seemed to have benefitted and/or suffered the most?[6] Tom Ewing's new study of the abolition and then reintroduction of secondary coeducation in the Soviet Union in the 1940s and 1950s can serve as a model for such research projects.[7]

One last area where *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World* revealed the need for significant additional research involves the creation and evolution of vocational courses for middle-class girls, the potential "redundant" or "surplus" women who faced the need to earn a living. Beginning with the English Society for Promoting the Employment of Women in 1859, such courses spread across much of the continent over the next twenty years. The attention paid to such courses

[5] See, for example, Benita Blessing, *The Antifascist Classroom: Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany, 1945–1949* (New York: Palgrave, 2006); Brian Puaca, *Learning Democracy: Education Reform in West Germany, 1945–1965* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); and Charles Lansing, *From Nazism to Communism: German Schoolteachers under Two Dictatorships* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[6] Some of these themes were discussed at a conference in Koblenz in 1997, which led to Marianne Horstkemper and Margret Kraul, ed., *Koedukation: Erbe und Chancen* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1999).

[7] E. Thomas Ewing, *Separate Schools: Gender, Policy, and Practice in Postwar Soviet Education* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).

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by the contributors to Theodore Stanton's *The Woman Question in Europe* in the early 1880s speaks to the centrality of this type of education at the time.[8] Yet, most contributors to the new anthology said little or nothing about them, focusing instead on more purely academic secondary schools. Some studies of individual schools and their supporters do exist, but they are not well known. Published a quarter century ago, Doris Obschernitzki's history of Berlin's *Lette Verein*, founded in 1866, can be found in just a dozen libraries in the United States. A study of its counterpart in the Netherlands, *Tesselschade—Arbeid Adelt* (Work Ennobles), which appeared on the occasion of that organization's one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary in 1996, not only is in no North American libraries, but also can be found solely in fifteen Dutch libraries. A slim commemorative volume marking the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women in 2009, available only from the successor organization, the Society for Promoting the Training of Women, resides to date in only a handful of British libraries.[9]

Recent research for a forthcoming article of my own[10] revealed no modern scholarship on several other organizations, including the Society for Vocational Education of Women (*Société pour l'enseignement professionnel des femmes*) established in Paris in 1862 by Elise Lemonnier and the similarly named *Association pour l'enseignement professionnel des femmes* created three years later in Brussels. Yet such endeavors deserve further exploration, especially for the interplay of class and gender that they involved. In societies where, in general, middle-class fathers were expected to provide for their daughters, philanthropists both male and female found reasons to donate to programs designed to prevent such daughters from being "de-classed." My own brief examination of these organizations revealed remarkable variety in leadership, financing, size, and duration; yet, there was striking similarity in their goals and in the fields of work that they considered appropriate for their clientele. A particularly challenging type of research might be to trace the later

[8]Theodore Stanton, ed., *The Woman Question in Europe* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884).

[9]Doris Obschernitzki, *"Der Frau ihre Arbeit!" Lette Verein: Zur Geschichte einer Berliner Institution 1866 bis 1986* (Berlin, Edition Hentrich, 1987); Vilan van der Loo, *Toekomst door Traditie: Hondervijfentwintig jaar Tesselschade-Arbeid Adelt* (Zuphen: Walberg Press, 1996); Ann Bridger and Ellen Jordan, *Timely Assistance: The Work of the Society for Promoting the Training of Women, 1859–2009* (Ashford, Kent: Society for Promoting the Training of Women, 2009). I would like to thank Dr. Carolyn Boulter, chair of the Society, for sending me a copy *gratis*. Information about locations from WorldCat, consulted June 29, 2011.

[10]James C. Albisetti, "Philanthropy for the Middle Class: Vocational Education for Girls and Young Women in Mid-Victorian Europe," *History of Education*, 41, no. 3 (May 2012): 287–301. I do not currently plan to go any further with this topic.

lives of those young women who attended such courses to see whether they actually provided economic security and/or helped to push open new career fields.

Reference to middle-class girls who needed to work for a living opens up questions about education and social mobility. Studies of this topic have traditionally focused on comparing the careers of fathers and sons, stressing the possibilities for and limits to upward mobility through formal education. To my knowledge, no one has yet developed a generally accepted model for defining mobility for women: was the daughter with an educational credential and a paying job upwardly or downwardly mobile in comparison with her mother who did not work outside the home?

Over the last two decades, with the increased interest in identities, representations, and gender construction, European historians have shown less interest in statistical studies in general and mobility studies in particular. Anyone looking for a model for such a research project, however, would be well advised to consult the book published in German by Peter Lundgreen, Margret Kraul, and Karl Ditt in 1988, the title of which translates as "Educational Opportunities and Social Mobility in the Urban Society of the Nineteenth Century."[11] The authors examined two modest-sized cities, the Rhineland industrial center of Duisburg and the Westphalian administrative center of Minden. They sampled pupils from all types of schools, noting fathers' occupations and where possible, tracing the boys' later social positions through city directories. They were able to determine that more lower-class boys managed to rise into the new middle class from an elementary school than from a more advanced *Bürgerschule*, and in fact that the majority of lower-class boys who did attend the latter nonetheless remained in working-class jobs. This study also highlighted how between 25 and 50 percent of sons of the upper classes were downwardly mobile despite their social background and educational advantages. In the contemporary world where not only high school diplomas but even college degrees do not provide much in the way of job security, additional studies that examine the mechanisms and consequences of downward mobility appear to be worthwhile.

With regard to universities, scholars have pursued a wide variety of topics: individual institutions, the growth and professionalization of disciplines, enrollment trends, student cultures, gender, and international exchanges. Scholars interested in assessing current research must

[11] Peter Lundgreen, Margret Kraul, and Karl Ditt, *Bildungschancen und soziale Mobilität in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988). See also my review article, "Secondary Schools and Social Structure in 19th-Century Germany," *Journal of Social History* 28, no. 4 (Summer 1995): 887–92.

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begin with an extremely impressive synthesis that, for unclear reasons, has yet to be widely reviewed or cited in the United States, Robert D. Anderson's *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*. Anderson provides a dazzling bibliography that includes secondary literature in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. As I noted in a review, "The book belongs on the shelves of every historian of higher education and of nineteenth-century Europe."[12] Anderson's book can be supplemented with the second and third volumes of the multiauthor *History of the University in Europe*, although in some cases the essays included were written several years before the volumes appeared.[13]

A number of recent works on universities have revealed the value of both revisiting previously explored themes and exploring new comparative topics. Lisa Zwicker, for example, has found a much stronger liberal presence among German students in the early twentieth century than previous research had led us to believe. Thomas Weber has described intriguing similarities and differences between male students in Oxford and Heidelberg in the same era. Including Spain along with England and Germany, Katharina Rowold has offered numerous insights into the similarities and differences in the rhetoric about the possible dangers and advantages of women's pursuit of higher education.[14] Similar reconsiderations or comparisons involving other countries might well be just as fruitful.

With specific regard to the higher education of women, most countries now have studies of the struggles over the admission of the first students to universities. Two of the better investigations of the limits to the long-term integration of women students into formerly male institutions are the books on England by Carol Dyhouse and on Germany by Patricia Mazón.[15] Despite the plethora of works on Russian radical women and on Russians of both genders who pursued their studies at

[12] Robert D. Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); my review is in *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (2007): 457–58.

[13] Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Walter Rüegg, ed., *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800–1945)* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[14] Lisa Zwicker, *Dueling Students: Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); Thomas Weber, *Our Friend "The Enemy": Elite Education in Britain and Germany before World War I* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008); Katharina Rowold, *The Educated Woman: Minds, Bodies, and Women's Higher Education in Britain, Germany, and Spain, 1865–1914* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

[15] Carol Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1880–1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995); Patricia M. Mazón, *Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Higher Education, 1865–1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

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German or Swiss universities, there is not much on women students in Tsarist Russia. The two main works in English that examined the fight for admission to higher education there, the unpublished dissertation by Ruth Arlene Fluck Dudgeon and a rather brief book by Christine Johanson, essentially stopped at the Revolution of 1905, before the proliferation of "higher courses" for women that became universities in all but name.[16] Although these institutions were relatively short-lived, a thorough investigation of their financing, faculties, student bodies, curricula, and politics would be a major contribution to both Russian and educational history.

A similar gap exists for France, where universities, as opposed to the examining faculties, emerged only in the late nineteenth century. Numerous articles and chapters have been devoted to the first women to pass the *baccaluaréat*, to become physicians, and to gain access to the legal profession. But to my knowledge no study exists that comes close to detailing the experiences of women students over time in the way that Dyhouse and Mazón have done.

Another possible research topic would be the experiences of the first generations of American women students in France, comparable to Sandra Singer's work on German-speaking universities. Whitney Walton's new book provides excellent detail for the years after formal "study abroad" programs emerged at American universities, but says almost nothing about the earlier period.[17] Yet, the history of American women students in France went back to the physician Mary Putnam Jacobi in the late 1860s, and included in later decades holders of fellowships from the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and Bryn Mawr College. Integrating as well those women who went to study music or art, the latter especially at the *Académie Julian*, would provide very intriguing comparisons with Singer's investigation.

A similar study of American women students in Great Britain would also be possible, though the number who attended the elite Oxbridge colleges before World War I was small. As Glenn Altschuler has documented, one of the first, Helen Magill, who came to Girton College with an American PhD in hand, did not perform well there, in the process damaging the overall reputation in England of American

[16] Ruth Arlene Fluck Dudgeon, "Women and Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1905," (PhD dissertation, George Washington University, 1975); Christine Johanson, *Women's Struggle for Higher Education in Russia, 1855–1900* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

[17] Sandra Singer, *Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-Speaking Universities, 1865–1915* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

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higher education.[18] Potentially more revealing, but involving a lot of "grunt work," would be a thorough mining of the *Woman's Who's Who of America*, published in 1914, with regard to studying abroad. Such a source has problems, of course, with regard both to who chose to participate and to the single snapshot it offers.[19] The number of women included was so large, however, that any distinct patterns that emerged from such a study would have a high level of validity; and in at least some cases the women were famous enough to have left autobiographies and other sources that can flesh out the brief entries. Questions might include the following: where did women go, at what age, for how long, and to do what? It is clear that "studying in Europe" did not mean only enrolling in a university to pursue a degree; clarification of the relationships among traveling for "finishing," taking a few art or music courses, and formal university study could be an important aim of such a work.

Another possible topic linking the United States and Europe could involve those Americans who traveled not to learn, but to teach. A recent anthology on American women missionaries, coedited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie Anne Shemo, gives attention to all parts of the world except for Europe—with the exception of the Ottoman-ruled Balkans. This omission is particularly surprising given the fact that there are (1) a book (in Greek) by Polly Thanalaiki on "America and Protestantism: 'The Evangelical Empire' and the Dreams of American Missionaries for Greece in the 19th Century"; and (2) a recent dissertation by Carol Scally Grigas on Alice Gordon Gulick, who in the 1870s founded in Spain what was first known as the North American College and later as the International Institute for Girls.[20] A similar figure about whom there appears to be no recent research is Emily Bliss Gould, who founded elementary schools and kindergartens in Rome following Italian unification.[21] Study of

[18] Glenn Altschuler, *Better than Second Best: Love and Work in the Life of Helen Magill* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

[19] John William Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914–1915* (New York: American Commonwealth, 1914; reprint ed., Detroit: Gale Research, 1974).

[20] Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie Anne Shemo, ed., *Competing Empires: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Polly Thanailaki, *Ameriki kai Protestantismos: "H Evangeliki Aftokratoria" kai oi oramatismoi ton missionarion gia tin Ellada to 19o aiona* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2005); Carol Scally Grigas, "Mission to Spain: Alice Gordon Gulick and a Transatlantic Project to Educate Spanish Women, 1872–1903," (PhD dissertation, Washington State University, 2004). Thanilaki has some publications in English; I have found no publications by Grigas. See also the older work, Elizabeth Putnam Gordon, *Alice Gordon Gulick: Her Life and Work in Spain* (New York: Revell, 1917).

[21] Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *Memorials of Emily Bliss Gould of Rome* (New York: Randolph, 1879).

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these and other Protestant women and men who felt called upon to convert and educate European Catholics would offer a new dimension to America's sense of mission.

These last suggestions point to the now fashionable topic of "transnationalism." Having been interested for my entire career in comparative education as well as international perceptions and influences, I tend to question the path-breaking nature of such research. Yet, it is true that numerous scholars have begun to publish studies on international and transnational themes, in many cases looking at how organizations dealt with educational questions. Christa Kersting has looked at discussions about female education in the first three major congresses of the International Council of Women in Chicago, London, and Berlin. Eckhardt Fuchs has examined international congresses devoted to education in the early decades of the twentieth century and is also interested in the educational work of the League of Nations. Joyce Goodman has examined a number of League-related organizations from a gender perspective, included in a forthcoming article originally presented at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Amsterdam in 2010.[22]

The examples of Gulick and Gould demonstrate that one can search for transnational educational contacts and influence further back into the nineteenth century. Studies of the international kindergarten movement demonstrate the same thing. Official reports on schooling in other countries date back at least to Victor Cousin's on Prussia in the 1830s. Some such sources are fairly well known, such as the report on education in the United States and Canada prepared for the Schools Inquiry Commission by James Fraser, the materials gathered by Camille Sée in preparation for the law creating girls' *lycées* in France in 1880, or the twenty-four volumes of *Special Reports on Education Subjects* issued by the British Board of Education between 1896 and 1911.[23] Who, however, has ever used the five volumes of special reports on the London Exposition of 1862 issued by an Italian Royal Commission, which included studies by Pasquale Villari on "Elementary

[22] Christa Kersting, "Weibliche Bildung und Bildungspolitik: das International Council of Women und seine Kongresse in Chicago (1893), London (1899) und Berlin (1904)," *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. 3 (June 2008): 327–46; Eckhardt Fuchs, "Educational Sciences, Morality, and Politics: International Educational Congresses in the Early Twentieth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5–6 (October 2004): 757–84; Joyce Goodman, "Women and International Intellectual Cooperation," *Paedagogica Historica*, 48, no. 3 (June 2012): 357–68.

[23] James Fraser, *Report to the Commissioners Appointed by her Majesty ... on the Common School System of the United States and of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada* (London: HMSO, 1866); Camille Sée, *Lycées et collèges de jeunes filles*, 6th ed. (Paris: Cerf, 1896); Great Britain, Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 24 vols. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1896–1911). The contents of all volumes are in volume 24, 613–31.

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Instruction in England and Scotland" and by Mauro Macchi on "Education in England in Relation to the State and to the Instructional Needs of Italy?" A similar obscurity has befallen the twenty-six volumes relating to the Philadelphia World's Fair in 1876 produced by a special Austrian commission, which included an examination of American education by Franz Migerka. A third example might be the study of manual instruction in elementary schools published in 1888 by Villari, following a study trip through institutions in Switzerland, Germany, and Denmark, to Nääs, Sweden, where the method known as *slöjd* originated.[24] Years of experience working with sources such as these have convinced me that educators and political leaders were looking at, admiring, and critiquing the practices in other countries all the time. All one needs to do is start looking—and learn the needed languages.

[24]Italy, Real Comitato centrale italiano per l'Esposizione internationale di London, 1862, *Relazioni di commissarii speciali*, 5 vols. (Turin: Dalmazzo, 1864–67), with the contributions by Villari and Macchi in volumes 2 and 4, respectively; Franz Migerka, *Das Unterrichtswesen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Vienna: Commissions-Verlag von Faesy & Frick, 1877), volume 11 of the *Bericht über die Weltausstellung in Philadelphia 1876*, ed. by the Österreichischen Commission für die Weltausstellung in Philadelphia 1876; Pasquale Villari, "Il lavoro manuale nelle scuole elementari," as reprinted in his *Nuovi scritti pedagogici* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1891).

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