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Italian Readers of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and *Il Passerotto* between the Great War and the Fiume Endeavour

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Early 20th-century children's magazines chart fundamental steps in the development of children's literature, both in literary production itself, and the ways in which young readers were taught to read. This paper explores the points of view of the literary text and of actual readers in the weekly *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and the monthly *Il Passerotto*, with reference to the topics of interventionism and irredentism that characterised the thoughts and dreams of many subscribers to the magazines. Until the First World War, the unification of the irredentist regions took the shape of fantastic and humorous accounts, but the apex of irredentism was reached with the Fiume endeavour. This long-held pre-war dream gave voice to the rebelliousness of a whole generation of young people who had grown up yearning to see the epic of the Risorgimento finally laid to rest. As young adults, they were convinced that they could convey the outcome of this to the two magazines' new generation of young readers. Analysis of the two magazines enables us to reconstruct the continuities and changes that shaped the intellectual growth of child readers and anticipate the choices they would make as adults, some of which would have dramatic consequences.

Keywords: children's literature, history of education, children's magazines, young readers, WWI, 20th century

One fine day Italy said: "We must go to war with Germany to help the poor French and repossess Trent, Trieste, Fiume and Dalmatia, which belong to me".

No sooner said than done. General Cadorna raised a great army, and not just of conscripts: old men, too, volunteered to join up. Then the battles commenced and for quite some time we won them all. Then came Caporetto, which was a nasty business, but General Cadorna said: "We'll hold out against them on the River Piave and Monte Grappa, they'll never break through".

In June 1918 our enemies launched a great offensive, thinking to occupy Milan and Venice, but they messed it up. On 23 June, General Diaz issued a bulletin that said: “From Montello to the enemy sea, routed by our valiant troops, the Piave reverts to disorder once more”.

But that wasn't enough, they had to be sent packing from the whole of the Veneto, and Trent and Trieste had to be taken. So in October we took the offensive and won the great battle called the Battle of Vittorio Veneto. And General Diaz issued that even finer bulletin which said that the entire enemy army had taken to its heels. Italy, and Italy alone, won the war, but when it was all over our friends, no longer afraid, began saying “But what did Italy do? To us it seems that Italy is claiming too much”. And they began to insult us and said they wanted to give us neither Fiume nor Dalmatia. Miserable dogs. What did Italy do? Let me tell you something: Italy won the war better than you. And I'll tell you something else: it's capable of winning another if you keep on annoying us (Cecchino, 1919: 24).¹

This rousing article entitled “La storia della Guerra” [The History of the War] was published in June 1919 in *Il Passerotto*, the monthly magazine cloned from the better-known *Il Giornalino della Domenica* founded and edited by Vamba, the *nom de plume* of Luigi Bertelli. After falling silent in 1911, both magazines resumed publication in the period spanning late 1918 and early 1919. The previous silence had been due initially to economic problems and then to the outbreak of war, both of which put an end to the wide-ranging dialogue which, since their founding (*Il Giornalino della Domenica* in 1906, *Il Passerotto* in 1907), the magazines had encouraged in their young readers (Ascenzi, Di Felice & Tumino 2008: 20–43). Aged from 6 to 18, the readers were mostly children of intellectuals and upper middle-class Italians who in the early 20th century had been critical of Giovanni Giolitti's transformist policy and did much to swell the nationalist, irredentist and interventionist ranks by paving the way for the war in Libya and the First World War (Isnenghi 2002).

¹ Un giorno l'Italia disse: “Bisogna far la guerra ai tedeschi per aiutare quei poveri francesi e per prendere Trento, Trieste, Fiume e la Dalmazia che sono roba mia”.

Detto fatto, il generale Cadorna fece un grande esercito, e non solamente i giovani di leva, ma anche i vecchi andarono volontari: Allora cominciarono le battaglie e noi le vincemmo tutte per parecchio tempo. Poi venne Caporetto, e quello fu un affar serio, ma però il generale Cadorna disse: “Resisteremo sul Piave e sul Grappa e non passeranno”.

Nel mese di giugno del 1918 i nemici fecero una grande offensiva e credevano di fermarsi a Milano e a Venezia, ma invece ne toccarono come ciuchi e il 23 di giugno il generale Diaz mandò quel Bollettino che diceva: “Dal Montello al mare nemico, sconfitto ed incalzato dalle nostre valorose truppe, ripassa in disordine il Piave”.

Ma questo non bastava e bisognava mandarli via da tutto il Veneto e prendere Trento e Trieste, e allora nell'Ottobre l'offensiva si fece noi, e vincemmo quella grande battaglia che si chiama la battaglia di Vittorio Veneto, e il generale Diaz mandò quel bollettino anche più bello, che diceva che tutto l'esercito nemico scappava come un sol uomo. L'Italia ha vinto e la guerra l'ha finita lei sola; ma quando è stata finita i nostri amici, passata la paura, han cominciato a dire: “Ma che ha fatto l'Italia? A noi ci pare che questa Italia pretenda troppo”. E hanno cominciato a farci tutti i dispetti e dicono che non ci vogliono dare né Fiume né la Dalmazia. Ah pezzi di cani, che cosa ha fatto l'Italia? Io vi dico una cosa, che l'Italia ha vinto la guerra meglio di voi; e poi ve ne dico un'altra, cioè che è capace di vincerne anche un'altra se seguitate a rompergli le scatole.

English translations are the author's, unless otherwise stated.

The article quoted earlier both identifies with and provides much accurate information about the decisive moments in the conflict, but it also interprets the events in a way that very clearly vindicates the irredentist enclaves of Fiume and Dalmatia. Such knowledge of historical facts, and the political evaluation which promptly refers us to the notion of *vittoria mutilata*, roughly translatable as a skewed or imperfect victory (D'Annunzio 1918: 1), gives the impression that the person who wrote this was both sharp witted and well versed in the subject. One is therefore dumbfounded to learn that the writer goes by the name of Cecchino and is only six years old. Note that the distinctive feature of *Il Passerotto* was that it published journalism, stories and poems written exclusively by children and young people who also subscribed to *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and played an active part in its life by contributing to the Letters section and belonging to the “Confederazione giornalinesca” [Magazine Confederation] (also known as the “Confederazione del Girotondo”, the Round-Robin Confederation), a sort of “Stato balocco” [Toy State] offering simulations of practical politics in action (Lugli 1960: 261–263; Faeti 1972: 247). Cecchino was one of those young people. Through his involvement in initiatives to ensure that readers remained faithful, in *Il Giornalino della Domenica* he came into contact – as did others of the same age – with the greatest writers of children’s literature at that time (Giovanni Pascoli, Ida Baccini, Edmondo De Amicis, Luigi Capuana, Grazia Deledda, Emilio Salgari, Matilde Serao, Angiolo Silvio Novaro, Augusto Vittorio Vecchi, Renato Fucini) and this enabled him to develop and shape his own passion for books. On the other hand, *Il Passerotto* provided the opportunity to shape his own thoughts by modelling them on the fantastic, realistic or humorous elements that the written word offers even in early childhood. Thus, the educational and cultural blueprint of the two journals offered numerous possibilities, both complex and unique of their type, to instil a very high level of thinking and language awareness in their readers. A prime example of this was the statement made in *Il Giornalino della Domenica* by Menta Piperita (the pseudonym of Lucia Bocassini Tranquilli), both a subscriber belonging to the old guard of the Vamba’s weekly and, in 1919, a speaker in the conference at the Università popolare di Trieste: “You read a book, but you live with a magazine”² (Menta Piperita 1919: 23). The passage by Cecchino reproduced at the start of this paper is certainly an expression of youthful vitality in and outside the magazine. It also displays an unusual degree of historical and interpretative awareness instilled, without a shadow of doubt, by a family background steeped in historical and political awareness. However, this is no isolated example of precocious political awareness enabling a child to assimilate and integrate both fantasy and critical assessment of a situation. Given the complexity of “scritture bambine” [children’s writings] (Becchi e Antonelli 1995), we cannot exclude the possibility that the adult world had a direct or indirect influence on what Cecchino wrote. However, the fact remains that the passage testifies to a clear understanding of what had happened, as well as marked resentment and an equally marked enthusiasm for wars as reparation for an unjust peace. Such is the message of the article generated by the educational

² “Un libro si legge, ma con un giornale si vive”.

orientation Cecchino received in his family, further amplified in *Il Passerotto* through the use of a candid, immediate style that was more or less intentionally ungrammatical.

The threat envisaged in the article – part seriously, part facetiously – of a willingness to start another war to annex Dalmatia to Italy became a reality a few months later when D'Annunzio and his band of infantrymen (also known as “arditi”) took Fiume by force on 12 September 1919, thereby creating the Reggenza del Carnaro (the Italian Regency of Carnaro) that would last until the end of 1920. The magazine readers and editors enthusiastically supported the cause. Vamba, the editor-in-chief, and Giuseppe Fanciulli, the copy editor, were among D'Annunzio's infantrymen together with a group of old-guard subscribers, those who had been adolescents before the war broke out and had cut their editorial teeth working for the two magazines. However, in 1919 a new contingent of children swelled the ranks of subscribers and quickly made known their support for D'Annunzio's cause not only in the Letters section but also in their creative work for *Il Passerotto* and through their readings of newspaper articles written by fellow subscribers who lived in the Fiume area. The irredentism cultivated and supported in *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and *Il Passerotto* was brought to completion. For several months, what had been a long-held dream before the First World War became the rebellious outburst of a youthful generation that had long nurtured the desire to see the definitive end of the Risorgimento and could at last symbolically communicate the tangible results of territorial annexation or liberation to the new generation of children who read the two magazines. An analysis of these magazines may help to reconstruct the lines of continuity and change that significantly affected the intellectual growth of those generations of young Italian readers, as well as helping us to predict the choices they would make on reaching adulthood.

Child readers dreaming of irredentism in the Giolitti era

The issue of irredentism surfaced very quickly in *Il Giornalino della Domenica* in its Letters column, which in the magazine's first two years had been edited by Aldo Valori under the pseudonym of Ceralacca (Pallottino 2008: 23–24). Readers in Trent and Trieste, which were still under Austro-Hungarian rule, felt that the magazine supported their assertion of Italianness and the desire to see the two areas annexed to Italy. A certain Robur in Rovereto offered the following opinion (Robur 1906: 17):

Rovereto, 27. 10. [1]906

Dear Mr Ceralacca,

[...] I come from Rovereto, a town in the Trentino region, an eminently Italian town. An Italian at heart, I'm delighted to see that your auspicious children's periodical, a match for the numerous children's periodicals published in Germany and England, is published in Italy. I long for our Trentino region to be united with beautiful Italy, and the people where I live are proud of Italy. Even our monuments proclaim the dominance of Venice, the Serenissima Repubblica di San Marco. Make allowances for me, Mr Ceralacca, and forgive my idle chatter. I revere you and send my best wishes, Robur³

³ Carissimo signor Ceralacca,

Rovereto, 27, 10, [1]906

Ceralacca published a very frank reply to both this letter and another from a subscriber in Trieste, stating that irredentism was definitely on the magazine's cultural agenda (ibid.):

Your sentiments do you honour and you can easily imagine how much we admire them, too. One of *Giornalino's* aims is precisely this, to keep the sacred flame of Italianness burning in the hearts of young people outside Italy and keep them in touch with their young brothers in Italy.⁴

This notion undoubtedly helped to fan the divine flame that brought together readers increasingly united by ties of friendship and sharing an idea that would become an important component of the *Confederazione del Girotondo* [Magazine Confederation] that emerged between spring and September 1908. It was a sort of young people's parliament with elective offices, its task being to debate and carry forward the principles of national unity that had not been fully achieved. It was also ferociously critical of the adult political world, which it deemed both inconsistent and prone to a certain degree of mercantilism that led to corruption and ethical-moral decay in the country. Traces of this anxiety were present not only in the experiences of actual readers and Vamba's direct participation in the debate, but also, for example, in newspaper articles celebrating major figures in Italy's past (Fava 2016a: 41–45).

The fact that the only writers allowed to air their views were children is what made the monthly *Il Passerotto* such an unusual observation post. These “piccoli umoristi della penna o del pennello” [young humourists of pen or brush] were authorised to blend “l'ingenuità” [ingenuity] and “finezza” [subtlety] in their creative writing (Pinocchio 1907: 1). Through the amused, mordant, skilfully honed lens of the magazine, they offered telling accounts of nationalism and irredentism. One worth mentioning is “Patriotta” [A Patriot], a fantasy short story written by Alfredo Vacchi in Bologna, nicknamed Padre Prosciutto [Father Ham], in which, behind the metaphorical unity of skies traversed by birds in flight and contrary to the separateness of states like Austria and Italy, one glimpses the partly rhetorical afflatus of independence in such phrases as “the hated foreigner, the people thirsty for the blood of revenge and freedom”⁵ and the heroic sacrifice of oneself in the name of saving Italy (Vacchi 1910: 6–7).

The fantasy story by Piero Operti entitled “Il congresso dei Passerotti” [The Council of Sparrows] is covertly satirical (Operti 1910: 7–8). It envisages a Grand Council of the “Nation of Italian Sparrows” convened to determine what should be

[...] Io sono di Rovereto, città del trentino, città eminentemente italiana. Io, che sono italiano nell'anima, vedo con vivissima soddisfazione che in Italia si pubblica questo benedetto giornalino che eguaglia i numerosi giornali di fanciulli che sono in Germania e in Inghilterra. Bramo che il nostro Trentino s'unisca alla bella Italia e sono orgoglioso dell'itala mia città ove i cittadini e gli stessi monumenti attestano la dominazione della Serenissima Repubblica di San Marco. Sia indulgente, signor Ceralacca, e perdoni la mia chiacchierata. La riverisce e la saluta il suo amico Robur.

⁴ I tuoi sentimenti ti onorano, e figurati se fanno piacere anche a noi. Uno degli scopi del *Giornalino*, è appunto quello di mantener vivo nei ragazzi fuori dai confini della nazione il fuoco sacro dell'italianità e di tenerli in contatto coi loro fratellini d'Italia.

⁵ “l'odiato straniero, il popolo assetato di sangue di vendetta e di libertà”.

done to defend sparrows from human beings. Significantly, the last sparrows to arrive are from “Trent and [...] Trieste because they had to evade police surveillance at the border. They too feel they are Italian!”⁶ (7). The Great Sparrow Scientist proposes joining forces to institute shared laws and regulations. But in the middle of the speech a swallow interrupts him to say that there is “un orto pieno di ciliegie” [an orchard full of cherries] nearby. The meeting broke up a few moments later because most of those present had forgotten “dello scopo che li aveva riuniti” [the goal that had brought them together]. Establishing some form of democratic, representative government means foregoing one’s own “golosità” [gluttony] in the name of a shared advantage to be built on self-will and sacrifice. The lack of such interior motivation hinders any form of progress. Indeed, not without a hint of bitterness, the text ends with “the sparrows are still weak little individuals, easy prey for their enemies”⁷ (8).

Irony is the dominant feature of the article entitled “I Turchi in Italia” [The Turks in Italy] of 1910 (Frio 1910: 1–3) which tells the story of a delegation of Turkish children who visit factories around Pisa. The article plays on possible double meanings of words like “ottomani” [Ottomans] (2) or exclamations of improbable meaning. Thus, use of irony draws attention to the laughable and, all things considered, subtly deprecatory characteristics of the Turkish people and Italy’s institutional incompetence in hosting its delegates. Comparing this seemingly innocent article with what actually happened – a year later Italy was at war with Turkey over supremacy in Libya – we realise that preparing the ground for military intervention was in fact a slow business, rooted as it was in the widespread cultural beliefs even of a high-school student like the letter writer from Pisa who signed himself Frio.

In the Giolitti era, children’s writings on nationalism and irredentism were, on the whole, both idealistic and distanced. As we have seen, this resulted in fantastical, metaphorical texts whose ironic and sometimes even satirical tone helped distance the writers from themselves. The violence and bloodshed of war had yet to be experienced by this generation of young people, and the concept of the Superman, of invincibility, can be easily associated with their distorted, ingenuous vision of the future, a vision that was extremely dangerous because its outcome could not possibly be calculated.

The disaffected irredentism of child readers at the end of the war

During the First World War we find no live accounts of children’s voices because, as we have seen, publication of the two magazines was suspended. Our knowledge of the period is based on *a posteriori* accounts published in 1918 when *Il Giornalino della Domenica* resumed publication. During the years of silence, friendships forged on the magazine were kept alive through letter writing as well as actual meetings, keeping alive memories of the magazine itself and, even more so, the desire to resume dialogue in the magazine’s Letters column. Thus, the columns of the two magazines saw the

⁶ “Trento e [...] Trieste perché dovettero eludere la sorveglianza poliziesca del confine. Anch’essi si sentono italiani!”

⁷ “i passeri restarono ancora esserini deboli, facile preda dei loro nemici”,

emergence of a generation of children who had become adolescents by the time hostilities ceased and were eager to enter the adult world, assuming the new responsibilities this entailed. There were also friendships contracted through the magazine that resulted in marriage, as well as pen-pal friendships that continued and strengthened in adulthood. One example is the lifelong friendship of Marianna Montale, the elder sister of Eugenio Montale, and Ida Zambaldi, the first Italian woman to become the Chief Inspector of the Ministry of Education after the Second World War (Zuffetti 2006, Fava 2017: 278–281). There was also the friendship between Mario Calvitti, a subscriber from Lazio, and Annamaria Sapignoli, one of the most frequent contributors to the female section of the Letters column, who grew up together on *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and eventually married (Gallo 2008: 316).

However, alongside these happy outcomes there were many cases that undoubtedly inflicted incurable wounds – those who witnessed the violent death and destruction of war, as well as a number of subscribers who died very young at the front.

Among the many subscribers' letters that emerged when publication resumed, there is one from Pia Addoli, who in the meantime had married Valentino Piccoli (Addoli Piccoli 1919a: IV):

Dear Vamba, I don't know if you still remember a long-standing, faithful friend in Milan, well known under the pseudonym of Allodola ... I often think nostalgically about those times gone by when the *Giornalino* inspired feeling, sincerity and sound virtues in youngsters like me. The youngsters of that time have been the heroes of today: an unhopèd-for reward for our dearest *Giornalino*. Fanciulli's article published a year ago on *Secolo XX* mentioned my poor beloved brother, Augusto Addoli, who was cut down in the flower of his youth, a young life extinguished in proud sacrifice to his country. Along with many, many more like him ...

As for myself I am happily married and the mother of two delightful nippers: Flora and Fantasio.⁸

This letter bears clear witness to the life that goes on: new plans, new kinds of happiness. And yet, there is also a deep nostalgia for the carefree years that would never return, taking idealised values with them forever and leaving behind sad regret for lives prematurely cut short. Augusto Addoli, a reader of *Il Giornalino della Domenica*, left for the front as a voluntary trainee machine-gun officer in 1915, when he was only 18 years old. He died on the Carso in 1917 (Museo della Guerra Bianca in Adamello 2012–2014). The young early-century reader believed in the nationalism and interventionism shared by the paper's readers and had eagerly embraced the war in which he vividly experienced the translation of a dream into reality: the ability to truly alter the course of

⁸ Caro Vamba, non so se lei ricorderà ancora un'antica fedele amica milanese, ben nota sotto lo pseudonimo di Allodola ... che pensa sempre con nostalgia a quei tempi passati, in cui il "Giornalino" veniva a noi fanciulli portando un afflato di sentimento, di sincerità, di virtù sane. I fanciulli d'allora sono stati gli Eroi d'oggi: premio insperato alla missione del nostro caro "Giornalino". Nell'articolo di Fanciulli, sul *Secolo XX* di un anno fa, era ricordato il mio povero adorato fratello, Augusto Addoli, che si è spento nel fiorire della giovinezza, giovane vita recisa in superbo olocausto alla patria. E quanti, quanti, come Lui...

Di me le dirò che sono sposa e madre felice di due deliziosi marmocchi: Flora e Fantasio.

history by helping to liberate the irredentist areas. As with many other young people, his actions were interpreted after the war as a form of heroism, a sacrifice for the good of a country which instead partly betrayed the enthusiasm of Addoli and others like him with the Paris Peace Treaties of 1919–1920. *Il Giornalino della Domenica* commemorated other contributors to the magazine in its early years. In a number of cities, the magazine confederates met in November 1919 to mark the anniversary of the victory of Vittorio Veneto which signalled the end of Italy's involvement in the war (Ser Umido 1919: II–III). Promising and well-known young people died in the war. Many were Italian Jews who, as is well known, played an active role in unifying Italy during the Risorgimento and were fully assimilated during the post-unification era (Fava 2016b: 97–108), and even shared the nationalist and irredentist afflatus. Among them were Giacomo Morpurgo, the son of Salomone Morpurgo, an outstanding Chief Librarian at the National Library in Florence; Roberto Sarfatti, the eldest son of Margherita Grassini Sarfatti, the leading mid-20th century art critic remembered today not only for her troubled relationship with Benito Mussolini (Ferrario 2015); Aldo Rosselli, the eldest son of children's book writer Amelia Pincherle Rosselli (Fava 2013a: 342–343), brother of Carlo and Nello who were killed in 1937 for their antifascist views; and Mario Slataper, a volunteer soldier and cousin of Scipio Slataper, the noted irredentist contributor to *La Voce* (the periodical edited by Giuseppe Prezzolini) who also died at the front (Slataper 1912; 1988). Also, Massimiliano Corcos, nicknamed “Il Pimpi”, who like his father before him, the highly respected painter and children's illustrator Vittorio Corcos, friend of Pascoli and an illustrator at the newspaper *Il Marzocco*, had already demonstrated his notable artistic talents at *Il Passerotto* (Sisi 1983). And Amerigo Rotellini, an up-and-coming journalist at the *Fanfulla* in São Paulo, Brazil, founded by his father Vitaliano (Gianni 2012).

Of those tragically killed in the war who had been readers of *Il Giornalino della Domenica*, several were brothers who, in some cases, had impetuously enrolled as volunteers in defence of their country. Such was the fate of Demetrio and Leopoldo Pellas, Jacopo and Luigi Damin (the latter affectionately remembered as Gigio at *Il Giornalino della Domenica*), the twins Aurelio and Fabio Nordio, Vasco and Fernando Ferranti and Gino and Vittorio Picciola, all of Istrian origin on their fathers' side and ardent irredentists. Many of those listed above paid a high price for the mismatch between the idealistic impulses cultivated in their study of the Classics and adherence to interventionist political ideology, where their inexperience of military life took them by surprise after just a few months. They included second lieutenants like Giulio Passerini, Mario Camerino, Bruno Bargoni, Giustino Mariani, Luigi Speranzini, Silvio Giobbe, Mario Pich, Rino Schiavo Campo, and cadet Ferruccio Vivante, all of whom, briefly and intensely, embraced futurist ideals that eventually turned into tragedy. Even as the magazine mourned its dead readers, the war became a central theme of its stories. New voices emerged, like Emilia Salvioni. A young subscriber to *Il Passerotto* in its early years, when she made her debut with poetry of some refinement (Fava 2013b: 464), she earned her upgrade as collaborator to *Il Giornalino della Domenica* with

“Racconto di viaggio” [Traveller’s Tale] (Salvioni 1919a: 2–8) when she had just turned twenty. The realism of her account of an adventurous journey beyond the River Piave, then still under military control, made known the precariousness and devastation of the territories in the Veneto region that symbolised the cost in suffering of Italy’s victory there. The theme resurfaced in “Otto giorni in Z. G.” [Eight Days in the War Zone] (Salvioni 1919b: 22–27) in which her descriptions of frontline areas reduced to rubble, and multitudes of corpses buried somehow or other, offered readers a heartfelt idea of the anguish such suffering could generate. Salvioni put to one side any sense of triumphalism. The victory was no recompense for those who had sacrificed themselves, painfully and with difficulty, by keeping silent and remaining in the shadows. It is interesting that other similar articles appeared in *Il Passerotto*. For example, the aspiring young writer Bianca Magazzin of Trieste submitted for the monthly issue “Una gita a Gorizia” [A Trip to Gorizia] (Magazzin 1919: 21–22). A train journey from the city that symbolised irredentism to the lines of trenches provided the means to describe a landscape rendered unrecognisable by ruined buildings and, even more so, by “hundreds and hundreds of symmetrical crosses commemorating the fallen”.⁹ The most striking thing in stories of this kind is the sense of reality that comes of observing that nothing is as it was before. Pain, sadness and regret prevail, leaving us undefended against what the future will bring.

The poem “Cassetta d’ordinanza” [Ordnance Box] submitted by Hedda (the alias of Lucia Maggia; Hedda 1919: 23) strikes a very different note, in the sense that the lyricism of the verse emphasises still more the harshness of its content. Returning the personal effects of a soldier killed in battle to his loved ones becomes an everlasting symbol of someone who no longer exists. In the stories, soldiers are elevated to the status of martyrs for the homeland. Such mythologising not only elicits unanimous condolence, at once grateful and respectful, but it also begins to envision resentment of the incomplete process of unification which the *vittoria mutilata* had made plain for all to see. There returns the Risorgimento myth discernible in Elisabetta Oddone’s proposal to present the period’s highly poetic songs, alive with so many traditions, with which 20th-century readers are also familiar (Oddone 1919: 22). And yet, behind these choices, there lies a still vivid nationalism whose existence is confirmed elsewhere whenever “italianità infestata” is mentioned, or an Italianness infested by English and French loanwords (Etrusco 1919: 22–23), and the importance of learning poetry by heart because “one of the most important duties incumbent on a good Italian” is to “do justice to our melodious language and our great poets” (Addoli Piccoli 1919b: 17).¹⁰ The influence of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* on the way subscribers write is pretty evident in some of the children’s writings published by *Il Passerotto* over the following months – emphatically so in Mary Cortese’s “Tornano i prigionieri” [The Prisoners Return] (Cortese 1919: 6–7) in which the “balda gioventù italiana” [bold Italian youth]

⁹ “per le centinaia e centinaia di croci simmetriche [che] ricordano gli eroi caduti”.

¹⁰ “uno dei maggiori doveri che incombono a un buon italiano”, “fare onore alla nostra lingua melodiosa e ai nostri grandi poeti”.

taken prisoner by the Austrians emphasises not only their bravery but also the fact that an ideal has been achieved, i.e. the liberation of Trent from the Austrian Empire. The article entitled “Il sacro mutilato” [The Sacred War-Wounded] reiterates the “sublime sacrifice of the flower of Italian youth” (Landozzi 1919: 20–21)¹¹ who gave their own lives for the loftier human ideals of justice. Italians owe recognition and support to the wounded and the incurably mutilated. Not without a touch of rhetoric, anyone who was mutilated fighting “the fourth war of independence”¹² was described as sacred. Thus, between the two magazines there developed osmotic processes which fed on each other. It does not appear that the children’s stories published in *Il Passerotto* can be traced back to those in *Il Giornalino della Domenica*, and vice versa. As has already been noted, the larger of the two magazines provided material for the smaller one, which is not to say that *Il Passerotto* was incapable of producing its own home-grown material. One clear example of this is “Il mondo alla rovescia” [The Back-to-Front World] by 14-year-old Giovanni Enriques which speculates, with quite some irony and imagination, that a magic telescope could make human actions run backwards, allowing “the dead to be resuscitated, the sick to be healed [...] innumerable ruins to become [...] houses and buildings (1919: 4–5). Thieves would put bulging wallets into people’s pockets”¹³ (5) and many other delights of an ideal world in which evil could be eradicated. But what would become of existing goodness? This is not taken into account because, logically enough, the natural tendency is to restore unity and hope to a society that feels fragmented and at the mercy of an uncertain future.

This tangle of weakness, deluded hopes and the feeling that Italy had been betrayed which found its way into the literature gradually turned into open resentment and an increasing desire for revenge, leading to the conviction that the exploits in the Fiume region should be wholeheartedly embraced. There was a solidarity of intent largely deriving from the resolute and unshakeable opinion of the enterprise voiced by Vamba and with him the editorial team comprising Fra Bombarda, Ermenegildo Pistelli, Filiberto Scarpelli and the trusty Giuseppe Fanciulli. To justify the worth of D’Annunzio’s exploits in the Fiume region, Fanciulli again proposed Mazzini’s ideological stance which he shared with Vamba (*L’Amico Ciliegia* 1919: 32):

The Italian war must not and cannot end while even one foreign flag flies on this side of the upper Alps from the mouth of the Varo to Fiume.¹⁴

These convictions within the editorial team were echoed in numerous letters from male and female subscribers who spoke of the excited mood in Fiume and did much to encourage active and passionate support from the magazine confederates for the conquest of Istria and Dalmatia. This is more than evident in a letter from Luisa Barbier (*Barbier* 1919: 21–22), an elementary school teacher and fervent irredentist (21):

¹¹ “sublime sacrificio della migliore gioventù d’Italia”.

¹² “la quarta guerra dell’indipendenza”.

¹³ “morti risuscitare, i malati ridiventare sani, [...] innumerevoli macerie che diventano [...] case e palazzi. I ladri metterebbero nelle tasche dei signori portafogli con molti denari”.

¹⁴ “La guerra italiana non deve, non può cessare finché una sola insegna straniera sventoli al di qua del cerchio superiore delle Alpi, dalle Bocche del Varo a Fiume”.

Dear Vamba, I have here next to my coffee table a small Italian flag bearing on top the words “Long live Italian Fiume” and at the bottom “Italy or death!” It’s one of the many flags that the people of Fiume carried in the procession that awarded their vote and government of the city to General Grazioli. [...] The words “Italy or death” are on thousands of lips, echo in thousands of hearts and appear on thousands of Italian flags. Men, women and children walk around town with the oath written and signed on their chests as both a challenge and a blessing: “Rather than abandon it to the enemy we shall burn down our beautiful, beloved city whose sky is so blue only because it’s an Italian sky, and whose sea is so entrancing because it’s an Italian sea. We’ll burn everything, even the Roman arch, and the Croats will be left with just a pile of ashes!”¹⁵

The two magazines reveal that irredentism was experienced as a single process of development leading from ideal, pastime and dream to incarnation in real life and the ultimate sacrifice that would be repeated with the taking of Fiume. And so past and present went live in both *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and *Il Passerotto*.

Children’s experience of irredentism during the Fiume endeavour

Gabriele D’Annunzio’s entry into Fiume at the head of some 2,600 assault troops, who had deserted their ranks to join the Poeta Vate on 12 September 1919, was reported immediately in *Il Giornalino della Domenica*. The 21 September issue carried a long article by D’Annunzio entitled “I ragazzi di Fiume” [The Young Men of Fiume] which repeated the youthful emphasis of his article in *La vedetta d’Italia* just three days before the paramilitaries entered Fiume (D’Annunzio 1919a: 1–3). Until then, Vamba had concerned himself with reporting single news items referring to the air of suspense in Fiume. Once the city had been taken he turned his attention to justifying what had happened by building on the heartfelt identification with its aims of readers and children caught up in what was happening in Fiume. D’Annunzio’s words were echoed by Vamba ... and young people in other Italian cities (*E i ragazzi delle altre città d’Italia*, Vamba 1919a: 3) who supported the optimism of the mission, regarding D’Annunzio as the custodian of beauty and goodness of heart. According to the magazine’s editor-in-chief, such values could only have “a positive outcome”.¹⁶ The unquestionable merit of the Fatherland and Justice led, logically enough, to justifying the occupation of the city as a Good Deed. Though consistent in itself, such reasoning pointed to a healthy dose of utopian idealism and naivety on Vamba’s part: separating the idea of beauty from the search for truth meant running the risk of self-referentiality and rhetorical posturing.

¹⁵ Carissimo Vamba, ho qui dinanzi al mio tavolino una piccola bandiera tricolore, in altro vi sono stampate le parole: “Viva Fiume italiana e in basso Italia o morte! È una delle numerose bandierine che i Fiumani portavano lungo il corteo che recò al Generale Grazioli il voto e il governo della città. [...] E le parole Italia o morte sono ripetute da mille bocche, trovano eco in mille cuori, sono stampate su migliaia di tricolori, e, uomini, donne, fanciulli girano per la città col giuramento scritto e fermato sul petto, come una sfida e una consacrazione: “Piuttosto che abbandonarla in mano al nemico la bruceremo, la nostra bella e cara città, il cui cielo è così azzurro solo perché è cielo italiano, il cui mare è così incantevole perché è mare italiano, bruceremo tutto, anche l’arco romano, e rimarrà in mano ai croati un sol mucchio di cenere!”

¹⁶ “che un esito di Bene”.

The readers of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* rallied round their editor and promptly drew up proposals to help the Fiume cause from a distance. In Rome, Elsa Bruscoli's idea of starting to collect money for Fiume was immediately put into practice and in the following months the motto "Fiume or death? Let Fiume live as Italian for Italy!"¹⁷ (Vamba 1919b: I) accompanied the subscription in which new and existing subscribers generously took part. The column written by L'Amico Ciliegia entitled "Da una settimana all'altra" [From One Week to Another] became another permanent direct link with Fiume, a column where "Cronache fiumane" [Fiume Cronicles] appeared (L'Amico Ciliegia 1919: 31–32).

Certainly, the eager participation of readers developed in parallel with the increasingly earnest zeal of Vamba, who produced a lengthy article on Sante Ceccherini with the evocative title, in hexameters, of "Pagine di storia bagliori di gloria" [Pages of History Ablaze with Glory] (Vamba 1919c: 1–3). A light infantry general during the First World War called by D'Annunzio to command the first Fiume division, Ceccherini enthusiastically abandoned his official role in the Italian army and swore enthusiastic allegiance to the enterprise (Franzini & Cavassini 2009: 63–66). The heroism of the father was matched by that of his son Venanzio, a ship's lieutenant in the navy. Among the first to reach Fiume, the young readers of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* affectionately referred to him as Bobby, the old guard of the nationalistic *Magazine Confederation*. The fact that he was one of them fuelled still more the heroic exaltation of the important role he played. In the following issue Sante Ceccherini wrote a trenchant letter describing D'Annunzio's magnetic power to generate enthusiasm for the enterprise and instil even in him, now a military veteran, new feelings of "Faith, Enthusiasm, Fanaticism"¹⁸ and a belief in his ability "to write [in a way] truly worthy of D'Annunzio's sublime prose, writing that would remain indelible the world over!"¹⁹ (Ceccherini 1919: I).

During the following weeks there was an air of excitement in *Il Giornalino della Domenica*. D'Annunzio himself had invited Vamba to go to Fiume because, once there, he would realise the meaning of "vita di ardore" [a life of ardour] and witness the transformation "into action of a word and a dream: the new Italy"²⁰ (D'Annunzio 1919b: III). In November 1919 Vamba did indeed go to Fiume with Giuseppe Fanciulli, his wife Efigenia (Marilù) and two subscribers from Milan, Gabriele Durante and Maria Marzola (Gallo 2008: 304–310; Vercesi 2017: 59–64). The time he spent there proved an excellent way of supplying readers with details of everyday life and the official military presence there. His highly rhetorical reportage was consistently optimistic about what was happening. The dream had become reality and every aspect of it was seen through a distorting lens. As D'Annunzio had said, Fiume was "l'Italia nuova" [the new Italy], the symbol of a future in which young people felt themselves in the forefront of efforts to change the course of events.

¹⁷ "Fiume o morte?" Viva Fiume e viva italiana per l'Italia!"

¹⁸ "Fede, Entusiasmo, Fanatismo".

¹⁹ "scrivere [...] veramente degna della sublime prosa d'annunziana, una pagina destinata a rimanere indelebile nel mondo!"

²⁰ "in atto quel che era una parola e un sogno: l'Italia nuova".

During the early months of occupation, *Il Giornalino della Domenica* demonstrated that, on numerous occasions, its young readers had played an active part in the occupation of Fiume, pointing among other things to their active participation in military operations there. Its correspondent in Rome, Fiducia (alias Ada Cagli Della Pergola) (Fava 2013c: 474–475) enthusiastically reported the distinction that Luciano Servadio – a secondary-school student just 17 years old at the Military School in Rome – had earned only a few weeks after joining the legionaries in Fiume (Fiducia 1919: 24). She concluded by stressing the exemplary merit of a generation which in her opinion would bring glory to Italy (ibid.):

Oh blessed Italian youth which sets such an example of courage, common sense, pragmatism and poise! Tell me if it is not right to expect that tomorrow's Italy will be the first among nations when today's young people do as Luciano Servadio has done!²¹

Other readers of and contributors to *Il Giornalino della Domenica* were mentioned among the young legionaries, such as Francesco Giunta who sent reports of what was happening in the occupied areas (Giunta 1919: 20–21). Another prominent voice was Bib, namely Giacomo Levi Minzi, also known as the Bibliophile of Marciano. We are told about a postcard from Fiume which ends enthusiastically with “see you soon on our victorious return”²² (L'Amico Ciliegia 1919: 31). Like many others, he believed that what was happening in Fiume was of a piece with the First World War itself. Among his ironic letters to *Il Passerotto* was one entitled “Il passerotto alla linea d'armistizio” [The Sparrow on the Armistice Line] (Il Bibliofilo Marciano 1919: 20–21) in which he imagined that, despite widespread demobilisation, the latest issue of the magazine had reached areas where the war had just ended and the magazine was still an inseparable friend.

The zeal of the young volunteers in Fiume was reported to an unusual extent in *Il Passerotto*. The words of Ermanno Scardigli give cause for reflection: in his article entitled “Da Fiume” [From Fiume] (1919: 27–28) he helped readers to understand the inspiration behind the cause as well as the affection and friendship shared by the intrepid young men. Scardigli reports the fraternal spirit in Fiume that emerged when the combatants had time to read about people they had known since childhood. They included Vamba, Bib and Beppino (i.e. Giuseppe Bertelli, Vamba's son), he too a staunch supporter of what was happening in Fiume. At the same time there is a clear sense of resolve (27):

All [...] have just one desire, one ambition, one call to arms: Italy or Death! Their enthusiasm is great, their faith unwavering. Our hopes are so strong, so unshakeable, that we have come to see them as certainties: we don't hope that Fiume will become part of Italy, we *know* that it will. That said, we know that our enemies are many, that they are fighting us with might and main: we laugh about it and feel very sure of

²¹ O benedetta la gioventù italiana, che dà tali esempi di valore, di senno, di praticità, d'equilibrio! Ditemi se non è giusto aspettarsi che l'Italia di domani sarà la prima tra le nazioni, quando i fanciulli di oggi operano come Luciano Servadio!

²² “a rivederci presto in vittorioso ritorno”.

ourselves. We have such complete faith in ourselves and all our companions that we can only pity those who are poor in spirit for the damage they do to themselves.²³

But the spirit catches fire and the tone becomes resolute, even impudent (*ibid.*):

Let the saboteurs of Victory shout all they like, vent their spleen with insults and threats, try to swell their ranks among cowards and draft dodgers, join forces against us: our consciences are clean, our hands steady, and the real Italy is on our side!²⁴

The spirit of revenge is uppermost and seemingly admits no possibility of concession or negotiation. Quite the contrary: there seems to be a telling hint at a Roman salute that, sadly enough, appears to anticipate the Fascist era to come. However, this is no isolated voice. A few months later Linfa wrote “Trieste”, an article containing personal memories of a childhood spent in Trieste in the late 19th century under “l’odiato” [hated] Hapsburg rule, considered intolerable because it seemed an insult to Italianness itself (Linfa 1920: 1–8). Memories of the prevailing mood in Trieste immediately brought to mind the situation in Fiume, described as “the latest martyr to a policy that tries in vain to crush and kill our most sacred ideals, turning them into a sort of illicit trade”.²⁵ However, discouragement is immediately followed by enthusiasm for “il grande popolo futuro” [the great people of the future] – youngsters imbued with the ideals that could turn the dream into reality (8):

The great people of the future will hail you as ours forever when, having rediscovered at last its virtuous path in life, will take it with the firm resolve never to lose it again. May the day on which this happens come soon”.²⁶

These are no longer the writings of children. Cecchino’s light heartedness and irony give way to the intensity and strongly held convictions of adolescence as dream and play give way to reality. The magazine family’s young readers believe firmly and unhesitatingly in their present, projecting themselves into a future they are determined to shape as they wish. As 1920 came to an end and the Treaty of Rapallo was signed, the Italian government laid the issue of Fiume to rest, though not without bloodshed and bitter disappointment on the part of the magazine’s young subscribers, who saw the happiness they had achieved, and had believed in for so long, vanish before their eyes.

²³ “Tutti [...] hanno una unica volontà, una sola aspirazione, un solo grido: Italia o Morte! L’entusiasmo è grande, la fede incrollabile. Le speranze nostre son così forti, così salde che assurgono per noi al grado di certezze: non si spera che Fiume verrà all’Italia ma ne abbiamo la sicurezza. Costà sono moltissimi i nemici nostri, che ci combattono con tutti i loro mezzi: noi ne ridiamo e ci sentiamo così sicuri di noi, abbiamo così piena fiducia in noi stessi e in tutti i nostri compagni che non possiamo sentire per quei poveri di spirito che un senso di commiserazione per il male che essi fanno a loro stessi.”

²⁴ “Urlino pure i sabotatori della Vittoria, si sfoghino pure a indirizzarci insulti e minacce, cerchino di allargare le loro file fra i vigliacchi e gli imboscaci, si schierino tutti contro di noi: noi abbiamo la coscienza pulita e il braccio fermo, e con noi è l’Italia vera!”

²⁵ “nuova martire di una politica che tenta vanamente di calpestare ed uccidere i nostri più santi ideali, facendo di essi un vile mercimonio”.

²⁶ “Il grande popolo futuro ti saluterà nostra per sempre quando, ritrovata finalmente la sua via luminosa, si incamminerà per essa col fermo proposito di non smarrirla mai più. E sia prossimo il giorno di un tale evento.”

To their bitter resentment of the Italian state, which in their eyes had lost credibility in itself and its diplomatic relations with other states, was added the heartache and disorientation that came with the news that the magazine's founder had died. Vamba passed away on 27 November 1920, and the absence of his charismatic, exhilarating personality marked a decisive break in the continuity of readers' shared beliefs about a future that seemed as uncertain as ever. Ermenegildo Pistelli, the editor-in-chief of *Il Passerotto* who used the pen name Omero Redi, with the piece "Congedo" informed his readers that this was the last issue of the magazine (1920: 1). Doing so clearly emphasised that the heart and soul of both magazines was Vamba himself:

When Vamba dies, the *Giornalino* and *Il Passerotto* will also die. This is the last issue. We'll be together no more. The human chain of young Italian souls has been broken.²⁷

Distress, regret and sadness are evident in the words of the young people who had lost their guide and a member of their tightly knit group. When *Il Passerotto* ceased publication, it was seen as a tangible sign of the difficulty of keeping afloat a publication written by children without the assistance of a charismatic, strong-willed adult like Vamba. *Il Giornalino della Domenica* went through several crises under the editorship of Giuseppe Fanciulli until it was sold to the publishing house Mondadori with a completely different editorial plan in 1924 (Montino 2009: 44–51).

The emergence of adult choices in the Fascist era

When Vamba disappeared, his readers eventually grew up and went out into the world, guarding in their hearts the education they had received as youngsters, the authors and books they had encountered, the length and intensity of their relationship with the two magazines, the ideals they had come into contact with, and the political and civil commitment that had been an important ingredient in the desire to build the future of the country.

All this happened because, as earlier studies of young magazine readers in the early 20th century have shown (Fava 2016a: 229–307), the thinking of middle- and upper-class Italian children was shaped by the extensive reading of periodicals that prepared them for their role as the country's ruling class from the 1920s on. This article not only bears out this thesis; it also reveals the identities of new child readers we also know about when they became adults, enabling us to see how their attitudes and thinking changed over time. Readers like Pia Addoli and Fiducia made names for themselves as children's writers, and with Lucia Maggia became key figures in advertising, as well as in school-book and child-encyclopaedia publishing, marking their cautious entry into the maze of the dominant Fascist culture. Bobby Ceccherini and his father Sante would help Mussolini to organise the March on Rome in 1922 and, more generally, the political rise of Fascism. However, an air disaster cut short Bobby's reckless young life in 1924. In a sense he stands for a futurist life briefly and intensely lived (Rochat

²⁷ Morto Vamba, morirà anche il *Giornalino*, morirà il *Passerotto*. Questo è l'ultimo numero. Non ci troveremo più insieme: è spezzato il Girotondo delle giovani anime italiane.

1979). Mental illness seems to have ruined the young life of Lincoln Landozzi, who had so eagerly celebrated the importance of the First World War as the fulfilment of the Risorgimento itself (*Inventario a cura di Beatrice Biagioli* 2017: doc. 92).

It is known that Ermanno Scardigli maintained a close working relationship with political power when General Director of the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura, and that he was brought in by Ezio Vanoni in 1942 to help restructure the balance sheet of the bank when it had gone into receivership (*Relazione Commissario straordinario* 1945: 14). Giacomo Levi Minzi, who had spent time with Scardigli in Fiume, was well known as a children's literary critic in bibliographical magazines like *La Parola e il Libro* and *Leonardo* and, more generally, for the interest in encouraging children to read he expressed in the *Bollettino delle Biblioteche Rurali* (Fava 2016a: 254, 302). However, the present research has shown that the previously mentioned Bib maintained a strong interest in Judaism in Trieste, and that it was equally interesting and justified. From 1920 until his death in 1931 he was "Secretary of the Italian Committee for the Assistance of Jewish Immigrants in Trieste". Thus, irredentism continued to fuel his actions and thinking in promoting the identity of Italian Jews, he being one himself (Centro di Documentazione Ebraica – Digital Library). Having joined D'Annunzio in Fiume, Luciano Servadio, who also had Jewish roots, embraced the Fascist cause and supported its propaganda (Rigano 2004: 88). However, the most representative example of the strong continuity between events in Fiume and the support of Fascism was Francesco Giunta. An old-guard magazine confederate and reporter on events in irredentist regions, he became a leading and much-discussed political figure during the interwar period. In 1920 he had given voice to his irredentist beliefs as Secretary of the Fascist Party in Trieste. One of the first *squadristi*, he led the Venezia Giulia fascists in the march on Rome in October 1922. Thenceforth his political rise would be speedy and extremely important: from 1923 to 1924 he was Secretary of the National Fascist Party, then a Member of Parliament and Under Secretary to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers from 1927 to 1932. Politically speaking, he was an awkward presence and after a few years was allotted more marginal positions which nonetheless allowed him to retain local control in Venezia Giulia, where he never lacked some political role or other. His role as Governor of Dalmatia and his membership of the Italian Social Republic were much debated in 1943. When the war ended, the Yugoslav government requested his extradition on the grounds of the war crimes he had committed, but without success. In Italy, too, legal proceedings against him resulted in his acquittal (Franzini 2003: 226–227).

The common thread linking the writings of some young readers of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* and *Il Passerotto* to their adult choices and situations reveals how penetrating and meaningful their readings of the magazines were. Although the fragmentary nature of their contributions precludes any accurate description of them, it is interesting that there is a certain continuity in their highly rhetorical tone that would lead to professional advancement in the Fascist movement, as well as writing of a more fantastical, ironic nature which in some cases foreshadowed independent choices that were sometimes far removed from the prevailing ideology. One specific example is

Giovanni Enriques, whose vivacious yet thoughtful prose envisaging a different kind of future marked by kindness and peace attracted notice when he was a teenager. The son of the great mathematician Federigo Enriques, as an adult he worked for many years as an engineer alongside Adriano Olivetti, making a decisive contribution to getting Olivetti's products and industrial philosophy known to the world. Enriques helped to rescue the factory in Ivrea from the threat of Nazi occupation between 1943 and 1945, while also establishing relations with the Partisan resistance to support the liberation of the country from Nazi occupation. He was a prominent liberal intellectual during the Second World War, and won distinction for his entrepreneurial and organisational skills when head of the Zanichelli publishing house and, later, the School of Management and Economics in Turin, and in the positions he held in Confindustria, the General Confederation of Italian Industry (Gerbi 2013).

Thus, studying these children's magazines enables us to retrace not only the education the readers received but also their personal inclinations and aptitudes, i.e. how they shaped their own intellectual growth by envisaging, while still very young, their future roles in the country as adults. It also draws attention to the unsolved problems inherent in the kind of education they received, problems that created wounds which Fascist ideology, among other things, would be quick to exploit.

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Talijanski čitatelji *Il Giornalino della Domenica* i *Il Passerotto* između Prvoga svjetskoga rata i riječkoga pitanja (Slobodne Države Rijeke)

Dječji časopisi ranoga 20. stoljeća važan su dio razvoja dječje književnosti, ne samo zbog književne produkcije, nego i zbog načina na koje mlade čitatelje poučavaju čitanju. U ovome se radu istražuju gledišta književnih tekstova i konkretnih čitatelja tjednika *Il Giornalino della Domenica* i mjesečnika *Il Passerotto*, posebice s obzirom na teme intervencionizma i iredentizma o kojima su razmišljali i snivali mnogi pretplatnici tih časopisa. Do Prvoga svjetskoga rata, ideja ujedinjenja iredentističkih područja zabilježena je u fantastičnim i humorističnim tekstovima, ali je vrhunac iredentizma dosegnut tijekom aktualizacije riječkoga pitanja. Taj je dugogodišnji predratni san dao glas buntovništvu cijele generacije mladih ljudi koji su odrastali žudeći za svršetkom epskoga pokreta za ujedinjenjem Italije (tal. *Risorgimento*). Odrastajući, bili su uvjereni da će taj ishod sadržajem dvaju časopisa prenijeti novim generacijama mladih čitatelja. Analiza tih časopisa omogućila je rekonstrukciju postojanosti i promjena koje su oblikovale intelektualni rast dječjih čitatelja i predviđanje njihovih izbora u odrasloj dobi, od kojih su neki imali dramatične posljedice.

Ključne riječi: dječja književnost, povijest odgoja i obrazovanja, dječji časopisi, mladi čitatelji, Prvi svjetski rat, 20. stoljeće

Italienische Leser des *Il Giornalino della Domenica* und des *Il Passerotto* zwischen dem ersten Weltkrieg und der Frage des Status von Rijeka

Die Kinderzeitschriften des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts setzen einen Grundstein in der Entwicklung der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, und zwar in Bezug auf die literarische Produktion selbst und bezogen auf die Art und Weise wie Kindern das Lesen vermittelt wurde. Diese Arbeit untersucht die Standpunkte literarischer Texte und konkreter Leser der Wochenzeitschrift *Il Giornalino della Domenica* und der Monatszeitschrift *Il Passerotto* und zwar besonders hinsichtlich der Themen Interventionismus und Irredentismus, welche die Überlegungen und Träume zahlreicher Abonnenten jener Zeitschriften kennzeichneten. Bis zum ersten Weltkrieg wurde die Idee der Vereinigung irredentistischer Gebiete in fantastischen und humoristischen Texten festgehalten, doch seinen Höhepunkt erreichte der Irredentismus zur Zeit der Aktualisierung der Frage nach dem Status von Rijeka. Dieser langjährige Traum, noch aus der Vorkriegszeit stammend, ließ die Revolte einer ganzen Generation junger Menschen zur Sprache kommen, die mit der Sehnsucht nach einem Abschluss dieser epischen Bewegung der Vereinigung Italiens (*Risorgimento*) aufwuchsen. Als junge Erwachsene waren sie überzeugt diesen Ausgang mittels der zwei Zeitschriften auch den neuen Generationen junger Leser nahelegen zu können. Die Analyse dieser Zeitschriften ermöglicht uns zum einen die Beständigkeit und zum anderen die Veränderungen, welche die intellektuelle Entwicklung der jungen Leser formten, zu rekonstruieren, sowie Voraussagen über deren Entscheidungen als Erwachsene zu treffen, von denen manche dramatische Folgen nach sich ziehen würden.

Schlüsselwörter: Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, Geschichte der Erziehung und Bildung, Kinderzeitschriften, junge Leser, Erster Weltkrieg, 20. Jahrhundert