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Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, His Educational Work, Ideas and Contributions

Maria Korkatsch-Groszko

Loyola University Chicago

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VITA

The author, Maria Korkatsch-Groszko is the daughter of Constantine Korkatsch and Anastasia (Baranik) Korkatsch. She was born September 1, 1950, in Berazatequi, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Her elementary education was obtained at St. Nicholas Elementary School, Chicago, Illinois, and secondary education at Madonna High School, Chicago, Illinois, where she graduated in 1968.

In September, 1968, she entered the University of Illinois at Circle Campus, Chicago, Illinois and in June, 1972, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Sciences in the teaching of Spanish. In September, 1972, she entered Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois, and received the degree of Master of Arts in Spanish Literature and Culture in June, 1975. In September, 1975, she entered Loyola University of Chicago, and was awarded the Master of Education in Historical Foundations of Education in August, 1977.

She has had nine years of teaching experience at the elementary, secondary, and higher education levels. Presently, she is employed as an Assistant Professor of Elementary Education and Bilingual-Bicultural Studies at Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois.
INTRODUCTION

Throughout his life, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was an advocate of public education. His main educational innovations were inspired by American precedents, and he never ceased to marvel at the tremendous productivity of the United States, spurred on by the North American interest in education, in books, in democracy and democratic institutions. Stimulated by Horace Mann, Sarmiento advocated a new emphasis in Latin America in the direction of extended public education involving the largest and neediest number of pupils, rather than on higher education, which would benefit a more prosperous and self-sufficient segment of the population. He was convinced that reform was essential. He devoted his energies to the propagation and diffusion of "whatever might be of interest to perfect and improve our institutions and further our moral and material progress, spending on books, memoirs, and whatever should be useful to further this purpose. . . ."¹

Sarmiento was able to grasp the problems which would face the Americas in the twenty-first century. His foresight often made him obnoxious to his contemporaries,

set in the Hispanic tradition and unwilling to make changes. His merits include that of being a self-made man that became president, boundless energy, unlimited enthusiasm, faith in his country and in the people's ability to solve national problems. His shortcomings are derived from his excessive optimism, his tendency to seek easy answers, and his enthusiasm to experiment.

In spite of occasional setbacks, he was able to implement social legislation in Chile and Argentina furthering land reform, public instruction, immigration, and the acceptance of international, rather than national, guidelines. He is among the first in Latin America to evince a lasting interest in all that furthers sociological and economic growth.
CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was born on February 15, 1811, in San Juan, Argentina, the son of José Clemente Sarmiento, and of Paula Albarracín. The family combined in it the various traditions that went to create his historical circumstances. His father's family was an integral part of the history of the Spanish conquest and settlement of this region of the world. The Quiroga-Sarmientos had figured in the conquest of Chile. The third generation of descendants of the family included many of the outstanding and distinguished figures of early Argentine and Chilean history. The maternal side of Sarmiento's heritage traces back to a Moorish family of the twelfth century, Al Ben Razin. This family became Christian and assumed the name of Albarracín. In the New World, centuries later, the Albarracín family assumed a position of prominence in the foundation of San Juan. Bernardino Albarracín was a mayor of San Juan in its later colonial period, and his son Cornelio Albarracín-Balmaceda owned half of the Zonda Valley. However, illness had depleted the family's resources and Sarmiento's mother's inheritance was little. Being an industrious woman, Sarmiento's mother worked in weaving fine woolens for
religious orders. In addition to the weaving of these clothes, she made laces, crinolines, jerseys, and a variety of needlework used to trim women's clothes, and sacred vestments. She knew every kind of knitting and was an expert in the art of dyeing.\(^1\) She had saved the money she earned for the construction of the home that was to house a new family. In 1801, doña Paula Albarracín, with two slaves of her Irrazabal aunts, began the foundations of the house she was to occupy upon forming a new family. Under one of the fig trees that she had inherited on her land, she established her weaving shop and from there helped the laborers and carpenters who were building the little house. On Saturdays she would sell the cloth made during the week and would pay the laborers with the results of her labor.

On November 21, 1801, Paula Albarracín married José Clemente Sarmiento-Funes. Together they had fifteen children, nine of whom had died in childbirth. On November 15, 1811, before the arrival of a midwife Doña Paula gave birth to the only surviving son (the other survivors were his sisters). The child was baptized by the name of Faustino Valentín Sarmiento. In history he is known by the


\(^2\)Ricardo Rojas, El pensamiento vivo de Sarmiento (Buenos Aires: La Facultad, 1941), pp. 18-19.
name he assumed from the family saint, Saint Dominic, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.

Don Clemente aided very little in the support of his family. Domingo did not find as much to learn from the example of his father as he had from his mother. When Doña Paula married Don Clemente, he was "an elegant youth of a family declining like her own, to whom she brought as a dowry the chain of privations and miseries in which long years of her life had been spent."¹ Doña Paula seems to have realized the failings of her husband even before she married him, but, she let no obstacle stand in her way. She knew that Don Clemente was lazy and impractical. She waited until she had finished the building of her house before she married him. She had a home for her family, and had learned skills that would insure her a livelihood in spite of any contingencies.

From his father, Sarmiento received a heritage of poverty and untruthfulness.² Don Clemente was never able to settle down to any steady life or any permanent pursuit. At times he worked as a laborer on nearby farms. At other times he was a muleteer and was absent from his home for many months on long journeys across the Andes to

¹Manuel Galvez, *La vida de Sarmiento: el hombre de autoridad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Tor, 1945), p. 64.
Chile. He seldom returned with any cash or any contributions to support his family, for what he had earned he spent carelessly before returning to San Juan. However, Don Clemente found a way to express his more positive virtues in times of crisis. In spite of the shortcomings, he was a romantic idealist, and he found in the slogans of the revolution for independence the meaning for his life. He became a soldier of the Army of the Andes under General José de San Martin. This increased his prestige and reputation as a patriot, but when the wars were over his record helped him little. He spent much of his life recounting the exploits. Domingo listened to these tales and was fascinated. From them he learned the same patriotism and devotion to the services of his country. Domingo never spoke of his father except in terms of the most genuine admiration—"My father was a good man who has nothing more notable in his life than having given some service in a subordinate capacity in the wars of independence."¹ He was devoted to his father and saw only his best features. The father, conversely, put a great deal of hope and love in his dreams for the future of his son who seemed to show unusual promise. Don Clemente taught Domingo to read all that he could obtain, and spared no effort in trying to

secure for his son the best education obtainable under the circumstances in which they found themselves.

Doña Paula had little time for schooling or learning. She had been forced to apply herself to the practical tasks of making a livelihood for herself and her children, but near illiteracy did not detract from her character. Domingo said

Not withstanding her lack of mental training, her soul and her conscience had been better educated than they could have been by the greatest learning. I have watched her act under the impact of varied and repeated difficulties and never once have I seen her untrue to herself. Never has she weakened or temporized even under conditions which would have made concessions to life excusable. I must here trace the development of the high moral ideas that formed my growing years. . . . Blessed are the poor that have had such a mother.1

Sarmiento's environment was not a particularly promising one--"I was born in an ignorant and backward province. . . . I was born into a family that had lived for many years in a state of mediocrity very close to indigence."2 It was his mother who was most important in overcoming these forces. She taught him industry. He learned never to be idle, to take advantage of every moment to learn and to act. She taught him a strength of character, a determination and a will, that he demonstrated throughout his life. She taught him a comforting religion,

1Grummon, pp. 57-58
2Recuerdos de provincia, p. 6.
a belief in the ultimate solution of all problems by a kind Providence.¹

Educational opportunities in San Juan during Sarmiento's childhood were few. However, he entered school at a very early age. In 1816 the Buenos Aires Governor sent two brothers to San Juan with the idea that they would start the first school in San Juan—Ignacio and José Genaro Rodriguez. They founded the little Escuela de la Patria (School of the Homeland), and here the five-year old Sarmiento enrolled as one of the first students. Here Sarmiento learned reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, and the rudiments of religion.² Between 1816 and 1824 he never missed a day of attendance, and proved to be a good and receptive student. He was the best pupil in class, and the "Primer ciudadano" (First Citizen) in the school. He was fortunate in having outstanding teachers such as the Rodriguez brothers. They taught him the fundamental intellectual tools, as well as some valuable lessons on the art and techniques of education. They taught him to detest the educational methods that had been carried on

¹Ibid., pp. 141-42.
³Recuerdos de provincia, p. 7.
from the colonial period and taught him to experiment. \(^1\)

Sarmiento's mother had planned for him to be a priest. He spent his entire life reading and learning the Bible. He seemed to have had a religious vocation in mind and many of his childhood activities pointed in that direction. He did not occupy himself with the usual boyhood pursuits—"I never knew how to spin a top, bounce a ball, fly a kite, nor to play any of the infantile games to which I was never attracted during my childhood. . . ."\(^2\) He spent much of his time helping his uncle Quiroga-Sarmiento with his church services. He liked to make clay figures of saints and became very skilled at this art. On Sundays, Sarmiento played with a group of friends pretending to be a priest and to hold Mass.

But as time went on, the religious interests disappeared, and even school began to bore him. At the age of nine, Sarmiento joined a gang of local ruffians. It was with this group that he demonstrated his powers of leadership and courage, particularly in an encounter with an opposing group.\(^3\) At the age of ten, Sarmiento became conscious of the politics of Argentina, as Argentina suf-

\(^1\)Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Sarmiento (Buenos Aires: Facultad, 1946), p. 19.


\(^3\)Grummon, pp. 86-88.
fered political chaos and a civil war. Revolutionary armies marched and countermarched from the Andes to the pampa, to Buenos Aires, and the little town of San Juan could not escape the effects of these events.

Following the period of chaos, Martín Rodríguez was elected governor of Buenos Aires and a powerful landowner, Juan Manuel de Rosas, helped him to restore order and peace with his own private gaucho army. Rodríguez's minister of state, Bernardino Rivadavia, inaugurated many reforms from his ministerial position. He was attempting to impose a government by law on the Argentine Republic, and in order to prepare people for such a way of life he was planning to educate them.

On January 2, 1823, Rivadavia issued a proclamation—

The education, clothing and maintenance of six young men from each one of the territories, that are now under independent government but were formerly part of the nation, will be paid for in schools of this country.

In San Juan lots were drawn to see which of the top ten students would qualify, and Sarmiento's name was not chosen. His dreams for a higher and better education were not fulfilled. His father petitioned the governor in the hope that Sarmiento would be placed in some school, but the plea was not considered.¹

¹J. Guillermo Guerra, Sarmiento, su vida y su
On September 9, 1823, José Novarro became the new governor, and assumed dictatorial powers to restore order to the province. One of his first moves was to exile the outstanding leaders of the recent revolt, among them the Rodriguez brothers and Sarmiento's uncle, José de Oro. The Escuela de la Patria had to close, cutting all instruction and learning from Sarmiento. However, at this time, Sarmiento was an assistant and apprentice to Victor Barreau, a French engineer, who had been commissioned to draw a plan of the city of San Juan. Sarmiento learned much about engineering and surveying.

José de Oro, a priest who was related to Domingo on both sides of his family, was the third source of instruction for Sarmiento. When José de Oro left San Juan for exile, he asked his nephew whether he would like to accompany him. Sarmiento accepted his uncle's invitation. Together they traveled across the mountains into the province of San Luis. Don José taught Domingo Latin and, in a very thorough manner, the teachings of the Bible. Here Domingo spent his time organizing a school. He taught all the young people from the surrounding countryside. Some students were much older than Sarmiento. Domingo learned not only about books but also about life. With Don José, obra (Santiago de Chile: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1938), pp. 20-21.
they taught the people of the area to cultivate flowers and vegetables. In regards to his uncle, Sarmiento states that

My intelligence was molded beneath the impression of his. To him I owe my instincts for public life, my love of liberty and country, and my consecration to the study of the affairs of my nation, away from which neither poverty nor exile nor absence for many years could distract me.¹

In mid-1827, Sarmiento's father had persuaded governor Sanchez of the province of Buenos Aires to send Domingo to study at the Colegio de Ciencias Morales (College of Moral Science). Sarmiento had to leave his uncle and return to San Juan. When he returned home, Sanchez was overthrown and Manuel Gregorio Quiroga, one of Facundo's underlings was governor of San Juan. Facundo was the most terrible gaucho of them all. Sarmiento was disappointed. There was no future for him in San Juan. There was no school and no peaceful life—only war and chaos. His aunt Angela Salcedo had a country store, and Domingo chose the job of managing it as his first course in life in 1827. It was not an occupation suited to his temperament or abilities, but this became his work. However, most of his time was spent reading works such as The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Rousseau's Social Contract, Paley's Evidence of Christianity, and Middleton's Life of Cicero. From his readings he obtained the idea of a rationally

¹Recuerdos de provincia, p. 70.
ordered and understandable universe. However, around himself he saw chaos.

However, Sarmiento's readings were not the only influence working upon the sixteen-year old. His learning process was varied. With his uncle, Juan Pascual Albarracín, he discussed Scriptures. At the same time, he attended sermons given by a fiery priest, Ignacio Castro Barros, who preached violently against the unitarian regime and the liberal reforms that it was instituting in Buenos Aires, many of which were opposed by the Catholic Church because they were borrowed from the French Revolution. Sarmiento wrote that Barros planted in his soul the first seeds of religious doubt and hatred of fanaticism and superstition.¹

In 1828 governor Quiroga needed recruits to defend the government and named Sarmiento sub-lieutenant of a battalion of provincial militia. Because this commission interfered with his work in his aunt's store, Domingo wrote a letter of resignation. Sarmiento was placed under arrest and was brought for a hearing before the governor. The governor ordered Sarmiento to be jailed on charges of insubordination. Sarmiento was brought to trial before a court martial. The court, involved with more important matters dismissed the case. Sarmiento's thinking changed

¹Ibid., p. 175.
while he was in jail. He entered into jail as a federalist and came out a unitarian. Sarmiento's idea was simple—fight the "caudillo," and educate the masses. During this time he studied French with the aid of a dictionary. In 1831, Facundo Quiroga triumphed and Sarmiento and other hundreds of unitarians fled for their lives into Chile.

In Chile Sarmiento had to seek employment. He could not depend upon support from his family. By chance, the local school, Escuela Municipal (Municipal School), needed a teacher. Domingo's self-education and a little teaching experience qualified him for the position. Teaching was not a particularly honored or respected vocation in Chile. Sarmiento decided to give the teaching profession a new importance and gain respect for it. His salary was 13 pesos per month. The school was one room in a humble house on the main square of the town. It was limited to teaching reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. However, Sarmiento was not going to be limited by the school routine. He had read much about the experimental European educational systems. He adopted the new Lancasterian method of teaching. In teaching reading, he substituted the syllabic method for the old letter-for-letter spelling. He objected to the books of religious fables and descriptions of hell that seemed to him to

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1 Guerra, pp. 44-45.
confuse and disturb the children's minds rather than to clarify and rationalize them. He proposed to leave false information and to substitute for it the latest scientific and human thought. When the progressive reforms caused disagreement with the local governor, Sarmiento was dismissed.

In 1832, Sarmiento and his father moved to the small town of Pocura, in southern Chile. The little town had no school for the local children, and Sarmiento started a small private school. Since the income was low, Sarmiento decided to open a "bodegón" (alehouse) in the village. He not only taught young men but also young women of his own age and younger. He brought color to his classes with tales of his campaigns in San Juan. One girl was attracted to Sarmiento and a love affair evolved, which resulted in Sarmiento's fathering his first daughter, Emilia Faustina.

In 1833, Sarmiento moved to Valparaiso, where he took on the job of a store clerk. Here he studied English under Henry Richard. With the discovery of silver in northern Chile, Sarmiento joined the rush and left for Huasco, and then to Copiapó and Chanarcillo. Within two years, Sarmiento became a foreman in the El Colorado mine.

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1 Augusto Belín Sarmiento, Sarmiento anecdótico (Saint Cloud: n.p., 1929), pp. 9-10.
However, Sarmiento continued his studies. He read Sir Walter Scott. In moments of leisure, he made drawings of animals and birds for his companions and taught French to some of the younger miners. It was during this time that Sarmiento wrote his first work on a project to colonize the Valley of the Colorado River, in southern Chile, with immigrants from San Juan and Mendoza, Argentina, since it was suitable as an agricultural region.\(^1\)

Sarmiento spent three years in the Chilean mining town. In 1836 Sarmiento fell victim to typhoid fever, which was aggravated by melancholy and overexertion. His friends successfully obtained permission from the new federalist Governor Benavidez to allow the exiled Sarmiento (presumed to be dying) to return to San Juan.

After returning to San Juan, Sarmiento recovered from his illness and continued to look for something to occupy him. He taught drawing to some of the local children. Later he earned some money defending lawsuits in the local courts. At this time, he became a close friend of Manuel Quiroga-Rosas who had just returned to San Juan full of the new ideas of the French literary and philosophical world. Rosas brought back with him a library of the best of the contemporary European authors: Villemain and Schegel; Guizot, Lerminier, Jouffroi, and Cousin;

\(^1\)Grummond, p. 95.
Pierre Leroux; and the works of Descartes, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Diderot; and the "Revue encyclopedique."\(^1\) At Rosas's home he met a group of young men who gathered for discussions. Sarmiento and this group organized a theatrical society known as the Dramatic Philharmonic Society of San Juan. Sarmiento also edited newspapers, manuscripts and wrote verses.\(^2\) His romantic subject matter and images recall such contemporary European writers as Lord Byron and Lamartine.

In 1839, Sarmiento started a school, Colegio de Santa Rosa, and a newspaper—"El Zonda." This gave him a means of expression. The newspaper circulated for only six weeks. The last issue states: "Item: I declare that although I am not married, I recognize as my legitimate sons all country newspapers that might appear in the nation, for to me they owe their origin."\(^3\)

In 1840, Sarmiento journeyed to Chile. He visited schools in the area of San Felipe de Aconcagua, especially the schools for girls, and he found many Chilean schools were superior to those in Argentina. He bought books, drawing materials and other things for the school. Also,

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 96.


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 120.
Don José Calle of Santiago, Chile, informed him that the newspaper of that city "El Mercurio," would publish his articles.\(^1\) Sarmiento devoted himself to finishing the first school year of his Colegio de Santa Rosa, as the political situation was growing worse. A showdown between unitarists and federalists was inevitable in the western provinces of Argentina. All unitarists were ordered to be arrested. Sarmiento, around whom the group of these oppositionist intellectuals was beginning to center, was the only one who remained in San Juan to face the federalist wrath, and was imprisoned on charges of conspiracy against the government. In an effort to save Sarmiento from a lynch mob, Governor Benavidez decided to exile him to Chile, where he remained until 1845, when he departed to Europe. Within four years he became one of Chile's outstanding journalists for "El Mercurio" and editor of "El Nacional," writing about everything from spelling to political theory. At this time, he also wrote one of South America's greatest books—Facundo. Sarmiento became a great pedagogue as well, and gained the reputation of a relentless fighter and crusader. He continued reading, writing and experimenting. In Chile, Sarmiento's ideas took form and matured. Sarmiento maintained his interests in educational matters. His writings on education attracted

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 125.
so much attention that he was named to a commission by the national authorities of Chile to propose a plan for a normal school for teacher training. This was the second such school to be established in the Western Hemisphere, that of Horace Mann having been opened in 1841, two years earlier. In 1843, when the school opened, he was invited to become its first president. For two years Sarmiento taught several courses, wrote textbooks for use in the school and also continued to write for the local press.

During this time, the enlightened and progressive Manual Montt headed the Chilean educational system. Montt believed the education of Chile's masses was necessary as one of the solutions of the country's problems. Even in Chile, news of the systems of primary education in Europe and the United States had reached Montt who decided to send a commission to visit the schools of these foreign countries. Offered this commission, Sarmiento accepted without hesitation and left Chile in 1845 to spend the greater part of the next three successive years abroad—in Spain, Italy, France, Germany and England; and the United States, Canada, and Africa. Sarmiento studied how to improve, modernize, and civilize his country so that it would live up to the best European tradition. What impressed him most was the ability of a new country like the United States to overcome its newness and mold for
itself an enviable future. If Latin America could emulate the American success story, the Americas could reach beyond Europe's fondest dreams and achieve cultural and economic success.

When in London, Sarmiento read a book written two years earlier by Horace Mann, who had been in Europe on a commission similar to his. After he read the book, Sarmiento was exceedingly eager to know the educator and departed for the United States. In Massachusetts he spent three days with Horace Mann and his wife. He had studied English but though he read it well, he was not fluent in speaking so Mrs. Mann acted as his interpreter by translating his French to her husband. Sarmiento was greatly impressed by the advance in education which the United States had made and he was amazed by the relatively high level of literacy. Sarmiento traveled westward through the Central States and went down to New Orleans on an Ohio-Mississippi River steamer.¹

As a result of his observations, Sarmiento published his report in 1848 under the title Informes sobre educación (Essays on Education) which was a plea for universal education and schools. Though all the recommendations were not implemented immediately, eventually

they were incorporated in the school systems of both Chile and Argentina with the result that these two countries are the best organized and advanced in South America.¹

In 1848, Sarmiento married Benita Martinez-Pastoriza, the widow of his friend Castro y Calvo at whose house he had been a guest. Upon marrying her, he bestowed his name Domingo Fidel upon her boy, the young Dominguito, whom he raised as a son.

Sarmiento spent the next two years working on his Viajes por Europa, Africa, America (Travels Through Europe, Africa, America), Educación popular (Popular Education), the translation of a French manual of popularized physics, and an ancient history text. His contributions to La Crónica and La Tribuna were frequent. He also published El consejero del pueblo (The People's Advisor) an organ promoting his friend Montt's candidacy for the nation's highest office. In his rural home he gave Recuerdos de provincia (Recollections of a Province) its final touch, writing for his own publication, Sud America.²

In the meantime, his friend Montt had become President of Chile. He made Sarmiento director of primary education and entrusted him with the editing of a

¹Ibid., p. 34.
monthly periodical, *El monitor de las escuelas* (The School Monitor), which gave Sarmiento an opportunity to print and distribute widely his views on education. As director he was also able to effect some improvements in education.

While exiled in Chile, Sarmiento attempted to return to Argentina and join in the battle to overthrow the dictator, Juan M. Rosas but found that he differed with General J. J. Urquiza who was elected president of Argentina in 1853, in his new policies. Sarmiento decided to remain in Chile.

In 1855, Sarmiento again felt that he might return to Argentina so he completed his business affairs in Chile and crossed the Andes. Sarmiento was offered the opportunity to return and proceed to Buenos Aires where he engaged in his favorite activities, as he became managing editor of the leading newspaper *El Nacional* (The National), Director of the Department of Education, and senator. He was now in a position to carry out his sociological and agricultural theories. At the same time he was promoting the introduction of railroads, which had contributed in such a large measure to the development of the United States, and had the pleasure of witnessing their inauguration in 1855.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 18-19.
Argentina had taken a position on the question of centralism or federalism in the government. All wondered what Sarmiento's stand would be. Sarmiento rose above the division by saying that first of all he was an Argentine, and spent the next few years trying to incorporate Buenos Aires into the federation and close the gap between city and country. These conflicts between city and country were to bring Argentina to the brink of civil war, as when in 1861 a rift developed over the election of delegates. Buenos Aires seceded from the nation and its army under General Bartolomé Mitre defeated Urquiza in the famous battle of Pavón in 1862.

In 1862 Sarmiento was made governor of his home province. Here he continued his projects of education and advancing his people, and his was one of the most progressive governments the province ever had. His accomplishments were many. He established schools, hospitals, and sanitariums, built roads, planned cities; he organized the administration of justice in the province; he brought about a new election law to prevent fraud and produce a more democratic system.

It was only after Bartolomé Mitre's election to the Presidency in 1862 that Sarmiento's ambitions for the unification of his country were to be realized. This should have ended Sarmiento's problems, except that his
relations with Mitre did not remain cordial. Many of his 
enemies concluded that Sarmiento was incapable of forming 
long-term friendly relations because he was a loner. How­
ever, Sarmiento's troubles stemmed directly from his hand­
ling of the incident of "El Chacho," who fought against him 
while he was governor of San Juan and whom he ordered 
killed. Although Sarmiento tried to justify his motives, 
they never seemed clear to his enemies. As a result, 
Mitre wanted Sarmiento kept at a safe distance. After 
sending him on brief missions to Chile and Perú, Mitre 
appointed Sarmiento as Ambassador to the United States. 
Although this would have been an honor, Sarmiento was 
aware that Mitre feared him as a competitor. Upon con­
gratulating Mitre at becoming President, Sarmiento casually 
suggested that he would be the next president. In 1864, 
Sarmiento set out for the United States arriving at his 
destination in May, 1865, one month after the death of 
Abraham Lincoln. Upon his second trip to the United 
States, his friend Horace Mann was also dead. Neverthe­
less, Sarmiento spent three years in the United States re­
newing old friendships. While in the United States, he 
wrote Las escuelas, base de la prosperidad y de la re­
pública en los EE.UU. and El Chacho, and founded the mag­
azine Las Américas. He attended national educational con­
ventions and delivered public addresses. He was awarded
the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Michigan.  

En route on his return to Argentina, Sarmiento's ambition was realized. In Rio de Janeiro, on October 11, 1868, he learned that he had been elected President of Argentina.

Sarmiento was President of Argentina from 1868-1874. Education, immigration, industrial and agricultural development were his chief concerns. At his request, Mrs. Mary Mann selected several young men and women to go to Argentina to staff schools. Sarmiento founded an astronomical observatory in Córdoba, the first such institution in the Southern Hemisphere. Sarmiento's presidency epitomizes the predominance of bourgeois values in Argentina. His presidency marked the advent of the middle, or land-owning classes as the pivot power of the nation. The age of the "gauchito" had ended, the age of the merchant and cattleman had begun.

In bringing about the transition from a primarily agricultural economy to a city-centered industrial one, Sarmiento accomplished a great task. What was less than presidential was the way that he editorialized against his adversaries, especially Mitre. Sarmiento made a habit to counter each editorial appearing against him in La Nación

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1 Patton, p. 35.  
2 Bunkley, p. 449.
Argentina with a series of powerful articles of his own. His personal politics began to antagonize both friends and opponents, especially those of his supporters who had failed to be nominated for offices they had expected.¹

Also, Sarmiento's policy had become unpopular on two fronts. The people resented his war against Francisco Solano-Lopez, whom he considered a partisan of barbarism, and were equally appalled at his refusal to secure from Chile the coast of the Straits of Magellan. The Paraguayan war severely depleted his budget. However, Sarmiento fought this war as the inevitable corollary of the theory of civilization against barbarism. Historians argue that the war was won. Brazil was awarded large sums of money and Argentina acquired territorial rights for its new railroads.²

Sarmiento's domestic problems were quite stormy also. In this area his actions were ruled by his theory of civilization as a policing force against barbarism. This was brought out during a personality clash in San Juan. Sarmiento was always deeply concerned with hometown affairs, especially in 1868 when an opponent by the name of Videla was trying to unseat Governor Zavalla. When

¹Crowley, p. 20.
Videla won and Zavalla was deposed, Sarmiento declared martial law. One of Videla's friends who had opposed Sarmiento's interference in what he considered local elections, lost his life to the consternation of Mitre and his followers, who considered such actions unconstitutional. The fighter against barbarism himself gave in to the actions for which he blamed the uncivilized gaucho—"He instituted the government to transform the 'gaucho,' but many elements of his governing reveal a 'gaucho' intent."\(^1\)

Sarmiento's problems were many: a lack of sufficient political followers, an increase in expenditures, an outbreak of yellow fever in 1874; foreigners (especially Italians) were blamed for the existing problems; Mitre and his followers were fighting against his program in Congress. In 1874 Sarmiento was forced to declare a state of siege and on October 12 he found himself handing over the Presidency to his former Minister of Education, Nicholas Avellaneda.

In spite of his conducting politics on a personal level and protesting about the dictatorial actions of others, Sarmiento still managed to gain the admiration and allegiance of others during his administration. Primary school enrollments jumped from 30,000 to over 100,000 with the introduction of compulsory school attendance and of

\(^1\)Bunkley, p. 471.
travelling teachers. The concept of special schools for the handicapped and retarded was first introduced. American-trained teachers were invited to open a model school in Córdoba. Translations of American texts and manuals were promptly commissioned. Colleges were founded, libraries expanded. College libraries were opened for the first time to the public and night courses were featured. New agricultural experimental stations and training centers were opened and large grants were made available for educational development. In 1869 Sarmiento introduced the first census. He opened the door to immigration. Sarsfield introduced the telegraph. Railroads were built from Córdoba to Tucuman, while road and bridge construction was progressing rapidly during his administration.

After his loss of the Presidency, Sarmiento undertook the supervision of the planning of the parks in Buenos Aires. In 1875 he became director of the schools of Buenos Aires, editing for them the paper Educación común (Common Education). After a brief try at the Office of Minister of Education, he returned to the schools. In 1879 he again became a presidential candidate and was defeated. Two years later he returned to the schools as National General Superintendent. When he retired from this office in 1882, he began to prepare for publication of his Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América
(Conflicts and Harmony of Races in America). Lectures took him to Montevideo and to Chile. In 1886 he published Muñiz, Vida de Dominguito (Life of Dominguito), and Condicción del extranjero en América (Condition of the Foreigner in America).

Invited by the neighboring nations, Sarmiento travelled to Paraguay, which made him an honorary citizen and gave him land where he could settle in that country. His friends convinced him to build a home of his own. Sarmiento personally watched the builders at work. Water was located on the land, and a well was dug out. However, on September 11, 1888, in Asunción, Paraguay, at the moment when he was finally ready to settle down and cease his battles, a fatal heart attack took his life. His remains were brought to Buenos Aires for final burial. His works were published at government expense four years prior to his death.
CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF THE EDUCATOR

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was a clerk, journalist, bartender, miner, ambassador, provincial legislator, cabinet minister, governor, national senator, and president of Argentina. However educational aspects of his life and career have often been ignored. Known as the "Schoolmaster President," his involvement and interest in education came quite early in life.

When Jose Navarro became governor of San Juan in 1823, he exiled the Argentine leaders and intellectuals. Among these were the Rodriguez brothers and Sarmiento's uncle, José de Oro. In San Francisco del Monte in the province of San Luis, Chile, Don José and Sarmiento established a school. The curriculum mainly dealt with agriculture. Sarmiento was involved with the school from 1824 to 1827. In 1827, he returned to San Juan, Argentina, to attend the Colegio de Ciencias Morales (School of Moral Sciences). His dream was not realized when Sarmiento was again forced into exile in 1831.

While in Los Andes, Chile, in 1831, the local school required a teacher and Sarmiento needed employment. Though the school's curriculum was limited to reading, writing,
and basic arithmetic, Sarmiento was not going to be restricted by this. Borrowing from the experimental educational systems of Europe he adopted the new Lancasterian system. In teaching reading he substituted the syllabic approach for the old letter-for-letter spelling. He introduced the latest literature in scientific and human thought. Some of the books that seemed to confuse and disturb children's minds, such as religious fables and descriptions of hell, were eliminated. At this point the local government also eliminated his employment.

While in Chile, he continued to read the latest European writers. He read the Romantic dramatists and reviewed their plays. He read the French philosophers of history and applied their methods to his problems. He read the latest treatises on educational theory, and he used the ideas that he derived from these for his educational experiments. When he later wrote about these days of intense intellectual activity in Chile, he described how he carried in his pocket the works of the sociologist, Pierre Leroux; of the political observer, De Tocqueville; and of the historian and statesman, Guizot.

With the discovery of silver in northern Chile in 1833, Sarmiento joined the rush and moved northward. While working in the mines, he continued to read and study. In moments of leisure, he made drawings of birds and animals for his companions and gave Spanish and French lessons to
some of the younger miners. Sarmiento spent three years in the Chilean mining town of Copiapó.¹

In 1836, ill with typhoid fever, Sarmiento returned to San Juan. After his recovery, he taught drawing to some of the children of the town, and earned extra money with the defense of some law suits. At this time, Sarmiento became a close friend of Manuel Quiroga Rosas, who just returned from Europe with a library of the best of the contemporary European authors. He read the literary criticism of Blair, Villemain, and Schlegel; Thiers and other French historians who offered a new philosophy of history derived from Vico and Herder; the poetry of Byron, Lamartine, and Hugo; and the drama of Dumas, Delavigne, Ducange, and Scribe. He continued his study of languages, and his readings in French and English improved his knowledge of these languages but did not perfect it. At Rosas's home he met a group of young men who gathered for discussions, and with them organized a theatrical society known as the Sociedad Dramático-Filarmónica de San Juan (Dramatic-Philharmonic Society of San Juan). This group put on amateur performances, dances, soirees, that became central events in the social life of San Juan.²

Following his teaching experiences in Chile, having read the European authors, having learned French and

¹Grummon, p. 95.   ²Bunkley, pp. 190-91.
English, Sarmiento established the Colegio de Santa Rosa for girls in 1839. Sarmiento gave much importance to the education of women, since he felt that they are responsible for the education of the human race. The school was started in a monastery of the order of Santa Rosa, upon the recommendation of the priest, Justo de Oro, Sarmiento's uncle. The curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, French, Italian, drawing, music, dance, domestic economy and religion. Sarmiento's aunt, Tránsito de Oro, and his sister, Bienvenida, were responsible for directing the school and teaching the girls. Discipline was rigorous. The young ladies were encouraged to visit respectable families so that they would learn about urban life. They attended church services. Their uniform consisted of a white robe with long- and half-sleeves, a white skirt to mid calf, and white socks. The white robe was tied with a scarlet ribbon to match the one worn in the hair. They also wore dresses of printed cotton or blue chintz, with an apron of nankeen. Examinations were given weekly, monthly, one every trimester and annually. This event was a public celebration which the governor attended. Prizes included rings, necklaces and medals.¹

In 1840 Sarmiento was devoting his time to finish-

¹Leopoldo Lugones, Historia de Sarmiento (Buenos Aires: Publicación de la Comisión Argentina de Pomento Interamericano, 1911), pp. 172-73.
ing up the first year of the Colegio de Santa Rosa, when all unitarists were ordered arrested. He was imprisoned on charges of conspiracy. In an effort to save Sarmiento from a lynching mob, Governor Benavidez exiled him to Chile.

In Chile, his ideas took form and matured. During the five years between 1841 and 1845, the philosophy of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was formed. There were three stages in the evolution of his thoughts. The first was negative in that he defined more clearly what he opposed. In the second stage he formed a generalized and abstract idea of his positive goal. The third stage included the formulation of methods to gain these ends. These years were a struggle for Sarmiento.¹ He summarizes his activities of those times:

I threw myself suddenly into the press, fighting boldly two parties and defending another, establishing new principles for some, creating antipathies on the one side and attracting affections on the other, appearing at times, clashing at others, and not seldom uniting all in one single chorus of approval and vituperations; preaching good constantly and working for evil at times; attacking the generally accepted ideas on literature; trying out all types; infringing through ignorance and by system the rules; driving on youth, brusquely pushing society, irritating national susceptibilities; falling like a tiger into a polemic, and at every moment moving all of society, and always using frank language even to the point of being discourteous and without consideration; telling bitter truths without any other right than the belief that they are useful; employed by the government, hired and placed at

¹Bunkley, pp. 169-70.
the front of a new enterprise that demands given aptitudes... enjoying in all a social position that seems advantageous and full of a future. . . .

To consider Sarmiento as an educator, it is necessary to discuss his philosophy of life, which determined his position on education, politics and economics.

When Sarmiento arrived in Chile, he was conscious of what he opposed. He knew that he had fought and wanted to go on fighting Rosas and all that he stood for. In the back of his mind, there was an irreconcilable clash between the ideal rational world about which he had read and the irrational real world of the Rosas regime. While in Argentina, there had been no urgent need to define this target clearly for he had been able to fight it openly. But in Chile, such a need immediately arose. His only weapon there was the weapon of propaganda in the Chilean press, and if this propaganda was to be effective, he would have to have a clear idea of what he was opposing and be able to elaborate that idea in order to give more impact to his arguments.

First, it was necessary to describe Rosas' regime. The most salient feature that Sarmiento found in Rosas's "organized system of government" was its personalistic character. Rosas relied on no minister, entrusted no power to subordinates, recognized no higher law, and was immune

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1 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Mi defensa III (Buenos Aires: Luz del Dia, 1952), p. 2.
to an abstract moral or ethical code. The personality of Rosas was the political common denominator, and the will of Rosas the political motive force. His instruments were arbitrary force and terror, and with these his personality and will had a free reign. This is what Sarmiento opposed. These seemed to be features of a deeper political reality. If Rosas did not exist, someone else would be in power, and the same would be evident.

Like so many other thinkers, Sarmiento broadened his attack upon Rosas and his personalistic dictatorship into an attack upon Spain and the Spanish way of life. The trouble arose from the fact that the Spanish world had reverted to the traditional Spanish way of life instead of following the ideas that had been offered to it by France and the eighteenth-century Age of Reason.

Sarmiento did not see the problems and destiny of each separate country as distinct and independent. He saw a basic similarity in the histories of all segments of the Spanish world in the nineteenth century, and the only explanation that he could find for such a fact was a common Spanish heritage.¹ The Americans revolted against the mother country and experimented in constitutional government. Simultaneously, Spain underwent a movement for constitutional reform. Both experiments failed and a period

¹ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Política argentina VI (Buenos Aries: Luz del Dia, 1951), p. 3.
of political chaos followed throughout the entire Spanish world.

Sarmiento's opposition to Rosas was objectified and explained by finding the roots of the Argentine dictatorship in the Spanish tradition and way of life. In article after article, Sarmiento attacked the Spanish heritage and the tradition of "caudillismo." "El Mercurio" was Sarmiento's weapon in Chile and he used it to expose the horrors of the Rosas regime and his arguments against the "caudillo" system of governing.¹

In his second stage, Sarmiento saw as his aim the creation of a form of government that defined the rational principles of political behavior and made them predominant over the personalistic will of the individual. The question for Sarmiento was the conflict of personalism and nomocracy (government by a codified system of laws). He was interested in achieving a political system in which constitutions, laws, rights, and freedoms existed as factors dominant over the activity of personality—"caudillismo."² This could be achieved with the formation of a constitutional government. According to Sarmiento, the form of the government should be a rational one, and could be found in the rationalists of the past century. A nation

¹Bunkley, p. 177.

²Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Cuestiones americanas XXXIV (Buenos Aires: Universidad de LaPlata, 1911), p.
should have a "national reason," a rational pattern of political behavior. Political parties should not represent a personality or even a will, but rather ideas. The acquisition of such "national reason" should be carried on within a nomocratic framework of rights and principles. One of these principles was the equality of all men. It could give everyone equal opportunity, but it provided no political goal. The rights of an individual were equally important. These rights of an individual are natural and rational, and all civilized people should recognize them as binding. Along with the laws and constitutions, they would make up the political machine. This was Sarmiento's thought on what government should observe as its responsibility toward the people of the Argentine nation, or any other.

This was one of the principal reasons why Sarmiento adhered to the government and program of Bulnes and Montt, who represented to him the "elements of legitimacy and stability," government by law. They worked within the framework of political action that came to be Sarmiento's political goal. Government "must be legal, whatever else it is, because arbitrary action is license--the antithesis of system, method, and government." Government by law,

1 Recuerdos de provincia, p. 207.
2 Grummon, p. 308.
3 José Ingenieros, "Las ideas sociológicas de
government within the framework of the rational principles of equality, rights, and forms of the eighteenth century would have to replace the government of personality that was then dominant in much of the Spanish world.

Sarmiento's solution to government by personality --"caudillismo"-- was the need for reform. To bring about political and social change it was necessary to understand the problem and analyze the factors that needed change. Sarmiento called for a Spanish-American sociology, a study of the causal relationships of South American society and an analysis of reforms necessary to change existing conditions. Sarmiento became the father of Spanish-American sociology.¹

After studying the political situation in Argentina and other Spanish nations, Sarmiento concluded that many political conflicts were caused by a fundamental conflict between the forces of "civilization" and "barbarism."

These were the names that Sarmiento gave to his ideal rationally ordered society on the one hand and the actual real chaotic society on the other.² His aim was to discover the various causes of barbarism in order that they might be remedied.

Sarmiento,' Sociología Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1918), p. 389.

¹Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Las vidas de Aldao, Quiroga y El Chacho VII (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1911), p. 251.

²Bunkley, p. 180.
The causes that Sarmiento found for the barbarism of the Spanish world were many, and each had to be remedied in its own way, but according to rational principles. The ideas of reform that he developed during this period ranged all the way from a change in the spelling of the Spanish language to a change in the racial composition of the nation. Sarmiento's proposals for reform between 1841 and 1845 included linguistics, spelling, religion, national intellect, the social structure, the economic system, and the racial composition of the Spanish-American nations.

Examining the Spanish literary language, Sarmiento felt that it did not fit the changing world of his time. To serve its rightful purpose in society, language should express the thought and the reality of the human being. The outmoded academic dictionaries of the time did not seem to Sarmiento to fulfill this purpose, so he proposed that they be changed and that the language thus be reformed to fit the reality of the time.¹

The most obviously academic element in the language was spelling which did not conform to pronunciation. The teaching of the time attempted to change pronunciation to make it fit the way the words were spelled. This to Sarmiento's mind was senseless. His solution was a simple one: "each letter should have its own sound; and each

¹ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Ortografia americana IV (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de LaPlata, 1911), pp. 39-40.
sound should have its own letter."¹ He proposed dropping the letters h, v, z, and x. The h had no sound, and the sound of each of the three was already taken care of by one or more other letters. Similarly, the soft c would be dropped, for its sound was expressed by the s. The y when used as a vowel could be replaced by the i, and the q before a vowel could be taken care of by its equivalent in sound, the j.² In this way the traditional spelling of "Argentina" would become "Arjentina," and the word y (and) would be spelled i. Therefore, there would be a different sound for every letter, and there would be a letter for every sound. The spelling could be made simple and uniform, and this simplicity and uniformity would have been achieved through common sense. The system was approved by the University of Chile. After a few years, the system was forgotten due to a lack of support by local academicians.

In an attempt to remedy the socio-political situation which he observed, he found three major causes of "barbarism" (which he wished to change to "civilization") --Spanish economic life must be made to correspond to rationally evident natural laws; the Spanish race was back-

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Institutiones sud-americanas IX (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de LaPlata, 1911), pp. 39-40.
ward and unable to adapt itself to the reforms; and the mind of the people must be made ready for the changes; therefore they must be educated.

For an idealist who wanted to facilitate the historical progress the most important element with which he dealt was the human intellect. The mind had to understand and accept progress. Ignorance was one of the causes of barbarism, and education was the only instrument that could overcome it. No matter how free and rational the economic system, regardless of the race, an uneducated people would still be barbarous people. As Sarmiento stated,

People, like individuals, need long preparation for social life, and this preparation is [the] same in all times and in all phases of civilization. It is necessary to free the intelligence in order that the public reason, which was sovereign, might become the perfect reason.¹

Education was the basis of a democratic government, a society of intelligent beings capable of knowing their rights, sensing the value of these rights, and causing them to be respected.²

In Chile, Sarmiento became one of the more outstanding journalists, a writer, and a pedagogue. He continued his teaching profession which he initiated at San Francisco del Monte at the early age of fifteen. As a teacher and a journalist, Sarmiento made use of both to

¹Ortografía americana, p. 248.
²Grummon, p. 185.
attack ignorance, which he felt caused Hispanic-American "barbarism." According to Sarmiento:

To write for the sake of writing is the profession of conceited dilettantes—men without principles or any real patriotism. To write just for the sake of insulting is the work of rascals and fools. To write in order to regenerate is the duty of those who study the needs of their times.¹

Sarmiento's greatest single weapon for the expression and the struggle for his ideas was the press.

His writings on education attracted much attention. He was named to a commission by the national authorities of Chile to draw a plan for a normal school for the training of teachers. The school opened in 1842 and Sarmiento was invited to be its first president. This was the second such school in the Western Hemisphere, the first being established by Horace Mann in the United States in 1839.

The complete job of organizing the normal school was given to Sarmiento, and the greatest obstacle that he had to overcome was the lack of respect that was present throughout all levels of the population for the teaching profession. He, however, had faith in his new institution and its purpose—"The formation of the normal school for primary instruction holds within it an immense future for the social improvement and intellectual culture of all classes of society."²

¹ ortografía americana, p. 246.
² Bunkley, pp. 192-93.
On January 18, 1842, Minister Montt's decree was published. On June 14, the school opened without ceremony. Twenty-eight students were enrolled the first year, and most of them badly prepared from a scholastic point of view. Some could hardly read or write and knew only the basic rules of arithmetic. Among these were those who had studied in religious schools and had learned to speak a rudimentary type of Latin, but were still ignorant of the more basic reading, writing and arithmetic.

The courses that Sarmiento planned at his new school included reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, spelling, and religion. He added to these more advanced courses in geography, lineal drawing, history and educational methods. Sarmiento taught what he called the "scientific" courses, and his only assistant, Ignacio Acuna, taught the arts. From the first day, Sarmiento kept a diary recording the progress of his school.¹

Classes began at six A.M. and ended at three P.M., and during this time the instructor worked hard to overcome the obstacles in his way. For a reading text, Sarmiento used Ackermann, whose encyclopedic knowledge provided factual as well as reading instruction. This integration, according to Sarmiento, was according to "contemporary pedagogy." Except for four or five of them, the first-year students were the worst possible material for

¹Ibid., p. 193.
Sarmiento's educational experiment. The "bar flies" and "gamblers" habitually left the school illegally for their escapades. Sarmiento found that "one of the principal problems until now has been the introduction of order, discipline and morality among the young students." This was written on August 1, 1842; and he already felt that he had partially overcome this obstacle.\(^1\) Of the first group of twenty-eight, only half graduated at the end of their course in 1845. Some dropped out. Others failed the courses. A few were dismissed for misconduct. Meanwhile, the school gained in size, prestige and efficiency. By 1845 it had forty-two students. "The seed had been sown, it would bear fruit."\(^2\) Sarmiento devoted a great portion of his time during these three years to the normal school. He went so far as to give his own clothes to poorly dressed students.\(^3\) Throughout he studied thoroughly the methods of teaching and their possible improvements.

One of the fundamental problems of the time was to find a method to teach students to read. In 1841, a Spaniard, Juan Manuel Bonifaz, had introduced his Reading Method into the schools of Uruguay. The following year,

\(^1\)Palcos, p. 48.

\(^2\)José Bernardo Suarez, Rasgos biográficos del señor don Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (Santiago de Chile: Publicacion Universitaria, 1943), p. 16.

\(^3\)Manuel A. Ponce, Ideas pedagógicas de D.E.S. XXVIII (Buenos Aires: Luz del Día, 1952), prologue.
Sarmiento ordered that the work of the Spanish pedagogue, Vincent Narvaro, *Practical Method for Teaching to Read*, be reprinted in Chile. Since Navarro's text was difficult to use by inexperienced teachers, Sarmiento decided to use the Bonifaz method.\(^1\) He went on to advocate early readers for elementary students that would develop the children's intelligence rather than encourage a parrot-like repetition. He favored the placement of the traditional rhymes and proverbs of Spaniards by simple tales in suitable children's language.\(^2\)

Sarmiento's study of pedagogical methods on an elementary level led to the publication his *Gradual Method of Teaching to Read Spanish* in 1845. This book summarized the experience that he had gained in three years of study and practice, and it became the basis of many of the educational systems of the Hispanic world. Sarmiento considered this book to be his most important published work.\(^3\)

Reading books were not the only books lacking in the Chilean educational system. History and geography texts also were needed. He found it best to teach geog-


\(^2\)Bunkley, p. 195.

\(^3\)Belín Sarmiento, p. 42.
raphy and to supplement history with maps. He forbade books such as *The Sufferings of Hell* and replaced them with his own translations of *The Conscience of a Child* and *The Life of Jesus Christ*. The latter were simple and beautiful presentations of the Christian religion, and they were in sharp contrast with the hell-and-brimstone type of text that had formerly been used, as noted in the first chapter.1

Sarmiento had a practical approach to teaching. One day one of the students in a class of cosmography dealing with the movement of the planetary system interrupted the class and objected to Sarmiento's explanation. Sarmiento was used to such incidents, and had learned to hold his temper and remain calm.

"Very well," said Sarmiento. "Do you know how much space there is between the Earth and the Sun?"
"Yes, sir," answered the student.
"And between the Earth and stars?"
"That's an immense distance."
"Think of a distance of millions and millions of miles. If the Earth does not spin around the Sun, the stars must spin in twenty-four hours around the Earth. That distance is the radius of a circle; then, multiplying the diameter or radius by six, you will obtain the approximate distance that you are making the stars by day, by hour, by minute, that is to say, many millions of leagues per minute; while the other theory makes the Earth spin around the Sun at 6-1/2 leagues per minute, which is a speed, a proportion of which is made by railroads. Therefore, the true system is believable, while your system is absurd and useless. How could they cover that inconceivable distance and go that almost infinitely fast speed around the Earth every day?"2

1Bunkley, p. 196. 2Ibid., p. 197.
The student reconsidered after such a practical explanation, of what had before been abstract, or even a theological question.

Sarmiento's pedagogical activities during his years in Chile were not confined to his directorship of the normal school. He was also appointed a charter member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities at the University of Chile at the foundation of that institution in 1843. This position gave him a position of prestige in the intellectual world of Chile, and it served as a sounding board for many of his pedagogical ideas. To this group he proposed his spelling program, and also introduced his Gradual Reading Method.

Sarmiento branched out into even another educational field. With his fellow exile, Vicente Fidel Lopez, he started in 1843 a private school for the children of the wealthier families of Santiago, Chile. At the time, he was financially embarrassed. His family had just arrived from San Juan and imposed a new burden upon him. He felt that the new Liceo, as the private school was called, would not only liquidate his debts, but would also give him valuable experience that might in the future be of service to Argentina. The Liceo started out as a promising venture. But in 1844, Sarmiento joined in a polemic that was raging in Santiago. He supported Francisco Bilbao, who was considered a liberal and even anti-clerical by many of the
leading citizens of the city. The fathers of the seventy students of the Liceo withdrew their sons from the school. The Liceo was forced to close down, and Sarmiento, instead of improving his financial state, lost one thousand pesos in the venture. 1

Between 1842 and 1845 Sarmiento's pedagogical activities were varied. Based on the theory that only an adequate system of elementary education would fit a people for democracy, his educational efforts extended from the teaching of elementary students in his own school, to the directorship of the normal school, to a chair on the faculty of the University of Chile. His activities at this time were mostly on an elementary level. They were groundwork for future educational efforts; the results were noticed. His ideas became the basis of much of Chile's educational system, and in later years, were to become the basis of the Argentine public school system.

Manuel Montt, the Minister of Education in Chile from 1842-1849, felt that the education of Chile's masses was necessary as one of the solutions of the country's problems. When Montt decided to send a commissioner to study the systems of primary education in Europe and the United States, Sarmiento was offered and accepted the assignment. Departing for Europe in 1845, he spent the next

1Ibid., p. 198.
three years traveling and studying the European and North American educational systems.
CHAPTER III

TRAVELS--IMPRESSIONS AND CONFIRMATION OF IDEAS

With the publication of *Facundo* in 1845, Sarmiento became the target of attempts by Rosas who demanded that the Chilean government silence him. Manual Montt, then the Minister of Education and friend to Sarmiento, proposed to Sarmiento a trip to Europe to study the systems of primary education. When in October of 1845, Sarmiento began his trip to Europe, Africa and the United States, he wrote:

I am going off to Europe, I am going, I am going . . . I have made this resolve after a short talk with Montt last night. This is the only sure way left for me. I am offered facilities for this and for nothing else. Montt is a good friend. Last night he made me feel this. The interview was to request by continuing the editorial work; at my first refusal, deploiring and disapproving it, he said let us not talk more of this, now let us think of you. What do you plan to do? Go off to Bolivia? Don't do such a thing; you are going to grow obscure, and lose ground. Not even for the expectation of returning to your country. In the present circumstances men who will shed blood are needed, and you must not waver in that and must continue commanding for the future. You should enter your country by sea, from Europe, to organize. Go away and travel around for a year. Count on the means to do so. If you wish to return to Chile, you will be here whenever you want. You are feared, but nobody has contempt for you.¹

Sarmiento sailed for Le Havre, France, on the ship "La Rose." On May 6, 1846, Sarmiento reached his destination. His first impression was bad. The ship was besieged with guides and elegantly dressed hotel employees, advertising the hotels for whom they worked. Sarmiento commented--

Oh Europe, sad mixture of grandeur and abjection, of knowledge and stupidity at the same time, sublime and filthy receptacle of all that elevates or degrades man, kings and lackeys, monuments and pesthouses, opulence and uncivilized life!¹

Le Havre was old and dirty, and Sarmiento found it materialistic and commercial. On the "Normandie" he left for Paris.

Paris, the cultural capital of western civilization, was the home of the arts and of politics, it was the cradle of new democratic and liberal political forms and of artistic movements of the nineteenth century. Sarmiento devoted much time to studying the French educational system, besides becoming familiar with Paris. He contacted educators.² He also studied the art of the Louvre, customs of the Parisians and the culture of the silkworm.

Near Mainville, Sarmiento met General José de San Martín, who after securing the independence for Argentina and other South American countries, chose to live in exile

¹ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Viajes por Europa, África y América I (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1955), p. 146.
² Ibid., p. 195.
rather than participate in the civil struggles in establishing the government in Argentina. San Martín recreated the scenes of the Wars for Independence; told him about his interview with Simón Bolivar in Guayaquil. However, his praises of Rosas disillusioned Sarmiento. San Martín did not understand the internal policy of Rosas, but supported his defense of Argentina against French and English intervention. Sarmiento attributed this point-of-view to San Martín's age.¹

Meanwhile, Sarmiento was entering into a different aspect of Parisian life. Sarmiento was aware of the misinterpretation of the Rio de la Plata situation among policy makers of Paris, and asked for an interview to present his ideas on the issue. Sarmiento met with M. Dessage, head of the political section of the Ministry of the Navy; with Mackau, Minister of the Navy--neither had understood anything of what he had said. Sarmiento met with Guizot, leader of the parliamentary opposition, who had little interest in the Rio de la Plata. It seemed that French political leaders were not interested nor had any judgment about the struggle in South America. He found an attentive listener in Thiers, the government leader, who demonstrated in a debate on the topic, that his interest was not a concern for the truth in the matter, but rather an interest in winning parliamentary debate.²

¹Ibid., p. 191. ²Ibid., p. 176.
Sarmiento's idol had been France. However, he saw that the rational order of nomocratic government, for which he had admired France, was empty and formal. Its leaders were orators without ideas. It was no longer the ideal after which he wanted to pattern his own world. Argentina needed reform. Sarmiento thought that there was a need for electoral and parliamentary reform, the reorganization of the national guard, the revision of the September Laws, and others.¹ Sarmiento left France—"de-frenchified."

Next Sarmiento visited Spain. This was the country that he attacked for many years. Sarmiento had already judged Spain before his arrival and his purpose was to confirm his preconceptions.² He was there to find the sources of barbarism, just as he hoped to find the origins of civilization in France. Although under the rule of the Bourbon monarchy, Spain was torn by civil war and controlled by military "caudillos." There was little difference between the political system of Spain and Argentina. There was little difference between the political battles of personalities. The royal family reached a low in degeneracy. The battle for control of Spain was waged by diplomatic representatives of France and England.

¹Ibid., p. 187.
²Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Viajes por Europa, África y América II (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1955), pp. 7-8.
Economically and materially Spain was backward. Roads were poor. Industry was almost non-existent. Literature and art were synthetic, imitating the French. There was no national Navy and no printing (even the stamps and engravings sold were printed in Paris). There were no hotels. It was easy for Sarmiento to confirm his opinion of Spain—the cradle of barbarism inherited by the Hispanic people of South America.

Sarmiento felt that it was his duty to study the Spanish educational system. There were no common schools. He also renewed his attack on Spanish orthography and offered his proposed reforms. He was told by Argentinian-born Ventury de la Vega, that such changes would cut off the colonies from their mother country and break the cultural link. Sarmiento responded—

That is no great difficulty since we read no Spanish books over there; since you have no authors, nor writers, nor scholars, nor economists, nor politicians, nor historians, nor anything worthwhile; since you are here and we are over there translating, it is a matter of complete indifference to us if you write that which is translated in one manner and we in another. We have seen over there but one Spanish book, and that is not a book, but the newspaper articles of Larra. I do not know whether you consider the writings of Martinez de la Rosa as books also. There they pass as anthologies, for extracts, it being possible to cite the pages of Blair, Boileau, Guizot, and twenty more, from which he has taken such a concept or the mother idea that has suggested to him another conclusion.¹

Sarmiento's criticism were too well founded to be

¹Ibid., pp. 8-9.
appreciated, and he was attacked by contemporary Spaniards. However, before he left Spain, he was made an honorary member of the Society of Professors, and was later regarded as one of the Spanish world's most gifted writers.

Barcelona was the last city which Sarmiento visited. Here he saw buses, gas, steam, weaving, printing, smoke and noise. The people were active, industrious—a civilized European people.\textsuperscript{1} Here he met M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who engineered the construction of the Suez Canal, and Prospero Merimee, the author of Carmen. He also met Richard Cobden, the English political agitator, whose ideas were very much similar to his own. He saw Cobden as a representative of a fight for rational reform in the politics of England the the tearing down of barriers toward free trade.

From Barcelona, Sarmiento traveled to Argel, Algeria. He bought passage on a boat which had no accommodations of any kind. He had to travel with three women, four sailors, thirty pigs, two dogs, several dozens of chickens and turkeys, along with barrels, bundles, and other freight. In Algeria, Sarmiento came into contact with the Orient. He had studied the history of the East, and found many ills of the Spanish culture as those received from the Moors. He wanted to see the desert and

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 63.
the Arabs because he had imagined them to be similar to the Argentine "pampa" and the "gauchos." He was impressed by the different races that made up the population--Moors, Arabs, Jews, Turks, French, Italians, and Spaniards. Sarmiento also found in the French solution of colonization and material reform a possible cure for the barbarism of the Arab lands that could be borrowed as a solution for the struggle on the Argentinian pampa. Sarmiento wrote--

Everywhere there hustled the European population devoted to the multiple operations of civilized life. The plains, now deserted, I saw covered with farm-houses, with gardens, and with ripe wheat and grains, and those lakes, that from the heights of the mountains are seen shining here and there like the dispersed fragments of a mirror, had taken regular forms in the Mitidja, Mascara and Eghress, their waters captured by ordered canalizations, opened into the center of the plains, as they had been in Roman times. The plans for town and cities that I had only seen on paper, now multiplied infinitely, appeared suddenly, the plains and mountains suddenly bristling with theaters, temples, and palaces. . . .

From Oran, Algeria, Sarmiento crossed the Mediterranean Sea to Italy. The day of his arrival in Rome, the bells of the capital began to ring in double time just after mid-day. A general murmur greeted this outburst, and the famous Roman Carnival began. For fifteen days from twelve to five in the afternoon a scene of carnival revelry was repeated to the great enjoyment of Sarmiento. Each day the excitement became a little more intense, and Sarmiento's presence at this event was one

1Ibid., p. 78.  
2Ibid., pp. 102-3.
of the keystones of his visit to Rome.¹

There were certain other aspects of the imperial city that Sarmiento also could not miss. The artistic monuments were something to be studied and analyzed by the traveler. He saw the effect of good art upon the human soul and upon the soul of a people or a civilization as of profound importance. The art of Rome had an important inspirational effect upon the development of Christianity. Michaelangelo, Rafael, Titian, and others, were inseparable from Roman Catholicism and its effect in beautifying the spirit of man. Art "separates the savage from the civilized man."² The lack of good art in America seemed to Sarmiento to be one of the many factors creating the unhappy situations. He devoted much time to the study of Roman art, and a cultivation of a taste for the best in painting and sculpture. He accomplished his purpose of study, but left Rome with a still sadly undeveloped taste. He visited the churches, museums, ruins, and catacombs. He studied the great works of the Renaissance, and he tried to investigate the works of contemporary artists in Europe. His comments demonstrated a typical mid-nineteenth century bourgeois artistic taste. He admired the large paintings, those that "answered the necessities of modern society" by covering entire walls with historic scenes full of

¹Ibid., p. 126. ²Ibid., p. 137.
landscapes and actions. As a member of the civilization that was just discovering the value of mass production in bringing the material attributes of civilization to the masses, he saw the art of copying masterpieces as an equivalent accomplishment—"It is easy to understand what an advantage it would be to acquire copies of the works of the masters of Rome."\(^1\) This taste was an example of the bourgeois reformer and not of the sensitive artist who produced many significant pages in his own works. It was the reformer trying to analyze the social significance of art in civilization and formulizing a solution to the social problems of his country through its use.

Even more important than the artistic monuments of Rome, were the religious aspects of that city. Sarmiento visited the Church and church dignitaries, but the high point of this phase of his "study" of Rome was an audience with Pope Pius IX. Sarmiento launched into his attack of the Rosas distatorship, his analysis of the reasons for Argentina's barbarism, and his crusade for the civilization of Argentina. Pius IX listened patiently and with interest, and after Sarmiento departed, he thought of other matters that he could have discussed with the Pope, but his hurried trip did not allow him another audience.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 141.
Sarmiento was able to relate his Roman experience with his overall world view that he had been forming in the past years. He studied the short reign of Pius IX, and he saw familiar features that had to make it such a success. He analyzed the Pope's reforms and proposals for the modernization of Italian agriculture. He read the Pope's proposals and decrees for widespread public education. The moves on the part of the Pope to end arbitrary political rule, free political prisoners, and institute a government of law and liberties seemed to Sarmiento to be the cornerstone for the successful Papal government that he had observed.¹

From Rome, Sarmiento traveled to Naples, where he visited the ruins of Pompeii and climbed Mount Vesuvius. He studied the architecture of Pompeii and imagined the life of the ruined city, and made an excursion up the sides of Mount Vesuvius. The history of what he saw attracted his Romantic imagination, and the beauty and excitement of the climb inspired many descriptions in his letters and works.

Sarmiento also traveled to Florence, Padua and Venice. He was surprised by the wealthy aspect of the land in this portion of the country as contrasted with the poverty of the south. From Milan, Sarmiento was en route

¹Ibid., pp. 144-46.
to Prussia, the European nation that offered the models of educational methods. His principal mission was to study the Prussian educational innovations, so that they may be implemented in the Chilean educational system.

As Sarmiento crossed into Switzerland and Germany, he changed from the Romantic to the rationalist. Still conscious of natural beauty, he was awed with the Alpine scene and intrigued by the historical monuments in South and Rhineland Germany. But his main interest was the intellectual analysis of modern Germany. He wrote:

In Spain I had seen, in both Castile and La Mancha, a people that are ferocious, tattered and hardened in ignorance and laziness. The Arabs of Africa had become fanatical to the point of their own destruction. The Italians of Naples had shown me the last degree to which can descent human dignity.¹

But he found Germany and Switzerland a contrast with the other countries that he had visited. He went to Zurich and saw the peaceful operation of the Swiss democracy. He traveled to Munich, where he watched the beer-drinking and polka-dancing and commented upon its degree of civilization.

Sarmiento continued on to Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin, the most progressive areas of central Europe. The system of public education in Prussia appeared to him to be the most advanced in Europe and seemed to explain in large part the progressive character of the nation. It

¹Ibid., p. 220.
confirmed his own faith in the results of a good educational system. Sarmiento gathered all the data possible on the institutions that he inspected, and published the details in "El Comercio" of Valparaiso, Chile, and in several subsequent books. Sarmiento wrote--

Prussia, thanks to its intelligent educational system, is more prepared than even France for political life, and universal suffrage would not be an exaggeration in a place where all the classes of society have cultivated and have use of their reason.1

In Germany, Sarmiento was able to study another of his interests--the problem of immigration to Argentina and the other nations of South America. Germany was one of the largest sources of immigrants at the time, and Sarmiento considered the German the best possible material for the advancement of Argentina's civilization. He studied the methods of attracting these immigrants used by North America and developed his own plan to do the same with South America.

After visiting the University town of Gottingen, Sarmiento traveled down the Rhine to Holland and Belgium and then back to Paris. From here he decided to return to Chile by way of England and the United States. Sarmiento secured passage on a large sail boat, the "Montezuma," and arrived in New York on September 14, 1847.2

As a result of his first impressions, Sarmiento compared

1 Ibid., p. 229. 2 Bunkley, p. 281.
New York with the characters of Washington and Franklin, who were "common, unpretentious men but great for all their simplicity, and sublime in their common sense, industry, and honesty."^1

In New York he made friends with a group of South Americans, who had been joined by Santiago Arcos, a Chilean who recently arrived from Europe. Sarmiento also visited General Alvear, a Chilean, and, accompanied occasionally by the Chilean representative Manuel Caravallo, at other times by his secretary, or by Arcos, or alone, toured towns and country in the New England region and as far north as Canada. Sarmiento was most captivated by Niagara. He was captivated by an emotion that he says he never felt before--"My secret yearning was to live there for the rest of my life."^2 He was very enthusiastic about the majestic and terrible beauty of the landscape. But, the main object of his trip was to visit Horace Mann, Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts.

While Sarmiento was in London, he read Horace Mann's Seventh Annual Report to the Board of Education and was impressed by Mann's pedagogical theories.^3 The day after his arrival, he took a train for East Newton, not far from

^1Grummon, pp. 229-30. ^2Ibid., p. 234.
Boston, with the intention of meeting the great American educator.

En route, Sarmiento had the opportunity to visit Boston. Boston was famous for the culture of its people, who were courteous, sociable, and rather proud of themselves. The city had its reasons for not being mistaken for those little towns that sprang up overnight, as if by magic. Boston had passed the first law for general and compulsory education even before it was imposed in Prussia. Also, the first shot in the Revolutionary War was fired in the vicinity of Boston, and from her schools came the teachers that brought civilization to many American cities and towns.

Horace Mann was a lawyer credited with having a strong, just, but generous character. From his seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, he fought against slavery with speeches that have become famous. Distressed by the social differences which began to appear in the segregated schools for the rich and for the poor, he proposed general education for all, so that from childhood onwards democratic ideas and customs would be formed. Mann decided to close his law office and instead publicize the virtues of his new system and found public schools where the principles of democracy, liberty, self-respect, and respect for others were taught. He had been married
to a daughter of the Rector of Brown University, but became a widower in 1832. Eleven years later he married again to Mary Peabody.

Sarmiento was apparently influenced by his meeting with Horace Mann. For two days, Sarmiento and Mann, united by the same passion for education, spent many hours together. Sarmiento spoke French and Mrs. M. Mann acted as interpreter. Sarmiento learned the new methods of the reformer and their application to the education of boys and girls. Mann thought that women were more efficient in teaching young children and that there are few more dignified occupations for married or single women who must work. Mann maintained that the glory and grandeur of a nation depend on the quality of its citizens, on their character, their moral values, and their intelligence; on their coordination and the way in which their abilities are used. This could only be achieved through a graded, scientific, and carefully planned system of education.

Mann told Sarmiento his troubles, the difficulties due to prejudices, local jealousies, and sectarianism that he had to overcome, the pettiness of the people, their lack of democratic ideas and sentiments. He recounted how the legislature itself, influenced by envy and bureaucracy, had been on the verge of firing him and dissolving the
Board of Education that he had created. Sarmiento wrote:

Can you think of anything more beautiful than the task that Mr. Mann has undertaken to travel for part of the year, calling meetings at the town and cities he visits, getting up on the stand and preaching a sermon on primary education, showing its practical advantages, encouraging the parents, combatting selfish interests, overcoming difficulties, advising teachers and outlining their programs and proposing all these improvements that his knowledge, good will and experience suggest?¹

Sarmiento hoped that he could carry out the same type of plan in Argentina. He had found an example to follow in the work of Horace Mann, whose system was the same as that which he had dreamed of himself.

During the two days Sarmiento visited the normal school founded by Mann, one of the 3,475 public schools that employed 2,589 male and 5,000 female teachers in the state of Massachusetts alone. Sarmiento saw the tuition free students working in mathematics, chemistry, botany and anatomy. He attended the classes of the director, Mr. Pierce, who spoke in a barely audible voice to assure the silence and attention of his pupils. He met Kratzis, a Hungarian philologist, to whom he revealed his proposed reform of Spanish spelling.² Mann and Sarmiento never met again. Mann died eight years prior to Sarmiento's second visit to the United States in 1865.

²Ibid., p. 7.
Sarmiento was not a trained philosopher, sociologist, historian; his written work and even his actions suffered at times from improvisation and a lack of formal education. The fact that he was self-taught is evident and critics can find superficialities, malformations, and errors. However, his generalizations and inferences, his intuitions and prophecies for the need of improved education are almost those of a seer and even today remain valid. His vision of the future of the United States, written in 1847, closely compares with the sketch of Julian Marias in 1917, an outstanding philosopher from the University of Madrid and the disciple and successor of Ortega y Gasset.¹

When Sarmiento arrived in the United States, the country was evolving into a democracy. Industrialization was hastened by new machines. In 1847 more than 10,000 inventions were patented. That was the year when Sarmiento arrived and the same one in which Edison was born. In the previous year, Elias Howe had patented his new sewing machine, and Richard Howe a press that printed 8,000 sheets an hour. It had been some time since New England had been lighted by gas, since Charles Mackintosh had manufactured waterproof materials with rubber which were later perfected by Charles Goodyear, since Morse's

¹Ibid., p. 8.
telegraph had shortened distances, as faster railroads than the European ones and boats moved by propellers invented by John Stevens had also done. McCormick had built a reaper that harvested six acres of oats in an afternoon. Horace Mann was influential in the development of the American educational system. Harvesters, binders, and innumerable other machines were also constantly being perfected. Plans and calculations were stimulated by the drive to the West, by immigration, the growth of new cities, the natural wealth of the land, the intelligent colonization schemes and liberal legislation, besides other concurrent factors. Wealth was the national goal. The Age of Positivism had begun.

Sarmiento traveled through twenty-one states, observing, comparing, learning and admiring. He had never seen in Argentina or in Chile such marvels as those of the United States: trains, telegraphs, machines, clean cities with wide, tree-shaded streets, decent, attractive, cheerful houses inhabited by contented, hard-working people. He had never known a people such as this, united by feelings of Christian solidarity, which received its education from public schools and its information from local libraries, and which formed its opinions through cordial meetings, local newspapers, or public speakers who discussed subjects varying from Biblical themes to home
economics. He was unaccustomed to the liberty and the religious and political tolerance enjoyed by Americans who seemed respectful of the ideas and feelings of others. He had never lived in a truly democratic and federal republic like the United States.

What people in the world have felt this need for comfort, decency, ease, well-being, and cultivation of the intellect? What people have felt more horror of disagreeable sights, poverty, ignorance, and moral and physical degradation?1

Sarmiento did not limit himself to observing merely outward appearances. He wanted to probe deeply and discover for himself the causes of the order, the wealth, the prosperity, the tolerance, the principles, and the virtues which transformed the United States into a different world from that which he knew. He visited the weaving mills of Lowell, whose workers were educated, well-dressed young ladies who spent their rest periods studying in the factory library. He saw Mount Vernon, the home and tomb of Washington, whom Sarmiento considered the greatest man on Earth because he was the founder of the only forward-looking nation on Earth, whose future is the ideal of modern nations.

On November 12, 1847, on his way to Havana, Cuba, after leaving the United States, Sarmiento wrote a long letter to Valentin Alsina, which, together with his report

handed later to Minister M. Montt, synthesizes his impres-
sions of the United States. He told his friend that to
learn to appreciate the country, it is necessary to read-
just one's own judgment, because

The United States is something without any previous
model, a kind of absurdity that shocks one at the
first impression, and frustrates one's preconceived
ideas, yet nevertheless this inconceivable absurdity
is great and noble, at time sublime, and always
orderly.\(^1\)

Also, he wrote:

\[ \ldots \] appropriate, generalize, popularize, conserve,
and perfect all the usages, instruments, procedures
and aids which the vanguard of civilization has put
in the hands of Man. I have just toured Europe, ad-
mired its monuments, paid tribute to its science and
am startled yet by the prodigies of its arts, but I
have seen millions of abject peasants, working people
and artisans, degraded, unworthy to be called men; the
crust of filth that covers their bodies, the tattered
rags they wear do not sufficiently reveal the utter
darkness of their souls; and as regards politics and
social organization, that darkness includes even the
minds of their wise men, bankers, and nobles. On the
other hand, the only nation in the world where the
population as a whole reads and writes, where there
are 2,000 newspapers that satisfy the public curiosity,
and where education and well-being are within reach of
everybody, is the United States.\(^2\)

However, Sarmiento also sees faults in the United
States. He observed that urbanity was not the strong point
of the United States and that Americans are "the most un-
mannerly creatures that ever wore swallowtail coats." He
also recognized that cupidity and bad faith was rife, but
nevertheless, without apology for these defects, he

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 193. \(^2\)Galvez, pp. 188-89.
declared that "the North Americans are the only cultured people in the world, the last result obtained by modern civilization." The defects are only those common to the human species, to inheritance, and to the imperfections of intelligence.

Sarmiento had found an example upon which to model Argentina. He was hopeful that he could return and devote his time and strength for the triumph of federalism and popular education, the foundation, as Sarmiento analyzed, of the prosperity of the United States.

Most of Sarmiento's pedagogical work was written after his return to Chile from Europe and the United States in 1847. As a result of his observations, impressions and analysis of the European and American educational system, Sarmiento published Informes sobre educación in 1848, and Educación popular in 1849. These two works established the basis for Argentina's educational systems.
CHAPTER IV

BASIS FOR EDUCATION

The pedagogical work that Sarmiento wrote upon his return from Europe and the United States became "the matrix from which were born almost all the constructive ideas which he disseminated in the thirty years of his educational apostleship."¹ His book Educación popular (Public Education) was based on a report prepared for the Chilean government, was published in 1849. His later works such as Memorias sobre educación común (1956) (Memorial on Public Education) and Las escuelas--base de la prosperidad y de la republica en los Estados Unidos (1866) (Schools--The Basis of Prosperity and the Republic in the United States) were based on his earlier work and on his studies and travels through the principal countries of Europe and North America. Rojas states that "After 1849 Sarmiento insisted constantly on the cardinal ideas of this book [Educación popular]. . . . This was the message of the civilizer to the barbarous native."²

Educación popular shows clearly the influence that

²Ibid., pp. 16-17.
the ideas of Horace Mann had upon the thinking of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.\(^1\) He discussed the need for independent revenue for the public schools, derived from a tax for that specific purpose. He indicated the advantages of the Kindergartens that he saw in Europe and the United States, and advised that they should be adopted in South America. In the chapter on public schools, he discusses in detail the size of classes, buildings and rooms, and the standards for teachers, information which he derived from the knowledge and statistics gathered during his travels.

Some of Sarmiento's own educational ideas had been confirmed by his studies abroad. His contacts with Mary Mann had fortified his belief in the civilizing effect of women's education. Two thousand women were needed in Chile alone as teachers, and these women needed to be educated first.\(^2\) He wanted to give the teaching profession a more dignified position of importance—"The teaching profession requires as much, or greater, preparation than any other."\(^3\) He pointed to the good and the great teachers whom he had encountered abroad and commented on their accomplishments and important contributions to society. He also dealt with


\(^3\) Ibid., p. 176.
orthographic reform and showed how a simplified and rationalized spelling would improve teaching methods and facilitate instruction.

His Memorias sobre educación común showed the influence of public education on all phases of life and even recommended the reforms needed for an effective public educational system. Escuelas--base de la prosperidad illustrated the main points, using the United States as an example. He wrote to Mrs. Horace Mann--

At the age of thirty I undertook from Chile the great crusade which you see me continuing at this time, and which after I had made use of my own lights and those I acquired in French books, was converted after 1847, into a prolongation to South America of the campaign so notably ended in the North by your worthy husband, Mr. Mann, whose path I have followed ever since.¹

Public Education

As understood by Sarmiento, the goal of public education was to prepare the new generations en masse to use the intelligence of the individual. Education had been previously restricted to the ruling classes, clergy, and aristocracy; but the masses were often uneducated. As a result, government had an obligation to provide education to up-coming generations. Society has an interest in assuring that all individuals in time will form a nation and be sufficiently prepared, through education, to undertake

¹Bunkley, p. 314.
the social functions expected of them. Power, wealth and strength of a nation depend on the industrial, moral and intellectual capacity of its population. Public education should have no other goals rather than that of increasing productivity. The dignity of the State, the glory of a nation, is obtained through an improvement of moral character, development of intelligence and its predisposition to some form of organized and legitimate action of mental and physical capabilities. Sarmiento stated that his opinion was based on his observations of the school system existing during his time. He summarized his impressions:

(1) The basics of education in the primary schools are necessary to attain the skills and ability to function as workers, or consideration and respect in the social and civil relations of life.

(2) The few that have not taken advantage of a primary education, do not rise in the ranks, their work is not productive.

(3) A majority of the leaders of the work shops, and other workers that require a degree of knowledge in particular areas, made a career from the simple beginnings, without more advantage over the majority that they have left behind.\(^1\)

According to Sarmiento, a public system of education facilitated the means of distributing, in a given period of time, the maximum education possible to the largest number of individuals. To attain maximum results, the school became a type of factory, equipped with complete

\(^1\)Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Páginas Escogidas (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1962), pp. 163-69.
instructional materials, competent teachers, appropriate space and efficient instructional methods that used time efficiently.

Sarmiento criticized the school buildings of Chile and Argentina. They consisted of large rooms, or normal sized rooms, which had been adapted for learning and were without proper lighting. Children were seated as the space allowed. Disorder and confusion were inevitable. Classification of children according to abilities was impossible, and the discomfort to which children were subjected was conducive to natural disorder.

Schools were instrumental in the development of intelligence and attitudes that would guide the actions of children. According to Sarmiento, governments should mandate the construction of schools in every locality, although it was the responsibility of members of local governments, governors, special dignitaries, and local citizens to demand the expansion of public education.

Sarmiento wrote that school sites should be conveniently located on land adequate to house a building. As an example, Sarmiento quoted the law of primary instruction in Prussia:

... All schools must have a special house, and if a locale needs to be rented, it should be one that is separated from other strange buildings. The essential conditions should include a healthy situation; large, well paved, ventilated, kept classrooms; and living
quarters for the teacher. In cases where there is more than one teacher, at least one of the teachers resides in the school. The municipal councils of the province should provide the plans, the various-sized models of schools for villas and small villages with the estimated expenses of construction and the necessary furnishings. Each school of the villa or small village should have garden, cultivated with what is available in the country with either vegetables, fruits or areas to raise bees. All for instructional purposes. Schools should have an area covered with sand or a space available for children's exercises.\(^1\)

Sarmiento continued:

In America land is not expensive, and our civil construction in squares leaves much space that could serve for cultivating. Our towns in the provinces and our village are reflections of cities, where one could easily purchase land in the heart of the population, in its most colorful surroundings, where in time an adequate and attractive learning situation could be provided for those children that have been abandoned by their parents in dungheaps, making children descend to paupery instead of raising the poor to the small commodities that cleanliness, housekeeping and good taste accumulate in a man that has surged from primitive barbarism! \(\ldots\) With what pleasure have I surveyed in Prussia and the U.S. the extensive lawns adjacent to the school, covered with a carpet of green grass, shaded with trees, surrounded with Dahlias, florescent shrubs, and limited with a white wooden fence \(\ldots\) and in the middle stands the majestic public school \(\ldots\) swarms of youth, some dressed simply, but all are well groomed, and being careful not to destroy anything, in not marking the buildings, nor to carve the wood of the square columns \(\ldots\) at such an early age, they have formed ideas of beauty, property, order, cleanliness, and a few others that are associated in forming the conscience and morality of the populace.\(^2\)

Sarmiento commented on the form and dimensions of primary schools in the countries that he had visited. Each

\(^1\) **Educación popular**, pp. 227-78.

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 279-80.
country was different from the other. In Prussia, there was a separate room available for every grade according to the level of instruction. This arrangement had the advantage of homogeneously grouping students as well as maintaining their attention. Disciplinary problems were limited. There was an abundance of well-trained teachers and aides. The number of children could be subdivided into classes, without discipline and morality having to suffer because of the absence of the teacher.

In Holland, Sarmiento observed, schools assumed colossal forms. It was possible to instruct from six to seven hundred pupils under one roof. All pupils received the same instruction from the government. Order was maintained in these "large machines of instruction" by one head teacher and four capable aides.

In England there were many establishments with buildings that could instruct up to 300 pupils at a time. For example, there was the school in Westminster which was sustained by the national society to promote the education of the poor according to the religious beliefs of the established church.

Sarmiento examined various models of German and Dutch schools from the works of M. Cousin. Primarily, he observed, differences in architecture that would be impossible for adoption in Chile and Argentina due to the
existing custom of construction a school on one level.\(^1\)

However, Sarmiento provided the Chilean Minister of Education with four school models that could be adopted accordingly—one to serve fifty pupils, another for one hundred and twenty; the third for three hundred, and the fourth, which he considered the most complete, based on the model of the schools presented by the Board of Education of Massachusetts in 1838, and registered in the *Common School Journal of 1842* and the *School Manual of New York of 1843*.\(^2\) These models he preferred over those observed in Europe. Sarmiento gave the following description of these models:

In order to serve fifty-six students, with sufficient space and air flow, the dimensions of the building should be 38 ft.1. x 25 feet wide x 10 feet high. These proportions would give an entrance hall of 14 feet long x 7-1/2 feet wide, illuminated by one window, and surrounded by coat-hangers of wood so that pupils may hang their hats, coats, etc. . . . A room of 10 feet in length by 7-1/2 feet, that could serve as an entrance room and recitation room; a space behind the benches of 8 feet in width for the chimney, walkway and recitations area, with permanent seating against the wall of 10-11 inches in width; a platform of 7 feet in width for the teacher, with a library, blackboards, globes and other instructional material; and the remaining space to be occupied by the desks and benches of the pupils. For every eight students that would be added to the school, 2-1/2 extra feet should be added in the construction of the hall. . . .

To serve approximately 80 pupils—there should be 58 feet in length and 34 feet in length, without including a hall which would serve as an entrance, and in order to increase or decrease this base, the following scale should be followed: for every 10 extra

\(^{1}\)Ibid., pp. 280-82.  \(^{2}\)Ibid., p. 282.
pupils, 4 feet should be increased in length; for 16, 4 feet in width; for 28, 4 feet in width and 4 feet in length. For a number less than the original proposed, there should be a proportional decrease in length, or width, or both. . . . ¹

Also,

in order to serve a hundred or two hundred persons, precautions should be taken in properly ventilating the air. Special apparatus should be provided in schools to circulate the air, which could be done by the same means as heating the rooms in winter . . . the air which is warmed in winter rises to the ceiling, while carbonic acid descends to the ground. The latter could escape through the doors, but in order for the rising air to escape, several portholes should be opened, according to the size of the room . . . This could be supplemented by the opening or closing of the door, according to the outside temperature. . . . The suggestion made by more intelligent people is one of constructing under the school an underground, in which a brick furnace bordering along the entire floor would be ignited, thus distributing heat proportionately throughout the entire school . . . However, the best means of warming the rooms is through the use of an open fireplace, which could provide fresh and warm air at the same time. . . . ²

According to Sarmiento, the distribution of light was also one of the primary considerations in school construction. In order to provide constant light, schools must be built with the entrance door toward the north. The teacher's desk should be located at the south end of the room. Doors and windows should be situated at the east and west sides, so that the sunlight would not cast pupils' shadows upon the area of reading and writing. Schools should be far removed from the streets and side-

¹Ibid., pp. 283-84. ²Ibid. p. 286.
walks. If the placement of windows caused pupils to be distracted, they must be built sufficiently high so that seated pupils could not see anything; green curtains or oil-treated fabric should be used to modify bright light.¹

In regards to pupils' desks, and length of sitting time in class, Sarmiento believed, as did others of his time, that tall and narrow benches, were not only uncomfortable, but also contributed to making pupils restless and noisy, upsetting the temperament, distracting attention from books, and causing deformities in the body. . . . All desks should have a high back so that the shoulder blades could repose well. . . . Change of position should be allowed frequently--standing, walking, going out to recess. An hour is all that a pupil of 10 years of age or less could endure, without interruption, attentive; and a total of four hours seated in a full day. . . .²

Sarmiento suggested that the construction of desks should be considered carefully and that funds should not be spared when the health of a generation is at stake. Among the various systems of sitting, he prefers that of the United States. It provides the best advantages. It does not violate health rules and provides easy movement by pupils. Desks are arranged in rows at the center of the school, with sufficient space along the walls to allow for passage and movement. Pupils face the platform where the blackboard is located, as well as the chair and desk of the teacher.

¹Ibid., p. 289. ²Ibid., p. 291.
The height of the desk and seat should variate with the height of pupils. . . . The smaller pupils should sit closer to the teacher's platform, so that they could be closely observed . . . from there the size in desks should increase according to the pupils, up through the last desks where the oldest pupils sit. This type of arrangement avoids the need, which was previously presumed, of elevating the floor in the shape of an emphitheater, so as to allow for teacher supervision . . . it was abandoned because of the discomfort and that the inclined floor hampered proper circulation of air. . . .

The blackboard is another object which is indispensable for learning, and which few teachers in Chile and Argentina used. As per his observations, Sarmiento indicated that schools in Prussia and Holland made extensive use of the blackboard for illustrations of signs, sketches and drawings. Reading itself was taught on the blackboard where the teacher could write the letters, form syllables and demonstrate word construction. Pupils received visual and aural enforcement of material to be learned. In the United States the walls between the windows are covered with blackboards hung to the students' height. In learning arithmetic, grammar, orthography, lineal drawing, mechanics, geography, etc., pupils go to the blackboards and individually demonstrate the lesson, imitating or responding to the instructions given by the teacher. Other instructional materials should include globes for geography, apparatus for chemistry, geometric designs, illustrations of animals carved out in wood.

1Ibid., p. 292.
A clock should be hung on the wall near to the teacher and in full sight of all the pupils. It is necessary for the distribution of assignments, as well as imparting in students the unforgettable laws of order, regularity, and obligation, which according to Sarmiento "the Spanish race is lacking." The time of day must always be in view for pupils to form a concept of time, as well as knowledge of the duration of a lesson.

Thermometers are also useful and needed. They provide the teacher with a means to regulate ventilation in the classroom. Through their use, data for science, medicine, and agriculture could be made available.

For the education of one hundred to two hundred pupils, besides a room for writing and general lessons, separate accommodations were needed for individual classes. These were designated by the teacher or assistant for a certain number of more advanced students. Recitation cannot take place in one room without interrupting the attention of others. With this in mind, Sarmiento preferred the model of the primary schools of Salem, Massachusetts, which he considered to be organized correctly for educational purposes. Sarmiento demonstrated his admiration for the effectiveness of schooling in the United States by stating:

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1 Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Ideas pedagógicas (Buenos Aires: Luz del Dia, 1952), pp. 206-12.
In the Puritan states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, popular education, administered and created for the well-being of all, is a tradition which has been perpetuated until our times, giving a result in which one individual out of 588 of that state does not read; while among us the proportion is one that does read to every 10 or 20 that do not possess this rudimentary aspect of culture.¹

He describes the following model of a proper school—

The Mayor of Salem or the governor of the city, Mr. Phillipps, donated three years of his rents in order that it be applied toward the improvement of public schools. . . . The dimensions of the school building are 136 feet in length and 50 feet in width. The classrooms are 66 feet by 36 feet. . . . The desks are situated in such a fashion that children face the recitation classrooms, keeping the light behind them and at the sides. . . . The seats are of four sizes, and vary according to the proportions of the desks and pupils. . . . The classrooms for recitation are 18 feet long and 10 feet wide. A classroom is provided for each course of study. It is surrounded on three sides with varnished wood up to over the heads of the students. . . . The desks are arranged in rows, with eleven desks per row and each desk accommodating two students at a time. . . . The chairs are made of wood with a backing of cerezo. . . . All the spaces between the doors and windows on all four sides are covered with blackboards. . . . At the back of the room, bookcases were provided. . . . Circular ceiling fans are available in each classroom. . . . Each school is heated with a wood burning stove directly under the center of the space in front of the desks, the hot air rises and is distributed through a circular opening of two feet in diameter. . . . The clock rings every half hour. . . . In the ante chambers of each classroom, hangers for coats and hats are available, as well as a receptacle of water and fire extinguisher. . . . The school grounds extend from Essex Street to Bath Street.²

One of the advantages that exists is in the number of classrooms. This type of arrangement, allowing for a

¹Educación popular, p. 296.
²Ibid., pp. 298-99.
more homogeneous grouping, increases the progress of the pupils and reduces disciplinary problems. Pupils are assigned a given set of studies which is presented to them by an aide and reviewed by the head teacher and the principal.

Sarmiento was also impressed by the Massachusetts Latin Grammar School:

Classrooms designed for the study of Latin, contain texts in Latin and Greek. . . . The entrance is from the east side. Attached to the school on the first floor there is an ante chamber, with coat-hangers to hang coats and hats, and two comfortable study halls. Access to the second floor is by means of two large stairways which lead directly to the big school hall. The teacher's desk is on a platform in front of all the desks. Next to the platform is the library and instructional materials room. . . . The walls are covered with different types of objects to stimulate student interest. . . . At the center of the ceiling hangs a zodiac. . . . The fan represents the sun. . . . The Earth is represented in four different positions, indicating the four seasons of the year. . . . The moon is depicted in its orbit. . . . The spheric form of the Earth is clearly demonstrating the equator, tropics and circles are marked. Meridian lines are also indicated. . . . The border of the circle represents the signs of the zodiac, with its names and the names of the months. . . . The 3 points of the compass are marked on the interior border and the North Pole and North Cardinal correctly marked. . . . The circle of the zodiac is enclosed within a square, depicting Saturn, Jupiter, other primary planets, and various sizes of the Sun in the four corners. . . . Above the widows eight cuadros are drawn/painted--phases of the Moon, movements of Mercury and Venus, paralaje of the Moon phases of an eclipse, movement of Venus over the Sun, refraction of solar rays, theories of the mareas, and intensity of light and gravitational pull. . . . Comets of 1680 and 1811, and the theory of comet movements . . . illustration of relative heights of mountains and width of rivers, with scales . . . a
Education of Women

Sarmiento believed that education should be available equally among men and women; women should receive a good education so that they might teach the basic rudiments of primary education. This type of training, according to him, provided efficiency and economy, which might otherwise be wasted.

In his view, the degree of civilization of any society is determined by the social position of women. Among underdeveloped nations, they are responsible for the:

- moving stores of migratory crews, las emigraciones de los aduares, arranging skins, weaving coarse fabrics which men use for clothing, or of working on the land if they are "sedentary nations." In the barbaric nations of Asia, women are sold as slaves to provide pleasures for the strong ones. A family, as such, exists only among Christian nations, and even among these, differences exist.

According to his observations, public education endowed by the state, seemed to indicate schools for men. At the beginning of the century, even among wealthier families, the custom was not to teach women to read or write. Schools for women came into existence after the independence from Spain, although there are cities where

1Ibid., pp. 301-4.

2Ideas pedagógicas, pp. 171-72.
schools could not be established. The only American government that provided for education of both sexes was the one of Argentina's President B. Rivadavia from 1824-1827. The schools were placed under the inspection of the Sociedad de Beneficiencia, which was headed by Mme. Mandeirlle.

In Argentina, however, the education of women was quite backward. However, the well-being of a state depended upon the education of women. Women, in their roles as mothers, wives or servants, could destroy the education which children received in school. Customs and values were perpetuated by women, and a nation could not change if the ideas and habits of life of a woman were not changed. Women were strong of morality and character. A teacher's influence over a child is the same as that of the mother. Her intelligence dominated by emotion bends much more easily than that of the man and adapts better to a child's ability, due to a quality that is inherent to her sex. Based upon his observations, Sarmiento indicated that women have been made exclusively responsible for the education of younger children in France, Italy and the United States, or at least have been assigned to help male teachers. The employment of women could be helpful in cases where younger children need to be separated from the older, so as to avoid the wasting of time and discipline problems.¹

¹Educación popular, pp. 116-21.
Women have a proven capacity to teach, and the education given to both sexes, could prepare them to teach even those subject matter areas that have been thought to be for men only. Sarmiento cited several experiences and observations of schools for women that have impressed him in Prussia. Sarmiento was overwhelmed by a fourteen-year-old girl, who translated a statistical report for him from German to French quite accurately. The young girl, poor in appearance, but interesting in her dignity and her morals, cleanliness and simplicity, demonstrated to him the details of Prussian public education, where she had learned French, Latin, botany, arithmetic, and extensive German studies.¹

In Newton-East, near Boston Sarmiento visited a normal school for women, founded in 1839. Besides the basic skills, they were also taught botany, geography, mechanics, chemistry, anatomy, physics, music, pedagogy, algebra, physical education, gardening, art and geometry. The institution was under the patronage of some notable men who were quite ardent in their interests to promote education. Girls from poor families could look for a sponsor that would pay for their tuition. They in turn were obligated to return the debt upon finding employment, which was guaranteed to them because of the excellent

¹Ibid., p. 122.
reputation of the school in providing a thorough education. ¹

Sarmiento was very much impressed by a school for women which he visited in France, under the directorship of M. Levi Alvarez. There were room and board facilities. Lessons were given on an independent basis. Girls did their work at home and returned to school to discuss the assignments on indicated days. Mothers accompanied their daughters and took notes on the primary points that were presented in the lessons. This type of method not only provided an education for the young girls, but the mothers played an important role in their daughters education. A variety of topics were provided for discussion and composition writing. The written product was shared with the group in attendance. The object was to provide the girls with sufficient knowledge and appreciation of everything that did not form a part of the exact sciences. M. Levi Alvarez thought that that was what formed the basis of the education of women. Women could not attend school for an extended period of time, and therefore, it was necessary to train their reasoning powers through a general means. The primary objective of education should be:

The formation and strengthening of the ability of observation of children and adolescents, focusing constantly upon the objects that surround them, to guide them toward an objective that is useful to them and others. . . . To cultivate the intelligence that

¹Ibid., p. 124.
could guide the student and place him/her into a situ-
ation of personal discovery of rules, motives, and
principles which are taught to them—to continue from
the known to the unknown, from the simple to the com-
plicated; to increase the difficulties and continue
the profession on the basis of such established form,
that the student can barely notice the difficulties.
. . . To avoid all routine, making him know the object
and the reason of everything that interests him, pre-
senting the reasons and helping him to deduce the
principles. To interest him constantly in the work
that he is expected to complete. . . . To make him
touch with his finger and put into his eye, so to say,
all the useful truths, . . . show him the errors that
need to be avoided. . . . Not to depend upon his
memory but rather on what has been embraced by his in-
telligence. . . . What has been understood. . . .

According to this method, it seems that each age
group had a complete plan for learning. A book served as
a text for each of the five courses that were presented:
preparative (introductory) (children 6-8 years), elemental
(elementary) (8-12 years), secundario (secondary) (12-16
years), superior (advanced) (16-20), and institutoras
(instructional) courses for individuals that wished to
become teachers.

Sarmiento indicated that there were many unem-
ployed women who could be trained to be teachers in the
pre-schools (Salas de Asilo) and primary schools. These
women, educated and well-prepared, could be instrumental
in the dissemination of a number of small manual industries,
providing satisfaction to their pupils and to themselves.
The manufacturing of silk, gardening, making artificial

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1 Ibid., p. 136.  
2 Ibid., pp. 138-44.
flowers, mallas, embroideries, paintings of flowers and countryside, stitching, etc. could also be learned at the normal schools and passed on throughout the Republic, helping in the improvement and refinement of customs and habits, and the diffusion of practical knowledge.

His strong belief in the influence of women in education was one of his earlier interests which led to the formation of his Escuela de Santa Rosa, San Juan, Argentina. After a year and a half in existence, the school was closed down due to civil war and social unrest.

School Teachers

Sarmiento defines the role of the schoolteacher in the following manner:

... Schoolteachers are those obscure artificers to whom is entrusted the greatest task that men can carry out. Theirs is to complete the work of civilizing the human race. ... The schoolmaster places all the learning of our period within the reach of the laborer's son whom he teaches to read. The teacher does not invent knowledge nor does he really teach it. Perhaps he does not even grasp it himself, except in its simplest rudiments; perhaps he is ignorant of it in any broad sense. But he opens closed doors to the new generation and shows it the way. He puts the boy who receives his lessons in touch with the whole world, with every century, with all nations, and with the entire store of knowledge that humanity has garnered. ... The schoolmaster, when he puts a syllabary into the child's hands, makes him an integral member of the civilized community of nations and binds him to the written tradition of humanity, the storehouse of knowledge with which it has succeeded increasingly from generation to generation, in separating humanity irrevocably from the mass of brute creation. ... A complete course of education can be reduced to this
simple expression--To read what is written in order to know what is known and to continue the work of civilization with one's own fund of observation. That is what a teacher teaches in school; that is his task in society. . . . only the schoolteacher, among the officials who act on society, is in a position to effect a radical cure of social ills. . . . The teacher is placed on the threshold of life to instruct those who came last how to launch themselves upon it. . . . The teacher has a single code of morality, a single rule, and a single example for them all. He controls them, molds and democratizes them, impressing upon them all the same spirit and ideas, teaching them the same things, and showing them the same examples. On the day that every child in a country shall have passed through this preparation before embarking on social life, and that every teacher shall have fulfilled his mission scientifically and conscientiously--on that happy day a nation will become a family, with the same spirit, morality, education, and aptitude for labor in one individual as in another, and with only genius, talent, activity, and patience to account for gradations. . . . This is the schoolmaster's task.1

During his travels, Sarmiento visited the Normal School of Versailles, (1846) one of the first in Europe, by which he was very much impressed.2 He wrote a report to the Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile which indicated that this school could be a model for normal school education. His observations also facilitated improvement of the management of the Normal School in Chile, which he founded in 1841.

The Normal School of Versailles served 117 pupils. It had an abundance of room-and-board, complete teaching materials and instructors that were chosen from among the

1Sarmiento Anthology, pp. 293-95.
2Educación popular, p. 168.
best educators of the royal schools of Versailles. The school had two levels. The pupils are concentrated in one area; their homework was done in three or four successive rooms; they sleep in the largest area; there is a big patio covered with trees and gardens in the surrounding area. The free flow of air, which is not possible in enclosed buildings, the gardens, the location of the service offices, make the school preferable over any other. Sarmiento suggested that a Normal School in Chile should be constructed similarly. Taking into consideration the fact that many pupils from the rural areas would feel free to learn and develop adequately.

Sarmiento was most impressed by the emphasis placed by the French on the study of vocal music. Music was being taught at all levels of education. The Society of Orfeon was established to conduct concerts, recitals, and operas. Music was seen as a means to improve the morale of the people, Sarmiento thought that this area of learning could be included in the curriculum of the Normal School in Chile.

Sarmiento observed that history and geography were taught alike in Chile as in France. However, drafting was extended to include models. Geometry, Sarmiento suggested, should also be included. He criticized Chilean education of history claiming that the emphasis was placed upon
Ancient History and History of Chile, while neglecting European History.

Also, in regards to methodology, the instructors of the Normal School of Versailles dictated the most important points of the lesson, the pupils were required to listen and record the details in their own fashion, using books adapted by the Royal Council of Public Instruction on the given topic(s) as reference. Due to that an abundance of books was available. Instructors prepared for courses without a written text, and only through the use of prepared programs.

Further in his comparison Sarmiento indicates that the course of studies in Versailles was divided into two years. Sarmiento suggests that at his school, all the students entered and finished at the same time, and that it was necessary to separate the course of study, into two years, so that, as in Versailles, you always had students entering and leaving. The school had a large library containing a large collection of the French classics, a large number of travel books, and works of history. All the books were available for use by the students. They also served as readings during the meals, although they needed to be interesting in order to captivate the pupils' attention. Sarmiento also suggested that French be in-
cluded as part of the course of study in the Normal School of Chile.¹

During his stay at Versailles, Sarmiento had the opportunity to interview the students of the Normal School. From them he found out that there were a gardner, a nurse, a wardrobe-keeper, two messengers, a food buyer/janitor, a cook, and three housekeepers (in other schools, the students themselves do the housekeeping). As to the number of instructors there was a director in charge of history, pedagogy, and municipal administration; a chaplain who taught religion and morals; an economist who taught writing and accounting; a language instructor; an instructor for each of mathematics, physical sciences (physics, mechanics, chemistry), agriculture, music; and two teachers for gymnastics. Two adjunct teachers, responsible for the discipline, were also available. They slept in the dormitories where they were on duty, and looked after the students during study hall hours, recess, chapel, dormitories, passages and hallways, as required by the school rules. The duties were discussed and divided among themselves. They were also required to attend lessons in orthography, arithmetic and catechism recitals.²

The teaching of mathematics was divided into two courses of studies, determined by the teacher. First

¹Ibid., pp. 176-78. ²Ibid., pp. 180-81.
year students studied theoretical and practical arithmetic, four primary functions; weights and measures; square roots; ratios; decimals; fractions; progressions; logarithms; home finances (percentages), theoretical and practical linear design, construction of perpendiculurs, triangles, tangents, circles, polygons, proportional lines, elipses, paraboles, hyperboles, Archimedes spiral, helices, etc., definitions of principal lines, superficies, solids, measurement of lines, evaluate a superficie, calculate volume of regular solids. These were taught without the introduction of theory. Second year students were taught elementary geometry, projections, surveyances, and cosmography. Students met in the amphitheatre, each had a turn to be called to the blackboard and answer questions which were passed to him/her by the instructor or one of the students. After an hour of review, the instructor proceeded to new material which had not yet been studied. Occasionally students repeating the year, or those in their second year, were called upon for the presentation. The intention was to train students to speak and prepare lessons, so that they may be better prepared to teach.¹

Religion was taught twice a week. Students were put into a position of answering questions that will be asked of them for the final examination. Catechism, and

¹Ibid., pp. 182-84.
the Old Testament were taught in the first year. The second year curriculum consisted of the study of dogmas, New Testament, and the History of the Church. Students were required to listen and later record in their own words the lesson that was presented.\textsuperscript{1}

Music was taught in a special room in which second-year students served as monitors to the first-year students. Second-year students received their lessons in the amphitheatre from a professor, assisted by a more capable student. Students sang verses from a collection called Orpheim. They were also required to sing the Mass to music by Mozart and the morning and evening prayers.\textsuperscript{2}

During the first half hour of history class, the professor dictated a summary of the events that will be discussed, and then proceeded with the details; the school providing the history books, and students were required to buy those authors that they liked best, and were approved by the public. First year studies dealt with ancient history, whereas, the second year curriculum consisted of the history of France and of those countries with which France had dealings. The Director taught history and geography. The teacher called students to the map, asked questions on the topic studied, and provided answers and

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., pp. 186-88. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{2}Ibid., pp. 184-85.
clarifications as they were needed. Dates of importance were learned by memorization.¹

The learning of physics, mechanics, and chemistry was offered to second year students. The purpose was to be able to explain the daily natural phenomena, to properly advise the farmers on agriculture, domestic economy, simple machines that are constantly used. The course was experimental and only offered twice a week.

In regards to the classification of students, all comparisons were avoided on a monthly basis. Each student was informed as to how much he/she has attained in a particular subject, and a number was assigned according to rank. Students were not reprimanded, but rather casually reminded of their attainments. Achievement was a personal responsibility. Punishments applied by the Director were bad grades, la consigna, reprenision individual, reprenision before the entire student body, which would gather in the amphitheatre. In case of a grave fault committed, the president of the Commission of Inspection administered the punishment--"censure," which was recorded in the student report and could only be removed at the end of the year through a demonstration of exemplary conduct. Grades for accomplishment were given by teachers and were based upon observation of student performance.

¹Ibid., p. 188.
General examinations were administered. A visit from the general inspectors of the university could also be expected.¹

Most students were admitted to study on a basis of an exam and were required to pay an indicated tuition, others were agraciados, who were required to pass the exam only. The latter were obligated to serve as teachers during a period of ten years in the area from which they were sent originally, or reimburse two thousand francs to the school for room and board. If a student committed a crime for which he could not be pardoned, the Evaluation Committee, Commission of Inspection or Accreditation Board, immediately expelled him and he in return, could not appeal his case. Good conduct was rewarded with a pass to leave the school, and upon the completion of his studies, he was given a certificate of good conduct, without which he could not find employment.²

Kindergartens

According to Sarmiento, "Salas de asilo" (kindergartens) primarily provided moral education for young children. The goal of these schools should be the modification of character, disciplining of intelligence for learning readiness, and the formation of work habits, order and voluntary obedience. He describes these schools in the following manner:

¹Ibid., pp. 190-91. ²Ibid., p. 92.
The locale is a building, with a garden/patio with trees, corridors and corridors. . . . There are no dangers to fear for the active child--no horses, no carts; no furniture nor utensils that they could break, no holes to fall into; no elevations from which to fall . . . crying is useless, because it would attract a circle without giving any results . . . the poor child does not suffer the uneasiness of their homes, does not feel abandoned, rejected, punished, scolded. . . . The rich does not have anyone to direct, to impose his fancies, nor to satisfy his unruly passions . . . the child finds a place to exercise his passions, which will be limited by justice and order which will form his conscience. . . .

Long hours in the "asilos" were to be dedicated to the natural development of the physical strength and the beginning of moral education. At the sound of jingles, children line up, learn to march and sing. They learn many words that they would not learn otherwise. The major difficulty exists in maintaining attention on a particular object. The first lesson to be learned is one of listening. The teacher describes with her hands as she speaks, and the children are expected to imitate her gestures. This process maintains the body in movement, develops the joints and muscles and maintains attention.

The curriculum consists of reading (syllables), writing (on the blackboard only), notions of arithmetic, geometry (abacus), history and natural science topics, lessons through questioning, contracts, images, gymnastics,

1 Ibid., pp. 234-35.
recitation by memory. In kindergartens, children learn through songs the first letter of the series of words, while a monitor moves round markers to illustrate the value of each number. Addition, subtraction, multiplication and memorization, serve as preparation for arithmetic. They also learn the order of numbers and the tables. Reading instruction given is centered around the study of letters and syllables, and hand movement so as to be able to produce regular characters in three years. Children learn a collection of songs adjusted to their voices, which through right musical time and a unified effort prepare them for more complete instruction and alleviate their hours of fatigue.

All the personnel of the "asilos," teachers, guards, and porters, are women. The evaluation or inspection is also assigned to women. Teachers are authorized to receive visitors to the school. These schools give women the open door to public work.

The "salas de asilo" should be located on the ground floor of the school building, the floor, should be covered with asphalt. The rooms must be illuminated on two sides by movable windows, placed 6-1/2 feet from the floor. The rooms should be rectangular in shape. At one of the extremities of the room several rows are in the form of an amphitheater, so that all children could sit in
them at the same time. The remainder of the room would contain desks nailed to the plank floor. In front of the desks, circles should be painted in the pavement, throughout the room illustration of numbers, the alphabet and other simple elements of primary instruction should be suspended. According to Sarmiento, necessary furnishings should include:

- coathangers to hang the hats, capes, vests, aprons;
- a wooden cup, jug of steel and copper;
- sponges and napkins;
- a water fountain;
- a stove;
- two beds without curtains;
- a pendulum;
- a bell, and chimes;
- a whistle or signal for the various exercises;
- blackboards, pencil sharpeners;
- boards;
- a collection of illustrations;
- a cabinet to store away the registers;
- as well as the materials and products of their manual work.

Besides the teachers (called "superintendentes") depending upon the number of students, there should be an
aide in every classroom. If there should be more than 100
students, two people should be made available for the room.
These individuals could not receive any compensation from
parents. Their salaries were paid directly from the local
treasury.\(^1\)

Before a student could be admitted, parents were
required to present a certificate from the doctor in proof
that the child is not afflicted with a contagious disease,
that he had received his shots, or that he has had small-
pox. Before attending the school, parents were to see that
the child's hands and face were washed, that the hair was
combed and that the clothing was not torn, unsewn.\(^2\)

School would be in session from March 1 through
November 1 from 6:00 in the morning until 7:00 at night,
learning of lessons was to take place on a daily basis
for at least two hours, and four at the most. Each learn-
ing experience was not to be more than 10-15 minutes in
duration.

Women assigned as supervisors or those that were
delegated the task, were to exercise a maternal vigilance
over the children, study the behavior of the girls, and
direct teachers in carrying out the designed curriculum.
The supervisory visits were at various hours of the day so
that an accurate impression could be formed of the exercises

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 241-42. \(^2\)Ibid., p. 242.
and recreation. The main consideration was the health of the children and immediate assistance needed by the poor children of the "asilos." A doctor should make a weekly visit. In a register each supervisor recorded the number of girls, their occupation at the time and observations made. A safe was available into which any contributions and any other funds were deposited. The money collected was used for the benefit of the school and pupils.

In regards to the treatment of the pupils, certain regulations were observed, such as:

1. Classrooms and patios had to be swept and cleaned every morning, half an hour before the arrival of the pupils;

2. upon arrival of the pupils, the teacher examines each carefully in regards to cleanliness, healthful appearance, nutriments that they bring;

3. corporal punishment should not be used upon the pupils;

4. teachers should be present at all recreational activities and be able to attain complete and immediate silence when needed;

5. the games and movements should be carefully directed and supervised so as to avoid all type of dispute or mishaps, the floor of the patio should always be covered with sand;
6. teachers should verify assistance and absences on a daily basis;

7. children should not be allowed to leave the school unattended. They must leave with their parents. Further attendance at the school could be refused, if parents are negligible in taking their children home.

8. Unexcused and frequent absences should be recorded and reported to the supervisor.¹

In order to teach children to be silent, it is necessary to make them hear the tic-toc of a clock, a subdued sound of a small bell, or of any other similar object, pretending to want to hear it and not being able to over the noise that they are causing. By maintaining this practice, complete silence could be attained. The use of a whistle could also be included. The lesson need not begin until the whistle is blown and the sound of the clock is heard. This should not be abused and used only to acquire complete silence.²

Attention should not be gained by force. It must be voluntary, a result of curiosity and a desire to learn. Instruction, should therefore, be based upon objects pleasing to the child. Topics that awaken interest and

¹Ibid., pp. 246-49.

intelligence must be considered. It is important to provide a variety of activities, rather than spend a long time on one aspect. They could be constantly involved in moving their arms, hands, head; alternate sitting and standing positions; singing and music exercises; stories, surprises, etc. There should be constant involvement in listening, doing, speaking and changing of position. If a child falls asleep, he is carried to bed without reprimand. Any topics for discussion should be used, providing that they are appropriate to the particular age group.¹

Curriculum

Sarmiento was favorably impressed by the learning opportunities provided by the educational systems of Prussia, Holland and the United States. In Prussia, separate classrooms were provided for the teaching of the subject areas, with a teacher assigned to every area. Teacher aides were also available to oversee pupil progress. A teacher was responsible for the progress of those students that have been assigned to him. In Holland, students were subdivided into groups, each with an assigned teacher, although a school may have served from seven hundred to a thousand students under its auspices. The school building consisted of three classrooms, with three assigned teachers, for instruction in the introductory grades; the upper

¹Ibid., pp. 249-59.
grades were divided into four classrooms. An aide was provided to teach arithmetic, reading, writing and grammar. Occasionally, pupils were also used to practice with their peers the assigned memorization lessons.

In the United States, Sarmiento found the schools of Salem, Massachusetts, to be very efficient. He provided a synopsis of the school regulations to illustrate the basis for his admiration:

. . . the school will be open to pupils that will bring the necessary entrance certificate, which is given upon successful completion of examinations . . . the school will be divided into two departments, each of which will be divided into eight classrooms, with twenty-two pupils in each . . . studies in the northern department will be divided into three courses--grammar (orthography and etymology; syntax and prosody) and two reading courses (reading, syllabication, definition and punctuation) . . . studies in the southern department will be divided into three courses--geography (use of maps, globes, astronomy, history) and two courses of arithmetic (basic practical and mental exercises, algebra, geometry) . . . grammar and geography classes will be available to all the students of both departments . . . the first classes of arithmetic and reading will be heard by the four older groups in each department; second classes by the four younger groups . . . the six aides will be respectively assigned to the six courses into which studies are divided . . . the head teachers of each department will give out reviews of the work studied, alternating the subject areas being tested . . . classes had to be present in the recitation hall for all recitations . . . the testing/review time will be thirty minutes, and will be indicated by the bell of the school clock . . . movement by pupils from room to room must be quick and well-organized . . . attendance in the winter will consist of fifty-six half hours, and sixty in the summer . . . pupils will be assigned seats . . . teachers will be assigned specific duties during each half hour. . . .

1Educación popular, pp. 308-9.
Escuela de la Patria

In 1816 the governor of Buenos Aires sent two brothers to San Juan—Ignacio Fermin and José Genaro Rodriguez. The Escuela de la Patria (School of the Homeland) was to replace the Escuela del Rey (School of the King) which was usually dominated by a priest, and in which religious and civil disputes were quite common. The school was free. It attained so much fame and prestige that the private schools disappeared.

A spacious area facing the main plaza could accommodate into these large rooms, more than three hundred pupils from all parts of the city and suburbs, and from all social classes. It was not uncommon to see masters and servants, as well as slaves, attend school. Everyone was treated formally, with the intention of eliminating too much familiarity among the pupils and working toward habits that would eliminate all class distinctions, which were obstacles to the progress of democratic processes in Latin America.

The decoration of the three large rooms was quite expensive for a school. The numbers were inscribed on a circular blue ribbon, which each pupil recognized as designating his seat. At the end of the main room was the

1Ibid., pp. 324-28. 2Ibid., p. 326.
image of the Virgen del Carmen, the patron of the school, with a stand for choir books at her feet.

On a monthly basis, the government sent six pesos to the school. These were to be distributed among the two individuals that demonstrated excellent academic performance during the span of a full day.

The school was divided into three rooms—reading in one; religion, arithmetic and grammar in the second; and advanced grammar, orthography, commercial arithmetic, algebra, church history and doctrine. All pupils were required to complete successfully a final public examination before the authorities (the governor, municipal council, priest, and visitors). A final list of those completing their studies was sent to the government. The examinations were quite solemn and attractive public spectacles. Parents gathered in the main town plaza, where benches were set up for their children, and proudly listened to the examinations in progress.

Teaching and learning were overshadowed with a religious spirit. Saturday afternoons the teacher lectured on morals or dogma. Pupils were questioned in an effort that they may explore their doubts. At other times, episodes from the life of Christ were discussed.

Reading, writing and arithmetic are the most important aspects in primary instruction. In regards to
writing, besides the system of M. Morin, a Frenchman, and
the logic of Ignacio Rodriguez, his teacher, and the regular method of teaching with pauses and models, Sarmiento found a different method in Germany and Holland. This method was no other than the antiangular, known in Europe as the "American System." German teachers found it useful and expeditive in the manner of teaching it, as well as in the results produced. It was much clearer and regular, although not as attractive as the English. The English form of writing was being used by all civilized countries in commerce. A good style of writing gives individuals a much better opportunity to enter into commercial endeavors as accountants and bookkeepers.¹

Reading began with squares containing the vowels followed by the consonants, and accompanied by an illustration of an animal, an instrument or a popular object in which predominates the sound to be learned. The aide or the repeater at the blackboard delineates the characters of the letters, combining them in a logical and intelligible form. The system of reading was analytical. After this alphabet class, an appropriate book of reading is prepared for the level of the pupil. Every pupil has his book open. The teacher explains the lesson, and a pupil is assigned to read the selection orally while the

¹Ibid., pp. 346-48.
rest follow in silent reading. The teacher corrects mistakes in pronunciation, and intonation. In order to assure that all are giving their full attention to the reading, the teacher calls individuals at random to read the selection. While a class of fifty pupils reads, only two voices are heard, those of the teacher and the reader. The books are printed in a variety of printing styles with the intention of training the eyesight. Also, words are substituted by a hyphen in all cases where the subject and verb indicate the complement.¹

¹Ibid., p. 345.
CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATOR AND REFORMER IN ARGENTINA

In 1854, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento left his home in Yungay, Chile, and started back to Argentina with his family. Although the government of Mendoza, Argentina, was notified of this trip, it soon became evident that his arrival had caused more excitement than had been foreseen. Sarmiento was arrested and put into jail. He was held incommunicado, and when brought to trial, was charged with conspiracy against the government. Due to lack of evidence, the trial was halted, the suit dropped, and Sarmiento was free. However, fear of another seizure, led Sarmiento to decide to return to Chile. He decided to watch the political developments of Argentina, knowing that he would return to his home country. In the meantime, he continued to edit the "Monitor de las escuelas." He spoke in favor of increasing the number of public libraries in Chile, completed the translation of several books that were useful in primary school education, and published Educación común (Common Education).

In 1855, Sarmiento set out for Argentina. After a brief visit to San Juan, he continued to Buenos Aires. He found the city to be an overgrown village--dwellings
consisted of low houses centered around the Plaza Mayor (Main Plaza), country life began only a few blocks from the center of the town, livestock and cultivated fields appeared; there were no trolleys, railroads or internal communications; the port was small and primitive, the ships were unloaded by large wheelcarts drawn by oxen; the principal buildings were the Fort, the Cabildo (municipal building, police station, and jail), the Legislature, the Cathedral, and the University. Sarmiento knew that he would use the newspaper and the school to "educate" opinion to his views. The political institutions would be used to put his ideas into action.

Before the end of 1855, Bartolomé Mitre gave up the editorship of the newspaper "El Nacional" and appointed Sarmiento in his place. Within two weeks he was named by Governor Obligado to a place in the consultative council of government. Within the next two years, he was appointed chief of the department of schools. Also, he was elected by the Catedral del Norte District to the Municipal Council of the City of Buenos Aires, where he held his seat for two years and drew up a code that provided for the widening of city streets. He reestablished the power of the council. Sarmiento was also elected to the state senate. During this time he performed his most important political roles--took a leading part in debates on the trial of Rosas; fought for the adoption of the new commercial code
of Velez Sarsfield and Acevedo; proposed an introduction of the metric system of weights and measures; supported a bill to institute the secret ballot, and that foreigners be allowed to vote after two years of residence, instead of waiting to secure their citizenship first. He debated on such issues as the publication of judicial decisions, military service, the state of seige, the foundation of cities, the colonization of fiscal lands, the ports in the southern part of the country, asylums, churches, schools, public health, charity, treaties. He used the senate as a tool for his solution to the problems, namely reform.¹

He wanted reform for everything up through the electoral system and the economic organization of the country. He also proposed the passage of a law to create a model agricultural community around the town of Chivilcoy. Here farmers lacked deeds to give them possession of the land that they worked. Others paid rent to absent landlords. Sarmiento proposed the awarding of definite titles to the workers of the land, the division and sale of lands at a low price, and aid in organizing and improving the community. These principles of land sale and distribution became bases of Sarmiento's later programs of colonization and agrarian reform.

¹Belín Sarmiento, pp. 116-17.
Sarmiento also spoke in favor of the conversion and use of the Paraná River and Rio Negro Valley as a recreational and cultivation area. He set up his own summer retreat in this area. The area eventually became a resort center. Sarmiento foresaw a future value for the Rio Negro area which was settled by a colony of French immigrants. He proposed that the Indian be driven back and strong frontier settlements established. He expressed his approval of the installation of gas lines in the city of Buenos Aires. He advocated the formation of political parties based on ideologies rather than personalities, and fought for electoral reform and freedom, indicating irregularities in the voting system.¹

Augusto Belín Sarmiento summarized the activities of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, his grandfather--

He wanted to solve for the future the fearful social problem of the distribution of wealth--fence in rural property--plant forests to change the climate and create wealth--widen the streets of Buenos Aires in preparation for the future metropolis--create an educational system with independent income--solve the frontier question--separate the rural and civil police from the political power--the municipal regime--improvement of livestock--exportation of meat and animals on the hoof--agricultural and machine expositions--ports in the south--the development of the Paraná Islands--decimal system--liberty of the press--electoral laws--roads and railroads--the abolition of the passport--nationalization of foreigners. . . . It was necessary to show with acts of civilization that the fight against Rosas was not just to substitute one arbitrariness for another.²

¹Ibid., p. 120.  ²Ibid., pp. 82-83.
After the fall of Rosas in 1852, one of the first acts of the government had been to nullify the decrees of the former regime in the area of public education. Alsina, then minister of government, restored the principle of free education that Rosas had destroyed and made education one of the items in the governmental budget. From 1852-1855, much was done to restore the educational system, but there was no coordination due to conflicting jurisdictions and confusion of policy. The organization of the educational system of Buenos Aires was begun by a decree on April 5, 1852, which put under the Ministry of Public Instruction "the inspection and direct supervision of all that concerns schools and houses of education." ¹ Sarmiento's friend Vicente Fidel Lopez, was made minister of public instruction, and set out to recreate the school system. He tried to reorganize the University of Buenos Aires and found a normal and a commercial school.

Several months later two more decrees confused educational policy. A decree in May, 1852, reestablished the Sociedad de Beneficencia (Charity Society), which had been founded by Barnardino Rivadavia and which directed and supervised women's education. The society's claim to independence complicated the problem of authority. In

¹Jose Salvador Campobassi, La educación primaria desde 1810 hasta la sanción de la ley 1420 (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1942), p. 189.
October of the same year, a decree put all schools for boys under the Department of Primary Letters, headed by the rector of the University of Buenos Aires. In 1854, the municipal government of the city of Buenos Aires was created. It in turn created the Commission of Education. The existence of three authorities over the schools of Buenos Aires confused the situation.

When Sarmiento arrived in Buenos Aires in 1855, he believed that he could most contribute in the area of education. He maintained his belief that if a government by law and by the people was to be established, the people would have to be educated. Prior to his arrival in Argentina he published Plan combinado de educación común en el estado de Buenos Aires (Combined Plan of Public Education in the State of Buenos Aires). This work contained a general plan for the development of education in the province. The theme of the book was to combine public education with agricultural pursuits. The solution of the agrarian problem was seen in the division of farm lands and the education of the farmers. Sarmiento wanted to give the land to those that cultivated it, and in every area of two and a half leagues he proposed setting aside enough land to support a school. On this land, besides the school, would be built an establishment for the experimental cultivation of plants, a dairy, a library, a chapel, and a vaccination
center. The teacher was to be prepared pedagogically as well as be an agricultural expert and have some basic knowledge of medicine. This plan gave him importance in this field. "El Nacional" wrote

we can be sure, without fear of error, that the present intervention of the illustrious publicist in the realm of primary education will cause it to advance a century beyond the generation that is forming under the system followed until the present.¹

In August, 1855, Sarmiento was appointed professor of constitutional law at the University of Buenos Aires. This was quite an honor for the self-educated patriot. The appointment was honorary, although he was occasionally called upon to lecture on a variety of topics.

In February, 1855, the government of Buenos Aires organized the Council of Public Instruction which assumed the direction of primary and university teaching. However, it could not control the schools of the municipality of Buenos Aires or those of the Sociedad de Beneficencia (Society of Charity). Therefore, the following year a general department of schools was created and Sarmiento was appointed as head of this organization. He was in conflict with the municipality of Buenos Aires and the Sociedad de Beneficencia. He suggested the formation of one unified

authority. The unification was never realized, but his organization made advances and improvements in the area of education.

In the press, Sarmiento continued his effort to convince the public of the value of public education, to persuade the people "that all of its political, economic and social problems were problems derived from their lack of education."¹ In 1858 he founded Anales de la educación común (Annals of Common Education).

The special object of publication is to keep the public up to date on the efforts that are being made to introduce, organize, and generalize a vast system of education. Reforms of such radical nature and of such beneficial consequences are not initiated in the schools but in public opinion. It is not the teacher but the legislator who produces them, and the law will be a dead letter if the father of the family does not lend for its execution the heat of his sympathies.²

In each issue, Sarmiento published information, statistics, excerpts from his messages and memoranda, translated articles and legislative projects.

In 1857 he sponsored three legislative acts in the senate of the State of Buenos Aires. The first provided that money from the sale of municipal property should go for the creation of schools, and was accepted by the legislature. The second proposal required that high fines, taxes on inheritances, the income from goods confiscated by the state, a part of the lottery, and the liquid income

¹Ibid., p. 160. ²Campobassi, p. 250.
of the Banco de la Provincia (Provincial Bank) should be used to create schools. He also proposed a retirement fund for teachers who had completed from twenty to forty years of service. Both were defeated. During the remainder of his term he continued to speak out in favor of educational advancement. In 1858 he said in a speech to the senate—

As for me, I enjoy the satisfaction of having finally found a government that lets me do what I wish, and a people that understands what is demonstrated to it. The superior school that I have founded has produced a revolution. Believe me that in Europe such schools are unknown. . . . I hope to realize the greatest task in America and perhaps present a model for other peoples to follow. In Chile it is impossible to overcome the resistance of public opinion on the one hand and the system of government that concentrates all powers on the other. Within ten years Buenos Aires will have the entire North American system with all of its advantages.¹

As chief of the department of schools, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento carried out a series of educational projects. Between 1856 and 1861 he founded thirty-six new schools. He caused the translation, publication and implementation of the latest and best texts on religious doctrine, spelling, grammar, arithmetic and many other subjects. He initiated the teaching of foreign languages --French, English, German and Latin--as well as music and singing in the public schools. He increased the number of women teachers. He wrote the law of August 31, 1858, for

¹Bunkley, p. 376.
the building of new schools. This specified the proportion that each district should contribute to the purpose, and later a decree provided state funds to those districts that could not raise the necessary amount. During his period of scholastic rule, the public school system of Buenos Aires became one of the best in the Americas. ¹

The jurisdiction of the department of schools conflicted with that of the municipality of Buenos Aires and the Sociedad de Beneficencia. Before either could establish a school, it would have to consult with the other. A jurisdictional dispute was always the result, and the two organizations existed in a continual state of mutual antagonism. Sarmiento considered the Sociedad de Beneficencia deterrent to the advancement of public education. He did not think that the normal school of the Sociedad de Beneficencia prepared their candidates for teaching positions well, nor that its schools adequately educated the young girls of the community. He considered the Sociedad the center of entrenched feminine aristocracy and snobbery. His major clash with the Sociedad was over the issue of founding coeducational schools. The Sociedad, consider-

¹ Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Fundación de escuelas públicas en la Provincia de Buenos Aires durante el gobierno de Sarmiento (La Plata: Editorial Universitaria, 1939), Vol. VII.
ing this an infringement upon its field of feminine education, opposed any such plan. A long debate resulted, but Sarmiento won his point-of-view. In April, 1859, he wrote to the president of the Sociedad--

The undersigned, authorized by the executive power to open an auxiliary school for the Monserrat District, has decided to call it the Primary School Number I, entrusting its direction to Señora Dona Juana Manso de Noronha, and another or other assistants of her same sex. They are to admit boys or girls indiscriminately. . . . The undersigned proposes to create, insofar as necessity indicates, the schools of this type in all districts and confide their direction to women teachers; for I am convinced of the advantages and conveniences of entrusting to women the rudimentary teaching that is so similar to maternal education. . . . Although boys will attend School Number One, I hope that such a fact will not exclude the beneficial influence that the institution of the Society of Charity is called upon to exercise in the education of our youth.  

On July 18, 1960, Sarmiento was present at the inauguration of the Model School of Catedral al Sud, which had been built despite conflicting jurisdictions. This was the first result of his law of school construction. It had the finest teachers of the public school system, the latest equipment and texts, and an independent budget.

With the conclusion of the war for unification (1859-1861), Buenos Aires was the center of national power and Bartolomé Mitre was president of the republic. Mitre assumed the executive power of provisional government and called for a new Congress. Because the Provinces of

1Ibid., pp. 57-58.
Mendoza, San Juan, and San Luis did not support the regime in Buenos Aires, a military expedition was sent to these western provinces. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was sent as a judge advocate of the army. Upon the army's arrival in San Luis and Mendoza, little resistance was met. The governors had fled before the arrival of the troops. With a small detachment of soldiers, Sarmiento set out toward San Juan, his home town. On the very day of the arrival in San Juan, Ruperto Godoy, president of the provincial legislature relinquished the governorship of the province to Sarmiento.

Immediately, Sarmiento began the work of educating the people of San Juan. He ordered a printing press brought from Chile and again founded his old newspaper "El Zonda." Then he turned his attention to the public school system and attempted to reform the educational process in San Juan. In April, 1862, the legislature passed a law authorizing Sarmiento to codify and reform the public education laws of the province. Revenues from fines and confiscations made by the courts were also allocated to support the public school system. He decided that all departments of the province would be obligated to pay and maintain one or more primary schools in their district. On November 12, 1863, a decree was published making primary education obligatory--"All fathers of families are
obligated to send their children to school." If the parent did not comply, the justice of the peace was ordered to notify the police.\(^1\)

Sarmiento's primary preoccupation was the preparation of the human being for the new age of civilization. Education and information came first, but he also devoted much time to molding of a province that would become a model district. He set out to reform radically the actual administrative machinery of the government--

He created new offices such as those of the justice of the peace, the defender of minors, and the district attorney. He combined and consolidated government departments, and he created new ones. The topographical department under the German engineer, Gustav Grothe, was instituted. It drew of the first map of the province and the first important plan of the city and its contiguous agricultural lands. The national guard was reorganized, and both the infantry and the cavalry were trained in the latest military methods.

Sarmiento created an office of statistics, founded agricultural communities, organized rural and urban police, built schools, paved streets, increased municipal services, laid sidewalks, put name signs on the city streets, constructed hundreds of bridges, built houses for the legislature and the courts, organized regular mails to Mendoza and San Luis, founded public baths, instituted a house of correction for women, raised funds for hospitals, inaugurated a preparatory school for the university, planted model gardens, erected benches in the public parks, widened and lighted the streets, passed a printing law, founded a completely civil cemetery, opened rural roads, instituted a patent-office, and inaugurated a system of agricultural inspection.\(^2\)

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\(^2\)Belín Sarmiento, p. 176.
In a period a little over two years, Sarmiento attempted to reform the entire province.

It seemed as if the province would not be able to support financially all of Sarmiento's projects. Expenditures in the budget of San Juan exceeded revenues. Support from the national government was insufficient to support the public administration. Sarmiento realized the financial difficulties that his reforms were imposing, but he calculated that his improvements would pay for themselves. He had two projects that he thought would contribute to the economic improvement of the province and the financial support of his "program of civilization." The first was his plan for the improvement and extension of agricultural lands. In 1862 he founded a Quinta Normal de Agricultura (Normal Farm of Agricultural Experimentation) with the intention of improving and perfecting agricultural techniques and methods. He went on to establish an extensive program of irrigation and flood control to better extend the cultivable farm lands. He also proposed a system of irrigation canals and dams to control the rivers and streams in the winter. The second was the development of the mining industry in the mountains surrounding San Juan. The success and/or failure would either provide positive results or depopulate the area. Rules in regards to mineral deposits, prospector claims,
and mineral rights were drawn. The office of inspector general of mines was founded. Sarmiento and an Englishman called James Rickard organized a mining corporation. His suggested reforms could have been successful. However, in 1863 the financial burden was heavy, and these two projects were not producing immediate results; he was having personal difficulties, and a bloody rebellion in the province drained his treasury.¹

At the end of the first year, public opinion was divided over issues, and opposition increased. Sarmiento was ahead of his time, and the common people did not understand his methods or his ends. He tried to bring reforms too quickly, and was not careful to avoid conflicts with the traditions and beliefs of the common people. He chose for his Escuela Sarmiento (Sarmiento School) the convent of San Clemente. The school was to accommodate eight hundred students, and would incorporate all of the latest methods, equipment and theory. The convent had not been a religious establishment for many years, had served as a military headquarters, but the religious element of the population was stirred up. Also, a law that gave the income from confiscated ecclesiastical funds to public work, education and the normal experimental farm put Sarmiento into the category of atheistic liberal reformer. Sar-

¹Bunkley, p. 402.
miento was accused of being a free mason. This happened because he "made a church into a school, an old chapel into an experimental farm, and had taken a few yards of land from a convent to widen a street. . . . Here apathy, niggardliness, and true poverty unite as a party of resistance."  

In 1863 a full-scale civil war broke out in Argentina. The struggle involved one of the last caudillos who was living on the plains of the province of La Rioja, Angel Vicente Peñaloza, known as "El Chacho." President Mitre put the national armed forces at Sarmiento's disposal. By the end of the year, the bandits were dispersed and El Chacho was executed by Major Pablo Irrazabal. Sarmiento was accused of the murder, although he stated that he did not issue such orders. Sarmiento connected the incident to social conflict between civilization and barbarism.

In December of 1863, President Mitre was conscious of Sarmiento's depressed position—opposition to his program, the setback received by the Chacho rebellion, his strained relations with the national government (Guillermo Rawson, Minister of Interior), his domestic difficulties. Mitre named Sarmiento envoy and minister pleni-potentiary to the United States. On April 7, 1864, Sarmiento resigned

\[1\] Belín Sarmiento, p. 178.
as governor of San Juan and headed toward Chile. His assignment was supplemented by assignments in Chile and Perú, which he was expected to complete. On May 5, 1865, Sarmiento reached New York. The city dazzled him.

It would take a volume to tell you all my impressions after a two weeks' stay here. It is a whole year of life compressed into a few hours like a delirious fever. It is the temptation of Satan, displaying the kingdoms of the world from the high mountain. The changes since my first visit are so great that the most luxurious quarter of the city, where I am now living, did not even exist then. The magnificent avenues that divide this section are 40 yards wide, with streetcar in the middle and sidewalks 7 yards in width, lined with trees. The cross streets are only 20 yards wide with shady parks at short intervals. Broadway, 50 yards in width, is laid out for 7 miles, for more than 3 of which it is enclosed by marble, granite, freestone, or brick palaces. Palatial hotels for 1,000 guests, printing offices, banks, stores, clubs, and associations—today Broadway is unrivaled anywhere in the world for its architectural splendor and its crowds. It is there that the great fortunes are made, which will be spent on Fifth Avenue, another street of palaces like the famous one in Genoa. It is the Boulevard St. Germain of New York.

This spaciousness of the streets, the plantings of the trees, vines, and flowers, and the iron work, which instead of covering the stupendous buildings embellishes them, the confusion of coaches, omnibuses, streetcars, people, posters, and signs—make a strange impression on people who, like ourselves, have been accustomed to living in streets 12 yards wide, that shut out all our view.¹

Sarmiento arrived in the United States at the time when the American Civil War had just ended. Lincoln died from an assassin's bullet. Industry was booming. All was optimism, action and change. While he waited for papers

¹Grummon, pp. 269-70.
that would allow him to present himself before the President of the United States, Sarmiento used the time to acquaint himself with the country. He watched the review of the returning Army of the Potomac, attended the trial of Dr. Mudd and Mrs. Surrat (he was impressed by the trial system), visited the ruins of Richmond, Petersburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and then returned to New York. On November 9, 1865, his credentials arrived and he was received by President A. Johnson. Sarmiento expressed his aims and his views to the President and indicated his desire to study the model nation. He came to study its methods of preparing people for their political life. This task was two-fold—a sympathetic presentation of Argentina to the North American public and a study of the North American institutions. Sarmiento founded a newspaper of his own in New York. He called it "Ambas Americas" (Both Americas), and it was devoted to the exchange of information and ideas between the "two Americas."

Soon after his arrival in New York, Sarmiento wrote to Mrs. Mary Mann, with whom he established a very close relationship until the end of their lives. She translated into English *El Facundo* and parts of *Recuerdos de provincia*. She was his spiritual guide and confidante. Sarmiento met such people as Ralph Waldo Emerson and George Ticknor, a Hispanist in the United States; Henry
Wadsworth Longfellow, Benjamin Gould, Jean Louis Agassiz, and Dr. Hill, President of Harvard University. ¹

In spite of his linguistic difficulties, Sarmiento collected a library on political science, law, and education--James A. Wickersham's *The Common School Laws of Pennsylvania* and *The Code of Public Instruction in the State of New York*; Thomas Hare's *The Election of Representatives*; Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Horace Burney's *The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus*, Alfred Conkling's *The Power of the Executive Department* and Francis Lieber's *On Civil and Self Government*. In Lieber's book he marked passages that agreed with his ideas--"The supremacy of law is an elementary requisite of liberty," and "Education has been considered by many as the true basis of popular liberty." ²

What Sarmiento learned during his mission in the United States he recorded. He wrote for "El Zonda," "La voz de America," and other journals. He published the first *Life of Abraham Lincoln* in Spanish. He wrote his *Escuelas, base de la prosperidad y de la republica in los Estado Unidos* (Schools, Basis of Prosperity and the Republic in the United States). In 1867 he translated and edited a *Life of Horace Mann* that presented the

¹Ibid., p. 275. ²Bunkley, p. 431.
achievements of the North American educator to the Hispanic reading public.

Sarmiento took an active part in the pedagogical activities of the United States. In 1865 The Rhode Island Historical Society invited him to present a paper before one of its general meetings—-the title was "North and South America," a comparison of the civilization of Anglo-Saxons and Iberians, showing the strength of the former and the weakness of the latter. He called upon the United States to send schoolteachers, inventions, new methods, and new products to South America.¹

In 1866, Sarmiento travelled to Indianapolis to attend a meeting of the National Teacher's Association, headed by James Pyle Wickersham, who had just been appointed Superintendent of Common Schools of Pennsylvania. Sarmiento was invited to speak on the subject of "Education in Argentina." Here, he expounded on the need for intellectual cooperation between the Americas.

It is the province of the United States, the highest mission intrusted by Providence to a great people, that of conducting others through the new paths opened by mankind to advance firmly to their great destinies. . . . The republics of South America ought to be the first to avail themselves of the lessons given to them by the great republic of the north with such an enlightened exposition. But unfortunately it is not so. South America . . . is like a man who being sick

¹Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, DisCURSOS (Buenos Aires: Luz del Dia, 1950), pp. 195-236.
refuses to take the simple remedies tendered him--
common education--in order to be fit for liberty and
republicanism. . . . I have witnessed in a South
American legislature the sanction without opposition
of the budget of war for four millions of dollars, and
the bringing about of a stormy discussion over the
amount of two thousand dollars, directed to support 1
an educational paper like the Massachusetts Teacher. 1

Toward the middle of 1867, Sarmiento left the
United States for a brief period to visit the Informational
Exposition in Paris. He visited the Exposition and had a
brief interview with L. A. Thiers, his old acquaintance. 2
He returned to the United States and continued his travels
through the country. Toward the end of the year, he was
nominated for the Presidency of Argentina.

In June, 1868, Sarmiento travelled to Ann Arbor,
Michigan. He was granted an honorary doctor's degree from
the University of Michigan.

On July 23, 1868, he embarked on the steamship
"Merrimac" for Buenos Aires. He had not heard the results
of the elections in Argentina.

On August 16, 1868, the National Congress declared
Domingo Faustino Sarmiento President of the Argentine Re-
public. Sarmiento indicated from the beginning what his
program would consist of--educating the people of Argen-
tina to prepare them for democracy. He stated:

1Bunkley, pp. 433-34.

2Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Memorias (Buenos
We are going to constitute a pure democracy, and for that we cannot count on only the teachers but we must count on the entire youth that will form a generation to help me in my task. It is necessary to make the poor gaucho into a useful man in society. For that purpose we must make the entire Republic into a school.¹

Upon his visit to Chivilcoy, Sarmiento decided that this town would be the model for his platform. Chivilcoy was the agricultural center that was the product of his work in the Senate. It was a result of his land colonization, distribution and cultivation plans. It was a success.

But if success crowns my efforts, Chivilcoy will have an immense part in it, for it has been the pioneer that tried out with the best will the new land law and that has demonstrated in ten years that the pampa is not, as they would have us believe, condemned exclusively to giving pasture to animals, but in a few years, here as in the entire Argentine territory, it will be the seat of free, industrious, and happy peoples.²

Also, the school was to make the gaucho into a better citizen. Chivilcoy was to make him more productive. He was going to make the nation fit into a pattern of rational social behavior that he had conceived. If the people's minds were improved through education, if economic life was rationalized, if political life were brought under constitutional forms, if more rational races were brought in through a more liberal immigration policy the gaucho would be transformed; he would be rationalized.

¹Ibid., p. 276. ²Discursos, p. 266.
This was his program. This was the intention.

Sarmiento saw three general categories of opposition to the completion of his program. The first was the still present caudillo opposition. General Urquizo controlled most of the northeast portion of the country. The Taboada brothers controlled the northwest. Others might arise also. Secondly, he saw the material difficulties in the way. Thirdly, Argentina was involved in foreign disputes. During his six years of presidency, these sources of trouble had to be overcome.

In spite of all the difficulties, Sarmiento went on with his program. He had to defeat barbarism and "civilize the gaucho." To do this he needed to educate the people. He wanted to bring a new population and give it land on the pampa. He needed to reform the nation's economy. His accomplishments in this area are numerous. When he came to power, there were 30,000 children being educated in Argentina. Six years later there were 100,000.\(^1\)

Besides the increase in number, the methods and reforms that he had advocated many years before were introduced. Sarmiento's administration supported the development of education in the provinces by subsidizing provincial schools. He created new national schools. He initiated

a system of normal schools and brought teachers from the United States to run them. He created the National observatory in Cordoba, and sent for his friend Benjamin Gould to direct it. He founded the Faculty of Exact Science, the School of Mining and Agronomy, the Naval Academy, and the Military Academy. He extended and improved the system of public libraries and ordered many books from Europe. He instituted schools for telegraph operators, night schools for adults and an institute for deaf mutes. He founded physics laboratories, stenographic schools and museums. He created mobile schools for the underpopulated regions of the interior.

Sarmiento's efforts in the educational field had a lasting effect. Argentina could boast the best primary education system in South America and one of the best in the world.

In the field of government, Sarmiento supported the adoption of the civil code drawn up by his Minister Velez Sarsfield. He revised the commercial code and

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3 Bunkley, p. 468.
reformed the military code. He modernized the plan of study for the law school at the University of Cordoba, and he supported a new citizenship law.

He also instituted a more liberal immigration program. Immigrants were offered opportunities to acquire their own lands and to settle in the interior of the country. The mileage of railroads tripled. Telegraph lines were introduced at the beginning of his administration. Communication by ship was increased. He also instituted the first census in 1869, which made it possible to plan the many government projects.

By the end of his presidency in 1874, a great portion of what he set out to do was completed.

His was the most active and progressive administration in Argentine history. He had overcome the caudillo opposition. He had successfully faced the economic problems. He had solved the foreign questions. He had laid the foundations of an excellent educational system. He had modernized the communications and the economy of country. He had brought into the nation hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. He had begun the colonization of the pampa as he had started it at Chivilcoy. He had improved the legal structure of the government. He had given his nation a few years of peace, and he had offered it prosperity for the future. It looked as if he were well on his way towards the goal of "civilization and modernization of the gaucho." 1

In 1874 Sarmiento was discouraged and confused. Things did not work out the way that they should have. Sarmiento thought that he could "transform the gaucho."

1Ibid., p. 470.
He thought that education, new economic institutions, and a little new blood would change the Argentinian who had spent his history in conflict and civil war into a peaceful citizen living within a framework of law and order. However, in spite of his earnest intentions to transform his civilization and make it conform more closely to the civilization he had observed and admired in Europe and the United States, Sarmiento was still basically a Spaniard, a product of the Hispanic tradition. Many elements of his governing reveal a gaucho intent.\(^1\)

Also, he did not take into consideration the reality of the people with whom he was dealing. Sarmiento did not realize that what he was attacking was the essence of his civilization, the basis of a long tradition. He did not see that it was impossible to transform the gaucho overnight. The change could only occur over a long period of time.

During his predisency, Sarmiento saw a new phase of the old caudillismo set in i.e., the personalist politician found himself living in a constitutional government. It was his method of doing things more than what he was doing that put him into this category: his strong concept of the position of the executive branch and ruling by decree; his use of intervention to overcome opposition

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 471.
in the interior; and his use of the "state of siege" and martial law and the suspension of guarantees in order to suppress rebellion. His idea that a superimposed program would change the whole way of life immediately left him unprepared to find the same basic features of personalism in his new order. He found himself faced with a personal opposition that functioned within the framework of constitutional laws and republican institutions but which did not conform to the ideal pattern that he had conceived. He himself never fully understood the opposition that he encountered in Congress.

On October 12, 1874, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento turned over the presidency to Nicolas Avellaneda, and retired to private life, a tired and sick old man. However, after he rested, he again turned to activity.

Between 1875-1880 he became involved in public education when he was named director general of schools for the province. He reformed courses of study, built new schools and enlarged the old ones. He founded a new pedagogical journal, La educación común en la provincia de Buenos Aires (Common Education in the Province of Buenos Aires). Sarmiento also served as senator from his province of San Juan. He also resumed the editorship of his old newspaper, "El Nacional." President Avellaneda offered Sarmiento the post of Minister of the Interior and the Head of his Cabinet. The latter accepted. In 1880,
his name was submitted as candidate for the presidency, but Julio Roca became the president of Argentina.

After his resignation as Minister of the Interior in 1879, Sarmiento returned to his duties as Director General of Schools for the Province of Buenos Aires. As a result of the federalization of the capital in 1880, a new governmental organization was created and this deprived him of much of his jurisdiction. In 1881, he was appointed General Superintendent of Schools. He was to preside over a council of eight members that represented the executive power of the public school system. Soon after the appointment, friction resulted over the questions of religious and lay education, over the election of a vice-president for the council, and the undermining by the council secretary of Sarmiento's orders. When the government ignored his request to dismiss the secretary, Sarmiento resigned, and a new council was elected. He attacked the Minister of Public Education, D. Pizarro, and the latter resigned from the Cabinet. In 1883, his name was put up for election to the municipal council of the capital but his candidacy was defeated. During this period, he continued to edit El Nacional, until his attacks on Miguel Juarez Celman, a friend of the newspaper's publisher and owner. Sarmiento resigned his post in 1883 and limited himself to writing miscellaneous non-political articles.
In 1884, Sarmiento travelled to Montevideo and to Chile on his governmental mission to arrange international cooperation in the translation of famous books. In Uruguay he was received with great ovation. In Chile he was given the reception of a conquering hero. On his return trip to Buenos Aires, he stopped in Mendoza and San Juan, where he was also met with a municipal reception committee. His arrival in San Juan was the moment that he had been waiting--

Yesterday at five in the afternoon General Sarmiento made his entrance into this city amidst a splendid ovation... The general, followed by various carriages and a group of escorts on horseback, started for the city. Within a short distance he was met with two arches of triumph prepared spontaneously by schoolteachers in the district. The pupils were formed in line to receive him and one of them to offer him a bunch of flowers. She delivered a beautiful little speech. He continued on his way, being cheered everywhere and presented with flowers, until he arrived at the Retiro. Here fifty carriages with almost two hundred gentlemen (governor and high officials) awaited him.¹

He was taken through roped-off streets lined with thousands of people. Everyone in town wanted to see Don Domingo. The students and teachers of his normal school arrived to offer him a new ovation and more flowers and sang the national anthem. This triumphal tour to familiar places was gratifying in view of his diminishing power and importance on the public scene. Memories of past greatness returned. He was not forgotten.

¹Ibid., p. 507.
Upon his return to Buenos Aires, Sarmiento heard that Congress had passed and President Roca had signed a law to publish the complete works of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Luis Montt, the son of his old Chilean friend was to edit them.

In 1885 Sarmiento lived quietly in Buenos Aires completely withdrawn from public life. "In 1885 Sarmiento was the living symbol of three generations that had spent their lives to create the framework of the Republic."¹

Sarmiento's last attempt to return to a position of influence to the public life of the nation came in 1886. He supported none of the candidates and definitely opposed the election of Miguel Juarez Celman for President. He founded the newspaper El Censor, and used this as a tool for his attacks and criticisms, which were now calmer and more mature, avoiding personal arguments and maintaining a strictly doctrinal approach.² Months later, Juarez Celman was elected to the presidency. By now, Sarmiento was suffering from acute psychological depression and was physically weak and ill. His life was slowly expiring and


his hopes and ambitions still far from realized. He had set out to change the world and he was unable to do so.\(^1\)

In 1887, Sarmiento decided to make a trip to Paraguay for the winter. From Paraguay he supplied materials to newspapers in Buenos Aires and San Juan, and became a regular contributor to El Independiente of Asuncion. Toward the end of the year, he returned to Buenos Aires. He knew this would be his last visit. He wound up what business he had and wrote farewell letters to his friends. In May, 1888, Sarmiento was on his way to Paraguay, accompanied by his daughter, Faustina and granddaughter, Maria Luisa, and grandson, Augusto. Sarmiento states—"I will not get through this year, my son... I am going to die... Ah, if they had only made me president, I would have disappointed them by living another ten years."\(^2\)

On September 11, 1888, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento died from an organic lesion of the heart.

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\(^1\)José Guillermo Guerra, Sarmiento: su vida y sus obras (Santiago de Chile: Editorial de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile, 1938), p. 291.

\(^2\)Belín Sarmiento, p. 317.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The false notion taught to him at the primary school that the Earth remains still at the center of the sky, the dogmatic books that served as first readers and the hateful exhibition of clerical precepts that used arguments of hell to support any argument, indicated to Sarmiento that freedom does not exist without the use of reason.

With this idea in mind, Sarmiento actively began his work for the first time in the Colegio de Santa Rosa, after some of his obscure enterprises in the Andes, Pocuro and Copiapó, where he taught miners of Punta Brava by means of a spelling book and drawings. The daring founder had quite a vast learning experience. His self-teaching included French, English, extensive mathematics, quite a bit of literature, and drawing—which he considered a direct language in itself.

The establishment of the Colegio de Santa Rosa was not an impulsive gesture. Sarmiento gave a great deal of importance to women's education. The well-being of a nation depends upon women. As a result, one of his first endeavors as an administrator was to establish normal schools for women teachers. The relationship of the school

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with motherhood was one of Sarmiento's favorite topics. He wanted to establish kindergartens for the children of working mothers. He saw the education of the woman as being the best support of spiritual liberty. As a result, Sarmiento spoke out against clericism in 1883 at the Normal School of Teachers at Montevideo, Uruguay. His article "La Escuela sin la religion de mi muyer'' (School Without the Religion of My Wife) resulted from the lecture and initiated a liberal campaign which, the following year, resulted in the establishment of lay education.¹ His well known conflict with the Sociedad de Beneficencia de Buenos Aires had similar origins. He wanted to incorporate schools for women into public education, and finally accomplished his goal.

In 1852, in Chile, he founded "El Monitor de las Escuelas," an official publication. In 1855 he published Educación común en el estado de Buenos Aires (Common Education in the State of Buenos Aires). The following year he published the Anales de la Educación Común (Annals of Common Education), at the time when he became the head of the Department of Schools. These were the beginnings of educational press.

Conferences or summer courses for teachers were instituted in Chile in 1854, with Sarmiento as the first director.

¹Lugones, p. 171.
Construction of school buildings was another of his concerns. He wanted the school to be beautiful and to accommodate three hundred pupils. Instructions to school inspectors were very thorough. School treasuries and special schools for the handicapped were also existent in his plan.

During his diplomatic work in the United States, his main preoccupation was that of making "a school out of the whole Republic." There in the Instituto Americano de Educación (American Institute of Education), he presented his lecture on "El Maestro de escuela" (Teacher of the School). Later he published his work, Escuelas de los Estados Unidos (Schools of the United States) which he directed to the Argentine government. He initiated the publication of Ambas Americas (Both Americas), a journal dealing with pedagogy, bibliography and agriculture, and also translated the Vida de Lincoln (Life of Lincoln).

Two years after the establishment of the normal school in the United States, Sarmiento did the same in Chile (1842). The theoretical initiative came from Andrés Bello. The first founding of such an institution belonged to the time of B. Rivadavia. Sarmiento's travels to Europe and the United States were quite fruitful in this area of concern. He met Guizot, visited the normal school at Versailles, studied the method of Morin and practiced
at the school of Levi Alvarez. In Spain he examined the
development of orthography by consulting the old manus-
scripts, and became a member of the Sociedad de Profes-
sores de Madrid (Society of Professors of Madrid). In
Holland he saw a system that permitted a simultaneous du-
plication of school populations. In Italy he visited
some institutions for the blind and deaf mutes. Prussian
seminaries, or establishments of secondary education, in-
dicated to him a high degree of standards. In the United
States he ratified his better intuitions in regards to
democratic teaching. He had formulated the same system in
his mind even before he had had the opportunity to know it
through reading or experience.

_Educación popular_ (Public Education) was the lit-
erary product of his travels. The book indicates the
equalitative and quantitative concept of education. He
states that education is singular. There should be one
well organized system devoted to the formation of a "com-
plete citizen." The government owes the citizen the max-
imum education possible, because its interest should be
the formation of citizens with the utmost in capacity. The
means by which this could be accomplished through the pro-
vision of free education and well-organized areas of study.
In order to achieve this, the formation of a school treasury
is of utmost necessity, which would take away direct dom-
inance by the government with the intention of preventing
political exploitation. School councils should be autonomous. School revenue should be especially set aside.

Sarmiento's method of teaching was that of a rationalist. He favored the deductive method of learning. Interest and personal discovery were encouraged. Routine was frowned upon. Practical experiences served as a basis for the intellectual development of the individual.

The first normal school suffered from many defects. It did not offer natural sciences, which are indispensable for teaching by object method, lacked practical applications, and this provided for a theoretical rather than a practical pedagogy. However, this was the best available at the time. Another deficiency of the school was the use of corporal punishment, penalties and rewards. He wanted to eliminate examinations, which he believed should be limited to studies at the upper levels. Sarmiento thought that these should be substituted for by an active process of teaching.

Reading and writing, the two necessary means for acquisition of knowledge and communication, had progressed notably. Sarmiento was a specialist in the area. Until his death, he strongly believed that the responsibility of man toward his fellow men was that of teaching them to read. His servants were also his pupils. He dreaded bad writing, which according to his beliefs, was a mirror of bad education and selfishness. On the contrary, good writing
indicated frankness and love of the good. He wanted children to be taught this type of moral graphology, which is also exact and scientific. In order to accomplish this, schools needed to change their notebooks, maps and drawings.

Sarmiento's concerns in the area of orthography are well known. He was concerned with the simplification of the written language. Only the necessary elements were to be used. He seemed to forget, however, that orthography is a feature of a language. Letters are conventional empirical elements, not rational formations. They proceed from the primitive hieroglyphic reproductions that enunciate a sensation and not an idea. However, Sarmiento's convictions were so communicative, that the Facultad de Filosofia y Humanidades de Santiago, Chile, approved the reform whose success lasted seven years in Chile (1844-51).

Other reforms included the formulation of the rational terminology for the parts of a sentence and the tense of verbs. Arithmetic became a totally practical process, performed on a blackboard and a notebook. The use of the abacus, the decimal system, the objective method that linked it to the sciences, and mental calculations. The map was the primary instructional material used in the study of geography. The study of cosmography was systematized.
Sarmiento also realized the difficulty level of the textbooks that were written with adult ideas and style of writing. According to his concept, the author of a textbook should write as if he himself were a child. As a result, his reading methods were based upon the consideration of "the difficulties of childhood."

Drawing for Sarmiento was deserving of his preference. It was not a decorative art. It constituted one of the goals of public education, which indicated that aesthetics had a primal role to fulfill in the learning process, which is a composite of physical education (education by object lesson), aesthetics and intellect. The regulations of the Colegio de Santa Rosa included music and dance.

When elected president of Argentina, his work as a statesman considered public education of fundamental importance. In the provinces, he founded primary and advanced schools of study, and assigned rewards to those schools that educated the largest number of pupils, so as to encourage education and learning. This law was enforced during his presidency. School subsidies increased from 16,000 pesos that were spent regularly from 1864 to 64,000 pesos in 1869. A decree fixed the necessary conditions for receipt of the monies, and a law in 1871 indicated how much was to be distributed per province. Free schooling began with free textbooks, for which a fund of
12,000 pesos was set aside. However, the purchasing and distribution of books did not coincide.

According to Sarmiento's convictions, the general citizenry deserved the maximum of educational opportunity. It was not limited to primary education. Adult education courses, providing for a more technical training were introduced.

National colleges deserved full attention. The curriculum was modified to include a strong literary aspect. Two years of study consisted of learning physics, chemistry and mathematics. The other four years emphasized Latin, French, English and History. In San Juan and Catamarca courses in minerology were included. In Buenos Aires it was not uncommon to find evening classes that taught geometry, mechanics, and stenography. Also, in Catamarca, a primary school was annexed to the college. In this form the federal government intervened with aid into an area that was usually reserved for the provinces. The intervention indicated favorable support of the main resources available in each region. This was also a step toward nationalization of education. Sarmiento was the first to take the national primary school to the provinces. Innovations in the secondary school continued. A lack of understanding in regards to the role of secondary education existed. A double quality of students existed -- those that were regular attendants and those that were
auditors. A well-developed plan was necessary. Organization would need to take place. In some schools agricultural equipment was used. Apprenticeships were abolished. Technical inspection was instituted. Scientific studies, libraries and collections of natural history works were brought from Europe (the first after Rivadavia).

In 1869, normal education was initiated, with the creation of courses annexed to the national colleges of Corrientes and Uruguay. To these were also added correspondence schools, to which the federal government paid out ten scholarships. In the same year two normal schools were founded. In the following year a school for university professors of Paraná was established and granted seventy scholarships. However, the plan was extensive and unorganized. The majority of the four year curriculum consisted of mathematics including surveying, but natural history was excluded. The minimum age of the students was sixteen years of age.

Sarmiento's liberal ideas also included the clergy. The educational institutions that he founded or organized included conciliating seminaries. Religious people had the right to education, more so because they were involved with the spiritual training and guidance of the population.

Military and naval schools were also a product of Sarmiento's presidency.
In Mendoza in 1862, he founded two normal farms for the teaching of agronomy and arboriculture (both of which he originally initiated passing through San Juan in 1855). As President, he created analogous studies in Salta and Tucuman. He ordered the first official investigations on agricultural entomology, and established the first study of veterinary medicine. Minerological studies were instituted, and a reward for the discovery of coal granted.

He was also concerned with the education of deaf mutes and the blind. He promoted the first school census which served as a basis for planning of public education, and organized primary education by statistics. During his term, elementary and secondary school population enumerated 100,000 pupils.

In advanced studies, he founded the Museo de Historia Natural (Museum of Natural History), under the directorship of Burmeister, the contradictor of Darwin, whom Sarmiento admired a great deal.

During his presidency, Sarmiento founded the Facultad de Ciencias de Cordoba (Faculty of Sciences of Cordoba) for which he contracted with European professors to initiate the scientific study of the natural environment of Argentina. Lorentz began the botanical classifications. Kayser studied catfish fossils in the mountain range of San Juan. Bodenbender and Brackenbusch arranged
the territorial geology, which was begun by Bravard. The establishment of a Conservatory at Cordoba led to the formation of a map of the Argentine celestial hemisphere by a North American, B. Gould. The drafting of a general map of Argentina was also part of his endeavors during this time.

After his presidency, Sarmiento modestly, for the second time, accepted the post of Director General of Schools of the Province of Buenos Aires. In 1875 he was instrumental in forming the law for public education. As a result of his propaganda, the Consejo Nacional (General Council) was established by law. In 1876, he regulated the schools under his direction and published the bi-monthly newspaper "La Educación Común en la Provincia de Buenos Aires" (Public Education in the Province of Buenos Aires).

In 1881, Sarmiento was named Superintendent of Education, which gave him power over the Consejo Nacional. His first effort in this office was to call together all teachers in order to deliver to them a lecture on reading. The institution and work terminated after a year, because Sarmiento could not function under the guardianship of numerous commissions. However, movable schools for the teaching of reading became numerous. They were sent to areas where backwardness was predominant. A cart drawn by oxen was used to transport the teacher.

Another of his great endeavors consisted in the
propagation of the establishment of public libraries.
Public education is impossible without public libraries
"Books require schools; schools require books. Schools
prepare men ready to read, but who do not read because of
a lack of books." As a result, Sarmiento would have liked
to see libraries as an integral part of all public institu-
tions, including the technical schools. He sacrificed
much to see this idea materialize. However, the idea
failed. He did not have collaborators, and he himself did
not possess the necessary administrative skills. Account-
ing and distribution of revenue were inadequate. The
latter was terminated due to the economic crisis of 1876.
There was no method for distribution. Choosing of lit-
erary works to be included was inadequate. The Comisión
Profectora de Bibliotecas Populares (Protective Commis-
sion of Public Libraries), organized by Sarmiento with in-
dependent power of authority, was not at the height of its
mission.

At the end of his presidency, Sarmiento was some-
what disappointed in his achievements. Although he en-
joyed some accomplishments, not all things did turn out
as he had hoped. He thought that he could "transform the
gaucho"; that education, new economic institutions, and
new blood would change the Argentinian into a peaceful
law-abiding citizen. He could not transform Argentina into
the civilized nation modeled upon those seen in Europe or the United States.

Toward the end of his life, Sarmiento felt a certain dissatisfaction. Why were there no parties that stood for different political philosophies, instead of personalism or geographic districts? Why had a new caudillism replaced the old? Why had the gaucho, though brought to the city, educated and modernized, not been transformed? These questions were at the base of his thoughts during his later years. He analyzed them in two ways—he analyzed the features of his old theories that had gone wrong, and offered a modification of his old ideas. Of his ideas on education, anti-Hispanism, immigration, and material modernization, he did not abandon any; he merely filled in the gaps and indicated certain weak areas.

In the field of education, he held on position after another. He continued his campaign for the increase in the number of schools, improvement of teaching staffs, and modernization of teaching methods. He carried on a fight against compulsory religious education in the public schools. He was not in favor of atheistic education but favored lay education.¹ The national constitution was

¹Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, La escuela ultrapampeana (Buenos Aires: Luz del Dia, 1954, reprint), main topic of the book.
specific on this point, so he had only the clergy to oppose this idea.

Sarmiento gave a practical turn to his theory of de-Hispaniezing South America's culture. From the time that he had declared that Spain had no culture worth knowing and no writers worth reading, Sarmiento was convinced that Argentina had nothing to learn from the mother country. He thought that much more could be learned from the other cultures of Europe, and the United States. In 1884, he wanted to work on a project which would generate the translation of the leading works of the western world—Germany, France, Italy, England and the United States. Argentina, however, refused to sign the convention that would undertake this project after he had initiated the plan and talked Chile, Uruguay and Colombia representatives into agreeing.

His hopes of the results of extensive, European emigration to Argentina seemed to be a grand illusion. He hoped that new races would counteract some of the worst characteristics that were inherited from Spain. He hoped that the peopling of the pampa would bring a new economic prosperity to Argentina. However, immigrants came from backward regions of southern Italy, rather than from Scandinavia, Germany, and England. They congregated in cities. He blamed the failure to achieve results on the failure to absorb the newcomers. He campaigned for the
incorporation of the foreigners into the Argentine nationality. He wanted to make them landowners before granting them citizenship. He wanted to do away with their isolated colonies and their national schools—"He reserved the most caustic sarcasm for the immigrants who enrich themselves in the country without becoming attached to it or its habits and its institutions."¹

In 1886, Vida y escritos del colonel don Francisco J. Muñiz (Life and Writings of Colonel Don Francisco J. Muñiz) was published. This was a tribute to a man that he believed to be the greatest Argentinian. Muñiz was Argentina's first naturalist and a scientist of nineteenth-century Hispanoamerica. This man represented the absorption of western scientific civilization.

In his work entitled Conflictos y armonías de las razas en América (Conflicts and Harmonies of the Races of America), Sarmiento attempted to reexamine his old theories and determine why they had gone wrong. He outlined his efforts of the previous thirty years—

Schools, colleges, universities, legal codes, literature, legislation, railroads, telegraphy systems, freedom of thought, and active press, more newspapers than in North America, illustrious names.²

¹Palcos, pp. 231-32.

These were the results of a generation. But, something went wrong.

Considering Facundo, he saw the shallowness of the book, but also conceived of a new idea. He wrote to Mrs. Horace Mann--

In Civilization and Barbarism, I limited by observations to my own country; but the persistence with which there reappeared the evils that we thought we had overcome by adopting the federal constitution and the university and the similarity of the happenings that occur in all of Spanish America, made me suspect that the root of the evil was in something deeper than the external accidents of the soil led one to believe.¹

Sarmiento analyzed the political situation and found that personalism reoccurred in Argentina. In spite of constitutions, telegraphs, railroads, and schools, it reappeared. It was present in all parts of the Spanish world. This led him to a new conclusion--

Starting with the fact that is evident to me, the elections are real in all other countries but those of South America, and that the governors have seized control of the vote, I tried to find out from whence arises the difference, and I have found that the voter belongs to an Indian race. . . .²

Therefore, the gaucho was not transformed because there was something wrong with his theories, but because of the inherent characteristics of the gaucho.

The racial mixture found in South America (Spanish, Indian, Negro) contrasted with that of North America. This racial mixture contributed to the inability to trans-

¹Ibid., p. 8. ²Ibid., p. 117.
form the gaucho. The solution could only come from a harmonic understanding and cooperation among the best racial elements. However, in his analysis of the racial composition, he seems to confuse a biological heritage with the historical heritage.¹ His analysis of certain elements in Spanish and Indian history is a beginning toward the understanding of the elements in the Spanish way of life that stood in the way of Sarmiento's reforms.

¹Ibid., pp. 119, 147.
CONCLUSION

The educational system founded by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento served as the basis of the contemporary Argentine schools. Although it has educated many children, it was not as extensive as originally intended. However, it has taught some the ethics, morality, aesthetics, and ideas that are the heritage of humanity.

The economic reforms suggested by Sarmiento did not facilitate the creation of a nomocratic government. However, they brought material prosperity to Argentina, making her one of the wealthiest countries in Hispan-America. They gave her railroads, roads, ships, factories, and a prosperous agriculture.

The racial reforms of Sarmiento brought no new love of law and democracy but the masses of immigrants brought new people to settle and work on the unsettled territories and an ambitious and vital population that created a nation.

Sarmiento's writings assumed a prominent position in the Hispanic literary world. His major work, Facundo, led the vanguard of an Argentine literary genre that proved to be the most genuine and autonomous in Argentine history. Recuerdos de Provincia (Recollections of the Province)
contains pages that are quite prosaic. His Viajes (Travels) are explorations into the ways of life of Europe, Africa, and North America in the nineteenth century.

Sarmiento did not write with the intention of establishing a literary genre. He merely wanted to present certain ideas to the Latin American people. His writings will appeal to the historian, the sociologist, the teacher, the politician, the journalist, the writer, the self-made man, and the infighter. This includes almost everyone, giving his more than fifty volumes of works a universal character. He also wrote on such topics as immigration, colonization, religion, administration and revolutions. Education was, however, the subject about which Sarmiento wrote the most because he was interested in all aspects of learning. The principal idea that he wanted to present to the people was that of "civilization" and "barbarism." "Civilization" symbolized the cities and their enlightened policies in constant conflict with the "barbarism" and caudillism of the country.

Today the problems of poverty, population, and illiteracy still exist in Hispanoamerica. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento deserves credit for identifying them and trying to solve them. To Argentina Sarmiento contributed a drive for literacy, economic growth and cultural aspirations. To the United States he brought a new concept of inter-
American cooperation. To Latin America he left as a legacy his firm belief that the key to future prosperity and peace lies in international cooperation. National boundaries would have to give way to national needs, the Rio de la Plata states would need to unite and build new cities for the future. And only then would the barbarism which he described in *Facundo* be overcome and civilization be on its way.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento is a symbol. He is a symbol of the agony of the Hispanic world in the nineteenth century, a world that existed in one way but hoped to be different. Sarmiento's existence did not transform the Argentine Republic, but it irrevocably altered it.
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The dissertation submitted by Maria Korkatsch-Groszko has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. John M. Wozniak, Director
Professor, Foundations of Education, Loyola

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek
Professor, Foundations of Education, Loyola

Dr. Mark M. Krug
Professor, Foundations of Education, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 23, 1981
Date

[Signature]
Director's Signature