

The Rousseau Institute of Geneva's influence on and presence in Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century¹

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Abstract

The influences from international pedagogical currents and active pedagogy's impact on spearheading the renovation of Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century have been the subject of many studies which enable us to sketch a European pedagogical map that can help us to grasp the keys of this broad, deep renovating movement that started to fertilise the rough terrain of European education in the last few decades of the 19th century. Geneva and Catalonia, and Spain by extension, should be joined by a thick line on this map. A study of the documentary sources in the archives of the iconic Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, founded in Geneva in 1912, along with a survey of different studies and publications enable us to gain a new perspective with the goal of contributing further elements to help us assess the influence of this Geneva-based institution on Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century.

Key words: active pedagogy, pedagogical renovation, educational sciences, history of education, new school, JJ Rousseau Institute, experimental psychology

Active pedagogy's impact on the drive to renovate Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century has been the subject of many studies. Based on their results, we can trace several lines that join different points in Europe's geography and explain the pedagogical relations, conceptual genesis and influences which ultimately reveal the keys to understanding this sweeping, profound movement of renovation which both intensively and extensively fertilised and seasoned the difficult terrain of European education in the last few decades of the 19th century. One of these lines would connect Switzerland, and more specifically Geneva, with Catalonia and, by extension, Spain (Laudo and Monés, 2008).

In the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJRR) we have found a letter from before the institute opened which is related to the rising prestige of the studies

¹ This article is the result of a research stay at the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJRR) in Geneva during January and February 2008 with funding from the University of Vic.

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being conducted by Claparède's Experimental Psychology Laboratory². The letter is from Joan Bardina (on the letterhead of the *Revista de Educación*); it was signed in Barcelona on the 20th of December 1910 and addressed to Claparède. In it, Bardina presents the plans to publish a new journal starting in January 1911 with the goal of “*sembrar dans notre pays et dans l'Amérique espagnole les nouvelles théories sur la Psychologie, la Méthodologie et la Culture scolaire, ici presque complètement inconnues*”. After the introduction and preamble, Bardina asks Claparède to cooperate with the journal “*en mettant votre pensée au service des maîtres espagnols, avides de savoir, mais, malheureusement, ayant plus de bonne volonté que de science*”³. Beyond the merely anecdotal, this letter pinpoints the origin of the relations between Catalan teachers and pedagogues and Geneva. These relations unquestionably stemmed from the prestige that Geneva's psychology and pedagogy had gradually garnered thanks to Flournoy and Claparède and in the pages of the *Archives de Psychologie*, a journal which came to be included in the most important education libraries, including the library of the Pedagogy Council⁴.

In the archives there is also a letter from Eladi Homs (dated the 13th of May 1912) in response to a complaint from Claparède that the *Revista de Educación* had not covered the project to create the Rousseau Institute, while it had published information on Brussels⁵. Homs apologises and announces that the journal will cover the opening of the Rousseau Institute in a forthcoming issue, in which an article by Claparède would

² At that time, Claparède was already a famous psychologist and pedagogue. His book *Psychologie de l'enfant et pédagogie expérimentale*, published in 1905, had been translated into Spanish by Domingo Barnés and published in Madrid in 1910 by the Librería Francisco Beltrán.

³ Source: Archives de la Famille de Morsier [consulted at the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJR), yet meant for the Claparède collection in the Département de Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque de Genève].

⁴ *Quaderns d'Estudi*. Vol. III, no. 1, year II, October 1916. The section containing information (sheet no. 1) on the library of the Council of Pedagogy notes that the collection contains all the issues since 1911. When the roots of the relations between the Catalan teachers and the city of Geneva were being laid down, we cannot forget the educational journeys made by different groups of Barcelona teachers starting in 1911 with the support of the Town Hall. The first group of 14 teachers travelled during the month of July and went to different cities in France, Switzerland and Germany, with a brief stop in Geneva. This visit, which lasted a little over a day, was limited to just a few schools, especially secondary and professional education (see: *Viaje pedagógico a Francia, Suiza y Alemania en el año 1911: memoria presentada al Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona por varios maestros públicos de dicha ciudad*. Barcelona, J. Horta, Impresor, 1911). The different members of the group, coordinated by Celestina Vigneaux, included Rosa Sensat and Llorenç Jou, who would later return to Geneva and have relations of differing intensities with the Rousseau Institute. The report on the educational journey taken in 1913 mentions no contact with the Institute, which had been operating for just one academic year. This should not come as a surprise for two reasons: first, the journey followed an itinerary similar to that of previous years, plus the Rousseau Institute conducted no activities during the month of July, and the vacation courses, which were launched in 1916, had not yet begun. Worth noting is the visiting teachers' positive assessment of the tolerant treatment of the religious and linguistic differences they observed in the Swiss schools (See: *Viaje pedagógico a Francia, Suiza, Alemania y Bélgica en el año 1913: memoria presentada al Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona por varios maestros de las escuelas nacionales de dicha ciudad*. Barcelona, Imprenta Elzeviriana de Borrás, Mestres y C^a, 1914).

⁵ The *Revista de Educación* (no. 4, vol. II, April 1912, p. 232) had published a report on the forthcoming opening of the “International Pedagogy Faculty of Brussels”, a higher school of psychological and pedagogical studies envisioned as a research and teaching centre. To please Claparède, issue 5 from May of the same year (pp. 302-307) contained an extensive, detailed report on the “School of Educational Sciences (J.J. Rousseau Institute)” which explained the goals of the centre, the conditions for admission, the cost of the programmes, the faculty, the schedule of courses and the subjects being offered for academic year 1912-13.

also appear⁶. He also takes advantage of the occasion to explain that he had studied in the United States for three years, that he had read Claparède's child psychology books, that he was replacing Joan Bardina at the head of the journal and that Pau Vila had requested a scholarship to study at the Rousseau Institute. Therefore, this was a minor diplomatic incident which was easily digested by Geneva's liberalism, internationalism and *savoir faire* and only serves to corroborate that the threads of a partnership were beginning to be woven⁷.

Not unrelated to this mutual interest was the parallelism we can establish between the so-called *esprit de Genève*, with its sights set on the need to provide a political-educational utopia, and the concerns with building the country through education among the Catalan bourgeoisie first and the progressive and republican sectors later on. Nor should we ignore the fact that the cantons of Geneva, Vaud and Neuchâtel are francophone, which facilitated communication in French, a language spoken by the Catalan teachers and professors.

As Eladi Homs announced in his friendly response to Claparède, Pau Vila registered in the first course at the new Rousseau Institute in 1912 and opened up an avenue of exchange which would be heavily trodden in the forthcoming years, albeit more by ideas than by actual people⁸. The analysis of these comings and goings, the stays, the news generated and the articles and monographs written are the pretext and motive of the reflections below in an attempt to reconstruct the diffuse influence which Teresa Marín Eced (1990) mentions when she assesses the European contributions to Spanish pedagogy based on educational journeys.

1. The Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute of Geneva

1.1. An institute of educational sciences as a crucible of educational renovation

The 1912 opening of a school devoted to the sciences of education which bore the name of the Geneva-born philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, dovetailing with the second centennial of his birth, culminated a process gestated years earlier. Throughout this process, a complex edifice revolving around the educational sciences was constructed. The evolution had gotten underway in the late 19th century, based on a conception of pedagogy as a moral science; it took shape in 1912 with the creation of the Rousseau Institute and the development of child psychology and experimental psychology; and it finally unfolded and became professionalised after 1929, and particularly after 1933, with the development and academic recognition of the educational sciences as a discipline unto itself (Hoffstetter and Schneuwly, 1998, 2006a and 2007). By the end of the process, the free school initially envisioned by Claparède, who followed in the

⁶ Claparède, É. (1912) "La educación atractiva", *Revista de Educación*, vol. II, no. 5 (May), pp. 257-262. This is a text excerpted from the book *Psicología del niño y Pedagogía experimental*, translated by D. Barnés.

⁷ Source: AIJRR (Fonds général - Correspondance de la direction – Box 1: 1912-1918).

⁸ Issue 3 (December 1912) of *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*, the journal of the institute that had just opened its doors two months earlier, reports on the visit by a group of teachers from all regions of Spain who were on an educational journey funded by the Board for Advanced Studies. Ferrière lectured to them and projected photographs on "Les écoles nouvelles du Dr. Lietz". As we shall discuss further on, in January 1913, after a study trip to Belgium, Switzerland and Germany, Rosa Sensat made a brief stop in Geneva and a brief visit to the Rousseau Institute accompanied by Pau Vila, a student at the centre.

footsteps of Théodore Flournoy⁹, would become fully integrated into, yet also diluted in, the University of Geneva, after which Piaget would determine the fate and define the orientation.

The construction of the disciplinary edifice around the activity of the Rousseau Institute was grounded upon a merger of psychology and pedagogy, which complemented and fed each other. Throughout this process, this common trunk gradually branched out until it separated into a plurality of dissociated, distinct disciplines in all fields which pervaded the academic contents of the courses, research, congresses and the structure and profile of the university degree programmes and publications¹⁰.

The social and political context in the canton of Geneva did not remain divorced from this evolution, and instead led to the presence of tensions and both internal and external struggles on a personal and institutional level. The 'times of political and social passions' that Geneva experienced during the 1930s led to upheaval for the Rousseau Institute and determined the fate of its main players (Vidal, 1988).

Since 1920, there had been some criticisms levelled against the liberalism emanating from the Rousseau Institute, which was imbued with Geneva's pacifist and internationalist spirit, especially at times when the Institute was experiencing economic difficulties. Claparède and Bovet saw their institute as a model and example that captured the dream of a new era which would be attained through education: an educational community grounded upon friendship and respect. This educational project aimed at social reform was reinforced in 1925 with the creation of the Bureau International de l'Éducation (BIE), which was the perfect synthesis between the climate at the Rousseau Institute and the spirit of Geneva. The spirit and trajectory of the first twenty years of the Rousseau Institute can be studied in publications by Claparède (1912), Bovet (1912, 1917 and 1932), Rosselló (1923) and, more recently, Daniel Hameline (2004).

A few years later, Geneva would be influenced and pressured by Europe, which was unfortunately evolving towards quite different pathways of internationalism and pacifism. During the 1930s, the pressures from conservative groups in Geneva increased and had more resonance and effects in a city which, as Professor Vidal tells us, was no longer an island but a reflection of what was happening in Europe, where the economic crisis and rise of fascism and nationalism would become the predominant features (Torracinta, 1978; Spielmann, 1981). The dire clashes derived from social and political conflicts experienced in Geneva in 1932 were crucial to the political and academic

⁹ Théodore Flournoy, Claparède's first cousin, was the creator of the Chair in Experimental Psychology in Geneva in 1889. See: Claparède, É. (1921) "Théodore Flournoy, sa vie et son oeuvre", *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. XVIII, pp. 1-125.

¹⁰ The following unpublished study by Professor Germaine Duparc is interesting: *L'École de Psychologie et des Sciences de l'Éducation de l'Université de Genève. Notice historique concernant l'évolution des objectifs et la mutation des structures, 1912-1971* (Source: Archives de l'Université, 1984/16/10). Professor Duparc, who died on the 7th of January 2008 (just a few days before my stay in Geneva), had been born in 1916, held a degree in Biology and a PhD in Anthropology and had been a teacher and director of the Maison des Petits and later a professor at the University of Geneva. In this study, she schematically chronicles the transformations brought about within the Rousseau Institute based on the changes in name, chronological events, objectives and studies and degrees offered. Jean Piaget, one of the spearheads of the changes, is described and analysed from her own viewpoint in the article "L'Institut des Sciences de l'Éducation de 1914 à 1956", *Histoire de l'Université de Genève. Tome IV*. Geneva, Georg, 1959.

authorities' decision to intervene decisively in the Rousseau Institute's life, and starting in 1933 to neutralise it through science.

1.2. A model of pedagogical training: From experimental psychology to active pedagogy, from the sciences of education to educational practice

If we look back to 1912, just before the Institute was created, and review the founding texts written by Claparède, we can catch a perfect glimpse of the motives and purposes reserved for the new institution:

“The project of an institute of this sort comes from a twofold claim: first, we realise that the psychological and pedagogical training of educators is not sufficient; and secondly we note that no measure has been taken to ensure the progress and development of the science of education” (Claparède, 1912:21).

Claparède's reasoning was clear, and his conclusion was striking: if children were at the core of the educational system, there was no reason to stint on or ignore future educators' need for experimentally grounded knowledge of children (*“Discat a puero magister”* would be the slogan of the new institution) as the first step towards constructing a kind of pedagogy that was also grounded on experimentation and science:

“No theoretical reason can oppose the fact that educational issues are proven through experimentation. Quite to the contrary, we see the health of pedagogy as lying in controlled observation and deliberate observation” (Claparède, 1912:43).

In short, the mission was to create a centre with a twofold objective: to train educators and to further the construction of knowledge. In the end, the Institute was born from the heart of the debate on the real role of pedagogy and the relationships between psychology and pedagogy¹¹. The model of the new institution drew inspiration from the experimental laboratory and the *laboratoires vivants* used to observe the conduct of students in natural situations. Rita Hoffstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (2006b) have called this a “laboratory of laboratories”. In fact, this is the same avenue pursued in Dewey's laboratory school model and Binet's *école laboratoire*.

Claparède's project envisioned a structure built upon four pillars: a school where the fundamentals of education and scientific research methods were studied; a research centre oriented at developing the educational sciences; an information centre built

¹¹ Claparède, É. (1905) *Psychologie de l'enfant et pédagogie expérimentale*. Neuchâtel, Delachaux et Niestlé. The relationships between psychology and pedagogy in Geneva are analysed in the following article: Lussi, V.; Muller, C.; Kiciman, V. (2002) “Pédagogie et psychologie: les frontières mouvantes du développement des sciences de l'éducation à Genève”, in Hoffstetter, R.; Schneuwly, B. (Ed.) *Sciences de l'Éducation 19e-20e siècles. Entre champs professionnels et champs disciplinaires*. Bern, Peter Lang, pp. 383-421. For a broader view of the place of psychology in the hotbed of Geneva, the following book is worth a look: Ractcliff, M.J.; Ruchat, M. (dir.) (2006) *Les laboratoires de l'esprit. Une histoire de la psychologie à Genève 1892-1965*. Geneva, Musée d'histoire des sciences/Éditions LEP.

around the publication of the journal *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*; and finally a 'propaganda' and dissemination centre for the new ideas generated. There was a great deal of psychology and pedagogy in Claparède's yearnings, yet there was also a sound dose of what we have called the spirit of Geneva, suffused with tolerance, free thinking and liberalism:

"The objective of our school shall be to guide, not to indoctrinate. We shall make an effort to present the lessons of the past and present within a framework of tolerance, with the stress on what might be good and useful to apply in any system. The school (of educational sciences) seeks to strengthen educators with the idea that only faithful, unbiased, calm research with no a priori agenda, rigorous with itself yet generous and welcoming of the opinions of others, constantly doubting – with fertile doubts on hypotheses and demonstrations, kindling the spirit of the quest for the truth and distancing itself from sterile scepticism – so that only a method like this one is capable of opening up to us the brilliant prospects of the future" (Claparède, 1912:60).

There is no denying that Claparède's intentions were permeated with the educational optimism so characteristic of Geneva's educational utopia in the early 20th century (Berchtold, 1973). The educational orientation of the Rousseau Institute would be marked by the functional conception of education that Claparède upheld, which had points of connection with Kerschensteiner's work-school proposals, Dewey's progressive education and Ferrière's active school. It is clear that, in this sense, the Rousseau Institute did not remain on the sidelines of the spirit and trends in contemporary pedagogy; rather it became one of the intersection in the different pathways along which the diversity and heterogeneity of the new education movement travelled, along with Vienna and Brussels (Hameline, 2004). As we shall stress further on, what characterised the Rousseau Institute, besides theoretical underpinnings and educational practice, was a given style in the educational relationship; individualisation, the family atmosphere and a stress on the student's personal work were the unique features of a clearly Pestalozzi-inspired atmosphere.

Pierre Bovet, a professor of philosophy and pedagogy at the University of Neuchâtel, accepted the invitation and became the executor of Claparède's dream and an indisputable referent of the new pedagogy that was being gestated in Geneva.

1.3. Towards the new education: The genesis and evolution of active pedagogy

"The active school is the school of spontaneity, of the child's creative expression. It reflects the tendency toward freedom that is found at the bottom of all human spirits"

Ferrière used this reference to spontaneous, creative and free expression to open the chapter on “Les fondements psychologiques de l'école active” in his book *L'école active* (1922)¹².

The origin of the concept of active school should be situated in the scientific and cultural context of the Rousseau Institute of Geneva during the period 1917 to 1920. Ferrière noted that this term was unknown in 1918 yet common by 1920, and he thinks that its authorship can be attributed to Pierre Bovet, the director of the Rousseau Institute, who used it in an article entitled “La tâche nouvelle de l'école”, where he proposed viewing the child as an active organism and turning the school into an active school.

Everything leads us to believe that the term ‘active school’ was used in the Rousseau Institute and that this opened the door to the theoretical underpinning that Ferrière tried to supply based on Bovet’s proposal and on the doctrine Kerschensteiner’s of the work-school (Hameline, Jornod and Belkaïd, 1995).

Ferrière’s theoretical thinking on the active school must be interpreted in three senses: scientific, moral and religious, all at the service of constructing an anthropology of the human phenomenon on both the individual and social scale¹³.

These underpinnings of the active school were debated and criticised by Claparède. In an article entitled “La psychologie de l'École active”¹⁴ published in 1923, he levelled the criticism at the fact that Ferrière addresses issues like the law of progress, biogenetic law and the psychological types which are “totally foreign to the fundamental principle of the active school” and does not focus further attention on what is truly fundamental and constitutes the only cornerstone around which the concept of education should revolve: the law of need or interest. He did not look fondly upon the use of the term ‘active school’ because, according to Claparède, this entailed the error that ‘active’ means ‘acting externally’, and for this reason he preferred the term ‘functional education’, based on need. Claparède claimed the role of psychology as one of the sciences behind educational principles, shunning other explanations which, though important, cannot serve as the underpinning of the principle of activity because they are often “opinions of the spirit or metaphysical hypotheses” rather than the expression of an observable and objectively provable fact. Claparède’s article was controversial and received responses from both Ferrière and Chessex. The latter addressed an open letter to Claparède, where he noted several expressions of the

¹² This is the review of an article published in 1914 in the *Revue psychologique* of Brussels with the title of “Les fondements psychologiques de l'école du travail”, in which the concept of active school is replaced by the concept of work-school or *Arbeitsschule*.

¹³ For an analysis of Ferrière’s thinking with regard to active education, our introductory study has referred to the Catalan edition of *L'autonomia dels escolars* (Vic, Eumo, 1997, pp. XXV-LVIII), and in particular to the studies by Daniel Hameline, the top Swiss pedagogy expert, from whom we highlight: Hameline, D. (2005) “Relater sa pratique? Les tentations d'Adolphe Ferrière (1879-1960): entre compte rendu d'évaluation et libelle de propagande”, *Revue française de pédagogie*, no. 153 (October-November-December), pp. 67-80; Hameline, D. (2004) “Adolphe Ferrière”, Preface to Ferrière, A. *L'école active*. Paris, Fabert, pp. 7-29; Hameline, D. (1995) “Adolphe Ferrière”, in Houssaye, J. (dir.) *Quinze pédagoges. La seva influència, avui*. Barcelona, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya/ Proa, pp. 185-199; Hameline, D. (1993) “Adolphe Ferrière (1879-1960)”, *Perspectives*, Paris, UNESCO, vol. XXIII, no. 1-2, pp. 395-423. To compare the vision of active pedagogy, the following survey and critical work is also interesting: Renard, A. (2008) *La pédagogie et la philosophie de l'école nouvelle d'après l'oeuvre d'Adolphe Ferrière*. Paris, Éditions Don Bosco (initially published in 1941).

¹⁴ We are referring to the article published in *L'Éducateur*, 1923, LIX (23), pp. 371-379.

concept of active school and stressed the importance of everyday experience at school as a source of knowledge. Ferrière also defended himself in the pages of *L'Éducateur*, attempting to seek common points between the two approaches and identifying the concept of *élan vital* which he defended along with Claparède's *vue d'esprit*, and seeking to demonstrate the correspondence between functional psychology and genetic psychology (Chessex, 1924; Ferrière, 1923).

Behind this controversy is Claparède's attitude, roundly against any explanation that uses speculation unrelated to the scientific terrain, which is based on controlled experience. Ferrière's so-called genetic psychology starts with sociology and philosophy. It is much closer to an anthropological view of human existence and quite distant from the strictly psychological views despite the fact that he himself never tired of trying to forge correspondences and commonalities throughout his entire oeuvre.

1.4. The men and women of the Rousseau Institute: The human capital working towards the renovation of the school

The controversy over the concepts of active education and functional education serves to shed light on the intellectual atmosphere in Geneva and players roiling in modernising ideas and generating a host of proposals with a common denominator: the need to ground a school model that would replace the traditional school.

It is not at all gratuitous to state that at the Rousseau Institute of Geneva, the men and women who filled the institution with education-related knowledge and concerns were more important than the structure itself, which was always weak until its permanent annexation into the University of Geneva. The students and visitors were also important; along with the more permanent or contributing faculty, they were the extraordinarily valuable human capital around which a network of human relations was woven which connected, from Geneva, the main focal points of educational renovation in Europe and the world. Pere Llobera, a Catalan professor who worked in Switzerland, describes and analyses these considerations after a journey to the city of Geneva in 1927:

“The scientific disciplines related to the child and modern pedagogy are studied at this Institute, which is frequented by students, professors, teachers and doctors from all the continents. (...) Of course everything that has entailed a scientific step forward has not remained concealed as a professional secret within the Institute. Its guiders have taught courses and delivered lectures outside of Geneva (...). At the same time, they have called on prominent personalities, such as Rabindranath Tagore, a poet and teacher from Santinikitan in 1921, and they have organised congresses such as the Congress of Peace for the school in Prague, and the one on bilingualism and education in Luxembourg. These actions prove the influence that those professors exert among education experts and in the milieu of teachers who consider the education of children a vocation, and they also explain why societies of friends of the Rousseau Institute have also been started in numerous countries. Right now it has become the most important hub of pedagogy in the world” (Llobera, 1936).

Llobera then cites the publications of the most famous professors, and pays particular attention to:

“The Maison des Petits, where directors of nursery schools do practices; the École internationale, for the civil servants from the League of Nations; the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze and the rhythmic gymnastics method; the international office of the New Schools, founded in 1899; the outdoor schools of Bois de la Bâtie and the Frontenex plateau for children with tuberculosis; and the International Education Bureau”.

Pere Llobera’s description stresses several essential points with regard to the orientation and scientific mission of the Rousseau Institute and makes it quite clear that the institution was not only one or two people; instead, a veritable human team worked there which was permeated with an explicit educational mission, despite differences, and was spurred on by a shared educational utopia. It is no less certain or obvious that Claparède was the one who inspired and innovated, and that Bovet, who was fully dedicated to the Institute and its students, supervised and led the day-to-day operations. The jobs of both pedagogues were perfectly complementary, as noted by Pere Rosselló (1923): “M. Bovet and M. Claparède complement each other, one as the imagination creating, and the other as the will bringing it to fruition.” The 1917 and 1932 reports by Pierre Bovet recounting the activity of the first five years and reporting on the institution’s twentieth anniversary list the most prominent names and enable us to assess the institution’s projection and capacities from that vantage point: Alice Descoedres, an educational psychologist and the author of *L’éducation des enfants anormaux* (1916) and professor of special education; François Naville, a doctor in charge of the medical aspects of special education; Adolphe Ferrière, present in the Institute’s activities from the start, a lecturer and teacher of monographic courses on moral education in which the students presented written projects that he corrected, annotated and commented on with extraordinary rigour and care; Jules Dubois, a philosopher with profound education acquired in the classrooms of the Collège de France, charged with teaching classes and lectures on the history and philosophy of education; Mina Audemars and Louise Lafendel, the directors of the Maison des Petits and in charge of early childhood education; Albert Malche, a school administrator and prominent politician, who entrusted the training of future Geneva public school teachers to the Rousseau Institute; Emmanuel Duvillard, a primary school teacher and active member of the Société Pédagogique de la Suisse Romande who was in charge of sharing the experiences of the teachers in school classrooms with the Institute’s students; Paul Godin, a retired military physician and researcher into children’s growth based on innovative anthropometric measurement techniques, and the driving force behind students’ training in anthropology and anthropometrics at the start of the Institute; Charles Baudouin, a psychologist and psychotherapist interested in experiments on suggestion and auto-suggestion in relation to self-education, who discovered psychoanalysis and fully joined this current, which would characterise his teaching collaborations (Ruchat and Magnin, 2005).

The list of prominent lecturers and occasional contributors to the Institute’s academic activities is virtually endless. Other names that should be added to it include Jean Piaget, Albert Chessex and Robert Dottrens, important personages in the history of the Institute as it was being annexed by the University of Geneva. Nor can we forget

other illustrious names such as Pere Rosselló and Helène Antipoff, who started as students and later became professors at the centre, and André Rey and Marguerite Loosli-Usteri, prominent professors during the Institute's second phase.

The web of human relations was the other cornerstone holding up the Rousseau Institute's pedagogical mission. We must transcribe a paragraph written by Alexandre Galí (1931) in the introduction to an extensive essay on the active school which is permeated with that atmosphere steeped in nature and conviviality:

“It was 1922. We are on the banks of Lake Léman, on a vacation course which had become quite famous in the annals of the Rousseau Institute. From the college where the course had been taught, we could see the still blue waters of the lake and the banks in green, humble terraces all around it, with the houses of the châteaux and the tiny villages with red and black roof tiles. Far away stood the grand theatrical decor of the Jura Mountains or the Alps, massifs that were too abrupt to be taken as real in the gentleness of the immediate landscape. In sum, we saw the same tender and conventional landscape that had inspired the pages of La Nouvelle Héloïse, where Corinne and Adolphe had been able to fan the flames of their passions. After the rituals of the programme had been completed, Master Claparède met with us freely and spoke with us about our essays, our ideals, our hopes. He was particularly interested in noting the results of their application within the currents of the active and liberal school which informed the doctrine of the course. We gathered as dusk fell in a library room on the ground floor with the windows open in the midst of the twofold repose of the coming evening and the quiet, contained surroundings. As can only happen in courses at the Institute, we were a group of the strangest provenances. In addition to the French and Swiss who were the locals, there were Belgians, Greeks, Finns and Poles. The conversation was not always brilliant, like people who are not used to speaking or who have very little to say. Rather I must confess that it languished a bit, and that M. Claparède, a meditative, timid man, was not the most suitable person to enliven it. And his spare questions, the offspring of a sagacious, rigorous critic, did not help to alleviate it, which gave the apparently best-presented questions a twist that shows conclusively what is true gold and what is merely foil”.

Beyond the always fine-tuned and critical details coming from Galí's pen, there is no doubt that the Rousseau Institute sought relationships and proximity as a means of creating a suitable educational atmosphere. Bovet expresses it in other words in the text of a lecture from 1912, at the start of the Institute's activities:

“De la conviction qu'un éducateur doit non seulement avoir appris les réponses, mais connaître les problèmes, il suit que notre enseignement, tel que nous le concevons, doit être caractérisé par une collaboration constante du maître et de l'étudiant. L'un a quelques connaissances de plus que l'autre, mais tous deux cherchent ensemble”. (Bovet, 1917)

Pere Rosselló (1923) speaks about “naturalness” to describe the atmosphere of interpersonal interactions:

“The ability through which a teacher knows how to appear before his students just as he is, knowing how to reveal without concealing anything, all the moments through which one passes in the course of research. [...] At the Institute, the majority of professors and students know each other not only as professors and students, but also as people, which enormously benefits the teaching”.

The organisation of pedagogical weeks (such as Spain’s Pedagogical Week in 1925 on the occasion of the visit of a group of inspectors and teachers on scholarships from the Board for Advanced Studies, or JAE) was the chance to forge ties with people and institutions from other countries and to strengthen the Institute’s external outreach¹⁵. The Institute’s student association, the *Amicale*, which organised a wide range of activities (including soirées, outings, plays, exhibitions and lectures) is yet further proof of these ties which were forged and which the Institute encouraged. The chronicles published since 1912 in the pages of the Institute’s magazine, *L’Intermédiaire des Édicateurs*, which in 1921 was integrated and merged with *L’Éducateur*, the publication of the *Société pédagogique de la Suisse romande*, are faithful testimonies of these activities¹⁶.

2. Across the Pyrenees and the Alps: Catalan teachers and pedagogues in Geneva

2.1. The Catalan students at the Rousseau Institute

The list of teachers who became students at the Rousseau Institute does not justify the specific weight of this institution and its professors’ influence on educational thinking in Catalonia in the first third of the 20th century. A survey of the list of 263 regular students at the Institute from the period 1912-1922 reveals only six names from Catalonia or Spain: Pau Vila, Llorenç Jou, Mercedes Rodrigo, Joan Alegre, Raimon Vila and Pere Rosselló¹⁷. After the early years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the number rose, especially in the summer courses. In the commentary found in the pages of the *Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia* in 1935, written on the pretext of a review of

¹⁵ The complete programme of the Pedagogical Week can be found at: *Memorias de la JAE (cursos 1924-26)*. Madrid, Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, volume 1, pp. 149-156.

¹⁶ The Catalan and Spanish students were active members of the *Amicale*, as can be seen by several programmes which are still conserved in the AIJRR and several texts written by Bovet himself. Examples include the performance of *Tschin-Ta-Ni à l’Institut* on the 25th of June 1921, with Pere Rosselló in the starring role and Raimon Vidal and Joan Alegre playing two professors along with Jean Piaget who played Claparède; and the musical *La Cyclopédagogie*, put on during the national festival of Geneva, *L’Escalade* (12th of December 1921) in which Mercedes Rodrigo provided the piano accompaniment for the songs by the different soloists and a choir of professors which included Claparède, Piaget and Bovet [Source: AIJRR, Fonds général, *Livre d’or des revues de l’Institut*, ancienne cote FG-63].

¹⁷ Source: Jornod, A. (1995) *Étude prosopographique. Informations générales sur les volées d’étudiants de l’Institut Rousseau de 1912 à 1922*. Geneva, Archives Institut J.-J. Rousseau (unpublished work - Fonds général. Files 3, 111, 212, 228, 229, 233). This list of names should at least include Josep Mallart, who studied in Geneva in academic year 1915-16; we are unsure why his name does not appear on the list and why there is no file on him in the student book.

Bovet's book on the Rousseau Institute's first twenty years, their influence and presence is assessed, which unquestionably had a more qualitative than quantitative dimension in regard to the number of students:

“The Rousseau Institute has exerted considerable influence (...), directly on those who have travelled to Geneva to take its courses. Especially Catalonia, perhaps because of its greater proximity and also because it lives more with its sights set on Europe, has produced a constant if not large stream of students of all stripes, sometimes even without enough prior education to be able to situate the new developments they observed there”¹⁸.

Only the intellectual quality of the majority of participants and the intensity of the stays can explain the close ties that were forged between the Geneva institution and Catalan pedagogy after 1912, when Pau Vila became the first student registered in the Institute's courses:

“I went to Geneva with the idea of acquiring a more systematised training, a kind of training I didn't have. I was the first student at the École des Sciences de l'Éducation, also known as the Rousseau Institute (...), dedicated to child psychology and a renovation of pedagogy. (...) I was particularly interested in Claparède's classes, although I took a bit of everything. I learnt how to write tests with Bovet. I remember that I took my final exam based on past tests of two of Bovet's children. (...) Claparède was from one of the old families in Geneva; he was a man with Protestant roots, yet without any kind of religious practice of his own. We became good friends. He was an avid hiker, and once we took an amazing outing to Montblanc. (...) My stay in Geneva was a year well worth it. I worked, I was happy, I was able to reflect on myself and I visited schools. Incidentally, the Swiss school was not my cup of tea. It was a French-style school, disciplined and rigid” (Rovira, 1989:67-70).

Vila's narration is measured and quite clearly describes what those waves of Catalan and Spanish teachers were seeking in Geneva: training in psychology and pedagogy. There they found a “bit of everything”, but especially a climate open to study, along with personalities that captivated them. This explains why the relationships endured over time. In the somewhat celebrated case of Pere Rosselló, the former student became an associate professor at the Institute in 1924, when he began to teach the course on Pedagogical Bibliography, and later Comparative Education¹⁹.

¹⁸ This is from the review of the Spanish version of the book: Bovet, P. *La obra del Instituto Rousseau: 20 años de vida* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1934). The review was signed by M. C. and published in *Revista de Psicología i Pedagogia*, vol. III, no. 10, May 1935, pp. 197-199.

¹⁹ Pere Rosselló was in Geneva at the same time as Mercedes Rodrigo, and the two struck up a close friendship with Claparède and Bovet. They exchanged fascinating correspondence in letters which were often signed jointly by Rosselló and Rodrigo in Madrid. The content of the letters and postcards is diverse: New Year's wishes, announcements of visits, requests for counsel, advice or collaboration, news on the situation in Spain after the coup d'état by Primo de Rivera, difficulties in carrying out their professional duties in Madrid, regrets that not more Spanish students were registering at the Rousseau Institute, etc. [Source: *Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits - Correspondència de*

Pau Vila's relationships were also intense and extensive; after studying at the Rousseau Institute in the winter and summer terms of academic year 1912-13, he returned in the summer of 1914 and again for the vacation courses in 1932 to join the celebrations of the Institute's twentieth anniversary. Vila was often cited in the chronicles of the Institute in *L'Intermédiaire des Édicateurs* and became a contributor to the Geneva-based magazines, which reported on his pedagogical activities in Barcelona and Colombia. He also became the first president of the Spanish Alumni Association of the Rousseau Institute, created in 1921²⁰.

The case of Pau Vila was not unique. Setting aside the more famous names whose careers have been studied, including Pere Rosselló and Josep Mallart, who had strong and proven ties with Geneva, we seem to find similar relations in Narcís Masó, Anna (Anita) Bassegoda, Jesús Sanz, whom we shall discuss below, Raimon Vidal, Alexandre Galí, Emili Mira and many more. In some cases, the relationships survived difficult times, as shown by the correspondence between Pere Rosselló and Mercedes Rodrigo and Claparède during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and the letters exchanged between Jaume Bertran from his exile in Buenos Aires and Pierre Bovet in 1941, as well as the missives between Inspector Joan Comas in Mexico City and Bovet in 1939²¹.

A reading of the correspondence and a review of the *Livres d'Or* of students and visitors to the Rousseau Institute enables us to establish categories of relationships between the Catalan students and the Geneva pedagogues: the intensity of these relationships differed, but they tended to last over time. They included direct or sometimes indirect contacts through other people; often reciprocal relationships, although sometimes only one-way; and interpersonal relationships, some of which were institutional. This diversity is largely due to the differing degrees of closeness between the Catalan teachers and pedagogues and Geneva. Some of them, those with the weakest ties, were regular students during the semesters in a given academic year, which was extended through the summer (Joan Alegre and Raimon Vidal) or more than one academic year (Narcís Masó and Pere Rosselló). A significantly higher number only took summer courses (Galí, Sainz-Amor and Roura-Parella, for example) or several courses (Jaume Bertran). Some became direct collaborators with the Geneva-based

Claparède; Reference: Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève - Tome XIII – Manuscrits français, 4001-4200; AIJJR - Fonds Générale – Correspondance de la direction].

²⁰ The first Board of Directors of the organisation was made up of: Pau Vila (president), Domingo Barnés (vice president), Mercedes Rodrigo (secretary), Miguel Herrero (treasurer) and members Anselmo González, Carmen Abela, Luis A. Santullano, Llorenç Jou, Ángel Llorca and Pere Rosselló. The organisation was headquartered at La Lectura publishing house in Madrid, which was charged with publishing the Spanish translations of the works of Claparède, Bovet and other authors linked to the educational renovation movement inspired by Geneva pedagogy, as part of the organisation's mission: to foster and develop the Rousseau Institute and to spread the pedagogical doctrines spearheaded by this Institute [Source: Asociación Española de Antiguos Alumnos y Amigos del Instituto Rousseau. *Proyecto de Reglamento*. Madrid, 1921. AIJJR, Fonds général, Sociétés Amis de l'Institut - ancienne cote FG - 2 – G].

²¹ Much of the correspondence that resulted from these relationships is on deposit in Geneva in the Archive of the Rousseau Institute (Fonds général: Correspondance de la direction) and at the Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits. The letters would merit their own particular, specific study. They contain requests for information on the courses, relations with publishing houses, publications, recommendations for teachers who were going to the Institute to study, exchanges of information, requests for collaboration, information on the educational activities conducted in Catalonia, Spain and the Americas (in the case of the exiles) and personal notes of greeting or reaffirmations of friendships.

institutions (Mallart and Rosselló). Finally, the vast majority only briefly stayed at the Institute as part of a pedagogical journey (Leonor Serrano, Rosa Sensat and Joaquim Xirau, just to mention three of the most famous). The names of the latter are more difficult to determine because often no trace remains of their stay in Geneva since they took the journey and visited the Institute as part of a group²². Regardless, Bovet (1932) outlines his conviction that the students from Catalonia were the ones who integrated the best, and that along with the students from the Swiss canton of Tessin, they were the *boute-en-train* (soul) of the institution.

At the risk of not having all the information existing and therefore of omitting some names, we thought it worthwhile to provide a list of the students or visitors from Catalonia to the Rousseau Institute of Geneva which we have been able to reconstruct and confirm based on the Institute's own records²³:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
ALEGRE, Joan	1920/21		
ALEMANY, Joaquina		1931	BIE course (1931)
BASEGODA, Anna (Anita)	1926/27	1928	
BERTRAN, Jaume	1930, 1931, 1932 and 1935 (summer semesters)		Short stay (autumn 1929)
BERTRAN, Mercè	1935 (summer semester)	1935	
BOHIGAS, Francisca	1925/26 (2 nd semester)		
BOIX, Isidor		1932	
BOSCH, Remei		1924	
CASTELLÀ, Leonor		1924	
DOMÈNECH, Maria			Short stay and courses (summer semester 1916)
FABREGA, Abelard		1924	
FURNÓ, Emília		1930	

²² By checking the archives and files of the JAE, we can determine some of the names of the Catalans who participated in group journeys to Switzerland in 1912 (Joan Llach, Joan Llarenas, Joan Ribera, Pere Riera, Josep Udina and Blas Vernet) and in 1925 (inspectors Antonio Michavila from Lleida and Josep M. Villergas from Girona). [Source: JAE Archives, available at: http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html].

²³ The main source of the list is the previous study performed by François Bos, the head of the AIJRR, entitled "Spanish Students"; in 2004 he conducted a preliminary culling of the lists of students registered that still exist, which are unfortunately not available for every year. This list, which we were able to see, contains the full names, the registration period and, in some cases, the address in Geneva or the place of origin. Through an analysis of the chronicles of the Institute in the pages of the *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*, the correspondence in the "Fonds général" of the AIJRR, the students' *Livre d'Or* (with files on some of them), the *Livre d'Or* of visitors (with dedications and signatures) and the files of the JAE we have managed to flesh out some of this information and add a few names, although the list is certainly not complete. For the individuals appearing on the list, we have used alphabetical order of the first surname and indicated when they studied. As noted, the most difficult thing to pinpoint is the short visits or stays which were made either individually or as a group as part of pedagogical journeys with funding from the JAE, the Associació Protectora, the Barcelona Town Hall or other institutions. Finally, we should note that we have limited our list to students from Catalonia (either their place of birth or their workplace when they travelled to Geneva), even though there was a significant number of visitors from the Balearic Islands and the region of Valencia as well.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
GALÍ, Alexandre		1922	3 rd Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
GARRIGA, Joan			Visit – 3 rd Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
GISPERT, Vicenta			Visit (1922)
GUINART, Montserrat		1924	
HERRERA, Rosa		1930	
ISERN, Carme			Visit – 1 st Congress Childhood (August 1925)
JOU OLIÓ, Llorenç	1915/16	1916	
JUNQUERA, Josep			Visit with a JAE group (May 1921)
LLOBERA, Pere			Short stay (1927)
LLONGUERES, Joan			Visit (summer 1920)
MALLART, Josep	1915/16	1916	Visits (1919, 1923 and others)
MANUEL, Francesc			Short stay (1928)
MARTÍ ALPERA, Fèlix			Visit – 3 rd Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
MASÓ, Narcís	1926/27, 1927/28	1924, 1927, 1928, 1932	Visit (summer 1926)
MASRIERA, Víctor	1925/26 (winter semester)	1926	Taught courses on drawing
MIRA, Emili			Visit (1920): 1 st Int'l. Conf. on Psychotechnics
NOGUÉS, Dolors		1925	
PARRAMON, Antoni		1930	
PORTAS, Assumpció		1922	Visit - 3 rd Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
PUJOLÀ, Anna	1928/29		
ROCA, Montserrat		1931	BIE course (1931)
ROSSELLÓ, Pere	1920/21, 1921/22	1921, 1922	Professor at the IJJR starting in 1924
ROURA-PARELLA, Joan		1928	
RUBIES, Anna		1924	
RUIZ CASTELLÀ, José			Visit (1920): 1 st Int'l. Conf. on Psychotechnics
SANTALÓ, Miquel			Short stay and visit (1922, 1924)
SANZ, Jesús	1927/28	1924, 1928	
SÈCULI, Enriqueta		1928	
SENSAT, Rosa			Visit (January 1913)
SERRANO, Leonor			Visit (1925)
TORT, Emili			Visit with a JAE group (November 1921)
URIZ, Elisa			Visit (1922)
VANDELLÓS, Concepció		1924	
VIDAL, Raimon	1920/21		
VILA, Pau	1912/13	1932	Short stay (1914); Visit (1922) – 3 rd Congress Moral Ed.
VILASECA, Francesca		1924	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
XANDRI, Josep M.			Visits (1922, 1925)
XIRAU, Joaquim			Short stay (1925)

Further proof of the solid relations between some of these students and the faculty of the institution is their participation in the activities to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Rousseau Institute in 1932. The list published in the *L'Intermédiaire des Édicateurs* includes Pau Vila, Llorenç Jou, Pere Rosselló (who was then working at the BIE in Geneva), Anita Bassegoda, Narcís Masó and Jesús Sanz. On this occasion, Rosselló presented the results of a survey administered to Institute alumni to evaluate the institution's impact on their personal and professional lives. Rosselló's study confirms some of the claims we have made above and offers a clear profile of the kind of training provided and received in the classrooms and within the climate of the Rousseau Institute. The cordiality of the faculty, the cooperation between teachers and students, the freedom of academic pursuits, the spirit of scientific research, the balance between theory and practice, the cosmopolitan climate, the respect for each individual's personality and the critical spirit are just some of the factors highlighted by the alumni when evaluating the Institute's efforts. Regarding their assessment of the importance of the disciplines learnt in professional practice, the results are quite significant. The disciplines mentioned included experimental psychology, child psychology, the internship at the Maison des Petits, psychotechnics and professional orientation, as well as the education of abnormal children and courses on drawing, psychoanalysis, medical-pedagogical consulting and bibliography. According to these assessments, the most highly valued names were Claparède, Bovet, Piaget, Audemars and Lafendel (Rosselló, 1932).

2.2. *The training courses and programmes at the Rousseau Institute*

The results of the survey conducted and analysed by Pere Rosselló sketch out a picture of the training programme at the Rousseau Institute. In summary, we could say that it included "a little bit of everything", all revolving around the core of child psychology and experimental psychology with the clear goal of renovating education (hence the concern with the ties between theory and practice) within a climate steeped in functional education and/or the active school. Thus unfolded the sessions of the courses, seminars, colloquia, laboratory work, visits, internships, lectures and other activities scheduled throughout two terms in Geneva's academic life, even today: the winter semester and the summer semester²⁴.

The programme of the course revolved around two strands: the child (general and child psychology, research methods, psychology of abnormal children, etc.) and

²⁴ The case of Mallorca native Joan Comas is worth examining. Even though he worked as an inspector in Girona, we have not included him in the list of Catalan students at the IJIR because he was on his way to Lugo when he studied there for the semesters in academic years 1928-30 along with his wife Regina Lago, a professor at the Normal University in Lugo. A glance at the memoir that Comas wrote for the JAE offers detailed information on the courses and contents he took, which were taught at the Rousseau Institute and the University of Geneva. The different reviews of works by Bovet, Claparède and Piaget and some BIE editions published by Comas in the *Revista de Pedagogía* are also proof of the interest in Geneva pedagogy. [Source: File "Juan Comas". Available at http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html].

education (general pedagogy, teaching at nursery school, organisation of teaching, etc.). Moral education and the history and philosophy of education were other important subjects.

The programme called for theoretical classes, laboratory practices, research and more, combining courses at the Institute itself with classes at the University of Geneva. The programme was supposed to take two years, but the institution offered the possibility of completing it in three semesters, or even two for student who came sufficiently prepared in advance.

The spirit of freedom and the low degree of systematisation of the classes dominated in the early stages of the Institute, in line with Claparède's character and interests, until Piaget's sense of order started to permeate its academic life when the Institute was annexed to the University of Geneva. This did not affect the quality of the teaching, but it did change the style and climate of the institution. From the start, the students assembled their own curriculum, which was almost always complemented by a few courses at the University of Geneva under the tutelage and counsel of Pierre Bovet. This lack of strict coordination and systematisation of the different branches of studies is one of the features that the alumni in Rosselló's survey mentioned with regard to the Institution. As Rosselló himself said, perhaps this flaw was the consequence of the greatest of the Institute's qualities: the spirit of freedom. For this reason, some alumni believed that the way the Institute operated was ideal for those who arrived with clearly defined goals, yet it hindered the initial adaptation of students who registered without prior preparation or clearly defined interests²⁵.

The vacation course was an excellent complement to the training received during the two semesters of the regular academic year, as well as an opportunity for foreign students who were interested in Geneva pedagogy but unable to study there for extended periods during the academic year. The first vacation course was held in the summer of 1916.

The content was monographic and the methodology reflected the spirit of the Institute. After the first two editions, the summer courses were halted and not resumed again until 1922, when they were held in the town of Thonon on the banks of Lake Léman from the 20th to 26th of July. The programme of the course was organised around four main strands: child psychology and experimental pedagogy (taught by professors Claparède, Duvillard, Piaget and Descoedres); professional orientation (under the supervision of Fontègne and Bovet); functional education (taught by Malche, Claparède and Cousinet); and the organisation of education in France and current issues (taught by the French inspector Barrier). The academic system was organised as follows: there were theoretical classes from 8 to 11 in the morning, and after lunch there were working groups on psychological exams of schoolchildren, the application of tests, professional orientation experiences and other practical exercises. The afternoons also

²⁵ Age was another important factor in the students' initial attitude and preparation. Here we can find wide divergences: while Joan Alegre and Raimon Vidal went to Geneva at the ages of 18 and 16, respectively, on grants from the Barcelona Town Hall, Llorenç Jou went there at 28, Narcís Masó at 36, and Jaume Bertran and Pau Vila at 31; Vila already had substantial educational experience under his belt by the time he went to the Rousseau Institute to study the year the centre opened. The different levels of prior preparation and/or experience also influenced the students' expectations and their ability to profit from the experience. Arriving at the Rousseau Institute with the experience of a Pau Vila or a Llorenç Jou, or with the intellectual preparation of Jesús Sanz, was not the same as arriving just after graduating from the Normal University, as others did. [Source: AIJRR; Fonds général, *Livre d'Or des élèves de l'Institut Rousseau*, vol. 1 and 2].

included outings and field trips, colloquia and, in the evening, family-style meetings (sometimes on the estate of the Claparède family) to exchange experiences and debate pressing issues. This model combined theoretical work with practical experimentation, always in the quest for personal contact and close relationships; therefore, it had the unmistakable air of the Rousseau Institute. In fact, the main series of courses were always the study of child psychology and experimental pedagogy, which every year focused on a more specific aspect through theoretical classes, exercises applying tests to measure aptitudes, individual and group experimental studies and discussions²⁶.

In the summer of 1922, Geneva hosted the 3rd International Congress on Moral Education (Cicchini, 2004). Whenever they could, the Geneva pedagogues tried to get different synergies to converge in order to make the programme more appealing to visitors and students. In other words, it is clear that they knew how to take advantage of their own resources to build the image of a city and a canton imbued with active pedagogy, pacifism and internationalism. The course on education for peace that the Bureau International d'Éducation organised in the summer of 1928 is yet another example of this canny strategy. And we could extend the list with congresses of pedagogical societies, international lectures and more activities. On the other hand, the visitors were also extremely grateful and many contributed to the pedagogical atmosphere in Geneva.

The International Congress on Moral Education of Geneva deserves particular attention because of its resonance and the Spaniards' heavy participation in it, judging from the names of those attending²⁷. The issues examined by the congress were the international spirit and the teaching of history, as well as the relationships between solidarity and education. At it, Pau Vila presented a report entitled "L'internationalisme et le nationalisme dans l'enseignement de l'histoire" in which he analysed the rights and problems of stateless nations and outlined a history programme within an oppressed nation in an attempt to overcome the opposition between nationalism and internationalism²⁸. This noteworthy participation underscores an interest in making the

²⁶ Thirty people from different countries participated in the vacation courses in Thonon: five from France, two from Belgium, one from Finland, two from Cyprus, five from Spain (the sisters Matilde and Pilar del Real and Ángel Llorca from Madrid, and Assumpció Portas and Alexandre Galí from Barcelona) and 15 from Switzerland from the cantons of Bern, St-Gall, Tessin, Neuchâtel, Vaud and Geneva (Source: AIJRR, Fonds général, Cours de vacances). The commentary in the *Butlletí dels Mestres*, which was no doubt written by Galí, is quite illustrative: "it had an air of squabbling about the new pedagogy – utopian pedagogy" (no. 16, 15th of August 1922, p. 255). The programme of the 1916 vacation course advertised in the pages of the journal *Quaderns d'estudi* had a similar structure: a core made up of experimental psychology and pedagogy taught by Claparède and Bovet, and other courses which that year were related to and specialised in the field of linguistics and language teaching and learning, with a special emphasis on teaching methods and practical courses ("Cursos d'istiu a l'Institut J.-J. Rousseau de Ginebra", *Quaderns d'estudi*, vol. II, no. 5, June 1916, pp. 426-427).

²⁷ This delegation made up of 23 participants included Catalans Alexandre Galí, Joan Garriga (president of the Economic Society of the Friends of the Country, in Barcelona), Fèlix Martí Alpera, Nicolau d'Olwer (councillor in the Barcelona Town Hall), Assumpció Portas Dotras (a teacher from Barcelona), Pere Rosselló and Pau Vila [Source: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale*; AIJRR - Fonds général – ancienne côte: FG-4].

²⁸ The report by Pau Vila was published in the Congress proceedings: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale. Rapports et Mémoires*. Geneva, Secrétariat du Congrès - IJRR, 1922, pp. 159-168. The Catalan translation can be seen in: Vila, P. "L'internationalisme i el nacionalisme en l'ensenyament de la història", *Quaderns d'Estudi*, vol. XIV, no. 52, July-September 1922, pp. 233-239. In the section with papers, there is also a joint contribution by Pere Rosselló and Mercedes Rodrigo on the subject of "Ce que les enfants espagnols pensent de la guerre" and another by Ramon Rucabado entitled "L'idée de solidarité i l'éducation de la chasteté"; since Rucabado did not attend the congress, he delegated the

presence of Catalan pedagogy explicit in the leading scientific forums of the day, seeking influences and interrelations with the leading modernising groups in Europe.

2.3. *The example of Jesús Sanz: An educational itinerary rooted in Geneva*

An analysis of the educational career of Jesús Sanz Poch and the pedagogical ideas he generated offers us insights into the content and atmosphere of the training that visitors found in Geneva (Soler, 2009a). After submitting several applications to the JAE to study in France, Belgium and Switzerland, he was granted a scholarship in 1927 to go study in Geneva (Marín Eced, 1990:374; 1991:325-326). His first contact with the Rousseau Institute had been in 1924, when he attended a vacation course on his own, where he met up with Narcís Masó. A few days before the summer course, Sanz had taken advantage of his stay in Geneva to participate in the 21st Congress of the Société Pédagogique de la Suisse Romande and there he experienced firsthand the debates on the single school and the reform of teacher training, which had aspirations of becoming a university degree, as it did in other countries. After his teaching from Costal in Girona and Cossío in Madrid, Geneva would become the third stage in his training between October 1927 and July 1929²⁹. During his long stay, he studied in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Geneva (history of education, moral education, experimental pedagogy and experimental psychology) and at the Rousseau Institute, earning a certificate of studies from the Institute. He also attended the classes of some of the courses in the doctorate in Pedagogy (philosophy, moral philosophy, psychology and experimental pedagogy), attended the International Conference on Bilingualism in Luxembourg in 1928, and participated in the vacation course and the course on education and peace organised in the summer of the same year by the Bureau International d'Éducation of Geneva.

Jesús Sanz fully immersed himself in the climate of the Rousseau Institute, which was dominated by the scientific spirit and oriented at building the sciences of education, yet he was also imbued with the liberal, collegial spirit and the internationalism and pacifism that permeated the city during the period between the wars. Back home from Geneva, Jesús Sanz developed much of his own educational thinking around the subject of the selection of gifted students, which was actually a pretext for further examining two concepts the hovered over the educational debate at the time: the concern with constructing a customised school, in an expression borrowed from Claparède; and the need to implement a single school as a hallmark and guarantee of the social justice to which democratic societies should aspire (Sanz, 1933; Soler, 2009b)³⁰.

reading of his paper to Alexandre Galí [Source: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale*; AIJRR - Fonds général – ancienne côte: FG-4].

²⁹ The IJRR's *Livre d'Or des élèves* contains a brief introductory text written by Sanz and illustrated with a photo of him at the Parc des Bastions near the University of Geneva. Sanz explains that he entered the Institute in October 1927 and left in July 1929. At the Rousseau Institute he met up with Narcís Masó, as well as with Anna Pujolà in the summer semester of 1928. On the 18th of April 1929 he was chosen to be a member of the committee of the J.J. Rousseau Institute's Amicale and was chosen as vice-treasurer [Source: Archives Institut J.-J. Rousseau - Université de Genève, Fonds Général, Livre d'Or des élèves de l'IJRR, volume 2, p. 288].

³⁰ In 1930 he published a series of articles in the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, in the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* and in the journal *Baixeras*, which were the outcome a reading and interpretation of Claparède's oeuvre and of his studies in psychology and experimental pedagogy during

The mark of Claparède's thinking is quite clear in Jesús Sanz's work after his sojourn in Geneva. This influence can also clearly be seen in his active participation in the Sixth International Conference on Psychotechnics held in Barcelona in April 1930, at which he presented a paper on "Le travail et les aptitudes des interprètes parlementaires" (Sanz, 1930). This contribution was the result of a study performed during his stay in Geneva with the goal of exploring and analysing the aptitudes of an important profession in the internationalist context of the day, parliamentary interpreters. The results that Sanz contributed to the Barcelona conference came from his analysis of the responses to a survey administered to a group of interpreters along with direct observations made in the sessions of the League of Nations and different international congresses and conferences held in the city. It should be noted that this study has been assessed by Professor Franz Pöchhacker (2004) from the Centre for Translation Studies at the University of Vienna as a pioneering contribution to the discipline of empirical studies on conference interpretation in Europe. During his sojourn in Europe, he also learned through Ferrière about the educational endeavours of Freinet and his Secular Education Cooperative (CEL). Once back in Lleida, he conveyed this knowledge to inspector Herminio Almendros and several teachers in the Batec group, including José de Tapia and Patricio Redondo, who were the pioneers in introducing the printing technique to schools in Catalonia. There is no doubt that Sanz's interest and participation in language teaching was fertile ground for receiving innovative techniques, yet there is also no question that facts like this confirm Geneva as an intersection through which European pedagogical trends criss-crossed, and that the training of those who studied there transcended the boundaries of this small country.

2.4. The Maison des Petits: A model of active pedagogy for Catalan nursery school students

"Qui s'intéresse à l'histoire de l'Institut J.-J. Rousseau ne peut pas ne pas rencontrer la Maison des Petits. (...) Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, on ne peut venir à Genève pour y visiter l'Institut Rousseau sans faire le détour par le chemin Sautter, puis l'avenue de Champel ou le boulevard Carl-Vogt, comme si ce pèlerinage pédagogique à la célèbre petite école constituait le moyen de vérifier comment les idées de l'Institut sont mises en oeuvre en situation éducative réelle". (Hameline, 1996)

Professor Hameline's opinion perfectly reflects what we can see just by browsing through the pages of the *Livres d'Or* des visitants of the Rousseau Institute and the Maison des Petits and when we read the reports or articles written by the students who stayed in Geneva: the merger between both institutions³¹. In fact, ever

his stay at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva. However, we have to wait until the course he taught at the 1931 Summer School and the article he published in 1933 in the *Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia* to find the most mature formulation of these ideas and the convergence between the single school and the customised school to which we have just referred.

³¹ Before she worked in Barcelona, Concepción Sainz-Amor attended a vacation course in 1926. In the report that she wrote and sent to the JAE to justify the scholarship it had granted her, she particularly mentions and makes a complete report of her visit to the Maison des Petits as an example of what she had found in Geneva: experiences with practical applications and with a consistent theoretical underpinning [Source: File "Concepción Sainz-Amor y Alonso de Celada", JAE/130-44].

since it was founded, the Maison des Petits was envisioned as the school where the principles of the Rousseau Institute could be applied under the influence and advice of Claparède and Bovet, but particularly under the supervision of the teachers Mina Audemars and Lafendel, the souls and driving forces behind the project. Tests of active pedagogy were conducted in its classrooms, along with student practices and especially observations for numerous studies³².

Materials were a key component and instrument in this school/laboratory/observatory for children aged three to ten, organised by rooms for construction, modelling, language and arithmetic, learners' workshops and teams of researchers and inventors in which "*on découvre les pouvoirs de l'enfant et on les cultive*" (Audemars and Lafendel, 1923:7). However, the children were at centre stage as experimenters, builders and producers within a rich educational environment.

The Maison des Petits was envisioned in 1913 and its doors opened in September 1914 under the stewardship of Audemars and Lafendel, while the teaching was conducted by three students of the Rousseau Institute, including Hélène Antipoff, who would later become Claparède's partner at the Geneva Psychology Laboratory. After an early period under the shadow of Montessori, the school became an example and model of Geneva pedagogy, truly positioned at a crossroads³³. This unquestionably influenced the school's pedagogical orientation (a functional school, according to the directors), which was marked by a kind of eclecticism that included Fröbel, Montessori, Decroly, Dewey, Foerster and obviously Claparède.

It is not overly bold to claim that this more eclectic position in which the Maison des Petits deliberately refused to set a pedagogical line under a specific name is one of the causes of Catalan pedagogues' and teachers' interest in it as an alternative to the omnipresence of Montessori's materials and method. In fact, the dissemination of the teaching materials developed by Audemars and Lafendel can be noted in *Quaderns d'estudi* since 1917, the same year that we can detect a rising interest in Claparède's work and Geneva pedagogy³⁴.

³² The meaning of the existence and educational efforts of the Maison des Petits as part of the Rousseau Institute's activities is analysed by Bovet in chapter VIII of "La Maison des Petits" from the book *L'Institut J.J. Rousseau, de 1912 à 1932* (Neuchâtel-Paris, Éditions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1932, pp. 59-70). The educational activities of the Maison des Petits in Catalonia and Spain were disseminated by articles and news items in pedagogical journals (See: Miaja, P. (1927) "Una visita a la Maison des Petits de Ginebra", *Revista de Pedagogía*, vol. VI, pp. 176-183) and especially based on the vision of it expressed by the Geneva pedagogues in their works, as analysed in a paper by Francisco Canes presented at the 8th Colloquium on the History of Education: Canes, F. (2005) "La difusión de la Maison des Petits de Ginebra en España a través de la traducción de libros de profesores del Instituto J.J. Rousseau (1923-1937)", in Dávila, P.; Naya, L.M. *La infancia en la historia: espacios i representaciones*. Vol. II. Donostia, EREIN, pp. 383-394.

³³ We should note the parallelism between the name of this Geneva school and the name of Montessori's Case dei Bambini in Rome. It is no coincidence that the first work that had been translated and published in 1912 in the new series of the Rousseau Institute's "Actualités pédagogiques et psychologiques" collection was the French version of Maria Montessori's *Case dei Bambini*.

³⁴ In the review of the article "Art, ciència i pedagogia" which appeared in the *Journal de Genève* on the 29th of May 1917, there is an explanation of the characteristics of the "Joc de superfícies" (Surfaces Game) created by Audemars and Lafendel at the Maison des Petits (*Quaderns d'Estudi*, no. 4, year II, vol. II, May 1917). During the Second Republic, Jaume Bertran, a former student of the Rousseau Institute, acted as the sales representative of the educational materials developed by the Maison des Petits. Bertran had a close relationship with Geneva, which extended even into his exile, during which he kept up correspondence with Bovet. In one of the letters (2.6.1941), Jaume Bertran explains to Bovet the projects

During the Republican period and as part of the rising interest in Decroly's methods, the Maison des Petits took a leading role in numerous activities at Barcelona's Summer School. An exhibition of teaching materials from the Maison des Petits was held in 1932, and this became part of a broader exhibition the following year. In 1935, as part of a monographic course on Decroly in the last week of the Summer School, Geneva-based teacher Alice Descoedres, a contributor to the Maison des Petits, taught several lessons on "Els tests de càlcul Decroly" (Decroly's Arithmetic Tests) and "El material a l'escola Decroly" (Decroly's School Materials), accompanied by an exhibition of projects by both regular and developmentally-delayed students (Descoedres' speciality)³⁵.

3. Epilogue: The spirit of Geneva at the new Catalan school

The deepest and most lasting mark of Geneva pedagogy in Catalonia came through written publications. The pedagogical journals published in Catalonia (*Revista de Educació, Quaderns d'Estudi, Butlletí de Mestres and Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia*) contain hosts of examples of news items, reviews and articles which prove an interest in and prominent presence of Geneva-based authors. The same holds true with their presence in Spanish journals like *Revista de Pedagogía* and *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*³⁶. What is more, the fact that Geneva-based journals like *Archives de Psychologie* and *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs* were received and read and then reviewed in Catalan publications once again confirms that pedagogical journals were a powerful vehicle of communication and the exchange of ideas.

It is well known and studied that the interest in European pedagogy promoted many translations of the works by the prominent pedagogues of the day. As a result of this trend, almost all the works by Claparède, Bovet and Ferrière, as well as works by Dottrens, Audemars, Lafendel and Piaget, were translated and published by renowned, prestigious publishing houses in Catalonia including Publicaciones de Revista de Pedagogía, Ediciones La Lectura and La Llibreria Francisco Beltrán (especially in the case of Ferrière), just to cite three of the most important ones. The list of translators puts

and work in which he was involved in Buenos Aires and asked Bovet about the possibilities of finishing his research in order to earn the Institute's diploma. Bertran did not forget to ask Bovet to send his regards to the Institute's professors and particularly to Audemars and Lafendel at the Maison des Petits [Font: AIJRR - Fonds générale: Correspondance de la direction].

³⁵ See: *Escola d'Estiu (1914-1936)*. Facsimile edition of the programmes and chronicles. Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona, 1983. Jaume Bertran, an alumnus of the Rousseau Institute, was the driving force in Catalonia behind the organisation Acció Educativa, which engaged in activities like organising radio sessions by experts. In one of these broadcasts, professor Alice Descoedres delivered a lecture on the issue of students with developmental delays, her main field of study (*La Vanguardia*, 6 September 1935, p. 8).

³⁶ To confirm this point, we recommend the bibliographic studies by León Esteban Mateo and Eloisa Mérida-Nicolich on the contents of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and the *Revista de Pedagogía* until 1936: Esteban Mateo, L. (1978) *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Nómina bibliográfica (1877-1936)*. Valencia, Universidad de Valencia; Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1983) *Índice de la Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936) Análisis de contenido*. Pamplona, Eunsa; Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1983) *Una alternativa de reforma pedagógica: la Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936)*. Pamplona, Eunsa. In the case of the *Revista de Pedagogía*, the following articles also offer insight: Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1992) "La Revista de Pedagogía: 1922-1936", *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, year L, no. 192 (May-August), pp. 257-270; Viñao, A. (1994-95) "La modernización pedagógica española a través de la *Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936)*", *Anales de Pedagogía*, no. 12-13, pp. 7-45.

names to the personal, direct interest in the oeuvre of these pedagogues³⁷. In almost all the cases, this interest in the content came hand-in-hand with an interest in publishing the works because the fees paid in exchange were hardly a meagre means of subsistence³⁸. Regardless, the presence of works on the pedagogical underpinnings of the Geneva authors is perfectly visible and present in Catalonia and Spain through translations, as well as through the original editions that can be found in the historical collections of the most famous libraries which served to drive and ground educational practice and pedagogical renovation.

When taking stock of and assessing the educational journeys of the Catalan teachers to different European countries, Alexandre Galí thought that:

“It is a little difficult to calculate the professional efficacy of this kind of journey, which was always brief and always constrained by tourist incidents. With his measured tone, Llorenç Jou accepted the canny insinuation that the educational purposes were not the most interesting ones on this kind of expedition. (...) We are not familiar with the intimate atmosphere of the caravans of Catalan teachers, but we suspect that the lessons they learnt there, more than pedagogical, were lessons on peaceful coexistence, the civic spectacle and the flexibility of the spirit in view of worlds different to one’s own, lessons that are also profoundly edifying for a teacher. Only he who has been capable of seeing such a civilly and politically well-organised country can bring home a great treasure for future actions”. (Galí, 1978: 271)

It would clearly be groundless to put all the experiences in the same bag because, among other reasons, some sojourns were simply trips or short stays, while others were lengthy periods of study and research. However, it is not inaccurate to think that the question of the usefulness of the journeys, courses or long stays in Geneva and at the Rousseau Institute opens up a wide range of answers which, though discussed throughout the length of this article, can be listed and systematised in this last part. We shall do so by enumerating five possibilities, which are in no way mutually exclusive:

1. Those who, through Ferrière’s endeavours, found in Geneva the chance to establish and strengthen contacts with the Ligue Internationale d’Éducation Nouvelle and, in general, with the new education movement, learning about new experiences, finding a

³⁷ The translations of the more prominent pedagogues such as Claparède, Bovet and Ferrière can be viewed in several more up-to-date editions of their works: Claparède, E. (2007) *La educación funcional*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva (Introductory study by J. González-Agàpito); Bovet, P. (2007) *El instinto luchador*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva (Introductory study by J.M. Fernández Soria); Ferrière, A. (1997) *L'autonomia dels escolars*. Vic, Eumo (Introductory study by J. Soler Mata). For the translations of Piaget, we refer the reader to the monographic issue of the journal *Anuario de Psicología* (no. 25, 1981) devoted to his life’s work

³⁸ During the period 1909-1928, a series of letters between the Swiss pedagogue Claparède and the Spaniards Domingo Barnés (the translator) and Francisco Beltrán (the publisher of some of works) crossed paths as they set forth the publication conditions of several translations into Spanish [Source: Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits. Reference: Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève. Tome XIII – Manuscrits français 4001-4200].

forum for sharing their own experiences and opening up the doorway to participation in international congresses on the new education.

2. Those who, at the crossroads of the diverse educational itineraries that could be found in Geneva, discovered new or old trends and, in some cases, the motivation to keep travelling and seeking elsewhere: Kerschensteiner, Freinet, Decroly and the long list of European pedagogues and currents.

3. Those who, in view of the study of child psychology and especially experimental psychological and pedagogical methods, discovered the need to theoretically ground and rigorously apply education, making the most of the teachings of Claparède, Bovet, Piaget and the other professors.

4. Those who took advantage of the prestige of the studies at the Rousseau Institute and the University of Geneva and the contacts and good references of the renowned Geneva pedagogues to re-launch and foster their own prestige and therefore to undertake a licit pathway of professional advancement.

5. Those who became imbued with the liberal, open, pacifist, democratic and internationalist atmosphere in Geneva to reinforce their own democratic convictions and, in the end, learn to live in a different kind of society and strive to build a similar or better one.

The picture sketched in these five points would not be complete without bearing in mind the “different stages” in Geneva and the Rousseau Institute which we have mentioned and the different circumstances that characterised the visitors’ homeland. These include the initial uncertainties, the difficulties during the years of the Great War in Europe (1914-1918), the restrictions during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the impetus and new perspectives ushered in by the creation of the Bureau International d'Éducation in 1925, the rise in the number of JAE scholarship recipients from 1926-1936, and finally the proclamation of the Second Republic and later the onset of the Spanish Civil War. In the complexity of this scenario, we can discern three lines that define the attitude of the Geneva pedagogues and institutions towards Catalonia: a legitimately interested attitude or, if you will, an intersection of interests in having good relations in an effort to attract students, promote publications and achieve a presence; more direct contact and knowledge through individuals, especially alumni, if not through the institutional presence of Catalan pedagogy in Geneva; and consequently, an intensive and extensive assessment of the efforts and subsequent work of the Institute’s alumni.

3.1. From theory to practice: The Catalan view of Geneva pedagogy

To borrow Galí’s expression, we should ask about the “practical nature of Catalan pedagogy” and Geneva pedagogy’s possible contribution to the theoretical underpinning of this practice or what Galí himself (1979, 1984) called technical conscience.

This question is difficult to answer in a univocal way, mainly because of the complexity of the factors that come into play. Perhaps each of the respondents, the alumni of the Rousseau Institute, would have answered it differently. We would probably also answer it differently depending on the case, based on an analysis of each one’s subsequent works and contributions. In a personal dedication he wrote in the *Livre d'Or*, Narcís Masó expressed that in order to know what he thinks of the Institute

one would have to read a long list of songs and poems that he had written during his sojourn at the Institute in Geneva. Yet perhaps for our question it is more pertinent to recall that in the prospectus of the school in S'Agaró in 1935 (a Catalan version of the *École International de Genève*), he made references to Claparède, Bovet and Piaget, and that Claparède's opinions and criticisms are clearly present in the texts he wrote, either explicitly or implicitly³⁹. Masó also left his personal and intellectual mark on Geneva; his studies always earned the praise of the faculty, and some even appeared in the most prestigious journals⁴⁰. On the other extreme there were also visitors, the most prominent and famous being Rosa Sensat, who did not find anything interesting enough in Geneva to merit a longer stay. The future director of the *Escola de Bosc* did not refrain from expressing this, alleging that she found it impossible to find insights on the subjects that motivated and interested her (the teaching of the physical, chemical and natural sciences) in Geneva compared to what she had found in Brussels or hoped to find at the Normal School of Lausanne⁴¹. It is clear that not everything was available in Geneva, and in that sense Rosa Sensat was totally right. Nor can we forget the names of Joan Llongueres and Elisa Uriz; what they sought in Geneva, Jaques-Dalcroze's rhythmic gymnastics, they found outside the classrooms of the Rousseau Institute⁴².

We have already reviewed the cases of Pau Vila and Jesús Sanz, and the careers of Mallart and Rosselló are known for having made up the bulk of the positive answers to the question we asked, but perhaps the fair measure of the sceptical attitude towards the new developments and the reluctant attitude towards external gratuitous praise can be found in Alexandre Galí: he was critical of some of active pedagogy's positions and

³⁹ See: *Escola de S'Agaró. Pensionat de primer ordre*. Sant Feliu de Guíxols, 1935 (Imp. Tip. Catalana, Vic. Also: Masó, N. (1990) "L'Escola Nova. Les bases, l'essència i l'esperit", in Marquès, S. (Ed.) *Narcís Masó, pedagog de l'escola activa*. Girona, Diputació de Girona, pp. 57-82. We should note that Narcís Masó left an extensive record at the Rousseau Institute, not only because of his long stay there but also because of his character, intelligence and endeavours. He was also fondly recalled and valued for his poetic and musical contributions in the guise of songs for the festivals and outings, including an anthem for the students of the Rousseau Institute ("Chant des élèves de l'Institut").

⁴⁰ Masó, N. (1929) "La valeur de l'activité de l'esprit dans la fixation des idées: contribution expérimentale à la théorie de l'école active": travail du Laboratoire de Psychologie de l'Université de Genève et de l'Institut JJ Rousseau", *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. XXI, no. 83-84, pp. 275-292.

⁴¹ Rosa Sensat briefly stayed in Geneva during her study trip from October 1912 to March 1913. As she writes in her diaries, between the 8th and 22nd of January 1913 she lived in Geneva and made several visits to different schools in the city. Accompanied by Pau Vila, she visited the Rousseau Institute, greeted and met Bovet and attended Claparède's experimental psychology classes for a single morning, from which she drew an ambiguous impression: "He may be very wise, but he says things halfway with no emphasis, with no zeal, without even trying to make it interesting; in a word, without having attended the previous lessons I was unable to get much from it. I was just biding my time" while she secured permits to visit the Geneva schools [Source: *Diaris de Rosa Sensat - Arxiu Rosa Sensat*; boxes 2 and 3 - Fons històric/Biblioteca Rosa Sensat; and also: File JAE/137-439 "Rosa Sensat Vilà". Available at: http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html].

⁴² Joan Llongueras had a scholarship from the JAE to study at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute of rhythmic gymnastics in Hellerau (Dresden, Germany) in academic year 1911-12. He also took a summer course at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute in Geneva in 1920 and kept up regular contact with it. Elisa Uriz, a professor at the Normal School of Girona, also studied there in 1922. On the 16th, 17th and 18th of August 1926, the first "Congrès du Rythme" was held in Geneva, organised by the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute. The participants included Narcís Masó ("La rythmique dans l'enseignement primaire") and Joan Llongueras ("La Gymnastique rythmique dans l'éducation des aveugles") [Source: *Programme Général du Premier Congrès du Rythme*. AIJRR, Fonds Général, Congrès - ancienne côte FG-2].

interested in Claparède's contributions to the disciplines of experimental psychology and pedagogy⁴³.

Galí, who had personally met Claparède in Barcelona in 1920 and had attended the vacation course in Geneva in 1922, placed the Technical Courses on Pedagogy under the umbrella of the Rousseau Institute, which he used as a model. The formula based on "training and teaching" plus "research and study" and his studies and research bear the mark of Claparède and the methodologies used at the Rousseau Institute. Some of these studies were known and valued by Claparède and Bovet, as shown by an article in *L'Éducateur* signed by the latter, with the pretext of reading the Annals of the Technical Courses on Pedagogy from 1928-29 (Bovet, 1930). Bovet, who demonstrates perfect familiarity with *La mesura objectiva del treball escolar* (1928), writes an intellectual likeness of Galí which extends beyond simple courtesy and instead praises his capacity for observation, analysis and tireless research in an effort to improve school performance. The use of objective measurements and method is the motive for a special comment by Bovet, who confesses that in 1929, under the direction of Helène Antipoff, he tried to apply and verify the measures proposed by Galí at the Rousseau Institute with French language students. The article makes a detailed review of Galí's studies published in the Annals in relation to the natural foundations of teaching written composition, the orientation of children's thinking in the written language and the influence of reading on the written language.

The article closes with the desire for this kind of study to continue and be imitated in other places in order to spread this "*belle communauté de travail internationale*" even further, in clear alignment with the spirit of the Geneva-based institutions. It is clear that in his concern for methodical observation and experimentation aimed at acquiring the "technical conscience" that should characterise pedagogues and educators, Galí was in harmony with the orientation and spirit of Geneva pedagogy⁴⁴.

⁴³ Galí's comments on Claparède's *L'Éducation fonctionnelle* published in the journal *Butlletí dels Mestres* are interesting. After noting the book's interest and assessing the functionalists' contributions to pedagogy, he warns about the perils entailed in the aim of establishing a complete system and in generalisations. With the pretext of reviewing the book, Galí also warns about the danger of giving "done" science to children, but then he went on to express his disagreement with those who only want to let children engage in free activities (See: Galí, A. (1931) "Problemes d'educació funcional", *Butlletí dels Mestres*, no. 54 (15 October), pp. 146-148; Galí, A. (1932) "Problemes d'educació funcional: vida directa i vida científica", *Butlletí dels Mestres*, no. 62 (15 February), pp. 50-51).

⁴⁴ Galí's work, *La mesura objectiva del treball escolar*, had already been reviewed by Pierre Bovet in the pages of *L'Éducateur* the same year it was published. Then, as now, he made a highly favourable comment on the content and the editing: "cette perfection d'exécution qui caractérise les éditions de Barcelona" (*L'Éducateur*, year LXIV, no. 3, 4 February 1928, p. 47). We should recall that Galí participated in the International Conference on Bilingualism in 1928, held in Luxembourg, where he defended the talk "Com es pot mesurar la influència del bilingüisme" to an outstanding audience reception (See: *Le Bilinguisme et l'éducation. Travaux de la Conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril 1928*. Geneva, Bureau International d'Éducation, 1928). Also attending this conference were Narcís Masó and Jesús Sanz as part of the delegation from the Rousseau Institute (See: Sanz, J. (1928) "Conferencia internacional acerca del Bilingüismo", *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, vol. VI, pp. 170-173).

3.2. *Active pedagogy after active pedagogy*

In these pages, we have revisited some of the common places and myths of Catalan pedagogy with the pretext of tracing and reconstructing the physical, intellectual and scientific journeys and exchanges that were undertaken between Catalonia and Geneva in the first third of the 20th century. It is not easy to draw definitive conclusions from our study, beyond the reflections, statements and comments that we have shared throughout the text. Complexity and heterogeneity counsel caution, yet they also open up questions on some of the concepts that have often been used to describe and analyse the evolution of education in Catalonia. The very concepts of the new school and active pedagogy which so profoundly marked Catalan pedagogy (an overly complex and imprecise subject, beyond geographic criteria) gradually appear less homogeneous and more multifaceted as the studies and research progress from the standpoint of both content and meaning. There is no doubt that the crucible of Geneva catalysed the development of the new school movement and played a pivotal role in driving the experiences which were developed in Catalonia under the aegis of the principles of active education. Yet just as active education is a conceptual crossroads of functional education, progressive education, the work-school, the serene school and other conceptualisations, the influence of the pedagogy gestated in Geneva, either at the Rousseau Institute, the Bureau International de l'Éducation, the University of Geneva or the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute, travelled back and forth along multiple pathways until reaching Catalonia. The single initial trunk of Geneva pedagogy also ramified and generated a series of branches within the discipline of the sciences of education. However, this systematisation and view of the whole did not reach Catalonia, or it reached it weakened and blurred, with less intensity than the experiences, practices, methods and actions which found more fertile ground in what Galí called the “practical nature” of Catalan pedagogy.

Perhaps this is an overly general conclusion, yet it is also a point of departure for embarking upon new studies from the perspective of the complexity noted in some publications (Ohayon, Ottavi and Savoye, 2004; Hameline, 2006). The history and evolution of the concepts themselves have generated a polysemy that we cannot ignore. This may be a pathway worth exploring in order to trace the evolution of active education in our country, and more specifically to pinpoint the causes and vectors that have guided and transformed active pedagogy (based on the goals, underpinning and project) into school activism which leads to practice with neither direction nor underpinning. In other words, this study, with all its existing limitations, may lead us to analyse the moment or moments of rupture with the spirit(s) of Geneva, precisely by reconstructing the multiple pathways along which contemporary pedagogy has travelled.

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