

Photography and school culture in post-war Spain (1939-1945). A look at Majorca¹

Photographie et culture scolaire dans l'Espagne d'après-guerre (1939-1945). Un aperçu du cas de Majorque

Fotografía y cultura escolar en la España de postguerra (1939-1945).
Aproximación al caso de Mallorca

Gabriel Barceló Bauzá

History of Education Study Group
Institute for Research and Innovation in Education
Universidad de las Islas Baleares

ABSTRACT

This article forms part of more extensive research on the changes that took place in school culture during the Fascist dictatorship in the years following the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). That research is limited to the island of Majorca and draws from a variety of different sources, including photographs. The present paper focuses on analyzing the sources of such photographs, although other testimonies and sources are also taken into account when the conclusions are drawn. The elements featured here provide material for furthering the debate on the possibilities photography offers in detecting the changes and continuities in school culture at a time of radical political transformation.

Keywords: school history, school photography, school culture, Spanish Civil War, post-war, Majorca.

RESUME

Cet article fait partie d'une enquête plus large sur les changements introduits dans la culture scolaire pendant les années suivirent la Guerre d'Espagne (1936-1939) avec la mise en place d'une Dictature Fasciste. L'étendue de cette enquête a été limitée au contexte de l'île de Majorque, à partir de sources diverses, parmi lesquelles se trouvent les

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photographies. Ce texte se focalise sur l'analyse des sources photographiques même si, au moment de tirer des conclusions, d'autres témoignages ont également été pris en compte. Dans les pages qui suivent des éléments sont apportés pour nourrir le débat sur les possibilités qu'apporte la photographie dans l'identification de changements et continuités dans la culture scolaire pendant une époque de transformation politique radicale.

Mots-clés: histoire de l'école, photographie scolaire, culture scolaire, guerre d'Espagne, après-guerre, Majorque.

RESUMEN

Este artículo forma parte de una investigación más amplia sobre los cambios que en la cultura escolar se introdujeron en los años que siguieron a la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939) con la implantación de una Dictadura fascista. La investigación se ha realizado acotada al contexto de la isla de Mallorca, a partir de fuentes diversas, entre las cuales se encuentran las fotografías. El presente texto se ha centrado en el análisis de las fuentes fotográficas aunque a la hora de sacar conclusiones se hayan tenido presentes otros testimonios. En las siguientes páginas se aportan elementos para el debate sobre las posibilidades que tiene la fotografía a la hora de detectar los cambios y continuidades en la cultura escolar durante una época de radical transformación política.

Palabras clave: historia de la escuela, fotografía escolar, cultura escolar, Guerra Civil española, postguerra, Mallorca.

Introduction

Few historians today doubt that iconographic representations can be a source for understanding the past history of schools and education. Even though written sources are still the ones most frequently used, photography and visual images in general are gradually being included as valuable documents that can provide elements for learning about the past like any other historical source, provided that they are subject to proper review.

Along this line, the present article aims to provide data in support of the usefulness of photography in research on the history of school, and more specifically, the history of its school culture.

What follows here comes from broader research on schools in post-war Spain (1939-1945).² Specifically in the case of Majorca (in the Balearic Islands), this research

² The Spanish Civil War began in 1936 when some of the army rose up against the legitimate government of the Second Republic. The war lasted 3 years, during which time Spanish territory was split up under Republican and Nationalist control (the latter being the name for the rebellious faction). In 1939, the war ended in favor of the Nationalists, who for the next four decades set up a fascist dictatorship led by General Francisco Franco. In Nationalist Spain, during and after the war, the model of school went from one based on the Republic's civil values (secularism, co-education, bilingualism, activism, etc.) to one upholding more traditional reactionary Catholic

aims to approach the day-to-day doings at school during a time of radical political change in general and scholastic change in particular, changes that reflected the desire to transform the function of school itself. Here, photographs are used to show some of the main changes in daily life at school. The use of photographic testimonials, however, presents two main challenges to the researcher. The first is to find them, since they are often located in very different places from where written records are kept. The second challenge regards the techniques for critiquing and reviewing them, which are not as well developed as those used on written sources.

Photography and school culture

In the late 1990s a debate sprang up in the History of Education on how valid it was to use images as a source of information for uncovering the past of education. This epistemological “twist”, dubbed the “pictorial turn” (Mitchell, 1994), gradually made its way into the historiographical debate. One of the earliest instances of it was at the XX International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) held in Kortrijk, Belgium in 1998. At the meeting a debate ensued on the possibilities that pictures afforded to historical and educational research, and the proceedings were published in *Paedagogica Historica* (Depaepe & Henkens, 2000). Several seminars were subsequently held on account of that conference under the auspices of the European Energy Research Alliance (EERA), such as the seminar in Lahti in 1999 (Grosvenor & Lawn, 2001) and in Edinburgh in 2000 (Mietzner, Myers & Peim, 2005), which in turn led the way to monographs published in major international journals. These meetings and others held later, such as the one in Ghent (Devlieger, Grosvenor, Simon, Van Hove & Vanobbergen, 2008) continued exploring and analyzing the possibilities offered by visuals in the reconstruction of the past of education. Also noteworthy is the literature on the history of education in which pictures are used as a tool for interpreting the past in education, some examples being the monographic issues of *Visual Studies* (Margolis, 2007), *History of Education* (Burke, 2007), and *Educació i Història* (Comas, 2010) and the works *Silences & Images* (Grosvenor, Lawn & Rousmaniere, 1999) and *The Black Box of Schooling* (Braster, Grosvenor & del Pozo, 2011). From the start, some authors were contrary to using pictures as acceptable sources in reconstructing the history of education (Catteeuw, Dams, Depaepe & Simon, 2005). Years later, however, those same authors qualified their objections (Depaepe & Simon, 2010).

In Spain, this debate was introduced by María del Mar del Pozo in an article she published in *Historia de la Educación* (2006). Following these first contributions, and in

values that were constantly praising Spanish nationalism and the imposition of Catholic dogma. These new ideals entered schools by means of a number of different elements: new curricular contents, new books, new practices, rites, and ceremonies, which, under the protection of more or less explicit impositions, gradually changed the school culture that had been crafted over the previous decades. From the start of the war, the island of Majorca was in the hands of the Nationalists, which meant that the Republic’s model of schooling began to be dismantled as early as 1936.

collaboration with del Pozo, the History of Education Study Group at the Universidad de las Islas Baleares has carried out several research projects on the use of photography as a source for the History of Education³ that have resulted in a number of different publications (Comas, 2014). Among them are the monographic issue of “Fotografía i Història de l’Educació”, coordinated by Francisca Comas and published in the journal *Educació i Història* (2010) and the publication of a set of articles on the subject by Comas, Motilla and Sureda (2012).⁴ In general, the debate on using photographs as historical sources concurs on their value provided that the appropriate techniques and methods are applied to interpret their information correctly. As many authors have pointed out, photographs are not transparent images of past reality. Rather, they are a fragment of reality conditioned by technological processes and pure chance. At the same time, photographs are not casual, but brim with interests, desires, and ideals that need to be interpreted to grasp the meaningfulness of their testimony (Spike, 2012). Another point of discussion before continuing here is what is meant by ‘school culture’. Dominique Julia, who first introduced the term to education historians, defines it as the “[...] set of norms that define what knowledge is to be taught and what behaviors to instill, and a set of practices for conveying that knowledge and instilling those behaviors. The norms and practices are subordinate to end goals that can vary according to the time period (i.e., their purposes can be religious, sociopolitical, or simply for socialization)” (Julia, 1995, p.131, translated from Spanish).

The concept of school culture has generated many different definitions and interpretations. Some education historians such as Narciso de Gabriel (2007) have warned of the danger of the term “school culture” becoming meaningless unless its boundaries are clearly defined. Antonio Nóvoa (1988) notes that if historians want to approach the universe of school culture, they need to focus their attention on a set of points such as the actors of the educating act, the discourses and languages, the institutions and the systems, in addition to the school practices implemented at that time. Furthermore, A. Viñao refers to school culture as “ a set of theories, ideas, principles, norms, rules, rituals, inertias, habits and practices (ways of doing and thinking, mentalities and behaviors) that have settled like sediment over the years in the form of traditions, regularities and rules of the game that are unquestioned and shared among the actors at the very core of the educational institutions” (Viñao, 2002, p.73, translated from Spanish). Last but not least is to point out the

³ We refer to the projects financed with Ministerial funding: “*Cambios y continuidades en educación a través de la imagen: una mirada distinta sobre el proceso de renovación educativa. El caso de Baleares (1900-1936)*” carried out between 2007 and 2010 (HUM2007-61420), “*Inventario y estudio de las colecciones de fuentes fotográficas para la historia de la educación en Mallorca (1939-1990)*” carried out between 2011 and 2014 (EDU2011-23831) and “*La fotografía publicada como representación de los cambios y las continuidades en la cultura escolar (1900-1970)*”, forthcoming (EDU2014-52498-C2-2-P).

⁴ A complete list of these publications is available on the website of the UIB History of Education Study Group. See: <http://gedhe.uib.eu>.

contributions from Agustín Escolano, who defines school culture as “the set of norms, theories and practices that codify the ways of regulating the systems, languages and actions at educational institutions” (Escolano, 2000, p. 201, translated from Spanish). Escolano states that there can be several different school cultures such as academic or scientific culture, institutional or political culture, and empirical or practical culture. Academic culture is the one governed by the discourses of scholars and intellectuals in each time period. This is evident in the theory and research from the field of the Sciences of Education. Political culture, configured in administrative settings, can be found in the devices the administration implements to regulate education systems on a large scale. Finally, the practical culture of school is the one developed by teachers as they carry out their daily professional duties. It is expressed by registers such as oral history, practicum journals, material culture, and iconography. We find it in pedagogy museums, centers of educational memory, public archives, libraries, and private collections.

This last area of school culture described by Escolano is where photography becomes most useful. Iconographic records are testimonials by which some of the changes and continuities become visible and interpretable as part of the practical culture of school in a particular period in history.

Photographs of post-war schools in Majorca

This section looks into the location and characteristics of the photographs in Majorca regarding schools in the time period under study. Various different holdings were searched for photographs: general archives and libraries, public and private schools, periodicals, commemorative books and school yearbooks. Websites and social networks that reproduce such photos were also visited online.

The first discovery was that there are far fewer photographs left from the post-war period in Spain than from the previous one, the Second Republic (1931-1939). In consonance with del Pozo's remarks (2003), one possible explanation could be a shortage of material and technical resources (cameras, photographic paper, etc.) in the post-war years. However, that cannot be claimed as the only cause; there may be a number of reasons for the variation in number and state of conservation of photos from that time. As will be seen in the conclusions, Franco's regime gave little value to school as an institution, especially in the years immediately after the war. In contrast, for the Second Republic, primary schools were fundamental to the socialization of citizens and the chief mechanism for leveling social differences. During the Second Republic period, teachers received special accolades from the public institutions. Franco's regime, however, hoped to break away from the Republican schools and what they stood for. The dictatorship distrusted schools as an institution and left them in the hands of the Church and religious orders, which ensured control of their ideology. Their distrust of teachers led to a harsh purging of the collective by means of unfair accusations and punishments. This contrasted sharply with

the Second Republic leaders, who had felt proud of their improvements to public schooling and were happy to show them off and publicize the construction of new school buildings and their updated furnishings. That is why so many photographs from the Republican period were taken and kept in public archives or published. For the Franco regime, school had nothing positive as a symbol and perhaps even negative. That may be why fewer school activities were photographed. Another reason for photographing schools in the decades prior to the Civil War was the creation of new buildings, an activity that took place often in the 1920s and during the Second Republic. In contrast, from start to finish of the Franco dictatorship, few new schools were built. In the early years of the dictatorship, not only were no new schools created, but old ones were closed down, their buildings given to some other use. In addition, although in some cases we were able to access photographic testimony of private Catholic schools in books that included them, their congregations were not always willing to share access to their holdings.

One of the difficulties in finding school photographs is the general lack of value placed by the public administration on conserving historical records on education other than for strictly bureaucratic reasons. In fact, in the case of the Balearic Islands, it was not until 2001 that an exclusive archive was created to custodian and catalog documentation regarding education: the *Archivo y Museo de la Educación las Islas Baleares* (AMEIB). These circumstances may be the reasons why more visual records have been preserved in private hands or by private donation (such as private materials and photos being donated by the townspeople to their municipal libraries). The fact that more photographs were kept in the private sector may confirm that conservation of school photos from that time was more highly valued by the participants (students and teachers) than by the government authorities. For the teachers and students who lived through that time, school was part of their personal biography, and the photographs that recall that time were deemed worthy of being preserved in the family album.

The photographs located for this study feature different aspects of daily life at post-war schools. They show the school spaces, the materials used by teachers and students in the teaching-learning process, the furniture, even the decorations on the walls, often revealing just how much the teacher actually followed the laws on classroom decoration. The photos show school practices such as outings and field trips, physical education, and handicrafts as well as the systems for organizing the teaching.

Also worth noting is the fact that the typologies of the pictures most conserved today are the “class-group” and the school portrait, the latter being the largest in number since most were kept in private hands, where as we have said, most of the school photos from the post-war period were kept. This predominance confirms that the value of schools and their symbolism had shifted from the public sphere to the private.

Another aspect to take into consideration here is the fusion of the world of school and the world of religious and patriotic activities. Generally, school activities in open spaces became the subjects of photography, whether because of the lighting conditions or

the wish to portray less commonplace activities. Outings and field trips, school gatherings, and games at recess in the schoolyard are all activities that were often captured on film. During the dictatorship, especially at the beginning, outdoor photographs often show students lining up in parades and patriotic rites or religious celebrations. In Majorca, it was mandatory for schoolboys and young men to participate in official pro-regime youth groups created after similar ones in Italy and Germany. The girls and young women joined the *Sección Femenina de Falange*, the Spanish Falange Movement's Women's Section in charge of occupying the girls' leisure time and ensuring their ideological indoctrination. Outdoor school settings and leisure time merge together in a patriotic and religious liturgy that was quite common in those years in our graphic records, and they inform us that such activities were a more relevant aspect of the new school culture despite not showing specific aspects of school life within the classrooms. Periodicals and archives conserve photographs of schoolchildren marching along, arm raised in salute at military parades, or attending religious events.

The public archives and libraries play a great role in the origins and types of photographs found for this study. Most of the photographs of school in post-war Majorca are kept in municipal archives, and the greatest numbers of school pictures in Majorca are the ones in Palma, Santa Margalida, and Andratx. As regards the main types of photographs conserved at these archives, the most prominent are the class group photo and entire school group photo, shots of school buildings, and photos of activities with the political, military, or religious authorities of the town. In some cases, the reason for conserving the photographs in municipal archives is more to keep a record of the participation of a religious or civil authority in some event rather than to showcase public municipal achievements at improving or promoting the public schools.

Other public archives where we found post-war school photographs were ones belonging to the Government of the Balearic Islands, the AMEIB, which conserves several expositions of old school photographs that include some from the period under study here, and the *Archivo del Reino de Mallorca* (ARM), which contains the most important photographic holdings from the *Sección Femenina de Falange* of Majorca. Also noteworthy is the *Archivo General del Consell de Mallorca* (AGCM), whose collection of photographs from that time period is scanty, but they do have an interesting collection of photographs of historical-educational value on the school colonies of the Regional Government from before the Civil War. Another archive is that of the *Archivo del Sonido y de la Imagen* (ASIM), which in 1999 was given the photographic archive of Gaspar and Francesc Rul·lan, a family of photographers who worked for the public institutions. Although this collection, which covers from 1921 to 1981, has few school-related pictures, it includes some graduation photographs and group photos from the time period under study here.

Complementary to the archives mentioned above are the municipal libraries. Some of them, such as the *Biblioteca Municipal de Montuïri* or the *Biblioteca Municipal Salvador Galmés de Sant Llorenç des Cardassar*, have been building up their photography collections

over the years thanks to donations from the local townspeople, which occasionally include school-related pictures. The most characteristic type of pictures in these library collections are of school buildings, school souvenirs, and class portraits. The reasons these photos were conserved are many, although most involve some private interest: individual school photos, group photos or photos collected by some of the teachers.

As regards the archives, collections, and holdings in private hands, first and foremost are the photo collections kept by private individuals. In most cases, these collections are the product of the teaching activity of a family member, or of an interest in educational matters or in photography in general.⁵ Most of the snapshots in these private collections feature school spaces and school materials, school scrapbook photos, class group portraits, as well as some outdoor activities such as outings, walks, or calisthenics exercises. In fact, in the Montserrat family collection, we found some photographs showing a degree of continuity during the post-war of school practices such as handicrafts deriving from much earlier movements for pedagogic renewal.⁶

Collections were also found at the schools themselves, public and private alike, that had conserved their photographs over the years. Interestingly, the most extensive collections we found were at private schools, perhaps because historically they have had more resources for photographing their daily tasks and because the private school itself is responsible for conserving the photos as a useful tool for preserving the school identity and publicizing the activities at the school. In contrast, at public schools the documentary and photographic records were first sent to the AMEIB, where most of them were unfortunately destroyed in a fire.

Even so, there still exist a number of interesting photography collections from public schools, such as the Escuela de Prácticas (Palma), La Soledad (Palma), or the Gabriel Janer Manila School (Pla de na Tesa, Marratxí). Similarly, private schools with significant collections include one at the Colegio y Escolanía of Lluc, analyzed by Gelabert and Comas (2014), the ones at the schools of La Salle and Montisión, established in different municipalities on the island, the one of the congregation of La Pureza, and the one of Beato Ramón Llull School in Inca. In this case, the most commonly conserved pictures, aside from the typical class group or entire school photo, are from festivities, outdoor activities, school spaces or school materials that were deemed worth being photographed.

⁵ Some interesting examples we found in Majorca are the collections of Bartomeu Garí in Porreres, Rafel Juan in Esporles, Rafel Ferrer in the village of Andratx, Sebastià Ferrer in Capdepera, the library of Reynés Ramón in Lloseta, the collections of Father Xamena in Felanitx, Andreu Muntaner Darder in Palma, the Montserrat Salvà family in Llucmajor, and Magdalena Mulet, a teacher in Santa Eugenia.

⁶ In the specific case of Majorca, handicrafts were added to the primary school curriculum thanks to the teacher Miquel Porcel y Riera. Porcel had been given a scholarship from the Balearic Regional Government in 1890 to attend Normal School in Näas (Sweden) and learn the didactics of handicrafts under the specialist Otto Salomon. Later on, Porcel taught this practice to other teachers at schools in Majorca by giving training classes and publishing several articles in the specialized press of the time, such as the journal *El Magisterio Balear*.

We have also located photographs from the period in commemorative books from the schools. In most cases they were published to mark the celebration of some major achievement: a centennial, a 75th anniversary, 50th anniversary, etc., making clear use of the pictures as a tool for recovering the memory of the school itself. As Fullana, González and Comas state, commemorative books are understood “[...] as a memory of a time that was lived, of an experience and an educational project that reflects the practical experience of an idea, a pedagogic theory, a model of society, a pedagogic mission that addresses the demands of that time” (2014, p. 149, translated from Catalan). Some examples of commemorative books containing photos from 1939-1945 were published by Colegio La Salle in Manacor (Santana, 2013), Colegio Sagrado Corazón in Palma (Dora et al., 2003) Colegio Montisón in Pollença (Cerdá, 2006), the Escuela Graduada in Palma (Comas, 2012), the Escuela de Prácticas in Palma (Comas & Oliver, 2010), and the Colegio Beato Ramón Llull in Inca (Miralles, 2002).

School yearbooks also proved to be useful sources of school-related photographs. Only the largest private schools had such publications in the post-war years, and in many cases the photographs published in them were mostly student and group portraits meant to bear witness to the protagonists of the school at a given time. Nevertheless, some yearbooks also acted as school magazines, with photos of activities done over the year, such as outings, festivals, and class trips (González, Comas & Fullana, 2014).

Other illustrated publications contain school-related photographs from a variety of sources in the years under study here. Some of the most significant ones can be found in *100 Anys d'Educació a Artà* (V.V.A.A., 1991) and *Temps passats. Costitx, el batec d'un poble* (Fiol, Munar & Picornell, 2011). Special mention should be made of the *L'Abans, Recull gràfic* collection by the Catalan publishers Efadós. Its more than 100 volumes gather the historical and photographic memory of villages in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands from the late 1800s through the mid 1900s. Volumes published on Majorca include the towns of Palma (V.V.A.A., 2011), Inca (Colom, 2010), Lluçmajor (Marín, 2010) and Manacor (Carvajal & Gomila, 2010), with chapters specifically on education. These publications generally feature a wide variety of photographs from a full range of origins (individuals, archives, schools, periodicals, etc.) on subject matters that span school souvenir portraits, group portraits, and pictures of spaces, activities, materials, celebrations, and excursions.

Periodicals from that time also offer a range of different school-related photographs including ones from the post-war years. In the case of Majorca, they can be found at the Bartomeu March Library and other newspaper libraries such as that of the Palma City Hall or the Lluís Alemany Library. Also important are local magazines and the foreign press, a phenomenon that appeared decades later but in some cases featured old school photos, which made them a useful source for this study. The locally published magazines that were

analyzed in this study can be consulted in the database of the *Asociación de Prensa Forana de Mallorca* (the Foreign Press Association of Majorca).⁷

In addition, there are also potential findings in the associations that have either some link to the recovery of historical memory or a clear interest in photography. That was the case we found in Majorca, where groups such as the *Agrupación Fotográfica de Algaida* (AFA) preserve a collection of photographs on education, some of which are from the period 1939-1945.⁸ Most of them come from donations from the townspeople of Algaida, which once again underscores the great many school-related photos kept in private collections.

Lastly, we should mention the Word Wide Web in general as a platform for exhibiting and even conserving school photographs and making public what otherwise is in private hands. In fact, the potential of the Web as a tool for recovering visual witness was specifically analyzed in a paper presented at the conference *XXI Jornadas de Historia de la Educación* (Barceló & Sureda, 2014). Beyond a doubt, the Internet is yet another place to find photographs of the past of education. Facebook groups and web pages that conserve digitalized old photos are excellent resources for finding photographs from the time period of interest here. Some examples of Facebook groups with school-related photographs in post-war Majorca are *Fotos Antiguas de Mallorca*,⁹ *Fotos Antiguas de Sant Llorenç des Cardassar*,¹⁰ *Fotos Antiguas de Artà*.¹¹ Most of the images found on the Internet are of school buildings and spaces, memorabilia, class portraits or activities done outside the classroom. Generally, because these photographs belong to families, the types of images were mostly as school memorabilia. Another resource available online is the *Archivo de fotos antiguas de Mallorca* initiative (“Archive of Old Photos of Majorca”) by the *Diario de Mallorca* newspaper, which uploaded more than 2000 pre-1980 photographs,¹² including some school-related photos from 1939-1945.

Iconography and school culture in post-war Majorca

Having enumerated the series where post-war school photographs can be found, we will now study them for any visual evidence they may have of changes and continuities in school culture. The first observation is that the photographs we have located are from very different origins, production conditions, and states of conservation. Therefore, despite the fact that the time period under study was one of strong repression and ideological control, not all the photographs reflect the same ideological bent or wish to portray a similar model

⁷ See: <http://ibdigital.uib.cat/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=premsaForanaMallorca&l=ca&w=utf-8>.

⁸ See: [http://www.afalgaida.cat/index.php?register_vars\[PAMP\]=1280®ister_vars\[PALT\]=800](http://www.afalgaida.cat/index.php?register_vars[PAMP]=1280®ister_vars[PALT]=800).

⁹ See: https://www.facebook.com/Fotos-antigues-de-Mallorca.261386757214913/photos_stream?tab=photos_albums.

¹⁰ See: <https://www.facebook.com/FotosAntiguesDeSantLlorençDesCardassar/?fref=ts>.

¹¹ See: <https://www.facebook.com/FotosAntiguesDarta/?fref=ts>.

¹² See: <http://www.fotosantiguasdemallorca.com>.

of school. This fact is in-keeping with some of the works published recently which point out the continuities and discontinuities on the Franco regime's school model with respect to previous models (López, 2012; Peralta, 2012; Viñao, 2015), an aspect that leads us to qualify the discourse on what school was in the early years of the Franco regime. Nevertheless, we must first make reference to the new political powers' goal of breaking sharply from the Republican model (Sureda, 2008). Educational policy under Franco discarded religious neutrality and imposed Catholicism; it prohibited co-education, made Castilian Spanish the only language; subordinated the curriculum to a patriotic and nationalistic orientation, and promoted a conservative orientation in favor of rote, passive pedagogy. Indeed, this orientation is evident in the official photographs.



Picture 1. Group photo of the mixed grade school of Santa Margalida. 1945. Archivo de Santa Margalida (AMSM). Author unknown.

Picture 1 is an example of the above. It was found in the municipal archives of Santa Margalida, and is a group portrait of all the students and teachers of the town's mixed grade school. As in many group photos, what we see in the picture is who made up the school community at the time. This allows us to identify them. In this photo, there are students and teachers. The students are placed in rows by sex, and some teachers are standing beside them while others are sitting in the first row, front and center in the photograph. This is not by chance, just as it is no coincidence that most of the lay teachers

are not in the foreground. Only the headmistress is sitting in the center of the picture. She is Leonor Bosch Sansó, a teacher closely involved in Catholic circles, and sister to Monsignor Bartolomé Bosch, principal of the secondary school Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria Ramon Llull in Palma and president of the commissions for purging primary school teachers in the Balearic Islands. The central position is taken by the priest. The arrangement of everyone in the picture hints strongly at the presence in the school of the same hierarchies of power in the society of the time, but also shows other matters, such as the separation of the sexes (the boys and girls are in different rows) or the preeminence and authority of the teachers, the hierarchy among them, and the *de facto* power of the Church, depicted here by the town priest in a preeminent position, in schools during those days.



Picture 2. Schoolboys in Falange uniforms. One-room boys' school in Esporles. 1939.

Private archive of Rafel Juan. Author unknown.

In contrast, other pictures exemplify the pillars that characterized schooling and school culture under Franco. We refer to the patriotic orientation taken on by the new school model during those early years. Evidence of that is Picture 2, from the private collection of Rafel Juan. In it we see the students of the one-room boys' school in Esporles

wearing the Falange movement uniform along the facade of their school. The clothes they wear, created to match the uniforms used by the Fascist Italian organization *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, are further elements to project a break from the previous model of school. Indeed, one of the aims of school was to guide the future generations politically and ideologically on the basis of a highly reactionary patriotism. This fact is clearly evidenced in the picture. A final point is that, oddly enough, the students at public schools—an institution under constant suspicion of not abiding by the ideals of the new regime—are seen photographed in Fascist garb, but not the children who attended Catholic schools.



Picture 3. Group photo of the grade school for boys in Lluçmajor. 1943. Private archive of the Monserrat Salvà family. Author unknown

Another example where we see the fascist orientation of school is in Picture 3, from the collection of the Montserrat Salvà family. In it we see the students at the Lluçmajor grade school for boys with the Spanish flag and the banner of the Falange. Bridging the gap between the two we see one of the symbols of Franco's regime: the yoke and bundle of arrows. Both images reflect the totalitarian fascist orientation imposed on schools during the first years of the Franco dictatorship. Moreover, the contrast between Picture 1 and the next two reveals the two ideological orientations that competed for control of schooling during the post-war years: Catholicism and the fascist Falange movement. As some studies

point out, the push between these two orientations went in favor of the Ecclesiastical powers with their longstanding experience in managing education and to the detriment of a recently created Falange, more experienced in political agitation than in the field of education (Cañabate, 2003-2004).

Nevertheless, it should be said that one orientation did not exclude the other. As some of the photographs from the early years of the dictatorship show, some of the Catholic schools carried out clearly fascist-oriented rites and ceremonies, which, it must be said, were mandated by law.¹³ This fact leads us to think the struggle was aimed more at the political and symbolic than at educational practices. An example of this is Picture 4, where we see the students of the Jesuit school Nuestra Señora de Montesión, in Palma, making a fascist salute to the flag.



Picture 4. Students from the school Nuestra Señora de Montesión in Palma making a fascist salute. 1945. Archive of the School of Nuestra Señora de Montesión in Palma. Author unknown.

¹³ Some of the main rites and ceremonies installed during the post-war years were regulated in the circular from March 5, 1938. This disposition became the main guideline in primary education until the Law on Primary Education of 17 July 1945. For more information, see: Boletín Oficial del Estado. *Circular a la Inspección de Primera Enseñanza y Maestros Nacionales, Municipales y Privados de la España Nacional*, 8 March 1938, 6154-6156.

In the case of Majorca, the Catholic Church had a long tradition and considerable weight in controlling education, both in urban settings, with important religious schools such as Montisión and La Salle, as well as in rural areas, with kindergartens and elementary schools set up at the many Catholic convents. This ample presence of religious schools in rural areas is reflected in a large number of photographs, such as the one shown in Picture 5 below.



Picture 5. Group photo of students at the Catholic school Sant Llorenç des Cardassar. 1941. Facebook page "Fotos Antigues de Sant Llorenç des Cardassar".¹⁴ Author unknown.

Furthermore, although the Falange orientation was maintained graphically in the public schools for boys with the portrait its founder, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, religious symbols predominated public schools, especially girls' schools, and were almost exclusively used in religious schools. This preeminence of greater religious symbols at public schools for girls and at private religious schools is noted in Pozo and Rabazas (2010).

The great weight of private Catholic schools in Majorca, largely unaffected by the secularizing policies of the Second Republic, was now being strengthened under the

¹⁴ See:

<https://www.facebook.com/FotosAntiguesDeSantLlorençDesCardassar/photos/a.316982888419420.77089.273389182778791/385717714879270/?type=3&theater>.

Dictatorship. This provides another avenue of insight for examining the photographs. While private religious schools received support and appreciation, public schools were set adrift and even stigmatized. All school construction programs were halted to endow towns with new buildings that would make one-room schools give way to grade schools. An entire set of images, such as Pictures 6 and 7, show the precarious conditions of some of the public school buildings. In some cases it was a way of denouncing this situation, which may not have gotten any further than the private realm of the teachers, while in others it reflected simple reality.



Picture 6. Group photo from the mixed one-room school of Sa Serra (Llubí). 1943. *Fent Carrerany Magazine* (Maria de la Salut. Premsa Forana. 2005, no. 228, p.19). Author unknown.

The group portrait in Picture 6 above, from the rural mixed school of Sa Serra (Llubí), dates from 1943, and shows a number of elements worthy of analysis. First, we can deduce that the building was not originally meant to be a school, since the fact that the material was carried outside it indicates a lack of proper lighting inside the classroom. Second, the photograph shows that the school was poor: the mere fact that the material displayed was considered worth photographing gives an idea of the shortages and hardships of the time.

Another example can be seen in Picture 7. It shows the classroom in the one-room boys' school of Porreres in 1940. In it, we actually see two rooms: one in the foreground and the other in the background, with very little space left for teaching. In addition to the

shortage of resources, this photograph reveals another problem teachers had to face in those days: namely, the grading of teaching in one-room schools. If we look closely at how the two tables in the foreground are arranged, we can intuit that the school split the students into two groups made up of boys of a range of ages and skills. Photos from the time of the Republic show newly built schools with spacious rooms and windows, suited to dividing up primary teaching into grades. In the post-war years, however, the pictures conserved generally show poor, neglected schools sorely lacking in resources.



Picture 7. Classroom of the one-room boys' school in Porreres. 1940. Private archive of Bartomeu Garí Salleras. Author unknown.

In contrast, the photos of private Catholic schools show much higher quality resources and facilities, while, as mentioned earlier, displaying fewer political symbols in their classrooms. This is the case in Picture 8, which belongs to a classroom from the Beato Ramón Lluç School in Inca from 1944. In it we can see the quality of the furnishings and the absence of any political symbols. It is interesting to note the desire some Catholic schools had to preserve their identity from the official ideology of the political regime by abstaining from taking photos of any symbol other than religious ones. This underscores the inestimable worth of images as testimony for studying and analyzing some of the main forms of resistance in Spanish post-war schools.



Picture 8. Classroom at the Beato Ramón Llull School in Inca. 1944. Beato Ramón Llull Archive. Author unknown.

Another picture of the same school (Picture 9 below) shows the laboratory where the utensils were kept for teaching physical and natural sciences. The fact that they keep such photos in their archives is another example of how a particular school used photography to project their image. On this occasion, it shows a well-equipped school of great prestige among the local townsfolk.



Picture 9. Laboratory at Beato Ramón Llull School in Inca. 1944. Beato Ramón Llull Archive. Author unknown.

Photographs also give proof of the persistence of—or break from—some of the chief educational practices that characterized post-war school culture. This line is taken up in several articles written by Antonio Viñao (2015) that highlight one of the major issues currently under debate in Spanish education: the breaks and continuities that took place in school practices and in the political and pedagogical discourses in the war and post-war periods.

Some of the images conserved show the persistence of certain school practices that began in Spain in the late 1800s as a result of movements for pedagogical renewal. This is the case in Picture 10, showing a teacher, Miquel Montserrat, and his students at the grade school in Lluçmajor doing a number of different handicrafts. The picture shows elements from the political culture at the time, such as the portrait of General Franco and the image of the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, in contrast to others (such as these handicrafts) that bear witness to the persistence of a practical culture that was the

hallmark of the pre-war schools. Once again, these pictures become invaluable sources for analyzing the main changes and continuities in school culture during a time of radical transformation. Of course, these breaks and continuities are found in other sources as well: there is a wide range of testimonies (notebooks, oral testimonies, practicum journals, and such) that can provide a glimpse into daily classroom life and the main breaks and continuities in it. Proof of it is our work on school practices implemented in public schools in the Balearic Islands from 1939 to 1948 (Barceló, Comas & Sureda, 2016), in which the practicum journals of the student teachers were used as sources for studying the everyday *praxis* in the classroom.



Picture 10. Classroom of the grade School for boys in Lluçmajor. 1943. Montserrat Salvà private family archive. Author unknown.

The next photo (Picture 11) shows students doing calisthenics at the school of La Soledad in Palma in 1944.



Picture 11. Students doing calisthenics. La Soledat Grade School for boys. 1944. CEIP La Soledat Archive. Author unknown.

Several family and school collections contain photos of students doing outdoor activities such as calisthenics. The very fact that this and similar activities were photographed shows that, even if the aims of these active practices at post-war schools were motivated by different objectives than the ones their advocates originally endorsed, they enjoyed special recognition. Indeed, under Franco, physical exercise was conceived as a way to strengthen the child's body but was never seen as an activity as part of the free development of the child. Whatever the motivation, however, that the pictures of the time show is that it was a common practice and formed part of the school culture of its day.

Walks and outings were similarly often photographed (see Picture 12 below). This school practice, which started in Spain in the mid 1800s upon the introduction of Kraussist pedagogical currents, was continued in Majorca until well after the Civil War. On this occasion, the photo shows the children at the national school of Esporles on an outing in 1942.

Along this same line are the works by María del Mar del Pozo and Sjaak Braster (2012), which note the persistence into the 1940s of some of the main methods and procedures from the New School movement. While the pedagogical literature of the time repudiated any concept or idea related to the New School, evidence in photographs and in teachers' practicum journals show concrete cases in which some of the most characteristic activities such as handicrafts and outings were still being employed.



Picture 12. School children on an outing. One-room school for boys in Esporles. 1942. Private archive of Rafel Juan. Author unknown.

Conclusion

To finish, there are a number of matters the research in this paper makes clear, and which we offer here as a conclusion.

First, despite the difficulty in locating photographs from the post-war period, our research focused on Majorca demonstrates that enough can be found to make them valid historical sources than should be taken into account in research on the history of education of that period.

Second, while space limitations constrain us from being more extensive, we believe these photographs can and should be interpreted as providing information beyond what can be seen at first glance. This gives a discourse that is both different from and complementary to those from other sources when analyzing the changes and continuities in school culture.

Third, the sets of photographs found for this research can provide useful input to the historiographic debates in Spain on schools under the Franco regime for analyzing aspects such as the role of the two predominant ideologies at the time (Catholicism and Falange fascism) and the main remains left over from the earlier movements for pedagogical renewal.

Last, we believe photographs provide worthwhile information for studying the history of school culture, since they show nuances that help understand the transformation of school and its values as a long process that combined change and continuity, imposition and resistance.

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