**Media Matter**

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Edited by
Tim Allender, Inés Dussel, Ian Grosvenor,
and Karin Priem

## Vol. 3

# Media Matter

Images as Presenters, Mediators, and Means of Observation

Edited by
Francisca Comas Rubí, Karin Priem, and Sara González Gómez

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# Contents

Francisca Comas Rubí, Karin Priem & Sara González Gómez

# Introduction

*Media Matter: Images as Presenters, Mediators and Means of Observation* emerged from an international workshop organized in Spring 2019 in the context of a third-party funded project led by Francisca Comas Rubí, Bernat Sureda, and their team at the University of the Balearic Islands (Universitat de les Illes Balears, UIB).[1] The project paved new avenues to the Spanish history of schooling.[2] While existing research had been studying educational discontinuities by looking at administrative and political source materials and/or analyzing theoretical or programmatic shifts in education, Francisca Comas Rubí and her team were eager to complement these perspectives by focusing on historical sources that would grant access to much more tangible aspects of the Spanish history of schooling. The project took a cultural history approach, and the materials relevant for such analysis not only related to school architecture and other educational spaces such as school yards, but also to school furniture, school murals and decoration, didactical objects, teaching aids, and textbooks, as well as hitherto unexplored textual sources and ego-documents such as memoirs, dissertations, personal testimonies, school notebooks, visual documents, and teachers' professional journals. Thereby, the project set out to explore the material culture and practices of local school cultures, as well as how teachers made their own choices in their everyday professional practice. As such, the project also contributed to the heritage sector and the preservation of previously neglected cultural remains of the Spanish history of schooling.

Visual sources play a crucial role in tracing the cultural history of schooling.[3] Images not only document and visually present where and how education manifested and was performed in the past, but also demonstrate in which ways students and teachers embodied specific values and norms.

The title of the book looks at images from the perspective of media history and to analyze them as mobile, reproducible media that play an active role within the public

**1** The project EDU2017-82485-P *School Culture and Practices in the Twentieth Century* was supported by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (MCIU), the Agencia Estatal de Investigación (AEI) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

**2** Francisca Comas and Bernat Sureda, "Photography and History of Education. Ten Years of Research in the UIB's History of Education Studies Group," *Informes de recerca en educació. Illes Balears 2018*, January 16, 2018, http://www.irie.uib.cat (accessed April 24, 2020).

**3** See, e.g., Jon Prosser, "Visual Methods and the Visual Culture of Schools," *Visual Studies* 22, no. 1 (2007): 13–30; Ian Grosvenor, Inés Dussel, Iveta Kestere, Karin Priem, Lisa Rosén Rasmussen, and Angelo Van Gorp, '"We Seek Revelation with Our Eyes': Engaging with School Cultures through Montage," *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* 17 (2016): 2–26; Karin Priem, Inés Dussel, and Marc Depaepe, eds., "Images and Films as Objects to Think With: A Reappraisal of Visual Studies in Histories of Education," special issue, *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 6 (2017).

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and educational spheres.[4] The different chapters of this volume are dedicated to the idea that images are more than "decisive moments."[5] Visual technologies invite documentation and presentation. Therefore, we will discuss how visual media circulated in the public sphere, how they participated in human interactions, how they shaped opinions, how they have been edited and strategically used, and, finally, how they functioned as means of identity formation. Thus, images are perceived as media addressed to various audiences in order to promote and convince.[6] Moreover, they are studied as means of observation and storytelling, as objects that interact with each other as fragments of the past and as "ongoing moment[s]" that persist over time.[7]

**4** See, e.g., Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Jay D. Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); Karin Priem, "David Seymour's Album on the Fight against Illiteracy in Calabria as a Tool of Mediatization: Material Traces and Visual Storytelling," in *They Did Not Stop at Eboli: UNESCO and the Campaign against Illiteracy in a Reportage by David "Chim" Seymour Texts by Carlo Levi* (1950), ed. Giovanna Hendel, Carole Naggar, and Karin Priem (Paris: UNESCO; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 263–274.

**5** [Henry Cartier-Bresson,] *The Decisive Moment: Photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952).

**6** See, e.g., Stuart Franklin, *The Documentary Impulse* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2016); Edward Bernays, *The Engineering of Consent* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955); Edward S. Herman, and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988); Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture (1884–1929)* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Karin Priem, and Frederik Herman, eds. *Fabricating Modern Societies: Education, Bodies, and Minds in the Age of Steel* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

**7** Photographs are flexible and reproducable objects, and they establish many relationships over time which push back against fixed interpretations. Walter Benjamin suggests finding their multiple meanings by means of montage; Elizabeth Edwards looks at photographs as entangled objects; Inés Dussel suggests that their sheer presence expresses powerful agency and charisma, and Geoff Dyer analyzes photographs as ongoing moments: Walter Benjamin, "On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press, 1999); Elizabeth Edwards, "Entangled Documents: Visualized Histories," in *Susan Meiselas: In History*, ed. Kristen Lubben (Göttingen: Steidl, 2008), 330–341; Inés Dussel, "Photos Found in the Archive: An Approximation to the Work with Images Based on an Amateur Album on Children's Games (Argentina, Late Nineteenth Century)," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 10 (2019): 91–129; Geoff Dyer, *The Ongoing Moment* (New York: Vintage, 2007). On the challenges of interpreting photographs, see also Karin Priem, "Visual, Literary, and Numerical Perspectives on Education: Materiality, Presence, and Interpretation," in *Educational Research: Material Culture and Its Representation*, ed. Paul Smeyers, and Marc Depaepe, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 53–69. Susan Sontag's seminal collection of essays *Against Interpretation* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966) offers basic criticism against interpretational approaches to the arts. In addition, non-representational theory may offer inspirations for visual analysis in history of education: Lynn Fendler, "The Ethics of Materiality: Some Insights from Non-Representational Theory," in *Educational Research: Material Culture and Its Representation*, ed. Paul Smeyers, and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 115–132. A wonderful example of how photographs inspire historical storytelling was recently published by Carole Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer* (New York: Russet Lederman, 2019). In the present volume, see

This anthology is divided into three parts and eleven chapters which – even if thematically overlapping – spotlight different dimensions of the visual history of education.

PART 1 looks at images as models and presenters. In Chapter One, Ian Grosvenor takes readers on a visual journey "around the table", which he sees as a place of consumption, ritual and identity formation. He argues that it is a truism that we are what we eat. In his view, eating is the most human of needs. Food brings people together and eating is part of our sense of community and belonging. Manners and taste are learned and performed. The fundamental connection between food and culture, and the repetitive embodied practice of eating, are part of the rituals of belonging and identity formation. When eating is captured in a photograph, it is rarely just about food because eating is personal and social, economic and political. *Around the Table: Consumption, Ritual, and Identity. A Visual Journey* uses vernacular images of children eating to consider the relationship between ritual, consumption and identity formation, and the extent to which cultural identity is reflected, shaped, and reinforced through food. Grosvenor does so not through extended prose but through the application of Walter Benjamin's method of montage. For Benjamin, montage was central to his critical analysis of modernity. It allowed him to explore the experiences, moments and discontinuities associated with living in the modern world and through juxtaposing verbal and visual fragments to make the invisible visible. In Ian Grosvenor's visual essay, photographs are deployed to confront the reader/viewer with the possibility of seeing what otherwise might be unseen, and to make connections revealing the complex interrelations of continuity and disjuncture relating to the cultural practice of eating. The photographs put on display in this chapter are from a range of archival sources, but each of them, as presented in this visual essay, has been removed from its original context, and thereby taken out of history. They have been assembled and juxtaposed with the intention to produce multiple ways of knowing and multiple sets of meanings, to speak to each other, and thereby making visible the connections between ritual, consumption, and the formation of identity.

Chapter Two by Iveta Kestere and Baiba Kalke looks at the emotions of teachers displayed on Soviet classroom photos. Exploring emotions as social constructions determined by individual experiences within historical, sociocultural, political, and institutional contexts, the focus of this chapter is on analyzing the representation of teachers' emotions in the context of Soviet authoritarian rule. Using school photographs capturing emotional episodes as its source material, the study of 205 photographs taken in Soviet Latvia in the period between 1945 and 1985 addresses the following research questions: which emotions did teachers find important to demonstrate officially, namely, in specially organized classroom photos? How do emotional

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also the chapters of Ian Grosvenor and Karin Priem, which both discuss issues of storytelling and interpretation.

expressions reveal the identity of the Soviet teacher? How should we understand and explain the emotions of teachers depicted in the photographs? The authors suggest that, in trying to meet all levels of expectation of the ruling power, teachers posed as disciplined, rational and masculine professionals, and demonstrated these virtues by emotional control. However, Kestere and Kalke conclude that a closer look at the history of the teaching profession reveals that the rules and display of emotional behavior are surprisingly similar, regardless of the political context and system.

In Chapter Three, Xavier Motilla Salas and Llorenç Gelabert Gual analyze images that date back to the last third of the twentieth century, to the beginning of the renewal of music education in Catalonia. The authors concentrate on the "Ireneu Segarra method", which was very popular at the time. The Ireneu Segarra Music School holds a photography repository of 570 photographs that are mounted in three photo albums spanning the time period 1974–2003. The intention of this collection was to record initiatives carried out by the institution over nearly thirty years. The authors analyze a selection of twenty-two photographs that document the implementation of the Ireneu Segarra method in several schools. This rather homogeneous group of pictures reflects the application of different techniques and resources that were considered essential in the pedagogical ideology of the institution. The authors emphasize the importance of visual sources to reflect upon the actual practice of innovative music education, and the theoretical and methodological challenges that may arise from such visual analysis.

The last chapter in PART 1 is by Frederik Herman, who analyzes the visual traces of teenage workers in a huge corporate collection of 2,251 still images – images that were taken at the beginning of the twentieth century at the Luxembourg steel-manufacturing conglomerate Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange (ARBED), and the associated vocational school (the Institut Emile Metz). Herman explores how various concepts of harmony – originating from societal fears, economic and political aspirations, ideologies, and the sciences – found their way into educational thought and practice. He shows how the visual (and textual) materials made by ARBED performed and enacted various forms of harmony, be it the harmony between body, mind and machine; the smooth and harmonious running of the body-motor; the ability to move flexibly and harmoniously between industrial, urban, and natural environments, and to have a foothold in both the past and present; and the harmonious social organism. These corporate images thus functioned as "visual metaphors" for the vocational school's (and, by extension, society's) search for polyharmony – a polyharmony that presented an antidote to the disharmony and imbalance that many feared from industrial modernity.

PART 2 includes three chapters that primarily deal with images as mediators. In Chapter Five, María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster reflect upon a 2019 exhibition that was financed by the leftist City Council of Madrid. *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938*, as the title of the show puts it, was dedicated to the pedagogical renewal that took place in the public schools of the city in the years before the

start of the Franco dictatorship in 1939. The purpose of this exhibition was related to the specific politics of memory-making initiated by the Spanish State, and the exposition showcased examples of progressive educational practices in public schools from the beginning of the twentieth century that were unknown to the wider public. The authors analyze how the show was designed, received and discussed – an injection of self-esteem for the Madrilenian people, as the Spanish newspaper *El Pais* put it. The chapter illustrates that the choice for subsidizing a historical exhibition is never a neutral affair. The same is true for the making of such an exhibition. In the case of the Madrilenian exhibition, several stakeholders were involved who offered different opinions about which items should be displayed and why, and how they were going to be presented. In this sense, the chapter focuses on the challenges academic historians have to face when organizing an educational exhibition for a non-academic audience, and how decisions are made about content and form, particularly in relation to the choice of images.

Another take on images as mediators is discussed in Chapter Six by Pere Fullana Puigserver and Avelina Miquel Lara on the Spanish Scouts (Exploradores de España), who played a key role in popularizing physical activity among children and adolescents in the first third of twentieth-century Spain. From 1913 to 1938, the Spanish Scouts published the magazine *El Explorador*, with a significant number of articles devoted to physical education and sports. Many issues were illustrated which stressed the instrumental role physical education and sports played in the association, and the efforts made to popularize physical activity among the Spanish Scouts. The chapter looks at the state of the art of physical education and sport activities in Spain between the late nineteenth century and 1930, while shedding light on the ideological mindsets of the Spanish Scout leaders and how their ideas were decisive in guiding the organization's approach to understanding and promoting physical education and sports. The chapter also provides an analysis of the visual discourse present in the illustrated articles, which appeared in the Scouts' magazine, to better understand how this particular vision was edited and spread.

Chapter Seven by Stefanie Kesteloot is also dedicated to an exhibition and how images are used as complex mediators within a multimodal setting addressed to the general public. Kesteloot deals with the history of one of the most famous travelling exhibitions after the Second World War, and offers a thorough analysis of UNESCO's *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* and its global reception in 1951. As a UN organization, UNESCO was assigned to present the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to the global population in an effort to guide them to peace. In 1949, the organization's Department of Mass Communication undertook the creation of three tools to promote human rights: a large-scale exhibition at the Musée Galliera in Paris, a travel album, namely the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*, and teaching handbooks. Kesteloot focuses on this travel album as a medium of circulation and, particularly, for promoting Article 26 of the UDHR: "The Right to Education." This right was represented by a number of images and captions whose visual elements and corresponding texts are

analyzed from an intermediate perspective. Moreover, she asks how the album was received by various audiences around the globe, arguing that the promotion and mediation of human rights were based on Western standards of education, and thus making it difficult to spread a universal message.

Finally, PART 3 focuses on images as means of observation. Francisca Comas Rubí and Gabriel Barceló Bauzà look at "recess" and how it was depicted as a crucial part of school life, and specifically scheduled time slots of the pupils' school days dedicated to rest, interaction and play. The origins of recess date back to the late nineteenth century as a response to the need to counteract physical and psychological fatigue among pupils (*surmenage*). Thanks to different research projects undertaken in recent years regarding twentieth-century school photography on the Balearic Islands, the authors have managed to locate hundreds of photographs in public and private archives, school collections, teachers' journals, yearbooks, institutional websites, social networks, illustrated magazines, commemorative books, etc. These pictures show how recess as a practice became ever more documented in photographs throughout the twentieth century. Their analysis provides us with specific information on both the practice and its historical evolution, as well as the constructed and projected visual discourses they contain, enlightening us as to how the public perceives recess. The chapter also aims to offer methodological reflections on the difficulties and challenges when using photographs as a historical resource.

In Chapter Nine, Karin Priem looks at both images and texts by analyzing Magnum photographer David Seymour's photo story and contact sheets on the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy. Priem suggests that his pictures focus on what was visible and present at the time by providing a filmic archive of the efforts to achieve social change in Calabria. Conversely, she argues that Carlo Levi's texts on the fight against illiteracy in Calabria focus on intellectual analysis, and on reading and writing as necessary preconditions for political participation and citizenship. The chapter explores these two different approaches to the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy, while also taking into account the interactions between images and texts. It first draws on textual sources, and looks at how reading and writing are described, endorsed, and understood by a politically and socially engaged journalist, poet, and painter, Carlo Levi, who primarily focused on the theoretically grounded analysis of the mental, cultural, and political impacts of reading and writing. Priem then discusses the successive moments or filmic presence in Seymour's series of photographs on the fight against illiteracy, while stressing that documentary photography also has an impact at cultural and political levels. The chapter concludes by focusing on the differences between visual and textual approaches, and how these two dimensions interact to achieve societal change. Priem suggests that Seymour's story is neither analytical nor interpretational, but rather presentational. It is an empathic and respectful story about the people of Calabria, their lives, and their specific struggle for education. This result also implies that historians of photography have to

take into account the pitfalls of interpretation, and be aware of what they do to photographs by visual analysis.

Chapter Ten by Juri Meda and Simonetta Polenghi studies how rural schools of Central and Southern Italy were shown in paintings from the second half of the nineteenth century. These paintings depict old, bare, poorly lit, and scarcely cleaned classrooms where a small group of students were taught by an old schoolmaster still using the individual method, as well as the so-called "shame punishments", both of which were no longer allowed in modern pedagogy. The chapter shows that the poor material conditions of rural schools in the aftermath of Italian Unification (1861) continued to exist. The classroom paintings with their gloomy atmosphere not only portrayed "real" situations, but also depicted typical classrooms of the decades *before* Unification, when the individual method was largely used in the South. Hence, these paintings also convey a political message, highlighting the many faults of an outdated teaching method, which were associated with the old regime. The authors also tackle the question of the target clients for these paintings, and why they were purchased, to better understand the appeal of the school as a subject.

Chapter Eleven by Sara González Gómez and Bernat Sureda Garcia deals with the history of the Spanish Scouts and their public image. The authors explain how the Boy Scout method proposed by Baden-Powell was easy to align with many of the principles of the New School. This flexibility and adaptability also allowed scouting organizations to establish bonds with a wide range of political and religious powers. From this analysis, the authors explore the public image and social impact of the activities carried out by the Exploradores de España (Spanish Scouts), from the creation of the organization (1912) to the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic (1931). The authors use a large array of "photographic evidence" that has been collected from illustrated magazines, publications by the Spanish Scouts, the photographic archives of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, and the general press. The chapter analyzes the "media identity" of the Spanish Scouts, and the impact from this public image of the scout movement itself.

The present volume is dedicated to exploring how visual documents offer specific access to the past, and confront researchers with specific challenges when it comes to studying the history of schooling. At the same time, it testifies to the collaborative spirit of all the authors involved. Francisca Comas Rubí and her team are part of an international group of historians of education who discuss a broad range of themes and methodological issues around images, photography, and film. They share a fascination for the visual history of education, and how images became influential within the field of education at local, regional, national, and international level. By interrogating images as media, it is our hope that this collection will contribute to ongoing discussions on images as important pace-setters and agents in the history of education.

We are particularly grateful to the Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (MCIU), the Agencia Estatal de Investigación (AEI) and the European Regional

Development Fund (ERDF) for providing funding for this book project. Further, our warmest thanks go to all the institutions and archives whose help made this book possible, not least by allowing reproductions from their collections. We also owe a debt of gratitude to our reviewer, to the editors of this book series, and to our publisher De Gruyter, in particular Rabea Rittgerodt.

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# Part 1: **Images as Models and Presenters**

Ian Grosvenor

# Chapter 1
# "Around the Table": Consumption, Ritual, and Identity. A Visual Essay

## Introduction

History decays into images, not into stories . . . .[1]
– Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (1999)


**Fig. 1.1:** "Prince Albert School, Birmingham, UK, 1997." Photographer Ian Grosvenor, PrivateCollection.

This essay has been framed by two events: a workshop in 2018 and an exhibition the following year. The workshop at a conference in Berlin used photographs generated nearly twenty years earlier, largely through a school-based history research project,

**1** Walter Benjamin, "On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press, 1999), N11.4, 476.

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which had employed Walter Benjamin's idea of montage as a conceptual framework.[2] The purpose of the workshop was to ascertain whether the archive of research images and the use of montage as a mechanism for engagement could address concerns which had emerged in the last decade or so – namely, the focus on history of the spatial, the emotional and the sensory. During the workshop, a lot of interest was focused on a single classroom image (Fig. 1.1) and the position of chairs on the classroom table. Some participants said that they were positioned "wrong" and should have been inverted with the legs upright so that no dirt, matter out of place, was transferred onto the table. This observation opened up further discussion around the different ways in which the ending of the school day was marked – for example, that children would individually put their chair on the table, and this being followed by everyone standing and communally reciting the Lord's Prayer. The discussion recalled research on the choreography of schooling and the rituals of school spaces.[3]

The exhibition, *Feast for the Eyes – The Story of Food in Photography* at The Photographers Gallery, London in the autumn of 2019 explored how food is "personal and social, economic and political" and "rich in symbolism and connotation." Presented over two floors and featuring over 140 works, the exhibition was arranged around three key themes: *Still Life* traced food photography's relationship to the popular genre in painting, *Playing with Food* showed what happens when food photography was "infused with humour, fun and irony;" and *Around the Table* looked at rituals associated with the consumption of food and "the cultural identities reflected through the food we eat and people we eat with." To assist visitor engagement, the exhibition curators offered some guidance in terms of reference points:

> Whether a daily meal or decadent feast, food brings people together and is part of our sense of community and belonging. The table top, food counter, or picnic basket is as much a psychological space as a physical one, where human interactions play out, manners and taste are learned and performed. When photographed, these moments present layers of identity – personal, familial, cultural and political. They tap into the strongly held notions of good living, health, abundance and status often deployed in advertising and propaganda. Here photographs reflect the social values of their time and place, revealing how food can represent who we are, and how we see ourselves and others.[4]

**2** International Standing Conference for History of Education, Standing Working Group, *Objects, Senses and the Material World of Schooling*, "Visualising Past Schools: Using Montage," Organizers: Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn, Berlin, August 31, 2019.

**3** See Betty Eggermont, "The Choreography of Schooling as a Site of Struggle: Belgian Primary Schools, 1880–1940," *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 129–140.

**4** "Around the Table" Introductory Panel, *Feast for the Eyes – The Story of Food in Photography*, The Photographers Gallery, October 18, 2019–February 09, 2020. See also the Gallery Journal, *Loose Associations* 5 (2019) and https://thephotographersgallery.org.uk/whats-on/exhibition/feast-eyes-story-food-photography (accessed June, 2020).

Crossing public and private realms, the exhibition raised "deep-seated questions and anxieties about issues such as wealth, poverty, consumption, appetite, tradition, gender, race, desire, pleasure, revulsion and domesticity."[5] It pointed to the fundamental connection between food and culture, and how the repetitive, embodied practice of eating is part of the rituals of belonging and identity formation.

Together, the workshop and the exhibition shaped the focus of this essay, namely children, food and eating; its form, a photo-essay; its title, *"Around the Table": Consumption, Ritual, and Identity*; and a way of working, Benjamin's "montage." What follows is an explanation of the method and the task.

## Perception and Meaning Making

In *Blind Spot* (2017), the art historian and photographer Teju Cole writes, '"We see the world:' this simple statement becomes (Merleau-Ponty has also noted this) a tangled tree of meanings. Which world? See how? We who?"[6] Merleau-Ponty in the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) had argued that "Because we are in the world . . . we are condemned to meaning" and referred to phenomenology as a "will to seize the meaning of the world . . . as that meaning comes into being."[7] Cole's observation points to the plural rather than Merleau-Ponty's singular meaning, that what the camera sees and what we see are not the same. Photographs by their very nature are "randomly inclusive" carrying an excess of information as the lens captures everything inside its frame.[8] Details escape our eyes. At first, an image can appear ambiguous to the viewer and its meaning initially uncertain. As John Berger writes, "meaning is not instantaneous," but rather "is discovered in what connects . . . Without a story, without an unfolding, there is no meaning." A photograph arrests the flow of time in which the event photographed once existed. The moment is frozen. There is, as Berger described, an "abyss" – the time/space between the moment captured/frozen on film and the moment of looking. He continues, "An instant photographed can only acquire meaning in so far as the viewer can read into a duration extending beyond itself."[9] However, as soon as photographs are used with words/captions they "guarantee each other." As Cole notes in his essay *Against Neutrality*: "You believe the words more because the photograph verifies them and trust the photograph because you trust

**5** https://thephotographersgallery.org.uk/whats-on/exhibition/feast-eyes-story-food-photography (accessed June, 2020).

**6** Teju Cole, *Blind Spot* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017), 272.

**7** Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), 83–84.

**8** Elizabeth Edwards, "Entangled Documents: Visualised Histories," in *Susan Meiselas: In History*, ed. Kristen Lubben (Gottingen: Steidl, 2008), 330–341.

**9** John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), 87–89.

the words."[10] What the viewer sees is given meaning by the words. When photographs enter an archive, they are catalogued, and words are ascribed to them to enable their accessibility for users. When they are reproduced in books and articles, they are given a title, a caption. In both cases, the words direct our looking. Words when used with images can anchor meanings; however, change the words and the original meaning can be displaced, even though the image and what is captured remains the same.

## On Montage

Juxtaposing verbal and visual fragments was central to Walter Benjamin's cut-and-paste practices of montage. Benjamin's critical analysis of modernity revolved around documenting the experience of modernity and making visible the invisible. This was an enterprise for which, his contemporary Ernst Bloch believed, Benjamin to be particularly equipped, as he possessed:

> a unique gaze for the significant detail, for what lies alongside, for those fresh elements which, in thinking and in the world, arise from here, for the individual things (*Einzelsein*) which intrude in an unaccustomed and non-schematic way, things which do not fit in with the usual lot and therefore deserve particular, incisive attention.[11]

For Benjamin, the technology of the camera enabled photography to penetrate the surface of everyday, observed reality. It enabled the "traces" – the everyday minutiae of the modern experience – to be retrieved. It made analyzable "things which had heretofore floated along unnoticed in the broad stream of perception."[12] In representing the modern experience Benjamin rejected conventional narrative structures in favor of montage:

> Method of this project: literary montage. I needn't *say* anything: merely show. I shall purloin no valuables, appropriate no ingenious formulations. But the rags, the refuse – these I will not inventory but allow, in the only possible way, to come into their own: by making use of them.[13]

Montage offered the possibility "of doing justice" of "giving shape" to the modern experience.[14] "Traces" of the modern experience, whether visual or literary, were to be assembled and put "to use" to bring elements of the past, the debris of history, into the present. At the same time, such images – liberated from their original context –

**10** Teju Cole, "Against Neutrality," in *Known and Strange Things* (London: Faber & Faber, 2016), 212.
**11** Ernst Bloch, "Recollections of Walter Benjamin," in *Walter Benjamin: Critical Essays and Recollections*, ed. Gary Smith (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 340.
**12** Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Fontana, 1973), 237.
**13** Benjamin, "On the Theory of Knowledge," N1a, 8, 460.
**14** Howard Caygill, *The Colour of Experience* (London: Routledge, 1998), 64.

were juxtaposed in a montage of modernity which illuminated elements of common experience, but also disjuncture which served to provoke and disconcert the viewer/reader. The critical power of montage was its ability to shock: "To bring about an explosion which would bring down the Dream House of History by forcing a discarded, forgotten, even repressed past into an unfamiliar, unreconciled constellation with the present."[15] The strange became familiar and the familiar became strange. Montage also offered viewers points of entry in the labyrinth of personal reminiscences of the modern experience. As Susan Buck-Morrs wrote, the mosaic of modern images was "only half the text. The reader of Benjamin's generation was to provide the other half of the picture from the fleeting images of his or her lived experiences."[16] Montage was, therefore, a mechanism for conjuring and linking people and experiences, moments and discontinuities associated with living in the modern world. It offers the historian both a method and a task.

## Engaging with Montage

Following Benjamin, this essay presents the reader/viewer with twelve images.[17] They stand as individual artefacts associated with children and the cultural practice of eating, but with no anchoring captions to locate them in time and space. Each of the images have been taken out of history, removed from their original context. The photographs come from a range of archival sources and have been assembled and juxtaposed to produce mutual illumination, to trigger multiple ways of knowing and multiple sets of meanings, to speak to each other, to surface in words what is peculiar, what is unsaid, what is insignificant, what is excluded, and what is at the margin. The photographs have been deployed to confront the reader/viewer with the possibility of seeing what otherwise might be unseen, and to make connections so as to reveal the complex interrelations of continuity and disjuncture relating to the cultural practice of eating. Of course, it is one thing to confront the reader, but it is another to translate this act into critical engagement with the visual. As indicated earlier, the inclusive nature of the photograph – the detail, the proliferation

**15** Derek Gregory, "Interventions in the Historical Geography of Modernity: Social Theory, Spatiality and the Politics of Representation," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 73, no. 1, *Meaning and Modernity: Cultural Geographies of the Invisible and the Concrete* (1991): 28.

**16** Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing. Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 292.

**17** See also Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn, António Nóvoa, Kate Rousmaniere, and Harry Smaller, "Reading Educational Spaces: The Photographs of Paulo Catrica," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 3, (2004): 315–332; Ian Grosvenor, Inés Dussel, Iveta Kestere, Karin Priem, Lisa Rosén Rasmussen, and Angelo Van Gorp, '"We Seek Revelation With our Eyes': Engaging with School Cultures Through Montage," *Encounters in Theory and History of Education* 17 (2016): 2–26.

of signs and the excess of data – can overwhelm the eye of the viewer. To avoid this, the historian of photography Michel Frizot advises adopting "an active, attentive gaze," one that scans photographs surfaces "in a sporadic, apparently disorganized process, determining reference points, identifying distinct signs and establishing mental connections between them."[18] In terms of looking and seeing, the American artist John Baldessari (1931–2020) used "found"[19] photographs to challenge habitual ways of seeing, and recommended looking at an image "as if you have never seen it before. Examine it from every side, draw its outline with your eyes or in the air with your hands. And saturate yourself with it."[20] He also said about his own practice of working with photographs: "What I am looking at in photographs is usually the stuff that's not too 'interesting', it's the stuff you see in out of the corner of your eye, rather than what you normally focus on . . . ."[21] The early theorist of the image Roland Barthes felt that "in order to see a photograph well, it is best to look away . . . to shut my eyes, to allow the detail to rise of its own accord into affective consciousness."[22] Whatever critical strategies are employed, having engaged with the photographs and brought personal insights drawn from lived experience into the mix, additional conjectures and connections can be produced by consulting the "anchoring words" found at the end of the chapter, where the provenance and titles of each of the photographs are listed.

It could be argued that this would have been a good point in this framing text for the author to offer some concrete examples of seeing what otherwise might be unseen, by identifying for the reader some of the connections between the twelve images. However, images and words have a problematic relationship. When photographs enter an archive, they are catalogued, and words are ascribed to them to enable their accessibility for users; and when they are reproduced in books and articles, they are given a title, a caption. In other words, as soon as photographs are used with words "they produce together an effect of certainty . . . The photograph, irrefutable as evidence but weak in meaning, is given a meaning by the words. And the words, which by themselves remain at the level of generalization, are given specific authority by the irrefutability of the photograph."[23] In sum, words direct our looking. Hence separating details of the

**18** Michel Frizot, *Every Photograph Is an Enigma* (Paris: Maison Européene de la Photographie, 2015), 21.

**19** For a discussion of "found" photographs, see Ian Grosvenor and Gyöngyvér Pataki, "'LOOK AT ME.' The Enigma and Value of 'Found' Photographs for Historians of Education," in *Appearances Matter: The Visual in Educational History*, ed. Tim Allender, Inés Dussel, Ian Grosvenor, and Karin Priem (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 259–278.

**20** John Baldessari, *Subject Matter 1996–98,* Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, Barcelona, https://www.macba.cat/en/exhibitions-activities/exhibitions/john-baldessari (accessed June, 2020).

**21** John Baldessari, "Some Notes on Recent Work" (1989) quoted https://www.modernamuseet.se/stockholm/en/exhibitions/john-baldessari/introduction-john-baldessari/ (accessed June, 2020).

**22** Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucinda*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 1993), 53–54.

**23** John Berger, "Appearances. The Ambiguity of the Photograph," in John Berger, *Understanding a Photograph,* ed. Geoff Dyer (London: Penguin Books, 2013), 66.

provenance and titles of the photographs from their image so as to reinforce the focus on the act of looking. As James Agee advised in *A Way of Seeing* (1946): "I have avoided any attempt to discuss the 'meanings' of the photographs, feeling that this is best left as an affair between the pictures themselves and the reader."[24] Finally, while the selection and arrangement of the montage was necessarily calculated, alternative arrangements might produce different threads of connections and meanings, but in the process of engagement with the images there is no closure, only the action of "explicitly and implicitly, raising as many questions as are answered" about consumption, ritual, and identity around the table.[25]

**24** James Agee, "An Essay," in *A Way of Seeing, Photographs of Helen Levitt*, 4th edition (Film Documents LLC: Salt Lake City, UT, 2019). Agee was commenting on the photographs of Helen Levitt.
**25** Allan Pred, *Recognising European Modernities. A Montage of the Present* (London: Routledge, 1995), 27.


MENU
25-2-80
STARTERS
FRUIT JUICES 10P
TO-DAY'S SOUP
CHICKEN 10P
DAILY
SAUSAGE ROLLS 14P
BACON 18P
SAUSAGES 16P
EGG 8P
BACON + EGG 24P
SAUSAGE + EGG 20P
SALADS 25P
ROWNTREE'S LOLLY 36P
PORTION OF CHIPS 10P
" " POTATOES 8P
" " VEGETABLES 5P
PKT OF CRISPS 7P
SANDWICHES
EGG + TOMATO ROLLS 16P
" " CHEESE " 18P
TO-DAY'S MAIN DISH
MINCE + DUMPLINES
+
CHIPS / POTS + VEG 25P
TO-DAY'S SALAD
CHEESE N EGG 25P
TO-DAY'S SNACKS
HOT DOGS
BEEF BURGERS 16P
SPAM PIZZA
SWEETS
TO-DAY'S SWEETS
CURRANT N CHERRY
SLICE N CUSTARD 10P
DAILY
CHEESE N BISCUITS 10P
COFFEE N BISCUIT 10P
MILK SHAKE + BISCUIT 12P
FRESH FRUIT 10P
ICE CREAM 10P
YOGHURT 10P
MERINGUE
CHEESE & FRUIT SCONE
PIECE OF CAKE
BISCUIT

**Fig. 1.2**

**Fig. 1.3**

**Fig. 1.4**

**Fig. 1.5**

**Fig. 1.6**

**Fig. 1.7**

**Fig. 1.8**

**Fig. 1.9**

**Fig. 1.10**

**Fig. 1.11**

**Fig. 1.12**

**Fig. 1.13**

# Image Credits

**Fig. 1.2:** "School dinner menu, North East England, February 25, 1980." Unknown Photographer. Creative Commons JS 40480112.
**Fig. 1.3:** Bill Brandt, "Slum Housing near the Malden Road, London, 1943." The Bournville Village Trust, Birmingham City Archives, Album 3. F. L.S.1. Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.
**Fig. 1.4:** Lisel Haas, Lisel Haas Estate, Birmingham City Archives, MS 2202 Box 4–1b. Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.
**Fig. 1.5:** "Reparto de copa de leche (Distribution of a glass of milk)." Quinquela Martín School, 1938. Reproduced with the permission of the Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
**Fig. 1.6:** "Kinder während des Essens (Children while eating) 1953." Roger Rossing/Renate Rossing, Deutsche Fotothek, Creative Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0 de.
**Fig. 1.7:** Dining room of the Alfredo Calderón School, 1936. Reproduced with the permission of the Fundación Angel Llorca, Madrid, Spain.
**Fig. 1.8:** "Materiality of Eating, after Wright Morris." Photographer Ian Grosvenor. Private Collection.
**Fig. 1.9:** "The Macedonian Campaign, 1916," © Imperial War Museum Q 31806.
**Fig. 1.10:** "Street party to commemorate the Jubilee of King George V, Dartmouth Street, Birmingham 1935." Unknown photographer, Birmingham City Archives, WK-A12-20. Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham.
**Fig. 1.11:** "Muslims in Britain: Eid Ul Fitr Celebrations, 1941." © Imperial War Museum, D5141.
**Fig. 1.12:** Edith Tudor-Hart, "Basque Refugee Children Preparing Vegetables, North Stoneham Camp, Hampshire." 1937. PGP279.38. National Galleries of Scotland. Presented by Wolfgang Suschitzky, 2004. © held jointly by Peter Suschitzky, Julia Donat & Mischa Donat.
**Fig. 1.13:** "School dining room, Tyneside, North East England." Unknown Photographer. Creative Commons, JS40084940.

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Iveta Kestere & Baiba Kalke

# Chapter 2
# "Solemn as the Kremlin"? Emotions of Teachers in Soviet Classroom Photos

## Introduction

Teaching and learning are emotional processes.[1] Therefore understanding, disciplining or normalizing, suppressing, and displaying emotions present a field of research for educational psychologists, philosophers, sociologists, and anthropologists – a field in which extensive research experience has already been invested.[2] Since the end of the twentieth century, emotions have also become a thriving and dynamic (sub)field of historical studies,[3] joining many "turns"[4] in the history of education, too. Whereas in psychology, emotions are viewed as "located in the individual,"[5] historians are among those who take emotion research outside of the human psyche. They reveal emotions as social constructs, that is, as generated by standards, values, and beliefs rooted in an individual's experience and developed in certain historical, sociocultural, political, and institutional contexts.[6] Thorough examination of these contexts lets historian's questions in emotion research be answered. In turn, studying

**1** Leanne Fried, Caroline Mansfield, and Eva Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research: Introducing a Conceptual Model to Guide Future Research," *Issues in Educational Research* 25, no. 4 (2015): 417; Paul A. Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," *Educational Psychologist* 49, no. 1 (2014): 1.

**2** Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy compiled 151 papers on emotions in education, including 82 articles on teachers' emotions published in English language journals between 2003 and 2013, and found in major databases (e.g., ERIC, PsychArticles, SAGE, etc.). This number of articles testifies to the popularity of emotion related phenomena in modern educational research. See Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 418.

**3** Piroska Nagy, "History of Emotions," in *Debating New Approaches to History*, ed. Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 189.

**4** E.g., the affective turn, the visual turn, the linguistic turn, the transnational turn and others, called by Osterhammel "carefully orchestrated 'turns' in global history." See Jürgen Osterhammel "Global History," in *Debating New Approaches to History*, ed. Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 22.

**5** Michalionos Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity: A Poststructural Perspective," *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 9, no. 3 (August 2003): 216.

**6** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 3; Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 213, 216; Megan Boler, *Feeling Power. Emotions and Education* (New York, London: Routledge, 1999), 19; Luigina Mortari, "Emotions and Education: Reflecting on the Emotional Experience," *European Journal of Educational Research* 4, no. 4 (October 2015): 159; Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 421, 223; Joakim Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 1–2 (February–April 2015): 115.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110696905-003

emotions from a historical perspective gives insight into the society which ordered, produced, and/or used particular emotions.[7]

The connection of emotions to a certain historical context determined the focus of this study. Our goal is to reveal the representation of teachers' emotions in the context of the Soviet authoritarian rule. Contributing to emotion research in the history of education, the present study is a continuation of our previous projects devoted to teacher image.[8]

The study of emotions from a historical perspective is challenging. It is virtually impossible to adequately reconstruct true emotions of the individual at a particular moment with the traditional tools of the historian. However, Schutz's study of emotional episodes, in which emotions manifest themselves as an appraisal of the event at a certain moment of communication, is methodologically helpful here.[9] It is also in line with Nagy's claim that emotions can be investigated as an event from a historical perspective.[10] Photography is a useful source here: in the ever-changing dynamic flow of emotions, the photographer can "stop" or "freeze" an episode, providing material for emotion analysis. Since any shot is created in a certain time and space, photography is also very telling in the context of emotion formation.[11] Documentary photography provides information, revealing what may remain hidden in written or oral sources,[12] and especially in documents, press, and literature heavily censored by the Soviet authorities.[13]

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**7** Nagy, "History of Emotions," 199, 201.

**8** Iveta Kestere and Baiba Kalke, "Controlling the Image of the Teacher's Body Under Authoritarianism: The Case of Soviet Latvia (1953–1984)," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no. 1–2 (2018): 184–203; Iveta Kestere, and Baiba Kalke, "The Visual Image of the Teachers: A Ten-Country Perspective," *Revista Columbiana de Educación* 68 (2015): 19–40; Iveta Kestere, Charl Wolhuter, and Ricardo Lozano, eds., *The Visual Image of the Teacher: International Comparative Perspectives* (Riga: RaKa, 2012).

**9** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 3.

**10** Nagy, "History of Emotions," 200–201.

**11** Joan M. Schwartz, "Negotiating the Visual Turn: New Perspectives on Images and Archives," *American Archivist* 47, no. 1 (2004): 107–122; see also Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 178.

**12** Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: RosettaBooks LLC, 1973/2005), 16; Sjaak Braster, "Educational Change and Dutch Classroom Photographs. A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis," in *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom,* ed. Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar Del Pozo (Bruxelles et al.: Peter Lang, 2011), 36; Catharina Hultkrantz, "Beneath the Great Dome: Photographs as Means in the Study of the Senses and Emotions of Day-to-Day School Life," in *Engaging with Educational Space. Visualizing Spaces of Teaching and Learning*, ed. Catherine Burke, Ian Grosvenor, and Björn Norlin (Umeå: Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, 2014), 102; Ian Grosvenor, "On Visualising Past Classrooms," in *Silences and Images: The Social History of the Classroom*, ed. Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

**13** Henrihs Strods, *PSRS politiskā cenzūra Latvijā 1940–1990* [USSR political censorship in Latvia, 1940–1990] (Riga: Jumava, 2010).

In analyzing 205 class photos taken between 1945 and 1985, our study asked the following questions: What emotions did teachers find important to demonstrate officially, namely, in specially organized classroom photos? How do expressed emotions reveal the identity of the Soviet teacher? How do we understand and explain emotions of teachers depicted in the photos?

In order to analyze the representation of teacher's emotions, we will present the historical context in which, along with the identity of the Soviet teacher, their emotional experience developed.

## Soviet Teacher Identity

Teacher identity is "historically situated" and constructed and reconstructed through social interactions in which emotions are generated and expressed. Emotions are both an identity resource and, as identity is expressed through emotions, a form of identity representation.[14] Emotions are less of a teacher's personal choice and more the "emotional regime" associated with a political power that creates norms concerning emotional behavior.[15] The Soviet Union was no exception in setting certain requirements to what, in Foucauldian terms, could be called the "normalization" of teachers' emotions.[16]

Latvia provides a unique context in which to analyze such emotional regimes and identity representation. The country was occupied and incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, but the purposeful formation of the Soviet teacher began after the Second World War. As Sergei Prozorov and Mara Irene Lazda have detailed, the cornerstone of Soviet pedagogy was the "biopolitical project" of shaping the New Soviet Man[17] modelled on a generalized copy of the Leader, that is, a soldier of the Red (Soviet) Army.[18] This soldier was an embodiment of all moral qualities highly valued in communist ideology – a strictly disciplined person who, by denying his individuality and personal interests, makes every effort to achieve the common

**14** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 213–218; Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 425.

**15** Nagy, "History of Emotions," 200.

**16** See Martin Hewitt, "Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare," in *The Body. Social Process and Cultural Theory*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Mike Helpworth, and Bryan S. Turner, 2nd. ed. (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001), 229.

**17** Sergei Prozorov, "The Biopolitics of Stalinism: Ideas and Bodies in Soviet Governmentality," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 38, no. 3 (August 2013): 208–227.

**18** Mara Irene Lazda, "Gender and Totalitarianism: Soviet and Nazi Occupations of Latvia (1940–1945)" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2005), 105, 107.

goals of society, a hero, a "real man" even in a female body.[19] Such an abstraction was easy to understand: it set clear guidelines for the collective identity and served perfectly well for all kinds of propaganda.[20] An important role in the Soviets' project was allocated to the teacher, who had to be a model of the New Soviet Man for children, their parents, and society in general.

To uncover what emotional qualities were expected of the teacher as a "New-Soviet-Man", we studied 13 teacher manuals published between 1946 and 1983 and which were used by teacher training institutions throughout the Soviet Union.[21] Teacher emotions are discussed in 23 excerpts and, given the ideologized pedagogical context, the content did not surprise us: the main expectation of a Soviet teacher was emotional control. In several manuals, this requirement was supported by quotations from the classic Soviet pedagogue Anton Makarenko (1888–1939). For example, "if you feel unhappy, your first moral duty is that no one should know about it."[22] The teacher must be "self-contained,"[23] "calm,"[24] with "a great control of the facial muscles."[25] He should not be easily irritated or nervous.[26] The teacher must neither react to students' indiscipline with anger (pounding on the table, shouting[27]), nor is a "long face" allowed.[28] The only approved emotional expression is a smile, since the teacher must be "kind and benevolent,"[29] but avoid familiarity.[30] In the words of

**19** See Yulia Gradskova, *Soviet People with Female Bodies: Performing Beauty and Maternity in Soviet Russia in the Mid 1930–1960s* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2007).

**20** Gloria Calhoun, "Saints into Soviets: Russian Orthodox Symbolism and Soviet Political Posters" (MA diss., Georgia State University, 2014), 34. https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1089&context=history_theses (accessed February 1, 2020).

**21** The number of teacher manuals published in the Soviet Union is not large, as each book was severely censored going through various stages of testing. However, the books had a large circulation and were used in teacher training throughout the Soviet Union.

**22** SP Baranov, et al. *Pedagogika* [Pedagogy] (Moscow: Prosvescenije, 1981), 327; Tatjana Ilyina, *Pedagogika. Ucebnoje posobije dlja studentov pedagogiceskih institutov* [Pedagogy. Teacher manual for students of pedagogical institutes] (Moscow: Procvescenije, 1969), 232.

**23** BP Jesipovs, et.al. *Pedagoģija* [Pedagogy] (Riga: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība, 1948), 127.

**24** Baranov, et al. *Pedagogika* [Pedagogy], 10.

**25** Ilyina, *Pedagogika. Ucebnoje posobije dlja studentov pedagogiceskih institutov* [Pedagogy. Teacher manual for students of pedagogical institutes], 232.

**26** JN Medinskij, *Prosvescenije v SSSR* [Education in USSR] (Moscow: Gos.ucebno-pedagogicaskoje izdatelstvo, 1955); NJ Kovaljov, et al., *Vvedenije v pedagogiku* [Introduction in pedagogy] (Moscow: Prosvescenije, 1975).

**27** JK Babansky (ed.) *Pedagogika* [Pedagogy] (Moscow: Prosvescenije, 1983), 302.

**28** Ilyina, *Pedagogika. Ucebnoje posobije dlja studentov pedagogiceskih institutov* [Pedagogy. Teacher manual for students of pedagogical institutes], 232.

**29** Ilyina, *Pedagogika. Ucebnoje posobije dlja studentov pedagogiceskih institutov* [Pedagogy. Teacher manual for students of pedagogical institutes], 232; Babansky (ed.) *Pedagogika* [Pedagogy], 200.

**30** BP Jesupov, NK Goncarov, *Pedagogika* [Pedagogy] (Moscow: Ucpedizdat, 1950), 385.

Hagedorn, Vails, and Geniss, the teacher's body turned into an organized space,[31] becoming as solemn as the Kremlin.[32] As non-compliance with the rules set by authorities was dangerous in the Soviet Union, threatened with at least public humiliation,[33] we expected to see a soldier-like self-image in the photographs.

## Teacher's Emotions in Photographs: Research Methodology

School photographs offer an inexhaustible range of emotional episodes captured in a variety of situations, such as lessons and breaks, trips and holidays, exams and graduation ceremonies, and many others. As Zemblyas has noted, the human body in a photo is a "very revealing practical surface"[34] through which emotions manifest and become performative, disclosing how people communicate emotions through body posture, gestures, facial expressions, and eye movements.[35]

In order to make teachers' emotions comparable, we chose emotional episodes recorded in a certain space, namely, the classroom. Here, the classroom is also important as a daily environment where the teacher is the "boss" and therefore safe, thus increasing our confidence that even in front of the camera lens, teachers' emotions approximate the everyday style of emotional communication.

The second criterion for selecting the photos was the staging, i.e., we chose only those photos in which the camera and, thus, the photographer's eye, were seen or felt by their subjects – the teachers were ready to be photographed and had chosen how to represent themselves in the photo. As Zembylas notes, teacher identity is "articulated through talk, social interaction, and self-presentation."[36] Thus, a self-representing image, including expressed emotions, reveals and helps to understand teacher identity.

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**31** Jörg Hagedorn, "Körper und Raum. Raumerschliessungs- und Raumeneignungsprozesse Jugendlicher in narrativen Selbstpraxen" in *Räume bilden – pädagogische Perspektiven auf den Raum,* ed. Constanze Berndt, Klaudia Kalish, und Anja Krüger (Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2016), 155.

**32** Pjotrs Vails and Aleksandrs Geniss, *60.gadi. Padomju cilvēka pasaule* [The 60s. The World of Soviet People] (Riga: Jumava, 2006), 60.

**33** Kestere, and Kalke, "Controlling the Image of the Teacher's Body under Authoritarianism," 202.

**34** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 229.

**35** Paul A. Schutz and Reinhard Pekrun, eds., *Emotion in Education* (Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2007); Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 227; Nagy, "History of Emotions," 194; Margaux Lhommet and Stacy C. Marsella, "Expressing Emotion Through Posture and Gesture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Affective Computing*, ed. Rafael Calvo, Sidney D'Mello, Jonathan Gratch, and Arvid Kappas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199942237.013.039.

**36** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 215.

The third and most important criterion was the presence of students in the photographs, because teachers' emotions cannot be viewed separately from their students' emotions or those of other staff members:[37] "Emotions and their communication through expressions are born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder of our experiences, and they are shaped in dialogical interaction with other emotions that are constantly becoming."[38] The emotions of a person acting as a teacher are channeled through communication with others, and it is only through relationships that these emotions may be understood.

Of our collection of approximately 400 unpublished school photos, 205 images corresponded to the selected criteria. The photographs were found in the Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents, the National History Museum of Latvia, the Museum of Riga Schools, the Pedagogical Museum of the University of Latvia, several town museums (in Valmiera, Liepaja, Daugavpils, and Dobele), the Kubalu School Museum, Ikskile Secondary School Museum, private collections, at collectors' markets, and on the Internet site *Lost Latvia*.[39] The photographs cover the period from 1945 to 1985, until Gorbachev's *perestroika* softened the harsh political climate in the Soviet Union. The photographs depict 212 teachers from urban and rural schools in Latvia, of whom 80.1% were women and 19.9% men; the ratio matched the overall gender ratio in the education system of Soviet Latvia.[40]

The photographs were statistically processed according to several indicators (gender, body posture, facial expressions). In turn, our qualitative analysis of emotional episodes used hermeneutics, revealing the meaning of photographs in their mutual dialogue and dialogue with researchers, supplementing this communication with research in psychology and history. We were guided by Davey's interpretation of Hans-Georg Gadamer's reflection that "(. . .) understanding is always established in practice. And it comes into existence as 'meaning' only through a dialectical and dialogical encounter with others. (. . .) understanding is the always incomplete result of critical appropriation."[41] A photograph is one person's view

**37** Fried, Mansfield and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 427.

**38** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 223.

**39** "Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka. Zudusī Latvija senos zīmējumos, atklātnēs un fotogrāfijās no 19. gs. beigām līdz mūsdienām" [National Library of Latvia. Lost Latvia in ancient drawings, postcards, and photographs from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day], http://www.zudusilatvija.lv/ (accessed March 9, 2020).

**40** In 1959 in the Latvian SSR, 74.9% of workers in education, science and the arts were women and only 25.1% were men. *Itogi vsesojuznoi perepisi naselenija 1959 goda. Latvijskaja SSR* [Soviet Union 1959 census results. Latvian SSR] (Moscow: Gosstatizdat CSU SSSR, 1963), 37.

**41** Gerald J. Davey, "Understanding Photographic Representation: Method and Meaning in the Interpretation of Photographs" (PhD diss., University of Iowa), 1992, 119.

of another, while the researcher interprets the information from her own position; so, when trying to understand other people's emotions, one must also keep the presence of one's own emotions in mind.[42] Grosvenor warns that we read school photos through our own memories of schooling.[43] It should be acknowledged that the interpretation of the photographs in this study was inevitably affected by our personal experience of studying and working in Soviet schools from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. However, this experience was also an asset as it helped to better understand the historical context and reveal it "from within." In any event, understanding and explaining teachers' emotions is possible from different perspectives, and no one has the final say in it.

In the episodes captured in classroom photographs, teachers present themselves in emotional communication in two simultaneous directions – with the photographer, through the camera eye, and the student audience. The emotions revealed in these communications will be analyzed below.

## Teacher's Emotional Communication with the Camera/Photographer

Teachers have a certain idea of how they want to see their students, and whether they achieve a "perfect" class is closely linked to their self-assessment, i.e., how successful teachers see themselves.[44] As Zembylas notes, "Their classroom become[s] a main source of their self-esteem and fulfilment as well as their vulnerability."[45] Thus, teachers identify with their students, and the image of the class becomes an indicator of the teacher's personal success and so produces their emotions. If teachers are able to deal successfully with a particular event by providing an orderly classroom, they have reached their goal, and this evokes positive emotions,[46] or at least reassuring ones. In turn, the inability to control the situation in the classroom leads to a feeling of helplessness, self-blame, and shame, which could result "in anger at the system,"[47] and in our case, the camera is the guilty party. This theoretical insight into teachers' feelings is illustrated by the emotional episodes captured in the classroom photographs.

**42** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 230.

**43** Ian Grosvenor, ""To Act on the Minds of the Children" Paintings into Schools and English Education," in *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom*, ed. Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar Del Pozo (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011), 55.

**44** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 3.

**45** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 216.

**46** Reinhard Weiner, "Examining Emotional Diversity in the Classroom: An Attribution Theorist Considers the Moral Emotions," in *Emotion in Education*, ed. Paul. A. Schutz and Reinhard Pekrun (Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2007), 78.

**47** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 3; Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 228.

A photographer who comes to the class is most often a stranger, an "outsider." The traditional, ritualized order of the learning process is interrupted, and the teacher has to present the class in front of the camera. The moment captured in the photograph will be immortalized, distributed outside the classroom walls, and an unpredictable number of people will view, i.e., evaluate, the photograph from then on. If teachers are aware of it, then shooting becomes an important event for them, evoking emotions: "The beliefs about things we conceive of as important with regard to one's well-being produce evaluative thoughts, and these appraisals generate emotions."[48] For conscientious teachers, a photo session turns into an openly dramatic test, as their professional pride is challenged, and it forces them to present their class, and therefore themselves, in the most perfect manner.

A planned photo shoot begins with the teacher and the photographer agreeing on the staging. From the photographer's point of view, classroom photography had two aims. The first was to photograph as many students as possible, not only to capture a particular moment in time, but also for profit. Photographs could be sold for a few kopeks, and the proceeds from group photos were higher than from individual portraits.[49] The second aim could be publicity photos for press, an exhibition, a school history album, or some other public exposition. As Sontag quips, every photograph is "commerce between art and truth."[50] So no matter how commercial their goal might be, photographers are also driven by artistic ambitions, and consequently their creative vision is invested in the photo image of the teacher too.

When looking at old photographs, it is not easy to determine who was "in charge" at the time of photography – the teacher or the photographer. In any case, teachers chose how to present themselves in the limited drama of classroom photography.

In most photographs (56.6%), teachers are standing at the wall in the back or the middle of the classroom, thus reviewing the whole "playing field" and controlling the situation (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2); 18.1% of teachers are standing or sitting among a group of students (Fig. 2.3).

17.9% are "teaching," that is, teachers are standing in front of the class and speaking, eliciting students' answers, demonstrating teaching aids, observing the work of a student or students, or "helping" an individual student (Fig. 2.4).

Only 7.4% of teachers take the same position as students, sitting alongside their pupils at school desks (Fig. 2.5).

It is not difficult to conclude from the statistics above that most teachers chose, or were placed in, a position of power, leading or controlling the situation in the

**48** Mortari, "Emotions and Education," 159.

**49** Peteris Korsaks (a professional photographer), in discussion with the author Iveta Kestere, September 2015.

**50** Sontag, *On Photography*, 4.

**Fig. 2.1:** Dundaga parish, 1954. Kubalu School Museum Collection (KSM1689F).

**Fig. 2.2:** Riga, 1950s. Museum of Riga Schools Collection.

**Fig. 2.3:** Riga, around 1957. Museum of Riga Schools Collection.

**Fig. 2.4:** Riga, around 1947–50. Latvian State Archive of Audiovisual Documents Collection (LNA LVKFFDA 1.f., 6542N. l.) Photographer: Belovs.

**Fig. 2.5:** Riga, 1980. Private collection.

classroom. Their stature is tight ("A straight posture is judged more positively")[51] and the comparison with the Kremlin and a soldier stays valid at all times. There is only one photograph where a female teacher is leaning relaxedly against the wall, having apparently transferred some "power" to the photographer.

Teachers, it seems, do not like being photographed, especially males.[52] Photography pulls teachers out of their comfort zone, they lack experience in organizing a photograph, and the delegation of power to the photographer makes them doubt their status as "owner" of the class. The lack of action and static posture in a normally dynamic classroom make teachers feel awkward, and perhaps that is why in photographs they often chose to imitate action, that is, to teach. Another option for "escaping" the photographer's eye is looking in a book (10%); a task which also keeps hands occupied, saving the teacher the awkward choice between holding their hand

**51** Lhommet and Marsella, "Expressing Emotion Through Posture and Gesture," in *Oxford Library of Psychology: The Oxford Handbook of Affective Computing*, ed. Rafael Calvo, Sidney K. D'Mello, Jonathan Gratch, and Arvid Kappas (Oxford University Press, 2014): 273–285.

**52** The restrained attitude of male teachers towards photography is revealed in a small empirical study by Deldén, where a female teacher looking at photographs "often referred to her feelings," but a male teacher "had a more rational approach toward the photographs." See Maria Deldén, "The Teacher and Educational Spaces: The Photograph as a Tool for Teacher Reflection," in *Engaging with Educational Space: Visualizing Spaces of Teaching and Learning*, ed. Catherine Burke, Ian Grosvenor, and Björn Norlin (Umeå: Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, 2014), 58.

crossed behind, clenched in fists, or pressed firmly to the sides, among other options. However, even if the teacher is put in an inevitable confrontation with the photographer, for example, in a group photograph, she is capable of avoiding the lens: the eyes are lowered, inward-looking or look into the distance (Fig. 2.3). Obliged to appear in pictures, teachers look as if they are making a sacrifice.

Smiles and laughter are easy-to-read positive emotions, communicating joy and well-being.[53] A smile is one of the "permitted" emotions for Soviet teachers, so photographers traditionally encouraged their audience to smile. However, smiling teachers are not common, and the difficulty to keep a smiling facial expression while waiting for a photo to be taken can be a poor excuse here. In photos, a serious teacher is often surrounded by smiling students (Fig. 2.3).

The photographs of smiling teachers reveal a significant gender difference, with 28.8% of female teachers and only 9.5% of male teachers smiling. Thus, seriousness is "masculine," and that is how most female teachers choose to present themselves too. The word "masculinity" had a particularly positive meaning in Soviet vocabulary – it was associated with both soldiers' heroism in war and overcoming difficulties in peaceful times.[54] Even if a photo was shot on a holiday, as evidenced by flowers and festive costumes, the teacher's face remains serious (Fig. 2.3). Braster writes that sadness in school pictures does not always reflect daily school life.[55] However, the teacher's choice is what is important in our study, and they convincingly present themselves as serious individuals. Moreover, with teachers' eyes looking directly at the camera, their self-image is often emotionally silent, that is, their emotions are illegible.

## Teacher's Emotional Communication with Students

When teachers and students have their photo taken together, the emotions conveyed can be read not just from the teacher but also from the students and even the activity portrayed. Emotions become an act of communication in which all share. It is in this context that their mutual emotions are formed and expressed.

When teachers are "teaching" in photographs, their postures, gestures, and facial expressions indicate at times exaggerated and theatrical interest, concern, question, and criticism, instructing the viewer how to "read" the emotions and thus showing

**53** Disa A. Sauter, Nicole M. Mcdonald, Devon N. Gangi, and Daniel S. Messinger, "Nonverbal Expressions of Positive Emotions," in *Handbook of Positive Emotions*, ed. Michele M. Tugade, Michelle N. Shiota, and Leslie D. Kirby (Guilford Press, 2014), 185, 188–189.

**54** During the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet school curriculum was supplemented by 'Lesson in Manhood,' during which students met people (often military personnel) who told them about their service or heroic deeds.

**55** Braster, "Educational Change and Dutch Classroom Photographs," 28.

what "real" teaching looks like (Fig. 2.4). The common viewpoint is obvious – a smile is not a teaching companion. Gestures are directed at teaching aids alone: the teacher shows a book, points at a map, demonstrates laboratory equipment, writes on the board, etc. The exception is two teachers who lean towards their students, carrying a positive message through their posture and touch. The latter facilitates social bonding and promotes cooperation: "From early infancy, touch may be an important modality for communicating positive emotion that facilitates the development of secure attachment."[56]

However, discipline is the main concern for teachers in photographs. Teachers who take a strategic position as a guardian of order at the side wall of the classroom seem particularly anxious. From that vantage point, not only can the teacher see the audience of seated students, but also the students can see their teacher in turn, being constantly reminded that they are under supervision (Fig. 2.2). Even if the "power" is given to the camera situated in the center of the event, the teacher does not cease to be a guardian. Schutz writes that the teacher has two roles in the classroom: "A caring teacher" and "a disciplinarian,"[57] but in trying to combine the two, the teacher turns into the "caring police."[58]

The discipline a teacher expects from students is control over emotions, which most often means emotional suppression.[59] When students' emotions are disciplined, the teacher feels comfortable, for she has proven her authority by "handling the class."[60] As a result, in a photo, a serious teacher and neat students belong to the same emotional community with synchronized emotions (Fig. 2.1).[61] Everyone is frozen and emotionally quiet, as that is the surest way to present a "proper" class. Only one photo in our collection is different (Fig. 2.5). It shows a teacher sitting among students, allowing herself to turn her back on the "suspicious" boys in the last row. Although everyone is apparently sharing positive emotions, and the photo shoot is a shared experience and not a dramatic duty, discipline is not forgotten, and the students' arms are neatly crossed on their desks.

Like any power, a teacher's power over students' emotions – the power to define, control, contain, and evaluate them – leads to resistance.[62] The teacher is constantly surrounded by an audience that is quite critical of discipline[63] and tends to use released

**56** Sauter, Mcdonald, Gangi, and Messinger, "Nonverbal Expressions of Positive Emotions," 183.
**57** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 5.
**58** Boler, *Feeling Power*, 42.
**59** Nagy, "History of Emotions," 192; Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 216.
**60** Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 426.
**61** See Landahl about emotional communities (Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 106).
**62** Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 109; James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 18.
**63** Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 113.

emotions as a "mode of resistance."[64] Students can avoid emotionally "organized" communities that teachers take great pains to create, forming "communities of resistance,"[65] and teachers are left alone with their own emotions. Indiscipline in the class entraps teachers' emotions. On the one hand, authority must be saved and the disobedient must be controlled; on the other hand, care must be taken with how viewers of the photograph will "decode"[66] teachers' emotions. For the teacher, showing emotions is associated with a "considerable risk of vulnerability."[67]

Emotion researchers emphasize that teachers are expected to leave their emotions "outside" the classroom. If they want to be objective and professional at work, teachers' emotions have to be "managed" and more salient than students' emotions.[68] The teacher should first "self-police"[69] to control how students subsequently follow the declared "emotional rules".[70] Thus, one of the indications of a teacher's professionalism is to be an example of self-control and restrained emotions, even when faced with challenges. Teachers are expected to express pleasant emotions (but not too pleasant) and repress unpleasant ones. Nonetheless, a display of frustration is more socially accepted than one of anger.[71] Indeed, in the photographs, teachers' responses to violations of discipline show more emotional silence or anxiety than anger.

To discipline the classroom, in addition to themselves being a "warning" (a visible or perceptible presence), teachers use gaze as a disciplining tool. In 28.3% of photographs, teacher attention is focused not on the camera, but on students, and especially on the boys in the back of the classroom (Fig. 2.2). This is revealed by the teacher's gaze, which is trained to see all students at the same time, "reading the room."[72] The teacher's gaze "was not only something the teacher used in order to see, it was also something that communicated an emotional message that could be read by the pupils."[73] In the photographs, the teacher gaze pierces the disobedient; it asks, warns and rebukes, but balances on the verge of anger. Teachers who chose to present themselves as policemen, reveal that their priority is a "proper" class and

**64** Boler, *Feeling Power. Emotions and Education*, xviii.

**65** Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 112, 114.

**66** See Lhommet and Marsella, "Expressing Emotion Through Posture and Gesture," DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199942237.013.039.

**67** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 232.

**68** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 7; Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 226; Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 109.

**69** Boler, *Feeling Power*, 31.

**70** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity," 226.

**71** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 5–6.

**72** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion," 7; Joakim Landahl, "Learning to Listen and Look: The Shift from the Monitorial System of Education to Teacher-led Lessons," *The Senses and Society* 14, no. 2 (2019): 200.

**73** Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 202.

that their self-image enables them to express tension, anxiety, restlessness, alarm, and agitation, albeit justified in the name of professionalism to ensure order.

Episodes in which the teacher is in an emotional dialogue with students are particularly significant to teacher identity research. They reflect previous experiences of teacher-student relationships, the type of relationship teachers prefer, and teachers' general beliefs about teaching and learning.

## Conclusion

The research methodology of this study into teachers' emotions from a historical perspective came from a number of hypothetical considerations, namely:

1) School photography is one of the visual media that publicizes teachers' professional identity in general, and the visual image in the public space in particular. Therefore, formal classroom photographs (as opposed to snapshots) reveal the image that the teacher wishes to covey to others.
2) The visual image in a photograph reveals a person's current emotional state. The photograph "stops" or "freezes" the ever-changing dynamic flow of emotions. In line with Schutz and Nagy's research,[74] we viewed the teachers' emotions as an episode or event in response to a specific situation in the classroom, an occurrence produced by the interaction between teacher, pupil and photographer. Given that people communicate emotions through body postures, gestures, facial expressions, and eye movements, we analyzed 205 class photos based on these criteria.
3) We were guided by the belief that in historical studies, emotions are understood as social constructs, that is, as generated by standards, values, and beliefs developed in certain historical, sociocultural, political, and institutional contexts. We looked at teachers' emotions and analyzed their specifics in a certain historical context, namely, under the Soviet dictatorship between 1945 and 1985. To understand teachers' emotions in Soviet classroom photographs, we were assisted by 13 teacher manuals of the time, as well as findings from studies into teachers' emotions conveyed in other countries, and particularly the research done by Zembylas, Landahl, Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy.[75]

**74** Schutz, "Inquiry on Teachers' Emotion"; Nagy, "History of Emotions."

**75** Zembylas, "Emotions and Teacher Identity"; Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling", "Learning to Listen and Look: The Shift from the Monitorial System of Education to Teacher-led Lessons;" Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research."

In view of these considerations, we came to the following conclusions.

Teachers see and evaluate themselves through others and, while trying to meet expectations at all levels of power, publicly present themselves as disciplined professionals. This is achieved by control over emotions and is evidenced by straight, static posture, frozen facial expressions, and lack of gestures among teachers posing for official class photographs. When "teaching," the teacher shows doubt and critique while disciplining the class, thus, self-justifying her anxiety and nervousness. A smile or kind expression may adorn the teacher's face, but more often than not, it remains serious, and the entire teacher image expresses emotional silence.

Although the emotional experience of men and women is different[76] and "codified within a given culture,"[77] female teachers mostly follow the example of their male colleagues to dispel any suspicion of the female body as a "repository of emotion"[78] and "naturally hysterical".[79] Thus, the female teacher publicly demonstrates her professionalism and, like the male teacher, adopts the image of a soldier or policeman.

As demonstrated through emotions captured in classroom photos, the identity of Soviet teachers is fully in line with the one of the New Soviet Man inculcated by the authorities. However, studies of teachers' emotions in other countries call into question the uniqueness of the Soviet teacher's emotional image, a specificity we were convinced of at the beginning of this study. We must recognize that the external control of authoritarian power coincided with "internalized self-regulation"[80] which, as researchers into teachers' emotions claim, has been demanded of teachers by all power at all times. Teacher's "de-emotionalization" has deep roots in the history of education, and can be perceived both in US and European schools in a variety of political contexts.[81] Since the professionalization of the teaching profession, teacher identity and, consequently, teachers' emotions have been under the supervision of various levels of power represented by state, religious community, public opinion, and parents. Vigilant eyes have been kept on teachers as they have shaped students' emotional experiences[82] with their own emotions. The emotions taught at school later stand in good stead in further adult emotional communities – "the fatherland and the religious community"[83]

**76** Reinhard Pekrun et al., "The Control-Value Theory of Achievement Emotions: An Integrative Approach to Emotions in Education," in *Emotion in Education*, ed. Paul A. Schutz and Reinhard Pekrun (Amsterdam ao: Academic Press, 2007), 30.

**77** Robyn Barnacle, "Gut Instinct: The Body and Learning," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 41, no. 1 (2009): 29.

**78** Megan Boler, *Feeling Power*, 31.

**79** Megan Boler, *Feeling Power*, 43.

**80** Megan Boler, *Feeling Power*, 36.

**81** Megan Boler, *Feeling Power*, 114.

**82** Fried, Mansfield, and Dobozy, "Teacher Emotion Research," 432.

**83** Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling," 115.

to use the lexis of the nineteenth century, a time when the teaching profession began to professionalize, and outlines of "decent" emotions entered teaching manuals.[84]

Nevertheless, emotional silence is dictated less by a certain historical, sociocultural, and political context, and more by a specific professional identity of the disciplined, rational, and masculine "real" teacher. The rules of emotional behavior are ingrained in the teaching profession, and these rules are surprisingly similar regardless of certain contexts, whose importance is emphasized in emotion research. Thus, we believe that the teacher-soldier, who is as solemn as the Kremlin, is welcomed, well-received and adapted by many political systems.

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**84** See Landahl, "Emotions, Power and the Advent of Mass Schooling,"

Grosvenor, Ian. "'To Act on the Minds of the Children' Paintings into Schools and English Education." In *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom*, edited by Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar Del Pozo, 39–58. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2011.

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# Chapter 3
# Images of the Ireneu Segarra Method and its Uses in Schools at the Onset of Music Education Redevelopment in Catalonia

## Introduction

The collection of photographs considered here comes from the School of Musical Pedagogy-Ireneu Segarra Method (SMP-ISM) and contains images taken between 1974 and 2003. The images are organized into three amateur photo albums that are all housed in the Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat, in a special section that stores all the SMP-ISM's archival collections.

The main objective of the current chapter[1] is to analyze a specific selection of photographs that were taken during a 1984 music class at the Autonomous University of Barcelona's (UAB by its Catalan initials) Student Teaching School. All five of the images shown below were taken by a professional photographer to be published in a book commemorating the ten-year anniversary of the SMP-ISM.[2]

The relevance of this particular collection of photographs is that they are an iconographic compilation of the innovations that the Ireneu Segarra method contributed to primary education. To contextualize the collection, we first provide an overview of the movement to redevelop music teaching at the SMP-ISM in Catalonia, at a time defined by the rollout of Spain's General Education Law. We also give a brief account of the SMP-ISM's photographic archives and the publication for which these particular photos were taken. Finally, we conduct an in-depth analysis of our set of images based on their intrinsic value as historical evidence and relevance in painting a picture of the iconography surrounding the redevelopment of music teaching in schools, their intended visibility, and use as propaganda. This analysis arises from the belief that photography not only witnesses historic events, but also serves to shape an explanatory and justificatory discourse of reality. The specific analysis of the photographs was performed at three levels – analysis of the image itself, historical context, and interpretation – and mainly inspired by the iconographic method of

1 This chapter was written as part of the project *School Culture and Practices in the 20th Century*, funded by ERDF/ Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades–Agencia Estatal de Investigación/ EDU2017- 82485-P All original Catalan and Spanish names of institutions, places or organizations can be found in cited works in the footnotes and in the bibliography of the current chapter.

2 Escola de Pedagogia Musical-Mètode Ireneu Segarra, *Opuscle commemoratiu dels 10 anys de l'Escola de Pedagogia Musical* (Barcelona: Patronat Pro-Música, Fundació Güell, 1984).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110696905-004

art historian Erwin Panofsky.[3] This methodological approach guided our reading of these photographs and provided a contrast against other non-visual secondary sources under analysis. Likewise, we looked at photographs using Benjamin's historical deconstruction approach: images have the power to let us discover countless histories (of the unconscious), they provide perspectives that can be timeless, and were often made by artist-historians to demystify existing narratives, establish political opposition, and undertake a critical discourse of the past.[4]

## The School of Musical Pedagogy, the Ireneu Segarra Method, and the Redevelopment of Music Teaching in Catalonia

As of today, various studies and works have been published on the SMP-ISM and what the institution stood for at its beginnings and throughout its existence. Regarding the school and its efforts to spread Ireneu Segarra's music teaching method, published works include commemorative writings,[5] publications drafted by some of the main actors involved in the development of the school,[6] studies on the school's methodological influence in redeveloping music teaching beyond the borders of Catalonia,[7] and studies on the beginnings of the SMP-ISM and the movement to redevelop music teaching in Catalonia during the 1970s that relay oral testimony[8] and focus on linking music teaching with Catalan language and culture.[9]

**3** Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (1939) (Boulder CO, USA: Taylor and Francis, 1972).

**4** Miguel A. Hernández-Navarro, *Materializar el pasado: el artista como historiador (benjaminiano)* (Murcia: Micromegas, 2012), 43–66; Walter Benjamin, *Discursos interrumpidos I* (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1989).

**5** Escola, *Opuscle commemoratiu*.

**6** Joaquim Garrigosa, "L'Escola de Pedagogia Musical-Mètode Ireneu Segarra," *Perspectiva escolar* 155 (1991): 16–19; Joaquim Miranda, "El mètode Ireneu Segarra i l'escola de pedagogía musical," in *Primer Congrés de Música de Catalunya*, AA. VV. (Barcelona: Consell Català de la Música, 1994), 299–303; Joan Cortina, "L'Escola de Pedagogia Musical-Mètode Ireneu Segarra," in *Ireneu Segarra. Mig segle de mestratge musical*, AA. VV. (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), 57–59.

**7** Llorenç Gelabert, "Aproximación histórica y metodológica a los cursos de pedagogía musical de la Universitat de les Illes Balears (1977–1990)," *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria* 34 (2015): 337–356.

**8** Llorenç Gelabert and Xavier Motilla, "Aproximación al movimiento de renovación de la práctica educativa a través de la Escuela de Pedagogía Musical-Método Ireneu Segarra," in *La Práctica Educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, ed. Sara González et al. (Salamanca: FahrenHouse, 2018), 573–582.

**9** Llorenç Gelabert and Xavier Motilla. "Renovación de la enseñanza de la música e identidad catalana en los inicios de la Escuela de Pedagogía Musical-Método Ireneu Segarra," in *20 Coloquio*

The SMP-ISM was founded in 1973, mainly to spread the pedagogy developed by Ireneu Segarra in the early 1970s in Catalonia. It intended to contribute to standardizing music teaching and began by researching, creating, and experimenting with a teaching program that could be applied at all phases of mandatory education, and at music schools and conservatories. The goal was to provide a new vision of the teaching and learning processes associated with music. The school carried out training courses for teachers and professors in order to complement their original training. It published textbooks and teaching materials specifically related to the Ireneu Segarra method, so that they could be used in other general basic education courses under the framework laid out in Spain's General Education Law. The SMP-ISM also published other books and materials on musical language that were designed to be used in music schools and conservatories.[10]

As developed by Ireneu Segarra, the method emphasized adapting musical education to the age of the child. The method included working on the following musical parameters: a) Intonation, b) singing (based on folk songs), c) rhythm/movement/dance, and finally d) listening. During its initial stages of implementation, the method focuses on learning the basic notions such as the relationships between sounds, knowledge of musical literature, and a detailed study of Catalan folk songs. With this method, children were progressively introduced to the range of subjects that could be studied at higher levels: reading, analysis, transposition, harmony, accompaniment, improvisation, choral and orchestral ensembles, conducting, composition, etc.[11] The method was structured around a variety of materials divided into eight separate levels. Ireneu Segarra dedicated 20 years to this specific part of the method. She wrote instruction books for each of the levels, aimed at teachers, *Iniciació a la Música* (*Introduction to Music*), and at students, *El meu llibre de música* (*My music book*), as well as four activity books (focusing on visual elements) and two songbooks, *Juguem cantant* (*We play singing*).[12]

*Historia de la Educación. Identidades, Internacionalismo, Pacifismo y Educación (s. 19 y 20)*, ed. Xosé M. Cid et al. (Ourense: SEDHE, Deputación de Ourense, 2019), 261–266.

**10** Cortina, "L'Escola de Pedagogia Musical-Mètode Ireneu Segarra," 57–59; Garrigosa, "L'Escola de Pedagogia Musical-Mètode Ireneu Segarra," 16–19; Gelabert and Motilla, "Aproximación al movimiento de renovación de la práctica educativa," 573–582.

**11** Riera, "L'aportació pedagògica," 37–55.

**12** Textbooks and teaching materials detailing the Ireneu Segarra method are referenced in this chapter's final bibliography. They were the objects of analysis in Llorenç Gelabert and Xavier Motilla, "School Textbooks, Didactic Material and a New Approach in Music Teaching in Catalonia with the Opening of the School of Musical Pedagogy-Ireneu Segarra Method," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 15, no. 2 (2020): 183–198.

Various studies[13] have highlighted the important contributions of the SMP-ISM, and use of the Ireneu Segarra method, to the process of redeveloping and standardizing music teaching in Catalonia and other Catalan speaking regions. This process coincided with the general redevelopment of Spanish teaching methodologies that took place during the final years of Francoism and the transition to democracy. The political context of those years marked the beginning of a new stage of pedagogical renewal in Catalonia, which had been interrupted by the Spanish Civil War. The SMP-ISM, along with other institutions and updated teaching initiatives across Catalonia, actively contributed to these changes. Noteworthy is the link between the SMP-ISM and the active teaching legacy – stemming from the New School and Progressive Education movements – that was incorporated into music education using Zoltán Kodály's (1882–1967) original, internationally accepted methodology, and which was adapted and translated to a Catalan context by Ireneu Segarra. In addition to Ireneu Segarra, we found many references that testify to the implementation of active teaching. In most cases, these references refer to teachers, pedagogues and/or musicians. Good examples are the contribution of Joan Llongueras to adapting and introducing the Dalcroze method in Catalonia,[14] and the significant influence in Spain of Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Manuel Borgunyó and Luis Elizalde.[15]

## The SMP-ISM's Photographic Archives

The collection of photos from the SMP-ISM, located in the Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat, consists of three amateur photo albums containing a total of 570 photographs of various types. The first album, with a total of 159 photos, covers the period 1974–1985. The second has 170 photos, all from 1988. While the third album includes 241 photos taken between 1988 and 2003.

**13** Gelabert, "Aproximación histórica y metodológica a los cursos de pedagogía musical," 337–356; Gelabert and Motilla, "Renovación de la enseñanza de la música e identidad catalana," 261–266; Gelabert and Motilla, "Aproximación al movimiento de renovación de la práctica educativa," 573–582.

**14** Francisca Comas, Bernat Sureda and Xavier Motilla, "Pedagogical innovation and music education in Spain: Introducing the Dalcroze method in Catalonia," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 3 (2014): 320–337.

**15** Ferran Riesgo, "Reformismo, difusión y legado musical de Francisco Giner de los Ríos," *Anales de literatura española* 27 (2015): 107–129; José Luis Heredia Agóiz, "Manuel Borguño y el método eurítmico vocal y tonal," *Música y educación: Revista trimestral de pedagogía musical* 100 (2014): 44–65; Javier González Martín, *Manuel Borguñó y la educación musical en España. Historia y avatares de una frustración* (Almeria: Universidad de Almería, 2016), doctoral thesis, directed by Juan Fernández Sierra; Luis Elizalde, *Canto escolar: material pedagógico para la formación musical en la EGB basado en el folklore español* (Madrid: Publicaciones Claretianas, Escuela Superior de Pedagogía Musical, 1990).

We first produced an inventory and cataloged the photos of the SMP-ISM for analysis. To do this, we considered a variety of recent suggestions for classifying school- and education-related photographs.[16] However, the specific nature of the institution and photos being analyzed made it necessary for us to consider several typologies, categories, descriptions, etc., for cataloging the school photos. These provided us with a clearer and more accurate conception of the ideas behind the collection and the photos themselves. About what does this imply, it is worth noting that the wide range of typologies sometimes makes it difficult to classify the photos. For this reason, we consulted many of the personal testimonies that appear along with the photographs and interviewed some of those who appear in them. Thus, we were able to find out specifically what kinds of activities were taking place based on individuals' recollections.

The first photo album contains images of the first SMP-ISM courses for music teachers (carried out in Parets del Vallès in 1974 and 1975, in Sentmenat in 1976, in Vilanova in 1979, in the Collell Monastery in 1980, in the Abbey of Montserrat and Santa Cecilia in 1981 and 1982, in La Llobeta in 1983, and in Berga in 1985). The photos show the beginnings and consolidation of the institution. Noteworthy in this first album is the number of photos (100 of 159) that capture the classroom activities of various courses: theory classes, practical classes with instruments, choir singing classes, drama/staging classes, movement/dance classes, *phonomimy* (using gestures to represent sounds), etc. The most commonly depicted moments are linked to the innovative aspects of the method used for teaching music, such as the use of drama/staging, rhythm/movement/dance, and choral singing. There are also many photos related to listening, which reflects an aspect closer to the traditional concept of music teaching. In addition, there are group photos as well as images capturing a variety of other aspects (teachers scheduling courses, eating, free time, closing ceremonies for courses, etc.).

The second album contains photos exclusively from 1988 that capture celebrations of the 15$^{th}$ anniversary of the SMP-ISM (170 photos in total). The third and final album largely corresponds to the 1988–2003 period, and contains photos of the institution's twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries (130 and 46 photos, respectively). However, there are other, more interesting photos in this album. One set of twenty images captures various SMP-ISM courses during the period. Another set includes 22 photos from 1984 (mistakenly included in the third album) that show a music class with children at the UAB's Student Teaching School, where the Ireneu Segarra method was used. It is these photos that are the subject of our present analysis. This specific collection of black and white photos was taken by a professional photographer and was

**16** Francisca Comas et al., "Escuela y fotografía, entre el testimonio y la construcción del discurso narrativo," in *Patrimonio y Etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*, ed. Pedro L. Moreno et al. (Murcia: SEPHE, CEME, Universidad de Murcia, 2012), 405–417.

destined to be included in a publication commemorating the tenth anniversary of the SMP-ISM. In the end, seven of the 22 photos were used, either partially or in their entirety, in this commemorative publication.[17]

## The Publication Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the SMP-ISM

The school wanted to publicize itself and show its work to the world in a commemorative, illustrated booklet for its tenth anniversary. The publication contains written texts and contributions from various known and unknown authors. It includes different sections covering the significance of the method from its creator's point of view.[18] Further, it offers information on the creation of the school, the main characteristics and aspects of the music teaching method created by Ireneu Segarra, the courses offered by the SMP-ISM, and aspects related to the real-life application of the teaching method in early childhood education, primary education, and in music schools and conservatories. The booklet also includes a timeline of the activities that were carried out, course attendance statistics by year, a biographical note on the creator of the ideology behind the method, a map showing where SMP-ISM course attendees came from, opinions on the work being done at the school from various figures in the worlds of teaching and music in Catalonia, a bibliography of the teaching materials and publications employed by the method, and finally, information on the teaching staff, managers and administrators of the SMP-ISM at the time the publication was created.[19] In total, 16 photographs were included in the booklet, of which seven belong to the collection of photos taken specifically for the commemorative publication. The other photos are of the first year of the SMP-ISM (three), the creator of the method (three), and teachers or students (three).

The publication aimed to depict the work done by the institution over ten years of vigorous teaching activities, which included intensive summer courses, debates and work meetings throughout the school year, the creation of materials, etc. In the commemorative booklet, explanations are combined with a number of iconic and illustrative images showing the most representative elements of Segarra's and the SMP-ISM's legacy. The photos complement and underscore the texts via carefully selected photos reflecting the innovative education that the institution aimed to

**17** Escola, *Opuscle commemoratiu*, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17–19, 21, 22, 25, 29, 31, 33, 38.

**18** Ireneu Segarra, "Per què el mètode," in Escola, *Opuscle commemoratiu*, 5.

**19** Escola, *Opuscle commemoratiu*, 6–40. Short texts were written by Marta Mata Garriga, Oriol Martorell, Jordi Galí, Josep M. Ainaud de Lasarte, M. Antònia Canals, Josep M. Mestres Quadreny, Carles Guinovart, Carme Àngel, Josep Crivillé Bargalló, and Cassià M. Just.

impart. The seven selected photographs show classroom situations that demonstrate some of the learning strategies and tools used by the Ireneu Segarra method at the SMP-ISM.

## Description and Analysis of the Collection of SMP-ISM Photographs on Music Teaching in Primary Schools

In his studies on domestic photography, Pierre Bourdieu[20] provides guidelines for analyzing the priority objective of photography in the field of education. This priority objective is mainly focused on preserving the historical memory of the photographed element or institution through the initiatives and activities being performed. Some of these initiatives end up becoming iconographic elements of the institution and, thus, are worthy of being photographed. Photography itself includes pre-existing elements that provide us with objective information on furniture, facilities, instruments, books, and individuals that have leading roles at specific moments and in specific situations, whether individually or collectively. The approach to photography should also be considered, since the photographer or the entity or institution requesting the photographs serve as ingredients that condition the final results. According to Barthes,[21] photography presents the ability to transform or even lie about meaning. Not everything is photographed: instead, only those things that are considered worthy of standing the test of time are given consideration.

Such insights into the purposes of photography are true for the collection of 22 photos that are the subject of our analysis. The images appear to naturally reflect the spontaneous actions of the subjects being photographed during a session in a music classroom, but were instead taken during a photo session requested by the SMP-ISM to be used as propaganda and advertising for the Ireneu Segarra method. Thus, they show an induced teaching situation that deliberately focused on innovative teaching practices that the institution wished to showcase as a good representation of itself.

Beyond the posing required for this kind of photo session, there are elements that represent routine, daily practices. Mercè Vilar,[22] the teacher in the images, recounts

**20** Pierre Bourdieu, *La fotografía: un arte intermedio* (México: Nueva Imagen, 1979).

**21** Roland Barthes, *La cámara lúcida. Nota sobre la fotografía* (Barcelona: Paidós, 1990).

**22** Mercè Vilar Monmany (born in 1954) was professor at the Faculty of Education Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) between 1979 and 2018. Holder of an Advanced Degree in Music Teaching from the Municipal Conservatory of Barcelona, Vilar completed her education by attending SMP-ISM courses and finally became a teacher at the same institution and a member of its technical staff. She specialized in the field of music teaching and worked as a music teacher in

feeling totally identified and familiar with the strategies used during the photo session. Thus, the classroom dynamics that the images capture represent her daily teaching practices, which were based on the foundations of the Ireneu Segarra method.[23]

The session was carried out in a fourth-grade classroom at the UAB's Student Teaching School. Today the Bellaterra School,[24] the school was founded in 1978. In addition to serving as a place for UAB student teachers to practice teaching, it also served as a center for experimenting with new pedagogies. At the time, only general teachers were employed, rather than those specialized in teaching a particular subject. They were largely teachers with positions at other public schools and were admitted to the Student Teaching School based on their particular merits. It was an experimental school with a special status that was recognized by other educational institutions. Work placements at the school were not permanent; rather, teachers worked there for specific periods of time to complete educational research and experiments. Teachers at the school were chosen by the center's management staff based on specific criteria, which included cooperative efforts between the university's teaching and research staff, and the introduction of new strategies and materials taking an active approach to education.[25]

Students were at the center of the school's teaching/learning process. They made decisions and gave opinions regarding aspects that concerned them, whether academic, organizational, or a combination of the two. There was a democratic approach to life at the school, exemplified by class meetings. Additionally, cultural roots and a feeling of belonging were fostered via local community work and the use of Catalan as the working language. The methodology took the interdisciplinary and transversality of contents into account, and included the teaching of the arts (dance, music, and visual arts).[26]

Regarding music teaching, the UAB decided to introduce weekly, one-hour sessions taught by various professors, the majority of whom were specialists from the Faculty of Education Sciences. These included Mercè Vilar, Pere Godall, Margarida Barbal, Núria Lluveras, and Pere Serra. While there was no official institutional collaboration between the UAB and the SMP-ISM, most of the professors from both institutions had a deep understanding of the Segarra method. Many of them were also teachers on SMP-ISM courses and collaborated on various editions of the method adapted to normal schools and conservatories. It is no coincidence that the majority

primary schools and music schools. Later, she focused on the training of music teachers at the introductory level and in continuing education programs at the university. She was the cofounder of the Music, Voice, and Education Research Group at the UAB.

**23** Mercè Vilar, personal communication, October 25, 2019, 64 min.

**24** A public school in the municipality of Cerdanyola del Vallès (Catalonia), located on the UAB's university campus in the Bellaterra neighborhood.

**25** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**26** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

of music professors at the UAB maintained a close connection to the SMP-ISM, since its main objective was to introduce and implement mandatory music teaching.[27]

The photo session under consideration was conducted by an unidentified professional photographer who was contracted by the school.[28] The institution was especially interested in having photos taken of real situations and specific activities in music classrooms, to reflect and publicize the implementation of the Ireneu Segarra method in schools. According to Vilar's recollection, the photographer insisted on repeating specific exercises related to the Segarra methodology in order to photograph the various actions from different perspectives. This is in line with the SMP-ISM's interest in capturing specific images that would represent the method and its application. Vilar admits that the photo session was not conducted during a normal class, although she does state that she remembers feeling comfortable during the session, as it was a summary of her routine practices.[29]

For our analysis of the 22 photographs, we discerned categories for the teaching and musical elements that appear. Many elements appear across various photographs; similarly, a single photograph can often include many of these elements. The photographs show the musical elements, tools, and strategies that are most representative of the application of the Ireneu Segarra method: intonation/phonomimic system (in five photos), collective singing (in five), rhythm/movement (in four), tabletop music staff-*movable do* (in four), and listening/dictation (in three). Materials published by the SMP-ISM for use in schools also appear in seven of the photographs. In addition to aspects related to music teaching, 18 images show elements representing educational innovations: grouping students, arrangement of furniture, architectural design, proximity of the teacher, individualized attention, etc. The set of images aims to reflect the innovative nature of the Segarra method for music teaching in schools.

As an overview here, we concentrate our analysis on five photographs that we deem to be representative of the entire collection. While focusing mostly on issues pertaining to music education, other general aspects related to innovative pedagogies are also present. We utilize the musical terminology employed by the Ireneu Segarra method, such as music reading and writing, collective or group singing, song, improvisation, composition, phonomimic system, relative solfège or *movable do* solfège, rhythm and melody flashcards, tabletop music staff, etc. We also make reference to more general aspects, such as the role and location of the students and teacher in the classroom, characteristics of the classroom, etc.

Fig. 3.1 shows Mercè Vilar directing the collective singing of a group of children. Based on her body language and her gaze (and as recognized by Vilar herself), the

**27** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**28** According to M. Vilar, the photos were taken by a well known photographer in the world of Catalan music, who had previously taken official photographs of the Palau de la Música, among other locations. Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**29** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

class is a small group.[30] The consistent placing of students into groups of four or five facilitated this classroom practice, while fostering and incentivizing the listening work done by the rest of the students. Thus, this image is iconographic of two of the most important tools in the Segarra method: song and the practice of collective singing. Segarra recommended beginning students' musical education through song, particularly during their early years, in order to bring out the elements needed to study music in its entirety. By creating songs adapted to the prosody of the Catalan language, the method ensured that the language would endure and that students would feel a sense of cultural belonging, in line with the center's ideology. These two practices were closely tied to voice training – a key part of the Segarra method that can be found referenced in many of the photos in the collection. According to the method, voice is the most important tool for the practice and study of music in schools, and the voice of a child, in particular, is a delicate instrument with unlimited potential but which requires proper use. As Mercè Vilar recounts, the voice of the teacher serves as a point of reference, especially in the early stages of music education.[31]

Listening, both to the vocal repertoire performed in the classroom as well as the great works from the world of musical literature, is another of the key aspects of the Ireneu Segarra method. It played a part in the school's music sessions, complemented comprehensive training in music, and gave students their own tools for assessing the art.

We also note elements in the photo that are not specifically related to music, but which represent innovative educational activity at the center. Placing students in the classroom into groups of four or five responded to the school's effort to foster teamwork among children, under a framework of co-education and learning based on the intellectual, social, and gender heterogeneity of the group. Though the classroom is not exceedingly large nor particularly adapted to the practice of music, we can see in the image that it is well lit by exterior light. Vilar recounts that these large glass windows faced an interior patio that could be accessed exclusively by two adjacent classrooms. In this patio, students had at their disposal materials, educational games, and a school garden that the students themselves tended.[32]

Many of the strategies used in the Segarra method were based on cooperative work and group music practice, which fits well with the strategy of ensuring the close bond between teachers and students. In Fig. 3.2, the teacher is very close to students, both physically and in her facial expression towards them. In fact, Vilar has lowered her head so that she is on the same level as the group of students. She is giving them relevant explanations regarding the work that they are doing: an activity involving a tabletop music stave, five horizontal lines on which students can place counters

**30** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**31** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**32** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

**Fig. 3.1:** Collective singing practice directed by teacher M. Vilar. Source: SMP-ISM. Photographs 1988–2003 (20th and 25th anniversaries). F-3, SMP-ISM Archives, Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat.

representing notes. This tool aided a type of music reading and writing education known as "solfège", wherein musical notes are paired with a syllable (do-re-mi is the most common English example). The counters, three along a stave, form a chord. By changing the position of the counters, known as relative solfège or a movable do, students are taught how to read music in different keys. Vilar commented that when the photo was taken, the students were creating small compositions using the movable notes; later she would perform their compositions, providing them with new instructions and suggestions for improvement.[33]

In the Ireneu Segarra method, music reading and writing are paramount to creating a basic knowledge of sheet music, the first step towards interpreting the signs in practice. In this way, connections are established between everything that has been learned, and simple, unspecific interpretations are avoided. The tabletop music stave allows students to create and experiment with different sounds, while learning to locate them on a graphic code. This creative process stimulates inventive skills and helps students discover the possibilities of musical notation. It is, in our opinion, one

**33** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.

of the best mechanisms for interiorizing musical language and discovering its more artistic dimensions in a larger space.

However, learning musical notation, whether through syllables, notes or intervals, is only a step towards a larger goal: the relationships between sounds, rhythms, and melodies intrinsic to a musical context or situation. In most cases, this context is the song itself, assimilated and experienced as an expressive element, and from which concepts can be extracted to form musical language. Each new learning experience is reinforced by previous ones through a process of aural comparison and recognition. Thus, in our case, there is a correlation between Photographs 3.1 and 3.2. First we sing, then we theorize.

**Fig. 3.2:** Teacher and students with a tabletop music stave. Source: SMP-ISM. Photographs 1988–2003 (20th and 25th anniversaries). F-3, SMP-ISM Archives, Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat, *Opuscle* 33.

In Fig. 3.3, a student is at the board writing a formula for rhythm – possibly a dictation activity. The teacher may have previously performed a rhythm that the students were to memorize and then transpose into written format. In the Segarra method, rhythm is taught in terms of movement: individual and group coordination as well as freedom of movement. It focuses on beat, ostinato, polyrhythms, the proportions and relations between phrases, etc. The lack of activities related to movement and dance in the collection of photographs is noteworthy as, according

to M. Vilar, such activities were indeed carried out during the session.[34] It is surprising that they were not photographed, or if they were, that they have been lost: they were activities that were representative of the Ireneu Segarra method and are widely documented iconographs in other contexts in SMP-ISM photos.

Interpreting notated music, whether rhythmic or melodic, involves the mind's ear. This aspect is greatly important to the Segarra method and often focused on in SMP-ISM courses. It places emphasis on the ability to mentally represent audio perceptions, even internal ones. Everyone possess an internal ear – our mind's ear – and its abilities can be improved with specific training that initially focuses on the relationship between two simple sounds, and which gradually introduces higher degrees of complex counterpoint and harmonic relationships. Working with dictated melodies and rhythms is the first step in the process of developing the mind's ear.

In Fig. 3.3 we also see the photographer's (and the SMP-ISM's) intent to show professors and students using materials published by the institution. As previously mentioned, the school published books for students and teachers, flashcards, listening activities, rhythm and melody posters, etc. In the image, we can see the teacher holding one of these rhythm flashcards, possibly one used for dictation. One of the photographs in the collection shows a sample of these publications and materials, which were widely welcomed by music teachers across Catalonia and the Balearic Islands.

Fig. 3.4 brings together all the aspects of the Segarra method which we have already analysed. Here, the students have been given tabletop musical staves and counters, and Vilar has written a stave of the blackboard. She is asking for the students to be silent, a gesture made by placing an extended index finger at the front of the mouth, while she performs melodic dictation. Meanwhile, the teacher's left hand is performing the dictation using phonomimics, aimed at students either placing the notes that they perceive on the tabletop music stave or singing them. The phonomimic system – or the association of gestures with sounds – is a tool commonly used in Segarra's methodology, and was influenced by Kodály. Essentially, it teaches students about tune, allowing them to perceive each note at its proper pitch: gestural memory becomes associated with auditory memory. Phonomimics can be applied to various aspects of music, including pitch, training the auditory discriminations and memory, musical intervals, polyphony, and preparing for tonal modulation. Melody and pitch represent important elements in the initial stages of music learning with regard to the auditory understanding of rising and falling sounds. They are also important for more advanced concepts, such as the relationship between phrases in the context of tone and mode, the sense of cadences, and interval intonation for melodies and harmonies.

**34** Mercè Vilar, personal communication.


**Fig. 3.3:** Student writing a rhythm formula on the blackboard. Source: SMP-ISM. Photographs 1988–2003 (20th and 25th anniversaries). F-3, SMP-ISM Archives, Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat.

Finally, Fig. 3.5 depicts a symbolic offering from the teacher to the students, allowing them to take center stage in the teaching/learning process – a process in which music becomes a source of enjoyment, and a medium through which students can communicate to each other and express themselves freely. According to the Segarra method, this role exchange must be adapted to each student's age, ability, and needs. Moreover, students are taught to perform music, to move with a beat and to feel a cadence (the fall at the end of a musical phrase), before they are taught the mechanics lying behind music, analyzing rhythms or meter. In this sensory-based educational paradigm, it is key to feel and move to the cadence of the beat before analyzing rhythms or meters. Learners must also intonate and sing properly before knowing the names of the notes or analyzing intervals, and before being expected to properly relate music/word/movement concepts. These practices increase musical creativity and improvisation, which are essential for assimilation and understanding.

All the musical aspects included in the Segarra method, and reiterated in the analyzed collection of photographs, aim to turn music into a vibrant, active element in schools in Catalonia. In the SMP-ISM's tenth anniversary booklet Maria Antònia Canals i Tolosa, a teacher specializing in the Montessori system and one of the founders

**Fig. 3.4:** Melody dictation. Source: SMP-ISM. Photographs 1988–2003 (20th and 25th anniversaries). F-3, SMP-ISM Archives, Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat. Published in Escola, *Opuscle* 38.

of the Rosa Sensat Teachers' Association,[35] wrote that music should be the most unrelenting work for teachers in schools. She saw music fulfilling the most fundamental goals of education, including the development of logical and creative thought, and the ability to express oneself imaginatively.[36]

In the context of the teaching redevelopment that took place in Catalonia during the 1970s and 1980s – and schools not previously teaching music – it is remarkable that leaders in the field during this transitional period had the vision to deem it necessary to finally introduce music into schools. Through their teaching initiatives,

**35** The Rosa Sensat Teachers' Association (La Asociación de Maestros Rosa Sensat) is an association of Catalan educators that aims to improve the quality of teaching and education in general. It was founded in 1965 as the Rosa Sensat Teachers' School (Escuela de Maestros Rosa Sensat), and took its current name in 1980. It offers continuing education courses for teachers (notably, summer schools), accommodates various work groups, organizes workshops and debates, and oversees the creation of a number of renowned publications, such as *Perspectiva Escolar*, *Infància*, *Infància a Europa*, and *Infancia latinoamericana* (URL: https://www.rosasensat.org/).

**36** Escola, *Opuscle commemoratiu*, 35.

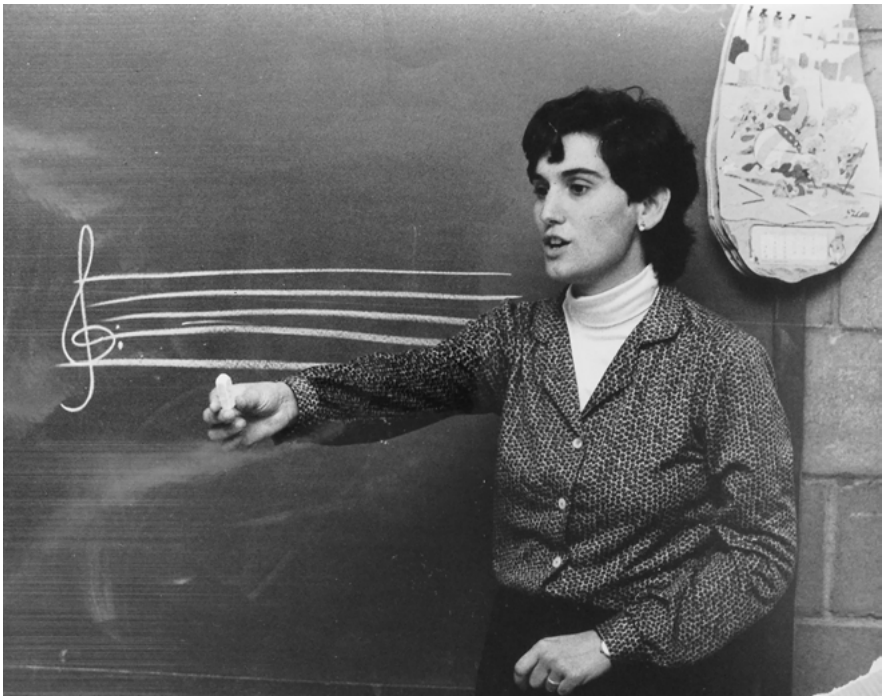

**Fig. 3.5:** M. Vilar offering chalk to students. Source: SMP-ISM. Photographs 1988–2003 (20th and 25th anniversaries). F-3, SMP-ISM Archives, Music Archives at the Abbey of Montserrat.

the SMP-ISM aimed to establish a new educational framework that would offer teachers training in the arts, aesthetics, and music that was equal to their training in other subject matters. And this learning was to be based on experiences and creativity, both of which are important in personality development. To accomplish this, teachers had to be trained at the highest possible level in order to ensure success in this educational process.

## Conclusions

The relevance of the photographs analyzed here lies in the fact that they were created for public display. They were designed to serve as an iconographic compendium of the main educational innovations of the Ireneu Segarra method applied to primary education. Commissioned by the SMP-ISM, the photographs were taken by a professional photographer and to be used for propaganda and advertisement purposes for the method in a book commemorating the first ten years of the institution's foundation. Thus, the photos present an idealised teaching environment, deliberately

focusing on the innovative educational practices related to what the institution represented and wished to project.

Accordingly, the school had a special interest in photographing real life situations where specific activities from the music classroom took place, in order to reflect and publicize the implementation of the Ireneu Segarra method in schools. Photographs were taken of aspects and elements that iconographically represent the method and its application in schools. In this way, we are able to confirm the presence of the various teaching and musical elements that were repeatedly captured in the photographs.

As a whole, the collection reflects elements that were related to, or were themselves, innovative educational practices: dividing classes into small groups, arranging furniture to facilitate cooperative work; the proximity of teachers and students, alternating between the teacher doing work and the group/class doing work. etc.

In terms of the Ireneu Segarra method and its application in schools, the central elements in the photos include: intonation and phonomimics, collective singing, rhythm and movement, the tabletop music stave and the *movable do*, and listening and dictation. Many photos also show materials published by the SMP-ISM to be used in schools, as well as their use by students and teachers.

Nevertheless, the lack of photographs showing movement and dance is surprising, since they are activities deemed as iconographic and representative of the method, and have been widely documented as such in other photo collections from the SMP-ISM, e.g., in photos of teacher training courses.

Ultimately, though, the set of photographs does provide an iconographic reflection of what the SMP-ISM wished to highlight and show to the public regarding the Segarra method's main innovative pedagogies and materials for music teaching in schools.

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Frederik Herman

# Chapter 4
# Teenage Apprentices at Risk: Corporate Imaginings of Polyharmony (Luxembourg, c. 1910–1940)

## Introduction: The Exhausted Nation and Imaginings of Polyharmony

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the mining and steel industries produced enormous amounts of corporate images for internal and external communication.[1] Since then, much has been written about corporate photography and visual representations of adult, male workers,[2] but there has been relatively little systematic analysis of corporate photographic collections with a specific focus on youth.[3] In this chapter, I will analyze corporate images made in the context of the Luxembourg steel-manufacturing conglomerate Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange (ARBED), a

**1** Ralf Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden? Fotografien von Jugend in der Montanindustrie, 1949–1973," in *Jugend im Fokus von Film und Fotografie*, ed. Barbara Stambolis and Markus Köster (Göttingen: V&R Unipress 2016), 81; Frederik Herman and Karin Priem, "Images of Industrial Life and Vocational Training: Scouting as a Liminal Space for Educating a Workers' Elite in 1920s Luxembourg," *History of Education* 49, no. 4 (2020): 553–570, DOI:10.1080/0046760X.2019.1701098.

**2** Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden?"; Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture (1884–1929)* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Klaus Türk, "Arbeit in der bildenden Kunst," in *Anthropologie der* Arbeit, ed. Ulrich Bröckling and Eva Horn (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2002), 35–77; Klaus Türk, *Bilder der Arbeit: Eine ikonografische Anthologie* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2000); Ulrich Wengenroth, "Die Fotografie als Quelle der Arbeits- und Technikgeschichte," in *Bilder von Krupp: Fotographie und Geschichte im Industriezeitalter*, ed. Klaus S. Tenfelde (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), 98–104; Manfred Wahle, "Every Picture Tells a Story: Historical Research on Vocational Education and Training," in *History of Vocational Education and Training in Europe: Cases, Concepts and Challenges*, ed. Ester Berner and Philipp Gonon (Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 2017), 207–228.

**3** Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden," 82. Stremmel explores the historical archive of the German steel factory Krupp.

**Note:** An adapted German translation of this chapter was published as Frederik Herman, "Das harmonische Leben im industriellen Kosmos: Darstellungen zukünftiger Arbeiter in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts in Luxemburg," in *Pädagogisierung des »guten Lebens«: Bildungshistorische Perspektiven auf Ambitionen und Dynamiken im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Andrea De Vincenti et al. (Bern: Bibliothek am Guisanplatz, 2020), 325–354.

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major global player in the twentieth century steel and iron business, and Luxembourg's main driver of socio-cultural transformation and economic prosperity. These photographs, generally made at the request of the industrialists, offer a vivid glimpse into the industrial cosmos created at the beginning of the twentieth century by ARBED.[4] These photographs not only documented various facets of the industry (e.g., steel plants, manufacturing procedures, laboring bodies, and social welfare initiatives set up for the workers), but also actively (re)constructed and shaped this industrial present.

More concretely, this chapter examines the historically and culturally specific (re)mediation of young workers in the context of vocational training in the first half of the twentieth century in Luxembourg – a period of massive social, cultural, and economic transformations triggered by the country's belated but rapid industrialization. By analyzing the visual traces of teenage workers in a huge corporate holding of 2,251 still images, and by situating these images within their larger historical and sociocultural context, this chapter aims at "reconstructing the photographs' connotative codes"[5] and at gaining insight into their recurring visual (and textual) articulations regarding harmony.[6] In other words, I investigate how these photographs have presented and reinforced various concepts of harmony that had their origins in a variety of fields: from thermodynamics, to naturism, to political ideologies. Indeed, it was believed at the time that society – after being disharmonized by industrialization, mechanization, urbanization, migration, etc. – had to find a new equilibrium in order to guarantee people's physical, mental, and social well-being as well as industrial prosperity and "economic harmony."[7] Thus, these pictures testify to contemporaries' attempts to (re-)harmonize body, mind, and machine; the various bodies within the social organism; the past, present, and future; and nature, culture, and industry. Industrial modernity thus triggered the specter of an unstable, sick civilization on the one hand, and imaginations of the ideally educated – that is, harmonious and well-balanced – modern man and the good/harmonious life on the other. This said, it should not come as a surprise that harmony and associated concepts, such as equilibrium and synchrony, were often used in the context of educationand thus frequently appeared in the publications coming out of a progressive vocational school that is at the core of this chapter: the Institut Emile Metz (IEM).[8] I argue that these photographs

**4** For more information about the holding, see Marguy Consémius, Françoise Poos, and Karin Priem, eds., *Forging a Modern Society: Photography and Corporate Communication in the Industrial Age. ARBED 1911–1937* (Dudelange: CNA, 2017).

**5** Brown, *The Corporate Eye*, 15.

**6** Geert Thyssen and Frederik Herman, "Re-turning Matters of Body_Mind: Articulations of Ill-/Health and Energy/Fatigue Gathered through Vocational and Health Education," *History of Education* 48, no. 4 (2019): 496–515.

**7** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales* (Luxembourg: Victor Bück, 1922), 42.

**8** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 41.

are "visual metaphors" for contemporaries' search for polyharmony and, thus, demonstrate that various concepts of harmony found their way into educational thought and practice.[9] Of course, defining harmony as an educational goal was far from new; it is the accumulation of various concepts of harmony, or polyharmony, and associated practices that makes for an extremely interesting case study.

I will start this chapter by giving a short description of the IEM's corporate photography holding, followed by an exploration of the ways in which, and to what extent, teenage apprentices are (re)presented in this holding and how they seem to have been exposed to the school's hybrid curriculum, consisting of formal and semi-formal learning activities. The next section looks at five images from the corporate holding and analyzes how they visualize and perform contemporary concepts of harmony,[10] which were considered essential to protect "contemporary youth – *above all the unprivileged youth – from Sick Civilization*," and to create the ideally educated and harmonious modern worker.[11] Finally, I will discuss how, in the reasoning of the institute's founders, polyharmony became synonymous with happiness – a stated educational goal of the IEM.

## Instrumentalizing Corporate Photography

From its founding in 1911, ARBED relied on photography and motion pictures to communicate with its clients, attract new workers, document and record its history, and familiarize the population with the "machine age" and the social dimensions of modernity.[12] The company's eagerness to visually portray its industrial cosmos was inspired by industrialists in neighboring countries (e.g., Krupp in Germany), who

**9** Hermine Feinstein, "Meaning and Visual Metaphor," *Studies in Art Education* 23, no. 2 (1982): 45–55.

**10** Elizabeth Edwards, "Entangled Documents: Visualized Histories," in *Susan Meiselas: In History*, ed. Kristen Lubben (Göttingen: Steidl, 2008), 330–341; Elizabeth Edwards, "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past," *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (2009): 130–150.

**11** Kurt Hahn, 1958, quoted in Winfried Böhm, "Über das 'Praktische' am Praktischen Lernen," In *Schnee vom vergangenen Jahrhundert: Neue Aspekte der Reformpädagogik*, ed. Winfried Böhm et al. (Würzburg: Ergon, 1994), 72, emphasis in the original. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's.

**12** Frederik Herman, Karin Priem, and Geert Thyssen, "Body_Machine? Encounters of the Human and the Mechanical in Education, Industry and Science," *History of Education* 46, no. 1 (2017): 108–127. See also, Karin Priem and Frederik Herman, eds. *Fabricating Modern Societies: Education, Bodies, and Minds in the Age of Steel* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Ira Plein, "Machines, Masses, and Metaphors: The Visual Making of Industrial Work(ers) in Interwar Luxembourg," in Herman and Priem, *Fabricating Modern Societies*, 35–57; Frederik Herman and Ira Plein, "Envisioning the Industrial Present: Pathways of Cultural Learning in Luxembourg (1880s–1920s)," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 3 (2017): 268–284; Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

had started using photography in the late nineteenth century for a variety of purposes, including sales campaigns for the company's products, educational innovation, and scientific achievements in domains such as vocational orientation, employee selection, and fatigue and motion studies.[13]

Photography was a preferred medium to communicate ARBED's objectives since it was seen as documenting the world objectively. Photographic images appeared to be transparent and immediate, and able to offer a fresh and positive perception of the new industrial world – its landscapes, machineries, production processes and lifestyles – not least by devising new ways of staging, aestheticizing, presenting, promoting, and normalizing.[14] Moreover, mechanical reproduction and mass production enabled fast and infinite repetition, dissemination, and circulation of these pictures throughout different media.[15] The photographs I am dealing with in this chapter appeared and reappeared, for instance, in historical brochures, albums, magazines, promotional materials, as well as the annual reports of the company's vocational school, the Institut Emile Metz (IEM). The permanent remediation of these images demonstrate ARBED's strong belief in new visual technologies as engines of corporate identity formation, societal transformation, and means of mediating modernity.[16] Therefore, it is no surprise that ARBED's leaders, just like captains of industry in neighboring countries, were soon convinced of the necessity of establishing their own photography department.[17] The industrialists' attempt to create a positive self-image was a direct response to societal anxieties and reservations about industrial modernity, and teenage apprentices and workers at risk, as well as a visual counter-offensive designed to "light up the darkness" of industrial society.[18]

Most of the images in ARBED's corporate holding of approximately 2,251 glass plate negatives – originally stored at the IEM and now archived at Luxembourg's

**13** Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden," 81. See also David E. Nye, *Image Worlds: Corporate Identities at General Electric* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1985); Brown, *The Corporate Eye*.

**14** Plein, "Machines, Masses, and Metaphors," 53; Karin Priem and Frederik Herman, "Introduction," in Priem and Herman, *Fabricating Modern Societies*, 10.

**15** Elizabeth Edwards, "Entangled Documents: Visualized Histories," 330–341; Elizabeth Edwards, "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past," *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (2009): 130–150.

**16** Jay D. Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

**17** The Krupp company in Essen (Germany) founded a separate department for industrial photography as early as 1861, see Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden," 81. See also Klaus S. Tenfelde, ed., *Bilder von Krupp: Fotographie und Geschichte im Industriezeitalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000); Wahle, "Every Picture Tells a Story," 207–228. The ARBED department existed until 1970.

**18** Exemplary, for instance, is the critical photographic work of the teacher and sociologist Lewis W. Hine. See, for instance, Peter Walther, *Lewis W. Hine: America at Work* (Cologne: Bibliotheca Universalis, 2018). Damarice Amao, Florian Ebner, and Christian Joschke, *Photographie, arme de classe: la photographie sociale et documentaire en France, 1928–1936* (Rio de Mouro: Printer Portuguesa, 2018).

Centre national de l'audiovisuel – depict industrial landscapes and infrastructures, manufacturing procedures and steel products, ARBED workers and engineers, teachers of the IEM, as well as the barons and baronesses of the steel industry. The pictures also documented activities at the IEM itself – the place where the collection was kept until 2007 and after which it is named.[19] Popular motifs included the institute's modern infrastructure and its laboratory of psychophysiology, as well as the various work pieces made by the pupils. However, young apprentices, as "students" or "future workers," are a rather marginal motif in this collection, even though it originated from a vocational school.[20] Apprentices are mostly absent from images of the school, and they rarely appear in images of the steel plant's production halls or together with adult workers. Apprentices only appear in fifteen images, shown participating in theoretical instruction, practical training, and psychophysiological testing, as well as sports activities at the institute's gym and playground. In fact, only 156 out of the 2,251 photographs, just over 10 percent, show apprentices: in staged poses or captured accidentally in the foreground or background of the pictures. Most of this sample of 156 photographs, 125 in total, show the apprentices participating in organized leisure activities, such as the IEM's Boy Scouts and the institute's music band (established in 1920). As one of the many social welfare provisions set up and financed by ARBED's captains of industry, the Loups blancs (White Wolves) Boy Scouts troop was founded in May 1915 as a vital part of the IEM. It aimed at further mobilizing the commitment and skills of the best apprentices for future service in the steel plants, more specifically in a leadership function, such as shop leader and foreman.[21] The Scout

**19** For more information on the foundation of the IEM, the founders' motives and the institute's educational program, see also Karin Priem and Geert Thyssen. "Fragmented Utopia: Luxembourgian Industrialists, Intellectual Networks and Social-Educational Reforms between Tradition and Avant-Garde," *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung* 19 (2013): 106–126; Frederik Herman, "Forging Harmony in the Social Organism: Industry and the Power of Psychometric Techniques," *History of Education* 43, no. 5 (2014): 592–614; Frederik Herman, Karin Priem, and Geert Thyssen, "Body_Machine? Encounters of the Human and the Mechanical in Education, Industry and Science," *History of Education* 46, no. 1 (2017), 108–127; Frederik Herman and Karin Priem, "The Eye of the Machine: Labor Sciences and the Mechanical Registration of the Human Body," in Priem and Herman, *Fabricating Modern Societies*, 138–166; Karin Priem and Frederik Herman, "'Sensuous Geographies' in the 'Age of Steel': Educating Future Workers' Bodies in Time and Space (1900–1940)," in Priem and Herman, *Fabricating Modern Societie*s, 111–137; Geert Thyssen and Frederik Herman, "Re-turning Matters of Body_Mind: Articulations of Ill-/Health and Energy/Fatigue Gathered through Vocational and Health Education," 496–515.

**20** This seems to be in line with Stremmel's findings about the Krupp holding. According to Stremmel, young workers were photographed rather infrequently in the first half of the twentieth century. It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that the motif of teenage workers started to play a more important role in corporate photography. See Stremmel, "Mythen schmieden," 82.

**21** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 46.

troop served as a complementary semi-formal educational component that – just like the IEM's formal curriculum – aimed to create a new "evolved intermediary class" of workers.[22]

In order to form well-educated, well-balanced workers, the IEM, inspired by ideas borrowed from the international Boy Scouts movement, designed a hybrid curriculum that combined formal and semi-formal learning activities.[23] The formal curriculum consisted of theoretical instruction (academic and professional knowledge), practical training (specific skills, work ethics, and values) that took place in the institute's workshops, and psychophysiological testing and training (professional orientation). These three *centres d'action* – as they were called at the IEM – were complemented by natural gymnastics and hygiene classes, all of which, individually and in concert, would help apprentices to smoothly adapt to industrial modernity and lead them toward maximum individual happiness, while also helping to solve the social question.[24] However, all of this was apparently deemed insufficient, judging from the institute's semi-formal curriculum. Indeed, the institute also organized scouting activities to foster balance and stability, and to form the ideally educated worker. Scouting was understood, in a Rousseauian sense, as the ideal space for "natural learning" (as opposed to artificial learning, which took place in schools). Whether in the city, the forest or at the beach, apprentices could directly experience the world and learn from their own actions – liberated from the prefabricated formal curriculum, and partly freed from supervising and governing authorities.[25] It was a kind of "liminal space,"[26] set apart from the structured spheres of work and formal learning, where one could experiment with new forms of seeing and acting; moreover, it was a "space of regeneration" that would counterbalance the negative by-products of industrialization.[27] Indeed, modernity was perceived as an era that undermined traditional social and cultural practices and habits, destabilized the collective consciousness, and destroyed old frames of reference. Terrifying images of mankind dominated by the machine, of workers exhausted and diseased by the mechanical or "unnatural" rhythm of the machine and unhealthy working conditions, of mankind deprived of mental and physical freedom as a result of the rational organization of labor, or of dehumanized – passive, amoral, and asocial –

**22** Herman, "Forging Harmony in the Social Organism," 611.

**23** Herman and Priem, "The Eye of the Machine," 138–166.

**24** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 42–47.

**25** The Scouts' organization should be understood as a "delicate interweaving of adult- and peer-control, and autonomy and freedom"; see Reuven Kahane, *The Origins of Postmodern Youth: Informal Youth Movements in a Comparative Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997), 55–58. See also Stanley E. Ballinger, "The Natural Man – Rousseau," in Nash, Kamazakias, and Perkinson, *The Educated Man*, 225–246.

**26** Victor Turner, "Liminalität und Communitas," in *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, ed. Andréa Belliger and David J. Krieger (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 251–264.

**27** David M. Pomfret, *Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint-Etienne, 1890–1940* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 103.

industrial men had to be countered by group activities in the open air and in nature.[28] This semi-formal curriculum (as well as its depiction) was the answer to workers' organizations and Catholic circles who warned that heavy industry threatened the moral and physical development of young people, and their integration into society.

## Visual "Performances" of (Poly-)Harmony

In the following section, I explore the "connotative codes" of five photographs – depicting teenage apprentices within the IEM's formal and semi-formal educational settings – and, while doing so, investigate recurring visual articulations regarding harmony.[29] In line with the approach developed by Elizabeth Edwards in visual studies in anthropology, I go beyond a narrow "forensic and semiotic analysis of content," which focuses solely on the surface "representations" of images, and approach these images as entangled and interacting with other contemporary textual and visual materials – e.g., IEM annual reports and commemorative books.[30] Thus, rather than being passive and isolated carriers of meaning, these photographs performed, (re-)enacted, and (re-)constructed meanings within a larger complex of materials.[31]

### Mind-Body Harmony

The first photograph (Fig. 4.1), taken on the institute's playground, is one of the many images that show the apprentices performing rational physical exercises in order to remediate physical deformations, improve their physical constitution, and enhance the intimate and smooth interaction of body and mind.[32] The staged synchronicity suggests a well-trained, harmonious intra and inter-bodily interaction between the senses, the nervous and muscular system, and the mind.[33] The ancient slogan *mens sana in corpore sano* was – according to the institute's gym teacher and

**28** Pia Schmid, "Die bürgerliche Kindheit, " in *Kindheiten in der Moderne: Eine Geschichte der Sorge*, ed. Meike Baader et al. (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2014), 57.

**29** Brown, *The Corporate Eye*, 15.

**30** Edwards, "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past," 130.

**31** Elizabeth Edwards, "Objects of Affect: Photography beyond the Image," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 221–234.

**32** Jean-Pierre Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," in *L'Institut Emile Metz 1914–1954*, ed. Institut Emile Metz (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Bourg-Bourger, 1954), 128.

**33** Timo Luks, "Kanalisierte Dynamik, angeordnete Körper: Bewegungsmetaphern, Gesellschaftsordnung und der Industriebetrieb (1920–1960)," in *Kontrollierte Arbeit – Disziplinierte Körper? Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Industriearbeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Lars Bluma et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), 251–281; Karsten Uhl and Lars Bluma, "Arbeit – Körper – Rationalisierung: Neue Perspektiven auf den historischen Wandel industrieller Arbeitsplätze," in *Kontrollierte Arbeit –*

**Fig. 4.1:** Gymnastics on the institute's playground, n.d. © IEM/Inventory no. HISACS002202V01, CNA.

scout leader J. P. Thommes – the institute's credo.[34] Indeed, such ideas about mind-body harmony and the positive impact of physical training on intellectual abilities were further amplified at the time by newly emerging scientific disciplines such as psychotechnics.[35] Fritz Giese's publication *Körperseele* (Bodysoul) from the 1920s illustrates this.[36] Moreover, Swedish gymnastics and other sports activities, such as swimming, were understood as "stimuli for 'relaxing' movement"[37] and thought to produce "regeneration," compensate for the "assaults of modern life,"[38] and

*Disziplinierte Körper? Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der Industriearbeit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Lars Bluma et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), 9–31.

**34** Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," 128.

**35** See also Herman, Priem, and Thyssen, "Body_Machine?"; Priem and Herman, "'Sensuous Geographies' in the 'Age of Steel'"; Herman and Priem, "The Eye of the Machine."

**36** Fritz Giese, *Körperseele: Gedanken über persönliche Gestaltung* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1927).

**37** Böhm, "Über das 'Praktische' am Praktischen Lernen," 74.

**38** Joan Tumblety, *Remaking the Male Body: Masculinity and the Uses of Physical Culture in Interwar and Vichy France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6–8.

strengthen both "constitution"[39] and "morality."[40] "Vigor of character" and "balance of mind"[41] – that is, "moral hardening" as much as "physical hardening"[42] – indeed provided another rationale for practicing gymnastics, to which the IEM attached extraordinary importance.[43] Physical and moral hardening would prevent the apprentices from falling victim to alcoholism, tuberculosis, and syphilis – social scourges that consumed the "human engine's energy."[44] This focus on energy balance, in fact, brings us to the next concept, namely the harmonious functioning of the "body-motor," at the time a popular metaphor for the human metabolism.

**Fig. 4.2:** Laboratory of psychophysiology, n.d. © IEM/Inventory no. HISACS000714V01, CNA.

**39** IEM, *Programme publié à la clôture de l'année scolaire 1916–1917/Programm herausgegeben am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1916–1917* (Luxembourg: Victor Bück, 1917), 88.
**40** Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," 129.
**41** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 50.
**42** Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," 128.
**43** Herman, Priem, and Thyssen, "*Body_Machine?*," 125.
**44** Jules Amar, *Le moteur humain et les bases scientifiques du travail professionnel* (Paris: Dunod et Pinat, 1914).

## The Harmonious Functioning of the Body-Motor

Fig. 4.2 displays a young worker training on an ergometric cycle in the institute's psychophysiological laboratory, founded in 1919. The laboratory devices, and the applied rational and scientific methods, took their cues from the French industrial ergonomist and fatigue expert Jules Amar (1879–1935).[45] Amar's career was dedicated to uncover the scientific foundations of human labor and establish theories on energy and fatigue.[46] The ergometric cycle, as well as the many other devices he developed,[47] were used to study the architecture and mechanics of the human body, the functioning of human metabolism (e.g., nutrition and oxygen intake, exposure to sunlight) in the context of work, and the muscular motor's energy expenditure and degree of fatigue.[48] Far from being a new theme, the human energy question was revitalized by the harnessing of electricity for domestic and industrial use, especially in the form of engines, as well as by the newly-emerging sciences, such as psychophysiology, which often compared and linked the human organism to the laws of "general mechanics" and "modern physiology."[49] Amar's key work, *Le moteur humain* (The human motor) as well as the following quote from his *Le rendement de la machine humaine* (1909) are good examples of this contemporary preoccupation:

> The human machine, for sure the oldest one, is comparable to a normal machine when it comes to measuring its effects. The work it [the body] can perform, and the heat thereby produced have even strengthened the first thermodynamicists in their conviction [that the body is

**45** Jules Amar and Paul Painlevé, *La prothèse et le travail de mutilés: Conférence faite pour les Oeuvres de Mutilés* (Paris: Dunod et Pinat, 1916), 4.

**46** Jules Amar, *Le moteur humain et les bases scientifiques du travail professionnel* (Paris: Dunod et Pinat, 1914); Jules Amar, *The Human Motor, or the Scientific Foundations of Labour and Industry* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1920).

**47** For a description of some of his specialized and advanced ergographic and dynamographic apparatuses, see Jules Amar, *The Physiology of Industrial Organisation and the Re-employment of the Disabled* (London: The Library Press Limited, 1918); Michaela Vieser, *Das Zeitalter der Maschinen: Von der Industrialisierung des Lebens* (Berlin: Braus, 2014); Käte Meyer-Drawe, *Menschen im Spiegel ihrer Maschinen* (Munich: Fink, 1996).

**48** Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 187. For a brief overview of the history of the experimental method, its devices, and key figures, see Alexandre Klein, "'Lire le corps pour percer l'âme': Outils et appareils à l'aube de la psychologie scientifique à Nancy," in *Corps et Machines à l'âge industriel*, ed. Laurence Guignard, Pascal Raggi, and Etienne Thévenin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 52–54.

**49** Aloyse Robert, "La méthode psycho-physiologique du travail et l'orientation professionnelle," in *Institut Emile Metz Dommeldange: Programm herausgegeben am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1919–1920*, ed. IEM (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Joseph Beffort, 1920), 53–71; Aloyse Robert, "L'apprentissage industriel et l'enseignement professionnel," in *Institut Emile Metz Dommeldange: Programm herausgegeben am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1918–1919*, ed. IEM (Luxembourg: Imprimerie Universelle Linden & Hansen, 1919), 47–55.

> a machine]. . . . In reality, it [the body] is composed of many small engines, all of which function harmoniously.[50]

Gaining insight into and training towards the optimal use of human energy – without exhausting the mind or the body and with no loss in productivity – were key at a time when the industry's blunt quest for maximum productivity raised fears of wasting or weakening national human resources. Therefore, a healthy and harmonious functioning of the body-motor had to be studied, trained, and supported by appropriate working and living conditions. It was believed that once these conditions were fulfilled, the human motor would function harmoniously and endlessly, maximizing human energy efficiency.[51]

## Harmony between Body, Mind, and Machine

Closely related to the human energy question – and originating from the same disciplines and experimental settings – were contemporary ideas on achieving symbiosis between the mechanical and natural body, on harmonizing and synchronizing bodies and machines, and on aligning mechanical and natural/human rhythms.[52] Contemporary discussions on the "fusion" of man and machine, and the maximization of their joint performance, can be characterized by two opposed, yet related, approaches: adapting humans to the machine, and adjusting the machine and the work environment to human abilities. In both cases, it was believed that labor sciences would solve the issue by providing science-based descriptions of how the labor environment could be best adapted to human abilities; by specifying detailed, science-based instructions for body posture and the appropriate use of physical strength while performing industrial labor; and by providing testing and training devices that would allow workers to gain insight into their own body-mind as well as body/mind-machine/tool coordination, rhythm, and energy expenditure. The CNA collection contains a few staged images of human-machine symbiosis. Exemplary images show apprentices performing tests and/or training (e.g., filing and hammering) with a variety of ergometric and dynamographic devices in the IEM's laboratory (Fig. 4.2). These devices – connected to a cylindrical recorder – registered the time it took to perform the test, the punching rhythm, the power used, and the level of fatigue experienced by the test subject. These pictures thus seem to present the harmonious fusion of

**50** Jules Amar, *Le rendement de la machine humaine: Recherches sur le travail* (Paris: Baillière, 1909), 10.

**51** For more information, see also Herman, Priem and Thyssen, "Body_Machine?"; Herman and Priem, "The Eye of the Machine"; Priem and Herman, "'Sensuous Geographies' in the 'Age of Steel.'"

**52** Priem and Herman, "'Sensuous Geographies' in the 'Age of Steel.'"

body and machine, both completing and perfecting each other in a human-mechanical constellation. Moreover, it was believed that a rational, moderate rhythmic performance, and the harmonious functioning of the body-mind machine, would result in the "polyrhythmical liberation of the body and the spirit"[53] and generate positive emotions, pleasure, and satisfaction.[54]

**Fig. 4.3:** Bathing in the river, Grevenmacher, 1921. © IEM/Inventory no. HISACS000299V01, CNA.

## In Harmony with Nature and Culture

The following photographs, taken in the context of the IEM's Boy Scout activities, depict elements of the institute's semi-formal curriculum. To a certain degree, they seem to be counter-images to the first two pictures that mainly echoed an industrial and mechanical rationale.[55] Several of these photographs show semi-nude bodies

**53** Böhm, "Über das 'Praktische' am Praktischen Lernen," 76.

**54** Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), 235; Mark Paterson, *The Senses of Touch: Haptics, Affects and Technologies* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 30–32.

**55** My earlier research focused on images that display these spaces and practices of formal learning, which prepared future workers for mechanical modernity; see, e.g., Herman, "Forging Harmony in the Social Organism," 592–614; Herman, Priem, and Thyssen, "*Body_Machine?*," 108–127;

exposed to fresh air, sun, and water (heliotherapy, hydrotherapy), and/or engaged in gymnastics and sports activities. This semi-nudity seems to have fitted in with a broader psycho-physical culture that aimed at preventing physical and mental decline. Stripped from "dirty" clothes that could contain the germs of contamination (e.g., tuberculosis), block the sunlight, and obstruct the human motor's ability to move, young bodies were also stripped from visible markers of social inequality and exposed to the hygienist's (pseudo-)scientific gaze.[56] Cleanliness, purity, revitalization, and preservation as key elements of the new cult of hygiene further justified scrutinizing both the condition and constitution of the young human machine.[57] Fig. 4.3 shows a bathing scene in a river, in front of a neatly engineered road and bridge that actually contradicts the pure Rousseauian naturalness the image may have wanted to convey.[58] Besides the displayed activity of bathing, the environment where this activity takes place is also a key element in this presentation. Indeed, many pictures display the Boy Scouts in (semi-)natural environments, thus hinting at Romantic, idyllic aspirations to get in touch with nature in the midst of advancing urbanization and industrial mechanization. Indeed, the shift to nature, outdoor spaces, and open-air activities gained momentum at the time, as can be seen by the *Lebensreform* and *Freikörperkultur* movements in Germany, the popularity of *naturisme* in France, and youth movements like the German *Wandervogel* and American Scouts.[59] Nature was seen as the very opposite of industry and the city (healthy vs. dirty, silent vs. noisy, slow vs. speedy) and, thus, as the cure to societal and industrial ills such as physical and mental fatigue. Living temporarily in harmony with nature would allow the teenage worker to refuel and to (re-)generate balance and sanity.

However, the IEM images not only depicted the harmonious connection with nature. The collection also contains several images taken in urban spaces that show the apprentices experiencing modern lifestyles.[60] The latter seems to be in line with the emerging international understanding of cities as significant learning spaces, where

Herman and Plein, "Envisioning the Industrial Present," 268–84; Herman and Priem, "The Eye of the Machine," 138–166; Priem and Herman, "'Sensuous Geographies' in the 'Age of Steel,'" 111–137.

**56** Thyssen and Herman, "Re-turning Matters of Body_Mind," 496–515.

**57** IEM, *Stenographischer Bericht der Versammlung vom Dienstag den 17. Juni 1913* (Dommeldingen: Buchdruckerei Albert Nicolay, 1913), 5.

**58** Geert Thyssen and Klaus Dittrich, "Water and Dust: Recovering Washed-Out Pasts of Industry in Luxembourg," in *Education across Europe: A Visual Conversation*, ed. Catherine Burke et al. (n.p.: Network 17, Histories of Education, EERA, 2014), 65.

**59** Thyssen and Herman, "Re-turning Matters of Body_Mind," 496–515.

**60** For more information, see Herman and Priem, "Images of Industrial Life and Vocational Training."

one could directly experience urban modernity and modern culture.[61] These pictures seem to suggest that the ideal modern young worker was not only a skilled laborer, but also a man capable of combining both nature and (industrial and urban) culture and, thus, of achieving harmony and cultural identity.

## Harmony between Past and Present

Fig. 4.4 – presumably showing scouts making hay bales and gathering them onto the hay wagon – can be seen as a response to societal feelings of unease about modernity and to anxieties about losing connection with the country's rural past and traditions. Indeed, many of the IEM images show how apprentices are introduced to the country's cultural heritage, its rural past, historical monuments, and touristic highlights (e.g., ruins of a castle or a bunker at the Belgium coast) or old-style handicrafts such as woodworking and farming.[62] The displayed "artisanal activity" could be said to connect to the "late-Romantic flight from a reality of life defined by the loss of object and orientation, stress, pressure to perform and competition," and to hint at the "polyrhythmic liberation of the body as it re-remembers the agricultural laborers' earthy, grounded steps" and natural rhythm.[63] Indeed, pictures of making hay bales in the open air and harvesting in summertime (following the rhythm of the seasons) strongly contrast with images displaying the automated steel production process. As mentioned earlier, the desire to get acquainted with the country's past went hand in hand with the desire to become familiar with the industrial and urban present, and to get to know new, modern lifestyles. It is, therefore, no surprise that the collection also contains several images that romanticized and glorified the industrial and urban present. The juxtaposition of cultural heritage with the urban and industrial present – the equilibration of the old and the new – can be understood as an attempt to reconcile conflicting traditionalist and modernist narratives. Transcending the apprentices' narrow initiation into an industrial trade or craft, these depictions thus aimed at creating "cultured men" – aware of the country's tangible and intangible cultural heritage and present, as well as the fact that man and society are the products of both.[64] The institute's curriculum thus purposely tried to harmonize past and

**61** Håkan Forsell, "Die großstädtische Kindheit," in *Kindheiten in der Moderne: Eine Geschichte der Sorge*, ed. Meike Sophia Baader, Florian Eßer, and Wolfgang Schröer (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2014), 191–225.

**62** See also, Herman and Priem, "Images of Industrial Life and Vocational Training"; Herman and Plein, "Envisioning the Industrial Present."

**63** Böhm, "Über das 'Praktische' am Praktischen Lernen," 76.

**64** G. H. Bantock, "The Cultured Man – Eliot," in Nash, Kazamias, and Perkinson, *The Educated Man*, 337–360.

present, and allowed the young workers to "make meaningful and affectively charged connections across time."[65]

**Fig. 4.4:** Group picture, Grevenmacher, 1921. © IEM/Inventory no. HISACS000300V01, CNA.

## Harmony within Society

The last image (Fig. 4.5) displays power and synchronized gymnastics on the beach of Bredene, Belgium, and it is one of the many pictures that display group activities: from peeling potatoes and cooking, to logging wood, to performing various competitive physical exercises. Such activities have been a reaction to the fears of alienation and dehumanization in capitalist technological-industrial society. Indeed, in certain circles it was believed that "[m]odern industrial society has left no other bound between man and man than naked self-interest," or that man in the industrial age "is not his true self because he is alienated; alienated from his work, from other men,

**65** Sharon MacDonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 234.

**Fig. 4.5:** Gymnastics on the beach, Bredene, Belgium, 1926. © IEM/Inventory no. HISACS000221V01, CNA.

and from himself."[66] The decline of social cohesion and the reduction of the worker to a commodity would result in a "society that loses all sense of morality, fair play and justice."[67] Images such as the one above were designed to counter these anxieties, by staging various moments of playing and working together. The creation of a strong group feeling was thought to be favorable (and profitable) in the context of labor and society at large.[68] Collectivity, as well as the importance of the individual within the collective, are key motifs in these photographs. Indeed, the images simultaneously display apprentices as individuals taking up various tasks and/or various positions in the group, as well as the collective success that is possible only if each of them takes his [sic!] proper place, functions optimally, and performs maximally in a

**66** Paul Nyberg, "The Communal Man – Marx," In Nash, Kazamias, and Perkinson, *The Educated Man*, 277–278.

**67** Nyberg, "The Communal Man – Marx," 278.

**68** Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," 128.

mutually trusting and cooperative relationship.[69] Fig. 4.5 could be said to symbolize the desired social cohesion (e.g., the closeness of the apprentices' bodies), social unity, stability or equilibrium, harmony and synchrony at the time of awakening social unrest in Luxembourg. The Scout group and the institute's sport activities served as pre-eminent vehicles for character-building and as a space to experiment with social skills (e.g., camaraderie, cooperativeness, fair play) that were thought to be crucial for the formation of useful and responsible members of human society.[70]

## Conclusion: Polyharmony and the Making of Happiness

The IEM's programmatic hybridity seems to have been a direct response from the captains of industry to the growing critique of education, especially within progressive education circles, which chimed with a more general "'uneasiness in civilization' or, more concretely, with the critique of the living conditions in an evolved industrial society and technological civilization that were deemed inhumane."[71] Indeed, the institute's curriculum was understood by its founders as a means to counteract the "lack of vital cells of the social organism that prefigured an era of transition, a period of moral and political anarchy,"[72] and catalyze and ensure sociocultural stability – the fertile ground for a profitable "cult of economic harmony."[73] This chapter has tried to demonstrate how various concepts of harmony – originating from societal fears, economic and political aspirations, ideologies, and the sciences – found their way into educational thought and practice. It has shown how these visual (and textual) materials performed and enacted various forms of harmony, be it the harmony between body, mind, and machine; the smooth and harmonious running of the body-motor; the ability to move flexibly and harmoniously between industrial, urban, and natural environments, and to have a foothold in both the past and the present; and the harmonious social organism. These corporate images, thus, seem to have functioned as "visual metaphors" for the vocational school's (and, by extension, society's) search for polyharmony – a polyharmony that presented an antidote to the disharmony and imbalance that was feared to come with industrial modernity. It would seem that

**69** Herman, "Forging Harmony in the Social Organism"; Herman and Priem, "Images of Industrial Life and Vocational Training"; Herman and Plein, "Envisioning the Industrial Present."

**70** Thommes, "Die soziale Bedeutung der physischen Erziehung," 128, 130.

**71** Waltraud Harth-Peter, "Schnee vom vergangenen Jahrhundert? Zur Aktualität der Reformpädagogik heute," in *Schnee vom vergangenen Jahrhundert: Neue Aspekte der Reformpädagogik*, ed. Winfried Böhm et al. (Würzburg: Ergon, 1994), 12.

**72** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 41.

**73** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 42.

harmony, rhythm, and equilibrium were the key messages that industrialists wished to convey, through the institute's curriculum and these corporate images, to the lower classes who suffered most in times of rapid industrialization. According to the institute's founders, a poly-harmonious state of being would result in lasting happiness and maximum productivity.[74]

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**74** ARBED, *Oeuvres sociales*, 29.

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# Part 2: **Images as Mediators**

Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés & Sjaak Braster

# Chapter 5
# Pictures at an Exhibition: Images, Stakeholders, and a Public History of Education

## Introduction

In 2019 the municipal government of Madrid sponsored the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública (Madrid, educational city 1898/1938. Memory of public school*) which focused on the pedagogical renewal that took place in the public schools of the city in the years before the start of the Franco dictatorship in 1939.[1] The exhibition showed examples of progressive educational practices in Madrid's public schools at the beginning of the twentieth century that were practically unknown. For the oldest generations, including those who had attended public schools in the 1930s themselves, the exhibition was bound to awaken memories of times long past. For older generations – those educated under Francoism – the exhibition would highlight the contrast between the practices depicted here and the authoritarian type of education that they received in these same schools. For younger generations – those enrolled in primary schools in democratic Spain – the exhibition was a true revelation in its portrayal of the parallelism between modern educational experiences and the roots of progressive educational practices that date back to the early decades of the twentieth century. For the very youngest generations – children and teenagers in 2019 – we can imagine the exhibition serving to heighten their awareness about the horrific consequences of war for the life of fellow pupils.

From an academic and historical point of view, the exhibition also told a relevant story. It intended to show that at a time when a second industrial revolution was taking place in the Western world, and when new progressive, child-centered ideas about education were being introduced in school systems, the Spanish capital was just as engaged as other more well-known examples in the educational world. In Spain, which was struggling with serious social problems at the end of the nineteenth century, partly related to the loss of its last colonies – Cuba and the Philippines – to

1 "Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938 – Memoria de la escuela pública," https://www.esmadrid.com/agenda/madrid-ciudad-educadora-18981938-memoria-escuela-publica-museo-historia# (accessed August 28, 2020).

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the USA, education was being promoted as a motor for social change.[2] The power of education to change society through the development of new models for schooling was an important underlying message of the exhibition – one in line with the main findings of academic historical research.[3]

The specific historical foundation for this exhibition was laid out in a Ph.D. thesis published in 1999 by the first author of this article.[4] The concept of the exhibition was also based on academic articles and books written in recent years about progressive education experiences and schoolteachers in Spain and its capital.[5] It goes without saying that all of the research for the exhibit was based on a rigorous exploration of all available primary historical sources found in public and private archives. An important element was the collation of an image archive by the first author covering the early decades of the twentieth century. However, despite this pursuit of scientific "objectivity", it should be added immediately that the exhibition, and the final selection of the images on display, had a clear political bent from the beginning.

After several legislatures of conservative political majorities, in 2015 the Madrid City Council found itself in the hands of a left-wing municipal government. This change was reflected, among other things, in a preference for urban projects in which historical references to General Franco's political regime were replaced by references to persons, institutions or events associated with the history of the Second Republic, the democratic government that preceded Franco's dictatorship. Part of the "memory policy" of the city council was to support exhibitions and other public events in which residents of Madrid, both young and old, could learn about the merits of progressive sociocultural policies that had been abruptly cut off after 1939. Another example of this policy was the replacement of street names referring to Franco-era (military) icons for new names recalling (educational) heroes from the era of the Second Republic. The proposals for street names offered by the body that the city council put in charge of this task – The Commission for Historical Memory (2016–2018) – were disputed fiercely by some of the more nostalgic Francoist sectors. The Francisco Franco Foundation itself appealed before the court and in 2017, managed to halt changes to the names of 52 streets that commemorated events or figures from the Franco era. This battle for the symbolic stage represented by Madrid's streets brought to light the enormous ideological and symbolic weight that the term "memory" carries in Spain.

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**2** María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *Currículum e identidad nacional. Regeneracionismos, nacionalismos y escuela pública (1890–1939)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000), 67–81.

**3** Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough, and A.H. Halsey, *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

**4** María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *Urbanismo y Educación. Política educativa y expansión escolar en Madrid (1900–1931)* (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá, 1999).

**5** See a summary of the recent findings in María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Madrid, a Showcase for National Pedagogical Renovation (1898–1936)," in *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*, ed. María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2019), 297–325.

In 2017, Madrid City Council, through its Office of Human Rights and Memory, launched the "Madrid, City of Memory" campaign, which was meant to develop a "public policy of memory,"[6] based on the Law of Historical Memory passed by the socialist government in 2007. This law sought to encourage democratic values by facilitating a clearer knowledge of historical events that took place during the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship. In Spain, the term "historical memory" is understood to refer to the years between 1936 and 1975. However, given that the war was the result of a military uprising against a political regime established democratically in 1931, the years prior to the outbreak of war are crucial for understanding the construction of democratic memory in Spain. The City Council's objectives in underwriting an exhibit on public primary schools from the Republican era were: to recover school memory from the Republican period; to present this memory to Madrilenians as a crowning moment for progressive educational policies; and to recount its destruction and demise in the first years of Franco's dictatorship. These goals did not necessarily coincide with the scholarly objectives of academic historians.

While policy makers are interested in activating knowledge about progressive educational practices to support public educational institutions and interest groups, academic historians tend to prefer reflexive knowledge about the development of educational practices in a changing social context. And where policy makers would be quite satisfied with an exhibition in which educational progress in the first decades of the twentieth century would be causally linked with the political changes that happened *because of* the Second Republic (1931–1936), academic historians would be more inclined to highlight the continuities in educational change and the relationship with socioeconomic and cultural changes taking place over a longer period (1898–1938). In short, the groups involved in organizing an exhibition do not necessarily agree with each other regarding the goals. Nor is this necessarily a problem. It merely means that, in the end, an exhibition will be the result of negotiations between various stakeholders. In other words, the historical knowledge to be displayed represents the outcome of an interplay between actors with different degrees of power.

The presentation of reflexive knowledge to a wide, non-academic audience by professional historians is known nowadays as "public history".[7] For several decades now, it has constituted a vibrant and challenging field where professional historians interact with multiple audiences, ranging from experts to laymen, but also including policy makers and policy influencers, all united by their interest in history, memory, heritage, and material culture. With the growing and global popular interest in historical issues

**6** Interview with Txema Urquijo, head of Historic Memory in the City Council of Madrid (2017–2019), *elDiario.es*, February 21, 2020, https://www.eldiario.es/madrid/exresponsable-memoria-historica-carmena-comisionado_1_1121225.html (accessed September 2, 2020).

**7** See also Michael Burawoy, "For Public Sociology," *American Sociological Review* 70, no. 1 (2005): 4–28.

related to gender, religion, race, nation, and identity, public history is at this time arguably the strongest branch of history as an academic discipline. This recent success is attested to the slew of new textbooks, handbooks, reference works, and journals that have been published.[8]

Although many historians are reluctant to admit that stories about the past can provide us with lessons for the future, the general public is still interested in lessons that history may teach us. Let us take the recent COVID-19 pandemic as an example: the first reports in the news media – when the medical sciences were hard put to provide any objective information about the coronavirus – invariably referred to historical examples such as the medieval plague and the Spanish flu of 1918.[9] It seemed that if the hard sciences could not yet provide answers, a soft science (or art) like history[10] suddenly mattered a great deal to many audiences.

The global anti-racist protests following George Floyd's death and intensified by the Black Lives Matter movement provide another example: historical facts about, among others, Edward Colston, the Bristol merchant and philanthropist,[11] and Winston Churchill, the British prime minister and World War II hero,[12] are used as evidence to condemn both figures as racists and to take down or deface their statues. Without going into the details of these cases, certain things are clear: historical facts play an important role in public debates; and historical facts carry a subjective, political charge. If, according to historians, history cannot teach us lessons, history certainly does matter to the public.

The hermeneutical approach to history as a discipline applies not only to the texts that were ultimately presented in the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*, but also to the visual material that was on display. It should be noted that in order to especially increase the appeal of the

**8** See especially: Thomas Cauvin, *Public History: A Textbook of Practice* (London: Routledge, 2016); Cherstin M. Lyon, Elizabeth M. Nix, and Rebecca K. Shrum, eds., *Introduction to Public History: Interpreting the Past, Engaging Audiences* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017); James B. Gardner and Paula Hamilton, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); David Dean, ed., *A Companion to Public History* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2018); and Faye Sayer, *Public History: A Practical Guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

**9** Stephen Dowling, "Coronavirus: What Can We Learn from the Spanish Flu," March 3, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20200302-coronavirus-what-can-we-learn-from-the-spanish-flu (accessed July 25, 2020).

**10** See for the discussion about history as art or science: Herman Tennessen, "History Is Science," *The Monist* 53, no. 1 (1969): 116–133, DOI: https://doi.org/10.5840/monist19695312 (accessed August 2, 2020).

**11** Kenneth Morgan, *Edward Colston and Bristol. Local History Pamphlets Series, no. 96* (Bristol: The Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1999), http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/bristolrecordsociety/publications/bha096.pdf (accessed August 1, 2020).

**12** Richard Toye, "Yes, Churchill Was a Racist: It's Time to Break Free of his 'Great White Men' View of History," July 10, 2020, https://edition.cnn.com/2020/06/10/opinions/churchill-racist-great-white-men-view-toye-opinion/index.html (accessed August 1, 2020).

exhibition and its impact on visitors, much original photographic material dealing with historical schools, teachers, and pupils was collected for the event (some 500 documents). Inevitably, issues arose regarding which images should be displayed and which left out. In selecting images and texts, academic historians obviously had to consider general matters of privacy and copyright, while also having to take into account the specific views of the city council, as the main exhibition sponsor. At the very least, this implied a tension between the role of educational historians as professional representatives of a scientific discipline, and their role as public historians working for a local government organization. In turn, many more tensions exist due to the fact that, along with political and scientific representatives, numerous other stakeholders are involved in a public exhibition. This brings us to the questions we would like to address in this article:

> What challenges do academic historians have to face when organizing an educational exhibition for a non-academic audience? Which stakeholders play a role in this process? And how are decisions about content and form made, particularly in relation to the choice of images?

## Stakeholders and Exhibitions

*Exhibitions*, defined as events at which products and services are displayed, are part of what is called the "meetings industry."[13] Along with exhibitions – and here we follow the terminology developed by the International Association of Professional Congress Organizers (IAPCO) – there are also *meetings*, a general term indicating the coming together of a number of people in one place to confer or carry out a particular activity; *incentives*, meeting events as part of a program offered to its participants in reward for a previous performance; and *conferences*, participatory meetings for discussion, fact-finding, problem solving, and consultation.[14] In terms of the amount of money and people involved, the meetings industry is an important part of global travel and tourism. The meetings industry, like the educational sector, has the power to bring people and knowledge together. And in the same way that education implies much more than a teacher instructing a group of students, an exhibition is much more than a public display of texts, images, and objects. An exhibition is a multimodal presentation of a central idea or concept, accompanied by other activities,

**13** International Congress and Convention Association, "The definition of MICE," https://www.iccaworld.org/aeps/aeitem.cfm?aeid=29 (accessed August 2, 2020).

**14** Commission of the European Communities and International Association of Professional Congress Organizers, *Meeting Industry Terminology* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992), https://termcoord.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/meeting-industry-terminology1.pdf (accessed August 2, 2020).

within a wider context of cultural learning, and limited by economic and political boundaries.

This was certainly true for the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*. Not only did it encompass an exposition of engravings, photographs, videos, maps, wall charts, books, letters, and other material objects (with accompanying text) in four large rooms of a municipal museum in the center of Madrid, the *Museo de Historia de Madrid*; it was also accompanied by twelve meetings with lectures, poems, and music in the iconic Cibeles Palace in Madrid. In addition to these events, a 466-page catalogue was published with articles from scholars from Spain, Italy, and the United Kingdom, printed in both Spanish and English and illustrated with more than 200 color photographs.[15] Guided tours, which included a free 24-page children's workbook, were organized for students from Madrid's schools.[16]

Organizing an exhibition like this means considering various stakeholders. The concept of stakeholder dates to the 1970s, when the term made its appearance in organizational management theories next to the well-known financial term "shareholder". It gradually became clear that managing a company involved more than the two parties, represented by consumers buying products (on the demand side) and shareholders getting a return on their investments (on the supply side). Mapping the sociocultural environment of a company began to be necessary for developing an effective strategy for managing a business and being prepared for ethical challenges raised by many parties. Every exhibition has its share of vested stakeholders. The journal *Exhibition World* mentions at least six or seven:

> The event owner, the event organizer (which can be the same organization as the owner), the industry sector (which the exhibition represents), the host destination, the exhibitors, the visitors, and the service providers. All these stakeholder categories have an interest in the success of the event. The objectives of these stakeholders range from exhibitor and visitor satisfaction, advancement of trade and commerce, development of research and knowledge transfer, promotion of the destination and/or venue, sales and product awareness, education and challenge solutions, and of course revenues and profits.[17]

If we apply this classification to the organization of the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*, we end up with Tab. 5.1.

The first thing requiring comment is that organization responsibilities were shared by an academic historian, who has written extensively on the history of the public

**15** Pozo Andrés, *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938*.

**16** Fundación Ángel Llorca, *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Una mirada para la infancia* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2019).

**17** Jerad Bachar, **"**Measuring the Impact of Exhibitions," *Exhibition World* 4 no. 4 (2015), https://www.exhibitionworld.co.uk/2015/07/02/measuring-the-impact-of-exhibitions (accessed August 3, 2020).

**Tab. 5.1:** Stakeholders at the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*.

| **The event owner** | **The municipal government of Madrid, especially the Office for Human Rights and Memory** |
|---|---|
| The event organizer | Historian of education (University of Alcalá) Educational interest group (Ángel Llorca Foundation) |
| The sector | The education sector |
| The host destination | The municipal Museum of History of Madrid |
| The exhibitors | Public schools; museums; archives; libraries; private collectors |
| The visitors | Citizens of Madrid and other parts of Spain; foreign tourists |
| The service providers | Exhibition designers; video mappers; cartographers; academic advisors; photographers; restorers; transporters; scaffolders; security personnel; exhibition guides |

schools in Madrid, and the representatives of an educational interest group that has been working to preserve the memory of Ángel Llorca, a public schoolteacher and director of the experimental Cervantes School in 1920s and 30s Madrid. This educational interest group had the legal structure of a foundation. The Ángel Llorca Foundation was established as part of *Acción Educativa*, a movement for pedagogical renewal focused on the defense of public schools.[18] By preserving the legacy and memory of past public schools, this foundation seeks to bolster today's public schools.[19] The historian was connected to the foundation as a member of its board of trustees. Ultimately, the foundation and its representatives acted in the capacity of administrative organizers of the exhibition, while the historian assumed the role of scientific organizer and developed the concept of the exhibition as a whole.

In addition to these two actors, several other parties were involved in the organization of the exhibition. Chief among these were the municipal government of Madrid, in particular the Office for Human Rights and Memory (the event owner); the municipal museum for the History of Madrid (the host destination); and Smart & Green Design and Wot Studio (the exhibition designers).

In the case of this exhibition, exhibitors played a passive role. All of the head teachers of the 41 public schools in the city of Madrid considered "historic schools"[20] were contacted and visited by the event organizers. The purpose of this was to select

**18** "Acción Educativa," http://accioneducativa-mrp.org/ (accessed August 5, 2020).

**19** "Fundación Ángel Llorca," http://www.fundacionangelllorca.org/fundacion/ (accessed August 5, 2020).

**20** María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Las escuelas públicas históricas de Madrid," in *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938*, 379–384.

and secure approval for the use of educational objects and material from the first third of the twentieth century that made up part of the historical heritage at these institutions. A similar procedure was followed with representatives of museums (especially the Laboratory Museum of History of Education "Manuel Bartolomé Cossio" in Madrid), archives (particularly the *Archivo General de la Administración* in Alcalá de Henares), libraries (especially the National Library), and private collectors (in particular, the collection of Antonio Molero).

## Tensions between Historians and Stakeholders

After our brief description of the stakeholders of an exhibition, we will now focus on some examples of the challenges an historian can face when dealing with these various groups.

*Tensions with the event owner*: In this specific instance, the event owner was a political group interested in revitalizing the memory of the Second Spanish Republic, especially in relation to its progressive educational policies. This intention was manifest in some of the initial drafts for the exhibit program and the prologue to the catalog, where municipal advisers wrongly affirmed that levels of illiteracy had remained unchanged in Madrid between 1875 and 1931, but rightly claimed that these levels were reduced dramatically under the Second Republic. Ultimately, however, the exhibition dealt with the period 1898–1938; its starting point was the loss of the last Spanish colonies in Cuba and Philippines, and the ensuing plans for a regeneration of the country, especially by means of education. The period covered ends with the closing of the schools in the capital and the evacuation of pupils to children's camps near the Mediterranean Sea. In other words, the period of the exhibition was chosen in relation to important educational dates. These dates were not determined by political markers such as the beginning of the Second Republic or the end of the Civil War. By choosing this specific time frame, and not the period 1931–1939, the exhibition dispensed with its explicit link to the Second Republic. While doubts remained as to whether the period prior to 1931 could be considered part of the historical memory contemplated by the law of 2007, the municipality as event owner respected the choices made by the academic historian.

*Tensions with the service providers:* A possible conflict with the creative designers, as the most important service provider, arose with the choice of the colors of the exhibition's shelves. The designers, bearing in mind what they anticipated to be the wish of the municipality and the Ángel Llorca Foundation, chose three basic colors: red, yellow, and purple. These just happen to be the colors of the Second Republic flag. The academic historian rejected this idea; the exhibition was meant to show continuities and discontinuities in a period stretching beyond the years of the Republic. Ultimately, the metal Meccano-like racks were made in the basic colors of red, yellow, blue, and

green – evoking the colors of the children's board game Parchisi. Instead of a veiled political message, this more immediate, playful reference served to ensure that the key concept of the exhibition would be childhood itself. Children did in fact constitute the central element of most of the images and objects displayed.

*Tensions with the exhibitors:* The main exhibitors in *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública* were the historical schools of Madrid. The representatives of these schools had to be visited and convinced of the importance of participating in the project and, in particular, of making educational material available. While this would not seem to be a difficult task, in practice it posed several problems. Not all the school principals were keen about an exhibition inspired by a municipal government whose specific political color did not necessarily match that of the school's principal, staff, parents, or the school community in general. Other schools simply did not have any interesting historical objects to boast of or were unable to provide such material for lack of time. Finally, 31 of Madrid's 41 historical schools agreed to collaborate.

*Tensions with the host destination:* The exhibition took place in the municipal Museum of History of Madrid. This implied a direct political relationship between the event owner and the host destination. In principle, this connection was not problematic for the event organizers. The fact that the representatives of the museum also derived their legitimacy from the possession of historical knowledge was a potential source of tension. Ultimately, museum management was also in charge of the logistics operations, as well as the use of space and the possible extension of the exhibition dates.

*Tensions with the visitors:* The task of historians who work in or with museums is to be "advocates for both history and visitors, negotiating the gap between our understanding of the past as historians and the public's".[21] There is much to be said about the relationship between academic historians as event organizers and the public attending an exhibition. In this case, we will limit ourselves to the issue of the "sharing" of photographs. On the initiative of the academic historian, one of the decisions taken at the start of the exhibition was to prohibit photographs of the display. The obvious reason was that copyright had to be paid for the reproduction of photos. Nevertheless, there was an additional reason: searching through archives and finding photographs that had never before been shown to the public was the work of the historians involved in organizing the exhibition; allowing photographs to be taken during the exhibition was sure to result in the publication of photo collections on blog sites and other Internet sources, with no mention of the origin of the photo or of the historians who had discovered them in archives. Eventually, despite the ban, some photos of the exhibition were posted on Twitter accounts. An

**21** James B. Gardner, "Contested Terrain: History, Museums, and the Public," *The Public Historian* 26, no. 4 (2004): 11.

unintended consequence was that people used these self-made photographs to offer comments about their school memories evoked by their visit to the exhibit.

*Tensions with the event organizer:* Finally, we would like to discuss the potential tensions among event organizers. In this exhibition, as mentioned earlier, an academic historian and an educational interest group – the Ángel Llorca Foundation – acted together as event organizers. Given the various mutual interests, this was a potential source of tensions. To illustrate these tensions, we will go into more detail about the selection of photos for the exhibition, in particular the choice for the exhibition poster. As a methodological source, we use the email and WhatsApp discussions held between those involved in the event organization.

## From Tension to Consensus: The Selection of the Exhibition Poster

In this section, we will show how the interplay between the groups involved with the organization of *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898–1938. Memoria de la escuela pública* operated in relation to the selection of visual images. We will focus on the choice for the poster of the exhibition as a way of explaining why some images ended up being displayed to the public while others did not. Let us begin with the first selection of seven images that were being considered for use. The starting point was the image archive of 500 photographs mentioned above, collated by the first author over twenty years, and enriched for the exhibition. It was placed on the Google Drive of the Ángel Llorca Foundation and shared by the historian of education with the foundation's members, including the exhibition organizers and designers. All these people were specifically asked to browse through the database, add new material if necessary, and select an appropriate image that could serve as a poster for the exhibition. This was no easy task, considering that the poster was to be shown all over the city of Madrid, on display screens placed by the City Council in the main streets and squares.

The discussion and selection of the photograph that would be chosen to represent the message of the exhibition took place on WhatsApp. Seven images were shared within the discussion group of the Ángel Llorca Foundation. In prior conversations, the Foundation's teachers had expressed two wishes: that the images shown in the exhibit be inclusive – that is, that they show boys and girls together – and that the central theme of the expositional discourse be childhood play. Such wishes posed a challenge to the historian in charge; coeducation was rare during the period and most schools were single sex. As for the images captured in photographs, these tended to be classroom settings rather than playgrounds or recess situations. As a result, the seven images in Fig. 5.1 were chosen from among all of the images available in the

**Fig. 5.1:** The seven possible poster images selected for the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898–1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*.

Google Drive of the Foundation.[22] Six of them are from the period of the Second Republic (1931–1938), and one is from the preceding monarchy (1911).

The initial selection of seven photos, which all appear to have been taken outdoors, show larger groups of children, except for one image showing only a boy and a girl. Furthermore, the impression is that most of these look like snapshots rather

**22** Fig. 5.1 is a composition made from the seven preselected photographs for possible use as the iconic image of the exhibition that would appear on the poster. The three photos on the left (from top to bottom) show the inauguration of a public school (April 1936), handing out shoes to boys and girls in a municipal school (1936), and a group of girls singing (June 1935). The three photographs on the right (from top to bottom) show a party in honor of students graduating from this stage of school (July 1935), boys and girls playing in a school playground (August 1936), and another group of children, without teachers, playing together (June 1936). The image in the center shows a girl feeding a boy in a schoolyard (1911). Five of these photographs are from the photographic study "Alfonso", produced by photographers Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela, whose enormous collection is housed at the *Archivo General de la Administración*; the sixth picture was taken by photographers Albero and Segovia, and is from the photographic archive of the *ABC* newspaper; the middle photograph was used on the cover of the illustrated journal *Nuevo Mundo* from December 7, 1911.

than photos deliberately composed by the photographer, again, with the exception of the boy and girl. Said photograph was well received by several members of the Ángel Llorca Foundation who, in addition to admiring its vitality, found it to be "emblematic" in its portrayal of the positive relationship between the two children. From an historical point of view, the image is quite unusual for its time – 1911 – given the strict separation of sexes that was then prevalent in public schools.

The last photograph is the odd one out although, in a way, this could also apply to two photographs that show objects that attract attention: the image with two boxes, and the image with (apparently) multi-colored cockades. Both photographs are intriguing because of the questions they raise: What is in the boxes? Why doesn't the girl looking directly at the camera have a box? What do those cockades mean? After an initial round of discussion, the latter two photographs were discarded for the exhibition poster; in both instances, they were deemed too complex as an initial introduction to the exhibition. The subject of the photograph with the boxes (handing out shoes to poorer children in public schools) was not considered ideal, nor was the fact that the group of singers does not include any boys.

Curiously, although the exhibition was about public schools, there are no school buildings visible in the photos selected for the poster. We see parts of buildings and walls, but children are the dominant actors in the pictures. There is a logic to this, given that the members of the event organizer are part of a progressive education movement that prefers child-centered pedagogy over teacher-centered approaches. The only glimpse of a school can be seen in the background of the photo of the *Instituto-Escuela*, a middle-class secondary school in Madrid (Fig. 5.1, lower right) that had several mixed-sex primary school classes starting in 1918. While the Foundation's teachers liked the subject matter of the image, they ultimately decided against using a photograph depicting the only public school in Madrid conceived for middle class children as an image for the exhibition.

After a few rounds of discussion, the final choice came down to two photographs: the girl feeding the boy (1911), (Fig. 5.1, center), and the picture of a schoolyard with a mixed group of children playing/dancing together with their teachers (1936) (Fig. 5.1, center right). We will structure the discussion about these two images supported by the concepts of denotation and connotation.[23] This is a readily accepted way of analyzing visual images,[24] which we shall use to summarize the discussion about these two images in two tables. These tables show that starting with denotation (what do we see?), there are several possible connotations (what does it mean?) that differed for the parties involved in the selection process.

**23** Susan Sontag, ed., *A Barthes Reader* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

**24** Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 4th edition, 2016).

**Tab. 5.2:** Visual analysis of Fig. 5.1 (center), shown at the Exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública.*

| **Denotation** | **Connotation** | |
|---|---|---|
| | History of education | Educational interest |
| Plate and spoon | Help | Charity |
| Girl and boy | Coeducation | Inequality |
| Old shoes/ oversized coat | Lower class | Poverty |

Table 5.2 shows the conflicting interpretation of the same image by two different parties. From the perspective of a historian, the photograph of the girl feeding the boy indicates an educational situation that was exceptional for the time. In general, boys and girls went to separate schools, therefore seeing them together in one image points to the practice of coeducation, which at the time scarcely existed in public schools. Another historical observation has to do with the impoverished way in which both children are dressed. Old shoes and oversized coats indicate a lower-class background, precisely the socioeconomic group that was present in large numbers in the public education sector. We can see, then, how in a historical sense the picture of the girl feeding the boy symbolizes public schools from the past, while it also stresses the idea of helping fellow human beings.

Nevertheless, from a present-day perspective, we note something different. Helping one another can be interpreted as an act of charity. Certain social groups depend on more powerful groups to feed them in times of trouble. One child feeding another also depicts a situation of inequality, while an interpretation made in terms of social or economic status could easily be changed by focusing on the poverty conveyed in the image. In short, are defenders of public education going to want to present an exhibition about public schools with a poster depicting poverty and inequality? The answer in this case was clearly negative, this *no* being expressed implicitly in phrases shared by various members of the Ángel Llorca Foundation in the WhatsApp discussion they held on September 9, 2018: "I think the photo of the children feeding each other is lovely. But at the same time there is something intrinsic to the image and to the message it projects. . . I don't believe this is the idea we want to convey. . ." This observation was seconded immediately by another member: "I agree with Ana...it could be misconstrued." This brings us to the arguments in favor of and against the remaining image: a mixed group of children performing a circle dance with adults.

Table 5.3 shows the connotations that evolved from the discussion of the three groups involved in selecting the exhibition poster: the historian of education, the educational interest group, and the creative designers. Again, we see how the same elements can be interpreted in different ways by different parties – at least at first glance. After a discussion – or in the words of Guba and Lincoln, as a result of a hermeneutic/

dialectical process – a joint construction will emerge that is (hopefully) shared by all participants.[25] Stakeholders may also reach some degree of consensus beforehand.

**Tab. 5.3:** Visual analysis of Fig. 5.1 (center right) shown at the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*.

| **Denotation** | **Connotation** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | History | Educational interest | Creative design |
| Circle dance (*Corro*) | Cooperation | Game | Movement |
| Boys and girls | Coeducation | Inclusion/ Diversity | Gender |
| Young and old people | Pupils and teachers | Equality | Age groups |
| Black dress/ white dots | Female teacher | Teacher centeredness | Contrast/ Pattern |
| Open space | Schoolyard | Free play | Canvas |
| Wall | School | School | School |

Once the organizers had reached a consensus about the photo that was to be the emblem for the exhibition, the Ángel Llorca Foundation met with the creative designers, who were thrilled with the choice of an image which, as they explained, could be recognized immediately and without any explanation as depicting a school. A discussion ensued with the historian of education, who brought up some of the arguments and discoveries expounded upon in a workshop organized by Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn during the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) in Berlin (August 2018). How could all the participants be so certain that the photograph showed a school? What was it that identified or symbolized a school in this picture? The high point of the discussion came with the realization – especially on the part of the progressive teachers from the foundation – that the key was the exterior wall surrounding the playground. This is what made is so easily recognizable; virtually all school buildings and school grounds in Spain are surrounded by high walls that isolate and separate them from the outside world. An attempt at editing was made and the designers eliminated the wall from the image with Adobe Photoshop. The result, however, was to no one's liking; it seemed as if the children were playing in some sort of meadow, while the notion of a school had disappeared entirely. Finally, a new meaning for the image was constructed among everyone: Instead of supervision, the wall represented protection and safety for the students, especially from the dangers of the war that had broken out on July 18, 1936, scarcely a month before the photograph was taken.

**25** Egon G. Guba & Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Fourth Evaluation Research* (Newsbury Park: Sage, 1989).

The fact that we again see boys and girls together in the picture points to a historical feature of progressive public schools: coeducation. In the educational terms of the present era, we are inclined to see inclusion and diversity. But what is most remarkable is the fact that the Ángel Llorca Foundation opted for the only photograph of the seven in which children and teachers are shown together. This collective of teachers, which always identified strongly with the educational legacy passed on by the Spanish Progressive Education movement of the early twentieth century, chose an image in which the figure of the teacher occupies a central position. This would seem to go against the universally understood iconographical feature of Progressive Education where, if teachers are shown at all, they are invariably in a marginal, secondary position in relation to the children.[26] Nor does the scene portray the teacher in her usual classroom setting, going about the business of instructing her students. In this sense, the image defies pedagogical conventions, taking the teacher out of her normal space of control and placing her in a situation where she is on an equal plane with the children as she plays with them. The teacher figure in this picture was in fact the subject of considerable debate, which focused on two possible ways of "editing" her: one proposal was to simply edit her out of the picture (there is a draft version of the poster showing exactly this); the other was to lighten her dress, making it less black; the intense color of the dress, which makes her the center of attention too much, could be resolved graphically. Finally, the contrast in the photograph was lowered, which served to make the dots on the dress more pronounced. By applying a dotted structure to the background, a more direct relationship was established between foreground and background. With these small tweaks, the definitive photograph that was to be used for the exhibition poster, the leaflet, the catalogue, and the program of conferences and activities was approved and published. (Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5).

However, in the publication put together by the educational interest group, the Ángel Llorca Foundation, the wall has disappeared entirely. Said publication was a catalogue designed to help children better understand the exhibition. The curious picture shown on the cover (Fig. 5.6) was drawn by the illustrator Clara Luna. This artist has always had an interest in "accessible drawing" and in using a kind of graphic language in which stories or ideas may be easily understood by young children, or those who may not be able to read. In this case, the cover uses the same central concept of the circle dance, but instead of the school being represented by a surrounding wall, it is symbolized by the use of letters that fall from the sky like

**26** Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, "The Progressive Image in the History of Education: Stories of Two Schools," *Visual Studies* 22, no. 2 (2007): 159–163; Sjaak Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Picturing the Progressive Education: Images and Propaganda in *The New Era* (1920–1939)," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 8 (2018): 177–79; Sjaak Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "From Savages to Capitalists: Progressive Images of Education in the UK and the USA (1920–1939)," *History of Education* 49, no. 4 (2020): 581.


**Fig. 5.2:** Exhibition poster at the entrance to the Madrid Museum of History.

magical rain. There are other differences from the original image: the teacher is situated in a less dominant role – at one end of the ring instead of in the middle –, she is wearing a lighter colored dress, and appears to be younger. She is clearly very happy.

Initially, the Ángel Llorca Foundation (the educational interest group for this exhibition) had in mind a poster in which children would be the main (possibly even the only) actors, and where their freedom, creativity, and playfulness would be a main theme. For them, the circle dance (*corro*) was nothing more than that: a dance or a game that could be performed outside the school building without any restrictions. The *corro* dance does in fact have a long tradition in Spanish children's games. Typically, it was practiced by girls and women, constituting a feminine space not only for acculturation and socialization, but also for free expression, protest, diversion, and equality.[27] Photographs of *corros* in school playgrounds in Spain are virtually non-existent before the 1930s, at which point we begin to find an abundance of depictions of boys and girls dancing together – a delightful symbol of inclusiveness. We have numerous photographs from the Civil War years of boys and girls in *corros* at the camps organized by the government in order to move students as far as possible

**27** Mari Cruz Garrido Pascual, *El corro de las niñas, el círculo de las mujeres. Un repaso al juego del corro desde sus orígenes como elemento de la cultura femenina* (Madrid: Horas y Horas, 2010), 158–166.


**Fig. 5.3:** Cover of the exhibition leaflet.

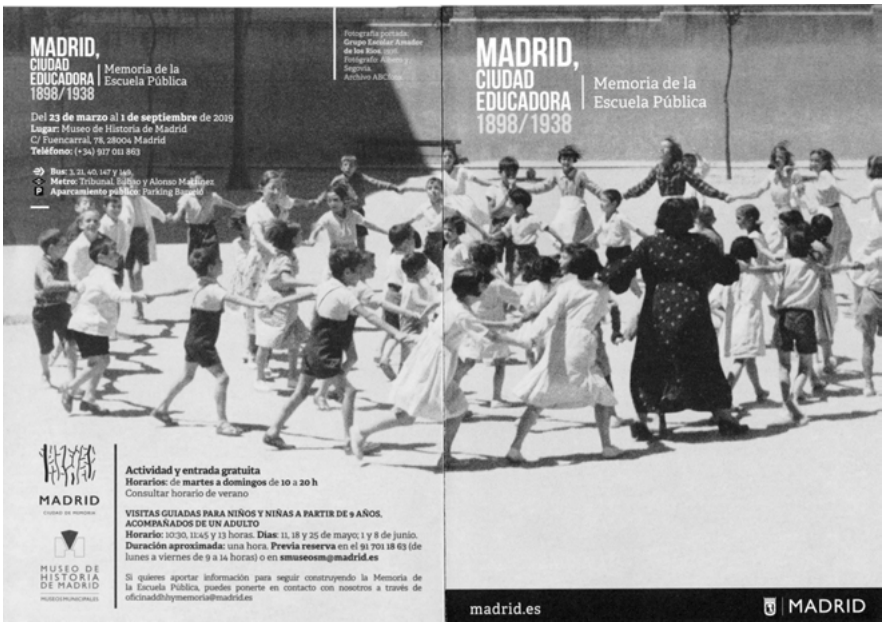


**Fig. 5.4:** Cover of the exhibition catalog.

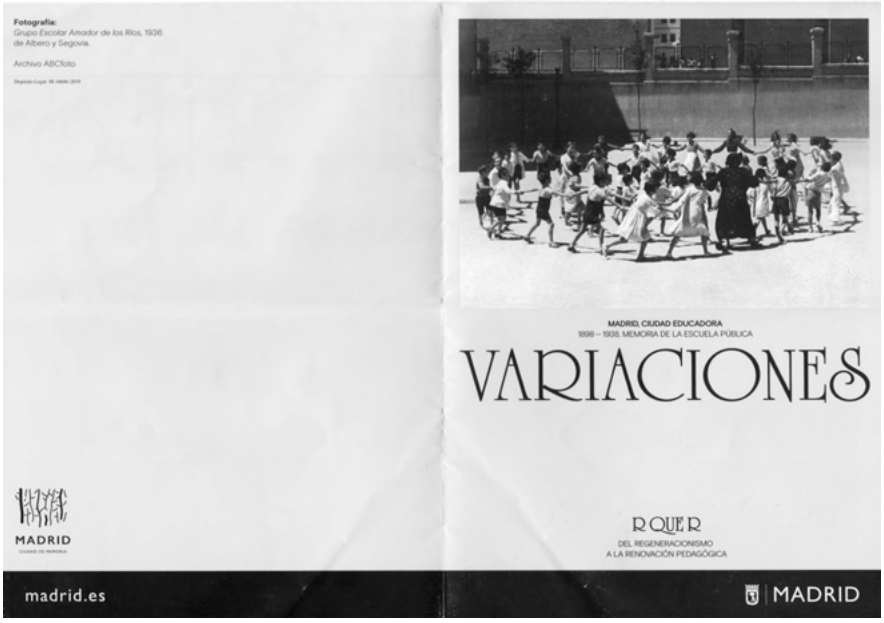


**Fig. 5.5:** Program of conferences organized in conjunction with the exhibition.

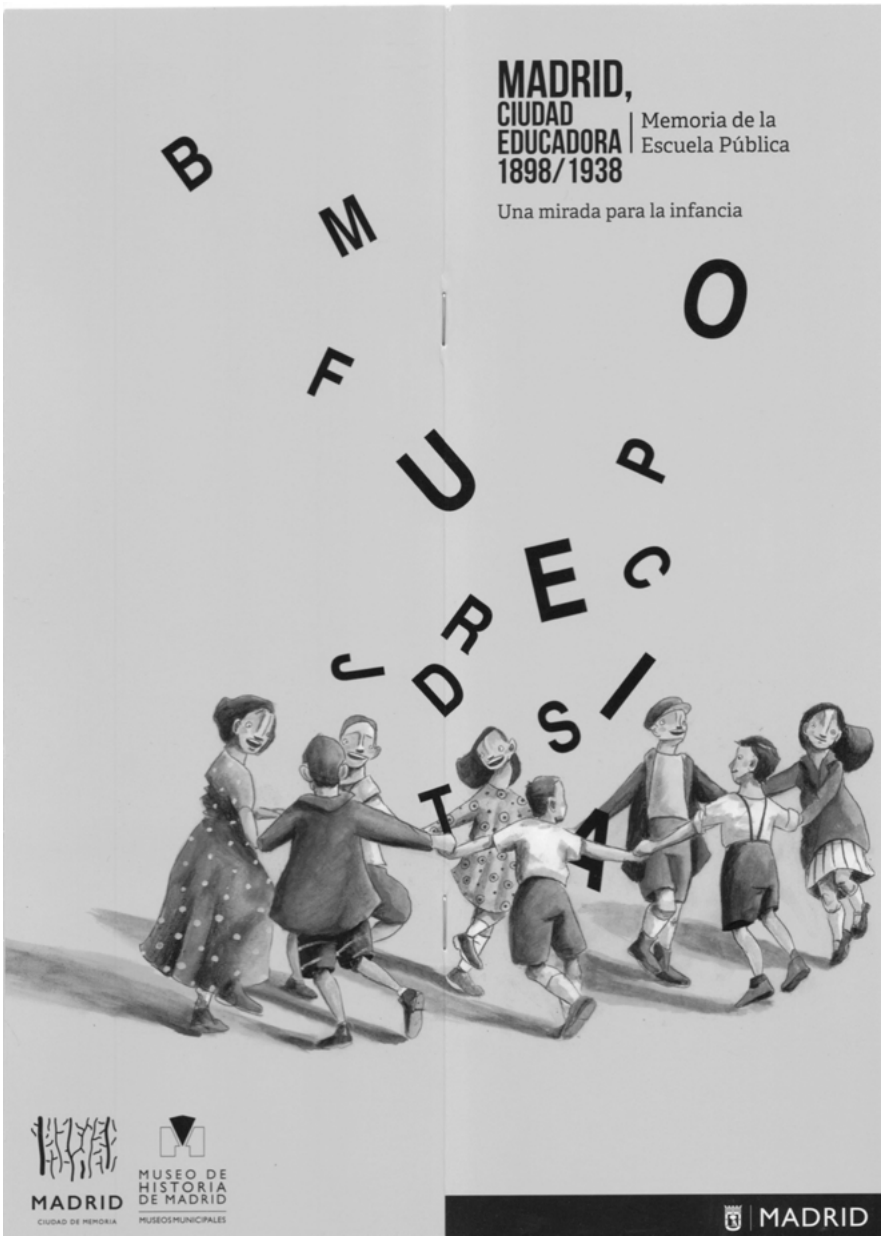


**Fig. 5.6:** Exhibition catalogue designed for children. Illustrator: Clara Luna.

from battlegrounds. In fact, so numerous are these images – taken at a crucial point in the war – that we can only conclude that they were seen as representing ideals of peace, union, and the school community.[28]

This new interpretation, supported by prior historical research, was accepted by all the stakeholders, who assumed this image of the *corro* as an expression of cooperation – a central element of the historical identity of Madrid's public schools. The fact that the circle is formed by boys and girls (pupils and teachers) also refers to the accessibility of public education to all socioeconomic, ethnic, and racial groups, both then and now. In a way, the image stands for equality between various sociocultural groups, while the happiness of children dancing in the open air underlines the idea of educational freedom. Overall, the image triggers a variety of emotions that in general positively relate to the identity of public schools.

## Conclusion and Discussion: The Exhibition in Times of Coronavirus

In this article, we have provided examples of the tensions that can arise when an academic historian engages in public history by organizing a historical exhibition. In this case, the tensions were resolved relatively easily. The interpersonal relationships between the people who comprised the group of event organizers were positive, the event owners had enough faith in the group to grant them autonomy, and there was no question about the historical expertise of the academic historian. In the end, each party got what it wanted. The exhibition also fulfilled a need shared by all parties: to provide knowledge to a wide audience about the (hitherto unknown) qualities of Madrid's public schools in the past. The exhibition served to help the people of Madrid find their own identity through the path of collective memory, and to confront mixed feelings of pride and melancholy regarding the educational inventiveness of their city. A well-known writer from Madrid, Almudena Grandes, highlighted this evocative aspect of the exhibition in her weekly column for the national newspaper *El País*, where she wrote that she had no choice but to share her feelings about the exhibition because the Madrilenians "we love ourselves so little that we really need an injection of self-esteem like this."[29] We will have to study more cases to understand how historians operate when embarking on the path of public history. Our conclusion, provisional as it may be, is that among the

**28** Sjaak Braster and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Education and the Children's Colonies in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939): The, Images of the Community Ideal," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 4 (2015): 471–472.

**29** Almudena Grandes, "Una inyección de autoestima," *El País*, April 14, 2019.

indispensable conditions for a successful journey are shared objectives, indisputable expertise, and mutual trust.

We finished writing this paper just a year after the closure of the exhibition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938. Memoria de la escuela pública*. The exhibition displayed some 500 photographs. The number of images dealing with hygiene issues (hand washing, baths and showers, school doctors, the use of outdoor spaces) is surprising, and can be at least partially attributed to the influence of the hygienist movement and Progressive Education trends in schooling circles. Although the historian was perfectly aware of the devastating epidemic that took siege of Madrid in 1918 – the "Spanish Flu" – and led to the city's schools being closed for several weeks in October of that year, she did not see any relationship between this event and the ensuing changes, which are clearly visible in the school architecture as well as in students' hygienic practices.

And yet, our current pandemic has transformed the recollection of the exhibition for those who saw it. What seems to stick most with visitors has to do with the open spaces contained within these historical schools. Such spaces, which the exhibition organizers associated with playtime and free activities, can be seen now as alternatives, as settings where open-air instruction could be given within the school. Most school buildings from before 1939 have spacious rooftops and patios, and some of the parents' associations of Madrid public schools launched an initiative in March of 2020 for the recovery of these spaces for educational uses.[30] For this purpose, they requested from the organizers the photo archive put together for the exhibition; this would be their way of underscoring the pedagogical tradition on which their project was grounded. The story is not without irony: a collection of photographs chosen to portray the joy and carefree play of young children is being used, scarcely one year later, to justify the conversion of all the school's play spaces into one enormous classroom.

## Image Credits Fig. 5.1

A girl feeding a boy in the courtyard of the Vallehermoso school, *Nuevo Mundo*, December 7, 1911, n.p. Photographer: Walter Studio (Francisco Toda).

Donation of shoes granted by Madrid City Council the children in public schools (January 1936). *Alfonso Archive*. *Archivo General de la Administración* (AGA), 005750. Photographer: Alfonso Studio (Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela).

Festival celebrated by the students of the *Instituto-Escuela* commemorating the end of the academic year (June 1936). *Alfonso Archive*. AGA, 003865. Photographer: Alfonso Studio (Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela).

**30** "Proyecto – Azoteas Escolares," https://azoteasescolares.wordpress.com/ (accessed September 25, 2020).

Festival celebrated by the students of the Pablo Iglesias school commemorating the end of the academic year (July 14, 1935). *Alfonso Archive*. AGA, 025292. Photographer: Alfonso Studio (Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela).

Group of boys and girls during the visit of the President of the Second Republic to their school (April 1936). *Alfonso Archive.* AGA, 005344. Photographer: Alfonso Studio (Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela).

Group of singing girls during the inauguration of the Lope de Vega school by the President of the Second Republic (June 1935). *Alfonso Archive.* AGA, 005664. Photographer: Alfonso Studio (Alfonso Sánchez García and Alfonso Sánchez Portela).

Amador de los Ríos School, children playing in the courtyard together with schoolteachers (August 1936). Photographical Archive *ABC*. Photographers: Albero and Segovia (Félix Albero Trullen and Francisco Segovia García).

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# Chapter 6
# Physical Education and Sport in Spain: *El Explorador* Magazine

## Introduction

The first third of the twentieth century, as we are going to explain in this chapter, saw drastic changes to physical education (PE) and related culture in Spain. Sport went from being considered aristocratic and bourgeois to becoming a popular, mass phenomenon among the working class which, in some cases, could support professional players. But these changes were not without controversies or challenges. The Spanish Scouts (Exploradores de España) played an important role in popularizing physical activity among children and adolescents, and reflected some of these controversies. Thus, we feel that their work deserves to be considered in this more general context. The present chapter specifically focuses on illustrated articles on PE and sport that appeared in the magazine *El Explorador* (The Scout), published by the Spanish Scouts from 1913 to 1938. Taking a critical point of view, we conducted a literary review of source documents from this period. The articles themselves, and especially the accompanying images, showcase the instrumental role that the culture surrounding PE and sport played in the association. We can also see how the association's effort to popularize PE and sport led to dubious and occasionally contradictory debate – an issue that also affected discussions outside of the organization.

Our study[1] is organized into three sections. The first briefly goes over the state of PE and sport in Spain (and the greater European context in which it was situated) from the end of the nineteenth century to the early 1930s. The second section focuses on the Spanish Scouts, as they were key in guiding the organization's way of understanding and promoting PE and sport. In the third section, we provide an analysis of the visual discourse in the illustrated articles that appeared in the Scouts' own *El Explorador* magazine, in order to better understand how the vision of PE and sport, which was in line with the ideology and ends pursued by Spanish scouting leaders, was spread.

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# Physical Education and Sport in Spain during the First Third of the Twentieth Century

During the first third of the twentieth century, it was considered that the debate regarding physical activity had gone hand in hand with the progression of educational practice and thought from the times of classical Greece to the modern era. In his 1927 *Bibliografía General de la Educación Física* (General Physical Education Bibliography), Rufino Blanco aimed to shed light on this fact; he provided further evidence for this correlation in his 1932 publication *Ideas de la educación física del pueblo griego según Philostrato Peri Gymnastikees* (Ideas on the Physical Education of the Greek Population according to Philostratus's Peri Gymnastikis), which analyzed one of the first classical Greek works. A pedagogue, member of the Spanish Olympic committee, university professor at the Escuela de Estudios Superiores de Magisterio (a Spanish school for training teachers), Catholic, and editor of the newspaper *El Universo*, Blanco represents an exemplary figure from the period under consideration. In his consolidated bibliography, Blanco claimed that, around the world, there was no greater teaching issue than PE.[2]

From the middle of the eighteenth century, the association between physical activity, schooling, and the modernization of society grew ever stronger. Since time immemorial, physical activities were carried out naturally based on one's class.[3] Popular practices and aristocratic tournaments and competitions were traditional. From the mid-nineteenth century, the exercises and competitions that were performed by the bourgeoisie in elitist clubs and upper-class education centers began to spread to the masses, especially the working class.[4] In Europe, following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, governments came to believe that physical exercise, and especially PE in schools, was necessary to build a strong citizenry, one capable of fighting the challenges of modern nation states. In Spain, various factors influenced the PE movement, including the Napoleonic Wars, the boom of nationalism across Europe,[5] and mandatory military service. Physical activity was quickly

**2** Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "Rufino Blanco Sánchez y las fuentes bibliográficas de la educación física y el deporte en España," *Revista Internacional de Ciencias del Deporte* 10, no. 37 (2014): 281–284.

**3** Miguel Ángel Betancor León, and Conrado Vilanou Torrano. *Historia de la educación física y el deporte a través de los textos* (Barcelona, PPU, S.A., 1995).

**4** Xavier Pujadas Martí, *Atletas y ciudadanos. historia social del deporte en España, 1870–2010* (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2011).

**5** George L. Mosse, *La nacionalización de las masas. Simbolismo político y movimientos de masas en Alemania desde las Guerras Napoleónicas al Tercer Reich* (Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2005).

institutionalized as PE in some academies, clubs, schools, and universities until it became established in the general education system.[6]

In Europe, Olympism (the philosophy that promotes the values of the Olympic games) became a movement that encouraged and gave direction to physical activity and education. Urban and removed from nature, bourgeois society considered leisure to be a way to address the need to strengthen participants' minds and bodies. Slowly but steadily, the twentieth century nurtured the sports revolution, even among women.[7]

Spain was also affected by the change and modernization that took place in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century. In 1897, the Spanish Gymnastics Federation (Federación Española de Gimnasia) was founded, including all sports and physical activity as well as cultural, leisure, and folkloric pursuits. One year later, the Federation established provincial delegations and, in Madrid, the Escuela Física (Physique School) was created to train PE teachers. Education and physical activity, schooling and gymnastics, sport and physical activity, all were interlinked until well into the twentieth century.[8] Ideas of Olympism gave impetus to this institutional organzing, giving hope that society itself could be changed in the process. The move from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century was characterized by bourgeois concerns to civilize the body and modernize life via gymnastics, rediscovering nature, and making use of sport[9] which has been referred to as the transition from aristocratic gymnastics to sport for the masses.[10]

In the stages leading up to competitive, mass, professional sports, this transition largely explains the connection between physical activity, gymnastics, PE, and sport, all of which were influenced by the Olympic movement, the military, the scout movement, and educational reforms.

There is a certain consensus in Spain when it comes to studying the beginnings of the focus on physical activity. Specifically, the bourgeoisie in the Basque Country and Catalonia played a large role in its implementation; while in the rest of the country, this role was played by the army and the more conservative sections of society (i.e., the aristocracy and monarchy). The history of PE in Spain merits in-depth

**6** Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "La bibliografía gimnástica y deportiva de la educación física en el ejército español (1808–1919): textos en contexto social," *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 5, no. 9 (2016): 172–192.

**7** Milagros García Bonafé, "El segle XX. La revolució esportiva de los dones," *Apunts* 2, no. 64 (2001): 63–68.

**8** José Luis Pastor Pradillo, *El espacio profesional de la Educación Física en España: génesis y formación (1883–1961)* (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1997).

**9** Andrés Domínguez Almansa, "Civilizar o corpo e modernizar a vida: ximnasia, sport e mentalidade burguesa na fin dun século. Galicia 1875–1900," *Documentos de Trabajo. Historia* 4 (1997): 3–22.

**10** Francisco Lagardera Otero, "De la aristocracia gimnástica al deporte de masas: un siglo de deporte en España," *Sistema* 110–111 (1992): 9–35.

consideration as it is a riddle with prejudice and platitudes. Physical activity and sport were used as points of contention in political and ideological debates between liberal and conservative movements until well into the twentieth century.[11]

There are two different aspects when considering PE for children at the turn of the twentieth century up to the early 1930s. On the one hand, the incorporation of PE into the Spanish school system lacked consistency, was carried out under different names, and repeatedly included and excluded from both teacher-training syllabi and the curricula for different grade levels.[12] A lack of political stability, and debates on how to focus PE content in schools, influenced these instabilities. On the one hand, some sectors advocated for considering PE exclusively as a way to exercise the body; others insisted – in opposition to the church – on the relationship between PE and (occasionally secular) moral and ethical guidance. On the other hand, education movements and institutions, such as the Free Institution of Education (Institución Libre de Enseñanza), and social movements, such as socialism and anarchism, defended different conceptions of PE. Liberal reform pedagogy envisaged a kind of PE that was quite different than that offered under the Amorosian[13] model, advocating games that make use of the body, sport, and even free play.

Outside of the efforts to include PE in schools, one of the leading groups to emerge were called the "school battalions".[14] Formed at the end of the nineteenth century, they existed until the declaration of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, and instilled in their charges, whether they went to school or not, the principles of Catholic Regenerationism, a response to the Disaster of 1898 which sought to reawaken Spanish national identity and restore Spanish pride through non-political, militaristic means. Their PE made use of army-fatigue-like uniforms, wooden replicas of weapons, parades, and music.[15] However, from 1913, the school battalions found competition in the Spanish Scouts, whose pedagogy coexisted with the Spanish Scouts from 1913, but the latter quickly surpassed the former in prestige, relegating the battalions to a secondary role. The scout movement seemed more alluring, pedagogically speaking, even though Spain heavily supported the military. As the twentieth century went

11 Conchi Campillo Alhama, Paula González Redondo, and Juan Monserrat-Gauchi, "Aproximación historiográfica a la actividad deportiva en España (s. XIX–XXI): asociacionismo, institucionalización y normalización," *Materiales para la historia del Deporte* 17 (2018): 18.

12 For a more detailed look at the different laws and education plans that affected the implementation of PE in schools, see the following: José Luis Pastor Pradillo, *El espacio profesional de la Educación Física en España*

13 This is in reference to Francisco Amorós, for more information, see: Rafael Fernández-Sirvent, "Aproximación a la obra educativa de un afrancesado: el coronel Francisco Amorós y Ondeano," *Pasado y memoria: Revista de historia contemporánea* 1 (2002): 167–182.

14 Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "Los batallones infantiles en la Educación Física española (1890–1931)," *Revista Observatorio del Deporte ODEP* 1, no. 1 (2015): 32–70.

15 María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *Currículum e identidad nacional: regeneracionismos, nacionalismos y escuela pública: (1890–1939)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

on, the number of sports associations dramatically increased across the country, the passions and hobbies of parents and adults influencing their children, and the expectations of both towards PE.

Any consideration of the background of the PE and sport movement in Spain leads us to make use of sports publications as a main source for studying the history and image of these activities in context. This topic has been studied previously in a number of works on the formation of sports associations and associations' publications which were often illustrated and had recognized literary and a certain typographical and visual value. Between 1869 and 1899, 25 cycling magazines were published[16] and, in Catalonia alone between 1880 and 1899, 14 sports magazines were published in addition to those dedicated exclusively to cycling.[17]

The impact of PE and sport in Spain can be seen in the multifaceted efforts and commitments that were made by professionals from a variety of fields. In large part, this was the result of a confluence of different factors promoted by political and financial elites (i.e., the politicians behind Spain's Bourbon Restoration and those with varying, though predominantly conservative, ideologies), doctors, jurists, and even priests and clergymen. But especially crucial was the work done by journalists, professors, teachers, and servicemen. Journalists quickly became the champions of the sport movement and industry, as can be seen in magazines such as *Los Deportes* (The Sports, 1897) and *Stadium* (1911), and the works of Narciso Masferrer Sala[18] and Ricard Cabot, respectively. Cabot, a disciple of Sir Robert Baden-Powell and his Souting movement, promoted sports as part of his vision for an open, modern Spain. *Stadium* would tout sport and related practices, and served as the mouthpiece for the scout movement in Barcelona. Specialized sports reports, articles, and advertisements gradually began to appear in niche publications and journals as well as in education and sports magazines. They even began to appear on the pages of the popular press during the first third of the twentieeth century.[19]

Appearing in 1907, the scout movement spread rapidly and was adapted in each country in which it took hold. The movement showed how the school system could be complemented by attracting children, adolescents, and young people in general to participate in physical activities that were, at that time, more associated with the bourgeois society that was gathering strength in countries undergoing

**16** Eugenio Izquierdo Macon and María Teresa Gómez Alonso, "Los orígenes del ciclismo en España: la expansión velocipédica de finales del siglo XIX," *Apunts* 1, no. 71 (2003): 6–13.

**17** Xavier Pujadas and Carles Santacana, *L'esport és noticia. Història de la premsa esportiva a Catalunya 1880–1992* (Barcelona: Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya, 1997).

**18** Fernando Arrechea Rivas, *España y los juegos Olímpicos* (Murcia: Universidad Católica de Murcia, 2017).

**19** Juan Antonio Simón Sanjurjo, "Conquistando a las masas: el impacto del deporte en la prensa española, 1900–1936" *Recorde: Revista do Historia do Esporte* 5, no. 1 (2012), https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/Recorde/article/view/709

industrial revolutions. In Spain, this consolidation took place between 1913 and 1931, with support from the monarchy, the army, and the political powers behind the Bourbon Restoration. Aided by Spain's Associations Law of 1906, the prevailing political system during this period pushed forward with its own education and association model. The change of the education paradigm and citizenship during the Second Spanish Republic affected the structure of the Spanish Scouts, and it became difficult for the group to adapt to the new social framework. Scouting in Spain expanded alongside the hiking movement, the systematization of physical education in schools, the popularization of physical activity, and the organization of sports.

As in the rest of the world, the development of physical activity, creation of national identities, civil and youth activism, and sport were key focal points in Spain after WWI, though they did have particular characteristics in the country. PE, gymnastics federations and organizations, and hiking associations saw greater actual development than in the social imaginary. The evolution of sport quickly became a mass movement in the 1920s. The pessimism of the Spanish Regenerationist movement coexisted with the boom in traditional sporting practices at the end of the nineteenth century, practices that were associated with the aristocracy, social elites, and the military (sailing, horse riding or shooting). These activities, however, did not hinder the foundation of new sports federations in Spain (pigeon keeping, 1884; cycling, 1885; gymnastics, 1895; shooting, 1900; sailing, 1900; and tennis, 1909). In Spain, the most intense period for the consolidation of sports groups took place between 1910 and 1930, most notably through football and cycling, the latter of which had occurred at the end of the previous century.[20] The boom in football and gymnastics coincided with the height of the scout movement.

In the spirit of the times, Olympism served as the main point of reference. Under the leadership of the Baron of Coubertin, the modern Olympic Games were founded in 1896. Although Spanish participation in the first Games was limited, the Spanish Olympic Committee (1905, 1912, and 1924) wished for Spain to be competitive in Olympic sports, despite the lamentable state of education, physical activity, and organized sport in general.[21] Our work focuses on the emergence of sports in Spain, a transformation that took place naturally alongside the formation of education and training organizations that, directly and indirectly, promoted the practice of sport, encouraged participation, and fostered competition and entertainment in a society plagued by illiteracy and hung up on traditions and religion.

**20** Fernando Arrechea Rivas, *España y los juegos*, 96.

**21** Fernando Arrechea Rivas, *España y los juegos*, 101.

## The Spanish Scouts 1913–1938

At its inception, the Spanish Scouts (whose statutes were approved on July 30, 1912) was a markedly conservative, monarchical, and militaristic group. At the turn of the century, Spain was afflicted by crises resulting from the loss of overseas colonies, the emergence of the Regenerationist movement, and the political instability left over from the nineteenth century. For Spanish scouting leaders, PE and sport became important parts of the solutions to these crises. To better understand how they construed PE and sport in their magazine *El Explorador*, we consider their professional and ideological backgrounds.

Appalled at the loss of Cuba, Teodoro Iradier, cavalry captain and driving force behind the scouts in Spain, blamed the poor conduct of the army for the debacle. He considered the soldiers to be in poor physical condition, rife with health and dietary issues, a result of their low social origin.[22] Since the creation of the Spanish Scouts, a large number of its leaders and instructors have been servicemen. In fact, in 1920, about 40 per cent of them had been or were in the military, and despite the pacifist movements that were taking hold in Europe, across Spain they promoted a kind of scouting that focused on preparation for military service.[23] Both militaristic vocabulary and activities were incorporated into the organization, which was described as excessively militaristic and removed from the original, less rigid, and more naturalistic idea behind the scouts.[24] The group also had a decidedly patriotic tone. For example, Iradier modified the international scout oath to include references to love for the motherland, a willingness to be useful to the country, and respect for its laws.

King Alfonso XIII supported the organization from its inception. He was not only the group's honorary president, but regularly attended various scout exhibitions and would often dress in the Spanish Scouts' uniform. The social acceptance and adaptability of the movement made it ripe for partisan use. In Spain, it was used to strengthen the image of the crown.[25] The scouts represented an opportunity to change the monarchy into a symbol that was loved by all Spaniards, while

**22** Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "Regeneracionismo e impacto de la crisis de 1898 en la educación física y el deporte español," *Arbor: Ciencia, pensamiento y cultura* 190, no. 769 (2014), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2014.769n5012 (accessed March 30, 2020).

**23** Javier Moreno Luzón, "'Seeds of Spain' Scouting, Monarchy and National Construction, 1921–1931," *European History Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (2020): 226–247.

**24** Antonio S. Almeida Aguiar, "Escultismo y educación física en Canarias (1912–1920)," *Vegueta: Anuario de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia* 8 (2004): 51–70.

**25** Javier Moreno Luzón, "Performing Monarchy and Spanich Nationalism (1902–1913)," in *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation'*, ed. Cathleen Sarti and Charlotte Backerra (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

reinforcing a national identity.[26] It also offered an excellent tool for physical control due to the characteristics of its hidden curriculum. Later, the government of Primo de Rivera,[27] himself a scout, received support from the organization. In turn, the government responded with ostentatious support for the Spanish Scouts. First from the King, and then from Primo de Rivera, this support was crucial for the group's success, especially in the face of other attempts to create scouting associations. In 1920, the Spanish Scouts were declared the only official organization of the state.[28] This meant that they would receive significant financial aid and their popularity would grow among the upper social classes. There were various reasons why the group was mostly appreciated among the upper classes and not in the more underprivileged and working classes. Most important are the following: the leaders and their interests were more in line with those of the middle and upper classes; the more affluent classes had greater interest in physical exercise; the working classes considered PE and sport to be bourgeois;[29] republicans, anarchists, and socialists rejected the group because of its bourgeois and militaristic nature;[30] and the difficulty many lower-class families had to purchase the scout uniform. The Spanish Scouts aimed to improve the physical well-being of young people via sport and PE, while channeling the frustrations of the burgeoning working class away from large-scale changes to the political system or socially accepted values. This channelling was especially clear with the popularization of mass sports and the introduction of professional sports in the 1920s.[31]

It is also worth noting that the majority, if not all, of the notable leaders of the Spanish Scouts held conservative Spanish values, maintained political outlooks that

**26** With regard to the creation of a national identity via sports, and specifically soccer, see: Francisco Javier Caspistegui and John K. Walton, eds., *Guerras danzadas. Fútbol e identidades locales y regionales en Europa* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2001).

**27** Primo de Rivera was a dictator that governed Spain from 1923 to 1930. See Eduardo González Calleja, *La España de Primo de Rivera. La modernización autoritaria* (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 2005); Alejando Quiroga, "Los apóstoles de la patria. El ejército como instrumento de nacionalización de masas durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 34, no.1 (2004): 243–272.

**28** Despite this, the Spanish Scouts were not the only scouting organization in Spain. There are many studies on the history of peripheral scout movements in Spain: Albert Balcells and Genís Samper, *L'escoltisme català (1911–1978)* (Barcanova, Barcelona, 1993); José Ignacio Cruz Orozco, *Escultismo, educación y tiempo libre* (Valencia, Institut Valencià de la Joventut, 1995); Mateu Cerdà, *Escoltisme a Mallorca (1907–1995)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999); Lorenzo Alonso Delgado, "Deporte, Ocio y Sociabilidad en las Islas Canarias Occidentales (1850–1936)," (PhD diss., Universitat Ramon Llull, 2015).

**29** Francisco de Luis Martín, *Historia del deporte obrero en España (De los orígenes al final de la guerra civil)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2019).

**30** Miguel Fernández Ubiría, *Fútbol y anarquismo* (Madrid: Catarata, 2020).

**31** Xavier Pujadas and Carles Santacana, "La mercantilización del ocio deportivo en España. El caso del fútbol, 1900–1928," *Historia Social* 41 (2001): 147–168.

favored a centralized state, administration, and culture, and were wary of peripheral nationalist movements such as those in Catalonia and the Basque Country. Thus, they introduced nationalistic symbols and practices into scouting rituals, similar to those seen in the military. In addition to having their own flags, each troop carried the Spanish flag. "*Viva España*" (Long live Spain) chants were common at scouting events and celebrations, and the Scouts' anthem was dedicated to the motherland.

In addition to these conservative viewpoints, we should note that the Spanish Regenerationism movement played a crucial role in the institutionalization of PE and sport in Spain. After the disaster of 1898 with the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico, an increased number of voices called for an improvement of the race,[32] based on health- and educaton-related proposals to undertake social, economic, and political reforms that would place Spain alongside other advanced Western nations. This improvement was, in part, to come from PE and sport, leading to not only improvements in physique but also in morale.

There was a struggle in the Spanish Scouts between those who wished to push forward a new model of Spain and those who wanted to improve the country's production, financial, and military capacities, without giving up certain cultural aspects such as the importance of religion, language, the role of women in society, a centralized political system, and the Spanish Hidalgo model as opposed to that of the English gentleman, or similarly, cultural conservatism. Teodoro Iradier himself was involved in one of these conflicts: as a result of attempting to maintain the religious neutrality of the Spanish Scouts, he was forced to resign his position as the group's secretary general in 1915. After his departure, the group became more Catholic, and the more conservative elements of the movement were strengthened.[33] This conservative and militaristic vision of scouting was harshly criticized by progressive thinkers and pedagogues such as the members of the Free Institution of Education. However, the political, social, and military power held by those in charge of the Spanish Scouts were able to dismiss criticisms and attempts to reform the group.

During the Second Spanish Republic, the organization was forced to make significant changes. All monarchical symbols and contributions from the state were to be removed. Despite this, the Spanish Scouts were able to survive through both this Republic and the Spanish Civil War. Franco himself put an end to the association.

**32** Improving the race was one of the greatest aspirations of Regenerationists. Since the end of the nineteenth century, there had been a belief in the Western world that humanity has entered a period of physical decline. During the first third of the twentieth century, after having lost their last colonies and suffered defeat in the Moroccan War (1921–1926), this feeling was especially intense in Spain, and promoting good hygiene and PE was seen as a way to restore the condition of the race.

**33** Pere Fullana Puigserver, "Els Boy-Scouts a Espanya (1913–1915): desconfiances i divisions a l'episcopat espanyol," *Educació i Historia: Revista d'Història de l'Educació* 34 (2019): 183–199.

## The Image of Sport and PE in *El Explorador* Magazine

In the context of the growing field of sports journalism and press,[34] the Spanish Scouts decided to edit their own magazine for sale. On July 1, 1913, eleven months after Madrid approved the statutes of the Spanish Scouts, the National Steering Committee published the first issue of the magazine *El Explorador. Revista Oficial de la Asociación Patriótica de los Exploradores de España* (The Scout. Official Magazine of the Patriotic Association of Spanish Scouts). In print until 1938, the magazine was the organization's official publication at the national level. The magazine was geared toward highlighting the National Steering Committee's orders and provisions, as well as publishing educational articles and stories on the main activities carried out by affiliates. In addition to covering the festivals, outings, and other events organized in Spain and abroad, the magazine aimed to reach all young people in Spain, not just those who were in the Spanish Scouts. The publication also reiterated provisions made by provincial committees and news about the scout movement around the world. While provincial committees would soon publish their own magazines, *El Explorador* would draw the lines and shape the discussions concerning scouting in Spain.

In its first issues, the magazine stated that the purpose of the publication was to serve as an example for Spanish youth, whether or not they were part of the scouting movement. Subsequently, it was scheduled to be a biweekly publication, although this would not be achieved for the entirety its 25 years in print. Occasionally, it was published monthly, and sometimes two issues appeared in a single publication with double the page count.

The Spanish Scouts reached a high level of popularity, as can be seen in the fact that their name was used to advertise candies and even anise liquor, or in the forgery of their uniforms to commit fraud.[35] Their interest in physical activities, frequent public festivals and exhibitions, and parades and marches, in addition to the support they received from local and national authorities, helped to popularize PE and sport. It should be noted that as members of an international movement, the Spanish Scouts had contact with European initiatives and developments that would later be implemented in Spain with differing levels of success. Nonetheless, the

**34** Jorge Uría, "Los deportes de masas en los años veinte. Fútbol, élites simbólicas e imágenes de modernidad en España," in *La réception des cultures de masse et des cultures populaires en Espagne (XVIIIe XXe siècle)*, ed. Serge Salaün and Françoise Étienvre (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2009), http://crec-paris3.fr/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/actes-08-Uria.pdf (accessed April 8, 2013); Xavier Motilla Salas and Llorenç Gelabert Gual, "Fotoperiodisme, revistes il·lustrades i educació a Mallorca (1917–1936)," in *Imatges de l'escola, imatges de l'educació: Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació*, ed. Francisca Comas Rubí, *et al.* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014).

**35** Moreno Luzón, "'Seeds of Spain' Scouting."

organization often deviated from international trends which, after the Great War, were largely focused on pacifism; instead, the Spanish Scouts encouraged the practice of sport as a kind of preparation for military service, specifically sports with militaristic applications, such as soccer and Swedish gymnastics.

*El Explorador* magazine played a significant role in popularizing sport, reporting on sporting events and championships, and publishing numerous photos of sports and related matters. Among those sports that were photographed for the magazine were Swedish gymnastics, pole vault, high jump, track racing, swimming, racewalking, wrestling, boxing, self-defense, archery, soccer, motorcycling, tennis, horse racing, discus and javelin throw, weightlifting, cycling, athletics, shooting, fencing, and even aviation. In some instances, there are photos of winning horses belonging to the nobility, such as the horse of the Duke of Toledo, or photos of servicemen participating in a contest, such as the image of captain of the Royal Escort, Don Celedonio Febrel. Other photos show events, contests, and matches that were not organized by the Scouts. Taking all of this into consideration, we conclude that the presence of military-related sport was extensive, and further, that in addition to being a mouthpiece for a youth organization, *El Explorador* was used, at least to some extent, to grandstand the upper class that ran the Spanish Scouts.

Sport photography had more presence in the publication between 1913 and 1922, but it greatly waned by the 1930s. It is possible that the attempts of Juan Antonio Dimas[36] to introduce scouting practices more in line with international norms affected the presence of sport photography. In any event, the decreasing presence of such imagery has led us to focus our analysis on the period between 1913 and 1930, before the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic.

The selection of photographs that appear in this chapter was made by taking into account three aspects. Firstly, we have selected the most photographed sports: football and Swedish gymnastics. Secondly, among photographs of these two sports we have selected those that are representative of their category and also demonstrate the traditionalist ideas and values of the Spanish Scout leaders. Finally, taking into account that what is shown is just as important as what is not, we have incorporated the only photos of women who appear practicing sports in *El Explorador*. The absence of the feminine in sport is another example of the conservative nature of the magazine's editors.

López Lacárcel found that the magazine had a decidedly propagandistic nature regarding PE since its foundation.[37] The advantages of spreading the practice of sport and gymnastics in the country included: it would improve the physical conditioning of future recruits, improve the productivity of the country, and standardize

**36** Moreno Luzón, "'Seeds of Spain' Scouting.".

**37** José María López Lacárcel, *Historia de scouts en España. Así fuimos, así somos. Exploradores de España* (Madrid: ASDE, 2003).

ideas regarding the concept of the motherland and the monarchy. However, the magazine did not offer a singular discourse. While some leading members of the Scouts admired what was happening in Europe, others insisted on preserving Spanish idiosyncrasies against foreign influence. The need to promote PE to regenerate the Spanish race and the country was an idea accepted by everyone: the disputes arose over how to do it. There were three differing approaches. One was more in line with Baden-Powell's vision of PE, another wished to dedicate more space to sports as a way to keep young people's interest, and a third contingent rejected popular sports that they considered foreign. In the magazine, we see how these different opinions about PE and sport were mixed together, depending largely on perceptions about the country. The photographs that appear in *El Explorador* articles reflect these issues.

Soccer is one of the sports most often depicted in *El Explorador*, and related photographs provide us with insights into the interest that leaders of the Spanish Scouts had in promoting its practice. Fig. 6.1 shows a soccer team made up of Spanish Scouts from Sant Feliu de Llobregat (Barcelona). This kind of photograph focused on scouts who play soccer in order to stimulate and encourage the creation of teams, and consequently bring this practice into the organization. However, there are a large number of photographs that show matches being played by teams not associated with the Spanish Scouts, such as Irún, Barcelona, Atlético de Madrid, Racing, and Real Gimnástica. Fig. 6.2 shows a match being played for the Prince of Asturias Cup (organized by the *Real Federación Española de Futbo*l),[38] between one team comprised of members from Catalan teams and another (Centro) comprised of members from teams from the central region of Spain. First, it is important to note that the inclusion of photographs of non-scout matches reflects the popularity that soccer was attaining: a popularity that would reach a high point when the Spanish national team won the silver medal in the 1920 Olympics in Antwerp. Both Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 date to 1917, when soccer, though spreading rapidly, was predominately an amateur sport in Spain.[39] By publishing photographs of a sport popular among all social groups, and including matches not just between scouts but between non-scouts as well, the editors of *El Explorador* attempted to boost the popularity of the Scout movement, and with it, their numbers.

The large number and different kinds of photos promoting soccer led us to question the underlying motivation of Spanish scouting leaders. On the one hand, soccer

**38** The trophy was instituted at the beginning of the 1914/15 season by the National Committee of the Royal Spanish Football Federation in honor of the then Prince of Asturias. Xavier Torrebadella-Flix, "El nacimiento del fútbol en España: ¿Cómo se entrenaba y cómo se jugaba? 1ª parte (1800–1920)." *Recorde: Revista de História do Esporte* 13, no.1 (2020): 1–28.

**39** Miguel Ángel Álvarez Areces, "Fútbol y revolución industrial, fabricando una pasión," *Abaco* 76–77 (2013): 47–60.

**Primer «team» de «foot-ball» del Club Exploradores de San Feliú de Llobregat.**

aspiraciones y anhelos de poseer una pelota y equipo total, formado por «gerseys» de color blanco y rojo con la estrella de «boy».

Es evidente que la pelota, juntamente con el equipo, característica del club formado bajo el título Club Exploradores, no forma un club propiamente dicho, sino que falta completarlo; es decir, para que forme un club completo es necesario poseer en buenas condiciones un campo en donde poder ensayar este juego, jugar con equipos forasteros y vigorizar nuestro cuerpo, adquiriendo energía, valor, fuerza, y robusteciendo, por lo tanto, nuestra salud, objetivo principal de esta Asociación, considerada como «sport».

Pronto la ocasión se nos mostró favorable, inaugurando nuestro Club en Esplugas de Llobregat, en donde dió señales de verdadera vida y apogeo, midiendo nuestras fuerzas, aun no ensayadas, con el primer «team» de aquella población, ayudado con algún elemento del España, que, queriendo dejarnos á cero, quedamos siete á tres á favor de los locales, sobresaliendo en ellos Passus, Ponsá y Santamans, y en los exploradores, Marcial Vergés, que entró dos «goals»; Joaquín Ríus, que entró uno; el delantero Bernardo Ríus, y el defensa Malaspina, como el portero Terrat.

**Luis RIUS POLL,**

*Instructor de la Tropa.*

**Castro Urdiales.**

El miércoles 25 de Julio se celebraron las carreras de bicicletas Campeonato de Castro Urdiales, organizadas por el Fomento de Castro.

Toda la carrera estuvo cubierta por la tropa de exploradores, que establecieron sus puestos de socorro y señales en las vueltas, sin que, por fortuna, y gracias á todas estas medidas, ocurriese accidente alguno desagradable.

El Fomento ha hecho presente su agradecimiento á la tropa, tanto por esto como por toda la ayuda que están prestando los muchachos en todas las fiestas y actos que celebran este verano.

R. S.

## EN GENERAL

### Foot-ball

**Madrid.**

El domingo 2 de este mes contendieron en el campo del Madrid F. C. el Sporting Club y el Madrid F. C.

*

Por haber disuelto la sección de «foot-ball» la R. S. G. E., los partidos del próximo Campeonato se jugarán en las siguientes fechas:

Primera vuelta: 28 Octubre, Athlétic-Stadium; 4 Noviembre, Racing-Athlétic; 11 Noviembre, Madrid-Stadium; 18 Noviembre, Stadium-Racing; 25 Noviembre, Athlétic-Madrid; 2 Diciembre, Madrid-Racing.

Segunda vuelta: 13 Enero, Stadium-Athlétic; 27 Enero, Athlétic-Racing; 3 Febrero, Stadium-Madrid; 10 Febrero, Racing-Stadium; 24 Febrero, Madrid-Athlétic, y 3 Marzo, Racing-Madrid.

Fuera de Campeonato se jugarán los siguientes partidos:

El día 30 de Septiembre: Beneficio de la Asociación de la Prensa.

El 7 de Octubre: Entrenamiento de la selección que ha de ir á Barcelona.

El 14 de Octubre: Partido en Barcelona entre nuestra selección y la catalana.

El 21 de Octubre: Athlétic de Bilbao contra Athlétic de Madrid. (A beneficio del público.)

El 30 de Diciembre: Partido en Madrid entre las selecciones Catalana y Centro.

**Barcelona.**

Para la renovación de cargos celebró junta el Colegio oficial de Arbitros de Cataluña.

La Junta quedó constituída en la siguiente forma: Presidente, Brú; secretario, Femenas; tesorero, Gimeno, y vocales, Pozo y Pons.

*

Para disputarse la copa Español contendieron los equipos Alfonso XIII, de Palma de Mallorca, y Tarrasa.

Salió vencedor el Tarrasa por dos á cero.

*

El domingo 5 del pasado mes de Agosto se celebró un partido en el que los equipos del Internacional y el Tarrasa se disputaban la copa *Día Gráfico*.

El partido terminó con la victoria del Tarrasa.

*

El Internacional, con motivo de la fiesta de Sans, concertó un partido con el Español.

Ganó el Español, por tres «goals» á uno.

*

**Fig. 6.1:** *El Explorador* 60, September 1917. Municipal Newspaper Archive of Madrid (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

12 EL EXPLORADOR

Vuelve el Arenas al ataque; pero nuestro equipo, no sólo defiende, sino que avanza con ímpetu arrollador.

Terminado el tiempo reglamentario se acuerda una prolongación de veinte minutos, con cambio de campo cada diez.

Por instantes va haciéndose cada vez más patente el dominio de nuestros paisanos, notándose agotamiento en todos los jugadores.

Se prorroga otra vez el partido; y cuando faltaban cinco minutos para acabar, Alvarez, que ha ido á la línea de delanteros, entra la pelota en la red, después de un centro maravilloso de Sotero.

Brú toca el final, y los equipos son despedidos en medio de estruendosas ovaciones.

El árbitro, imparcial.

Los que mejor jugaron en nuestro equipo fueron Machín, René, Alvarez, Múgica y Teus. De los contrarios, Jáuregui, Vallana, Suárez y Chacho.

Entre los infinitos telegramas que el Madrid ha recibido con motivo de su glorioso triunfo figura uno muy significativo de los socios del Deportivo, de Portugalete, y otro del de San Sebastián.

## Pedestrismo

El domingo 22 de Abril corrióse la segunda prueba de «Legua española» para el campeonato de Madrid; esta vez la ha organizado el Club Deportivo Ferroviario.

El recorrido era saliendo del principio de la calle del Marqués de Monistrol seguir las tapias de la Casa de Campo hasta un poco más allá de la línea del ferrocarril.

El recorrido era todo llano y el suelo estaba en muy buenas condiciones.

Tanto la salida como la entrada fueron presenciadas por un numeroso público, en su totalidad de la populosa barriada del puente Segovia.

La inscripción batió el «record» madrileño con 88, de los cuales salieron 68, clasificándose 66 y retiráronse dos.

La clasificación fué la siguiente:

1.º Emilio González.
2.º F. Morales.
3.º J. Encinas.
4.º L. Vejasco.
5.º E. Martínez.
6.º L. R. Urbano (E. de E.)
7.º J. U. Zarandieta.
8.º M. Alzamora.
9.º Carpintero.
10. Práxedes.
11. Cruz Martín.
12. E. Alzamora.
13. M. Sánchez (E. de E.)
14. D. Sánchez.
15. S. García.

La carrera, muy bien organizada por el C. D. F., que con el trabajo de sus directores y socios pronto será un Club de los pri-

Copa del Príncipe de Asturias.—Equipos de selección Centro y Cataluña. — Un momento de peligro.

(Fot Torres.)

**Fig. 6.2:** *El Explorador* 56, May 1917. Municipal Newspaper Archive of Madrid (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

del suplemento al mismo del 28 de noviembre que inserta el discurso de Su Santidad a los 15.000 Exploradores que recibió en audiencia el 6 de septiembre, y del opúsculo «LOS EXPLORADORES DE ESPAÑA».

Mucho me ha complacido la acogida que han dispensado y la difusión que procuran al discurso bellísimo del Santo Padre. Y más aún los manifestaciones que se contienen en su atenta carta de afirmación de profunda fe cristiana y de carácter esencialmente religioso de esa benemérita Institución.

Hubo, efectivamente, prejuicios y recelos en un principio al introducirse en España la Obra de los Exploradores. Pero hace tiempo que no tengo noticia alguna de que haya quien la combata.

Por mi parte puede contar con que le he de prestar mi apoyo por razón de la finalidad que se propone, cual es una educación moral, social y patriótica de los jóvenes y la formaciou del carácter, para lo cual es la base religiosa el más adecuado fundamento.

Se ofrece a Vd. atto. s. s. y amigo, y a Vd., a los Instructores y a todos los Exploradores de España bendice afectuosamente.—Firmado, *Cardenal Reig.*»

En análogo sentido escriben a nuestro Presidente General los Emmos. y Excmos. Sres. Nuncio de Su Santidad, Arzobispo de Tarragona, Arzobispo de Zaragoza, Arzobispo de Valladolid, etc., etc., etc.

## Muestrario Pedagógico

III

En Castellón los equipos *foot-ballistas* «Castellón» y «Valencia» no terminaron el encuentro a causa de la invasión del campo por el público. Como nota interesante y extraña, *A B C* del 26 de enero dice: «No hubo palos»

⁂

En Pontevedra el «Unión Sporting» de Vigo venció al «Athletic» de Pontevedra. «El árbitro intentó expulsar al jugador Rey, siendo insultado por éste, por lo que el árbitro le abofeteó en pleno campo». Así lo dice *Informaciones* del 25 de enero último.

⁂

*A B C* del 24 del mismo mes refiriéndose al partido de campeonato jugado en Barcelona entre los clubs «Barcelona» y «Español» dice:

«Las autoridades han adoptado algunas precauciones y el gobernador civil ha facilitado esta noche un bando, en el que dice que los gritos y denuestos contra los que formen los equipos en este partido, y en los sucesivos, y contra los pueblos que representen los mismos, serán corregidos con multas, cuya cuantía se determinará según las circunstancias que concurran. Asimismo se castigarán con multas las faltas de respeto al árbitro, y serán detenidos todos los que arrojen piedras o cualquier objeto al campo durante los partidos.

La Federación Catalana de Clubs de Futbol y la Directiva del Club Español, en cuyo campo se juega el partido, han publicado también notas en la Prensa, haciendo un llamamiento a la deportividad, para que no se produzcan incidentes y la lucha se desarrolle en el terreno de nobleza que es de desear.»

A propósito de esto nos escribe un lector manifestándonos su propósito de pedir a las autoridades se permita el uso de armaduras de la Edad Media para asistir a los partidos.

⁂

*A B C* de 27 de diciembre, en telegrama de Barcelona relativo a los equipos «Español» y «Barcelona» decía que «a pesar de tratarse de un «match» *amistoso*, unos y otros desarrollaron un juego muy violento, resultando algunos jugadores lesionados». Los jugadores Bordoy y Olariaga se propinaron tal encontronazo que «el primero tuvo que ser retirado con conmoción cerebral» y el segundo resultó lesionado en una rodilla. Después «el juego adquirió una inusitada dureza, siendo víctima Trabal de un encontronazo tan tremendo, que hubo de retirarse

MOLIÉNDOSE A COCES

Fot. publicada en *A B C* del 26 de Enero, con el epígrafe *Foot-ball que no lo parece*

del campo. Poco después Velltoldrá recibió por su parte otra carga y quedó lesionado, retirándose igualmente».

Los últimos momentos del partido, en el que la violencia por ambas partes era tremenda, repercutieron en el público en donde los incidentes menudearon.»

Sabiendo que los jugadores eran 22 y las bajas declaradas 4, la proporción, casi de un 20 por 100, resulta superior a la de cualquier gran batalla de la Guerra Europea.

⁂

*Informaciones* del 8 del actual, hablando del partido entre el «Real Madrid» y el «Unión Sporting», censura al árbitro no haber expulsado del terreno de juego a Isidro, cuando éste respondió a una zancadilla de Del Campo con una patada «bien encajada» y un «crochetazo» al aire. Si no estamos equivocados, «crochetazo» quiere decir puñetazo dirigido a la mandíbula.

**Fig. 6.3:** *El Explorador* 203, February 1926. Municipal Newspaper Archive of Madrid (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

was of great interest to the military.[40] Players had to be physically strong, technically skilled, able to make decisions quickly depending on the development of the game, and able to play on a team following the orders of the coach. We could add to this the warlike symbolism of having two teams facing off and fighting for victory. On the other hand, soccer played an important role in building national identities. In this vein, it is important to note the implicit message in Fig. 6.2: the publication of a photograph showing a Prince of Asturias Cup match between Catalonia and Centro. While the photo modernizes the image of the monarchy via sport, it also reaffirms royal power over all Spanish territories, even those with their own nationalist social movements, i.e., Catalonia. Furthermore, soccer began to emerge as a passion in which the audience could express their emotions in such a way that frustration with situations of poverty and inequality could be channeled and neutralized in stadiums. Thus, soccer served both as pre-military training and as a tool for social control. We believe that these reasons explain the presence of a large number of soccer images in the magazine, contrary to the international scouting trend of putting a greater emphasis on the practice of sport in nature.

Nevertheless, not all Spanish Scout leaders shared the same ideas about the benefits of soccer. In the magazine, there are some writers who denounced the sport, considering it to be unconnected to Spanish traditions, out of line with the national character, and responsible for popularizing foreign jargon. Additionally, in certain instances soccer was claimed to be the cause of serious injuries, and its health benefits were refuted. This attitude is reflected in Fig. 6.3: one player attacking another. The rejection of soccer by certain members of the association went beyond injuries and health. We believe that some photographs (such as Fig. 6.3) conceal decidedly conservative political motives. The following is a fragment from *El Explorador* that hints at this dismissal of soccer:

> Ya sé que perteneces al *team* de los rojos como *centromedio* y que más de una vez has logrado algún magnífico *goal* después de un *penalti* bien dirigido [. . .]
>
> Pero, antes de continuar, díme: ¿No te parece muy divertido esto de no hablar en cristiano? No hace mucho tiempo he leído en un periódico que alguien ofrece un importante premio al cronista de deportes que durante un año no incurra en anglicismos, galicismos y demás barbarismos que convierten nuestro hermoso idioma en un galimatías que ni el diablo entiende.
>
> [I know that you play for the reds' *team* as *midfielder* and that more than once you have scored a spectacular *goal* after a well-called *penalty* [. . .] But before going on, tell me, do you find it fun, this not speaking Christian? Not long ago I read in an article that someone was offering a

**40** Xavier Torrebadella Flix and Javier Olivera Beltrán, "Institucionalización del fútbol en el ejército español (1919–1920). Orígenes del patrioterismo futbolístico nacional," *El Futuro del Pasado* 7 (2016): 497–532.

prize to the sports journalist that could go a full year without using any Anglicisms, Gallicisms, or any other barbarism that turns our beautiful language into gibberish that not even the devil could understand.][41]

The identification made between the Spanish language and Christianity is an attempt to affirm the national identity through language and religion. The text and images in *El Explorador*, in their historical context, provide us with a vision of sport at a social level, not as a phenomenon isolated from the realities of the day, but instead as a melting pot in which all the desires and feelings of the different sectors of society mixed.


**Fig. 6.4:** *El Explorador*, January 15, 1914. Municipal Newspaper Archive of Madrid (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

Swedish gymnastics is another of the most represented physical activities in *El Explorador*. Its health benefits, positive effects on the respiratory system, and ability to create a well-developed body were well-known and accepted by health specialists and doctors of the day. Thus, it fits perfectly with the objectives of the Spanish Regenerationists in the Scouts and, by accustomizing young people to obey a commanding

**41** Dr. Shamid, "Juguemos al 'foot-ball'," *El Explorador* 40, February 1920. Note the emphasis placed on Anglicisms in the Spanish text. The debate on the benefits and detriments of including foreign jargon was a recurring topic in political, intellectual, and journalism circles. For more information, see Xavier Torrebadella Flix and Antoni Nomdedeu-Rull, "Foot-ball, futbol, balompié . . . Los inicios de la adaptación del vocabulario deportivo de origen anglosajón," *RICYDE. Revista internacional de ciencias del deporte* 30, no. 9 (2013): 5–22.

voice, those of the military.[42] Though the magazine itself recommended that men practice Swedish gymnastics wearing short pants or briefs and simple canvas sandals[43] both in the summer and winter, Fig. 6.4 is representative of the majority of photographs that appear in *El Explorador*. The formation of rows is typical in Swedish gymnastics, although the uniforms lend the images a militaristic tone. This represents another way in which the organization showed its patriotic nature and the intention of its leaders to have the group serve as preparation for the military.

The Spanish Scouts did not have a women's section until 1934, under the Republican government. However, the group's international contacts kept them aware of the emerging presence of female sports.

*El Explorador* is a magazine that was written, published, and edited by men. Sportswomen were practically non-existent in its pages. However, from 1913 to 1936, women slowly began acquiring visibility and playing greater roles in the world of sport; similarly, their presence in Spanish sports journalism grew.[44] One of the first publications in show photographs of sportswomen was *Stadium*, a graphic sports magazine published in Barcelona and the mouthpiece in Catalonia for the Spanish Scouts.[45]

In October and December of 1913 (Fig. 6.5), the magazine published two articles with images of "señoritas" (from Denmark, Belgium, Italy, and France) doing gymnastics, push-ups, arm exercises, using weights and gym bars, and supporting themselves on Swedish benches. They were taken from performances at the 1913 International Conference on Physical Education in Paris. The Conference held debate sessions at the Faculty of Medicine at the Sorbonne. The women performed in a closed arena – the *Velodrome d'Hivern* with a capacity of 15,000 – in one of the Conference's main acts. The Spanish delegation (one of 31 that attended the Conference) included physician Joaquín Decref y Ruiz, who was sponsored by the Committee for the Advancement of Scientific Research and Studies (*Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*; JAE), and Augusto Condo.[46] That same year, both Decref and Condo published works on the Conference and promoted the event in circles that were especially

**42** Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "La bibliografía gimnástica y deportiva de la educación física en el ejército español (1808–1919): textos en contexto social," *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 5, no. 9 (2016): 172–192.

**43** Carlos A. Esteban, "La gimnasia sueca. Algunas consideraciones sobre su práctica," *El Explorador*, December, 1917.

**44** Itziar de Ozámiz Lestón, *Representación de las mujeres deportistas en la prensa deportiva española (1893–1923)* (PhD diss., Universidade da Coruña, 2017).

**45** Pere Fullana Puigserver, "El feminismo oculto entre el músculo y la vida social: los inicios del deporte femenino en España (1911–1915)," *Journal of Sports and Health Research* 12, suppl. 2 (2020): 145–158.

**46** Xavier Torrebadella, "La educación física comparada en España (1806–1936)," *Historia Social y de la Educación* 4, no. 1 (2014): 25–53.


EL EXPLORADOR

Cogreso internacional de Educación Física en París

Dinamarquesas. Movimiento de orden. Una alineación.

Flexión del tronco adelante.

Gimnasia helénica. Danza gimnástica por obreras de la Sociedad «Fémina Sport».

Ejercicio de suspensión sobre la bomme.

Flexión del tronco atrás; manos á los hombros. Apoyo natural.

Brazos en cruz.

**Fig. 6.5:** *El Explorador*, December 13, 1913. Municipal Newspaper Archive of Madrid (Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid).

receptive to discussions on PE (both masculine and feminine).[47] The Conference had different sections including one called "the women's group;" led by Mrs. Georges Coulon, that was experimenting with the globalization of fitness culture and an initial outreach to women. The repercussions of this foray were felt in the social imaginaries directly, and indirectly linked to new forms of training and civic education.

*El Explorador*, and thus the backers and coordinators of the Spanish Scouts, recognized that women were knocking on the conceptual door of the Scouts, as illustrated by these two articles. They likely published the articles for two reasons. First, because the issue was on the docket at the International Conference on Physical Education in Paris; second, because women's PE appeared as an alternative to a more rigid, muscular, militaristic education. Doctor Joaquín Decref Ruiz, as Spanish representative at the Conference, participated in discussions on women, PE and the medical effects of gymnastics, wherein he supported Swedish gymnastics.[48] It is highly likely that, by that time, he was already involved with the Spanish Scouts. Throughout the 1920s, he actually served as the organization's General Commissioner. However, his support for women's PE did not turn into any real movement toward establishing a female branch of scouts in Spain. At that time, traditional gender roles were too entrenched in Spanish conservatism. The scarcity of photographs showing female sport in the Scouts' official magazine indicates the lack of interest in modernizing the situation of Spanish women.

The representation of women and sport is summed up in the two aforementioned articles, which report on an event that took place outside of Spain. While troops insisted on playing the Spanish Hidalgo role and treating women like their mothers or sisters, a small gender revolution was sweeping the globe. The suppression of this phenomenon in the magazine is yet another example of the association's traditional point of view.

## Conclusions

The many articles dedicated to PE and sport, the repeated presence of a section dedicated to sports, and the large number of photographs covering related matters shows that the Spanish Scouts, as an organization, had significant interest in promoting PE and sport. We should note that this interest came at a time when concern for both

**47** Joaquin Decref Ruiz, *Congreso de educación física de París*, (Madrid, 1913); Augusto Condo, *Congreso Internacional de Educación Física: celebrado en París en marzo de 1913*. (Madrid: Imp. y Enc. de Valentín Tordesillas, 1913).

**48** Xavier Torrebadella Flix, "La influencia de la profesión médica en la educación física española del siglo XIX y principios del XX: Análisis social del manual popular de gimnasia de sala médica e higiénica del Dr. Schreber," *Cultura, Ciencia y Deporte* 9, no. 26 (2014): 162–176.

early childhood and adolescent care was increasing, and when there was growing interest in Spain to regenerate the race, overcome the crisis of 1898, and get closer to a seemingly ever-more distant Europe. Nevertheless, a careful consideration of photographs and their accompanying texts, and a knowledge of the sociopolitical beliefs of the leaders of the Spanish Scouts, has allowed us to shed light on how their politically biased standpoint influenced *El Explorador* magazine, and the image of PE and sport. To influence the image of PE and sport, those responsible for the magazine put images into circulation mediated by their traditionalist worldview. This circulation of photographs was aimed at shaping opinions and building a certain type of national identity.

We have seen that most of the photos in *El Explorador* show that sport could have militaristic applications. They also serve to bring up contentious issues such as adopting foreign vocabulary and customs, and underrepresenting women's sports. Ultimately, we have shown how the efforts of the leading class of politicians, servicemen, and powerful, wealthy landowners to modernize the country and become more European were present in the sports texts and photographs of *El Explorador*; as well as how these efforts were at odds with some of their long established beliefs, leaving them fearful of losing touch with one of the ways they understood the country with which they identified.

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Stefanie Kesteloot

# Chapter 7
# Mediating the Right to Education: An Analysis of UNESCO's *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* and Its Global Dissemination in 1951

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new era. The discovery of war atrocities accelerated a worldwide search for an answer to protect human dignity for all. The United Nations, founded in 1945 to unite the world, appointed a small group of experts to explore the questions: "What are human beings and what are they entitled to?"[1] Based on their findings, the Commission on Human Rights drafted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that was adopted and signed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948.[2] By signing this declaration, the member states of the United Nations also pledged to promote the universal values codified in the document through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

UNESCO was established in 1945 with the specific task to propagate peace and security, as mandated in its constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men and women, it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace must be constructed."[3] UNESCO's first Director General, Julian S. Huxley, an English biologist, defined the organization's philosophy as a "scientific world humanism, global in extent and evolutionary in background."[4] Some of UNESCO's campaigns focused on informing and educating people about the scope and meaning of the UDHR through books, the press, radio, films, exhibitions, and teaching in schools.[5] It

**1** Walter Kälin, "What Are Human Rights?," in *The Face of Human Rights,* ed. Walter Kälin, Lars Müller, and Judith Wyttenbach (Baden: Lars Müller, 2004), 14; Mark Goodale, "Introduction," in *Letters to the Contrary* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), 4–5.

**2** M. Glen Johnson, "A Magna Charta for Mankind: Writing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," in *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A History of Its Creation and Implementation, 1948–1998*, ed. M. Glen Johnson and Janusz Symonides (Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1998), 19–76.

**3** Poul Duedahl, "Introduction: Out of the House: On the Global History of UNESCO, 1945–2015," in *The History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts,* ed. Poul Duedahl (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 3; "UNESCO Constitution," UNESCO, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed June 3, 2020).

**4** Poul Duedahl, "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945–1976," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 1 (March 2011): 104.

**5** M. Jaime Torres Bodet, "UNESCO Joins in United Nations' Efforts to Make Human Rights Declaration a Living Reality," *UNESCO Courier* 4, no. 12 (December 1951): 3.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110696905-008

was believed that knowledge and awareness of one's own and other people's rights would lead to the establishment of a secure and peaceful world.

Less than a year after the adoption of the UDHR, the *Human Rights Exhibition*, a large-scale international exhibition at the Musée Galliera in Paris, opened in September 1949. The exposition coincided with UNESCO's fourth General Conference in Paris and was open to visitors until December 1949. It was one of the first visualizations of its kind, aiming to "show the men to whom we owe, in all parts of the world, the Human Rights that are today our most treasured possession – from Sophocles to Lincoln and from Confucius to Lamennais."[6] In a quest to extend its campaign on the dissemination of the UDHR globally, the Paris exhibition was turned into a travel album, the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* (1950).[7] The latter had a similar composition to the Paris exhibition in order to reproduce the exhibition's message worldwide.[8] This portable version was distributed globally to UNESCO's member states, with the goal of educating adults and children worldwide about the rights and duties enshrined in the UDHR.[9] Both creations, as the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*, were first attempts to visualize the organization's utopian ideal and its approach to global problems.[10]

Another, better known photographic exhibition of this kind was Edward Steichen's traveling exhibition *The Family of Man*, originally conceived for the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York in 1955. Linking photography and universal human values, the exhibition aimed to illustrate the "essential oneness of mankind throughout the world."[11] Featuring approximately 500 images, it sought to appeal

**6** "Human Rights: Unesco Exhibition in Paris," *UNESCO Courier* 11, no. 8 (September 1949): 9.

**7** UNESCO documents (such as correspondence, publications, meeting notes, and reports) used different terms for the same object – for example, the Human Rights Travel Album or the Human Rights Travel Exhibition Album, etc. For the sake of consistency, I will here use the term *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*, which was also used in the album manual.

**8** "Letter to the minister from Jaime Torres Bodet," CL/316, MC/53, UNESCO Archives, Paris, France [hereafter referred to as UNESCO Archives]; "Visualizing Universalism: The UNESCO Human Rights Exhibition 1949–1953," The Human Rights Exhibition Project, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/521fa71ae4b01a7978566e1e/t/570fd84240261d1195924e33/1460656201979/Universalism_pamphlet.pdf (accessed June 6, 2019).

**9** "UNESCO Exhibition-Album to Show Man's Unending Fight to Gain His Rights," *UNESCO Courier* 3, no. 11 (December 1950): 6–7.

**10** Tom Allbeson, "Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World: UNESCO and the Conception of Photography as a Universal Language, 1946–56," *Modern Intellectual History* 12, no. 2 (August 2015): 1–33, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479244314000316.

**11** Edward Steichen, "Introduction," in *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 4; see also Ariella Azoulay, "The Family of Man: A Visual Universal Declaration of Human Rights," in *The Human Snapshot*, ed. Thomas Keenan and Tirdad Zolghadr (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), 19–48. The essay can also be found online at: http://f.cl.ly/items/2P200a1R0F3j461V1Q0x/FOM_Azoulay_Snapshot.pdf.

to viewers by showing commonalities in life events such as birth, death, marriage, and education, as well as issues such as hunger, basic needs, etc. The exhibition's design and overarching mission were thought to be more important than highlighting the artistic quality of individual pictures.[12] *The Family of Man* toured the globe for eight years and was shown to diverse audiences and, in different exhibition "spaces, temporarily destined for mass audiences integrating 'official culture' into 'popular culture.'"[13] According to Karin Priem and Geert Thyssen, image-text constellations such as *The Family of Man* exhibition may, at first glance, appear to convey fixed messages, but their meaning and significance were subject to change as they moved between and across different spaces.[14]

In this chapter, I will discuss the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*. First, I will look at the general composition of the album. Then, I will give a more detailed description of the album and focus on a selected number of panels on the right to education, whose promotion was (and still is) one of the core tasks of the organization. Following this, I will analyze some of its images and their relationship with the corresponding texts and captions. Finally, I will draw on photographs found in the UNESCO Archives in Paris (France) to discuss how the album has been received by different countries and mounted within different exhibition areas. Using correspondence discovered in the same archive, I was, moreover, able to find out how some of these countries responded to the album as an attempt at expressing the UDHR and its universal philosophy. A summary of their comments will serve to identify future research questions.

## The UNESCO *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* (1950)

The purpose of the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* was to show the efforts and contributions made by all peoples, nations, and civilizations to the UDHR, mostly emphasizing the historical aspects of this struggle.[15] According to UNESCO's own description, it depicted "the stages along the road leading from the cave-man . . . to the free citizen

**12** Karin Priem and Geert Thyssen, "Puppets on a String in a Theatre of Display? Interactions of Image, Text, Material, Space and Motion in *The Family of Man* (ca. 1950s–1960s)," *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 6 (2013): 828–845, https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2013.8469258.

**13** Priem and Thyssen, "Puppets on a String," 832.

**14** Priem and Thyssen, "Puppets on a String." See also Thierry Gervais, "Introduction," in *The "Public" Life of Photographs*, ed. Thierry Gervais (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 1–13. Relying on the work of scholars such as Roland Barthes, Thy Phu, Matthew Brower, and Olivier Lugon, Gervais argues that the visual message of a photograph is also shaped by the ways in which it is presented to the viewer.

**15** "Human Rights Album," MCS/Memo/28, January 27, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

of a modern democracy" and concluded with a presentation of human rights and related illustrations.[16] By circulating through different spaces and places, and creating connections between and among governing bodies and communities, the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* was meant to spread a universal message around the world.[17] As a compilation of UNESCO's perspective on human rights, the album was intended to be publicly displayed and accessible to all, regardless of nation, language, or literacy level.[18] Nearly 12,000 copies of the album were made and distributed globally: 6,700 English and 3,500 French copies were sent out immediately in 1951, while the distribution of 1,122 Spanish copies was delayed as a result of UNESCO's other activities.[19] Several member states, national commissions, UNESCO field offices, and other UN agencies also received copies, while the remaining albums were distributed to governments that had no national commissions, and to other recipients, such as sales agents.[20] The album was said to be a huge success. Every single copy was distributed.[21]

The album consisted of 110 white cardboard panels, 48 by 31.5 cm in size, and featured 276 monochrome illustrations.[22] The images were grouped into four sections: (1) the principal stages of human development; (2) the need for human rights; (3) the rights themselves, divided into fourteen main headings such as the abolition of slavery, freedom of creative work, the right to education, etc.; and (4) a final section elaborating on UNESCO's task to disseminate the UDHR and thus mankind's responsibility to respect human rights.[23] For each of the panels, separate captions

**16** "A Short History of Human Rights," MC/36/4 Droits de l'Homme, UNESCO Archives.

**17** Pierre Yves Saunier elaborates on the connections and linkages objects can make between different spaces and places. See Pierre Yves Saunier, *Transnational History: Theory and History* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

**18** Jane Lydon, "'Visual History at Its Best!': Visual Narrative and UNESCO's 1951 Human Rights Exhibition," in *The Social Work of Narrative: Human Rights and the Cultural Imaginary*, ed. Gareth Griffiths and Philip Mead (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2018), 279–301; Allbeson, "Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World."

**19** "Information on First Edition of Human Rights Album," MCA/123, April 27, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Addition to Work Plan 1951 – First Six Months," MCM/Memo2001, January 5, 1951, 342.7(100) A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**20** "UNESCO Exhibition-Album to Show Man's Unending Fight to Gain His Rights"; "Information on First Edition of Human Rights Album," MCA/123, April 27, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**21** "A Note on the New Human Rights Album," January 21, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**22** "Exhibition Album Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

**23** UNESCO chose to group the different articles of the UDHR into fourteen sections to illustrate the interconnectedness between the different rights. These themes were: The abolition of slavery (Art. 4); Freedom of movement (Art.13); The abolition of inhuman treatment (Art. 5); Protection against arbitrary arrest – equality before the law (Arts. 6–15); The dignity of labor and social security (Arts. 23, 24, 27); Standard of living and assistance (Art. 25); The protection of family life and of property (Arts. 16, 17, 22, 23); The emancipation of women (Arts. 2, 16); Freedom of religion (Art. 18); Freedom

were printed on the same material that was used for the panels, each explaining and commenting on the corresponding visual(s). The curators themselves were responsible for attaching the captions to the panels. Both the panels and the captions came in a box, containing everything needed to set up an exhibition. The box also contained a manual proposing six different ways of exhibiting the album, a large-sized print of the UDHR, and a booklet entitled *A Short History of Human Rights* elaborating on the themes depicted in the travel album.

Art historian Rémy Besson distinguishes three complementary elements that define an object as a medium.[24] First, the object should be a "singular cultural production."[25] While the travel album had a similar composition of images, photographs, and documents to the larger exhibition in the Musée Galliera, it was an independent exhibition, compiled in a unique way by UNESCO's Department of Mass Communication. Second, this composition of visuals and text for the creation of a universal message "acquired a certain degree of autonomy" and created its own meaning.[26] For most of the panels, UNESCO's Department of Mass Communication had produced separate captions to comment on the chosen visuals. The panels and captions came in a separate box, allowing the curators of the exhibitions to decide themselves how to present the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*. The album itself was designed within the unique institutional, social, and cultural context of UNESCO and sent to highly different *milieux* – Besson's third element – where it interacted as a perceptible object with both the visitors and the environment in which it was displayed. Through this interaction, the use and meaning of the album could change and even trigger slight changes in the environment itself.[27]

In addition to complementary elements that define an object as a medium, Rémy Besson also distinguishes four analytical levels to reflect on media composed of different forms of expression, such as, in this case, visuals and text.[28] Here, I will draw on three of these levels – "*co-présence*," "*émergence*" and "*milieu*" – to carry out a detailed analysis of UNESCO's representation of the right to education in the

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of thought and opinion (Arts. 18, 19); The right to education (Art. 26); Participation in cultural life (Art. 27); Freedom of creative work (Art. 27) and the right to participate in government (Art. 21).; "Exhibition Album Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives; "A Short History of Human Rights," MC/36/4, UNESCO Archives.

**24** Rémy Besson, "Prolégomènes pour une définition de l'intermédialité à l'époque contemporaine," (2014), HAL: hal-01012325v2.

**25** Besson, "Prolégomènes." Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are the author's own.

**26** Besson, "Prolégomènes."

**27** Besson, "Prolégomènes." This was also true for the *Family of Man* exhibition; see Priem and Thyssen, "Puppets on a String."

**28** Besson, "Prolégomènes."

*Exhibition Album on Human Rights*.[29] This involves looking at a few selected panels and the relationship "between images," which Besson defines as "*co-présence*."[30] The exhibition images showcase UNESCO's discourse on a particular theme. The visuals, however, were meant to be exhibited with the enclosed captions. Through this combination, a new medium was created "between text and images," which Besson refers to as "*émergence*."[31] Through the addition of captions, a specific interpretation of the visual was conveyed to the viewer and new meaning was created.[32] In the first section of this essay, I will look at the images and text, both separately and combined. I will examine whether there are any discrepancies between the visual message and the corresponding texts: are both of them easily comprehensible for the visitor? While the album was created in the social and cultural context of its creator – i.e., UNESCO – and thus contained the organization's perspective on human rights, it was sent to different *milieux*, or spaces, where it interacted with both the visitors and the environment in which it was exhibited.[33] This different "*milieu*" ("between space and images") is described by Rémy Besson as the third analytical level. In the second section of the chapter, I will thus ask *how* the album was exhibited in these different environments and how it was received by viewers.

## The Right to Education: "Between Images" and "Between Text and Images"

Educating the world about the universal message of the UDHR was believed to be one of UNESCO's core tasks on the path to international peace and common welfare.[34] Then, as now, education was seen as a driver towards positive change. In the words of Audrey Azoulay, current Director General of UNESCO, education has the power "to transform lives, build self-confidence, contribute to economic and social

**29** In addition to the three levels which I will describe more fully, Besson also mentions "*le transfert*," or the transfer of one medium into another, symbolized as a diachronic relationship.

**30** Besson, "Prolégomènes."

**31** Besson, "Prolégomènes."

**32** In their discussion, Robert Gordon and Jonatan Kurzwelly use the term "intertextuality" to reflect on the combination of photographs and captions, applying Julia Kristeva's definition of intertextuality as "the transposition of one or more systems of signs into another, which results in a new articulation." These signs provide new meaning to one another and could be used, as Barthes stated, to "anchor the interpretations of photographs." See Robert Gordon and Jonatan Kurzwelly, "Photographs as Sources in African History," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, African History* (USA: Oxford University Press, July 2018): 10. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.250; Priem and Thyssen, "Puppets on a String."

**33** Besson, "Prolégomènes."

**34** "UNESCO Constitution."

progress, and promote intercultural understanding."[35] UNESCO's approach to education may have changed over the years, but the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* illustrates the organization's perspectives on one of its core missions at the start of its activities for the promotion of peace and mutual understanding.

Article 26 of the UDHR, the right to education, is depicted in the third part of the travel album. Seven panels, containing 21 images in total, visualize a number of related themes, such as "Education Was Once a Privilege," "Universities in Former Times," "Knowledge Has No Frontiers," "A Radical Change in Methods of Teaching," "The Scourge of Illiteracy," "Education and Democracy," and "Towards Equality of Opportunity."[36] The images are a mix of photographs, engravings, and drawings.

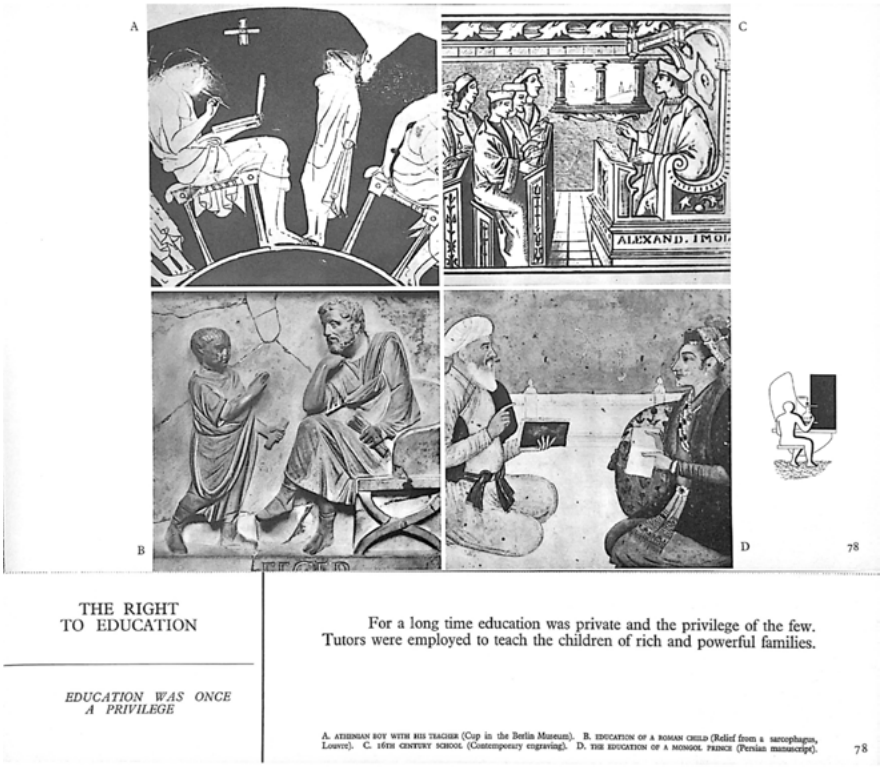



**Fig. 7.1:** "The Right to Education," Panel 78 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. © UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

**35** UNESCO, *Transforming Lives Through Education/Transformer la vie grâce à l'éducation* (Paris: UNESCO, 2018), 4.

**36** "Exhibition Album on Human Rights" and "Captions of the Exhibition Album on Human Rights," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

Panel 78 (Fig. 7.1), entitled "Education Was Once a Privilege," is the first panel on the right to education. A little sketch to the right of the images announces the start of a new theme. The panel contains four images of equal size that are arranged in the form of a square. All of them are related to teaching and learning. In three of the four images, the teacher seems to explain something to his student, represented by the teacher's raised hand, a well-known teaching gesture. Picture B is different. Here, the student's hand is raised while the teacher's body is slightly bent and in a thinking posture. This could relate to a Socratic method of teaching. All of the images also show a book or manuscript – a tool that could refer to the transfer of knowledge from teacher to student(s) in a classroom or during private lessons. One-on-one classes have generally been seen as being more expensive and privileged – a feature which appears to be confirmed by the neat and rather sophisticated costumes of the students.

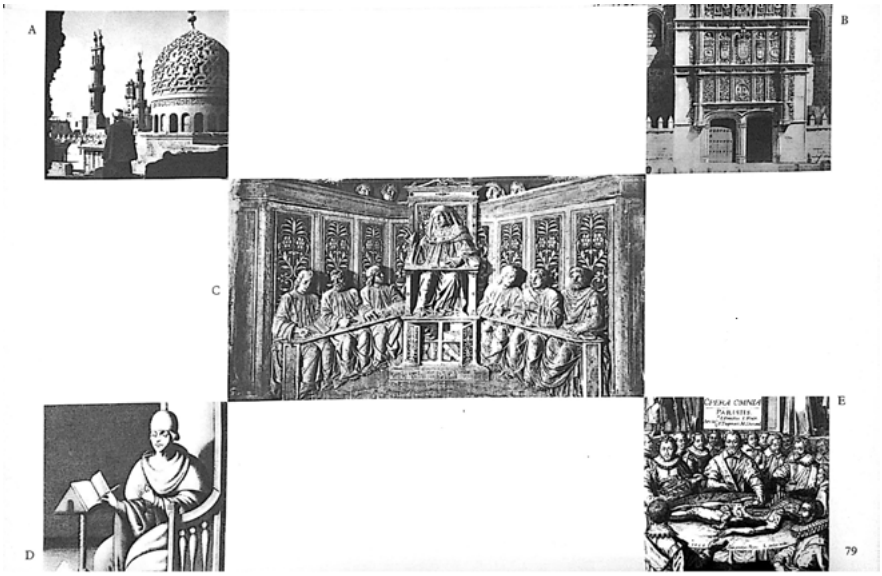
The corresponding caption here is displayed under the panel (see Fig. 7.1).[37] On the left side, the subject heading is printed above the title of the corresponding panel. A short explanatory text is printed on the right side, with a brief description of the images underneath. Letters are used to match the images to their descriptions.[38] Reading the caption provided by UNESCO – "For a long time education was private and the privilege of the few. Tutors were employed to teach the children of rich and powerful families." – it seems to me that the visual message here could be interpreted correctly without the need for an explanatory text, yet it does make me wonder if this would be true for the other panels too.[39]

Panel 79 (Fig. 7.2) explores the theme of "Universities in Former Times" and is composed of five images. One image is at the center of the panel, while the other four images are connected to it at each of its four corners. The rectangular image, placed in the middle of the panel and twice as large as the others and thus seems to be more important than the others. The four smaller images are all square and seem to be cropped for no particular reason other than the layout. The upper part of the panel shows two universities, one located in an Islamic region, the other in a Catholic area. The bottom left corner shows a portrait of Robert de Sorbon, founder of the Collège de Sorbonne. The way he is depicted, with book and pen in hand, illustrates his important status in the academic world. On the opposite side, we see an anatomy class. A large group of well-dressed students gather around an open body and the teacher standing in front of the students points at something inside the body. The larger image in the middle of the panel shows a court or law class. A teacher is seated on a large chair, surrounded by his students who are sitting on wooden benches. In

**37** As noted, each curator was free to choose whether he/she wanted to use and/or show the included captions or not. For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen to show the images with the intended captions to facilitate analysis of the panel.

**38** "Exhibition Album Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

**39** "Captions of the Exhibition Album on Human Rights," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.



THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

*UNIVERSITIES IN FORMER TIMES*

In past centuries, the great Universities were attended by a small number of students, some of whom came from distant lands. Education was still a luxury, and the common people could neither read nor write.

A. EL AZHAR UNIVERSITY (Cairo), FOUNDED IN 972. B. UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA (Spain), CONFIRMED IN 1240. C. LAW CLASS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA, FORMALLY RECOGNIZED IN 1158 (Cloisters of San Martino Maggiore). D. ROBERT DE SORBON (1201-1274) FOUNDER OF THE SORBONNE. E. THE ANATOMY LESSON (17th century engraving).

79

**Fig. 7.2:** "The Right to Education," Panel 79 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. © UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

the background there are four people eavesdropping. Could this be a reference to some people having only limited access to education?

Universities were known to be accessible to only a small number of people and seem to be a central theme in this panel. When reading the corresponding text – "In past centuries, the great Universities were attended by a small number of students, some of whom came from distant lands. Education was still a luxury, and the common people could neither read nor write." – a discrepancy between the text and the visual message is immediately noticeable. Through the last sentence, the exclusive focus on academic education – a form of education that was, and still is, unattainable for a large group of the population – shifts towards a literacy problem facing common and local people. This shift from a global academic elite to problems of literacy could have been made more obvious, and highlighted more effectively, had UNESCO addressed the literacy problems through the use of images of ordinary people learning to read and write.

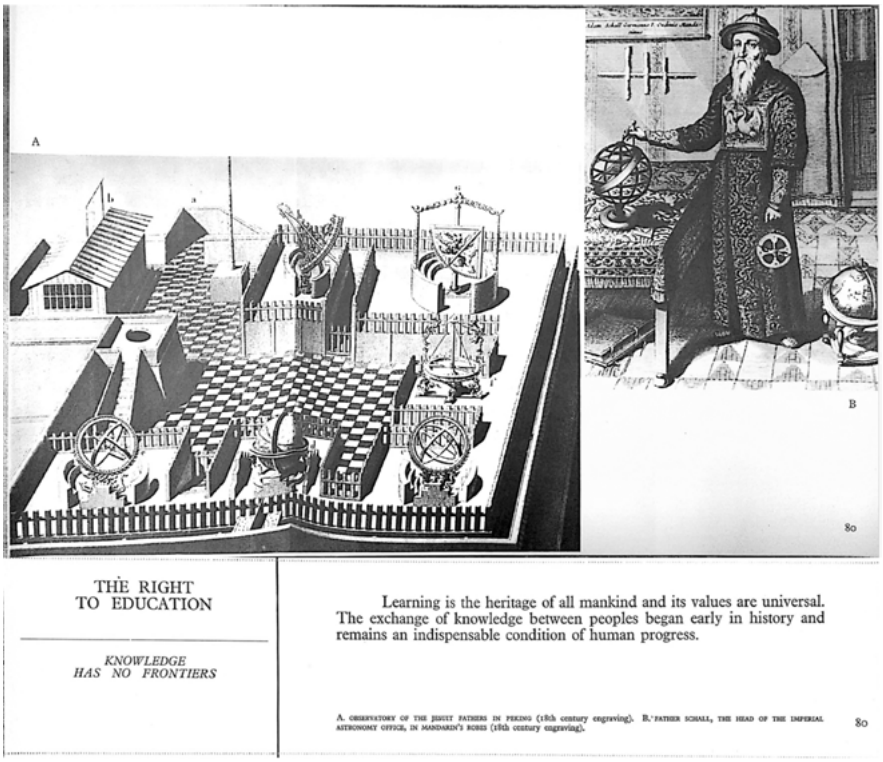



**Fig. 7.3:** "The Right to Education," Panel 80 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. © UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

Panel 80 (Fig. 7.3) contains only two pictures, both referring to astronomy. Picture A shows an observatory, while Picture B is a portrait photograph of a Mandarin teacher of astronomy surrounded by his globes and holding his instruments. Both pictures differ in size and orientation. Picture A takes up more than two-thirds of the panel and is landscape-oriented, while Picture B covers the remaining third of the panel. Still, as in Panel 79 (Fig. 2), it is hard to identify the general message that UNESCO was trying to convey by combining both pictures in one panel. The panel could be interpreted in several ways: perhaps UNESCO wanted to focus on the importance of astronomy for our general knowledge, maybe it wanted to highlight the importance of science, or alternatively it may have been referring to Asian countries' advanced knowledge of astronomy. The list of plausible interpretations is non-exclusive and makes it difficult to immediately understand the visualizations and their intended message. The title of the panel is "Knowledge Has No Frontiers," and the explanatory message reads: "Learning is the heritage of all mankind and its values are universal. The exchange of knowledge between peoples began early in

history and remains an indispensable condition of human progress." UNESCO here used the universe as a metaphor for education, pointing to the endless possibilities of learning. The "exchange of knowledge between peoples" is not clear from the visualization chosen by UNESCO and the need for captions is obvious.

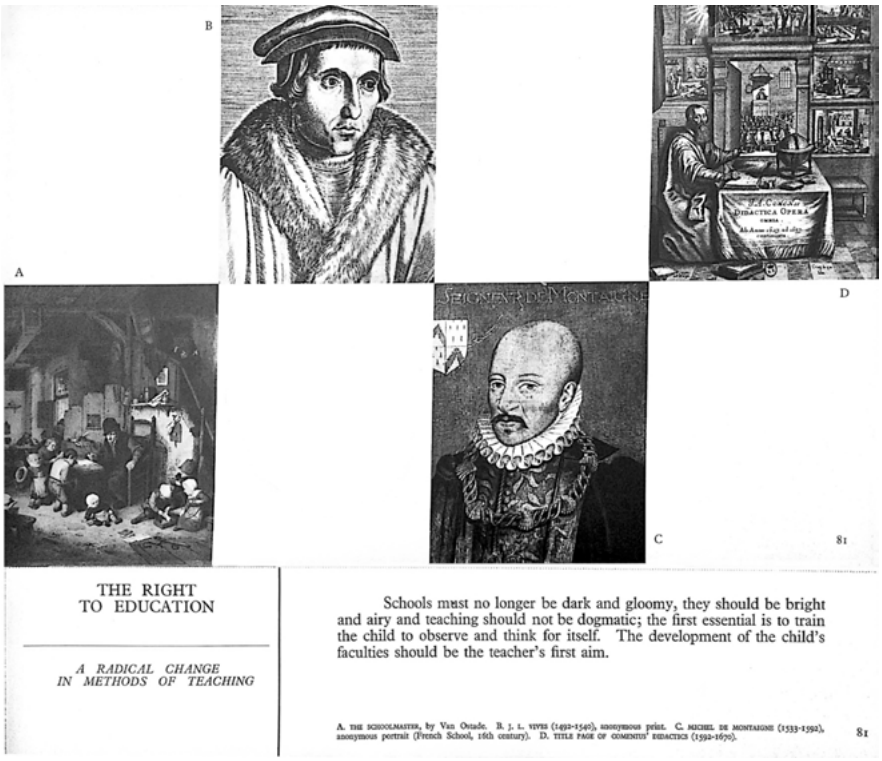



**Fig. 7.4:** "The Right to Education," Panel 81 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. © UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

With Panel 81 (Fig. 7.4), again, the general message is difficult to understand. The center of the panel shows portraits of fifteenth-century Spanish pedagogue Juan Luis Vives and sixteenth-century French educator Michel de Montaigne flanked by an image of the cover of the book *Didactica Opera* by the seventeenth-century Czech pedagogue John Amos Comenius on the left side, and a cropped part of the painting *The Schoolmaster* by Van Ostade on the right side. The visuals are lined up symmetrically, equal in size and format, but different in contrast. The viewer is most likely attracted to the brightest picture – the portrait of Juan Luis Vives (Picture B) – but it is unclear how the viewer would "read" the panel. According to UNESCO, this panel was meant to illustrate "A Radical Change in Methods of Teaching," but how were

viewers to understand this without a profound knowledge of the history of education and didactics? In the proposed caption, UNESCO explains the visual message of the panel as follows: "Schools must no longer be dark and gloomy, they should be bright and airy and teaching should not be dogmatic; the first essential is to train the child to observe and think for itself. The development of the child's faculties should be the teacher's first aim." People unfamiliar with the history of education and didactics, or terms referring to normative approaches in theology and philosophy such as "dogmatic," may have had problems interpreting the panel and the caption.

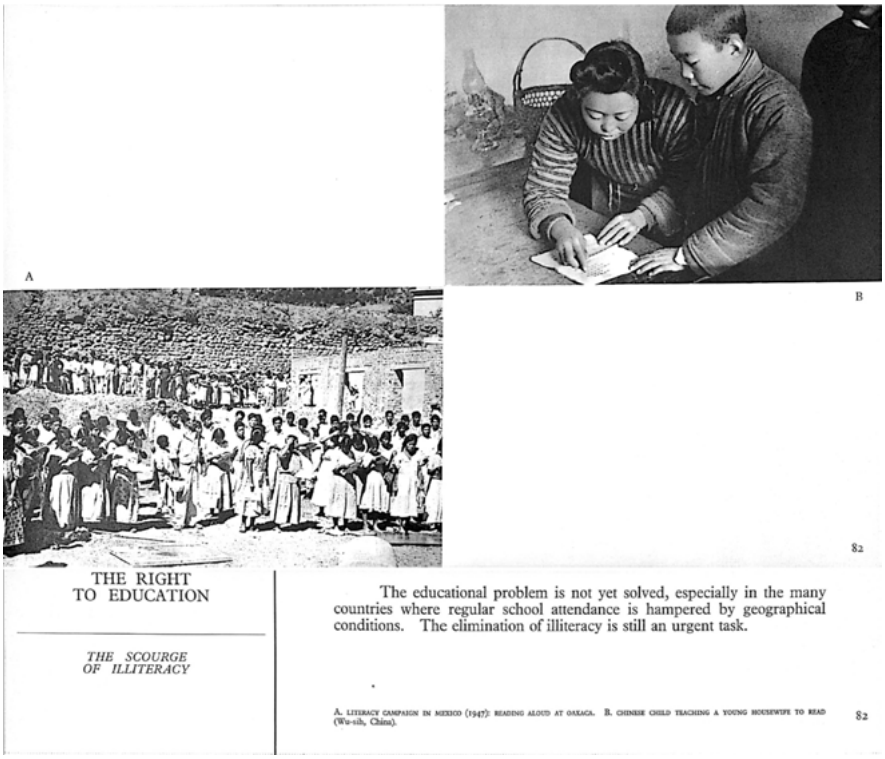



**Fig. 7.5:** "The Right to Education," Panel 82 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. ©UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

Panel 82 (Fig. 7.5), entitled "The Scourge of Illiteracy," shows two pictures of the same size and format, which are positioned diagonally to one other. In Picture A, we see a large group of adults holding and looking into books, while Picture B shows a boy and a woman reading a book. The caption states: "The educational problem is not yet solved, especially in the many countries where regular school attendance is hampered by geographical conditions. The elimination of illiteracy is still an urgent

task." Through the combination of both pictures and texts, UNESCO connects the problem of school attendance in non-Western parts of the world to their "geographical conditions." Without the caption, I would have presumed that the pictures focus on the problem of illiteracy in general, rather than hampered access to education in specific regions of the world. It is once again rather difficult to make this connection, and it may have been missed by people visiting the exhibition without a guide or sufficient reading skills.

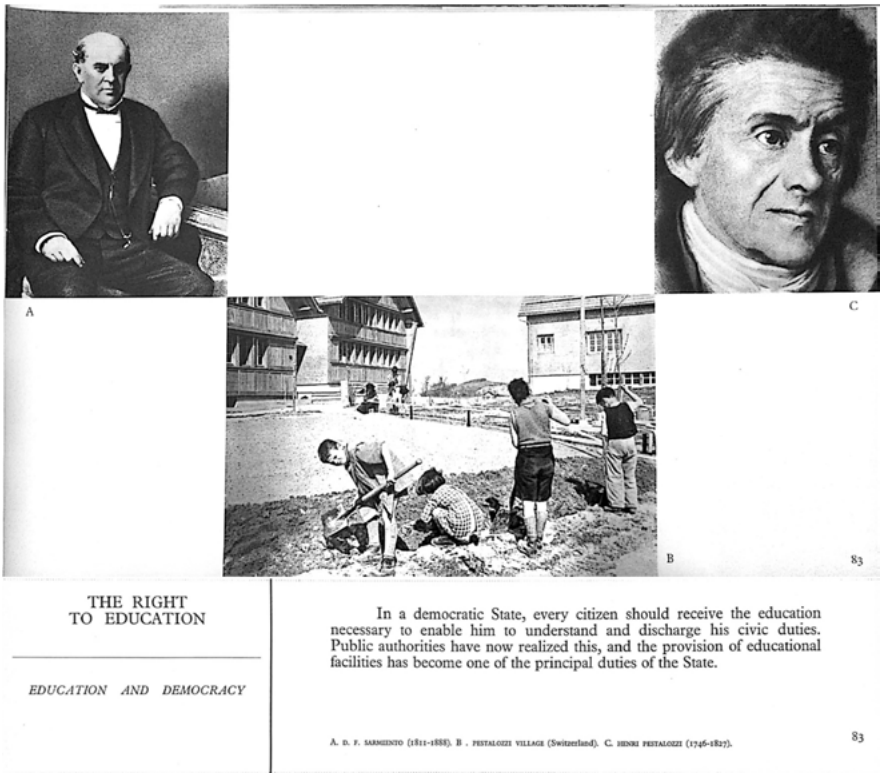



**Fig. 7.6:** "The Right to Education," Panel 83 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. ©UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

The next panel, Panel 83, entitled "Education and Democracy" (Fig. 7.6), contains two portraits in the upper left- and right-hand corners, while a third image, Picture B, shows children working in a garden. The portraits, A and C, have the same size and format but differ in terms of perspective. Picture C, a close-up of the eighteenth-century Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, feels closer – and thus more important – compared to the more formal portrait of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, President of Argentina from 1868 to 1874 and a major proponent of education

(Picture A). The attention of the audience would be drawn immediately towards Pestalozzi, even though the picture of the children working in the garden is bigger and brighter. The caption reads: "In a democratic State, every citizen should receive the education necessary to enable him to understand and discharge his civic duties. Public authorities have now realized this, and the provision of educational facilities has become one of the principal duties of the State." The combination of the caption and the visuals makes it possible to discern the general message; yet without any clarifying explanation it would be difficult to understand UNESCO's message, especially if the visitors do not recognize the people portrayed.

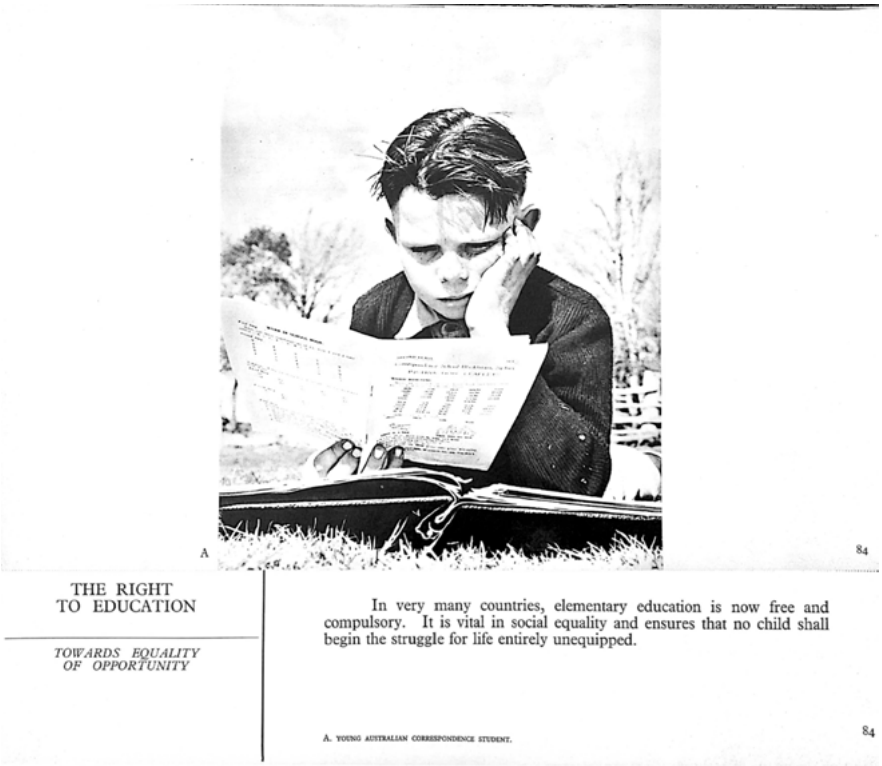



**Fig. 7.7:** "The Right to Education," Panel 84 (2 pages – image and caption), The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights. ©UNESCO. The image and caption pages have been merged by the author with permission from UNESCO Archives.

The last panel, number 84 (Fig. 7.7), shows a large picture of a white boy reading a textbook. The description identifies the boy as "a young Australian correspondence student." UNESCO's aim to overcome social inequality through education is once more expressed in the description of the panel: "In very many countries, elementary education is now free and compulsory. It is vital in social equality and ensures that

no child shall begin the struggle for life entirely unequipped." The clarifying text in the caption explains UNESCO's goal of striving for equal and free access to education for all children, as a path towards a better life. Australia and many other countries were known to offer free and compulsory education to children in 1950.[40] From this point of view, UNESCO's choice of this visual could be understood as a representation of a country with free education for all children. Text and image seem to be well aligned, but it is doubtful whether all viewers would have had a similar perspective on the image without the text.

Generally, it can be said that it is difficult to understand UNESCO's approach to the right to education merely by looking at the images. The visual messages are rather vague, culturally biased, and difficult to extract without the corresponding caption. The displayed images fail to speak for themselves, nor do they always relate directly to the text. To fully comprehend each panel's theme or information, it was necessary to read the captions, and potentially also the booklet *A Short History of Human Rights*. Furthermore, anyone unfamiliar with the history of education and philosophy, which was mostly approached from a Western point of view, probably lacked (some of) the information necessary to fully grasp UNESCO's perspective. Moreover, the original captions were written in French and English, the official working languages of UNESCO, which in many cases were a second language for the audience. The unclear visualization of the message, the need for reading skills on the part of the viewers, and the distribution of the panels in a language that was not always the viewers' native language may have hampered and blurred the message UNESCO was trying to spread.

## The Right to Education: "Between Space and Images"

In the preceding analysis of the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*, I have shown that it was very difficult to create a universal and visual message which would be similarly interpreted by all. By using captions to narrow down and define the interpretation of photographs, UNESCO tried to move beyond potentially diverse individual perspectives on the album. Yet, as Tom Allbeson has pointed out, "the conception and deployment of photography as a universal language reveals that internationalism

**40** In the 1950s, free and compulsory education was still biased, frequently excluding indigenous people from national educational systems. UNESCO itself published its first statement on race only on July 18, 1950, shortly after the publication of the album, saying that there was no biological justification for racial discrimination. See also Poul Duedahl, "From Racial Strangers to Ethnic Minorities: On the Socio-Political Impact of UNESCO, 1945–64," in *Current Issues in Sociology: Work and Minorities,* ed. Gregory A. Katsas (Athens, ATINER, 2012), 155–166.

and universalism had a problematic relationship in the postwar debates and early campaigns of UNESCO."[41]

Then, as now, many people were not able to read. In 1950, UNESCO's Statistical Division conducted a study entitled *World Illiteracy at Mid-Century*, considered to be the first attempt to measure the illiteracy rate among adults aged 15 and above. UNESCO estimated that there were about 700 million illiterate adults worldwide. According to the report, "Almost half of all the countries and territories (97 out of 198) are believed to have 50 per cent or more illiteracy among their adult population."[42] This makes me wonder about the actual target group of the album. If the visualizations and the captions were so difficult to interpret, then who exactly would understand the intended message? Or how would the message be understood?

The copies of the album sent out to UNESCO member states and national commissions were used in schools, libraries, and adult education centers. To ensure a coherent and largely uniform presentation of the exhibition, UNESCO's Department of Mass Communication produced a manual, proposing six different ways of exhibiting the album – for example, on a wall, on a table, or in a classroom.[43] Each curator, however, was free to compile and assemble the album as he/she saw fit: UNESCO merely made suggestions. In the UNESCO Archives, I was able to find photographs documenting the display of the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* in France, Italy, Haiti, and Brazil.[44] In these images, it is possible to recognize the section of the exhibition relating to the right to education. Using these photographs, I will now look at the relationship between the album and the environment in which it was exhibited.

The manual accompanying the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* attached the letters A to F to the six options for displaying the album to the public.[45] The curator of the exhibition in Grenoble, France, followed the manual's Presentation Format D, which suggested that the panels should be arranged according to subject-matter. The photographs of the French exhibition show how each panel was displayed with its corresponding caption. However, extra material was added by the curator. For example, a larger version of the small sketch shown on Panel 78 (see Fig. 7.1) was printed and added as a wallpaper in the background of the small exhibition space on the right to education. Furthermore, panels related to the right to education were

**41** Allbeson, "Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World," 4.

**42** UNESCO, *World Illiteracy at Mid-Century: A Statistical Study* (Paris: UNESCO, 1957), 13. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000002930?posInSet=1&queryId=51635747-063b-4b49-992c-cd178ed74eae. (accessed June 16, 2020)

**43** "Exhibition Album on Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

**44** The UNESCO Archives also contain photographs of other parts of the exhibition in other countries. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I have focused only on photographs showing the "right to education" section of the exhibition.

**45** "Exhibition Album on Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

connected with bold black lines, while other, thinner black lines led to other objects added by the curator, such as small texts and booklets.[46]

Società Umanitaria, an Italian non-governmental organization, also sent UNESCO some photographs of its display of the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*. The panels and captions of the album followed the manual's proposed numbering but used a mix of Presentation Formats A (horizontal presentation), B (vertical presentation), and D (subject presentation).[47] The Società displayed the panels on both tables and walls. Other materials and booklets, such as the brochure entitled *Cultura popolare* (People's culture), were placed on tables in the middle of the exhibition, allowing visitors to browse the materials.[48]

The curators of the exhibitions in Italy and France were not alone in adding material to the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*. An article in the March 1951 issue of the *UNESCO Courier* reported on how the Welsh Committee of the United Kingdom National Commission for UNESCO had tailored the human rights travel album to its needs: the first section of the exhibition showed the early history of Wales rather than the early history of human rights, while the next section described the social conditions in sixteenth-century Wales. The Welsh Committee stressed the importance of Christianity and of Welsh pioneers and nationals in relation to the rights represented in the album.[49]

These three European examples illustrate the challenges UNESCO faced when trying to disseminate a supposedly global and universal message to different contemporary contexts. It is interesting to see that the same exhibition travel album on human rights was used in many different ways, with local curators and exhibition committees adapting its display and contents to their specific contexts and local interpretations of human rights. The question remains, though, whether the same is true for other, non-Western world regions.

The UNESCO Archives also contain photographs of the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* in Brazil and Haiti. It is immediately noticeable that the pictures show a larger number of visitors, compared to the Italian images where only one or two people were present.[50] The pictures in Haiti may have been taken during the opening of the exhibition, as everybody seems to be wearing their finest dresses and suits (see Fig. 7.8).[51] The curator here chose to follow the manual's proposed vertical

**46** "Unesco_France_ExhibitionAlbumOnHumanRights3," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**47** "Exhibition Album on Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

**48** "Unesco_Italy_ExhibitionAlbumOnHumanRights3," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**49** "Welsh Share in Struggle for Human Rights Shown by Travelling Exhibit," *UNESCO Courier* 4, no. 3 (March 1951): 3.

**50** The photographs from France did not show any visitors at all but rather close-ups of the different panels and the added material, while the photographs sent by the Società Umanitaria showed only one or two visitors.

**51** On the back of this image are written the numbers 30,000, 15,000 and 25,000. No further information is provided about the meaning of these numbers, however. And while an archival note

**Fig. 7.8:** The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights Exhibition in Haiti, unknown photographer, "Unesco_Haiti_ExhibitionAlbumOnHumanRights," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

presentation, attaching the exhibition to the walls. Additional documents were added on table tops in the middle of the exhibition space and placed between the partition walls, but cannot be seen in the pictures. Due to the large number of visitors, the visibility of the panels was low, and it was even harder to see the panels at the bottom. In another archive photograph, we can see two ladies bending down to have a better look at the panels and/or read the captions.[52] While we cannot tell from the photograph in which language the captions were written, I can be reasonably confident that the captions were in French, the language for white-collar business and communications in government, media, and education, rather than Creole, the language of the Haitian people.

Fig. 7.9 is one of two pictures in the archives that show the exhibition in Brazil. At first sight, it appears that the visitors were from many different backgrounds and origins, but in contrast to the photograph of the exhibition in Haiti, not a single woman can be seen in the photographs from Brazil. Furthermore, this picture seems

mentions four images, the folder contained only three photographs. According to this note, one picture shows the Secretary General (unknown) during his speech, while the other three pictures depict guided tours of different sections of the exhibition. See "Photographie – exposition des droits de l'homme 9 Décembre 1951," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**52** See "Unesco Haiti_ ExhibitionAlbumOnHumanRights_4," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**Fig. 7.9:** The UNESCO Exhibition Album on Human Rights Exhibition in Brazil, "Unesco_Brazil_ExhibitionAlbumOnHumanRights_2," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

to have been taken on a regular day. The album itself is displayed vertically (Presentation Format B).[53] It is impossible to identify the language of the text displayed. Was it French, English, or one of the Spanish versions later distributed? Or did the Brazilians produce a Portuguese translation of the album themselves? It makes me wonder whether all visitors were able to understand the message that UNESCO intended to spread through its exhibition.

Much of the correspondence saved in the UNESCO Archives congratulated UNESCO on its efforts and the publication of the album.[54] Despite many positive voices, there were some negative ones too, basically containing two main points of criticism. On the one hand, several comments referred to the materiality of the album. The album was considered to be too cumbersome and voluminous for schools, civil-society organizations, and small libraries that lacked the space to show all of the 110 plates and their captions.[55] In his memo, Douglas H. Schneider, then director of

**53** "Exhibition Album on Human Rights (manual)," MC/15, UNESCO Archives.

**54** I am referring here to the correspondence found in boxes 342.7(100)A146, MC/53 and MC/54, UNESCO Archives.

**55** "A Note on the New Human Rights Album," January 21, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Correspondence between Douglas H. Schneider and Mr. Khushwant Singh," MC/Memo/2577, January 3, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

UNESCO's Department of Mass Communication, interpreted the comment as indicating that the traveling exhibition was too ambitious.[56] On the other hand, further comments referred to the exhibition's religious, national, and political biases.[57] The exhibition was described as "being un-religious (un-Christian), as being unjust to the Moslem world and to India, as containing a photograph of Karl Marx, as being anti-Royalist."[58]

In the UNESCO Archives, I found a ten-page report consisting of English and French comments which the organization had received on the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* between January and April 1951.[59] The report was more detailed than the previously discussed correspondence, and contained both favorable and unfavorable comments. Shortly after the distribution of the album, positive comments appeared in many newspapers all over the world, favorably commenting on its composition and expressing the hope that the exhibition would draw people's attention to the UDHR. *Le Soleil* (Quebec) referred to the exhibition as an artwork, while the *News Chronicle* (London) acknowledged the "striking simplicity and beauty" of the pictures.[60] In UNESCO's Weekly Press Review, the author praised the visualization of UNESCO's message of the UDHR, considering the high illiteracy rate in the world.[61] This comment was mentioned briefly in the report, focusing on the part that referred to the beauty of the selected pictures.[62]

Another section of the report referred to the more ideological and un-religious comments received in the English and French press, highlighting in particular the protest of sixteen French members of parliament.[63] This group asked Director General Jaime Torres Bodet to stop the global dissemination of this album.[64] In their letter, they raised concerns about the further spread of this "anti-Christian" ideology, and said that UNESCO was at risk of losing the contributions of its Catholic member states.[65] Other, mostly Catholic-oriented newspapers took the same line, and some

**56** "Correspondence between Douglas H. Schneider and Mr. Khushwant Singh," MC/Memo/2577, January 3, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**57** "A Note on the New Human Rights Album," January 21, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**58** "A Note on the New Human Rights Album," January 21, 1955, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**59** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**60** "Weekly Press Review," March 14, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives; "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**61** "Weekly Press Review," March 14, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives.

**62** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**63** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**64** "Correspondence of the sixteen deputies to Jaime Torres Bodet, March 9, 1951," MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Examen du Rapport Accompagnant la Protestation des Seize Deputes," MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Copy – Extract from Nouvelliste Valaisan, St. Maurice, March 16, 1951," 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives; "Weekly Press Review," April 4, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives.

**65** "Correspondence of the sixteen deputies to Jaime Torres Bodet, March 9, 1951," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

even mentioned that a Vatican radio broadcast made reference to the album.[66] While the Catholic Church was a very vocal critic on the European continent, the Pakistani government also expressed its concern at being overlooked by UNESCO. This newest member of the organization offered to collect more Islamic material related to human rights and to forward these documents to UNESCO so that it could revise the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights*. The national commission of Pakistan believed that an absence of contributions from the Muslim world would be "inopportune" and would also reduce the popularity of the album.[67]

Other national commissions mostly acknowledged the educational value of the album. From the responses of the national commissions of France, Sweden, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Luxembourg, we can deduce that the album was sent to teacher training colleges, secondary schools, and other educational institutions.[68] Similar comments could also be found in the press. The March 30, 1951, issue of *Yeni Istanbul* mentioned two uses of the album: "To teach schoolchildren about Human Rights" and to educate adults and children about the history of mankind.[69] In a short editorial in its March 2, 1951, edition, the *Manchester Guardian* acknowledged the usefulness of the exhibition as a teaching aid, stating that it "may help to popularize the Declaration of Human Rights which in this country (England) is little known."[70] However, the editor did raise the question of the costs of producing the album, and the financial burden it indirectly placed on the British taxpayer.[71]

Other institutions, including press agencies around the world, wrote that they felt honored to receive the album and proposed an exhibition of the album in their halls, conference rooms, or other spaces available for exhibitions. International organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A. in New York and the Brussels-based International Federation of Young Musicians, sent positive comments, and the National Catholic Education Association wanted to exhibit the album at its 49th Annual Meeting in Cleveland.[72] The UNESCO report only gives a brief overview of first impressions

**66** The actual radio broadcast by the Vatican is not available in the UNESCO Archives. Only the *Giornale d'Italia* (Rome), *La Presse* (Québec) and *La Croix* (Paris) mentioned the Vatican's response. Many other newspapers from across Europe and from Canada (Québec) commented on the Catholic reaction. See "Weekly Press Review," April 16, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives; "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**67** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives; "Correspondence between S.M. Sharif Esquire, M.A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law and Ross McLean Esquire," F 17–4/51 E, P, February 27, 1951, 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**68** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**69** "Weekly Press Review," March 5, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives.

**70** "Weekly Press Review," March 5, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives.

**71** "Weekly Press Review," March 5, 1951, Press Review 1947–66, UNESCO Archives.

**72** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

from around the world. Other correspondence material elaborates on more practical obstacles the travel album faced in its dissemination around the globe – for example, a letter from Dr. Jan Belehradek, UNESCO's Department of Education, describes the extreme difficulty UNESCO faced to send anything, and more specifically on the topic of Human Rights to Prague, hinting at the upcoming Cold War. He already smuggled a copy of the UDHR as a food parcel paper wrap into the city, believing the distribution of the album could be hazardous too.[73]

Not a single letter mentioned anything about the reception of the exhibition album by the culturally and socially diverse audiences worldwide. Many countries, especially Spanish-speaking countries, asked for a Spanish translation after receiving the French or English version. While a Spanish version was apparently in production, there was no Spanish translation of the album when it was distributed in 1951.[74] There were many requests for the Spanish version once completed, and some Spanish speaking countries even offered to produce a translation themselves.[75] A document entitled "Information on First Edition of Human Rights Album" (1955) mentions the distribution of the Spanish album, but I have not yet been able to find any correspondence related to its distribution.[76]

The national commission of Mexico was worried about the language register used in the album. In a letter to UNESCO Director General Jaime Torres Bodet, "Lic." Antonio Castro Leal, a member of the Permanent Delegation of Mexico to UNESCO, wrote that the album could only benefit higher government officials or students with a university degree, especially since it was made available in English and French only. In schools and other educational centers, where it would be most necessary, the album could not be used in the distributed language.[77]

Despite the belief of the UNESCO Department of Mass Communication that the album had achieved its purpose – educating adults and children worldwide about the rights and duties enshrined in the UDHR – these criticisms suggest that many people had difficulty understanding what the exhibition was about.[78] Viewers were not only expected to possess reading skills and historical knowledge of education and philosophy, they also had to master a language different from their mother tongue. Furthermore, the captions, though short, were written in a formal style that was not always

**73** "Letter from Mr. Jan Masek, Prague," XO755EDI, 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**74** "Addition to Work Plan 1951 – First Six Months," MCM/Memo/2001, UNESCO Archives.

**75** The documents to which I refer with reference MCP77883, MC205934, XR66680, MCM120936, and MCP202897 can be found in 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**76** "Information on First Edition of Human Rights Album," MCA/123, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

**77** "Álbumes-exposición sobre los Derechos del Hombre," January 3, 1951, 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**78** "UNESCO Exhibition-Album to Show Man's Unending Fight to Gain His Rights," *UNESCO Courier* 3, no. 11 (December 1950): 6–7; "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

easy to understand. Some countries, such as Spain, used the album in their foreign language classes, an experiment whose results UNESCO was very much interested to see.[79] The use of the album during language classes and as teaching material makes it plausible that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was discussed frequently in different educational settings, such as secondary schools, universities, and adult education centers.

The *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* demonstrates that it was not easy to disseminate a universal message in different spaces. Curators, visitors, and reviewers all interpreted the album in different ways. Of the four photographed exhibitions, not one was the same. The comments UNESCO received show a similar variety. Negative and positive comments were made by individuals and organizations, each reflecting on the album from their own perspectives. This makes me wonder whether the dissemination of the album, with its sole purpose of educating people about the UDHR, was really able to achieve its goal to the extent the Department of Mass Communication believed it had.[80]

## Conclusion

Resolution 8.1, adopted at the third UN General Conference in 1948, delegated the responsibility for the dissemination of the UDHR to the Director General of UNESCO. The creation of a material and cultural object extracted from the Human Rights Exhibition in Paris was one way in which UNESCO sought to fulfil this mission.[81] As a result, a travel album compiled of images and texts was sent around the world to depict mankind's struggle to achieve the UDHR.

In this chapter, I focused on the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* published by UNESCO in 1950 and its depiction of the right to education, one of UNESCO's core tasks. The images selected by UNESCO were intended to express the organization's interpretation of this right and to depict its activities in the field of education, such as the promotion of free education that was accessible for all, and the elimination of illiteracy. By looking at the images alone, it is difficult to understand the relationship between the visuals and to identify the core theme of each panel. If

**79** "MC/256.605," September 26, 1951, 342.7(100)A146 part II from 1-1-1951 and up, UNESCO Archives.

**80** "Rapport sur la Distribution de l'Album sur les Droits de l'Homme," MC/53, UNESCO Archives. Research done by Poul Duedahl, Tom Allbeson, and Glenda Sluga testifies to the difficulties UNESCO faced in creating universal concepts through cultural, scientific, and educational programs or mass communications; see Duedahl, "Selling Mankind"; Tom Allbeson, "Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World"; Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

**81** "Letter to the minister from Jaime Torres Bodet," CL/316, MC/53, UNESCO Archives.

culturally and socially diverse audiences were to understand the *Exhibition Album on Human Rights* the way UNESCO intended, they might have been accompanied by a guide/interpreter or been able to read and understand the explanatory texts and captions, or the booklet provided.

The album circulated as a material object in different spaces and places. Its intended universal language was constantly re-interpreted by viewers and curators from all over the world. By analyzing only one part of the album and looking at the way it was presented, it becomes clear that there were many obstacles to the global spread of this universal message. The captions were an attempt to determine the narrative of the album. Yet, the global illiteracy level and the criticisms found in the correspondence make me wonder whether this traveling exhibition really served its intended purpose: "Showing both children and adults the help they can derive from the Rights and the corresponding duties they must fulfil in return."[82] This question opens up the field for more bottom-up research in order to gain a better understanding of how the public perceived this newly adopted declaration, and how they received and translated this universal philosophy into their own environment. I believe that collecting local memories and oral histories would add remarkable value to the research on UNESCO's programs and publications. The perspectives of national commissions, journalists, scholars, and other more "elite" players can be easily traced in the documents of UNESCO, yet the voices of the intended recipients of UNESCO's programs have been rarely mentioned in published scholarship.[83] Without these voices, analysis of UNESCO's communication of the UDHR remains incomplete.

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**82** "UNESCO Exhibition-Album to Show Man's Unending Fight to Gain His Rights," 6.

**83** See also: Jens Boel, "UNESCO's Fundamental Education Program, 1946–1958: Visions, Actions and Impact," in *The History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts,* ed. Poul Duedahl (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 153–167; and Duedahl, "Introduction."

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# Part 3: **Images as Means of Observation**

Francisca Comas Rubí & Gabriel Barceló Bauzà

# Chapter 8
# School Practices in Photographs: Recess

## Introduction

Recess, the scheduled rest period for all education levels, is when students can freely carry out activities, such as studying, reading, listening to music, chatting, eating, using the bathroom, playing, or simply resting. Also referred to as "break" or "break time" in the UK, recess is more often associated with compulsory education (kindergarten, primary, and secondary schooling) than higher levels of education, such as university. Although there are many definitions of the concept of school recess, most are in line with Pellegrini and Smith's definition of recess as the scheduled time during the school day for students to rest, have lunch, go to the bathroom, interact, or play with each other.[1]

Recess is an inherent part of schooling and takes place in the context of each school institution, although its form may vary according to the context (countries, type of schools). Thus, it has been the subject of international study and consideration in various scientific fields in education: psychology, pedagogy, pediatrics, and sociology. Its origins in Spain can be traced back to the end of the nineteenth century, when it was seen as a way to combat students' physical and psychological fatigue during the school day, as well as provide time for physical activity and play as a way to use excess energy built up during hours of classroom work.

This chapter stems from a research project into school practice.[2] Thanks to various studies over the last decade on photos depicting the history of schooling in Spain in general, and the Balearic Islands in particular, we have located hundreds of photographs from public and private archives, school collections, yearbooks, institutional websites, social networks, illustrated magazines and commemorative publications.[3] There is, however, very little written testimony concerning recess. Most

**1** Anthony D. Pellegrini and Peter K. Smith, "School Recess: Implications for Education and Development," *Review of Educational Research (RER)* 63, no. 1 (1993): 51, DOI: 10.2307/1170559 (accessed March 13, 2020).

**2** This chapter was written as part of the project *School Culture and Practices in the 20th Century*, funded by ERDF/ Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades–Agencia Estatal de Investigación/ EDU2017- 82485-P

**3** The results of these projects, including all related bibliographic information, can be found in Francisca Comas and Bernat Sureda, "Photography and History of Education. Ten Years of Research in the UIB's History of Education Studies Group," *Informes de recerca en educació. Illes Balears. 2018*, January 16, 2018, http://www.irie.uib.cat (accessed April 24, 2020).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110696905-009

sources which are used to study schooling practices (regulations, dissertations, notebooks, personal memoirs) reference other activities and tell us little about rest times. We are obliged to turn to other sources, including, oral testimony, material evidence, spaces, school projects, autobiographies, personal diaries, and photographs, to better understand what took place during recess time.[4] Photographs, in particular, are one of the richest sources of information, revealing that rest periods have been a part of Spanish schooling since the late nineteenth century.

In this chapter, we focus specifically on school-related photography in the Balearic Islands.[5] After more than a decade of research on this topic, we can confirm that images of recess have been published in books and featured in stories written about education centers, alongside the existence of unpublished images that we located in school collections and archives.[6] However, identifying and analyzing unpublished photos presents unique challenges. To understand the photographs taken of recess at schools in the Balearic Islands, we first discuss the concept of recess, and its origins and development in Spain.

## The Concept of Recess

The need for recess in the school routine has been the subject of intense debate in certain countries in recent decades. In the United States, for example, the neo-liberal movement in favor of eliminating recess during the school day led many experts to defend the pedagogical, social, physiological, and cognitive benefits of recess against those who consider it to be a waste of time. Evans and Pellegrini, for example, claim that recess responds to physical, cognitive, and motivational needs.[7] During the last two decades, many other arguments have defended recess as a significant

**4** Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar del Pozo, *The Black Box of Schooling. A Cultural History of the Classroom* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011); Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers. Texts and Testimonies 1907–1950* (London: Woburn Press, 2004).

**5** In previous studies we have dealt with school-related photography as a subgenre under which we grouped photographs kept by the schools themselves, those in specialized school archives, images taken in schooling locations and contexts, and those that use some kind of semiotics that specifically relates them to schooling, without having been part of schools' collections or having been taken in schooling spaces or contexts. See: Sara González and Francisca Comas, "Photography and Construction of School Memory," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 11, no. 1 (2016): 215–236.

**6** Francisca Comas, "Localització, anàlisi i utilització de la fotografia com a font per a la historia de l'educació: presentació dels projectes desenvolupats en el Grup d'Estudis d'Història de l'Educació de la UIB," in *Investigar la història de l'educació amb imatges*, ed. Eulàlia Collelldemont (Vic: Eumogràfic-MUVIP, 2014), 53–64.

**7** John Evans and Anthony D. Pellegrini, "Surplus Energy Theory: An Enduring but Inadequate Justification for School Break-Time," *Educational Review* 49 (1997): 229–336, DOI: 10.1080/0013191970490302 (accessed March 22, 2020).

pedagogical resource. Problems and conflicts that can develop during recess (bullying, discrimination, violence) have also been studied, as has the ability of recess to emulate social, economic, and cultural realities.[8]

Additionally, the concept of recess as a time dedicated to school-day rest is strongly associated with a physical space in the school where it tends to take place: the playground. While school playgrounds can be used for activities other than recess (e.g., physical education (PE), performances, shows, and school celebrations), they are deemed ideal for holding recess. In recent years, educational historiography has given special attention to times during the school day and school spaces in general. However, while neither recess time nor playgrounds have received much attention, recent history studies on school playgrounds from around the world provide interesting reflections on the history of schooling and recess from material and spatial perspectives. These studies include the works of Marc Armitage (focusing on England and Wales),[9] Kate Darian-Smith (Australia),[10] Anna Larsson and Björn Norlin (Sweden),[11] and most recently, Inés Dussel (on school playgrounds in Argentina).[12] Among other elements, these publications look at the origins of school playgrounds, the uses that they have been given, and the functions they have served over the last two centuries. Accommodating recess periods is one of these functions.

**8** There are many international works from a variety of scientific disciplines that cover recess and topics related to play, physical activity, behavior, gender differences, inclusion/exclusion, and healthy eating habits, but we have not included them all as this is not the objective of the present study.

**9** Marc Armitage, "The Influence of School Architecture and Design on the Outdoor Play Experience within the Primary School," *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 41, no. 4–5 (2005): 535–553, DOI: 10.1080/00309230500165734 (accessed April 13, 2020).

**10** Kate Darian-Smith, "Australian Children's Play in Historical Perspective: Continuity and Change on the School Playground," *International Journal of Play* 1, no. 3 (2012): 264–278, DOI: 10.1080/21594937.2012.739826 (accessed February 19, 2020).

**11** Anna Larsson, "A Children's Place? The School Playground Debate in Postwar Sweden," *History of Education* 42, no. 1 (2013): 115–130, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2012.69792 (accessed April 23, 2020); Björn Norlin, "Making the Schoolyard: Recess, Recreation, Play, and Other Pedagogical Incentives to Regulate Outdoor School Spaces in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sweden," in *Making Education: Material School Design and Educational Governance*, ed. Ian Grosvenor and Lisa Rosén Rasmussen (Switzerland: Springer, 2018), 33–48.

**12** Inés Dussel, "El patio escolar, de claustro a aula al aire libre. Historia de la transformación de los espacios escolares (Argentina, 1850–1920)," *Anuario de Historia de la Educación* 20, no. 1 (2019): 28–63.

## The Origins of Recess in Spain

The first discussions published in Spain on the idea of rest at school arose during the second half of the nineteenth century and were related to a series of hygiene principles, and were influenced by such scientific disciplines as psychology and pedology, the study of children's behavior and development.[13] At its beginnings in the nineteenth century, Spanish elementary schools did not allot schedule time and space for rest During the school day, which consisted of a three-hour morning session and another three-hour session in the afternoon, students were kept fully busy, and only during the summer were afternoon schedules reduced.. The obsession with maximizing school time (as per laws ratified in 1825, 1838, 1855, and 1857) was reinforced with the appearance of the first Teacher Training School not only for training future teachers but also future Inspectors of Primary School, both of which aimed to establish class schedules that provided no time for rest or vacations, alternating only curricular content and lessons.

However, with the first studies on school fatigue at the end of the nineteenth century, a whole series of rest activities began to appear throughout the school day. Vacation days, recess, and subject reorganization were some of the measures taken to ensure a healthier distribution of time, in line with new hypotheses of the day.[14] Institutions associated with the progressive education – or New School – movement, such as the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE, The Free Institution of Education) and the Museo Pedagógico Nacional (National Pedagogy Museum), were fundamental to the introduction of these healthier practices into Spanish schools. So, too, were the first conferences on school hygiene and publications on topics related to pedagogy, such as the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (the ILE Bulletin), the *Revista de Pedagogía* (the Pedagogy Magazine) and, in the case of the Balearic Islands, *El Magisterio Balear* (Balearic Teaching), a professional journal.[15] Renowned Spanish authors on education who advocated most forcefully for reorganizing the school day and reshape overloaded schedules include: Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, Luis Simarro, Domingo Barnés, and Pedro de Alcántara García.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, educators have institutionalized rest into their school curricula in two ways. First, the need to either create or adapt spaces to serve as recess playgrounds, and second, to introduce brief rest periods

**13** Antonio Viñao, *Tiempos escolares, tiempos sociales* (Madrid: Ariel, 1998).

**14** Agustín Escolano, "Tiempo y educación. La formación del cronosistema. Horario en la escuela elemental (1825–1931)," *Revista de Educación* 301 (1993): 127–163.

**15** Many of these professional journals have been digitized and can be found in the Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica (Historical Press Virtual Library) of the Spanish government's Ministry of Culture and Sport. See: "Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica," last modified May 11, 2020, https://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/inicio/inicio.do

between classes in order to allow students to release the energy accumulated after hours of cognitive effort.[16] In addition to the playground and recess itself, other rest periods from class would also be introduced, including free days.[17]

Legislation regarding school playgrounds first appeared in Spain in provisions addressing the building of schools passed in 1883, 1904, and 1905. These laws set out the regulations for the size and facilities to be included on playgrounds (sand boxes, trees, sources of drinking water). The Department of School Architecture, a branch of the Ministry of Fine Arts and Public Instruction,[18] was charged with establishing the legal parameters of new school buildings and spaces. Their first models, published in 1909, included recess playgrounds, in addition to school libraries, gymnasiums, lecture and manual activity rooms, cafeterias, small-scale museums, washrooms, toilets, and showers. However, from the end of the nineteenth century and through the first decades of the twentieth century, very few schools were built in Spain in general, and particularly in the Balearic Islands. Moreover, as those that existed did not have playgrounds, recess took place in a variety of other spaces: streets, plazas, terraces, interior spaces, or in the countryside, if the school was in a rural area.

In turn, recess as a school time started to be regulated in Spain at the start of the twentieth century. At first, recess was dedicated to exercise and singing – two new subjects that were introduced into primary school curricula in 1901.[19] The authorities, in the following decades, realized, however, that these activities were not restful and, for the remainder of the century, recess became associated with free play time.

Until the 1930s, both the school calendar and schedule, including recess times, were topics of debate. Between 1923 and 1933, the *Revista de Pedagogía* published 15 articles on the school schedule offering different considerations on how to arrange school time using health-related, teaching, organizational, and comparative criteria.[20]

During the Franco dictatorship, recess was fully integrated into the school day, although state schools did not have official schedules nor were they given government guidelines to create them. Thus, teachers themselves were charged with establishing the work and rest rhythms at schools, often guided by recommendations

**16** Purificación Lahoz, "Higiene y arquitectura escolar en la España contemporánea (1838–1936)," *Revista de Educación* 298 (1992): 89–118.

**17** Agustín Escolano, "La arquitectura como programa. Espacio-escuela y currículum," *Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria* 12–13 (1993–1994): 97–120; Agustín Escolano, *Tiempos y espacios para la escuela* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

**18** In their native Spanish, these institutions are known as the Negociado de Arquitectura Escolar and the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes.

**19** Gaceta de Madrid. "Real Decreto. Atendiendo a las razones expuestas por el Ministro de Instrucción pública y Bellas Artes, de acuerdo con el Consejo de Ministros y con lo informado por la Sección primera del Consejo de Instrucción pública," *Gaceta de Madrid* 303 (1901): 498–499.

**20** Escolano, "Tiempo y educación," 127–163.

made in teaching manuals, schedules provided during inspections by provincial officials, or their own experience.[21]

Despite the construction of new schools and their respective playgrounds in early twentieth-century Spain, a school model based on teaching by age groups grades (as opposed to single classroom schools) would not become the national standard until the ratification of Spain's General Education Law of 1970.

## Considerations for the Identification and Historical Interpretation of Photographs of School Recess

Current and older published photographs of school recess often include iconography that we recognize, and which forms part of our collective imagination. The playground tends to bring together certain student activities and attitudes, including spontaneous movement, free play, snacking, and peer interaction based on interests and motivations. In this sense, there is an iconography surrounding recess that enables us to identify it visually.

By the early twentieth century, there were already historical images of recess corresponding to this collective imagination. For example, one of the earliest and best-known published photographs of recess in Spain was taken by the Danish photographer Christian Franzen for an article on the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE), published in the magazine *Alma Española* in 1903.[22] The image (Fig. 8.1) is widely available on the Internet and depicts the main iconographic elements associated with the idea that recess is time for supervised rest and play –a widely accepted belief in Spain since the early twentieth century.

In the photo, we can see a school playground with high walls closing off the area, and children playing typical recess games (Ring Around the Rosie and leapfrog). As the image was captured by a professional photographer for publication, it might be a staged recess photo. Nonetheless, it does illustrate that the idea was to fill these rest times with physical exercise and singing. The photographer shows us elements that are illustrative of a new concept of school recess based on play, in line with the institutional pedagogical ideals of the time. Also worth noting is the fact that one of the four images chosen for an article aimed at publicizing the ILE's pedagogical

**21** Some documents, such as trainee teacher dissertations, include this information. See, for example, Gabriel Barceló, Francisca Comas and Bernat Sureda, "Opening the Black Box: Post-War Spanish State Schools," *Revista de Educación* 371 (2016): 56–77, DOI: 10.4438/1988-592X-RE-2015-371-308 (accessed March 13, 2020).

**22** Manuel Carretero, "España nueva. La Institución Libre de Enseñanza," *Alma Española* 7 (1903): 2–3.

**Fig. 8.1:** *Alma Española* 7 (1903, 3). Photographer: Christian Franzen.

work specifically depicts recess, showing that the management of rest time had become a hallmark of the Institution's pedagogical identity.

Other school photographs published throughout the twentieth century illustrate similar settings and choreographies, and are often associated, as with Fig. 8.1, with modern approaches to teaching.[23] In turn, schools' own archives and collections contain many other images that may show unstaged times or moments of recess and do not have the same iconographic elements. Since they were not taken by a professional for publication, these sometimes more spontaneous images are slightly more ambiguous.

## The image of Recreation in the Balearic Islands

The photographs we located in dissertations and publications (yearbooks and school magazines) enabled us to date them, and some even include information regarding

**23** One recent example is the photograph used to present the exposition *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938–Memoria de la Escuela Pública*. Both the flyers advertising the exposition and the cover of a related printed catalogue depict an image of a recess period. See Ian Grosvenor, María del Mar del Pozo and Antonio Viñao, *Madrid, ciudad educadora 1898/1938 – Memoria de la Escuela Pública* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2019).

the photographer or the place where the picture was taken. We have located and studied numerous photographic collections from state and public schools in detail. We have also analyzed school images found in collections and documentation from specialized and general archives, both at provincial and state level.[24] However, the majority of unpublished school photographs that we have found in recent years in the Balearic Islands have forced us to confront difficulties that have been discussed by some pioneering educational historians in the use of images for history of education research.[25] In all instances, the greatest difficulty lay in the fact that photographs from schools are rarely accompanied by more information than that which is provided in the image itself. Many schools keep photos in boxes without any kind of cataloging system. We were lucky to find some boxes ordered by decade, but few were so neatly cataloged. Usually, we were unable to find any information about the photographer or about exactly when or where the images were taken. Thus, wherever possible, we had to deduce this information by associating other information. In general and specialized records at education museums and archives, we found a better, but far from perfect situation. Here, photographs were often cataloged and thus included some more detailed information, but in the majority of cases, the information was still incomplete, making difficult to fully understand the image. Such difficulties meant that our first attempt to conduct an historical analysis using school photographs as sources, as Burke and Rousmaniere have noted in different contexts,[26] was conditioned on our previous understanding of the time and school spaces under consideration, and on the social imaginary of the school that we have built collectively over the years.

Without additional information to help provide context to these images, certain spaces in which the photos were taken are easy to recognize (inside a classroom, the playground, cafeteria, laboratory, library), but defining school times dedicated to a subject is more difficult. At first glance, some seem obvious – our social imaginary of schools includes iconographic elements that we associate with specific classes (for example, a laboratory space and students working in a lab lead us to recognize the image as a science class). Nevertheless, others are not so clear (for example, an image

**24** We have developed three research projects oriented around the location and analysis of school photographs since 2007, focusing especially on the Balearic Islands. The results of these projects, in the format of publications, are listed in Comas and Sureda, "Photography and history of education".

**25** Early first publications on the use of photography as a resource for studying the history of education addressed these difficulties, as well as methodological issues that could arise. See Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn, "Ways of Seeing in Education and Schooling: Emerging Historiographies," *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 105–108, DOI: 10.1080/00467600010012382 (accessed May 12, 2020).

**26** Catherine Burke, "Containing the School Child: Architectures and Pedagogies," *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 41 no. 4–5 (2005): 489–494, DOI: 10.1080/00309230500165635 (accessed April 13, 2020); Kate Rousmaniere, "Questioning the Visual in the History of Education," *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 109–116, DOI: 10.1080/00467600010012391 (accessed May 12, 2020).

of students doing some kind of physical exercise on the school playground could be a PE class, an end-of-the-year celebration, or a recess period). Consequently, our first challenge with this kind of photographic collection is to correctly identify photographs showing school recess.

## School Recess in Photographs: Identification

We associate recess with a series of specific spaces, elements, and activities, and so by recognizing these we can identify them as recess photographs. However, not all photos depict these spaces, elements, or activities clearly, and this can lead to some confusion.

With regard to space, the playground is the setting most commonly associated with recess. However, an image captured of a school playground does not mean that it depicts recess. We must remember that schools have traditionally used playgrounds for a range of other activities, including end-of-year or start-of-year events, parties and celebrations, award ceremonies, PE classes, or sport and art exhibitions. Given the technical advantages of the space and the light that it provides compared to other school spaces, a considerable number of old school photographs in schools' own archives and collections were taken on their playgrounds.

Moreover, there are images that show recess in many different settings, including on terraces, in the vicinity of the school, in fields next to school buildings or, simply, in the streets. In these cases, the spaces tend to be open and outdoors, although there are also images of recess time inside school buildings, further complicating its unequivocal identification as school time. What helps us to identify recess in the images is not the space itself, but the iconographic elements that we associate with this activity and which represent actions such as play, snacking, rest, and improvisation.

We should also note the possible difficulty in recognizing a playground in an image when it does appear. Even though we may know the school building in which the photograph was taken, we cannot always identify the specific space. Here, certain iconographic elements that we associate with school playgrounds aid our analysis, for example, basketball hoops (very common in playgrounds of Spanish state schools since the Franco era), soccer goalposts, and other elements of play such as slides and swings.

Apart from physical space, recess has allowed students to enjoy a series of activities. The main one is play. In the photographs, it is easy to spot the boys and girls playing, whose visual representation involves action, movement, nonchalance, and general happiness. This play may be accompanied by objects, such as balls, tops, marbles, ropes, or swings and slides. We can also recognize typical playground games, like Ring Around the Rosie, leapfrog, and jump rope because they

form part of our collective social imaginary. In many instances, the photographer (professional or not) seems to have intentionally chosen these objects or games to visually express the idea of recess.

Practicing sports, not just games, can also be associated with recess, though confusion may arise since certain sports are played during PE class, celebrations, or exhibitions. Thus, other iconographic elements can help us distinguish between a photo of recess and a one of a PE class or a celebration. Perhaps the most important element is wardrobe: sport uniforms are associated with competition between teams, requiring a level of organization unavailable during free play. For recess, there is hardly time to change clothes. Other elements related to the disciplined practice of sport (presence of referees, player positioning) can be of assistance in distinguishing recess, where playing sport is always informal.

Another element that can help us visually identify recess in Spain is the presence of snacks. School photographs in which we can see children eating sandwiches or any other kind of snack immediately suggests school recess. Even in the absence of other elements such as play, outdoor spaces, or movement, the presence of a midday snack is enough for the image to be considered a recess or rest photo. Children eating in a photo immediately points to recess period, even if the image was taken in a classroom. In this case, we would likely interpret that the children were unable to go out to the playground due to the weather or simply because they preferred to have their snack in the classroom before going outside, and not associate the image with any other school period.

Finally, we should reference one activity, or rather the lack thereof, that is often associated with school rest periods: not doing anything. While not being able to identify any particular activity in a photograph does not necessarily make us think that it is a recess period, if we add to this particular lack of activity the playground or spaces outside of the school, alongside nonchalant attitudes, relaxation, unwinding, or improvisation, we could link the image to recess. We have found many images of school recess from schools' own collections, where children are on the playground and not performing any particular activity which could be related to any curricular subject. Thus, in cases where no activity is being carried out, we automatically consider whether the image could show a recess period.

We have selected two photographs from the same school collection located in the Balearic Islands as an example of what has been said so far. This is a collection of images preserved without any apparent order or additional information in a state school album in Mallorca. After analyzing the entire collection and in the absence of further information that could help us, we concluded that the two images shown below visualize recess time. However, this has implied certain difficulties. Let's see why.

Fig. 8.2 can be clearly identified as school recess. There are iconographic elements such as play, rest or improvisation, and we also easily identify the physical space with basketball hoops – an unequivocal element of Spanish school playgrounds. Some

**Fig. 8.2:** CEIP La Soledat Archive (Palma). Undated. Photographer: Unknown.

**Fig. 8.3:** CEIP La Soledat Archive (Palma). Undated. Photographer: Unknown.

children are playing basketball without equipment or apparent discipline, surrounded by others walking, playing, or even sitting on the floor having a snack.

One photograph, however, was a challenge (Fig. 8.3). On the one hand, we can see that the children are playing indoors, with a dining table converted into a ping pong table. We do not see a playground, snacks, or other iconographic elements that appear in the previous image. Nor is the image supported by any explanation that would allow us to say that it is a photograph of recess. On the other hand, such iconographic elements as free play, the lack of discipline, the relaxed attitudes of those watching the match, the informality of the situation, and above all, the absence of elements that connect to curricular activity (or at least with the image we have of it) suggest that it is a photograph of recess.

To summarize, there is an iconography of school recess that enables us to identify it in photographs, including spaces, actions, objects, artifacts, gestures, and attitudes. Perhaps none of these elements by themselves are enough to identify school recess in a photograph, but the combination of several can lead us to deem that an image shows a recess period and not another school activity.

## Keys for Interpreting Photographs of Recess

These school photographs were taken by someone for a reason. The photographer chose what he or she was going to capture, as well as the moment and perspective at which to do it. The result is a social construction of the school-related times, models, concepts, and ideas that an image intends to convey. Consequentially, understanding the context in which the photo was taken is key to properly interpreting the history behind it. Though we have previously mentioned that, in the case of school photographs, this information is not always available.[27]

There could be various reasons why some schools were interested in photographing recess. On the one hand, it could be due to the school's or a specific teacher's interest in showing the importance of rest and play periods or students' satisfaction, as they often appear smiling and relaxed in recess photos. On the other hand, recess may have been captured to showcase schools' facilities. During Francoism, many public schools in the Balearic Islands made use of large buildings that offered families various boarding options. In these instances, the facilities and spaces available to children

**27** In Spain, it was María del Mar del Pozo who initiated the debate on how to analyze photographs as a resource for studying the history of education, emphasizing the importance of the medium. See María del Mar del Pozo, "Imágenes e historia de la educación: construcción, reconstrucción y representación de las prácticas escolares en el aula," *Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria* 25 (2006): 291–315.

for rest, play, sports, recreation, and leisure took on as much or more importance than academics or teaching.

It is also interesting to know where and why the images were conserved, and how and to what extent they were circulated over the years (and even today). It would be very useful to distinguish between photos kept in school collections that make up part of schools' own albums and those that we found in yearbooks, magazines, and private collections as, in these different cases, the audience and motivation for taking the photos and conserving them in one place or another, could differ greatly. The image itself, along with what we know about the context in which it was taken, stored, and circulated, helps us to construct a more in-depth understanding of the photographs and their visual discourses.

Each photograph should be analyzed by taking into account all of the above, in order to approach any interpretation. By way of example, we have selected two photographs that were taken during the 1961–62 school year at a state school for boys in Alaró (Mallorca) (Figs. 8.4 and 8.5). These pictures were found in a dissertation submitted on the Rational Pedagogy course at Madrid's Complutense University, by the trainee teacher B.R.A.[28] Both photos, along with 13 others, were taken by B.R.A. to provide pictorial testimony in his dissertation on this particular boy's school.[29] The majority of the photos show the setting in which the school is located (the town or landscapes), six of them explicitly show the school, and two of those include school activities, which, coincidentally or not, depict recess. The remaining four school images show the building, the playground, a group of teachers, and a typical photo that seems to have been taken as a memento.

We have selected these two unpublished recess photographs from the Balearic Islands as we know the photographer, and they are included in a document that provides information that can help with interpretation. This allows us a more thorough approach when presenting it here as an example of how to approach interpretation.

The two photos displayed below (Figs. 8.4 and 8.5) show the plot of land adjacent to the school that has been converted into the school playground.

The author of the dissertation described it as a recess playground, stating that the school had a spacious playground surrounded by pine trees and with a soccer field, though he found an abandoned water tank in the middle of the field to be disconcerting.[30] The presence of this covered tank and the surrounding pine trees

**28** B.R.A., "Matricula y asistencia escolar en la escuela graduada de Alaró (Mallorca). Universidad de Madrid (curso 1961–1962)," *Fondo Romero Marín (FRM). Museo Manuel Bartolomé Cossío (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)* FRM 503 (1961–1962): 1–46.

**29** Gabriel Barceló and Teresa Rabazas, "La escuela en Mallorca durante el franquismo, una aproximación a través de las memorias de prácticas del Fondo Romero Marín," in *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació. Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació*, ed. Francisca Comas, Sara González, Xavier Motilla, and Bernat Sureda (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014), 87–100.

**30** B. R. A., "Matricula y asistencia escolar," 35.

**Fig. 8.4:** Collection of Romero Marín (503). B. R. A. teaching dissertation (1961–1962 school year). Photographer: B. R. A.

**Fig. 8.5:** Collection of Romero Marín (503). B. R. A. teaching dissertation (1961–1962 school year). Photographer: B. R. A.

tells us that the space was not designed to be used as a playground, but rather was converted to serve that purpose.

The author expresses a pedagogic interest in playgrounds. In his dissertation, he defended rest as something necessary and highly beneficial, even observing that spaces for recess were crucial for children, and commenting that "children need recesses, and it is of great value to have a field with conditions that allow children to freely entertain themselves during these times."[31]

The dissertation includes three photographs of the converted playground (two of which are shown here): one of the space while empty and two including children. The photo without children shows the playground as a school space, albeit at a non-recess time. It can be useful, in order to recognize recess time, to depict both the physical space and the subjects, activities, and attitudes typical of the rest period.

Fig. 8.4 shows the size of the playground, with an improvised goal built out of three posts in the background. Nearby, we can see children playing, some sitting on the ground, and others standing or running, perhaps playing or chasing after a soccer ball. Though we cannot see the game very well in the photograph, it shows a recess period. The footnote accompanying the photo only alludes to the space as a playing field. The author explains that it is enjoyable to watch the children happily and noisily at play during recess time. According to the author, the games which the children played include soccer, skittles (a lawn game), play with imaginary guns, tag, and some traditional games in Spain as "four-corner" or "handkerchief" game.[32]

Fig. 8.5 depicts a group of similarly-aged children standing near a wall that splits the outdoor space adjacent to the school in two. According to B.R.A., the school in the background was opened in 1933, during the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939). Accompanying the photo is a handwritten note by the author that says "The wall separating the two schools," referencing the division wall between the boys' and girls' school. The boys in the photo are standing, looking off to the other side of the wall, apparently not doing anything else. They do not appear to be posing for the photo, but rather seem to be interested in what is happening on the other side. The picture shows the boys acting naturally and relaxed, albeit with curiosity.

If the author describes recess as a time for games, then why did he include this image in his dissertation? Why did he feel it was important to show a wall that separates the boys' and girls' schools? What did he aim to show in this image without text? The fact that the image is included in the dissertation and that the footnote references the wall could be significant. The wall is a symbol, an iconographic element that not only represents the separation of the sexes in school, but also the separation of the sexes throughout Francoist Spain. The boys observe the girls from the

**31** B. R. A., "Matricula y asistencia escolar,", 36.

**32** B. R. A., "Matricula y asistencia escolar,", 36.

other side of the wall. One boy even sits on the wall, but they are all looking curiously towards where it is prohibited to go.

Both photographs provide us with information at different levels. The author chose to take photographs to illustrate his work. It is possible that this decision was conditioned on factors outside of his control. Perhaps for technical reasons, he was unable to take photos of interior spaces or he did not have permission to take photos during class. But it is also possible that he chose to take photographs of recess because of its value to teaching.

This interest in recess and its pedagogical benefits is not all we can gather from an analysis and interpretation of these photographs. They also show the physical space used for recess. In terms of the material history of schools, these images provide information on what school playgrounds were really like during this time period in Spain. Far from what is suggested by regulatory, architectural, or teaching guidelines, school playgrounds were often just adjacent land to schools or fields reconverted into play spaces with equipment such as basketball hoops or goals built out of simple materials. These images show a clear lack of resources.

They also tell us about recess as a school practice. In the dissertation, B.R.A. describes some games and activities that children carried out during rest periods and even explains how recess represents a time for rest and fun for children. Moreover, the images show much more about recess than what is written in the dissertation. A careful consideration of the two photographs discussed (Figs. 4 and 5) shows other things that took place at recess, providing reflections on socialization among peers and the school and social realities in a specific context at a specific time. In the dissertation, B.R.A. addresses games and sports, but in Fig. 8.5, what we see is neither play nor sport, but rather, curiosity. The social reality and state of affairs in Spanish schools during the 1960s – in the midst of the Francoist dictatorship – kept men and women, as well as boys and girls, in separate, differentiated realms. Schools were a reflection of a society where the separation of sexes was officially imposed. The purpose of Fig. 8.5, as confirmed by the author in a footnote, is to show the wall that separates the boys' and girls' schools. This wall is an architectural element that becomes symbolic of a specific social and educational reality. But the image also shows us how the children look over the wall, interested in that which is prohibited, longing for socialization beyond the politically- imposed barriers of the day. The snapshot captured by the camera depicts natural human curiosity in the only school time and space in which, during the Franco regime, it could exist: recess. They can be an example about how photographs can implicity undermine networks of power.

## Conclusions

The fact that school recess has been photographed throughout the twentieth century is proof of the various levels of interest that there has been in this rest period. However, historical analysis of recess promises to be a fruitful line of inquiry. Recently, articles that analyze the playground via a consideration of schools' material history have been published. However, we still know very little about what actually happened during these recess periods.

In this sense, we consider photographs to be very useful, as they can show us not only objects, spaces, elements, and activities related to recess in the past, but also enable us to see the concept of recess at different times and in different contexts. In order to make use of these images, though, we must first find and identify them. This is the initial hurdle that historians must overcome, given that school photographs are not always accompanied by information that helps to contextualize them. Additionally, when considering recess in the past, we must overcome the preconceived ideas that we have, and define the iconographic elements that allow us to discern between images showing recess and those showing other school times. Elements such as spaces, activities, gestures, and attitudes of the subjects being photographed can help to identify recess, and even parts that are not photographed can provide us with information. For example, thanks to oral testimonies, we know that students would often make use of recess periods to go to the bathroom, but for reasons of privacy, related images were not taken. Thus, for a complete historical analysis, we must also consider the moments of recess that were not captured by the camera.

In order to interpret these images, we must examine the contexts in which they were produced, stored, and disseminated – another difficult task given the idiosyncrasies of school photos. Nonetheless, images of recess periods can provide us with information on different issues, and an analysis of the photos can be linked to various approaches to studying the history of schools and of education in general, as well as the study of material history, the history of school practices, and the history of pedagogical thought.

In short, these images may provide testimony that other sources cannot. As recess is a school time about which much has been written, visual analysis provides us with specific information on both the practice and its historical evolution, as well as the constructed and projected visual discourses they contain, enlightening us as to how the public imagines recess itself. From highly staged to completely impromptu photos, all these images build discourses about what recess was, what it was meant to be, and what it represented. But beyond this, photographs of recess also provide us with information about school culture at different moments in time, and even about social, financial, and political realities reflected through the school. From here, the challenge is to include images of recess among the sources used to document school history from different perspectives.

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Karin Priem

# Chapter 9
# Visual Presence and Interpretation: Two Dimensions of the Fight Against Illiteracy in Texts by Carlo Levi and Photographs by David Seymour (1950)

> None of us can ever retrieve that innocence before all theory . . .
>
> Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation* (1966)

## Introduction

In March 1950, David Seymour started working on an ambitious reportage on illiteracy, then a major problem in Southern Italy. On assignment for UNESCO, he visited a number of remote villages in the region of Calabria: Roggiano Gravina, Bagaladi, Saucci, San Nicola da Crissa, Cimino, and Capistrano.[1] His journey resulted in approximately 540 pictures, many of which showed reading and writing classes for children and adults. These classes were run by local committees of the Unione nazionale per la lotta contro l'analfabetismo (National League for the Fight Against Illiteracy, UNLA), an organization created with the aim of establishing democratic political structures in Calabria by teaching peasants and their children how to read and write.[2] In all likelihood it was Carlo Levi who first introduced David Seymour to the mentality and the hierarchical and oppressive cultural, social, and political landscape of Southern Italy. Levi and Seymour were well acquainted, and it was Seymour who advised Levi to publish some of his articles focusing on the situation in Southern Italy in the *New York Times Magazine* in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[3]

**1** See Giovanna Hendel, Carole Naggar, and Karin Priem, eds., *They Did Not Stop at Eboli: UNESCO and the Campaign against Illiteracy in a Reportage by David "Chim" Seymour and Texts by Carlo Levi (1950)* (Paris: UNESCO; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

**2** On the first exchanges between UNESCO and UNLA, see Giovanna Hendel, "UNESCO's Archival Collections: A Rich Source for Telling the Gripping Story of the Fight against Illiteracy in Southern Italy," in Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 181–197.

**3** Carlo Levi wrote a total of five articles on the political and social problems in Calabria, which were published in the *New York Times Magazine*: "Peasants Stir in Groping Italy," *New York Times Magazine*, September 14, 1947; "For Freedom We Must Conquer Fear," *New York Times Magazine*, October 3, 1948; "Eboli Revisited: New Life Stirs," *New York Times Magazine*, March 13, 1949; "Italy Fights the Battle

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110696905-010

This chapter looks at both images and texts. By analyzing Seymour's photo story and contact sheets, I suggest that his pictures focus on what was visible and present at the time by providing a filmic archive of the fight against illiteracy and the efforts to achieve social change in Calabria. Conversely, I argue that Levi's texts focus on intellectual analysis and on reading and writing as necessary preconditions for political participation and citizenship. The chapter explores these two different approaches to the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy while also taking into account interactions between images and texts. It first draws on textual sources and looks at how reading and writing are described, endorsed, and understood by a politically and socially engaged journalist, poet, and painter, Carlo Levi, who primarily focused on the mental, cultural, and political impacts of reading and writing. The chapter then discusses the successive moments or filmic presence in Seymour's series of photographs on the fight against illiteracy, while assuming that documentary photography also has an impact at the cultural and political levels. The chapter will conclude by focusing on the differences between visual and textual approaches and how these two dimensions interact to achieve societal change.

## Textual Analysis and the Side Effect of Paintings: The Artist and the Political Activist

Carlo Levi's focus on one of the poorest regions in Italy was a direct result of his anti-fascist engagement. In the mid-1930s, Levi was arrested several times and finally "exiled" in Lucania (now Basilicata) by Mussolini's government. Levi portrayed the Southern Italian region to which he was banished in 1935–36 in his novel *Christ Stopped at Eboli*.[4]

In his novel, Levi writes that not only were members of the ruling classes fleeing the poverty and hardship of the South, preferring to lead a better life in Rome, Naples or abroad, but that south Italian migrants of all social strata were leaving behind those who were "physically deformed," "inept" or "lazy" – people labeled as "the discarded" and/or considered to have "no talents."[5] A high rate of male emigration from the South caused what Levi called a "matriarchal regime" with a high number of

Against Illiteracy," *New York Times Magazine*, November 6, 1949; and "Italy's Peasants Look at Land Reform," *New York Times Magazine*, May 17, 1953.

**4** Written between December 1943 and July 1944, the novel was published in Italy in 1945 and in English translation in 1947: Carlo Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli: The Story of a Year*, trans. Frances Frenaye (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Company, 1947). See also Carole Naggar, "Carlo Levi and Chim: Ethics, Empathy, and Politics – A Journey into the Meezzogiorno," in Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 245–252.

**5** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 28.

"illegitimate" children who never learned how to read or write even though they were eager to do so.[6] In the eyes of the peasants, the government in Rome had always been a distant alien power, and the only symbol of its presence, according to Levi, was a "public toilet" of monumental size that had been erected in the middle of a square in one of the villages; the peasants were not keen on using this symbol of modernity and hygiene.[7]

A recurring motif of Levi's novel is the "bottomless sadness of the desolate countryside," with the peasants' showing their hostility through resignation, apathy, and silence rather than by means of verbal expression and political opposition.[8] Levi wrote:

> There will always be an abyss between the State and the peasants, whether the State be Fascist, Liberal, Socialist or take on some new form in which the middle-class bureaucracy still survives. We can bridge the abyss only when we succeed in creating a government in which the peasants feel they have some share. . . . Plans laid by a central government, however much good they may do, still leave two hostile Italys on either side of the abyss. . . . Peasant civilization will always be the loser but it will not be entirely crushed. It will persevere under a cover of patience, interrupted by sporadic explosions, and the spiritual crisis will continue. Brigandage, the peasant war, is a symptom of what I mean, and this upheaval of the last century is not the last of its kind. Just as long as Rome rules over Matera, Matera will be lawless and despairing, and Rome despairing and tyrannical.[9]

In Levi's opinion, however, the worst enemies of the peasants were not the government or the landowners who lived in the cities, but those he referred to as the "physically and morally degenerate" "middle-class village tyrants."[10] Towards the end of his novel, Levi argued for the creation of a nation state of which the peasants would become an integral part and in which they would participate as an "autonomous or self-governing rural community."[11]

A *New York Times Magazine* article by Levi on the situation in Southern Italy, with a specific focus on education, was published two years later, in 1949. Entitled "Italy Fights the Battle of Illiteracy: That the people may learn democracy, the smallest villages strive to start schools," it was illustrated with five photographs by John Swope (1908–1979), who also worked for *LIFE* magazine.[12] In 1952 the very same article appeared in the *UNESCO Courier* with a slightly different title – "Southern Italy Fights the Battle Against Illiteracy" – and featured photographs by David Seymour, each accompanied by a caption consisting of a short text extracted from the

**6** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 102.
**7** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 45.
**8** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 65.
**9** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 250–251.
**10** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 252.
**11** Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, 254.
**12** Levi, "Italy Fights the Battle Against Illiteracy."

full photo story created by David Seymour.[13] As already mentioned, Seymour was working on assignment for UNESCO to document the campaign against illiteracy in Southern Italy.

In his article Levi described the battle against illiteracy as a fight against a deeply rooted problem that was much more apparent in the South, and had to do with poverty and a long standing lack of democratic structures. According to Levi, the origins of illiteracy were not only economic; they could also be traced to the specific political and social culture and the related mentality of Italy's South. He accused past central governments and the ruling feudal classes of the South of having frozen the status quo for centuries by means of tyranny: blocking education for peasants and their children, preventing them from learning and from seizing opportunities to improve their lives and become independent. The resignation and apathy of the peasants was described as resulting from these structures, and Levi explicitly acknowledged the specific culture of the peasants' everyday life. He writes:

> They live in an immobile and timeless world, circumscribed by ancient rites and customs and the tasks imposed by the changing seasons; yet, a world that is rich in human values and a culture all its own. There is a peasant way of life that is radically different from our modern, urban civilization; a peasant art and a peasant philosophy that have been handed down without benefit of the written word in the heritage of legends, folk tales, popular dramas and songs, all of which have inspired or enriched our more sophisticated art forms.[14]

Levi repeatedly praised the peasants' affinity for poetry and symbolic language. However, he observed a fundamental lack of written culture and explained this by the peasants' wish to protect themselves from the central government and its oppressive language. Illiteracy was a means of self-imposed segregation and passive resistance.

In his article Levi repeatedly stressed his call for democratization by means of education. He wrote that the peasants welcomed the new republican government at the end of the Second World War as a new era, a chance to learn and to become fully accepted citizens – also with the support of the National League for the Fight Against Illiteracy (UNLA) and its local commissions and agents. In 1948, the reader learns, many local committees dedicated to fighting illiteracy were set up by enthusiastic teachers and others committed to tackling illiteracy. Despite a severe shortage of school buildings and teaching materials, there seems to have been a good level of attendance by young and adult learners at the various classes and courses organized by

**13** Carlo Levi, "Southern Italy Fights the Battle Against Illiteracy," *UNESCO Courier* 5, no. 3 (1952): 3–5. Magnum photographers usually created a photo story by selecting individual pictures from their contact sheets and adding captions and comments which referred to this selection. For more details on Seymour's photo story on the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy, see Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 55–132.

**14** Levi, "Italy Fights the Battle Against Illiteracy," 14.

the committees. Initiatives also included setting up libraries, providing radio receivers, magazines, and newspapers for educational purposes and organizing discussions on agricultural, technical, and medical issues.

Another article by Levi was published by the *New York Times Magazine* in 1953, this time on land reform. It is relevant for this chapter because the text is accompanied by a small selection of Levi's paintings portraying the ordinary people of the South.[15] In this text, Levi repeats his thoughts on the peasants' distance from and mistrust of any governmental reform, including the measures of the new republican government, which had redistributed farmland and invested a considerable sum in agricultural infrastructure and housing. Levi concluded that the peasants' world was hard to access and explains that he produced his paintings as a way of understanding their mentality: "Everywhere, I talked with the country people, I listened to them, looked into their faces and painted them, sure of finding an answer to questions to which their spoken response was anything but clear."[16] As an anti-fascist activist, artist, and journalist, Carlo Levi had been banished to the South as a political outcast by the Mussolini regime; it was for this reason that he was respected by the peasants. But despite this mutual acceptance, it was difficult for him to intellectually understand the villagers' mentality and constant fear of being betrayed by any kind of government. Levi felt that what he called the peasants' irrational mistrust and fear could not be explained by logic alone. He painted portraits in the hope that art would help him find a different mode of observation and understanding; at home in his studio, he saw "real human beings" and heard many confusing voices which led him to the final conclusion that the situation in the South "requires considerable interpretation."[17] In other words, the empathy and presence created by an image, even if it provided the keys to a better understanding, were only part of the solution Levi was looking for.

Carlo Levi's answer to the fundamental difference between, on the one hand, himself as an intellectual, political activist, and artist and, on the other hand, the peasants was to look more closely and to strive for a thorough analysis and detailed interpretation while acting and thinking from a perspective based on sensitivity, empathy, and respect.[18]

**15** Levi, "Italy's Peasants Look at Land Reform."

**16** Levi, "Italy's Peasants Look at Land Reform.", 12.

**17** Levi, "Italy's Peasants Look at Land Reform."

**18** Carole Naggar writes: "Because of Levi's deep, ongoing relationship with the visual world as a painter, we get the feeling that his collaboration with Chim went beyond the text he wrote for the *UNESCO Courier*. It is as if Levi . . . was trying to abolish the distance between word and image." See Carole Naggar, "Carlo Levi and Chim: Ethics, Empathy, and Politics – A Journey into the Mezzogiorno," in Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli,* 247–248.

## Visual Presence and Embodied Technology: The Photographer's Approach

In an essay on the "uses of photography," John Berger writes that with the "invention of the lightweight camera" and the emergence of photojournalism, taking a picture "ceased to be a ritual and became a 'reflex.'"[19] In photojournalism, as opposed to traditional journalism, the roles of text and photograph were reversed: the text was subordinated to the picture. This was a fundamental working principle of the photography cooperative Magnum, founded in 1947. Magnum's photographers, who included David Seymour, one of the founding members of the cooperative, were asked to create and edit photo stories based on their contact sheets by selecting photographs for publication and adding captions and comments to them. To this day, the Magnum Archives in Paris and New York hold the full collection of photo stories created by Magnum photographers, all of which adhered to the rule that "the text follows the image." This collection also includes a full record of all Magnum contact sheets. While the archives thus serve as the infrastructural backbone for publishing and promoting Magnum photographs around the globe, they hold equal relevance and importance as historical archives.

Kristen Lubben, currently serving as executive director at the Magnum Foundation, describes contact sheets of analog photography films as full records of a photographer's work and itinerary. According to Lubben, looking at contact sheets means having intimate access to a photographer's "diary of experiences, a private tool that records mistakes, missteps, dead ends – and lucky breaks."[20] Contact sheets are said to show the "full process of image-making," and each picture has its place as a specific moment and connecting element within a sequence.[21] Thus, contact sheets can be described as a filmic record and testimony of a photographer's work – or, as Lubben puts it:

> On the cusp of becoming anachronistic [in the digital age], they take on the aura of history and come to stand in for a bygone era in photography, with its manual cameras and whiff of darkroom chemicals. No longer an active working tool for most photographers, the contact sheet is relegated to the archive, of interest as a historic document. Its value there may yet prove even greater than its original function; an enduringly accessible record of what and how photographers saw for nearly a century.[22]

If one looks at David Seymour's contact sheets as filmic historical documents (see for example Figs. 9.1–9.3), one should also consider John Berger's line of argumentation

**19** John Berger, "Uses of Photography," in *About Looking*, ed. John Berger (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 53.

**20** Kristen Lubben, ed., *Magnum Contact Sheets* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 10.

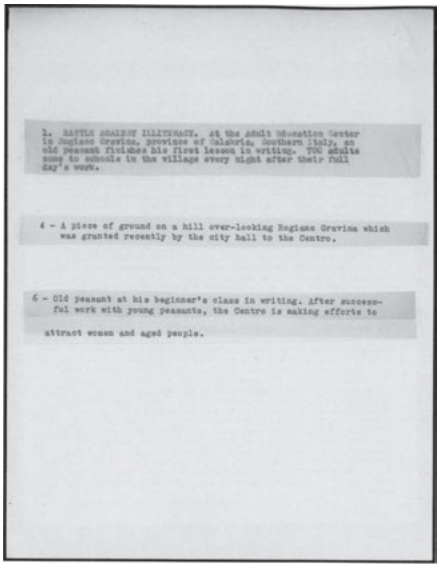
**21** Kristen Lubben, ed., *Magnum Contact Sheets* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 12.

**22** Kristen Lubben, ed., *Magnum Contact Sheets* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 14.

that photographs are historical traces and a set of appearances recorded by means of a specific technology. According to Berger, a photographic appearance, even if impressive and strong, does not bear meaning in itself. It needs to be situated in a context in order to become a meaningful part of the past, of lived experience and memory.

Taking into account Lubben's suggestions, I would now like to look at Seymour's contact sheets as historical documents and filmic traces of his journey.[23]

The first film (and contact sheet), starts with several photographs of Roggiano Gravina, the first village visited by Seymour. While these photographs were taken at a distance, others were taken at close range. We see impressive portraits of elderly


1. BATTLE AGAINST ILLITERACY. At the Adult Education Center in Roglano Gravina, province of Calabria, Southern Italy, an old peasant finishes his first lesson in writing. 700 adults come to schools in the village every night after their full day's work.

4 - A piece of ground on a hill over-looking Rogiano Gravina which was granted recently by the city hall to the Centre.

6 - Old peasant at his beginner's class in writing. After successful work with young peasants, the Centre is making efforts to attract women and aged people.


**Fig. 9.1:** Double spread of Seymour's UNESCO album with contact sheets, reprinted from Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 56–57.

**23** For facsimiles of Seymour's contact sheets, together with captions and comments, see Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*. Seymour's contact sheets and his photo story on the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy can be found in two archives: one copy can be found in the Magnum Archives in New York and a second copy with the same content was recently found in the UNESCO Archives in Paris. According to the Magnum rules, Seymour selected photographs for publication and added captions and comments to his selection of pictures on the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy. While Magnum always respected the intimacy of contact sheets and the photographer's choice, this was not the case with UNESCO, which made its own decisions, often ignoring the photographer's preferences. On Seymour's album as a tool for editing and storytelling, see Karin Priem, "David Seymour's Album on the Fight against Illiteracy in Calabria as a Tool of Mediatization: Material Traces and Visual Storytelling," in Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 263–274.

men sitting in a classroom and concentrating on writing exercises. This difference in perspective makes us aware of some often neglected aspects of photography: photographs are taken in real time, in real places, and the photographer has to move and connect to his/her surrounding environment. After all, documentary photography is an embodied social practice.[24] Photography not only implies physical movement to achieve a change of perspective, but also involvement at a social level. Seymour's work as a photographer not only consisted of pushing the release button at a certain moment in time; it also meant approaching a small village as a foreigner, walking in the streets, watching and being watched, sensing and listening, talking to the locals who speak a foreign dialect, building up trust, collecting information, asking to be granted access, etc.

Seymour did well and seems to have created a trustful atmosphere. His first contact prints show not only impressive close-ups of adults and old men learning how to write, but also various interior classroom scenes featuring adolescents, women, and children. Seymour managed to be respectful and sensitive, and to create an atmosphere of concentration and serenity. After his first sequence of indoor pictures,

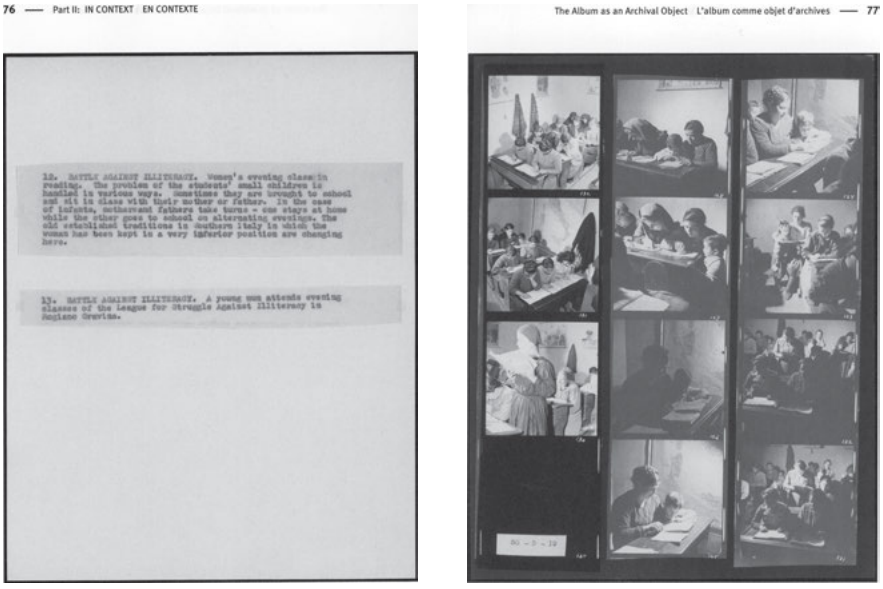



**Fig. 9.2:** Double spread of Seymour's UNESCO album with contact sheets, reprinted from Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 76–77.

**24** This multisensorial approach to photography is also discussed by Inés Dussel, "Photos Found in the Archive: An Approximation to the Work with Images Based on an Amateur Album on Children's Games (Argentina, Late Nineteenth Century)," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 10 (2019): 91–129.

Seymour returned to the open air. Again, he chose to capture distant views, but we also see street scenes showing women carrying heavy loads on their heads, a photograph of two goats and a child, and of a group of women and children concentrating on writing exercises and handicrafts at the entrance to their house. Seymour slowly approached the women and children in a sequence of three pictures. The contact sheet's last photograph shows another distant view of Roggiano Gravina.

It was probably the following day that Seymour went back indoors and photographed classrooms with young boys and girls concentrating on their writing exercises and playing music on stage; the last two images of this contact sheet show a group of children walking through an arch. After taking this photograph, Seymour had to pause and reload his camera. He walked through the arch himself and took some pictures from the opposite perspective before continuing to wander through the streets of Roggiano Gravina. The next contact sheet shows a medical doctor examining a young man accompanied by a woman who is presumably his mother. Seymour then captured additional classroom scenes showing a mixed age group consisting of young boys and elderly men. On the following contact sheet, we see several photographs of a well-dressed middle-aged man – Seymour's comment identifies him as Giuseppe Zanfini, the director of the local center for popular culture and education – reading a letter to a mother and her child. These pictures are followed by more impressive classroom scenes of girls and mothers accompanied by their young children. The photographs of the classrooms testify to the peasants' shared and intergenerational focus on learning.

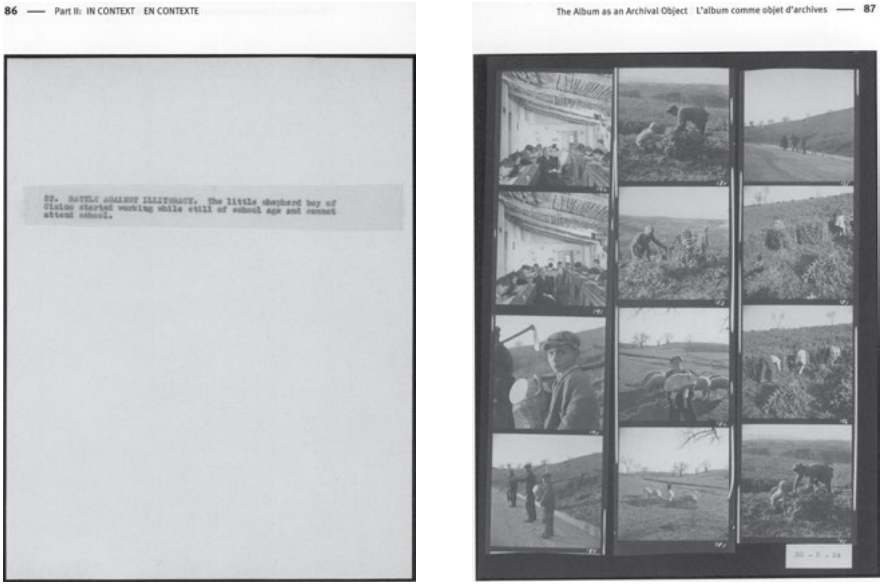



**Fig. 9.3:** Double spread of Seymour's UNESCO album with contact sheets, reprinted from Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 86–87.

David Seymour then seems to have moved on to Cimino, a nearby village. Along the route he photographed men working in the fields, evoking his famous photographs of the Spanish Civil War. As he approached Cimino, Seymour took several images of a stable that had been turned into a school building with a group of children in front of it. Again, Seymour had to reload his camera while the children walked into the stable and sat down on the benches. He then took some impressive indoor images of this classroom, highlighting the lack of proper education facilities in Calabria. Directly in front of the stable door, Seymour's eye was drawn to a shepherd tending to his sheep and three decorative amphoras in the foreground. Again, he had to reload his camera, and he continued his exploration with pictures showing peasants working in the fields. He took a seminal and very sensitive portrait of a young shepherd he met on the road, and we can see that his first image of the boy was taken at a distance. He visited another makeshift classroom (most probably in the next village) and took some more indoor photographs of the students and their female teacher.

The following contact sheet shows pictures that were taken in another poor village, San Nicolo de Crissa. Photographs of a classroom with young boys and an adult man practicing reading are juxtaposed with a stunning and emotionally loaded portrait of a young boy with big eyes and an open face. Back outside, Seymour took a picture of a woman who was managing to simultaneously carry a toddler in her arms and vegetables on her head. Two additional street scenes follow. He reloaded his camera, continued walking, and took more street photographs of two young girls wearing warm shawls (though one of the girls wore no shoes) and a close-up shot of an elderly woman in traditional costume. The next photographs on this contact sheet were again taken in a classroom with poor lighting (three negatives came out dark); the learners were adult men, including a father accompanied by a charming and alert looking toddler who attracts the viewer's attention.

The next contact sheet starts with photographs of a classroom in another village showing a boy standing in front of a torn map of Europe. Other photographs on the same contact sheet confirm that Seymour had been walking on narrow mountain paths to visit the different villages.

The pictures on the next contact sheet were taken in the village of Saucci. They show another stable that had been turned into a school building. The following two contact sheets again feature distant views of the area, mountain paths, a farmhouse with a traditional outdoor oven, an interior with no furniture and no windows, a wonderful portrait of a young boy taking a rest, and more poor dwellings and families encountered by Seymour during his tour of the mountain villages. The next contact sheets not only show more of the same; they also reveal something of how Seymour took portraits of local people. He usually started by photographing them from a distance and then took one or two more pictures before deciding to take a final close-up shot. We see a girl walking with a goat, carrying a basket and a heavy load on her head; the village teacher on his scooter being pushed by the children in bad weather; a young boy and a donkey in front of a stable; women and men

working and resting in the fields; more women carrying heavy loads. Seymour subsequently returned to Roggiano Gravina. There, he took nine impressive photographs of an evening school, focusing in particular on a young shepherd and an intelligent looking middle-aged man doing reading exercises. The medium-format contact sheets end with more landscape impressions and two pictures of a group of male adolescents looking out of a window.[25]

Seymour used the technology of the camera and the mobility of his body to record specific moments in time at different sites and from different angles and perspectives. Photographic technology and photography as an embodied practice had additional effects on Seymour's work. Each film roll of his medium-format camera had twelve exposures, which forced him to pause after each sequence to reload.[26] The analog technology also meant that he could not immediately see what he had captured; he had to wait until the film was developed and the contact prints were available. This gap in time added reflection and imagination to the process of image-making. While taking photographs in Calabria, Seymour's focus was not just on classrooms, teachers and students, but also on the technology, aesthetics and ethics of photography; he was interested in conversations and information about the work of the Italian National League for the Fight Against Illiteracy (UNLA), and a wide range of issues such as street life, medical infrastructure, work, family homes, animals, gender, landscape, children, adults, the elderly, leisure time, facial expressions, lifestyles, and clothes. With the help of photography, Seymour carefully explored the entire cosmos of Calabria from the perspective of how it might potentially serve to improve reading and writing, or how it represented an obstacle to that process. Seymour most probably took field notes; however, his full photo story was only created when he could see the results of his work. He looked at the traces and appearances he had brought back on his contact sheets, selected photographs for print, and designed storylines that he wrote on a typewriter. His photo story not only included selected photographs but also basic statistical data, background information on local committees dedicated to the fight against illiteracy, life stories, daily experiences, the names of the people he had met and talked to, and his own thoughts and observations. He created meaning by contextualizing the visual traces he gathered. However, also in hindsight and upon his return from Calabria, Seymour's main focus was on encounters and experiences with real-life people and their struggle to achieve literacy.

**25** Seymour also took photographs with a smaller Leica camera. Many of these photographs were duplicates of his medium-format pictures.

**26** Medium-format film rolls usually contain twelve exposures. The camera has to be reloaded accordingly. Most of Seymour's contact sheets show twelve 1:1 prints of his negatives; sometimes, however, the light conditions were affecting his work or he decided to finish a film roll earlier, resulting in a smaller number of images on the corresponding contact sheets.

## Conclusion

Both Carlo Levi and David Seymour used images and texts to explore social and educational problems. However, their approaches differed in focus and outcome. Levi, a politically active artist, favored a thorough analysis of the problematic causalities of hierarchical and suppressive societal structures. He repeatedly offered interpretations and looked at the situation from the meta-perspective of a knowledgeable intellectual. A look at Seymour's work shows that his mind was not so much set on generalizing, categorizing, and interpreting his experiences. Instead, he lets us participate in an embodied experience, in what there was to see, where he walked, whom he met, and how he changed his perspective with his camera in a non-representational way.[27] Everything and everybody were equally relevant. Seymour does not universalize what he experienced. Quite the opposite: his work offers sequences of moments in time that for him operate on the same level of immanence.[28] Seymour often started his work from a distant perspective and only then decided on close-ups, an approach which in many cases led to excellent results. He worked in the opposite direction from Levi by first selecting a general view and then moving to closer views. Today, his portraits of the people of Calabria are considered works of art.

This chapter focuses on how documentary photographs by David Seymour and journalistic texts by Carlo Levi provide different modes of observing, referring to reading and writing as ways of taking possession of the world. The more analytical and intellectual approach of Levi is countered by the exploring gaze of a photographer whose attention was drawn to a wide range of things and issues. Seymour was interested in almost everything and everybody he saw, and he uses different perspectives to study the environment. He often decided on close-ups after having carefully approached a situation. This is also important from the perspective of history

**27** Lynn Fendler describes non-representational theory as a theory where everything "exists on the same epistemological plane"; see Lynn Fendler, "The Ethics of Materiality: Some Insights from Non-Representational Theory," in *Educational Research: Material Culture and Its Representation*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 115–132, quotation on 117. She argues that non-representational theory does not look for dominant causalities and refrains from defining (essentialist) structures; instead, "beliefs, atmospheres, sensations, ideas, toys, music, ghosts, dance therapists, footpaths, pained bodies, trance music, reindeer, plants, boredom, fat, anxieties, vampires, cars, enchantment, nanotechnologies, water voles, GM foods, landscapes, drugs, money, racialized bodies, political demonstrations" etc. – Fendler here cites the open-ended list of materialities in Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison's *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography* (Routledge, 2010), 119 – are seen as equally important elements of human experience.

**28** In his introduction to *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), Henri Cartier-Bresson argued that there is a specific "decisive moment" in photography. This rationale was questioned and demystified by Peter Galassi in a 1987 exhibition catalogue entitled *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Early Work* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1987).

of education: Seymour often concentrated on reading and writing as a means of subjectification without neglecting material, economic, and cultural contexts.[29] Using his photographs as mediating agents, he designed a story by picking out individual images and adding comments and captions to these images. This story is neither analytical nor interpretational, but presentational. It is an empathic and respectful story about the people of Calabria, their lives, and their specific struggle for education. This result also implies that historians of education have to take into account the pitfalls of interpretation and be aware of what they do to photographs by visual analysis. They are advised to pause, look closely at what is presented in a photograph or rather a series of photographs, and be open to surprises and new discoveries that go against the grain of established hermeneutics, structural analysis, and prevalent trends of macro-analytical global and transnational histories of education.

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**29** Karin Priem, "Visual, Literary, and Numerical Perspectives on Education: Materiality, Presence, and Interpretation," in *Educational Research: Material Culture and Its Representation*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 53–69.

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Juri Meda & Simonetta Polenghi

# Chapter 10
# The Impossible Schools: Rural Classrooms in the Paintings of Italian Artists During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

## Introduction

This chapter examines the ways in which rural schools in Central and Southern Italy were represented in the works of local painters in the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] The paintings stand out for their portrayal of classrooms as sparsely furnished, antiquated, poorly lit, and not particularly clean, alongside small groups of students taught by elderly schoolmasters[2] still using the outmoded, individual method of instruction even after the introduction of the normal method.

Eight of the twenty-two rural school paintings analyzed portray unhealthy, run-down environments with dismal lighting, and a dearth of educational material. Indeed, none of the settings depicted were designed to be used as classrooms but were ordinary rooms in private homes or parish presbyteries. The paintings of Giuseppe Costantini (1844–1894), in particular,[3] depict a shortage of chairs and benches, such

**1** This paper drew on a sample of around 40 paintings and preparatory sketches by Achille Martelli, Ferdinando Cicconi, Michele Lenzi, Giuseppe Costantini, Francesco Bergamini, Vincenzo Loria, Augusto Daini, Gioacchino Toma, Demetrio Cosola, Giacomo Mantegazza and Alessandro Battaglia, three engravings and lithographs of some of these paintings and two original engravings by Antonio Piccinni. Twenty-eight of these visual sources (twenty-two depicting country schools in Southern Italy and six representing town schools in the North of the country) were selected for in-depth analysis and are listed in full at the end of the paper.

**2** Of the twenty-two depicting Southern rural schools, those featuring lay and religious teachers – invariably elderly male – numbered nineteen and nine, respectively: meanwhile, sixteen paintings included religious – themed wall shrines and frescos (especially those by Francesco Bergamini).

**3** Giuseppe Costantini (1844–1894) was born in Nola (Naples). He completed his artistic studies at Naples' Istituto d'Arte and Accademia di Belle Arti [Academy of Fine Arts], where he was a pupil of Giuseppe Mancinelli (1813–1875). He subsequently perfected his artistic technique at the *atelier* of the painter Vincenzo Petroccelli (1823–1896). Returning to Nola, he was the head of the School of

**Note:** While this chapter was jointly conceived by the two authors, the writing of the manuscript was divided between them as follows: Juri Meda drafted Sections 1 and 3 and Simonetta Polenghi drafted Section 2. We wish to thank Veronica Borgiani, whose research for her undergraduate thesis "The Representation of Schools in Italian Painting in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Cases of Giuseppe Costantini and Francesco Bergamini," submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree in Cultural Heritage Management from the University of Macerata in the 2015–2016 academic year (thesis supervisor: Juri Meda), provided valuable reference material for this study.

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that many of the pupils had to remain standing while waiting for the teacher to invite them to the blackboard. In contrast, Francesco Bergamini's[4] works almost invariably depict pupils seated on stools with handwoven straw seats or on benches (some of which were church pews), and using trestle tables that they could barely reach for writing desks.[5] Seven of Costantini's paintings include a few rudimentary school desks occupied by male students alone, while female students continue to sit on benches

Applied Artistic Design until 1893, which was subsidized by the local town council and worker's society. He specialized in "genre painting", which offered realistic and highly detailed representations of rustic everyday scenes (following in the tradition of the Flemish school), usually set in poorly furnished and badly lit interiors. He mainly lived and worked in Naples and the Campania region. The artistic value of his work is borne out by the fact that his paintings are constantly bought and sold by leading Italian and international auction houses, for prices ranging between € 5,000 and € 30,000 (see Giuseppe Luigi Marini, ed., *Il valore dei dipinti italiani dell'Ottocento e del primo Novecento: analisi critica, storica ed economica* (Turin: Allemandi & Co., 2009), 224–227). See: Ministero della Istruzione Pubblica – Direzione generale per le antichità e le belle arti, *Notizie intorno alle scuole d'arte e di disegno italiane* (Rome: Tipografia Cecchini, 1898), 245–246; Mariantonietta Picone Petrusa, "Costantini Giuseppe," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984); Mariantonietta Picone Petrusa, "Costantini Giuseppe," in *La pittura napoletana dell'Ottocento*, ed. Franco Carmelo Greco, Mariantonietta Picone Petrusa and Isabella Valente (Naples: Tullio Pironti editore, 1993), 112; Leonardo Avella, *Giuseppe Costantini da Nola, artista pittore* (Naples, Rome: Libreria Editrice Redenzione, 1980).

**4** Francesco Bergamini was born in Assisi (Perugia) in 1850. He received his artistic training in Assisi at the *atelier* of the painter Alessandro Venanzi (1838–1916), whom he assisted with the decoration of the Cathedral of Saint Rufinus in Assisi in 1883. He later moved to Rome, where he is believed to have met the Neapolitan painter Michele Cammarano (1835–1920) who, like Giuseppe Costantini, had studied at the Naples Academy of Fine Arts under Giuseppe Mancinelli. Bergamini also began to produce mainly "genre painting," for which there was a thriving market at the time, choosing rustic interiors and everyday scenes as his preferred subjects. He worked mainly in Rome and the Lazio region. While the precise date of his death has yet to be firmly established, he was still active in 1905. Bergamini has generally been overlooked by Italian art historians due, among other reasons, to a lack of access to his works, most of which are not held in Italian museums but rather in private collections around the world. The artistic value of his work is borne out by the fact that his paintings are constantly bought and sold by leading Italian and international auction houses, for prices that range between € 5,000 and € 25,000 (Giuseppe Luigi Marini, ed., Il valore dei dipinti italiani dell'Ottocento e del primo Novecento: analisi critica, storica ed economica.70–71). See: Antonio Cristofani, *Delle storie di Assisi* (Assisi: Tipografia Metastasio, 1902), 446; Ezio Genovesi and Emilio Lunghi, eds., *Arte ad Assisi: 1882–1942. Catalogo della mostra* (Bastia Umbra: Grafiche Diemme, 1993), 148–149; Ezio Genovesi, "Francesco Bergamini pittore," *Subasio: trimestrale di informazioni culturali* VI, no. 4 (1998): 22–23; Paola Mercurelli Salari, *I disegni di Francesco Bergamini per la perduta decorazione ottocentesca della cattedrale di San Rufino ad Assisi* (Assisi: Circolo del Subasio, 2005).

**5** With regard to contemporary standards for school furnishings, useful insight was provided by Domenico Santucci in 1843, who remarked that: "The school tables should be one meter wide and arranged to face the schoolmaster's table. Schoolmasters are forbidden to use wide tables at which it is possible to seat two facing rows of pupils, given that this would hinder supervision" (Domenico Santucci, *Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia per le scuole elementari comunali e private* (Naples: Tipografia Agrelli, 1843), 114).

(some paintings showed mixed classes, which was unusual in the period.) At a purely visual level, this reveals the deep-set gender inequalities in the post-Unification period, whereby male students were allowed to use desks because they needed to be literate in order to be allowed to vote (a privilege from which women were excluded), while female students were only expected to learn how to read.

The twenty-two paintings in our sample feature only seven blackboards, one abacus, and five wall maps or educational posters between them, showing that very few schools were equipped with the furnishings and teaching aids prescribed in Royal Decree No. 4336 of 15 September 1860.[6]

Another key feature of these works is their representation of students as unruly, always ready to make fun of the teacher, pull cruel pranks, make disrespectful and mocking faces and gestures, steal food from behind his back, and move the hands of the clock forward so that lessons would finish sooner.[7] These insolent rascals were severely reprimanded and regularly disciplined by their teachers, including use of so-called "shaming punishments" such as the dunce's cap[8] and bit,[9] which modern educational science strongly condemned and were prohibited under contemporary school legislation.[10]

The dreadful material state of schools in Southern Italy in the immediate aftermath of Unification, especially in rural or mountainous areas, are well-known. The paintings studied below essentially provide us with the opportunity to see the material conditions, reconstructed by historians using more traditional sources, with our own eyes. However, they also offer novel insights into other, less overt, dynamics.[11]

**6** The basic classroom equipment described in Article 140 of the decree comprised: "School desks with seats in sufficient number for all pupils," a teacher's desk, a storage cupboard with a lock, a stove, "an inkwell for the teacher and fitted inkwells for the pupils," "a picture representing the basic units and measurements of the decimal metric system," a crucifix, and a portrait of the King.

**7** Eighteen of the twenty-two paintings depicting southern Italian country schools represented episodes of unruliness – or, worse still, acts of mockery towards the teacher – by individual pupils or entire classes (an especially frequent theme in the works of Francesco Bergamini).

**8** On this particular punishment, see: Juri Meda and Marta Brunelli, "The Dumb Child: Contribution to the Study of the Iconogenesis of the Dunce Cap," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 13, no. 1 (2018): 41–70.

**9** This "barbarically ingenious instrument" (as per Baldo Peroni's review of the below cited volume in *Rivista Pedagogica*, 2, no. 10 (1909): 1012) was described as "a wooden stick tied at both ends and placed in the mouths of chatterboxes in the manner of a bit" (Emilia Formiggini Santamaria, *L'istruzione popolare nello Stato Pontificio, 1824–1870* (Bologna: A.F. Formiggini Editore, 1909), 144); a bit is also represented in the painting *La scuola del villaggio* (1888) by the artist Giuseppe Costantini.

**10** The rod or cane [*verga* o *ferula*] used for corporal punishment is represented in eleven of the twenty-two paintings of rural schools in Southern Italy, generally being brandished as a warning by the schoolmaster; four of the twenty-two works (those of Giuseppe Costantini and Vincenzo Loria) depict actual punishments.

**11** Since the early 2000s – starting with the seminal book *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* by Peter Burke (London: Reaktion Books, 2001) – international historiographical debate has seen an increasing number of scholars take interest in the heuristic potential of visual sources within the history of education: Ian Grosvenor, "On Visualizing Past Classrooms," in *Silences and Images: The Social*

The gloomy picture of these schools shown by the artists deserves further analysis: more specifically, we need to ask what public image of education for the lower classes the artists wished to convey and to what ends? If mass education represented the preeminent tool to shape citizens of the new nation and provided a solid collective identity, what would be the point in discrediting it so ruthlessly by emphasizing its initial failures? This dilemma can only be resolved by going beyond formal analysis of these works to develop additional/alternative interpretive categories.

In recent years, historians of education have identified a need to broaden the heuristic scope of the discipline, no longer confining it to the study of schools as institutions and the places where educational practice and experimentation are implemented. Instead, we should examine the different ways in which schools have been symbolically represented over time, and how social perceptions of schooling and the teaching profession have evolved, as indicators reflecting the complex cultural dimension of this intricate historical phenomenon. For example, in a celebrated article from 2000, Portuguese historian António Nóvoa invited fellow scholars to not only analyze schooling of the past "from inside" (i.e., schools as they really were, or at least, as they represented themselves), but also "from the outside" (i.e., as they were perceived in the wider community), with a view to building up a broader perspective on schooling as a historical phenomenon.[12] Within such a conceptual framework, the school is no longer seen solely as a historical object, but also

*History of the Classroom*, ed. Ian Grosvenor, Martin Lawn, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 83–104; Kate Rousmaniere, "Questioning the Visual in the History of Education," *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 109–111; Eulàlia Collelldemont, "La memoria visual de la escuela," *Educatio Siglo XXI* 38, no. 2 (2010), 133–156; see also the special issues: Marc Depaepe and Bregt Henkens, eds., "The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 36, no. 1 (2000); Karin Priem, Inés Dussel, and Marc Depaepe, eds., "Images and Films as Objects to Think With: A Reappraisal of Visual Studies in Histories of Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 6 (2017). More narrowly, on the use of engravings and paintings as sources for the history of education, see: Jeremy Charles Howard, "Classroom Genres: Aspects, Values and Interpretations of Painted School Interior Scenes," in *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom*, ed. Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011), 59–77, 292–293, 313–317; Juan Antonio Gómez Naranjo, "La escuela del Siglo XVII, según la pintura de Jan Steen," *Anales de historia del arte* 21, no. extra 1 (2011): 241–247; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "Images as Representations: Visual Sources on Education and Childhood in the Past," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 6 (2015): 702–715; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster, "Exploring New Ways of Studying School Memories: The Engraving as a Blind Spot of the History of Education," in *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, ed. Cristina Yanes-Cabrera, Juri Meda, and Antonio Viñao (Cham: Springer, 2017), 11–27; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "The Restrained Child: Imaging the Regulation of Children's Behaviour and Emotions in Early Modern Europe, The Dutch Golden Age," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 13, no. 1 (2018): 17–39; Jeremy Charles Howard, "Le traitement artistique de la culture matérielle à l'école," in *Éducation et culture matérielle en France et en Europe du XVIe siècle à nos jours*, ed. Marguerite Figeac-Monthus (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018), 219–246. The heuristic underpinnings of this paper are contained in the studies above.

**12** This need has also recently been emphasized in: Juri Meda and Antonio Viñao, "School Memory: Historiographic Balance and Heuristic Perspectives," in *School Memories*, 5.

as a category in the social imaginary, whose visual representations might not necessarily correspond to what schools were really like in a given period, but rather reflect how they were perceived by a given social group or by society as a whole.[13]

## The Individual Method of Instruction, Insubordination, and Corporal Punishment: The Scourges of Southern Italian Schools

The crucial starting point for analyzing this set of paintings is the state of public education in Italy in the years immediately following Unification.[14] The general report on the status of the public school system presented to the Minister by the Advisory Board for Public Education in 1865 already outlined a complex situation. On scrutinizing the responses of the Schools Inspectorate for the province of Naples to the questions asked by the Board, we learn, for example, that in relation to the teaching methods used by schoolmasters, "the simultaneous method is used in most schools, but in many the individual method is used too, given the teachers' lack of familiarity with better methods,"[15] while, with regard to pupil behavior in the classroom, it was observed that they were "beginning to become inured to discipline, in those places where schoolmasters had succeeded in introducing it."[16] For that matter, maintaining discipline in the classroom was a problem all over the country, as was clearly reflected in the data collected by the provincial school inspectorates on the punishments typically used by teachers. While, on the whole, the inspectors reported that corporal punishment had been successfully abolished, and the new regulations issued on 15 September 1860 on disciplinary measures in schools were being implemented,[17] nevertheless in 1863 the Arezzo inspectorate found

**13** See António Nóvoa, "Ways of Saying, Ways of Seeing: Public Images of Teachers (Nineteenth – Twentieth Century)," *Paedagogica Historica* 36, no. 1 (2000): 20–52.

**14** The selected works all date roughly to the period between 1869 and 1895. On schools, schoolmasters, and teaching methods in southern Italy prior to Unification, see: Maurizio Lupo, *Tra le provvide cure di Sua Maestà: Stato e scuola nel Mezzogiorno tra Settecento e Ottocento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); Salvatore Agresta and Caterina Sindoni, *Scuole, maestri e metodi nella Sicilia borbonica (1817–1860)* (Lecce, Rovato: Pensa Multimedia, 2012), 4 vol.; Salvatore Agresta and Caterina Sindoni, *Scuole, maestri e maestre nelle Calabrie borboniche (1817–1860)* (Lecce, Rovato: Pensa Multimedia, 2106).

**15** *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia: relazione generale* (Milan: Stamperia Reale, 1865), 455.

**16** *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia: relazione generale* (Milan: Stamperia Reale, 1865), 429.

**17** Article 98 of the new set of regulations was clear on this topic: "It is forbidden to use offensive language, blows, marks of shame, and corporal punishment, such as forcing [pupils] to go down on their knees, spread out their arms, etc., or to assign tasks as a punishment, with the exception of repeating work that has been badly done."

that schools "had still not dropped the abominable custom of beating pupils."[18] Its Naples counterpart laconically admitted that "unfortunately corporal punishment is still in use in many schools in this province".[19] The state of public education in the province of Naples was to remain problematic for the entire next decade, as recorded by the Commissions of Inquiry into elementary school education, appointed in 1868 by Minister Emilio Broglio and in 1869 by Minister Cesare Correnti. The commission worked on proposals for increasing the number of municipal elementary schools, especially in the south, and reducing the high rate of early school leaving.

The artists Achille Martelli,[20] Ferdinando Cicconi,[21] Giuseppe Costantini, Francesco Bergamini, Vincenzo Loria,[22] Augusto Daini,[23] and Gioacchino Toma[24] all

**18** *Sulle condizione della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, 432.

**19** *Sulle condizione della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, 433.

**20** Achille Martelli was born in Catanzaro on January 16, 1829. He trained as an artist at the Naples Academy of Fine Arts, where – like Costantini – he was a student of Giuseppe Mancinelli. He specialized in painting interiors, depicting domestic scenes in a realistic style and identifying most closely with the artistic current then seeking to narrate everyday life. He died in Avellino on December 12, 1903. See Isabella Valente, "Centro e periferia: itinerari italiani di alcuni artisti calabresi tra Ottocento e Novecento," in *L'animo e lo sguardo: pittori calabresi dell'Ottocento di Scuola napoletana. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. Tonino Sicoli and Isabella Valente (Cosenza: Progetto 2000, 1997), 17–34; Giorgio Leone, "La Calabria tra Napoli e il resto d'Italia. La "pittura di interno" come un episodio pittorico della cultura artistica del Mezzogiorno nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento," in *Poesia d'interni angoli di vita nell'arte dell'800 italiano*, ed. Antonio D'Amico (Milan: Edizioni Bocca, 2010), 17–22.

**21** Ferdinando Cicconi was born in Colli del Tronto (Ascoli Piceno) in 1831. He initially studied under Ignazio Cantalamessa in Ascoli Piceno; he later moved to Rome, where he encountered great artists such as Tommaso Minardi and Francesco Podesti at the Accademia Nazionale San Luca. On returning to his home region of the Marches, he became a drawing teacher at Ancona Technical School. Cicconi specialized in historical compositions featuring great epic figures of the past, for example devoting an entire cycle of works to Christopher Columbus. He was also fond of patriotic themes. He mainly lived and worked in the Marches. He died in 1886. See Ernesto Ovidi, *Tommaso Minardi e la sua scuola* (Rome: Tipografia Pietro Rebecca, 1902); Luca Luna, *Ferdinando Cicconi* (Ascoli Piceno: D'Auria Editrice, 1996).

**22** Vincenzo Loria (1849–1939) was born in Salerno. He initially took up painting under the guidance of the French master, Leon Richter, and later enrolled at the Naples Academy of Fine Arts, where he became a student of Domenico Morelli (1823–1901). He mainly produced oil and watercolor paintings, of which the most popular were his Neapolitan landscapes and views of Pompei. He died in La Spezia on October 31, 1939. Loria worked particularly hard to supply the foreign market; indeed, most of his paintings were purchased by English customers. See Giuseppe Luigi Marini, ed., *Il valore dei dipinti italiani dell'Ottocento e del primo Novecento: analisi critica, storica ed economica* (Turin: Allemandi & Co., 2007), 522.

**23** Augusto Daini (1860–1920) studied at the Rome Academy of Fine Arts. On completion of his training, by which time he was an accomplished watercolor artist, he worked for many years as a salaried employee of the painter Pietro Barucci, specializing in realistically depicted rural areas, especially the Roman countryside. He died in Rome in 1920. See Renato Mammucari, *Acquerellisti romani: suggestioni neoclassiche, esotismo orientale, decadentismo bizantino, realismo borghese* (Città di Castello: Edimond, 2001), 163.

**24** Gioacchino Toma (1836–1891) was born in Galatina (Lecce). From there, he moved to Naples where he attended the Academy of Fine Arts, eventually joining the teaching staff in 1878. He died

lived and worked in Lazio and Campania in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their paintings confirm the continued use of the individual method in many rural schools in the regions, as well as schoolmasters' difficulties to keep order in the classrooms and the consequent use of corporal punishment.

In the wake of national unification, educational scientists universally viewed the normal method as the best approach. Nevertheless, many teachers, and particularly older ones, had not yet adopted it, continuing to rely on either the more traditional methods of individual or mutual instruction.[25] The normal method allowed teachers to teach a large number of pupils at the same time. All students would be seated and listen to the lesson given by the teacher before quietly completing the learning tasks assigned to them.

The multiple advantages associated with adopting the normal method were presented by the head of the "Santucci" School in Capodimonte in Naples, Domenico Santucci, in his guideline document for elementary teachers of both sexes and fathers of school-going children, "Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia per le scuole elementari comunali e private" (1843). Santucci criticized the individual method of instruction, which continued to find favor with older teachers. Blinkered by their own long-entrenched prejudices, these schoolmasters boasted of their ability to "succeed in their lofty mission with their cane in their hand, with the belt or the whip."[26] Santucci observed that:

in Naples in January 1891. His paintings were on primarily historical themes, with a focus on representing feelings and psychological states. See Paolo Ricci, "Gioacchino Toma e la pittura meridionale dell'Ottocento," *Società* 11, no. 3 (1955), 458–79; Bruno Mantura and Nicola Spinosa, eds., *Gioacchino Toma: 1836–1891. Catalogo della mostra* (Naples: Electa, 1995).

**25** Numerous studies have described the rapid spread of the normal method throughout Italy. Notably, Simonetta Polenghi has provided a detailed account of how the rise of the normal methodwas facilitated by its early introduction in Lombard schools under the Austrian Empire and specifically during the ten-year reign of Joseph II; its subsequent extension to the schools of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy; and finally its prescription by law in the schools of the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia, where it initially became a model for the school systems of the other pre Unification states and, afterward, for the Italian school system. On this topic, see Maria Cristina Morandini, *Scuola e nazione: maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848–1861)* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003); Giorgio Chiosso, *Alfabeti d'Italia: la lotta contro l'ignoranza nell'Italia unita* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 2011); Simonetta Polenghi, "La pedagogia di Felbiger e il metodo normale," *Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni Scolastiche* 8, (2001), 245–268; Simonetta Polenghi, "Elementary School Teachers in Milan During the Restoration (1814–59): Innovations and Improvements in Teacher Training,"*History of Education & Children's Literature* 8, no. 1 (2013), 147–166.

**26** Santucci, *Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia per le scuole elementari comunali e private*, 54.

> All the pupils in the school, with this [normal] method, are divided into classes according to their level of instruction, they read, write, do sums and repeat their lessons all together [. . .] The time spent in the classroom serves to enable the pupils' progress, and they work hard to emulate, a key motivating factor for the human soul. A school that is organized on the basis of this method can ensure that all its classes are working at the same time in an orderly and disciplined manner. [. . .] The individual method, in truth, provokes boredom, disgust, and the loss of a great deal of time, from both the students and the teachers' point of view. It deserves to be evicted from the sanctuary of public and private education, if the bias towards pedantry does not sustain it further. The normal method, with differs from the aforementioned method, is the only one that has received a joyful welcome in urban schools, advanced schools, and classical studies schools alike. In the classes where this method is applied, one teacher instructs all the pupils for the entire duration of the lesson; the students compare notes, thus further benefiting from mutual exchange, in contrast with classes where the individual method is deployed, in which the pupils are often left without the attention of the teacher, and lack discipline and order.[27]

It is striking that, in the account offered by Santucci, the decisive reason for adopting one method over the other was essentially disciplinary rather than pedagogical in nature. The leading advantage of the normal method was its contribution to the maintenance of discipline in the classroom – a widespread issue at the time – and a key prerequisite for orderly lessons and systematic enculturation. The individual method bored students as it was too slow, leading them to become impatient, disobedient, and disrespectful; in turn, it induced teachers to mete out punishment, including corporal punishment. Meanwhile, the normal method fostered order and discipline, as were divided into classes based on their current academic level and kept constantly occupied for the entire duration of the lesson. In short, the normal method was seen as a system that contributed to maintaining class discipline, significantly reducing the need for disciplinary action by the teacher; in contrast, a key feature of the individual method was teacher intervention with frequent recourse to tools of correction to restore order in the classroom.[28]

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**27** Santucci, *Guida dei precettori d'ambo i sessi e padri di famiglia per le scuole elementari comunali e private*, 55–57.

**28** However, this reading is incomplete. What may seem to be a method based on a significant decrease in the need for disciplinary action in learning environments was actually based on a newer, and more subtle form of discipline via the internalization of ethical norms (James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). The disciplining of pupils' bodies by placing them in a rigid, panoptic device (the classroom), and the transmission of the "hidden curriculum" that has been discussed by numerous scholars. In this new context, therefore, power was no longer expressed through the exercise of physical violence, but rather through the distribution of bodies in a space with certain characteristics based on particular criteria for hierarchical organization. On these aspects more generally, see Thomas Marcus, "Early Nineteenth Century School Space and Ideology," *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no. 1 (1996): 9–50; Inés Dussel and Marcelo Caruso, *La invención del aula. Una genealogía de las formas de enseñar* (Buenos Aires: Santillana, 1999); Marc Depaepe et al., *Order in Progress: Everyday Educational Practice in Primary Schools (Belgium, 1880–1970)*

In the years following Unification, the problems raised by Santucci continued to plague many Southern Italian schools where, as depicted in our visual sources, the individual method continued to be widely used, especially in country schools. Umberto Zanotti White was still observing, in a report dated 1925, the outcomes of an inquiry into Calabrian schools commissioned by the *Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* [National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy]:

> When it is sunny, the children are in the fields at the service of their parents or landlord. This explains the marked inequalities among children enrolled at, attending, or completing school. Families cannot accept the hours of compulsory schooling required of their children. They prefer individual teaching because it facilitates their need for access to their children, whom they can then send into the fields with their flocks or groups of olive pickers.[29]

Indeed, in the most culturally backward areas of Southern Italy, the individual method survived for an even longer stretch of time.

## The Representation of Country Schools in the Work of Southern Italian Painters

The paintings of Achille Martelli, Ferdinando Cicconi. Giuseppe Costantini, Francesco Bergamini, Vincenzo Loria, Augusto Daini, and Gioacchino Toma thus represented southern elementary schools in all their harsh reality. Most of the artists specialized in "genre painting", which focused on rustic interiors and scenes from everyday life, representing them as realistically as possible and with an eye for detail. The generally small size of these paintings made them particularly suited for display in the houses of middle-class buyers, who were interested in decorating their homes, and not interested in the portraits or celebratory "historical paintings" that held greater appeal for the upper classes. This newly emergent social class, now in the running to lead the newly unified state, provided a boost to the art market, inducing painters and engravers – who could no longer count on the patronage of aristocrats as in the past – to quickly adapt to the taste of their audiences by depicting popular subjects and displaying their works in exhibitions and galleries.

(Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2000); Catherine Burke, "Containing the School Child: Architectures and Pedagogies," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, 4–5 (2005): 489–490; Jon Prosser, "Visual Methods and the Visual Culture of Schools," *Visual Studies* 12, no. 1 (2007), 13–30; Marcelo Caruso, ed., *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the Nineteenth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015).

**29** Umberto Zanotti Bianco, *Il martirio della scuola in Calabria* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1925).

While their works cannot, for these reasons, be construed as deliberate exercises in social commentary, it will be nonetheless be valuable to explore what image of public schooling these artists meant to convey for the humbler classes, and what feelings they wished to arouse in their audiences, apart from an initial, instinctive appreciation of amusing, everyday scenes. The liveliness of these scenarios – whose leading motifs are practical jokes, upheaval, punishment, and contrition[30] (Figs. 10.1–10.2) – was a key selling point in the eyes of middle-class customers, who were not, as a rule, deeply interested in public critiques underlining the substandard life conditions of the less-well-off. Nevertheless, it would appear that the artists set out to express something more than a mere desire to cater for popular taste.

For example, in his *Nella scuola del villaggio* or *O tempora! o mores!* (1869), the Calabrian painter Achille Martelli depicted a village school based in a parish priest's house, where unsupervised pupils are caught by their teacher playing with the clergyman's Missal and religious vestments. Only two of the students appear to be aware of the teacher's presence, who stands in the doorway with a severe expression on his face. The first student has cast his head down in fear, while the other appears to await his merited rebuke. There is a vein of irony in this painting, underscored by citing Cicero in the title, whereby the painter appears to emphasize the discrepancy between the children's innocent game of make-believe and the disproportionately severe inquisition that is likely in store for them.

Martelli's teacher parish priest is not the only one in our sample of paintings. Indeed, in the Southern Italian regions, parish schools run by the parish priest himself were still a widespread phenomenon. The priests were hostile to the notion of state

**30** It is interesting to note that practical jokes are a recurrent motif in nineteenth-century "genre painting" in general, and appear not only in school-themed works but also in religious-themed scenes, which were also quite popular in the period. Indeed, numerous contemporary paintings show incorrigible young altar boys playing jokes on ancient parish priests and, when caught red-handed, being soundly punished for their pains. In relation to this theme, see the following paintings: Francesco Bergamini, *Il sermone del chierichetto*, oil on canvas, n.d., 45.1 x 67.9 cm., private collection (this painting – authenticated by the artist himself – was sold for US$ 10,625 under the title "The altar boys' sermon" (Lot 62) by Bonhams auction house in New York on April 25, 2012 at an auction entitled "European Paintings"); Francesco Bergamini, *In sacrestia*, oil on canvas, n.d., 67.5 x 44.7 cm., private collection (the painting – authenticated by the artist himself – was sold for € 3,125 under the title "Dans la sacristie" (Lot 371) by Christie's of Paris on April 14, 2015, at an auction entitled "Le Goût Français: arts décoratifs du 18e siècle au 19e siècle"); Demetrio Cosola, *Chierichetti sorpresi in flagrante*, oil on canvas, n.d., 68 x 92.5 cm., private collection (the painting – authenticated by the artist himself – was sold for € 8,750 under its original title (Lot 7) by the Dorotheum auction house in Vienna on April 8, 2014 at an auction entitled "Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts"). The names of the owners of these works are protected by the data protection act, as are those of the works sold at the other auctions cited later in this paper.

**Fig. 10.1:** Francesco Bergamini, *Una lezione importante*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50.5 x 81 cm. [Private collection].

**Fig. 10.2:** Francesco Bergamini, *L'alunno disubbidiente*, oil on canvas, n.d., 55.3 x 90 cm. [Private collection].

education, which they saw as usurping their educational prerogatives.[31] By associating members of the clergy with a reactionary and conservative approach to education, and sympathetically representing the children's innocent, though irreverent, playacting, a

**31** Indeed, in the general report on the state of public education in Italy presented to the Minister in 1865 by the Advisory Board for public education, the provincial inspectorate of Naples went on record as stating that "the reactionaries see the [lay] teachers as excommunicated" (*Sulle condizione della pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia*, p. 446).

number of the artists in our sample made their profoundly anti-clerical leanings obvious.

Martelli's painting also reflects his disappointment as an artist who had participated in the Naples uprisings of 1848 and 1860 – along with Michele Lenzi[32] and other fellow students at the city's Academy of Fine Arts. He had fought alongside Garibaldi's men against the Bourbon army – only to find almost ten years later that the ideals for which he had fought had not yet materialized. The liberal ruling class saw public education as both the key means of delivering the masses from the state of blind ignorance they had been kept in for centuries by clerical obscurantism, and the instrument par excellence by which to mold the new Italian people and develop a solid national culture.

A similar view of public education appears to have been shared by Giuseppe Costantini and Vincenzo Loria,[33] whose works – which are less lively and ironic than Bergamini's – appear to express the pressing need for a network of elementary schools across the nation, with a view to completing the process of Italian unification and creating a true Italian people. Particularly representative works of this need include the renowned and frequently reproduced *La scuola del villaggio* (1886)[34] (Fig. 10.3) and *La scuola del villaggio* (1888) (Fig. 10.4). However, many similar works by Costantini that also depict scenes of everyday school life were auctioned off in the late 1970s and early 1980s, winding up in private foreign collections.[35]

**32** Michele Lenzi (1834–1886) – who like Martelli and Costantini had undergone artistic training at the Naples Academy of Fine Arts under Giuseppe Mancinelli – received an award at the *Esposizione italiana agraria, industriale e artistica* [Italian Agricultural, Industrial and Artistic Exhibtion] in Florence in 1861 for his painting *Una scuola di bambine* [A Girls' School], whose whereabouts is currently unknown (*Esposizione Italiana Agraria, Industriale e Artistica tenuta in Firenze nel 1861: catalogo ufficiale* (Florence: Tipografia Barbèra, 1862), 336).

**33** Vincenzo Loria's *Boys and teacher in a school interior* which was sold by auction in 2009 is an exact copy of the main scene in *La scuola del villaggio [The Village School]* (1888) by Giuseppe Costantini.

**34** A rotogravure color print (23.7 x 29.9 cm.) of this painting was produced in 1886 by the Danesi printing company in Rome [Musée National de l'Éducation, Rouen (France); invent.: 1996.02280].

**35** These were: *Aula in campagna* [Country Classroom], oil on canvas, n.d., 24.5 x 35.6 cm., which sold for L.3,000,000 (Catalogo Bolaffi della pittura italiana dell'Ottocento, no. 8 (Turin: Bolaffi, 1979), 60); *Aula in campagna* [Country Classroom], oil on canvas, n.d., 23 x 34 cm., which sold for L.6,800,000 (*Catalogo Bolaffi della pittura italiana dell'Ottocento*, n. X (Milan: Mondadori, 1981), 65); *La scuola dei discoli* [The School of Rascals], oil on canvas, n.d., 61 x 37,5 cm., sold for L.30,000,000 (*Catalogo dell'arte italiana dell'Ottocento*, n0. 13 (Milan: Mondadori,1984), 227); *Scuola di campagna* [Country School], oil on canvas, n.d., 18 x 24 cm., sold for L.10,000,000 (*Catalogo dell'arte italiana dell'Ottocento*, no. 14 (Milan: Mondadori, 1984), 201); *Scherzi in classe* [Classroom Pranks], oil on canvas, n.d., 35 x 25 cm., was put up for auction by Finarte auction house in Rome on October 25–26, 1983 and sold for L.18,000,000 (*Catalogo dell'arte italiana dell'Ottocento*, no. 13 (Milan: Mondadori, 1984), 227); *La lezione di matematica* [The Maths Lesson], oil on canvas, n.d., 25 x 35 cm., was put up for auction by L'Antonina auction house in Rome on December 9, 1993 but did not sell (Giuseppe Luigi Marini, ed., *Il valore dei dipinti italiani dell'Ottocento e del primo*

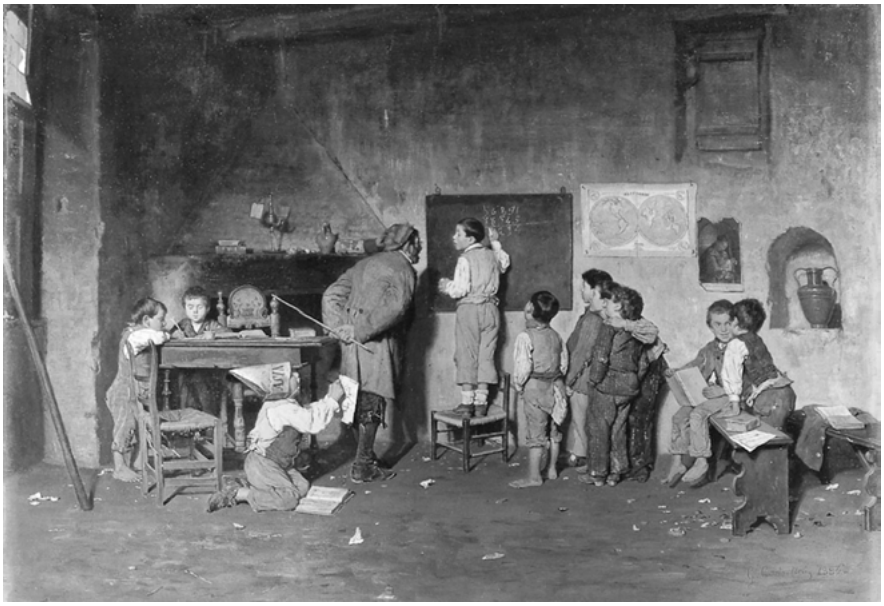

**Fig. 10.3:** Giuseppe Costantini, *La scuola del villaggio*, oil on canvas, 1886 [Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome – Italy].

Ferdinando Cicconi was another artist with a patriotic agenda. He painted a number of works celebrating Risorgimento battles, and, unlike the other artists we have analyzed thus far, set his school themed paintings in schools in the pre-Unification states, with a view to contrasting their outdated educational methods with the more modern approaches adopted in the schools of the newly united nation. For example, in his painting *La Scuola dei vecchi tempi* [The School of Bygone Times] (n.d.), – as described in an article by Raffaele Mariani – Cicconi depicted certain punishments that were no longer allowed under the Decree of September 15, 1860, including "a donkey mask, that, in the manner of a helmet, would be slipped over the guilty pupil's head and down over his eyes, so that the ears, made of papier-mâché, would be positioned at either side of the face", "the culprit being required to

*Novecento: analisi critica, storica ed economica* (Turin: Allemandi & Co., 1995), 171). It should be noted that the two versions of the painting *Aula di campagna* are both preparatory studies for *La scuola del villaggio* of 1886, while the painting *Scuola di campagna* is a preparatory study for *La scuola del villaggio* of 1888. On December 14, 2019, the Galleria Sarno in Palermo auctioned a preparatory study for *La scuola del villaggio* (Lot 447), oil on canvas, n.d., 43.5 x 31.5 cm. for €1,800; given that the measurements of the painting as reported in the auction catalogue (p. 95) do not coincide with those of the two versions of *Aula di campagna*, it appears that it may have been a third preparatory study for *La scuola del villaggio* of 1886.

**Fig. 10.4:** Giuseppe Costantini, *La scuola del villaggio*, oil on canvas, 1888, 40.1 x 63.7 cm. [Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council Museums and Arts, Halifax – United Kingdom].

stand at attention"[36] and the punishment of the horse, that "consisted in striking with a whip one who is lifted up on the back of another".[37] Cicconi's ideological perspective on corporal punishments used in the schools of pre-Unification states recurred in his painting *La scuola sotto i passati governi* [School Under Past Governments], in which the walls of an almost empty classroom – themselves resembling "chewed bread" – were adorned with a handwritten notice that proclaimed: "Che buon pro facesse il verbo / Imbeccato a suon di nerbo / Nelle scuole pubbliche" [What good is the word / Prompted by the sound of the whip / In public schools].[38]

**36** Raffaele Mariani, "Castighi scolastici di altri tempi," *I Diritti della Scuola* 30, no. 13 (1929): 605. The author of the article from which we have drawn this description of the work presumably had the opportunity to view it at the Pinacoteca civica in Ascoli Piceno between 1896 and 1913, when – as the records show – he was a school inspector in Ascoli Piceno and the painting was still on display at the local museum, before being withdrawn by the artist's heirs.

**37** Giuseppe Rigutini, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Florence: Barbèra, 1874), 233. The fact that this punishment was widely practiced is born out by the many references to it in folk culture, as in the expression "fare il latino a cavallo" [to do Latin on horseback], used to describe a person who is forced to do something (*Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, vol. 2 (Florence: Tipografia Galileiana, 1866), 709) or the Tuscan proverb "La prima si perdona, alla seconda si bastona e alla terza si dà il cavallo" [The first time you forgive, the second time you strike, and the third time you give the horse] (Giuseppe Giusti, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1853), 86).

**38** Pietro Ferrigni, *Fra quadri e statue: strenna ricordo della II Esposizione nazionale di belle arti* (Milan: Treves, 1873), 195. The verses cited are drawn from the opening of the composition *Gl'immobili e i semoventi*, in *Versi editi ed inediti* by Giuseppe Giusti, in which the Tuscan writer decried the excessive

We may usefully conclude our analysis by comparing these representations of rural schools in Southern Italy with paintings of urban schools from the same period, such as *L'onomastico della maestra* (1879) by Gioacchino Toma, *Il dettato* (1891) and *L'asilo* (n.d.) by Demetrio Cosola, *La lezione allo scolaro* or *Chi la fa l'aspetta* (s.d.) by Giacomo Mantegazza[39] (Fig. 10.5), and *In classe* (1897) by Alessandro Battaglia. This group of paintings contrasts with earlier examples by depicting classrooms as pleasant, spotlessly clean, and well equipped with desks and teaching aids, such as geographical maps, wall charts, textbooks, and exercise books. In these classrooms, lessons went smoothly and without disruption, under the watchful gaze of the teacher. The only exception to this overall pattern is the painting *La lezione allo scolaro* o *Chi la fa l'aspetta* (s.d.) by Giacomo Mantegazza (Fig. 10.5), which represents a schoolmaster on the point of punishing a pupil who has injured a classmate in the head; the teacher is holding the boy firmly by the ears and getting ready to administer the punishment. "The accessory elements of the composition complete the scene, with the desk of the most proficient scholars, that of the dunce, boys making the 'horns' gesture to one another, pupils who are distracted, others who are studious, and the comical face of the schoolmaster".[40]

From the paintings, it can be considered that the normal method was the method of choice in these schools, in keeping with ministerial guidelines. A further relevant aspect is that these paintings – and specifically the works by Toma and Cosola – contain the first representations of schoolmistresses that we have encountered; although our sample of paintings on rural schools in southern Italy feature no female teachers whatsoever, by the late nineteenth century women made up a significant proportion of elementary school teachers. These paintings offer a portrait of town and city schools in the years following Unification that is entirely aligned with the recommendations of modern educational theory and the prescriptions in school legislation. Indeed, the

severity of the education received in religious-run boarding schools, in which "a choleric friar" tamed the spirits of young students by preventing them from "jumping, being at leisure, joking, growing", and returning them to their families "mogi, grulli ed innocenti / come tanti pecori" [disheartened, foolish and innocent / like so many sheep]. In contrast with this form of captivity practiced by boarding schools, Giusti advocated the educational theories of the "modern educator", whose awareness that "l'uomo tra i viventi messo / qui co' semoventi / par che debba muoversi" [man among the living placed, / here with the self-propelled / it seems as though move he must], meant that "ha pescato nel gran vuoto / la teorica del moto / applicata agli uomini" [he has fished out of the great void / the theory of motion / applied to men] (Giuseppe Giusti, *Versi editi ed inediti* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1852), 162–165).

**39** Giacomo Mantegazza also created other school-themed works, such as the intensely patriotic painting on which the color lithograph is based: *Mazzini iniziatore in Londra nel 1841 della scuola per fanciulli poveri italiani*, 1896, 22.6 x 28.1 cm. [Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano – Gabinetto delle Stampe, Turin – Italy].

**40** "Chi la fa l'aspetta," in *L'Illustrazione Italiana* 41 (1881): 234. The scene depicted in this painting proves that despite a body of guidelines and legislation, teachers continued to make use of corporal punishment in many Italian schools, as is also borne out by the oral testimonies of numerous individuals who attended school as recently as the 1970s and 1980s.

**Fig. 10.5:** Giacomo Mantegazza, *La lezione allo scolaro* o *Chi la fa l'aspetta*, oil on canvas, n.d., 76.2 x 105.4 cm. [Private collection].

urban schools appear to be perfect: a far cry from that we could name "impossible schools" that were often the only option available to children from rural families in the southern interior, where it would appear that "Italy" had not yet become a reality.

## Visual sources and image credits

Alessandro Battaglia (1870–1940), *In classe*, oil on canvas, 1897, 87.6 x 174.6 cm. [Private collection[41]]

Francesco Bergamini, *Il maestro di scuola*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50 x 81,5 cm. [Private collection[42]]

**41** The painting – authenticated by the artist himself – was sold under the title "School room" (Lot 151) by Sotheby's of New York on October 29, 1987 at an auction entitled "Important Nineteenth Century European Paintings, Drawings and Watercolors".

**42** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was put up for auction under the title "The school teacher" (Lot 143) by Sotheby's of London on June 15, 2017 as part of an auction entitled "Tableaux, sculptures et dessins anciens et du 19e siècle"; however, with an estimated value of €6,000 – €8,000, it failed to sell.

Francesco Bergamini, *La classe indisciplinata*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50.8 x 81.3 cm. [Private collection[43]]
Francesco Bergamini, *La lezione*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50 x 81 cm. [Private collection[44]]
Francesco Bergamini, *L'alunno disubbidiente*, oil on canvas, n.d., 55.3 x 90 cm. [Private collection;[45] Fig. 10.2]
Francesco Bergamini, *L'aula*, oil on canvas, n.d., 52 x 84 cm. [Private collection[46]]
Francesco Bergamini, *La visita del curato*, oil on canvas, n.d., 51 x 83.2 cm. [Private collection[47]]
Francesco Bergamini, *Lezione di catechismo*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50 x 81 cm. [Private collection[48]]
Francesco Bergamini, *Scuola domenicale*, oil on canvas, n.d., 44.4 x 67.3 cm. [Hermitage Gallery, Rochester – Michigan – United States of America[49]]
Francesco Bergamini (1850–post 1905), *Una lezione importante*, oil on canvas, n.d., 50.5 x 81 cm. [Private collection;[50] Fig. 10.1]

**43** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for US$28,125 under the title "The unruly classroom" (Lot 114) by Sotheby's of London on June 6, 2008 at an auction entitled "Old Master & Nineteenth Century European Art."
**44** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for £9,600 under the title "La lezione (The lesson)" (Lot 102) at Sotheby's of London between March 29 and May 29, 2001 as part of an auction entitled "Nineteenth Century European Paintings."
**45** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for US$31,250 under the title "The disobedient pupil" (Lot 92) by Sotheby's of London on June 6, 2008 as part of an auction entitled "Old Master & Nineteenth Century European Art."
**46** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for £3,800 under the title "The school room" (Lot 209) by Sworder's of London on March 10, 2015 as part of an auction entitled "Spring country house sale".
**47** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for £13,750 under the title "The curate's visit" (Lot 380) by Christie's of London on October 29, 2010 as part of an auction entitled "Old Masters & Nineteenth Century Art".
**48** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for €5,000 under the title "Sonntagsschule" (Lot 1212) by the Dorotheum auction house in Vienna on April 23, 2015 as part of an auction entitled "Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts".
**49** The painting – authenticated by the artist in person – was sold for US$7,500 under the title "In the classroom" (Lot 63) by Bonhams of New York on April 25, 2012 at an auction called "European Paintings"; the same painting was sold again for US$4,375 under the same title (Lot 419) by Bonhams of Los Angeles on June 6, 2017 at an auction entitled "The Elegant Home: Select Furniture, Silver, Decorative and Fine Arts". It is now held at the Hermitage Gallery in Rochester under the title "Summer school". This painting was made into an engraving entitled *In der Prüfungsstunde*, by the lithographer Franz Seraph Hanfstaengl in Munich and published in: *Deutscher Hausschatz* 26, no. 31 (1900): 572–573. This same engraving was also published under the title "Une minute difficile: le dernier examen de cathéchisme avant la première communion" in: *Soleil du Dimanche* 14 (1903): 10–11. In 1898, Hanfstaengl made another engraving entitled *Italienische Landschule*, again based on a painting by Bergamini.
**50** The painting – authenticated by the artist himself – was sold for £10,800 under the title "A valuable lesson" (Lot 88) by Bonhams of London on June 14, 2006 as part of an auction entitled "Nineteenth Century Paintings".

Francesco Bergamini, *Un dono per il maestro*, oil on canvas, n.d., 51 x 81 cm. [Private collection[51]]
Francesco Bergamini, *Un dono per il maestro*, oil on canvas, n.d., 51 x 81.91 cm. [Private collection[52]]
Ferdinando Cicconi (1831–1886), *La scuola dei vecchi tempi*, oil on canvas, n.d. [Private collection[53]]
Ferdinando Cicconi, *La scuola sotto i passati governi* o *La scuola sotto i cessati governi*, oil on canvas, n.d. [Private collection[54]]
Ferdinando Cicconi, *La scuola sotto i cessati governi*, sketch, n.d., 19 x 28 cm. [Private collection, Castel di Lama – Italy]
Demetrio Cosola, *L'asilo*, oil on canvas, n.d., 90 x 54 cm. [Private collection]
Demetrio Cosola (1851–1895), *Il dettato*, oil on canvas, 1891 [Galleria Civica d'Arte moderna e contemporanea, Turin – Italy]
Giuseppe Costantini, *Il maestro napoletano*, oil on canvas, 1873, 42 x 59.7 cm. [Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki – Mackelvie Trust Collection, Auckland – New Zealand[55]]
Giuseppe Costantini (1844–1894), *La scuola del villaggio*, oil on canvas, 1886, 47.5 x 33.5 [Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome – Italy;[56] Fig. 10.3]
Giuseppe Costantini, *La scuola del villaggio*, oil on canvas, 1888, 40.1 x 63.7 cm. [Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council Museums and Arts, Halifax – United Kingdom;[57] Fig. 10.4]
Augusto Daini, *La lezione*, watercolor on paper, n.d. [Private collection]
Augusto Daini (1860–1920), *Scuola di campagna*, watercolor on paper, n.d., 21,5 x 36.8 cm. [Private collection[58]]

**51** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for £9,600 under the title "A present for teacher" (Lot 93) by Bonhams of London on March 22, 2005 as part of an auction entitled "Nineteenth Century Paintings".
**52** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for US$3,250 under the title "School Tuition" (Lot 4) by Hindman's of Chicago on May 20, 2020 as part of an auction entitled "American and European Art". It had come from the Chev. Alex. D'Atri & Sons Ancient & Modern Art Gallery in Rome.
**53** The artist's widow lent the painting to the Pinacoteca civica of Ascoli Piceno on October 19, 1889 (State Archives of Ascoli Piceno, fond "Comune di Ascoli Piceno", year 1889, box "Istruzione Pubblica", folder 9) and it was taken back by Quirino Cicconi on December 15, 1913 (State Archives of Ascoli Piceno, fond "Comune di Ascoli Piceno", series "Affari Speciali", box 69); see Giannino Gagliardi, ed., *La Pinacoteca di Ascoli Piceno* (Ascoli Piceno: G.G. Editore, 1988), 34.
**54** The painting was exhibited at the 1st National Fine Arts Exhibition in Parma in 1870 (*Catalogo delle opere esposte nella mostra italiana d'arti belle in Parma* (Parma: Tipografia Grazioli, 1870), 13) and again at the second edition of this event in Milan in 1872 (*Seconda Esposizione Nazionale di Belle Arti diretta da un comitato eletto dalla Regia Accademia di Brera* (Milan: Società Cooperativa fra Tipografi, 1872), 44).
**55** The original title has been translated into English as: *Neapolitan Schoolmaster*.
**56** The painting is currently held at the Istituto Nazionale di Documentazione, Innovazione e Ricerca Educativa – INDIRE in Palazzo Gerini in Florence. A rotogravure color print of this painting was produced in 1886 by the Danesi printing company in Rome [Musée National de l'Éducation, Rouen (France)].
**57** The original title has been translated into English as: *An Italian Village School*.
**58** See the catalogue for the auction *Old Master and Nineteenth Century Drawings and Watercolors*, held at Christie's East of New York on January 7, 1981: *Old Master and Nineteenth Century Drawings and Watercolors* (New York: Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc., 1981). The original title was translated into English as: *The classroom*.

Vincenzo Loria (1849–1939), [original title unknown], watercolor on paper, n.d., 34.3 x 50.8 cm. [Private collection[59]]

Giacomo Mantegazza (1853–1920), *La lezione allo scolaro* o *Chi la fa l'aspetta*, oil on canvas, n.d., 76.2 x 105.4 cm. [Private collection;[60] Fig. 10.5]

Achille Martelli (1829–1903), *Nella scuola del villaggio* o *O tempora! o mores!*, oil on canvas, 1869, 42 x 62 cm. [Museo delle Arti di Catanzaro – Pinacoteca e Gipsoteca – Collezione della Provincia di Catanzaro, Catanzaro (Italy)][61]

Antonio Piccinni (1846–1920), *A scuola*, etching, 1872, 23.6 x 14.4 cm. [Comune di Milano – Civiche Raccolte Grafiche e Fotografiche – Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "Achille Bertarelli," Milan (Italy)][62]

Gioacchino Toma (1836–1891), *L'onomastico della maestra*, oil on canvas, 1879, 114 x 75 cm. [Museo di Capodimonte – Fondo "Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli" – Deposito 42, Naples – Italy]

**59** The painting – authenticated by the artist – was sold for US$2,300 under the title "Boys and teacher in a school interior" (Lot 1166) by John Moran auctioneers in Pasadena on December 8, 2009 as part of an auction entitled "Antiques, fine jewelry & decorative art".

**60** The painting was displayed in 1881 at the National Exhibition in Milan along with other works by the same artist (Agostino Mario Comanducci, *Dizionario illustrato dei pittori, disegnatori e incisori italiani moderni e contemporanei* (Milan: Patuzzi, 1962), 127) and purchased there by the well-known banker Alberto Weill-Schott for L.1,500 (Sergio Rebora, "Imprenditori, artisti e loro intermediari a Milano dopo l'Unità," *Storia in Lombardia* 2 (1992): 53). A color print of this painting was made by an unknown artist and published in: *L'Illustrazione Italiana* 8, 41 (1881): 229. The painting was recently sold for US$18,000 under the title "School house discipline" (Lot 1174) by John Moran Auctioneers in Pasadena on November 30, 2010 as part of an auction entitled "Antiques & Decorative Arts Auction."

**61** A ceramic copy, made by Martelli in 1878, is held at the Pinacoteca provinciale of Avellino in Palazzo Caracciolo.

**62** Several reprints were made; for the purposes of this study we consulted the first print in the series "Souvenirs de Rome" (12 prints), edited by Cadart in Paris in 1878, and published the following year in the *Gazette des Beaux–Arts* under the title "Un école à Rome," in support of a review of that year's edition of the Salon de Paris – the official exhibition of the Académie des Beaux-Arts (Arthur Baignères, "Le Salon de 1879 (troisième et dernier article)," *Gazette des Beaux–Arts* 20, no. 2 (1879), 158–159). It is interesting to note how the graphic composition of the scene recalls that of the etching: *Tre bambine in piedi*, n.d. (but later than 1888), 9.5 x 16.2 cm. [Comune di Milano – Civiche Raccolte Grafiche e Fotografiche – Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "Achille Bertarelli", Milan (Italy)]. The etching *A scuola* is reproduced in: *Antonio Piccinni incisore. Catalogo ragionato dell'opera grafica*, ed. Fabio Fiorani and Giovanna Scaloni (Roma: De Luca, 2005).

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# Chapter 11
# The Visual Discourse and Public Image of the Spanish Scouts (1912–1931)

## Introduction

The publication, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (1908), by the English serviceman Robert Baden-Powell thrust the scout movement onto the world stage.[1] Nonetheless, there was no strategy to create a new organization behind this first edition. What did exist was a clear intent to form young people morally through recreation and play. This play, however, was actually a framework for educating adolescents in their free time. It was specifically designed to be implemented in existing British youth organizations, such as the Boys' Brigade or the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), as well as directly by groups of citizens.[2] The ideological background of this crusade was a clear response to certain social and political tensions of the time. On the one hand, it dealt with the fear of moral and physical decline among youth as the result of industrialization, urbanization, and the mechanization of production. On the other, it responded to the latent threat of a possible German invasion and a population of adolescents who were ill prepared to defend against it. Both issues were addressed by Baden-Powell's proposition.[3]

And thus arose the vision for the scouts which, with an overtly patriotic focus, aimed to promote character building and teach useful abilities by engaging with nature in play and observation, using a popular, motivational format.[4] The Romantic

1 *Scouting for Boys* became an immediate bestseller. Four editions were published during its first year, and during its second year, 60,000 copies were printed. Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell, Founder of the Boy Scouts* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 390–397.

2 Eduard Vallory i Subirà, *L'educació en la ciutadania global. Estudi sobre els fonaments ideològics, el desenvolupament històric, la dimensió internacional i els valors i pràctiques de l'escoltisme mundial* (PhD dissertation, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2007).

3 Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920," *The English Historical Review* 101, no. 399 (Apr., 1986): 376–398. Allen Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts, Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900–1940," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 232–256.

4 Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press. 2004); Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire* (New York: Pantheon Books. 1986); John

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perceptions of nature and the positive consideration of outdoor activities – compared to the negative effects of cities – are ever present in Baden-Powell's writing. We should note that in Europe at the time, the discourses on hygiene and nature, inspired by *romantisches Naturphilosophie* and based on the union of man and nature, had become basic pillars for all social regeneration programs at an international level. Even the *Lebensreform* (life reform) social movement in Germany and Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century defended a return to a lifestyle that was more in harmony with nature. All of this had a direct impact on the teaching reforms of the era. Nature and play, two ubiquitous concepts in the far-reaching progressive education movement, were connected in Baden-Powell's vision for the scouts. Consequently, young people formed into groups that started identifying themselves using the term "scouts" and began to feel that they were part of something bigger.

Baden-Powell's comprehensive educational proposal was built around the following points: 1) character education by cultivating certain civil and moral qualities; 2) physical education via mental determination and healthy habits; 3) the development of manual skills and arts via technical, manual, and mental training; and 4) encouraging a spirit of cooperation and service to one's neighbor, country, and God. All of these elements are interrelated and integrated in order to foster the personal, social, and spiritual development of each subject.[5] Scouting – focusing on action, free assembly, co-existence in small groups, and respect for personalities and individuality – quickly became a successful recipe for education.

In line with the social analyst Eduard Vallroy's reflections, there are many keys to scouting's success. First, its timing in history. Scouting appeared at a time when the concepts of "youth" and "free time" began to take shape in the western world; and when outdoor life and "being in touch with nature" were recurring ideas in teaching reforms. Secondly, the extreme number of overlapping elements between the scouting project and institutions of social and political authority in Great Britain – i.e., the monarchy, the army, the education system, and the Anglican church – was a recipe for success. This overlap would be reproduced in many other countries. Finally, the diversity and relative ambiguity of the system for promoting citizenship in *Scouting for Boys* was an element that led not only to widespread acceptance, but also to the later internationalization of the project.[6]

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Springhall, "The Boy Scouts, Class, and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements, 1908–1930," *International Review of Social History* 16, no. 2 (1971): 125–158; John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?," *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 934–942.

**5** José Antonio Cieza García, "La educación física en la obra de Baden Powell (1875–1941)," *Historia de la Educación* 20 (2001): 284–285.

**6** Eduard Vallory i Subirà, "L'educació en la ciutadania global".

As a consequence, if we consider the movement at an international level, we appreciate its flexibility and how it was applied and focused very differently depending on the countries and cultures in which it took shape. The different scouting organizations that were created also had varied relationships with a wide range of political and religious powers. Taking this idea as a basis, the main objective of the current chapter is to explore the public image and social impact of the activities carried out by the Exploradores de España (Spanish Scouts) from the creation of the organization (1912) to the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic (1931).

Towards this objective, and as presenters, mediators, and observers, we analyze a large collection of photographic evidence (500) that has been found in various communication channels and archives: illustrated magazines (including *Nuevo Mundo*, *Mundo Gráfico*, *La Esfera*, *España Forestal*, *La Ilustració Catalana*, *Gran Vida,* and *Stadium*); publications created by the Spanish Scouts themselves (*Adelante, Cataluña Escultista, El Aullido del Lobo, Espuña, El Tigre, Lobatos, Explorador, Espuña, Faro y Guía, Kim, La Patrulla, La Selva, Málaga Escultista, Patria, Siempre Adelante, Siempre Útil,* and *Tabernes*);[7] the photographic archives of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (Catalonia Outdoor Center; a collection of more than 200 photos taken between 1912 and 1931 of the Minyons de Muntanya, a Catalan scout movement); and the general press (*ABC* and *Blanco y Negro*). The latter two were selected because they represent the resources with the greatest number of photographs from the time period under consideration. Their significance does not reside solely in the fact that they served to establish photography as a part of the news, but also in the influence that they had on other media at the time.[8]

The historical analysis of this collection of photographs is necessarily conditioned, as Peter Burke, Catherine Burke and Kate Rousmaniere[9] have pointed out, by our previous understanding of the scouting movement as well as by the collective construction of a public imaginary around the movement that has been gestating for many years. The set of photographs of the Spanish Scouts that appeared in illustrated magazines, daily newspapers, and special publications created by the Scouts themselves shaped an iconic discourse that projected and spread a specific public image. We cannot ignore the power of these images to influence the construction of identities.

**7** All of these publications were found and analyzed in the Biblioteca Valenciana Nicolau Primitiu (http://bv.gva.es/va/), and we would like to thank this library and its staff for their preparedness, professionality, and facilities.

**8** Antonio Pantoja Chaves, "Prensa y Fotografía. Historia del fotoperiodismo en España," *El Argonauta Español* 4 (2007). https://doi.org/10.4000/argonauta.1346

**9** Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); Catherine Burke, "Containing the School Child: Architectures and Pedagogies", *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 41 no. 4–5 (2005): 489–494, DOI: 10.1080/00309230500165635; Kate Rousmaniere, "Questioning the Visual in the History of Education", *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 109–116, DOI: 10.1080/00467600010012391.

We understand visual language to be a pivotal resource for the social construction of reality and, thus, for configuring and reconfiguring collective identities. Our approach to analyzing the media identity of the Spanish Scouts uses a qualitative methodology based on a study of the visual discourse strategies employed by specialized publications and the general press to handle information, and thus affect the social representation and impact of the public image of the scout movement.

## The Scout Movement in Spain

In 1911, cavalry captains Pedro Rosselló (1873–1956) and Teodoro Iradier (1868–1940) attended a military training course in Paris and came into contact with the Éclareurs – the French Scouts. Upon their return to Spain, Teodoro Iradier[10] headed the creation of the Spanish Scouts, and Pedro Rosselló the creation of the Exploradores Barceloneses (Barcelonan Scouts). Pedro Roselló's objective with the first scout movement in the country was to ensure that young people were healthy, in shape, moral, and spiritually well off. For his part, Teodoro Iradier received support from King Alfonso XIII and, in 1911, with the help of publicist Arturo Cuyás Armengol (1845–1925), began a public awareness campaign. The youth movement was well received, especially among the more affluent classes.[11] According to Iradier, scouting represented life in the open air, learning useful things, and carrying out good deeds. He also stated that today's scout would be tomorrow's practical man, proudly holding the title of restorer of the homeland.[12]

Though the aim of its creators was not to build an organization associated with the military, the Spanish Scouts were considered to have a conservative, nationalistic character that supported militarized patriotism. Their military style and near-complete disregard for the Catalan language created distance with the Barcelonan Scouts,[13] and the significant education reforms that took place during those years in Catalonia, thanks to progressive republicanism and conservative, pro-Catalan political and financial groups.

**10** His uncle, Manuel de Iradier Bulfy (1854–1911), upon returning from his travels to Equatorial Guinea between 1874 and 1884, organized what has been considered the predecessor to scout groups in Spain, the youth group known as "La Joven Exploradora." Years later, his nephew, Teodoro Iradier, would kick-start the first group of Spanish Scouts. Xavier Montilla Salas, "Estatutos y reglamento orgánico de la asociación nacional de los exploradores de España y disposiciones oficiales que afectan a la misma," *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria* 22–23 (2003–2004): 431–450.

**11** María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *Currículum e identidad nacional: regeneracionismos, nacionalismos y escuela pública: (1890–1939)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

**12** Ana María Varela-Lago, *Conquerors, Immigrants, Exiles: The Spanish Diaspora in the United States (1848–1948)* (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2008): 111.

**13** Albert Balcells and Samper, Genis, *L'escoltisme cátala (1911–1978)* (Barcelona: Editorial Barcanova, 1993).

Pedro Rosselló himself, in an expression of his disagreement with the conservative and centrist direction, stepped down in 1914, shortly after the Barcelonan Scouts became a local branch of the Spanish Scouts. In 1920, the Barcelonan Scouts actually merged with the Spanish Scouts, leaving the national group as the only recognized scouting organization in the country.

As previously noted, the ambiguity of the principles proposed by Baden-Powell allowed, without any serious contradictions, the Spanish Scouts to incorporate a comprehensive education plan based on activism and the outdoors as an educational space. At first, the organization was treated warily by the church, due to its close ties to the scout movement born in England that lay outside its realm of influence. The sectors involved with the redevelopment of the education system at the time were also wary of the group, fearing its high level of militarization, perhaps due to Iradier's more militarized interpretation of Baden-Powell's initial educational project.[14] But the authorities' and church's unease was soon quashed, as the scouts began to embrace Catholic, conservative, monarchist, and patriotic Spanish ideals and values.[15] In fact, the support received from traditional Spanish powers, such as the monarchy and nobility, military leaders, and the church, was fundamental to the growth of the Spanish Scouts. From their inception, they were supported by the monarchy and the government. On February 26, 1920, the organization received official national recognition via a Royal Decree issued by King Alfonso XIII. Under the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930), political support for the scout group grew, and the organization saw its highest level of expansion and development.[16]

The substantial militarism, and its use by the monarchy and the dictator Primo de Rivera, stirred opposition among groups involved in teaching reforms. Some of the leaders of the scout movement expressed their reservations and proposed different directions. In fact, in Catalonia for example, the so-called Minyons de Muntanya (Minions of the Mountain) were founded in 1927 by Josep Maria Batista i Roca (1895–1975). The group expanded and lasted for some time, distancing itself from militaristic principles, which Baden-Powell himself had also already shed by that time. The Minyons de Muntanya involved itself with the movement to defend Catalan language and culture

**14** Motilla, "Estatutos y reglamento," 435.

**15** Bernat Sureda Garcia and Augusta Martiarena, "Los reportajes fotográficos en la prensa gráfica como instrumento de propaganda y divulgación del escultismo al sur de Brasil y en España en las primeras décadas del siglo XX," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 8 (2018): 200.

**16** Regarding the spread of scouting in Spain, see: Fabián Buendía, *Los Exploradores de España. Retazos de su historia* (Madrid: Imprenta Tutor, 1984). José Ignacio Cruz Orozco, *Escultismo, Educación y Tiempo Libre. Historia del asociacionismo scout en Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Institut de la Joventut, 1995). Anastasio Martínez Navarro, "El escultismo en el marco de la educación física: su implantación en España," in *La educación en la España contemporánea. Cuestiones históricas*, ed. Julio Ruiz Berrio (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Pedagogía, 1985), 151–163. José María López Lacácel, *Así fuimos, así somos. Historia de Scouts de España. Exploradores de España* (Madrid: Federación de Asociaciones Scouts de España, 2003).

that was driven by local governmental institutions in Catalonia during this time. The priest Antoni Batlle i Mestre (1888–1955), who took part in activities in a wide range of innovative educational centers and collaborated with María Montessori herself (who lived in Catalonia at the time), helped spread and provide education related guidance to the Minyons.[17]

## The Public Image of the Spanish Scouts through Photography

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain saw a rudimentary relationship between the press and photography. It was conditioned partly by the technical limitations of newspapers to print images, but mostly by the first photographs were not as easy to obtain for the press as instant photos would later be. Although a similar lack of technological development also afflicted other countries, it was made worse in Spain by the high levels of illiteracy and citizens' inability to afford newspapers.[18] Nevertheless, during the first decades of the twentieth century, photography took on a notable role in the press, especially in both general and specialized magazines. Such magazines offered readers current information from a graphic perspective, something that newspapers could not offer due to, among other reasons, technical issues, the pace required by the form, and its high cost. Larger newspaper companies did try to overcome their shortcomings in this area, though this did not go much beyond publishing a few special issues as weekly supplements, or for some special events. Thus, it was not until the appearance of magazines – such as *Blanco y Negro* in 1891, founded by Torcuato Luca de Tena, or *Nuevo Mundo*, founded almost three years later – that photography began to be widely integrated into Spanish press.

The set of photographs of the Spanish Scouts that appeared in illustrated magazines, daily newspapers, and special publications created by the scouts themselves shaped an iconic discourse that projected and spread a certain public image. Additionally, the photos surrounded by text in features and articles often served as advertising and propaganda.[19] We can affirm at this point that, through the publications analyzed, there was a clear and deliberate use of images as an instrument to reinforce the institutional and group identity of the scouts. The photographic set under study undoubtedly contributed to the construction of a collective mentality about the iconography of the scouts. An image linked, among other things, to order, discipline, national patriotism and service to authority. At the same time, it was inseparably linked to nature, health

**17** Sureda and Martiarena, "Los reportajes fotográficos," 202.

**18** Pantoja, "Prensa y Fotografía".

**19** Dolores Sáiz, "Propaganda e imagen: los orígenes del fotoperiodismo," *Historia y comunicación visual* 4 (1999): 173–182.

and hygienism, elements clearly shared with the pedagogical reform movement that took place during the first decades of the early twentieth century.

Therefore, both movements (Scout and New School), regardless of their more conservative or progressive orientation, shared the use of photographs, and even motion pictures,[20] as propaganda to create awareness and construct a social and public image for the movement. As with many other countries, scouts received special attention in magazines in Spain and even used photographs in their own publications to advertise their activities and project their image both within and outside the group. In this way, scouting's spread around the world involved images.

## Photographs of the Scouts Published in Illustrated Magazines

The spread of the scout movement in Spain quickly reached the press. *Alrededor del mundo* (Around the world), an illustrated weekly magazine that was published in Madrid between 1899 and 1930, put out a story on the method developed by Baden-Powell on August 8, 1909, under the title "Un ejército de chicos escuchas" (An army of boys you hear).[21] The text was accompanied by two photographs, and described general aspects about scouting, highlighting the movement's focus on the practical, moral, and physical training of young boys. The photographs – one of a troop placing a walkway over a creek and the other of a group of scouts resting near a tent – graphically highlight the importance of the uniformity of the scouts' wardrobe, the value of nature to scouting activities, and the attention given to teaching manual skills.

Between 1912 and 1913, various publications helped spread word of the movement. The Catalan author, Artur Cuyas Armengol, can claim large responsibility for this. The publication of his pamphlet titled *Los Exploradores de España ¿Qué son? ¿Qué hacen?* (The Spanish Scouts Who are they? What do they do?)[22] and his book *Hace falta un muchacho* (We need a young man),[23] as well as his intense campaign to promote scouting in newspapers such as *El Hogar Español* (The Spanish Home), *Mundo Militar* (Military World), *Pro Infantia* (Pro Childhood), *Nuevo Mundo* (New World), *La Tribuna* (The Tribune), *Mundo Gráfico* (Graphic World), *Heraldo de Madrid* (the Madrid Herald), and *ABC* served as propaganda for the movement. Shortly

**20** See, for example: Joseph Coquoz, "Le Home 'Chez Nous' comme modèle d'attention à l'enfance," *Educació i Història: revista d'història de l'educació* 20 (2012): 27–46.

**21** *Alrededor del mundo*, (August 18, 1909): 100. [http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001867852&page=6&search=escuchas&lang=es] (accessed May 7, 2021)

**22** Artur Cuyas Armengol, *Los Exploradores de España ¿Qué son? ¿Qué hacen?* (Madrid: Julián Palacios, 1912).

**23** Artur Cuyas Armengol, *Hace falta un muchacho. Libro de orientación en la vida para los adolescentes* (Madrid: Julián Palacios, 1913).

afterward, the movement was endorsed by physician Tolosa Latour, Professor Domínguez de Rueda, and journalist Ruiz Ferry, all of whom collaborated on promoting scouting.[24]

Other magazines began to include illustrated stories that showed activities being carried out by the Spanish Scouts and foreign scouting organizations. One example can be found in the Barcelonan magazine *Ilustración Artística* – containing high quality images taken by photographer Carlos Abeniacar[25]– which showed photos of campsite tasks, food preparation, and Neapolitan Scouts in their uniforms posing for the photo. The prestigious Madrilenian magazine *La Ilustración Española y Americana* published photos of French Scouts during a parade at the Place de la Concorde in Paris.[26] In 1913, the weekly *Alrededor del Mundo*, the first weekly to publish a story on scouting in Spain, ran a three-page special titled "Hazañas infantiles los Boy Scouts Ingleses" (The childhood deeds of the English Boy Scouts); the piece was then continued in a later issue. The following years saw a great number of graphic references to the activities carried out by the scouts, especially their international camps, or Jamborees.

In turn, specialized magazines became interested in scouting, too. For example, in February 1913, the magazine *España Médica* (Spanish Healthcare), founded in 1911 by pediatrician and author José Ignacio de Eleizegui López (1879–1956), included an illustrated story on the English Scouts carrying out various activities related to healthcare and hygiene (Fig. 11.1). The story also provides information on the scouts' physical activities, stating that they practice Swedish gymnastics, Pole-vault and long-jump, footraces, riding horses and bicycles, jiu-jitsu and boxing for self-defense, target shooting, swimming, rowing, and fishing.[27] The article recommends that the militaristic aspects of the system be removed, but considers the movement to be highly positive.

Another example of a story published in a specialized magazine comes from *España Forestal* (Spanish Forestry), in its 1919 August/September/October issue. The article provides textual and iconographic details of a Spanish campsite that was set up in the mountains of Murcia. Though the scouts' social activities are depicted, the story predominately shows photos of activities being performed outdoors, and is focused on the training and development of manual abilities and skills related to life in the countryside. The photos chosen by this magazine contrast sharply with those published around the same time in *Blanco y Negro* (Black and White) magazine. Both

**24** José María López Lacárcel, *Así fuimos, así somos. Historia de Scouts de España. Exploradores de España* (Madrid: Federación de Asociaciones Scouts de España, 2003), 18.

**25** *Ilustración artística*, (May 20, 1912): 346, http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001617501&page=14&search=scouts&lang=ca (accessed May 7, 2021).

**26** *La Ilustración española y americana,* (December 15, 1912): 374, http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001224793&search=&lang=es (accessed May 7, 2021).

**27** *España Médica*, (February 1, 1913): 12–14, http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0005095920&page=12&search=scouts&lang=es (accessed May 7, 2021).

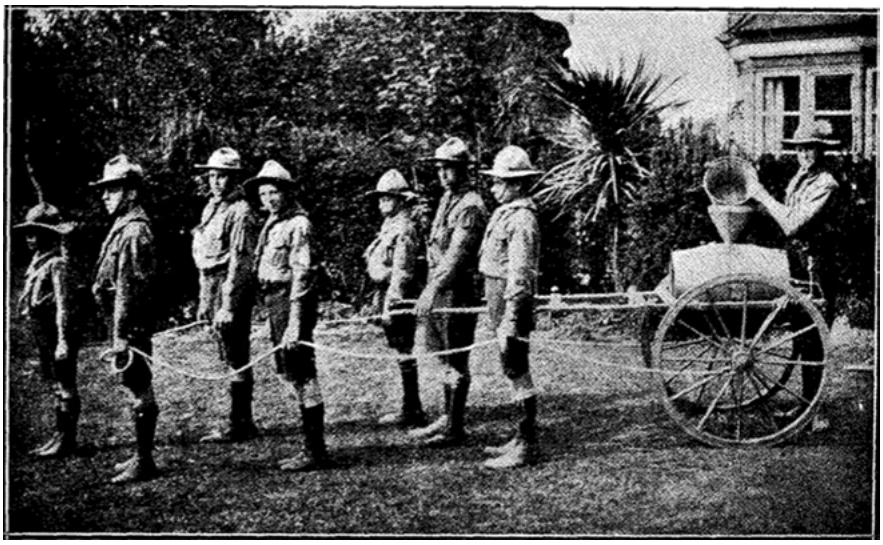

**Fig. 11.1:** Some scouts transporting water to their campsite. *España Médica* (February 1, 1913).

report on scout camps in Spain but, visually, they tell different stories. While *España Forestal* focuses on the daily lives of the scouts and their routine chores via detailed foreground images, the latter focuses on providing a portrait of the camp leaders and some scouts posing in front of the tent of Isidoro de la Cierva (1870–1939) – a Spanish lawyer, notary, and politician who publicized the scouts in the region of Murcia, as noted in the photo caption. The other image published by *Blanco y Negro* shows a nature scene with trees and tents; alongside these is a group of scouts, although they are so far away that it is difficult to see what they are doing.[28]

The newspaper press, intended for a mass audience, and thus with a greater reach, focused their graphic discourse almost exclusively on portraying authorities and ceremonial acts following specified protocols; meanwhile, the lesser known illustrated press focused more on publicizing and spreading what the scouts themselves aimed to transmit in practice, though always dressed up with some kind of symbolism related to scouting. The graphic testimonies involve rituals, ceremonies, symbols, and specific terminology that lend the scouts' activities a certain mystique.

Alongside all of this, nature and the environment appear as central, recurring elements that almost always serve as the background for these photos. Discovering nature has been one of the central pillars of the scout movement since its conception. Scouting was understood in a conception as the ideal context for the development of natural learning, as opposed to the artifice of learning developed in schools.

**28** *Blanco y Negro*, 27–07-1919, https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19190727-49.html (accessed May 7, 2021).

In *Mundo Gráfico*, we see Barcelonan Scouts performing activities in the forest near the city.[29] The photos of the group, or the compositions that appear in some magazines, provide an inside look at the activities carried out by scouts, showing them in close proximity to the natural world, to activities in the forest, and to one another (Fig. 11.2). Most of the photographs published in magazines were taken during outings and campouts. Such photographs spoke an essential claim: that nature provides the most ideal medium for forming young boys' characters, instilling a spirit of adventure, and putting them into situations where they can overcome difficulties and feel a sense of self-worth.[30] As Frederik Herman has noted in Chapter 4 of this book, following historian Victor Turner, it was a kind of "liminal space,"[31] set apart from the structured spheres of work and formal learning, where one could experiment with new forms of seeing and acting; it was a "space of regeneration" that would counterbalance the negative by-products of industrialization.

After the 1920s, and especially after coup of dictator Primo de Rivera, the non-specialized graphic press began to pay more attention to Spanish Scouts, rather than foreign scouting organizations. There are large numbers of photos of Spanish Scouts in magazines such as *La Unión Ilustrada* (The Union Illustrated), *La Esfera* (The Sphere), *Mundo Gráfico*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *África*, and *Baleares*. The Spanish Scouts also received textual and photographic support in elitist sporting publications, such as the Madrilenian *Gran Vida* (Great Life) or the Barcelonan *Stadium*.[32] In these magazines, some of the scouts' activities are shown, although they are almost always related in some way to the presence of monarchs or authorities. As such, we can see certain differences when compared to earlier photographs. For the most part, the photos in *Gran Vida* (Great Life) and *Stadium* these two magazines serve to build a public image focusing on national patriotism and service to authority. In this way, and in line with the ideological focus that the monarchical and dictatorial government wanted to impart on the Spanish Scouts, the images prioritize the scouts' participation in patriotic activities and parades over their outdoor activities.

**29** *Mundo Gráfico*, (March 19, 1913): 15, http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0002084397&search=&lang=en (accessed May 7, 2021).

**30** Francesca Comas Rubí, Miquel March Manresa, and Bernat Sureda Garcia, "Les pràctiques educatives de l'escoltisme de Mallorca durant la dictadura franquista a través de les fotografies," *Educació i Història* 15 (2010): 209.

**31** Victor Turner, "Liminalität und Communitas," in *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, ed. Andréa Belliger and David J. Krieger (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 251–264.

**32** Sureda and Martiarena, "Los reportajes fotográficos," 207–208.




**Fig. 11.2:** Spanish Boy Scouts. *Mundo Gráfico* (March 19, 1913).

## Photographs of the Scouts Published in Scouting Magazines

The Spanish Scouts started a significant number of magazines and newsletters, spreading not only their organization but also reinforcing the construction of their own identity. Photographs play a key role in these publications, helping to project an image and create a visual discourse. We have identified three elements around which it is possible to group all such photos: 1) militarism, 2) authorities, and 3) scouting activities and rituals.

Baden-Powell envisaged scouting as ceremonial, with uniforms, formations and hoisted flags, all of which stems from the military. Baden-Powell himself was a serviceman, and rituals play an essential part in the service: uniforms, flags, changing of guards, badges, etc. The 4th World Scout Jamboree in Budapest was an opportunity for the scouts to display to themselves all the pageantry of their organization; as well as its military overtones.[33] In *Kim*, a magazine published by the Aragonese Scouts, there is an extensive story on the event, in which the parades, flags, and tidy scout uniforms from all over the world are all photographed.[34] The raising of the flags, after being blessed, is shown in many photographs in *Escultismo* (Scouting), a weekly newsletter from the Spanish Scouts in the Valencia region. The reception of authorities and presidents of scout groups followed this ceremonial pattern and often included military-like formations, flags, and fully uniformed groups. Issue Nine (June, 1930) of the magazine *Adelante* (Onwards) contains a photograph that epitomizes this resemblance. The setting is the new Sierra Espuña campsite with a row of scouts holding flags to make a guard of honor for the president. The inauguration of new campsites, along with military-like scouting ceremonies, is another of the moments that appear most frequently in visual format. The 1930 September/October issue of *Lobatos* (Cub Scouts) has a story that includes images of military formations, the raising of the flag, and even a shooting gallery. The cover of Issue 14 of *El Aullido del Lobo* (The Howl of the Wolf), a publication from the Spanish Scouts in Melilla, shows Infantry Colonel José Miaja Menant, troop leader Mr. Revilla, and instructors from Camp Taurit on the day that the Colonel was awarded the rank of Commander in Spain's Order of Civil Merit.

There are also images that aim to show support for the monarchy. For example, in *Adelante*, a monthly newsletter from the Spanish Scouts of Murcia, the cover of Issue 62 from January 1931, reads "¡Viva el Rey!" (Long Live the King) followed by a large image of King Alfonso XIII and a caption that reads "Los exploradores de España en Murcia ofrecen a su augusto Monarca S.M. el Rey D. Alfonso XIII y a S. A. R. el Srmo.

**33** Jordi Font i Plana, *Del joc a la festa: escoltisme catòlic català (1930–1980)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002).

**34** *Kim* 2 (1934): 8–9.

Sr. Príncipe de Asturias, el más profundo testimonio de adhesión y respeto" (The Spanish Explorers of Murcia offer the dignified Monarch His Majesty King Alfonoso XIII and His Royal Highness the most distinguished Prince of Asturias their deepest respect and allegiance").[35] Three months later, in April 1931, the king abdicated.

With regard to the "authorities", we should mention that, despite their significant presence in these publications, they do not represent the largest category. A large number of the images pertaining to the "scouting activities and rituals" category show distinctive traits of the group, and include scout ceremonies and liturgies, physical activities in nature, and the celebration of contests during which scout-related symbols were present. Scout ceremonies and liturgies involving the lighting of the fire, passing from one section to another, or the naming of guides, represent a kind of enshrinement of all stages in scouting life. All of this represents a teaching methodology that aims to transmit certain values and the need to express group sentiment.[36] *Escultismo* (Scouting) includes a photograph that depicts one of the most symbolic moments in the scouting world: the swearing of the oath.[37] This process involves the individual committing to uphold the values and principles of scouting.

As with magazines for the general public, nature takes on a central and recurring role that serves as the background for nearly all photos in scouting magazines. Scouting activities, physical exercise, and daily camp life are repeatedly photographed in and about nature (Fig. 11.3). Images capturing scouts washing dishes or bathing in the river were published in the 4th issue of *La Patrulla* (The Patrol), a practical scouting magazine in 1927. Making use of natural resources was frequently conveyed through photos. *Patria* (Homeland), a newsletter from a troop of Spanish Scouts in Aguilas, provides graphic evidence of many moments of scout camp life, including mountain outings, swimming in the river, visiting mines, or taking rowing lessons. In another photograph, published in *Málaga Escultista* (Scouting Malaga), three scouts are building a sundial.

Animalistic totems with banners also often appear in photographs from the "scouting activities and rituals" collection. For example, in images published in *Cataluña Escultista* (Scouting Catalonia), one of the scouting publications with the greatest number of photos from the era, Issue Two (1929) shows the five victorious scouts from the different totem competition categories (Fig. 11.4). They are in uniform and pose proudly in a nature setting. The animals chosen by the scouts serve as a reference with which the scouts can identify. The totem tradition itself was inspired by the customs of peoples who lived in harmony with nature, such as Native Americans, and represent the identification of the group with the qualities of an animal. In fact, these indigenous traditions

**35** *Adelante* 62 (January 1931).
**36** Font, *Del joc a la festa*, 27.
**37** *Escultismo* 6 (December 1926).

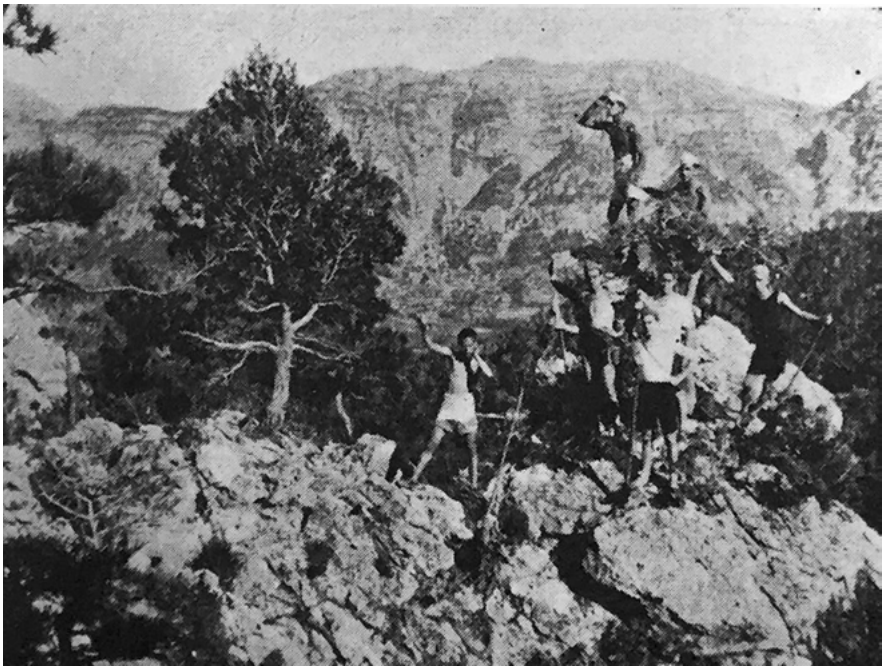

**Fig. 11.3:** A troop hiking. San Roque campsite (Pauls). Exploradores de Tolosa. *La Patrulla* 37 (November, 1932).

are present in other scouting practices, as we can see in Fig. 11.5, where a scout from the Rhinoceros Troop is painting his tent. Ancestral paintings and totems were elements that formed the basis of the mystical nature of the scouting method. They served to reinforce group members' sense of commitment to the group, and personal vows to overcome hardships and continue seeking self-perfection.[38]

**38** Comas, March, and Sureda, "Les pràctiques educatives," 213.

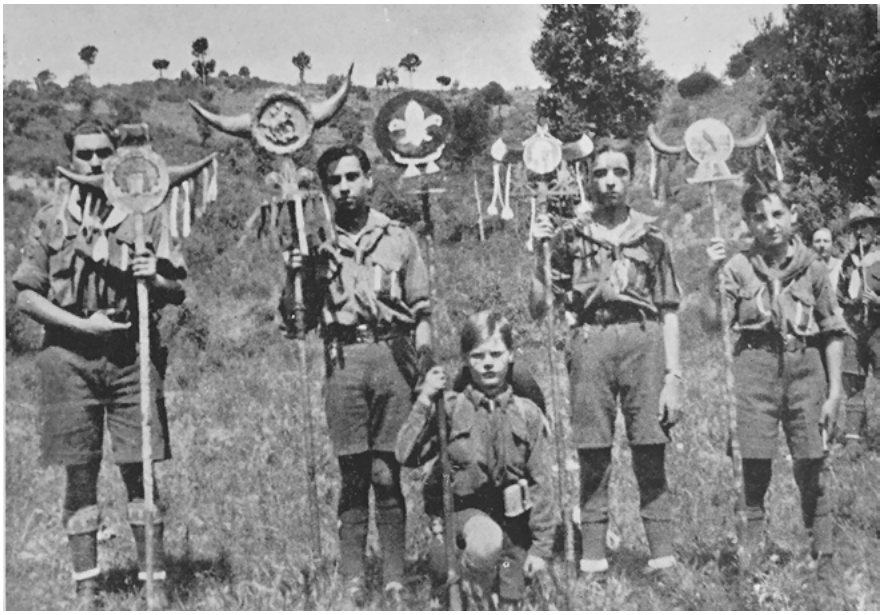

**Fig. 11.4:** The winners of the different categories in the totem competition. *Cataluña escultista* 2 (June 1929).

**Fig. 11.5:** A scout from the rhinoceros troop painting his tent. *Cataluña escultista* 8 (August 24, 1929).

## Photos of the Minyons de Muntanya in the Archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya

Most of the over 200 photos of the Minyons de Muntanya preserved in the archive show outdoor activities. Physical exercise is the main focus, and nature serves as the backdrop where the action takes place. Since their foundation, the Minyons de Muntanya had a close relationship with various outdoors associations, which explains their focus on this particular subject matter. For example, there are images of scouts broadcasting radio signals and eating in the forest, playing camp games, performing group activities next to a river, playing on the beach, receiving new Minyons at camp, setting up tents or participating in races, among others. There are also images related to healthcare and hygiene in the camps, as well as those focusing on making use of natural resources for provisions and survival (Fig. 11.6).

Play also appears in many images, and these particular photos seem to show the greatest level of naturalness and spontaneity of the entire set of photos analyzed in this chapter. While the general tone of the publications discussed up to now was structured – with prepared compositions in seemingly coordinated photos – the photographs of the Minyons de Muntanya capture real, uncontrived moments that are often simple and involve movement. The following photograph (Fig. 11.7) is a good example of this, in which two scouts entertain the rest of their peers by playing the classic game Blind Man's Buff.

**Fig. 11.6:** A group of scouts around a well at camp, pouring water from a large tub. *Photo Archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (undated).

**Fig. 11.7:** Scouts playing blind man's buff at camp. *Photo archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (undated).

The prominence of images showing action in nature demonstrates that these groups of scouts, who were not supported by Spanish authorities and only received support from the Catalan church – in contrast to the Spanish Scouts – took an approach more in line with the post-WWI scouting method. As Sica states in his summary of Baden-Powell, this was a movement from citizens of the empire to ideal citizens of the world.[39] Note also that Baden-Powell had undergone a significant ideological change since 1908 and shifted his focus to four objectives. First, the relationship of the scouting method's active educational discourse, especially with regard to the teachings of María Montessori and the rejection of scouting's militaristic undertones. Second, by putting more emphasis on the need to have one's own standards and playing down the idea of obedience. Third, via a clear international focus, which was linked to the ideals of the League of Nations, detaching the Scouts from nationalist sources of power. Finally, as a consequence of the First World War, ensuring a permanent commitment to peace.[40]

**39** Mario Sica, comp. and ed., *Citizens of the World: Selected Writings on International Peace* (Roma: Fiordaliso, 2006).

**40** Eduard Vallory i Subirà, "L'educació en la ciutadania global," 66.

## Photographs of the Scouts in the General Press (ABC & Blanco y Negro)

The large number of scouting photographs in general and specialized magazines, as well as the photo archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, contrast with the lack of such graphic testimony in *ABC* and *Blanco y Negro*. Despite the fact that these publications are considered to have the most extensive photographic content from the era, we have found little more than a dozen photos of scouts published between 1912 and 1931 between them both.

The images that do appear predominantly show authorities and ceremonial acts performed by foreign scouts. In 1916, under the title "Un Príncipe Boy Scout" (A Boy Scout Prince), *ABC* published an image taken by Charles Trampus of the visit by heir to the throne of Italy, Umberto, Prince of Piedmont, to an Italian scout camp in Villa Savoia.[41] It shows a group of scouts of various ages, dressed in their uniforms, apparently posing in front of the camera, surrounded by trees and vegetation. The same year, *Blanco y Negro* published photographs of another visit, this time of the Spanish Royal Family visiting a group of scouts camped out in the pine forests of Sardinero, Santander. The Prince of Asturias and Infante (hier to the throne) Jaime of Spain is dressed as a scout, and join their group to participate in activities. The images capture two specific moments: the arrival of the Queen and Princess Beatriz of Spain before a parading group of scouts, and another moment where the group of officials are monitoring water safety drills.[42] *Blanco y Negro* also photographed Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Doveton's visit to the English marine scouts aboard the battleship Exmouth. The compositional iconography of this photograph reinforced the identity and fundamental values of the scouting method: group cohesion, camaraderie, discipline, order, responsibility, wardrobe cleanliness, and uniformity. In the picture, we see scouts forming an anchor by sitting firmly and orderly with their heads straight forward and legs crossed, while the Admiral reviews their performance.[43]

Baden-Powell himself serves as the object of these publications' attention on multiple occasions. For example, there is a photo showing the serviceman handing over flags to the boy scouts during an international scouting meeting in London during the summer of 1920.[44] Another photograph was used on two different occasions, with one taking up the entire front page of the Seville edition of *ABC*. In the

**41** *ABC*, May 31, 1916, https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/el-heredero-del-trono-de-italia-humberto-principe-de-piamonte-5582765.html (accessed May 7, 2021).
**42** *Blanco y Negro*, September 3, 1916, https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19160903-11.html (accessed May 7, 2021).
**43** *Blanco y Negro*, October 3, 1920, https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19201003-8.html (accessed May 7, 2021).
**44** *ABC*, September 31, 1920, https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/el-general-ingles-sir-roberto-baden-powell-x-entregando-7553079.html (accessed May 7, 2021).

image, Baden-Powell uncovers a plaque displaying the name of a locomotive, "The Boy Scout."[45]

A couple of group and campsite photographs round out the body of scouting images in *ABC*. Overall, the images focus more on authorities and officials, or on the places where scouting activities took place; there are no photos showing the real, daily lives of the young scouts.

## Conclusions

An analysis of the set of images gathered for this chapter shows that, despite the large number of photographs found, the diversity of situations and locations captured, and the circumstances of which they provide evidence, most share an iconography and reinforce the image of scouting methods and culture that the scouts had of themselves. That is to say, regardless of the changes that took place over time, this set of scouting photographs conveys a set of messages that were constructed using a specific repertoire of symbolic elements, and a more or less deliberate visual syntax and morphology. The visual discourse reinforced through these photos reinforces the identity and values of the scouting method: discipline, order, group cohesion, camaraderie, responsibility, endeavoring to overcome difficulties, religiousness, manual skills, and the spirit of adventure. In this way, photographs had a key role in giving shape to or reinforcing identities, showing scouts how they should behave, and how they should be perceived by the world.

The common setting for all of the images is nature. Respect and a positive appreciation of nature are evident in the graphic discourse of scouting. In the line with the New School and social hygiene movements, physical exercise and open spaces are often depicted to construct an image of scouting that the public would always associate with the outdoors. However, despite the fact that scouting photos from the era were taken in an informal, non-institutional settings, most of them appear staged, and only a few appear to be spontaneous. The poses and gestures of those being photographed show that they are aware that the scene is being captured and will be seen by other people. However, in the case of the Minyons de Muntanya, this particular aspect is absent from many photographs, and images of this group tend to show the more real practices of the scouts in nature as they are simpler, involve movement, and are not contrived.

This is one of the fundamental aspects that lead us to consider the existence of a differentiated approach between the Scout movement in Spain and the Minyons

**45** *ABC*, December 19, 1929, https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/abc-sevilla-19301219-1.html; *ABC*, 31/12/1929, https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/lord-baden-powell-fundador-de-los-scouts-en-la-estacion-de-4413008.html (accessed May 7, 2021).

movement. Two scouting movements, whose founding principles led them to place different emphases on what is means to be a scout, and which were depicted in the photographs they used to communicate to themselves and others. The Minyons de Muntanya distanced themselves from militaristic principles, from which Baden-Powell himself had also already shed by that time (in the late 1920's). They were also linked to hiking groups and professionals who had direct contact with innovative educational centers. In addition, they were involved in the movement to defend the Catalan language and culture that was promoted by local government institutions in Catalonia during this period, as mentioned above. All of this means that this group can be analyzed in a particular way, and in contrast to other groups in Spain, by showing its own identity within the iconographic panorama that has been analyzed in this work.

For the Spanish Scouts in the early decades of the twentieth century, the method created by Robert Baden-Powell was adapted by existing political powers and put to use instilling nationalist ideals based on patriotism, discipline, and militarization. The number of photographs that transmit this discourse to the general public, in very different publication formats, is far-reaching (with the exception of the Minyons de Muntanya). The majorty of the large sample of photos considered for the present chapter the majority convey a message that relates the activities of the scouts with civil and military authorities, with demonstrations of discipline and order via formations and exercises, with their participation in patriotic civic celebrations and activities, and with the paramilitary. Scout or soldier, their strict uniformity, decorations or use of national flags were the same.

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