

IMAGES AND HISTORY OF POPULAR EDUCATION: PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PEDAGOGIC MISSIONS IN THE REGION OF MURCIA*

*Imágenes e historia de la educación popular: representaciones
fotográficas de las misiones pedagógicas en la Región de Murcia*

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Received: 22/06/2016 • Final version received: 21/09/2016

Abstract. This paper aims to locate, classify and analyse the photographic historical education heritage of one of the most characteristic experiences of popular education in Spain, and one which occurred in specific geographical and historical contexts. We refer to the initiatives undertaken by the Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas (Board of the Pedagogic Missions) and other similar bodies during the Second Spanish Republic in the region of Murcia from 1933 to 1935. The paper offers an introduction to the management and scope of the so-called «visual turn», it establishes the historiographical field of popular education and determines the areas within the same that have devoted most attention to the study of photographic representations in our country. A general approach to the Pedagogic Missions and to the role of visual culture and photography these played is also provided. After a brief introduction of the Missions, in a regional context, the core of the paper identifies and analyses the images that enjoyed public projection through the daily press and the contemporary magazines, together with the problems these sources entailed. The paper also uses an *ad hoc* typology to locate and analyse the private collections of postcards and photographs that originally belonged to renowned figures in charge of the same, such as the writers Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver or teachers like Eugenio Úbeda.

Key words: Pedagogic Missions; Illustrated Press; Postcards; Photography; Murcia (Spain); Twentieth century

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* This paper is part of Research Project EDU2013-42040-P, entitled «Imagen y educación: marketing, comercialización, didáctica (España, siglo xx)», financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. Translation: Stephen Hasler.

Resumen. *Este artículo tiene por finalidad la localización, clasificación y análisis del patrimonio histórico-educativo de carácter fotográfico de una de las experiencias de educación popular más características de la historia de la educación en España, realizadas en un contexto geográfico y un momento determinados. Nos referimos a las iniciativas llevadas a cabo por el Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas, y otras afines, durante la Segunda República Española, en la Región de Murcia, de 1933 a 1935. Por una parte, en el texto se efectúa un recorrido introductorio acerca de la gestación y alcance experimentado por el llamado «giro visual», se delimita el campo historiográfico de la educación popular, se determinan las parcelas del mismo que han prestado más atención al estudio de sus representaciones fotográficas en nuestro país, se realiza una aproximación general a las Misiones Pedagógicas y al papel que la cultura visual y la fotografía desempeñaron en las mismas. En cuanto al núcleo central de la investigación, tras una presentación sucinta de las Misiones Pedagógicas en el contexto regional, se localizan y analizan, por un lado, las imágenes que tuvieron una proyección pública mediante su difusión en la prensa diaria y las revistas ilustradas coetáneas, y los problemas asociados a tales fuentes. Por otro lado, se localizan y analizan, en base a una tipología ad hoc, los fondos de tarjetas postales y de fotografías de tales experiencias conservadas en colecciones privadas pertenecientes, originariamente, a destacados responsables de las mismas, como fueron los escritores Carmen Conde y Antonio Oliver o profesores como Eugenio Úbeda.*

Palabras clave: *Misiones Pedagógicas; Prensa ilustrada; Tarjetas postales; Fotografía; Murcia (España); Siglo xx*

INTRODUCTION

As in the sphere of historiography, there has been much talk in recent decades of various «turns»—the *linguistic turn*, the *cultural turn* or the *emotional turn*, among others. In the early 1990s a new historiographic current appeared and was developed that was linked to the «visual turn», and reflected in expressions like *pictorial turn*¹ or *iconic turn*.² This has attracted growing attention among anthropologists, communicologists, historians or art and culture, and other researchers towards the world of images in themselves —production, presence, uses, reception, appropriations, etc.— and towards their condition as a historical source.

¹ William J. T. Mitchell, «The Pictorial Turn», *ArtForum*, 30 (1992): 89-94.

² Gottfried Boehm and William J. T. Mitchell, «Pictorial versus Iconic Turn: two letters», *Culture, Theory & Critique*, 50 (2-3), (2009): 103-121.

In contrast to the ancestral invisibility of the visual, the image as historical document began to be considered thanks to the widening interests of historians who needed new testimonies of the past that went beyond the traditional ones. These took in literary texts, oral testimonies and images, among others. Writers like the culture historian Peter Burke, in his well known work *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images As Historical Evidence*, have shown their interest in promoting these types of historical documents while at the same time alerting to their limitations, problems and traps.³

Educational historiography has also been receptive to these changes. The growing attention paid by educational historians to the world of images had amongst its precedents the monographic section *Images et education* of the journal *Histoire de l'Éducation*, volume 30, issued in 1986. However, it was to be the twentieth edition of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE), held in Kortrijk (Belgium) in 1998, entitled *The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education*, that would really get historians of education fully involved in the study of visual culture. The subjects addressed there —images and representations of teachers, metaphors, icons, visual aids in cosmography and astronomy, emblems, notices, text books, architecture, exhibitions, films, cartoons, cigarette boxes, photographs— provided a showcase of the possibilities that this new research field offered, as well as the range of foci and objects for analysis and the methodological problems that these sources entailed. A selection of the main contributions at the ISCHE was published two years in the journal *Paedagogica Historica*.⁴ The progressive recognition, consolidation and use of these sources to increase knowledge of the history of education has not been without its detractors, who criticise the possibilities and the limitations of these sources for study and advancement in the aforementioned field.⁵

This new field of historical research has also received noted attention from researchers in Spain. The article by María del Mar del Pozo,

³ Peter Burke, *Visto y no visto. El uso de la imagen como documento histórico* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001).

⁴ Marc Depaepe and Bregt Henkens, «The Challenge of the Visual in the History of Education», *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, 36 (1), (2000): 11-17.

⁵ Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon, «Sobre el treball amb fonts: consideracions des del taller sobre la història de l'educació», *Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 15 (2010): 117-119.

published in 2006 in a monographic issue of *Historia de la Educación* on «New trends in the history of education», deals very fully with the use of images as a source for the history of education, with the methodological approaches these offer internationally, and provides a theoretical proposal for the analysis of images, especially photographs.⁶

Historians of education in Spain have been drawing increasingly on photography as a research source for over ten years now. Noteworthy are the projects undertaken by the Grup d'Estudis d'Història de l'Educació at the University of the Balearic Islands, which got under way in 2004 and whose main aim is to locate, catalogue and analyse the numerous public and private photographic collections of an educational nature that relate to the Balearics, so developing new models of interpretation and thus generating and disseminating scientific production.⁷ Within this production we would highlight the monograph «Fotografia i història de l'educació», published in *Educació i Història* in 2010,⁸ the work of the same name *Fotografia i història de l'educació* edited in 2012,⁹ or the organization of the XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació de la Societat d'Història de l'Educació del Països de Llengua Catalana, held in Palma, Mallorca from 26 to 28 November 2014, on «Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació» (School pictures, a picture of education) and the ensuing publication of the proceedings.¹⁰

Other national and international scientific encounters that have or are scheduled to take place in Spain include sections devoted to studying different dimensions of images, e.g. the V Jornadas Científicas de la Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo

⁶ M.ª del Mar del Pozo Andrés, «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.

⁷ Francisca Comas, «Localització, anàlisi i utilització de la fotografia com a font per a la història de l'educació: presentació els projectes desenvolupats en el Grup d'Estudis d'Història de l'Educació de la UIB», in *Investigar la Història de l'Educació amb imatges*, coord. Eulàlia Colleldemont (Vic: Eumogràfic – MUVIP, 2014): 53-64.

⁸ Francesca Comas Rubí, «Presentació: Fotografia i història de l'educació», *Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació*, 15 (2010): 11-17.

⁹ Francesca Comas Rubí, Xavier Motilla Salas and Bernat Sureda Garcia, *Photograph i història de l'educació. Iconografia de la modernització educativa* (Palma: Lleóard Muntaner, 2012).

¹⁰ Francesca Comas Rubí et al. (eds.), *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació. Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació. Palma, del 26 al 28 de novembre de 2014* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014).

(SEPHE) and the III Foro Ibérico de Museísmo Pedagógico, promoted by the SEPHE, and the Portuguese Rede de Investigadores em História e Museologia da Infância e Educação (RIHMIE), which were held at the University of Murcia in November in 2012, and the third section of which was devoted to «the reflected school: images and testimonies from school life».¹¹ The VII Jornadas Científicas de la SEPHE and the V Simposio Iberoamericano: Historia, Educación, Patrimonio Educativo, to be held in the University of the Basque Lands, in San Sebastián, in the summer of 2016, will address in its third section, «Mirror spaces: images and reflections of the school, films, photographs, documentaries, etc.».¹² The XIX Coloquio de Historia de la Educación, organised by the Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación (SEDHE) in conjunction with the Madrid Complutense University, the University of Alcalá and the National Open University, to be held in El Escorial in Madrid in September 2017, will be devoted in its entirety to: *Images, discourses and texts in the History of Education. Today's methodological challenges*.¹³ The growing attention of historians and scientific communities alike to this field of historiography is a clear indication that the functions of images, and photography in particular, are sources for the study of history in general and of the history of education which have now ceased to be a novelty.¹⁴

The aim of this paper is to locate, classify and analyse the photographic heritage of history of education that was disseminated in the daily press and illustrated journals of the time or that is to be found in the private archives and collections of picture postcards and photographs. It is a heritage from one of the most characteristic popular education experiences of our history, and one with its own geographical context. We refer to the initiatives of the Board of the Pedagogic Missions and to other efforts made in the region of Murcia between 1933 and 1935.

¹¹ Pedro L. Moreno Martínez and Ana Sebastián Vicente (eds.), *Patrimonio y Etnografía de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo xx* (Murcia: Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo - Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) de la Universidad de Murcia, 2012).

¹² Paulí Dávila and Luis M.ª Naya (coords.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* (Donostia: Erein, 2016): 645-837.

¹³ At: <http://sedhe.es/wp-content/uploads/Primera-Circular-XIX-Coloquio.pdf> (consulted 29-4-2016).

¹⁴ Eulàlia Colleldemont and Antoni Tort, «Per què les imatges en història de l'educació», en *Investigar la Història de l'Educació amb imatges*, coord. Eulàlia Colleldemont (Vic: Eumogràfic – MUVIP, 2014): 9.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC RENOVATION, POPULAR EDUCATION AND IMAGE

Popular education was one of the new historiographic fields which began to emerge in Spain in the 1980s —a period of deep change in the history of education. The changes arose as historians of education took on the new theoretical and methodological conceptions that were appearing in the study of history in general, and which would lead to the emergence of what was known as the «new history of education». ¹⁵

Within this growing interest of historians in popular education at the end of the last century, there was a confluence of the turns taking place both in the history of education and of the new trends in social history, with its approach to the cultural and educational practices that were being driven by, or were related to, social movements, as well as to the changes that were going on in the approaches to cultural history. ¹⁶

One of the first hurdles that historians of education had to overcome in this new field was how to delimit the notion of «popular education», as the expression was interpreted in many ways, often fairly imprecisely and with some controversy. Jean-Louis Guereña formulated the following definition as being valid for the European context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

The polymorphic set of processes aimed at educating the lower classes (also referred to famously in Gramscian terms as the *subalterns* of all societies) may refer to youngsters of school age according to the current law but not in schooling, or to uneducated adults or those seeking complementary training, either outside, or alongside, the regulated institutional school circuits and processes, be they state or private. ¹⁷

¹⁵ Agustín Escolano, «La historiografía educativa. Tendencias actuales», in *La investigación histórico-educativa. Tendencias actuales*, eds. Narciso de Gabriel and Antonio Viñao Frago (Barcelona: Ronsell, 1997), 57-75.

¹⁶ Jean-Louis Guereña, «La educación popular a principios del siglo xx», in *La educación en España a examen (1898-1998)*, eds. Julio Ruiz Berrio *et al.* (Zaragoza: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura - Institución «Fernando el Católico», CSIC, vol. 2, 1999), 14.

¹⁷ Jean-Louis Guereña, «El espacio de la educación popular en la época contemporánea», *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria*, 20 (2001): 8.

Starting from this definition, Guereña and Tiana carried out an analysis of the relevant historiographic production published between 1982 and 1992, which drew on over 240 references. This led to a seven-category classification of the initiatives undertaken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at least until World War II. These categories were: professional and technical training; schools for adults; university extension and folk high schools; social meetings and education; social reformism, republicanism and popular education; social Catholicism and popular education; and, lastly, education and workers' movement. Beyond the polysemy already mentioned, this classification highlighted another feature of the history of popular education —the multiplicity, heterogeneity and diversity of the initiatives put into practice.¹⁸

On the basis of the contributions offered at the VII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación de la Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, held at the University of La Laguna in 1994, which dealt exclusively with the study of *Popular education*,¹⁹ Leoncio Vega offered a global approach to the characteristic elements of this in historiographic terms. He established four reference categories. The first adopted a social perspective and allows the observation of the predominance of initiatives in non formal education, whose target audiences took in all social classes and, to a lesser extent, working class groups and children. Secondly, and ideologically, most of the initiatives had a reformist bias, as they had been driven by working class, institutional and social catholic currents. Thirdly, from a pedagogical stance, the emphasis was on instructive proposals (noted primary and secondary teachers; working class centres; school contributions; literacy; professional training; etc.) as opposed to the strictly educational approaches (civility; colonies; women's education; contributions from various associations, etc.). Finally, in institutional terms, there were initiatives that were promoted from public bodies and others of a social character. The latter led the author to a subclassification in which we can distinguish four groups of initiatives proper to popular

¹⁸ Jean-Louis Guereña and Alejandro Tiana Ferrer, «La educación popular», in *Historia de la educación en la España contemporánea: Diez años de investigación*, eds. Jean-Louis Guereña, Julio Ruiz Berrio and Alejandro Tiana Ferrer (Madrid: Centro de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia – C. I. D. E., 1994), 141-171.

¹⁹ VII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación, *Educación Popular* (La Laguna: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de La Laguna, 1998, 3 vols.).

education: the after-school or school-related initiatives (canteens, colonies, societies, nature schools, popular libraries, etc.); those of adult education and the workers' movements (schools for adults, folk high schools, university extension, literacy campaigns, women's education projects; etc.); and the socio-cultural initiatives (village halls, working class clubs, Catholic working men's clubs, athenaeums, choral societies, literary circles, recreation circles, etc.).²⁰

This increasing interest of historians in images, particularly photography, has also begun to address certain areas of public education. The educational initiatives in non school areas is one of the areas that historians have seized on to show the potential of photographic images for greater in-depth analysis and interpretation. This is the case of the studies carried out on the scout movement in the Balearic Islands during the Franco regime. The photographs from the time reveal different aspects of the education methods used in boys' and girls' scouting during the dictatorship, the singularities, the continuities and the changes, the values and the principles that were all part of the educational model proposed for teenagers of both sexes, while also showing the role of the Catholic Church, the rituals, the practical activities, etc.²¹

Historians of education have paid greatest attention to the photographic testimonies of the school colonies. For these, photography was a means of representation and advertising which gave greater and earlier visibility to educational initiatives that dealt with preventive hygiene, which aimed to offer protection in a time of delicate infant health amongst the working urban social strata, in times of peace, or to take care of evacuee children in times of war.²² The works published, which employ a variety of

²⁰ Leoncio Vega Gil, «La educación popular en España. Características y dimensiones historiográficas», in *La educación en España a examen (1898-1998)*, eds. Julio Ruiz Berrio *et al.* (Zaragoza, Ministerio de Educación y Cultura – Institución «Fernando el Católico», CSIC, vol. 2, 1999), 7-12.

²¹ Francesca Comas Rubí, Miquel March Manresa and Bernat Sureda García, «Les pràctiques educatives de l'escoltisme de Mallorca durant la dictadura franquista a través de les fotografies», *Educació i Història. Revista d'història de l'educació*, 15 (2010): 195-226; Francesca Comas Rubí, Xavier Motilla Salas and Bernat Sureda Garcia, «El Guiatge catòlic de Mallorca als anys seixanta del segle xx. Aportacions al seu estudi a partir d'un diari personal i de les fotografies», in *Annals del Patronat d'Estudis Històrics d'Olot i Comarca (PEHOC): XIX Jornades d'història de l'educació. Dones i educació* (Olot: PEHOC, 2010), 251-265.

²² Pedro L. Moreno Martínez, «De la caridad y la filantropía a la protección social del Estado: las colonias escolares de vacaciones en España (1887-1936)», *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria*, 28 (2009): 135-159.

methodological perspectives, cover a wide spectrum of experiences carried out in various geographical areas, mainly in the mainland Mediterranean regions of Catalonia, Valencia or Murcia, but also in the Balearic Islands. The studies also cover quite a long period, taking in initiatives from the beginning of the twentieth century,²³ the Civil War²⁴ and, more recently, the transition to democracy.²⁵ Besides, the works devoted exclusively to analysing school colonies, these are also mentioned in studies on other areas of education.²⁶ The importance of visual culture in initiatives undertaken by the Board of the Pedagogical Missions has likewise been a subject of interest for researchers and historians.

PEDAGOGICAL MISSIONS, VISUAL CULTURE AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The establishment of the Second Republic on 14 April 1931 set off a resurgence, a revitalisation and a projection of regenerationist ideas, those put forward by Joaquín Costa, the principles of progressive liberalism,

²³ Francesca Comas Rubí, Xavier Motilla Salas and Bernat Sureda Garcia, «Iconografía y representación gráfica de las colonias escolares de la Diputación de Baleares. Una aproximación a través del análisis de las fotografías de las memorias», *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, 250 (2011): 445-462; Xavier Motilla Salas, «Imagen y proyección pública de las colonias escolares de la Menorca de principios del siglo xx. Una aproximación a través del análisis de la prensa y las fotografías», *Foro de Educación. Pensamiento, Cultura y Sociedad*, 13 (2011): 123-138; Pedro L. Moreno Martínez, «Imagen, educación y propaganda: las primeras colonias escolares de vacaciones de la Región de Murcia (1907)», in *Espacios y Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo*, coords. Paulí Dávila and Luis M.ª Naya (Donostia: Erein, 2016), 825-837.

²⁴ 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. International Journal of the History of Education*, 51 (4), (2015): 455-477.

²⁵ Bartomeu Llinàs Ferrà and Bernat Sureda Garcia, «L'escola de vacances: la memòria gràfica de les colònies escolars de la Transició democràtica a les Illes Balears», in *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació. Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació. Palma, del 26 al 28 de novembre de 2014*, eds. Francesca Comas Rubí *et al.* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014), 185-198; Bernat Sureda Garcia and Francesca Comas Rubí, «La transición en los modelos de la pedagogía del ocio a finales del franquismo a través de fuentes fotográficas: las colonias de verano de Can Tàpera en Baleares», *Revista Lusófona de Educação*, 25 (2013): 159-176.

²⁶ Xavier Motilla Salas and Gual Llorenç Gelabert, «La fotografía escolar i educativa en l'inici de la premsa il·lustrada a Mallorca entre els segles XIX i XX», in *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació. Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació. Palma, del 26 al 28 de novembre de 2014*, eds. Francesca Comas Rubí *et al.* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014), 239-251; Xavier Motilla Salas and Gual Llorenç Gelabert, «Fotoperiodisme, revistes il·lustrades i educació a Mallorca (1917-1936)», in *Imatges de l'escola, imatge de l'educació. Actes de les XXI Jornades d'Història de l'Educació. Palma, del 26 al 28 de novembre de 2014*, eds. Francesca Comas Rubí *et al.* (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2014), 253-265.

the ideals of the Krauss institutionalist pedagogy and historical socialism in an ambitious project to reform the educational system.²⁷ For the triumphant republicans, these reforms were to play a fundamental role in achieving a democratic and progressive society and in the consolidation of the new regime. The interest in education in general spread to popular education. A month and a half after the proclamation of the Second Republic, the Board of the Pedagogical Missions was created by Decree on the 29 May 1931 (published in the *Gaceta* of May 30).

In its preamble, the Decree states that the aims to be met by the Board of the Pedagogical Missions are laid down on the basis of the «duty of the new regime to increase the levels of culture and citizenship». The first of these lay in the need and urgency to «try out new procedures of educational influence among the people, by becoming closer to the people and to the primary school teachers». Secondly, it sought «to take to all people, but especially those in rural areas, the winds of progress and the means to be part of them, through moral stimuli and through examples of universal advancement, so that all the towns of Spain, however isolated, might share in the noble advantages and benefits reserved hitherto to city areas». The idea was that the «people would feel part of the goods the State possessed and that were to be enjoyed by all alike».

The Pedagogical Mission were thus born as a way of using non formal education means to disseminate culture, to foster equality, social justice, modernisation, democratisation and the notion of citizenship among cities, towns and villages, and so put an end to the ostracism of the rural world and foster communication between large and small urban and rural populations, while supporting and reinforcing greater quality and social recognition of the work of the primary school teacher and the most forgotten of all Spanish schools – rural Spain.

Cultural vision proves to be one of the main identifying traits characterising and representing the aims and actions undertaken by the Board of the Pedagogic Missions. For Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío and the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Institution of Teaching), aesthetic education was one of the pillars

²⁷ Manuel de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: Labor, 1980), 316.

on which its pedagogical conceptions and popular education project rested.²⁸ One of the initiatives of the Board which most clearly showed the importance given to education in aesthetic feelings, was the so-called «Road Museum» or «People's Museum», which arose as a way to «bring the people to the great works of art»,²⁹ so that they could, through these itinerant exhibitions, become aware of them and get to know them, to enjoy them and to learn about the works of great Spanish artists like Berruguete, Sánchez Coello, El Greco, Ribera, Velázquez, Zurbarán, Murillo or Goya, reproduced by the artists Ramón Gaya, Juan Bonafé and Eduardo Vicente.³⁰ Elsewhere, the Board's Cinematographic Service was to become the contemporary public body that most fostered the dissemination of educational films; with José Val del Omar in charge, it produced some forty documentaries shot in Spain, so that Spaniards everywhere could get to know their country and so enhance the image of a national identity, of the country, its peoples, monuments, traditions and history.³¹ Only three of these recordings survive: *Estampas 1932, Granada* (1935, also known as *Vibración Granada*) and one initially entitled *Murcia*, when it was premiered at the Tivoli cinema in Madrid on 1 February 1936, and which was later recovered and restored under the title, *Fiestas cristianas / Fiestas profanas* (Christian Fiestas/Profane Fiestas).³²

²⁸ Eugenio Otero Urtaza, «El proyecto institucionista de educación popular», in *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y Francisco Giner de los Ríos: nuevas perspectivas. 2. La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la cultura española*, eds. José García-Velasco and Antonio Morales Moya (Madrid: Fundación Francisco Giner de los Ríos [Institución Libre de Enseñanza] – Acción Cultural Española, 2012), 602-603.

²⁹ Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas, *Memoria de Septiembre de 1931, diciembre de 1933* (Madrid, 1934), 105.

³⁰ Nigel Dennis, «Ramón Gaya y el Museo del Pueblo de las Misiones Pedagógicas», *Escritura e imagen*, 7 (2011): 15-26.

³¹ Eugenio Otero Urtaza, *Las Misiones Pedagógicas: Una experiencia de educación popular* (A Coruña: Ediciones do Castro, 1982), 123-126; Gonzalo Sáenz de Buruaga, «Val del Omar en las Misiones Pedagógicas en Murcia», in *Val del Omar y las Misiones Pedagógicas*, ed. Gonzalo Sáenz de Buruaga (Madrid: Dirección de Proyectos e Iniciativas Culturales de la Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia and Amigos de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 2003), 35-60.

³² The documentary *Fiestas cristianas / Fiestas profanas* mainly contained images of the Holy Week processions in Lorca, Cartagena and Murcia and the Spring festival and the Funeral of the Sardine in Murcia, 1934 (Javier Herrera, «Val del Omar en Murcia: el documental *Fiestas cristianas / Fiestas profanas*», in *Val del Omar y las Misiones Pedagógicas*, ed. Gonzalo Sáenz de Buruaga, (Madrid: Dirección de Proyectos e Iniciativas Culturales de la Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia and Amigos de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 2003), 131-148.

The fixed image, the photograph, the visual witness of the actions of the Board, is a legacy of great importance, a set of historical sources that can enrich the study our understanding of what the popular education movement represented. It is an acerbic, disperse heritage on account of the ongoing political changes during the Second Republic and the Civil War that has been conserved today in public archives, like that of the Residencia de Estudiantes, the Archivo Histórico Nacional or the Archivo General de la Administración, as well as private collections. The exact number of images is unknown and there may be many still waiting to be recovered.

With the images we know, which come mainly from the collection of the old Board, it would also be desirable to be able to establish individual authorship and to identify specific photographs, which proceed in the main from the records of the Board, within a more general archive, but this is not always viable in collective projects, like that of the Pedagogic Missions, which has at its base a group identity that covers the photographers and the results of their work alike.³³ The captions of the photographs, published in the Board's *Memories* or in the journal *Residencia*, offer few clues, just a rather vague title, sometimes a place, but no information about the photographers. The omission is deliberate, since «the photographic project of the Missions has a precise theme, which individual expression might betray. The document is expected to provide information, not a personal stamp».³⁴

José Val del Omar, to whom more than 9,000 photographs have been attributed, was probably the most prolific photographer of the Missions, although he also carried out other functions for the Board.³⁵ Other Board collaborators who also took photographs were Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, one of whose photographs was the first picture to be shown to the public at La Cabrera cinema; Modesto Medina Bravo, a veteran and accredited photographer who participated in at least eleven missions, one of them

³³ Jordana Mendelson, «Archivos colectivos y autoría individual: la Fotografía y las Misiones Pedagógicas», in *Las Misiones Pedagógicas, 1931-1936*, ed. Eugenio Otero Urtaza (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales / Residencia de Estudiantes, 2006), 160.

³⁴ Horacio Fernández and Javier Ortiz-Echagüe, «Val del Omar y la documentación gráfica de Pedagogic missions», in *Desbordamiento de Val del Omar*, ed. María Luisa Blanco (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía; Granada: Centro José Guerrero, 2010), 76.

³⁵ Sáenz, «Val del Omar», 41.

in la Alpujarra; Manuel Rubio Sama, who was the photographer of at least some of the performances of the Missions' Choir and Theatre Group; or Germán Somolinos, who is accredited with some of the most important pictures of the Sanabria Pedagogic-Social Mission, taken in October 1934.³⁶ The list could almost certainly be completed with other names, such as Guillermo Fernández, Cristóbal Simancas or Eduardo García Maroto.³⁷

As Jordana Mendelson states, any analysis of the positions occupied by the individual pictures within what could have been the historical archives of the Board is, to say the very least, a challenge. But there are still more challenges. Any attempt to recreate the scope and number of these images entails reconstructing the history of the use made by the Missions of the photographs, ascertaining when and how these appeared in the press or in any other printed forms, their circulation and the alterations made to any of them as they were used and reused over time in changing, even ideologically opposing, political contexts; and, hence, the risks of the separation of a picture from its archival context for its proper historical interpretation, the functions it performed, etc.³⁸ It is not possible to determine in any general manner how many of these pictures were never published and remained in private collections of those persons and institutions that were linked to the activities of the Missions and that had some type of authorship of the pictures.

THE PEDAGOGIC MISSIONS OF THE REGION OF MURCIA AND THEIR PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS, 1933-1935

The Board of the Pedagogic Missions was also active in the region of Murcia. There was a series of initiatives, of which we had no record until now, and which were recorded graphically. These, in part, had to do with the activities related to the creation and use of libraries. Between 1932

³⁶ Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas, *Memoria de la Misión Pedagógico-social en Sanabria (Zamora). Resumen de trabajos realizados en el año 1934* (Madrid, 1935).

³⁷ Fernández and Ortiz-Echagüe, «Val del Omar», 78-79; Eugenio Otero Urtaza, «La recuperación de la memoria gozosa. Lo que descubre el archivo fotográfico de las Misiones Pedagógicas», in *El largo camino hacia una educación inclusiva. La educación especial y social del siglo XIX a nuestros días*, coords. Reyes Berrueto Albéniz and Susana Conejero López (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, vol. II, 2009), 745-754.

³⁸ Mendelson, «Archivos colectivos», 165.

and 1934, the Board awarded no fewer than 72 libraries in Murcia, which were set up in national schools, other centres of education and various associations. These were to contribute to a certain cultural dynamization of the municipalities.³⁹ Neither do we have images of the activities carried out by the Prado Museum during its visits to the towns in the Region of Murcia of Águilas, Mazarrón, Totana, Alhama, Mula, Archena, Benijáén and San Pedro del Pinatar, from April to June 1934. Three of those in charge of the mission, Antonio Sánchez Barbudo, Luis Cernuda and the Murcia artist Ramón Gaya, left us written accounts of the experience in a detailed review published in the Board's *Memory*, which includes the peculiarities of the areas visited and the welcome received by the local residents.⁴⁰

To the best of our knowledge, only images of the travelling Pedagogic missions and of the Teachers' College Pedagogic missions remain. The travelling Pedagogic missions, which were the most characteristic and outstanding of the activities promoted by the Board, and which were requested and required by the Primary School Inspectorate, provincial and local boards, members of the Board or by individuals of social importance, carried out actions in the Region of Murcia on two occasions. The first was an orientation mission that, according to the Board's *Memory*, had been requested by components of the Folk High School in Cartagena and by the Primary School Teacher Training College of Murcia. The first mission took place during the two years the progressives were in power, in the early stages when the initiatives of the Pedagogic Missions were at their peak (March 26 to April 1, 1933) was carried out at the Folk High School of Cartagena, in Cabo de Palos, in Fuente Álamo and Zarcilla de Ramos. It was directed by Matilde Moliner, a teacher at the Secondary School of Talavera de la Reina, who was assisted by Pablo de Andrés Cobos, a national primary school teacher and by a student, Antonio Sánchez Barbudo, as well as enjoying the collaboration at all times of the members of the Folk High School of Cartagena, the primary school teacher, Carmen Conde, and her husband and writer Antonio Oliver Belmás.

Despite the interest, the effort and the administrative steps taken by Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver to convince the Board to authorise

³⁹ Patronato, *Memoria de Septiembre de 1931*, 65.

⁴⁰ Patronato, *Memoria de la Misión Pedagógico-social*, 115-117.

further visits within the region of Murcia, two years would pass before the much awaited second mission. Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver were appointed by the Board to direct and carry out the second travelling pedagogic mission in the province of Murcia, in areas near to Cartagena. This new mission took place from March 13 to 19, 1935, during the radical CEDA period, a period in which the Board saw its budget reduced and, hence, its activities. Sixteen sessions in all were held in towns in Murcia (Valladolises, Corvera and La Murta), Mazarrón (Cañadas del Romero) and Cartagena (Campillo de Adentro, La Azohía and El Albujón).⁴¹

The measures adopted by the Republican Government sought to reform the Teacher Training schools and their syllabuses and so dignify these institutions, boost pedagogical renovation processes and increase the presence of these Centres. The senate meeting of the Teachers' College called by its director Domingo Abellán and held on 12 January 1933 authorised the organisation of pedagogic missions that were to be coordinated by the Centre's secretary, Eugenio Úbeda. The missions aimed to emulate the actions undertaken by the Board of the Pedagogic Missions by taking a set of activities out to the towns and rural areas of the province. These activities comprised performances by the Teachers' College Choral Group and by the theatre group, as well as poetry recitals and talks on artistic, historical, hygienic or agrarian subjects. The missions also strove to facilitate collaboration between the primary schools, the Teachers' College and the Inspectorate.

The Teachers' College Pedagogic Missions went through three distinct stages. The first and most successful was from February to April 1933 and got under way in Alhama de Murcia on February 5 with nine interventions in total in Cabezo de Torres (12-2-1933), El Palmar (17-2-1933), Murcia — attended by Rodolfo Llopis — (17-2-1933), Lorca (19-2-1933), Casa Provincial

⁴¹ For a general idea of what these experiences in Murcia were and represented, see Isabel Cárdenas Olivares, «Protagonismo social y pedagógico (1931-1936)», in *La Escuela Normal de Murcia. 150 aniversario, 1844-1994*, coord. Antonio Vicente Guillén (Murcia: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Murcia, 1994), 112-123; Pedro L. Moreno Martínez, *Educación popular en la Segunda República Española. Carmen Conde, Antonio Oliver y la Universidad Popular de Cartagena* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2008), 44-50 and 209-228; Antonio Viñao Frago, «Las Misiones Pedagógicas en Murcia (1932-1934)», *Áreas. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 3-4 (1983), 103-114; Antonio Viñao Frago, «Las Misiones Pedagógicas en Murcia (1932-1935)», in *Val del Omar y las Misiones Pedagógicas*, ed., Gonzalo Sáenz de Buruaga (Madrid: Dirección de Proyectos e Iniciativas Culturales de la Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia and Amigos de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 2003), 99-116.

del Niño de Murcia (10-3-1933), Alcantarilla (19-3-1933), Espinardo (2-4-1933) and, in Murcia, organised by the Provincial Association of the Levante Federation of Primary School Teachers, in the «Fiesta del niño» (11-4-1933). The second stage ran from February to May 1934, during which the Teachers' College missions carried out ten interventions in La Ñora (4-2-1934), Alcantarilla (25-2-1934), Totana (4-3-1934), Mula (11-3-1934), Jumilla (18-3-1934), Archena (22-3-1934), Albudeite (15-4-1934), a radio broadcast by Radio Murcia which paid tribute to Cervantes (23-4-1934), Torres de Cotillas (3-5-1934) and Fortuna (6-5-1934). The third stage, a stage of decline and disappearance due to the lack of any official support from the radical CEDA government, occurred during the academic year 1934-35. Under this new political scenario the Provincial Council and the Town Councils refused economic help to the Teachers' College missions. Only two interventions were held, the first to commemorate the eight hundredth anniversary of the birth of Maimonides, which was organised by the College itself, and the second, a broadcast by Radio Murcia to mark the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Lope de Vega.

Daily press, illustrated journals, photojournalism and the Pedagogic Missions on the Region of Murcia

There can be little or no doubt about the possibilities of research into the history of education offered by the daily press and the periodical publications of a generalist nature, as well as the specialist pedagogic press. They provide an important documental value as a source of knowledge of the history of education, while remaining in themselves a part of the historical and educational heritage that is worthy of being preserved, studied and made known.⁴²

The advances in printing techniques in the mid-nineteenth century allowed for the progressive incorporation of images within written texts, something that was much demanded by journalists and media bosses alike. These images could be prints, drawings, illustrations, photographs, etc. Photographic techniques, reproduction techniques and photojournalism

⁴² José María Hernández Díaz (ed.), *Prensa pedagógica y patrimonio histórico educativo* (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), 11-13.

evolved along similar lines and continuously interacted. The birth of graphic journalism in Europe occurred in the 1840s. In 1840 the *London Journal* reproduced the first electrotype print, in 1848 *The Times* set up the first rotary printing press, in 1855, in Paris, the first phototype appeared, in 1880, the photogravure, in 1884, the offset printing system and, in 1900, came the invention of the rotogravure. These advances made the arrival and development of the illustrated press possible. The first direct photograph with half-tones was published in the *New York Daily Graphic* on 4 March 1875. The daily journals did not apply the new techniques until 1897, the year in which the *New York Tribune* included photographic illustrations. However, it was not until the creation of the *Daily Mirror* in the United Kingdom in 1904 that a newspaper began to use photographs as the sole form of illustration. The incorporation of the photograph brought with it some changes in customs in information, as the text ceased to be the exclusive basis, and so there were changes to the communication process. In Spain, photographs remained very much the exception rather than the rule. The Madrid based *ABC*, during its experimental phase as a weekly in 1903 used some, before it became a daily in 1905, as did the Barcelona based *El Día Gráfico*, en 1913, but even these publications only used photographs sporadically from 1914 to 1923. Photographs in newspapers in Spain would not be widely used until 1930.⁴³

At the end of the nineteenth century the periodicals that dealt with various subjects, the magazines, also began to reproduce photographs. On the 7 of January 1893 *Blanco y Negro*, founded in 1891, published the first direct photogravure photograph, a portrait of José Echegaray. *Nuevo Mundo* printed its first like photograph on March 22, 1894, the year in which it was founded, of the Promenade in Santander.⁴⁴

As several pieces of research show, the illustrated journals of a general nature are an outstanding source for studying photographic images of schools and other educational manifestations.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, this

⁴³ María Dolores Sáiz, «Propaganda e imagen: los orígenes del fotoperiodismo», *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 4 (1999): 173-177.

⁴⁴ Juan Miguel Sánchez Vigil, *Revistas ilustradas en España. Del Romanticismo a la guerra civil* (Gijón: Trea, 2008), 78-85.

⁴⁵ Llorenç Gelabert Gual and Xavier Motilla Salas, «Imatge, formació religiosa i educació a la revista il·lustrada *Lluc* (1921-1973)», *Educació i Història. Revista d'història de l'educació*, 24 (2014): 103-134;

requires some qualification when referring to the Pedagogic Missions on account of their singularities with respect to conventional photography. As Fernández and Ortiz-Echagüe show, documentation in the rural world is a different tool of communication of photojournalism. The reporter looks for images that show specific news items synthetically, so as to sell more newspapers. In contrast, during the missions, photographs were parts of series that have a more lasting value than brief, fleeting pieces of news. They are visual accounts that at times border on advertising and are part of a communication plan that goes beyond a collective initiative, because they are government driven.⁴⁶

Daily Press, photojournalism and the travelling Pedagogic missions in the Region of Murcia

The two travelling Pedagogic Missions made in the Region of Murcia were treated very unequally by the daily press. The first, in 1933, was widely covered by the Cartagena newspapers *La Tierra*, *El Porvenir* or *República* and by the regional press, *El Liberal* or *La Región*. However, none of them provided any images. The second, in 1935, took place at a time when the Board did not enjoy the same Government support as before and the press paid little attention to the event. In Cartagena, only *El Noticiero. Diario independiente de la tarde* mentioned the mission, and then only very briefly. It was much the same story in the regional press, with just the daily *La Verdad* publishing an article about the first stage of the mission in Valladolises, a village in the municipality of the city of Murcia. No photographs accompanied the news.⁴⁷

The only image of the first travelling mission to appear in the press was that of the final stage in Zarcilla de Ramos. This was in an ample and splendid chronicle written by Carmen Conde published in the Madrid daily, *Luz*, and many months after the event. Carmen Conde described

Motilla and Gelabert, «La fotografía escolar i educativa», 239-251; Motilla y Gelabert, «Fotoperiodisme, revistes il·lustrades i educació», 253-265; Bernat Sureda García and Francesca Comas Rubí, «Proposals for women's education in the magazine *Feminal*», *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 8 (2), (2013): 273-292; Moreno, «Imagen, educación y propaganda», 825-837.

⁴⁶ Fernández and Ortiz-Echagüe, «Val del Omar», 78.

⁴⁷ «Las Misiones Pedagógicas», *El Noticiero. Diario independiente de la tarde* (Cartagena), 15 March 1935; «Valladolises. Misiones Pedagógicas», *La Verdad* (Murcia), 16 March 1935.

the reality of Zarcilla de Ramos, a small village some 30 kilometres from the town of Lorca, on which it was dependent as: «horribly impoverished hovels, unpaved lanes, rutted by heavy wheels; dark, handsome little kids, in tattered clothes, most of them dirty [...], a tiny, forgotten, pitiful town, uneducated and disconsolate». This poet from Cartagena narrated how on the first of the two days the mission spent there it carried out at least two sessions. In the first, aimed at infants, stories were read out, records «that nobody listened to» were played, talks were given on civic education, etc. The second was aimed at adults, although children also attended. Of this session Carmen Conde highlighted the huge success with the participants of the verses of Juan Ramón Jiménez, Juana Ibarbourou and Gabriela Mistral, and, above all, the image, the cinema, which for many of the children and adults was their first experience of it.



Image 1. «The Pedagogic missions —an interesting cinema session in the village square (Foto Luz)»⁴⁸

The only image published that claimed to represent the cinema projection of the Pedagogic Mission in Zarcilla de Ramos on the night of March 29, 1933 included the caption above. The photograph was attributed to «Foto Luz», i.e., presumably to the graphic reporter of the paper that published it. A cursory glance at the news might lead the

⁴⁸ Carmen Conde, «Las Misiones Pedagógicas. El pueblo de Zarcilla de Ramos», *Luz. Diario de la República* (Madrid), 22 August 1933.

reader to think that this was the only photograph of the first travelling mission in Murcia, a photograph taken by the paper's photographer at the end of the mission and in a very off the beaten track place. However, a reading of Carmen Conde's chronicle points to certain incongruences when it states «we were installed in a biggish place», as well as her allusions to the inclement weather: «it was raining, it was cold», «the mud gently lamed us as we progressed» or «the Mission made its farewell under a drenching rain, with lightning bursting in the total darkness». Given these comments, one draws the conclusion that the photograph may have been put in by the editor to illustrate the report, to make it visually more appealing, and as an attempt to reflect one of the most representative activities carried out by the Pedagogical Missions. The photograph, within the context of the news item and its caption convey to the reader the idea that this was not just any projection in any square, but that in the «main square» of Zarcilla de Ramos. All this points to the picture's not being credible, but rather the work of an editor, so there is a clear need to verify where it comes from, who the author was and the exact location in order to guarantee its truth.

Nor was this an exceptional case. The reports of the photographers accompanying the Pedagogical Missions promoted directly by the Board went into the collective archive of images used to document and promote their activities. The photographs were published anonymously, as part of the Pedagogical Missions' Archives, in official publications and in various press media. The newspapers that printed these photographs were the Madrid based *Luz*, *El Sol*, *Claridad* and *Ayuda*.⁴⁹ In the case in question here, it is also more than likely that the photograph printed by the liberal *Luz* that accompanied Carmen Conde's report actually came from the archives mentioned above.⁵⁰ As Eugenio Otero points out, the photograph formed part of a collection at the Students' Hall of Residence and would have shown «an open-air cinema session around 1932», but

⁴⁹ Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain. Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 95-98.

⁵⁰ The Secretary of the Board, Luis Álvarez Santullano, wrote to Carmen Conde a few days before the publication of her chronicle, mentioning that *Luz* had requested some photographs of her to accompany a publication of hers. This may be the same review as mentioned above (Luis Álvarez Santullano, «Carta a Carmen Conde», 12 August 1935, doc. 014-01313, Carmen Conde-Antonio Oliver Board Archives (APCCAO).

there was nothing to identify the photographer or where the projection had been held.⁵¹

Illustrated magazines, photojournalism and Teachers' College Pedagogical Missions in the Region of Murcia

Despite the attention of the regional newspapers *El Liberal*, *El Tiempo*, *La Verdad*, *La Región* or *Levante Agrario* given to the initiatives of the pedagogical missions of the Teachers' College of Murcia, none of them included any graphic information.

In both Cartagena and Murcia there was a huge number of newspapers but very few magazines at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The first graphic publication in the region, *Cartagena Ilustrada*, was founded in Cartagena in 1871 and was followed by other high quality magazines, like the fleeting *Cartagena Artística* (1890). Of the few journals in Murcia in the nineteenth century, worthy of note were the *Semanario Murciano* (1880-1881), a scientific, literary and artistic journal, *Brisas del Mediterráneo* (1888), *El Mosaico* (1896) or *El Bazar Murciano*, which was set up in 1892 and would run until 1929. The graphical press scene in Murcia at the turn of the twentieth century was very different from that of Madrid or Barcelona. There was no notable growth during the period.⁵² It would not be any of the many Murcia dailies that would publish pictures of the Teachers' College of Murcia's missions, but one of the few regional illustrated journals and a national pedagogical journal.

Radio Murcia E. A. J. 17, founded in August 1933, published on the front page of *Radio Murcia. Órgano de la Emisora E. A. J. 17. Revista decenal ilustrada de radiodifusión*, the only picture printed by a regional medium of one of the actions of the Teachers' College missions (image 2). It was a photograph of a group of *missionaries* taking part in a radio broadcast of a tribute to Cervantes, showing them in front of the microphones and

⁵¹ Otero, *Las Misiones Pedagógicas, 1931-1936*, 42. A whole-page reproduction from the Album of the Board of Pedagogic Missions 1932-1936 showing this image and three other photographs of the sessions of open-air film projections can be found in Javier Ortiz-Echagüe, «Catálogo de obras en exposición», in *Desbordamiento de Val del Omar*, ed. María Luisa Blanco (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía; Granada: Centro José Guerrero, 2010), 315.

⁵² Joaquín Alcaraz Quiñonero, «Prensa gráfica murciana en el siglo XIX», *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, 12 (1996): 558; Sánchez, *Revistas ilustradas en España*, 115.

was taken at the studios on April 23, 1934. The journal also included the programme of the event and a list of those participating. After the opening words the head of the Teachers' College missions, Eugenio Úbeda, and a brief eulogy of Cervantes, recordings were played of pieces like «Danzas españolas» by Enrique Granados, «Albaicín» by Isaac Albeniz or «Noche en los jardines de España» by Manuel de Falla, along with live performances by the «Teachers' College Choral Group», which interpreted some of its repertoire of popular songs from different areas of Spain, readings and poetry recitals from a selection of texts by Cervantes including *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, *Viaje del Parnaso* or *La gitamilla* and the performance of interludes by Cervantes, «The Divorce Court Judge» and «The Vigilant Sentinel».



Image 2. «The Pedagogic missions of the Murcia Primary Teacher's College in the Tribute to Cervantes, on the 23rd at our studios»⁵³

⁵³ «Las Misiones Pedagógicas de la Normal de Maestros de Murcia en nuestra Emisora», *Radio Murcia. Órgano de la Emisora E. A. J. 17. Revista decenal ilustrada de radiodifusión* (Murcia), 1 May 1934.

The official state specialist pedagogical press also contributed images of the Teachers' College missions. The *Boletín de Educación*, produced by the Dirección general de primera Enseñanza (Head Office for Primary Teaching) and the Inspección Central del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (Central Inspectorate for Public Instruction and Fine Arts) from 1933, included an illustrated article in its first issue on the work performed by the Board of the Pedagogic Missions in Spain.⁵⁴ A year later the *Boletín* published a report on the initiatives carried out by the Murcia Teachers' College, with photographic illustrations of some of them - the redecoration of the College building, the excursions, the clothes distribution room or the refectory. Two pictures were also published of the pedagogic missions undertaken, which were described in the text as «one of the most interesting cultural extension activities undertaken by the College».⁵⁵ The first of the pictures with its caption «Pedagogic missions. The Choral Group», showed a group photograph of most of the approximately 60 trainee teachers participating in the missions, specifically 28 males and 20 females (image 9). The photograph was probably taken in the interior patio of the Teachers' College. The second photograph, with the caption «Pedagogic missions. The Missions in Alhama», reflects the first excursion of the mission to Alhama de Murcia on February 5, 1933. The picture shows a group of *missionaries* and inhabitants of Alhama in a square in that town (image 10).

Picture postcards and Pedagogic missions in the Region of Murcia

The various aspects of the picture postcard have been well studied both in Spain and abroad, yet their potential as a resource for reconstructing and analysing the school memory and education iconography has been little touched upon.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ «El Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas y su labor», *Boletín de Educación*, 1 (1), (1933): 19-27.

⁵⁵ «La labor en provincias. Algunos aspectos de la Escuela Normal de Murcia», *Boletín de Educación*, 2 (5), (1934): 80.

⁵⁶ Antonio Viñao and María José Martínez Ruiz-Funes, «The illustrated postcards as a tool of construction and reconstruction of the school memory (Spain, 19th-20th century)», in *School memories. New trends in the history of education research*, eds. Juri Meda, Cristina Yanes and Antonio Viñao (New York: Springer, 2016), 29-46; Antonio Viñao and María José Martínez Ruiz-Funes, «Advertising, marketing, and image: visual representations and school modernity through postcards (Spain, the twentieth century)» (*Sysiphus*, in press).

After the appearance of the first official postcards in Austria en 1869, in the form of a stand-alone postal (i.e., with stamp on the front and no illustration whatsoever), these envelope-free missives would rapidly proliferate throughout a number of countries, among them Spain, officially from 1871 and in practice from 1873. The first picture postcards were printed by the lithographer Miesler, in Germany, in 1870. The first picture postcards in Spain, seemingly two prototypes of Granada, were also printed in Germany in 1890. The picture postcard would experience extraordinary growth between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The need to normalise the international postage of this new form of communication would lead to the creation in 1874 of the General Postal Union, which in 1878 changed its name to the Universal Postal Union.

The picture postcard is, though, much more than a tool of postal communication, in terms of both quantity and quality it became a true social phenomenon. It is an authentic cultural symbol of a period, of its representations and its way of thinking. On the one hand, it is in itself a documental item with iconographic character, a support for studies that catalogue and reveal the iconographic heritage and a source of historical knowledge.⁵⁷ The study of the picture postcard as a means of social and cultural expression enables general approaches to the inherent conditions of them, such as commercial, editorial and photographic activity, or conditions pertaining to a sector, activity, theme, group institutions or individuals related, for example, to the world of education. But it also affords other views or approaches as a photographic image, thanks to its singularities or to its being a conforming element of the social imaginarium, or as a means of expression, communication and advertising.⁵⁸

The picture postcard was to prove a commercial success story. Advances in printing techniques made possible the high quality mass reproduction of original photographs in great detail and with a real life appearance. The picture postcard served to make the photograph more democratic and more popular. Printers in Spain played their part in this. Examples were the graphic arts business, Hauser & Menet, which during the golden age of collecting in the early twentieth century, printed millions of postcards, the publishers Baily-

⁵⁷ Jean-Louis Guereña, «Imagen y memoria. La tarjeta postal ilustrada a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX», *Berceo*, 149 (2005): 36-39.

⁵⁸ Viñao and Martínez, «The illustrated postcards».

Bailliére, the Laurent company or the Catalan printer Josep Thomas Bigas. Most photographers in Spain saw the postcard as a way of growing their businesses. From the beginning of the century they acquired «sensitized cards wholesale, and all they had to do was to choose an image which they developed in the laboratory. The market was full of brands to choose from: Gevaert, Van Bosch, Satrap, Blue Start, Gioconda, Lumière, Kodak, Guilleminot, Sedar, Libra, SIP, Ortho-Brom or Magda, among others».⁵⁹ Professional photographers developed the negatives in their laboratories using sensitized photographic paper, and included an inscription on the back which referred to a picture, taken by themselves or taken by their customers, when the latter so required.

The second travelling pedagogic mission, which visited the municipalities of Murcia, Mazarrón and Cartagena from the 13 to 19 March 1935, was directed, as we have already mentioned, by Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver. The organization was very detailed by these directors, who kept, in their personal collections, the agendas prepared for the various sessions, handwritten annotations by Antonio Oliver, a sketch of the itinerary, made by Oliver, etc.⁶⁰ The two writers from Cartagena could draw on their experience from the first mission, and from the Cartagena Folk High School. They maintained close contact with the Board of the Pedagogic missions, whose activities they were aware of, thanks in part to their reading of its memoirs. Both poets published several reviews praising these memoirs in the regional and national press and in literary journals, with explicit references to the importance of the photograph in them. As an example, Carmen Conde wrote that they were illustrated «with photographs taken by the *missionaries* themselves», a feature that was held to be a sign of their modernity.⁶¹ The keenness of the two poets in planning and running the Mission along with their knowledge of the Board's attention to the iconographic representation of the activities developed would lead them to ensure there was a graphic record of these.

As occurred with the other documentary records, their images would not be disseminated by any contemporary media, and were left undiscovered

⁵⁹ Juan Miguel Sánchez Vigil, *La fotografía en España. Otra vuelta de tuerca* (Gijón: Trea, 2013), 162.

⁶⁰ Moreno, *Educación popular*, 44-50 and 209-228.

⁶¹ Carmen Conde de Oliver, «Historia de España. Para uso de estudiantes: Memoria del Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas», *Levante Agrario* (Murcia), 24 May 1934; Carmen Conde, «Pedagogía. Memoria del Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas 1934», *El Sol* (Madrid), 5 May 1935 and A. O. B. [Antonio Oliver Belmás], «Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas», *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 2 (1), (1935): 13-14.

in their own private collections. Nevertheless, Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver did, at least, send copies of the photographs taken to the school teachers in some of the places that had participated, for example, those in Valladolises, La Murta, Cañadas del Romero and La Azohía.⁶² However, the pictures would not be made public until the beginning of the twenty-first century when the personal archives of Carmen Conde were made available to researchers interested in the Pedagogic missions in Spain and in the Region of Murcia, or to biographers of her.⁶³

The collection, which is housed in the archives of the Carmen Conde-Antonio Oliver Board in Cartagena, contains eleven different photographs, some of which there are more than one copy. To be exact, it contains two photographs and nine postcards. We do not why the two supports were chosen when the images were developed. It may have been on account of the content of the photographs or because of the use intended for them. One of the two images developed on conventional Agfa-Lupex photographic paper shows Antonio Oliver alone, while the other shows him with Carmen Conde. They measure 6.5 x 11 cm., smaller than the 9 x 14 cm. of the postcards, and without doubt cheaper too. They would probably have been intended for strictly private use. The other nine, developed on photographic paper with the printing of a picture postcard on the back, are snaps of groups of people who intervened or participated in the Missions, or are of the activities carried out. These pictures had a documental value which could be shared with the participants in the Mission or could be made

⁶² Proof that these letters were sent on 2 July 1935 can be found in the accounts of the Cartagena Folk High School, «Primera Libreta (desde mayo de 1933 a julio de 1935). Contabilidad de los gastos menores que con parte de las cuotas de socios protectores, se cubren por secretaría. Años 1933-1934-1935» (APCCAO). We also have proof of their receipt. According to Antonio Pérez Crespo, the Official Chronicler of the Region of Murcia, his father had some of these images. He recalled the visits of the Pedagogic missions, which he experienced as a child in Valladolises, where his parents were teachers, and in La Murta, where the teacher was his father's younger brother (Antonio Pérez Crespo, «Misiones Pedagógicas en Valladolises y La Murta», *La Opinión* (Murcia), 30 January 2005 and Antonio Pérez Crespo, «Trascendencia de la labor educativa y social de los maestros en la historia reciente de nuestra región. Homenaje al Maestro, Consejo Escolar, Murcia 2005», in *Homenaje al Maestro* (Murcia: Consejo Escolar de la Región de Murcia, 2005), 18.

⁶³ Otero, *Las Misiones Pedagógicas, 1931-1936*, 46 and 311. Moreno, *Educación popular*, 212-225; Viñao, «Las Misiones Pedagógicas», 99-116; José Luis Ferris, *Carmen Conde. Vida, pasión y verso de una escritora olvidada* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2007), 389; Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga (ed.), *Carmen Conde voluntad creadora (1907-1996)* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2007), 114.

public,⁶⁴ so reflecting the democratizing aspect that picture postcards gave to photographs, but also showing the informational and advertising worth of pictures presented in this format. Some of the pictures were sent to school teachers who had collaborated with the mission, but we have no evidence that they began to circulate as postcards per se.

The authorship of the images must be either that of Carmen Conde or Antonio Oliver, but also of others who participated in the Mission, such as the teachers Irene Pérez or Félix Ayora or of one of the members of the Cartagena Folk High School, Manuel Durán or José Vidal. Mainly Carmen Conde, but also at times Antonio Oliver would note on the back of the pictures who appeared in them and would give a brief description of the scenes along with the place and date they were taken.

We can establish a simple typology for the collection. The pictures can be classified into the following categories: *the missionaries, the activities, the preparations and the target audiences*. These categories are not exclusive, often the classification is based on the central theme. Neither have we included a category referring to the contexts in which they occurred, which were obviously always present and were intentionally photographed by the *missionaries*, but we will allude to them when referring to other categories.

The missionaries were the main focus of interest in the pictures. Five photographs bear witness to their visits to the Mission's destinations. They are highlighted and generally appear in close-up against a background of the place visited. Only on two occasions, the pure photographs, do the two directors appear of the Mission exclusively (image 3) or just one of them (Antonio Oliver). The majority of the pictures show Antonio Oliver and Carmen



Image 3. Photograph. Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver. On the reverse side: «Cañadas de Romero (Mazarrón) - Murcia, 1935 March» (APCCAO)

⁶⁴ A third image showing Antonio Oliver with two collaborators on the mission, Manuel Durán and José Vidal, taken in Corvera, was developed as both a photograph, of small size, and as a picture postcard (APCCAO).

Conde together with other members of the team or participants in the activity as if to show the meeting and the fraternity between the urban and rural worlds (image 4). The backgrounds showing the places visited are contexts that are treated delicately, with nothing to indicate any impression of the extreme precariousness of the surrounds.



Image 4. Picture postcard. Pedagogic Mission in Campillo de Adentro: top left, Carmen Conde and right, Antonio Oliver. On the reverse side: «Near Mazarrón (pto.)», 18 March 1935 (APCCAO)

The programme of *activities* included recordings from the Archivo de la Palabra, cult music records by Granados, Albéniz and Falla, and popular music from different regions of Spain, poetry recitals from writers like Antonio Machado, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Tagore, or poems from *Júbilos* written by Carmen Conde herself, talks on cinema, culture and printing, water, coal, local history, etc., or the projection of films. One of the most anticipated of the missions was often the first film viewing in the town. Of the four pictures we have that relate to the activities carried out, three were taken outdoors, in the immediate vicinities of schools, at the beach, places where the light was good for photography. The other was taken inside a school. There are no night photographs of the cinema sessions as these would have required a professional photographer with professional equipment. The photographs captured moments from musical reproductions or poetry and prose readings (images 5 and 6).



Image 5. Front of the picture postcard. «Antonio Oliver Belmás, reading to children. Pedagogic Mission to Valladolises (Murcia), March 1935» (APCCAO)

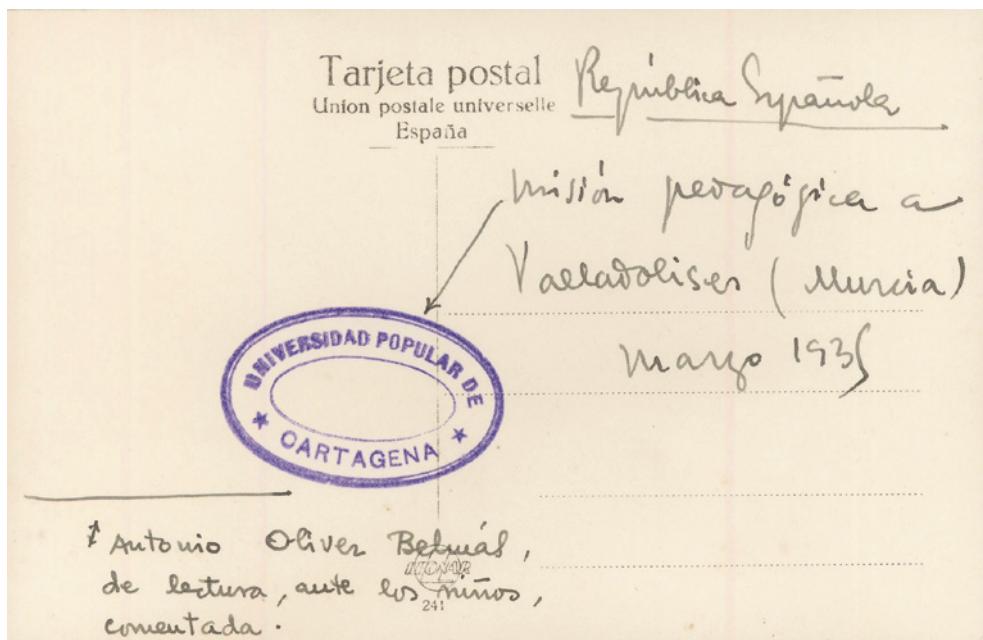


Image 6. Reverse side of the picture postcard in image 5. Handwritten annotations of Carmen Conde (APCCAO)

There are no photographic records of the arrival of the *missionaries* in the towns nor of the reception, if any, that they were given. We have just one image that reflects a moment prior to some activities at the beach of La Azohía (Cartagena), which shows the *preparations* for the session, the vehicle that presumably carried the *missionaries*, the teams and the materials which would be needed next to the boot of the car, and children walking to the meeting place with Antonio Oliver, with some local bystanders watching on (image 7).



Image 7. Picture postcard. Pedagogoc Mission in «La Azohía» (Cartagena). March 1935» (APCCAO)

From the photographs we have, it does not seem as if any special attention was given to, the *target audiences*, apart from that relating to the activities and the time spent with the *missionaries* in the towns these visited. As in the previous category we have just one image, showing a group of fishermen against a maritime setting, perched on a barge that has run aground on the beach of La Azohía, Cartagena (image 8).



Image 8. Picture postcard. On the reverse side: «A group from the fishing village. Pedagogic Mission in La Azohía (Cartagena), March 1935» (APCCAO)

Photograph and the Pedagogic missions Normalistas (1933-1935)

The photograph published in the illustrated journal, *Radio Murcia*, and the two that appeared in the *Boletín de Educación* of the Teachers' College Pedagogic missions, were probably taken by the coordinator of these, Eugenio Úbeda. The originals today form part of a photographic legacy, in part of Eugenio Úbeda, stored at the Centre of educational Memory Studies (CEME) of the University of Murcia. The collection contains at least forty photographs that relate to these missions, and the original plates of most of them have been conserved. The authenticity of the three images referred to here is beyond all doubt.

According to the typology used in the previous case, the *missionaries* again cornered the photographs, appearing in thirteen of them. Almost all of them show the group of students from the Teachers' College which organised the missions. The missionaries usually appear dressed as they would be for the activities, the ladies

wore a blue suit and the men mechanics' overalls, with the shield of the Mission on the breast. There are only three photographs, taken at the Radio Murcia Studios before recording in which they are dressed in daily clothes (image 2). Most of the photographs of the groups of *missionaries* were taken in the patio of the Teachers' College in Murcia (image 9).



Image 9. «Pedagogic missions. The Choral Group», (Murcia) (CEME)

Among the few photographs showing the missionaries with the local residents the photographer sometimes recorded their visit through emblematic scenes and backdrops. This is true of one of the photographs immortalising the first visit of the Teachers' College Pedagogic missions to Alhama de Murcia. It is one of the two images (the other was image 9 above) that was used in the *Boletín de Educación* to reflect these initiatives. The picture clearly shows the remains of the donjon of the Arab castle (image 10).



Image 10. «Pedagogic missions. The Missions in Alhama», (Murcia) (CEME)

The missions sought to take cultural activities to the towns of the province and to the rural areas in the municipality of the city of Murcia. These included musical performances, performances by the Choir of the Teachers' College of Spanish regional songs, performances of the theatre group of the *pasos* of Lope Rueda or the interludes of Cervantes, as well as recitals of the works of local poets and talks on art, history, hygiene or agrarian issues. Of the twelve images preserved, eight show theatrical performances, two show the scenery in the Espuña Hall in Alhama de Murcia (image 11) and the rest show open spaces in Fortuna and in Las Torres de Cotillas. Another two show performances of the choral group, and in one there is a sign held by one of the lady *missionaries* on the left which reads that the choral group was performing and Eugenio Úbeda was conducting the «Cantar de Pandeiro. Galicia» (image 12). A further two photographs show the audience.



Image 11. First theatre performance of the Teachers' College missions. Alhama de Murcia (Murcia), 5 February 1933 (CEME)



Image 12. Open-air performance of the college choral group. Possibly in Las Torres de Cotillas (Murcia), 3 March 1934 (CEME)

We also have seven photographs showing the *preparations* of the Mission. Four show the journey (image 13) and the massive welcome given them in the towns (image 14). The other three show the missionaries setting up the stages for the open-air performances, and the crowds of people prior to the performance.



Image 13. The Mission sets out. Possibly towards El Palmar (Murcia), 17 February 1933 (CEME)



Image 14. Welcoming the Mission. Possibly in El Palmar (Murcia), 17 February 1933 (CEME)

Again there is no real attention to the *target audiences*. Of the four images we have of this type two show children from the Children's home in Murcia in which, on the occasion of the «Fiesta del niño», the mission car-



Image 15. Audience in Albudeite (Murcia). Parish of Our Lady of Good Remedies, 15 April 1934 (CEME)

member of the Board of the Pedagogic missions, on the occasion of the testimonial to Francisco Giner de los Ríos in the Romea Theatre of Murcia, at which the Pedagogic Mission Teachers' College took part (image 16).



Image 16. Welcoming Rodolfo Llopis at the Teachers' College in Murcia. Murcia, 17 February 1933 (CEME)⁶⁵

⁶⁵ From left to right: Laura Argelich, Leonor Maroto, Soledad Martínez, Luis Antón, Rodolfo Llopis, Domingo Abellán —director of the Teachers's College— Primitiva López and Aurelia Monllor (Cárdenas, «Protagonismo», 121).

CONCLUSIONS

The growing attention of researchers from various fields, historians and historians of education to the image, in general, and to photography in particular, as historical documents, has led, not without its problems and limitations, to the emergence of a new field of historiography. The development of this new current has quickly spread over the last decade to various areas of the history of education in Spain. And this has been the case with popular education, in which the Pedagogic missions have written one of the most prominent pages in our history of education on account of the people and institutions that were the driving force behind them, the historical moment in which they took place, their educational, cultural, political and social aims, the diversity and scope of the initiatives, and the intellectual and human category of the broad relation between the *missionaries* who perpetrated them and those who enjoyed them.

A study of this nature reveals, first, the value of these photographic collections themselves, as documental and iconographic heritage, as historical, aesthetical and visual testaments of the past. Recovering and giving visibility to a hitherto largely invisible and unknown heritage means we can enjoy it and at the same time enrich our view of history and the interpretation of our past.

Methodologically, as historians like Peter Burke, Marc Depaepe or Frank Simon have underlined, the criticism of visual sources requires greater development and demands special attention by researchers. To the general difficulties that the study of the photographic collections of the Pedagogic Missions entails, such as locating them and determining their authorship, their contextualisation, their appearance in print, their circulation and the alterations to which they were subject, must be added, as has been shown, the need to analyse and guarantee the reliability and veracity of these sources.

Studies dealing with limited geographical areas, as is the case here, confirm that, in addition to the official photographic collections linked to the direct actions of the Board of the Pedagogic Missions, which were mainly disseminated by contemporary institutional publications that were associated to it, there was a significant, though as yet undetermined,

number of photographs that never reached the public, that remained in the private collections of individuals and institutions related to the Missions. Of the initiatives carried out in the Region of Murcia we still have at least 50 images kept in the private collections of those in charge of the Missions - Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver, in the case of the travelling Pedagogic missions, and Eugenio Úbeda in that of the Teachers' College missions.

As far as we have been able to ascertain so far, only three of all the images conserved from the Pedagogic Missions of the Region of Murcia were published at their time. Despite the interest of local and regional press in these activities, the images that appeared were not printed by the general daily press, but in the illustrated press. Their appearance, which seems to respond to some communication strategy that fell little short of propaganda, was not to be linked to the fleeting images of the daily press but was aimed rather at a more selective audience through corporate and official journals, and thus ensuring a longer lasting effect of the written and visual information. On the one hand there was the regional journal, *Radio Murcia. Órgano de la Emisora E. A. J. 17* and on the other, the *Boletín de Educación* (Education Gazette), which was a specialist pedagogical national publication produced by the Spanish Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

Apart from the images published, the photographic archives that remain point to the use of various supports and communication strategies. Besides conventional photographs, the graphic testimonies of the experiences carried out, Carmen Conde and Antonio Oliver also made use of postcards as a way of giving the images, and therefore the initiatives that were being put into practice, greater public projection, since these postcards could be circulated through the postal system.

An initial interpretation of these images from the typology considered here reveals a preponderance of the importance given to images of poets, intellectuals, teachers and trainee teachers produced by the Pedagogical Missions, the missionaries, and also to the cultural activities carried out by the travelling Pedagogic missions and the Teachers' College missions, with their similarities and differences, including the context in which they were performed. ■

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