

**'MORE THAN JUST A GAME': ENGLISH SPORTS AND THE REGENERATION OF SPAIN
THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC**

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Abstract

For the men attached to the reformist pedagogic programme, most notably members and allies of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE), the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic represented an opportunity to put their ideas into action.

While much has been written on the educational reforms of the Second Republic, to date, the place of sport within this has been largely neglected. This is despite the fact that, in offering more than just physical exercise, sport fit perfectly within the *regeneracionismo* movement, the movement calling for national regeneration which grew significantly following Spain's colonial defeats of 1898.

This thesis addresses this. The aim here is not just to show how sport was introduced into the different levels of the Spanish education system during the years of the Republic. Rather, the thesis explores why sport was favoured over militaristic physical exercise of individual gymnastics, arguing that this was essentially rooted in the ideas of the *regeneracionismo* movement.

In exploring how sport fit within first the calls for national regeneration and then the reformist programme of the Republic, this thesis aims to deepen our understanding of the type of Spain the intellectuals, pedagogues and politicians associated with the ILE wished to build, and how they intended to achieve this through the creation of a 'new man'.

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Index of Abbreviations

- *BILE – Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza – The Bulletin of the Free Teaching Institute*
- ILE – Institución Libre de Enseñanza – The Free Teaching Institute
- JAE – La Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (JAE) – The Board for Advanced Studies and Scientific Research

Introduction

Finally, [in Fernando de los Ríos] we have a Minister of Education who is an eminent pedagogue and who, therefore, knows the role that the practice of corporeal exercises can play in modern education and in the regeneration of the race.¹

Spain's Second Republic was proclaimed on 14 April 1931. Large crowds gathered in town squares and city centres across the country, cheering the peaceful end of the Bourbon monarchy. However, for a great number of the politicians and intellectuals, the departure of King Alfonso XIII for a life in exile in neighbouring France was not enough. The establishment of the new Republic was seen as a beginning rather than an end. More than a simple change of political regime, the nascent Republic represented a vehicle through which a wide range of political parties and social groups hoped to achieve their visions for a 'new Spain'.

A significant number of social and regional groups, as well as parties and associations on both ends of the political spectrum, had markedly different goals and different methods for achieving them – differences that would become increasingly apparent and even undermine the stability of the Republic itself. For the men (and select group of women) of what Rowold labels the 'liberal Krausist reform movement' the peaceful exit of Alfonso XIII

¹ *La Educación Física*, 2, 1, June 1932. The specialist publication, which promoted sport and physical education within Spain's schools, explicitly welcomed the new Republic. Above all, as this quote illustrates, its editors welcomed the appointment of Fernando de los Ríos as Minister of Public Instruction in December 1931, noting that he had previously written on the potential physical and moral benefits of physical education and sport on the Spanish youth.

from Spain presented an opportunity to modernise the country, thereby finally bringing to an end several centuries of backwardness and self-imposed isolation from mainstream European political and cultural and thought.² As Schneider succinctly notes, for this particular group – made up of intellectuals, politicians and, pertinently in the current context, educators – modernisation was ‘synonymous with secularisation and Europeanisation’.³ For them, a change in the political structure of the country would not in itself be enough; what was needed was to build intellectual and ideological foundations for a new society, to make citizens from subjects and to replace an anachronistic old order built around the two pillars of the Church and the Crown. In this sense, liberal republicanism was defined by its goal of replacing a national identity that was Catholic, conservative and authoritarian with one that was democratic, secular and republican.⁴

From the very beginning, education was identified a key means of achieving this.⁵ That is, far from simply being focused on raising levels of literacy across Spain – appallingly low in

² Katharina Rowold, *The Educated Woman: Minds, Bodies and Women’s Higher Education in Britain, Germany and Spain, 1865-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Krausism, a philosophy named after its German founder, a contemporary of Hegel, and focusing on the idea of the creation of a ‘new man’, was first introduced into Spain in the 1850s by Julián Sanz del Río. Its secular yet moral and progressive underpinnings meant that it soon found followers among Spain’s burgeoning liberal middle and upper classes. The Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Teaching Institute, or ILE) took Krausism as its ideological foundation. The central role of the ILE in the present context will be discussed at length throughout the thesis. For more on this, see, among many other sources: Juan López-Morillas, *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854-1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) and Adolfo Posada, *Breve historia del Krausismo Español* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2014).

³ Kathy Schneider, ‘Defending Catholic Education: Secular Front Organizations during the Second Republic of Spain, 1931–1936’, *Church History*, 82, 4, December 2013, pp. 848-876.

⁴ Quiroga effectively demonstrates how the dictatorial regime of Primo de Rivera ‘seriously improved the education system’ in the years preceding the creation of the Second Republic. This was done largely to ‘achieve social cohesion within the national ideal’, an ideal that was conservative, Catholic and authoritarian. See Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses, 1923-1930*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 110-122.

⁵ That said, even within the Republican-Socialist coalition government, however, key figures disagreed what policy areas the regime should prioritize, including the role of education. As Vincent notes, Rodolfo Llopis ‘felt that the real Republican project lay with labour reform [but] the regime took refuge in pedagogy.’ As shall be shown, Llopis would go on to accept the position of Minister for Primary Education. See Mary Vincent, *Modern Spain 1833-2002: People and State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 132.

April 1931 – the school would be tasked with forging a new generation of Spaniards who, being sympathetic to the liberal and progressive foundations of the Republic, would allow the new regime take root in Spanish society and thus ensure its long-term survival. In this context, the school was given the mission of creating the literate citizenry that liberals across Europe believed to be essential to the success of parliamentary democracy. Moreover, the state education system was also seen as the ideal place to achieve another principle aim of the nascent Republic, namely, to cite Boyd, to encourage 'Spaniards to adopt unfamiliar values and behaviours', and so become less likely to be sympathetic to the old orders and instead more sympathetic to the values of progressive democracy.⁶

For all the rhetoric of progressive politics and pedagogy, however, this 'liberal Krausist reform movement', centred around the Free Teaching Institute (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza* or ILE) and its ideological allies, was, in some ways, fundamentally conservative. Above all, in line with many political liberals across Europe during the opening decades of the 20th century, it was essentially distrustful of the masses. While committing themselves to raising literacy rates through the provision of free and secular primary education for all, many prominent *Institucionistas* believed that the profound transformation of Spanish society would - indeed, could only – be led a well-educated, cultured elite.⁷ That is, Spain could only be transformed by a new generation of what the founder of the ILE, Giner de los Ríos himself, termed 'aristocrats of democracy'. This preoccupation with forging an elite cadre of men – and, as shall be noted throughout the present thesis, it was assumed, whether implicitly or explicitly, that implementing the popular will was the responsibility of a male elite – would be

⁶ Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 194.

⁷ Since there is no appropriate translation, the term *Institucionista* will be used throughout this thesis to refer to members of and those individuals who were sympathetic to the ILE, both in terms of its aims and methods.

reflected in the Republic's educational reforms, most notably beyond the level of the primary school.⁸

The importance that the new Republic, and above all key figures in the first reformist government, attached to education has rightly been the subject of much historical research and analysis. Similarly, the argument that, for all their stated commitment to creating a new generation of literate, educated citizens through the comprehensive reform of the national education system, such republicans were 'at heart, uneasy with mass mobilisation', is not a new one. Indeed, what could be seen as, at best, a naïve paternalism on behalf of intellectuals determined to improve the lot of their less-enlightened countrymen – a belief it should be noted that was shared by many liberals across Europe, not just those in Spain – or at worst, simple elitism, has been touched upon by several historians.⁹

What has been largely neglected, however, and particularly within English-language histories of the Second Republic, is the place of sport within this liberal republican educational project.¹⁰ This is despite the fact that, in the years and decades leading up to April 1931, the ILE, its members and its allies, clearly identified sport, and more specifically, foreign sports, as a useful tool for regenerating the nation. Alongside the obvious health benefits, sport

⁸ Over recent years, a number of gendered histories of the Second Republic have emerged. As such works note, Spanish women gained a number of rights under the new Republic, including the right to divorce, and while several professions opened up to women. However, as shall be acknowledged throughout this thesis, the educational reforms passed during the Republic, and indeed the ideological beliefs behind them, were largely focused on improving education for male students, even if this was rarely explicitly stated in the relevant legislation.

⁹ See, for example, the essays collected in Idoia Murga Castro and Jose Maria Lopez Sanchez (eds), *Politica cultural de la Segunda Republica Espanola* (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2016), among others. For a more thorough overview of histories of the Second Republic and the importance attached to education, see Chapter 2 of the present thesis.

¹⁰ It should be noted from the start that it the practice of sport rather than sport as entertainment that was so appealing to many within the Spain's regenerationist movement. In fact, as shall be noted later on in the thesis, many of the strongest advocates for the introduction of competitive sport into the Spanish school were among the biggest critics of sport as a mass entertainment industry, warning that it was a vice that was corrupting Spain's young men.

represented a means of working towards achieving what was regarded by many as 'the primary and most basic concern of the State,' namely 'the cultural, physical and moral improvement of the [Spanish] race.'¹¹ Influenced in no small part by the English education system, and the 'games ethic' of its public school and university colleges in particular, organised and competitive sports were seen as ideal means of ensuring not just the physical improvement of the citizenry, but of guiding their moral and 'spiritual' development too.¹² Competitive sport also offered an effective way of forging strong young men, healthy in body and mind, and, who crucially, developed a willingness to follow rules and be disciplined. Furthermore, as Holt so effectively illustrates in his history of public school sports in England, competitive games were essentially contradictory in nature, at once encouraging team play while also championing heroic individuals.¹³ In short, therefore, such pastimes fit perfectly into the similarly-contradictory ILE agenda of empowering the masses while at the same time forging an elite of male leaders. The establishment of the Second Republic, and the installation of several *Institucionistas* within the Ministry of Public Instruction, represented the ideal opportunity to translate such arguments for sport as a tool for national regeneration into practice.

This thesis aims to address this gap in the knowledge. The goal here is not simply to show *how* efforts were made to introduce sport into the different levels of the state education

¹¹ Juan Negrín quoted in Marco Antonio de la Ossa Martínez, *La música en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2014) p. 185.

¹² It's worth noting that, in this context, the idea of the human 'spirit', so central to the philosophy of the ILE, did not have religious connotations. An interesting exploration of the significance of this idea of 'spirit' to the ILE, from its inception to the present day, can be found in Milagro Laín, "'Espíritu": Una palabra clave en la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y en la obra de Giner de los Ríos', *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* Volume 104 (2016), pp. 79-101.

¹³ Richard Holt, 'Cricket and Englishness: The Batsman as Hero,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13, 1, (1995), pp. 48-70. Mangan also explores this seemingly contradictory nature of sports in the English school, at once promoting the idea of team spirit while at the same time encouraging reverence for an elite few. See, above all, J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

system during the years of the Second Republic, but *why* this happened. By showing that such reforms were born out of the campaign for national regeneration that gripped Spain during the opening decades of the century, and in particular out of the arguments made by the ILE and its allies for embracing the myriad benefits of competitive sports, this thesis will show that, in this specific area at least, the education policies of the Second Republic were fundamentally different to those of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship it replaced.¹⁴ It will be acknowledged from the start that the Dictatorship took the physical education of the nation's youth extremely seriously. Indeed, under Primo de Rivera, physical education became an integral part of the school day, at least for boys.¹⁵ However, this thesis will argue that, while the Dictatorship placed a heavy emphasis on traditional militaristic exercises and drill as it sought to create the 'men of tomorrow', through the *Institucionista*-led Ministry of Public Instruction, the Republic emphatically rejected this model, instead embracing foreign sports in its quest to mould future citizens.

An examination of the political and pedagogical beliefs underpinning the Krausist educational project, and in particular the reasons why foreign, competitive sport was so appealing to many liberal thinkers from the end of the 19th century onwards will support the argument that the reforms of the Republic represented a marked break with the preceding regime. Furthermore, this thesis will argue that the Republic had a coherent vision of how sport could be used as a tool for national regeneration, even if, as shall be shown, such a

¹⁴ From the start, this thesis, both in argument and structure, is influenced by the work of Sandie Holguin, and specifically her comprehensive and persuasive analysis of attempts to use culture to form a new national identity during the Second Republic and Civil War. Holguin notes: 'The idea that culture could be a force for Spain's regeneration did not suddenly appear out of nowhere...This idea began incubating in the nineteenth century and reached fever pitch after 1898.' See: Sandie Holguin, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 49

¹⁵ This is effectively shown in, for example: Mary Vincent, *Modern Spain 1833-2002: People and State*, pp. 106-108.

vision could never be fully realised for a number of political and practical reasons. Moreover, it will argue that this vision was not just reflected in the official top-down reforms of the Ministry of Public Instruction. Rather it was also reflected in the manner in which individual schools and teachers made use of the new freedoms and responsibilities given to them by the Republic to embrace the benefits of sport. It will show that at both the government level and at the local, grassroots level, educators 'bought into' the belief that sport could be used to transform and modernise Spain. Thus, even when there was a lack of specific legislation to this end, there was still a general movement away from traditional militaristic physical education and towards foreign sports. And, as shall be shown, even at the local level, this embracing of sport was often grounded in the arguments, even in the very language, of the liberal *regeneracionismo* movement. By illustrating how the nascent regime tasked teachers with building the foundations for a new country, how it gave them unprecedented levels of both responsibility and autonomy and how, though everything from official Ministerial Circulars to liberal, progressive pedagogical journals, it inspired them to abandon the physical education methods of the past, the thesis will show argue that there was a coherent vision to use sport to forge both new citizens and, just as importantly, young men destined to be 'aristocrats of democracy'.

As has been noted, the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931 was seen by many across the political spectrum as a chance to break with the anachronistic old order and create a new society, a society which, for many would look outwards to the rest of Europe and have its foundations built on liberalism, secularism and modernity. Given that, just eight years later it had been defeated in a bloody Civil War, to be replaced by a decades-long regime that was anything but outward-looking, liberal, secular or indeed modern, it is almost inevitable that any analysis of the Republic will at least touch on quite why Spain's first serious experiment

with liberal democracy failed. Providing a comprehensive answer to this is far beyond the scope of this thesis, even if it were the intention here. Moreover, it can legitimately be argued that 'retrospectively evaluating the Republican experience in the light of the Civil War and Francoist regime does little to explain its significance or its eventual failure.'¹⁶

Nevertheless, several historians have convincingly demonstrated how Spanish republicanism failed to build a mass support base for the new regime and then have explored the possible consequences of this. And while such a shortcoming cannot be held up – and indeed has not been held up – as the prime reason the Republic's enemies ultimately triumphed, such a failure to win the approval of wider Spanish society from the 'bottom-up' certainly hindered any attempts to earn popular approval for any substantial social or economic reform. As Graham argues, republicans failed to engage with sectors outside of their small bubble, most notably with professional middle-class associations, thereby ultimately depriving the Republic of not just wider support but, just as importantly, of much-needed expertise, too. Similarly, Bjerstrom cites both contemporary and more recent criticism of the cultural policies of the Republic, again highlighting the emphasis on 'top down' reform and the fundamentally elitism and paternalistic nature of key figures within the Ministry of Public Instruction. Indeed, in this context, he cites Tuñón de Lara's assertion that attempting to bring theatre, poetry and fine art to rural villages where people were desperate to see Madrid finally address the issues of land reform, poverty and hunger was akin to 'planting trees upside down'.¹⁷

¹⁶ Roberto Villa García, 'The Second Republic: Myths and Realities', *Journal of Contemporary History* Volume 15, 2 (2016), pp. 420-424.

¹⁷ Carl-Henrik Bjerstrom, *Josep Renau and the Politics of Culture in Republican Spain, 1931-1939: Re-imagining the Nation* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2016) p. 46.

The argument that the new regime was wary of building a new Spain from the bottom-up, but instead believed that progress could only be achieved from the top-down, via the leadership of an intellectual, even spiritual, elite, is, therefore, certainly not new. Nevertheless, through showing that one major reason why foreign sports so appealed to many within the *regeneracionismo* movement and then to certain figures who took on positions of influence within the Ministry of Public Instruction after April 1931 precisely because it offered a means of forging such an elite, this thesis will add to the wider understanding of the vision this one particular group had for the regime and how they hoped to achieve this. The thesis will also further contribute to scholarship on the Second Republic, bringing together several key themes, notably modernisation and the attempted realisation of regenerationist arguments, and the place of gender within the policies of the regime.

Certainly, this present thesis can draw on a rich body of historical research for its foundations. Certainly, education during the Second Republic has long been – and continues to be – the subject of much scholarly investigation and debate, and for good reason. Education was a central part of the Republican project, identified as being an integral means of consolidating the new regime. As before, a literate citizenry was seen as an essential prerequisite if the Republic was to be anything other than a short-lived experiment with democracy, and so reform of all levels of the education system was a priority from the very start.¹⁸ Given this, the sphere of education understandably forms part of every major history of the Second Republic and of Spanish republicanism in general. More specifically, making use of the legislative records left behind by the regime, most notably the numerous Decrees and

¹⁸ As shall be noted again later, however, while both partners of the Republican-Socialist coalition regarded educational reform as being of the utmost importance, their long-term aims were markedly different. That is, while liberal republicans saw a literate and cultured citizenry as an essential element of a gradual move towards a fully-consolidated parliamentary democracy, the revolutionary elements of the Socialist Party saw the reformed school as a stepping stone towards a workers' revolution.

Orders published in the official state *Gaceta de Madrid*, in addition to the contemporary accounts of some of the leading figures from the Ministry of Public Instruction during the years of the Republic, several Spanish historians have undertaken comprehensive studies of the education system of the era.¹⁹ Most notable among these are the contributions Alfonso Capitán Díaz, Mariano Pérez Galán and Antonio Molero Pintado have made to our understanding of the education policies enacted between 1931 and 1936.²⁰ Similarly, Mercedes Samaniego Boneu, in focusing on the first 'reformist' biennium of the Second Republic, shows the shared aspirations both partners of the Republican-Socialist coalition had for the school as well as, just as importantly, their fundamental disagreements.²¹

Such works help to provide a clear framework within which the place of sport can be analysed, as do more localised studies. Away from such a Madrid-centric approach to the history of education during the Second Republic, a number of more focused studies have been produced, including several notable examples over the past few years. Localised studies have provided an insight into how centralised policy met local politics. More pertinently for the present work, they have also served to show not just how central policy was implemented outside of the capital but, just as significantly, how individual schools and even individual

¹⁹ In addition, as shall be shown in the following chapters, several of the key figures from within the Republic-era Ministry of Public Instruction, wrote numerous works outlining their pedagogical beliefs in addition to accounts directly relating to their time in government.

²⁰ Some general histories of education during the years of the Second Republic can be found in: Mariano Pérez Galán, *La enseñanza en la Segunda República* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2011), Alfonso Capitán Díaz, *Historia de la educación en España: Vol II: Pedagogía contemporánea* (Madrid: Dickinson, 1994) and Antonio Molero Pintado, *La reforma educativa de la Segunda República Española: Primer bienio* (Madrid: Editorial Santillana, 1977), Juan Jorganes and Carlos Algora Alba, *La escuela de la Segunda República* (Sevilla: Fundación Cajal, 2008), Antonio Viñao Frago, *Escuela para todos: Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Editorial Marcial Pons, 2004), and, most recently, Murga Castro and López Sánchez, *Política cultural de la Segunda República Española*. Fewer studies on this specific area have been carried out in English, though accounts that do stand out include: Christopher Cobb, 'The Republican State and Mass Educational-Cultural Initiatives, 1931-1936', in Helen Graham Helen and Jo Labanyi (eds), *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²¹ Mercedes Samaniego-Boneu, *La política educativa de la Segunda República durante el bienio azañista* (Madrid: Editorial CSIC, 1977).

teachers heeded the Republic's incentive and made use of the new unprecedented degree of freedom the change in political regime granted them to implement new teaching methods, most notably those promoted in both the progressive pedagogical press or even in essays and books published by key political figures, as they saw fit.²²

Within both broad and localised studies, however, the subject of sport in the school has invariably been overlooked, with the Republic's drive for coeducation and, above all, secularisation, understandably prioritised by historians of the period. This is not to say that the subject of physical education during the first third of the twentieth century, including during the years of the Republic, has not been the subject of analysis in and of itself. Indeed, several key works have been carried out on just this, and again, they help build the foundations of the current thesis. The work of José Luis Pastor Pradillo in particular has helped identify the official steps taken to make physical education an integral part of the Spanish school curriculum and, moreover, to replace traditional gymnastics or militaristic exercises with sport.²³ A number of other works similarly chart the evolution of physical education in

²² Over recent decades, numerous accounts analysing the various levels and institutions of the Spanish educational system in almost every major city or province have been produced. Notable examples of such localised and specialist studies include: María Jesús Leoz Munilla, *Mujer y educación en La Rioja durante la Segunda República (1931-1936)* (Pamplona: University of Navarra, 2010); Carlos Algora Alba, *El Instituto- Escuela de Sevilla (1932-36): Una proyección de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 1996); Francisco Asensio Rubio, *La enseñanza primaria. Ciudad Real: II República y Guerra Civil* (Diputación Provincial de Ciudad Real, 2007); Enrique Banet Hernández, *La Escuela Normal de Murcia: 150 aniversario, 1844-1994* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1994); María Rosa Domínguez Cabrejas, *La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Zaragoza (1844-1936)* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 2002); Carmen Fernández Rubio, *La Escuela Normal Masculina de Oviedo y su incidencia en la formación de maestros (1900-1940)* (Oviedo: University of Oviedo Press, 1997) and *La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Zaragoza, 1844-1936* (Zaragoza, Diputación General de Aragón, 2002). Alongside these, Carolyn Boyd has documented the teaching of history in Spain's schools during this period in *Historia Patria: Politics, History and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). At the other end of the political spectrum, Mary Vincent is most notable among those historians who have looked at religious education under the Republic. See: Mary Vincent, *Catholicism in the Spanish Second Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930-1936* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²³ Key examples of his work include: José Luis Pastor Pradillo, *Educación física y libros de texto en la enseñanza primaria (1883-1978)* (Madrid: Editorial Dykinson, 2005), *El espacio profesional de la Educación Física en España: génesis y formación (1883-1961)* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1999) and *La Educación Física en España: Fuentes y bibliografía básicas* (Alcalá de Henares: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares,

Spain from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, most notably studies that have emerged out of the University of Alcalá de Henares, including those of José María de Lucas Heras.²⁴

Such studies are certainly of great value to the historian studying the development over time of physical education as a specifically-defined school subject, not least in their identification of the key pieces of legislation passed in this regard, most notably the Decrees or Orders reforming the school curricula or the recruitment and training of education professionals. In this way, these histories show when and how steps were taken to reform physical education in the school, both before and during the years of the Second Republic, including efforts to introduce modern, foreign sports either alongside or at the expense of established disciplines, most notably gymnastics or militaristic exercise classes. However, though unquestionably useful in their own rights, the histories of physical education in Spain have largely failed to explore quite *why*, such moves were made. That is, such histories stop short of exploring the reasons why the educational reforms of the Second Republic may have favoured sport, and more specifically those imported from England in particular, over gymnastics, even though the latter was being utilised by several other nations, among them Germany and Sweden – hardly 'backwards' countries Spain would want to avoid emulating in its quest for regeneration – and used in their respective education systems to develop

1995). Other useful accounts looking into the development of physical education as a specialist subject include the research carried out by Sotomayor Roció Pajaró. See: 'La Educación Física Escolar en España en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XX' (Unpublished PhD thesis: Complutense University of Madrid, 2001), and again, several historians have looked at this at the local level, among them Javier Barreiro. See: 'El deporte en el primer tercio del siglo XX' in *75 años de cultura y deporte a las orillas del Ebro* (Zaragoza: Centro de Natación Helios, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2000) pp. 23-53.

²⁴ See, for example: José María de Lucas Heras, *Historia de la Educación Física Oficial. España 1900-1936* (Alcalá de Henares: Ediciones de Universidad de Alcalá, 2000). Interestingly, the University of Alcalá de Henares has also been a principal publisher of the work of Pastor Pradillo and several other works exploring the history of physical education in Spain, despite the fact that the city itself played no significant role in this, or in the development of sport, nor is it a city with a sporting tradition of any note.

students' bodies and characters. Addressing this will contribute to a wider understanding of what the *institucionistas* and their allies in the Republic envisaged as their new Spain and, just as importantly, how they imagined this would be achieved through the moulding of a 'new man' via the national education system.²⁵

From the start, it should be noted that such studies of the history of sport both within and outside of Spain, this thesis included, have to contend with issues of sourcing. At worst, for historians of sport, archival research can be problematic. Compared to the relative wealth of potentially useful material available to historians researching matters of politics or economics, for example, material relating to sport or even physical education may often be, if not completely non-existent, then difficult to find. As Booth notes in his overview of the challenges facing this specific discipline, 'gaps and omissions in archives are a real problem for sport historians.'²⁶ Significantly, research carried out for this thesis revealed this to be very much the case for Spain.

Certainly, reports published in newspapers, however brief, can help shed light on the development of sports as entertainment phenomenon. That is, they can provide what Vamplew refers to as 'sportifacts': league tables, individual match or competition results, and

²⁵ A notable exception here is the recently-published work of the Spanish historian Xavier Torreadella-Flix (much of which was published during the production of the present thesis). In particular, Torreadella-Flix places the emergence of the popular sporting press industry in Spain within the calls for national regeneration that followed the 1898 'Disaster'. See, for example: Xavier Torreadella-Flix and Javier Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press in Spain Within the Regenerationist Context of the Late Nineteenth Century' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* Volume 30, 18, 2013, pp. 2164-2196, as well as: 'La Educación Física Comparada en España (1806-1936)' *Social and Education History* vol. 3, 1, (2014) pp. 25-53., 'Las primeras revistas profesionales y científicas de la educación física española (1882-1936)', *Apunts: Educación Física y Deportes* 109, 2012, pp. 11-24., and most recently, Torreadella-Flix and Vicente Pedraz, 'En torno a los orígenes del fútbol como deporte escolar en España: De moda recreativa a dispositivo disciplinario', *Educación Física y Ciencia*, 19(1), 2017. Two other exceptions worthy of mention here are: Andrés Payá Rico, 'Consideraciones pedagógicas sobre los valores y posibilidades educativas del juego en la España contemporánea (1876-1936)' *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 26 (2007), pp. 299- 325, and Rivero Herraiz, Antonio *Deporte y modernización: La actividad física como elemento de transformación social y cultural en España, 1910-1936* (Madrid: Dirección General de Deportes, 2003)

²⁶ Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sports History* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 94-88.

team line-ups can chart the sporting success of individual teams or even nations, while statistics relating to wages and gate receipts can, for example, be used to chart the rise of football as a mass entertainment industry.²⁷ As with elsewhere in Europe, in Spain most major newspapers began including sports information from the start of the 20th century, if not beforehand. Numerous past editions of such publications have survived, and indeed have been used to produce comprehensive histories of individual clubs, most notably football teams, and to chart the rise of sport as entertainment, including the eclipsing of 'traditional' sports such as bullfighting by 'foreign' sports such as football.²⁸

Attempting to look beyond such 'sportifacts' is, however, much more problematic. The challenge here is two-fold. Firstly, as Pastor Pradillo has noted, many of Spain's libraries 'were not determined or wise enough to save the sports publications in their collections, maybe because they were considered of little importance within the fields of culture and knowledge'.²⁹ Often material that might have supported this thesis' arguments was simply lost or else destroyed by libraries or archivists, at times without much thought but at other times purposefully and systematically.³⁰ Some notable losses include most editions of *Excelisor*, Spain's first football daily, launched in Bilbao in 1924, and more pertinently in the present context, only a few editions of the specialist journal *La Educación Física*, have survived. It seems reasonable to believe that, along with specialist sports journals and

²⁷ Vamplew most notably uses 'sportifacts' for his history of the emergence of mass spectator sport in Britain in the years leading up to World War I. See: Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

²⁸ Indeed, McFarland notes that historiography of Spanish sports has long focused on the histories of FC Barcelona and Real Madrid Football Club, arguably neglecting the wider development of sport as a social phenomenon. See: Andrew McFarland, 'Spanish Sport and the Challenges of Its Recent Historiography,' *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 38, 2, (2011), pp. 211-221.

²⁹ José Luis Pastor Pradillo, *La educación física en España: fuentes y bibliografía básicas* (Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 1995).

newspapers, other potentially-useful material is likely to have been lost for good, including memoirs of individual teachers that might have contained references to the introduction of team sports at a local level.³¹

Furthermore, and again as research carried out for this thesis revealed, even when some editions of sports newspapers or pedagogic journals or memoirs have survived, they can be in such a poor condition to be unreadable. Furthermore, with particular reference to source material relating to sport and physical education, libraries and archives across Spain have been slow to digitize their holdings.³² Historic publications relating to sports and also to pedagogy, may well be scattered throughout Spain, even if many collections are incomplete. However, for practical reasons, not least those of time and logistics, identifying and then consulting such material was a further challenge here.³³ Thus, any focus on one particular part of Spain – for example, of school sports in the city of Logroño or the Province of Palencia – is due to practical concerns, and above all the availability and accessibility of relevant sources.

At the same time, historians of sport also need to negotiate what can be described as an historic reluctance to record sports theory and practise. Archives are not neutral. They are, as has been effectively argued and acknowledged for several decades now, managed

³¹ This situation is certainly not unique to Spain. Indeed, sports-related gaps in archives is a common issue for sports historians in many different countries. For instance, Lindroth has lamented the fact that the Swedish National Archive only began holding material relating to sport towards the end of the 1960s. See Jan Lindroth, 'Sports archives and museums in the Nordic countries: Some facts and reflections', in Roland Renson, Manfred Lammer and James Riordan (eds), *Practising Sport History* [Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag Richarz, 1987], pp. 119-20. Similar frustrations can be detected in: Gregory Quin, 'Writing Swiss Sport History: A Quest for Original Archives', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 34, 5-6, (2017), pp. 432-436. Similarly, on researching the history of women's sports in Scotland, Skillen notes 'it became apparent that the archives which did exist were fragmentary and generally provided an overview of particular matches or events'. See Skillen, Fiona 'Sports History: Reflections on My Journey So Far,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 34, 5-6, (2017) pp. 437-441. See also, Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne 'Narrative Methods in Sport History Research: Biography, Collective Biography, and Prosopography.'" *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 32:15, pp. 1855-1882.

³² At the time of researching this thesis, the Sports Council of the Government of Catalonia was working on a specialist sports library, set to include a number of publications from the early days of sport in Spain.

collections. What the historians of today might deem interesting or useful, past generations may have dismissed as largely irrelevant and not worthy of preservation. As Martin Johnes has argued, 'material from individuals whose lives centred on sport [is] rare, partly perhaps because most individuals involved in sport do not think to deposit their material in archives, whether because of ignorance, modesty or secrecy'.³⁴ Again, this is certainly the case in Spain, particularly with regards to attempts to embrace the regenerative potential of sport within school during the opening decades of the 20th century. Of course, it should be acknowledged that the progressive pedagogues of the ILE and their allies did not hope to regenerate the country through sport alone. As such, while there was only a relative lack of space devoted to the myriad benefits in the pages of the ILE's own *Boletín (BILE)* and other associated journals – particularly when compared to the attention given to the benefits of teaching foreign languages or to poetry – this is largely understandable. Far more frustrating is that the research carried out for this thesis found evidence to suggest that even the most enthusiastic proponents of introducing sports into the Spanish school system before and during the Second Republic did not feel their efforts were worth either sharing with their peers or recording for posterity. Thus, alongside a relative lack of sports-related articles in the *BILE* itself, a search of the archives of the ILE in Madrid proved to be similarly frustrating.

One notable example of this past reluctance to record the practice of sport within the education system of the Second Republic, can be found in the *Boletín de Educación de Palencia* and its account of a visit of the Pedagogical Missions to the village of Velilla del Río Carrión. The article gives an enthusiastic and comprehensive account of the visit of the young men and women who had been tasked with bringing cultural enlightenment to the largely

³⁴ Martin Johnes, 'Archives and Historians of Sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 31, 15, (2015), pp. 1784-1798.

uneducated masses of rural Spain. The account, written by a member of this particular Pedagogical Mission, focuses almost solely on the cultural activities held in the village, including readings and an art exhibition featuring replicas of masterpieces of the Prado. That the students of the Mission organized a football match against the children of the village and even left them a ball to play with is only briefly alluded to.³⁵ Similarly, as shall be noted, several other primary sources, from pedagogic journals to teachers' memoirs and school records were found to feature frustratingly brief mentions of organised sport, including seemingly throwaway references to 'games' and even photographs of students or teachers with sport clearly being practiced in the background but with no further explanation or insight provided.

Despite these archival challenges, as Johnes has also argued in his research into the development of popular sports in modern Britain, 'even partial sources offer invaluable insights into the past, if they are used with some guile and imagination'.³⁶ The current thesis is partly built on such an approach. That is, it seems reasonable to interpret the briefest of mentions of 'games' in the school as evidence that sport was being practiced there. As shall be shown, a number of progressive pedagogical journals featured articles highlighting the potential benefits of sport over military drill and gymnastics. These arguments would not have been lost on teachers and certainly not on the young, well-educated university students and other young adults who volunteered to take part in the Pedagogical Missions. Likewise, even brief mentions of sport or images of hockey or football being played in schools or other educational institutes during the years of the Republic can, if viewed alongside relevant Circulars issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction or essays in pedagogic journals, can – and

³⁵ *Boletín de Educación de Palencia*, 1, p. 9.

³⁶ Johnes, *op. cit.*

will – be taken as further evidence that there was indeed a vision to replace the physical education of the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship with foreign sports.

Indeed, in this regard, the research carried out for the present study, though hindered by the issues outlined above, uncovered sufficient primary evidence to support a solid and coherent thesis. At the governmental level, through official legislation as well as through the writings of key individuals of the regime, including Circulars as well as essays, articles and books, it is clear that there was not only an interest in the regenerating benefits of sport, but a genuine desire and, to some extent, a concerted effort to introduce it into the national education system in place of the militaristic gymnastics of the preceding regime. That is, there is sufficient primary material to assess the extent to which ILE ideas were translated into policy.

At the same time, at the local level, the research found evidence to indicate that, in line with the aims and underlying philosophy of the ILE, individual schools and teachers were heeding the recommendations being issued from Madrid as well as being printed in progressive pedagogical journals, and attempting to use sports to develop their students physically and morally. The Municipal Archives in Toledo, for example, does contain references to sport being introduced into the school day during the years of the Republic, while certain accounts written by school directors and teachers themselves explain the reasons for abandoning the physical education curriculum of the 1920s. Moreover, in some places these either echo the regenerationist language of the ILE or explicitly cite the recommendations issued by the *Institucionistas* in the government. Such accounts are, it is argued, sufficient to support the argument that the ILE's ideas were transmitted to the grassroots the new Republic viewed as essential to its consolidation and long-term survival.

The first chapter of this thesis will show the place of sport within the *regeneracionismo* movement that started emerging in the late-nineteenth century and then became markedly more prevalent and persuasive after 1898, the year Spain was humiliated on the global stage with the loss of Cuba and the Philippines. Drawing on Mosse's studies on 'masculinity under threat' at the turn-of-the-century, and more specifically on Cleminson's argument that the crisis that gripped Spain over the first third of the twentieth century was fundamentally rooted in the idea that its men – and in particular, its young, upper-class males – were indolent, passive and thereby lacking in virility, it will cite key texts from the *regeneracionismo* movement where it was argued that both physical and 'spiritual' regeneration were needed if centuries of national stagnation and backwardness were to be brought to an end.³⁷

After illustrating the importance intellectuals and politicians, and especially those associated with the liberal republican movement or, again in the words of Rowold, with the 'liberal Krausist movement', attached to physical regeneration, the chapter will show how sport was put forward as one possible solution to Spanish national malaise. More importantly, it will show that it was what Mangan has termed the 'games ethic' of English sports such as football and rugby – that is, the way in which educators could use them to mould characters and morals, with any physical or health benefits of secondary concern – that made sport particularly appealing to those men keen to modernise and Europeanise Spain.³⁸ The first

³⁷ Mosse argues that, right across Europe, 'the idea of masculinity [was] under threat, for example from the increased visibility of "unmanly men"', while the terms 'decadence and degeneration' were used interchangeably, when lamenting the lack of virility of the contemporary male. See: George, L Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 79-82. For more on this idea of the perceived threat to masculinity, particularly among the upper classes, see also: Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *Los Invisibles': A History of Male Homosexuality in Spain, 1850-1940* (Swansea: University of Wales Press, 2007).

³⁸ This thesis draws upon Mangan's research into sport and the English education system, particularly his assertions that it was fundamentally used as a means of forming character rather than for exercise. Moreover,

chapter will also provide the historical context behind the establishment of the Second Republic, above all giving an overview of education in Spain up until April 1931. More specifically, it will assess the history of physical education and sport within the school system up until the end of the monarchy. Such an understanding is essential if the planned reforms of the Republic and the reasoning behind them are to be appreciated for what they were, that is a notable break with the past and one tool among many for the desired creation of a new Spain and a new generation of Spaniards.

With 'the case for sport' thereby grounded in the arguments for national regeneration, and the state of Spanish education and of sport in the school up until 1931 outlined, the following chapters will take as their focus quite how, if indeed at all, such arguments were translated into action following the proclamation of the Second Republic. Chapter 2 will firstly, albeit briefly, establish the importance the nascent Republic attached to education, something which, as will be noted, cannot be overstated. Drawing on the official state journal, the *Gaceta de Madrid* as its primary source, the chapter will then look specifically at the matter of physical education and sport in first the Spanish primary school and then within secondary-level education. Again, this analysis will not limit itself to simply chronicling the list of relevant educational reforms passed by the Ministry of Public Instruction during the years of the Republic. Just as importantly, if not more so given the present context, it will seek to establish the reasoning behind such reforms being passed. More specifically, it will show that the language used to frame this legislation had echoes of the arguments for sport as a tool for national physical and moral regeneration that had been prevalent in Spain for several

Mangan shows that the sports field was used to instil in students the ability to both 'command and obey', required qualities in the elite cadre of 'gentlemen' entrusted with assuming important roles in British society and the Empire. See, above all: Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, and James A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* 2nd Edition (Hammondsworth: Viking, 2003).

decades under the monarchy. Again, the *Gaceta de Madrid* will be heavily drawn upon here, with Ministerial Circulars argued to be equally as insightful as formal Decrees. Alongside this, attention will be given to the writings of key figures within the liberal pedagogical and reformist movement, including those men who held important positions within the Ministry of Public Instruction and who were behind the pertinent legislation. Once again, an analysis of such texts, and in particular of the language and terminology used in them, will show why such reforms were either passed or else intended, and, moreover, how this was fundamentally rooted in the arguments for sport as a tool for moral regeneration rather than for the physical health of the nation.

The following chapters are formed around two core principles of the ILE and the liberal pedagogical movement of the time. In Chapter 3 the elevated status attached to teachers will be noted. That is, according to the *institucionista* pedagogic philosophy, the teacher was the 'soul of the school', with a unique ability to shape a new generation of Spaniards. Moreover, with the change in political regime, teachers were granted hitherto- unprecedented levels of autonomy, not least when it came to complementing their lessons with materials or methods of their choosing. This chapter will analyse education at the grassroots level, identifying support for, as well as opposition to, the Republic's reforms in the area of physical education and sport, and specifically efforts made to put theory into practice. Chapter 4 will then focus on the training of teachers and the place of sport here. Given the level of responsibility assigned to the schoolteachers of the Republic, from the very beginning of the regime, it was acknowledged that a large proportion of the educational professionals of the past did not have the skills or aptitude necessary to mould young minds and instil a new civic morality into every town and village. Combined with the shortage of personnel caused by the expulsion of the religious orders from the classroom, there was a pressing need to not only create a large

number of new teachers, but to ensure that they were properly qualified and, moreover, physically healthy, enthusiastic and sympathetic to the ideals of the new Republic. Sport, as shall be shown, was once again identified as an effective means of creating such an educator, offering a means of not merely ensuring that the Republic's new teachers did not exhibit the physical weakness and lack of virility that the *regeneracionismo* movement had ascribed to Spain's young men, but that they were also disciplined, selfless, hard-working and, most notably, capable of leadership.

Secondly, observing the *institucionista* understanding that 'elementary and secondary education cannot be separated; they form a continuous process which should also be extended to the universities, with the same methods and overall aims,' the final two chapters examine the place of sport in efforts to create a new 'Spanish gentleman' through the university and, more specifically, through the nation's student residences.³⁹ Again, the thesis here will be framed around the Decrees and Orders passed during the years of the Republic and then published in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, though building on this, it will analyse the wording of such legislation alongside the writings of the key figures in the regime to show that sport was above all embraced as a means of building robust young men and, albeit to a lesser degree, young women, with the moral fortitude and leadership qualities that would make them capable of assuming the role of the 'intellectual aristocrats' of the new, regenerated Spain.⁴⁰

³⁹ This was one of Giner's 'Pedagogical Principles' for the ILE, principles he stated on several occasions in his writings. See Francisco Giner de los Ríos, *Ensayos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969).

⁴⁰ This thesis has been partly inspired and influenced by the numerous works that have been carried out into how different nations and political regimes have sought to use sport to either change their own societies from within or else to project a more positive image of themselves to the world. Just two of the many interesting analyses into such a topic are: Pierre Arnaud and Jim Riordan, *Sports and International Politics: The Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport* (London: Routledge, 2013), and Alan Bairner, John Kelly and Lee Woo Jung, *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Chapter 1: Physical education, sport and the 'regeneration' of Spain, 1898-1931

Sport is health. It is a joyful manifestation of life. It requires energy and balance, it trains the spirit to conquer any doubts; in short, I see in sport a transcendental school for the improvement of the race.⁴¹

In 1930, just 21 years after the creation of the Spanish Football Federation (*Federación Española de Fútbol*), the sport had grown to such an extent that the journalist Joaquín Soto Barrera was commissioned to write its official history. The work, entitled simply *Historia del fútbol en España*, noted how, from humble beginnings at the turn of the century, football had grown into a mass entertainment industry, with hundreds of affiliated clubs competing in 15 distinct regional federations and a national following that meant that it was at least equal to bullfighting in terms of popularity. Summing up this transition from minority pastime to national obsession, the historian and journalist Joaquín Soto Barrera observed:

There is hardly any place of significance that does not now have a football team...not the neighbourhood of a secondary town nor the streets of a big city...Neither is there any profession, liberal or otherwise, that doesn't have a football team, or any type of industry or modern business...nor in any political centre, whether cultural or recreational.⁴²

⁴¹Francos Rodríguez quoted in *Aire Libre* 8 December 1925. Francos Rodríguez was known above all for his work in the arts, as well as for his political career, further indicating how, by the 1920s, the potential benefits of sports in the education system were being recognised outside of the just the sporting and progressive pedagogical press.

⁴² Joaquín Soto Barrera, *Historia del futbol en España* (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1930) p. 11.

As the above shows, the country the Second Republic inherited from a discredited monarchy in the spring of 1931 was a nation with a healthy sports industry. Indeed, as Uría, notes, by the 1920s, Spain, as with much of Europe, had become a true 'sporting society'.⁴³ Huge crowds would flock every weekend to watch professional teams compete in a variety of sports, above all in matches of football, while both the vibrant sporting press and even the mainstream press reported on the exploits of an emerging generation of sporting celebrities.⁴⁴ At the same time, participation in sport went from being the preserve of the upper and middle-classes to something for everyone. In the big cities of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao especially, workers' groups, as well as the Church, had established clubs and societies of their own. And while football may have been the most notable sign of the development of this 'sporting society', other sports similarly grew in popularity during the opening decades of the new century, while the establishment of the Spanish Gymnastics Federation (*Federación Gimnástica Española*) in 1899 led to a marked increase in the number of gymnasiums opening up in the nation's towns and cities.⁴⁵

⁴³Jorge Uría, 'Imágenes de la masculinidad. El fútbol español en los años veinte', *Ayer*, Volume 72, 4 (2008), pp.121-155.

⁴⁴ For an overview of how sport and football in particular grew rapidly into a mass entertainment industry see, among others, Andrew McFarland, 'Ricardo Zamora: The First Spanish Football Idol' *Soccer and Society*, Volume 7, 2006, Issue 1 pp. 1-13. The decades leading up to the establishment of the Second Republic saw the rapid growth of a dynamic and hugely popular sporting press. For the present thesis, only a relatively small number of publications will be drawn upon. While this is partly due to simple logistics – as McFarland notes, many such publications were simply destroyed or lost, having been seen as having little cultural or historical value – this is mainly due to the fact many were solely focused on sport as a spectator activity, or else they focused on sports that would most definitely not have met the approval of progressive pedagogues or politicians, for instance hunting or aeronautics. Only a handful concerned themselves with sport as a means of transforming society, and fewer still showed an interest in sport within the physical education system. Those that did are used in the current context. For more on the sporting press during the first decades of the twentieth century, see: José Altabella, 'Historia de la prensa deportiva madrileña' in Zabalza, R., (ed.) *Orígenes del deporte madrileño 1870–1936: Condiciones sociales de la actividad deportiva* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987) pp. 171–219; and Andrew McFarland 'Spanish Sport and the Challenges of Its Recent Historiography' *Journal of Sport History* Vol. 38, No. 2 (2011), pp. 211-221.

What is perhaps most notable about Soto Barrera's observation from 1930, however, is that, while he alludes to football teams being created in neighbourhoods, workplaces and political and cultural centres, he makes no mention of schools. This was no oversight. Indeed, while this period may well have marked the emergence of sport as a mass entertainment industry, within Spain's public education system, sport was neglected in favour of gymnastics and physical education lessons, with little in the way of reform or modernisation having been achieved in this area for decades. As the following chapter shall explore, this was despite the fact that arguments for the myriad benefits offered by sport, and in particular for team sports such as those practiced in the schools of England, had been growing over the first third of the twentieth century. Both in the pedagogical press and the popular sports newspapers of the time, education professionals, as well as intellectuals, politicians and *deportistas*, put forward a strong case for sport to be made a more integral part of Spanish education.⁴⁵

While the so-called 'Disaster of 1898' (*El Desastre*) certainly did not in itself give birth to such arguments, the case for replacing traditional physical education with foreign and modern sports did undoubtedly fit within the movement for national regeneration – or *regeneracionismo* – this loss of imperial possessions inspired. A full history of the

⁴⁵ This is not the place for a comprehensive history of the emergence of the worker sport movement in Spain. Such studies have been carried out by other historians. Just some of the many notable accounts on this include: Luis Enrique Otero Carvajal, 'Ocio y deporte en el nacimiento de la sociedad de masas. La socialización del deporte como practica y espectáculo en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX' *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, Vol. 25 (2003), pp. 169-198; Javier Barreiro, 'El deporte en el primer tercio del siglo XX' in *75 años de cultura y deporte a las orillas del Ebro* (Zaragoza: Centro de Natación Helios, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 2000), pp. 23-53; María Dolores de la Calle Velasco, and Manuel Redero San Román (eds), *Movimientos sociales en la España del siglo XX* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2009) and, Pamela Beth Radcliff, *Modern Spain: 1808 to the Present* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017).

⁴⁶ The Spanish term *deportista* will be used in this thesis. This was the term used in the sporting press for both those who participated in sport and also for those with a wider interest in sport, including in its potential as a tool for regeneration. Neither of the English terms 'sportsman' or 'sports enthusiast' are therefore sufficient to encompass both. Notably, in this period, many *deportistas* were both active athletes and also writers or educators. For example, José L. Lasplazas was both the editor of the popular sports newspaper *El Mundo Deportivo* and a sportsman himself, rowing at two Olympic Games and later serving as coach for the Catalan Football Federation team and then the Spanish national team.

regeneracionismo movement is not needed here. Nor would one be feasible; indeed, the complex nature of the movement, not least the political and social context of the various, often contradictory, lamentations and proposed solutions put forward by Spanish thinkers during this period, has rightly been worthy of extensive studies in and of itself. Rather, the intention here is to ground the enthusiasm that certain leading pedagogues and politicians showed for sports, and which some of them would attempt to translate into actual government policy with the establishment of the Second Republic, in the *regeneracionismo* movement that dominated Spain's intellectual landscape in the decades leading up to April 1931.

That is, the following chapter will show that, while much of the literature of the age concerned itself with the existential problems facing Spain, for instance a loss of 'soul' or 'spirit' or religious faith, some arguments were more pragmatic, focusing instead on the perceived physical weakness of the Spanish people. Sport, it was argued, could be harnessed to address both of these, halting and reversing the physical decline of the 'race' while at the same time building character and addressing several of the perceived moral shortcomings of the Spanish people. As shall be shown, the arguments put forward and, moreover, the language used to make them, remained largely consistent over the decades leading up to 1931, and were often steeped in the terms of the wider *regeneracionismo* movement and the 'games ethic' of certain leading English schools.⁴⁷ The chapter will also show that, while the arguments for moral and educational benefits of sport became increasingly loud from the turn of the nineteenth century onwards, little was done to transform such arguments into

⁴⁷ According to James A. Mangan, the 'games ethic' of the English public school was essentially the view that competitive team sports should be embraced above all else as a means of refining character rather than being simply a means of physical exercise. For more on this, see J.A.Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

action. As such, the chapter will conclude by presenting the shape of the Spanish national education system at the moment of the Second Republic's establishment and, by showing that prior to April 1931, militaristic gymnastics had been favoured over sports within the school system, the policies of the new regime represented a genuine break with rather than a continuation of those that it inherited.

Regenerating the Spanish Body: Fixing Spain's 'Physical Decline'

'Our backwardness is evident,' Marcelo Sanz told readers of the popular sports newspaper *El Heraldo Deportivo*. 'Our laziness, our carelessness, our weakness, so obvious that nobody can deny it. We are lagging behind those nations that are taking the lead in the arts, the sciences etc.'⁴⁸ In offering such a critical assessment of his own country and his compatriots in general, Sanz was far from alone. Even a cursory glance at the general histories of various European nations or at the many social and political commentaries being published across the continent at the end of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth century would show that a preoccupation with the themes of 'backwardness' and 'decadence' was widespread across much of Western Europe. Furthermore, it wasn't just observers such as sports journalists with a preoccupation in the physical wellbeing of their fellow citizens who were openly expressing their concerns. Across the continent, politicians, pedagogues, and indeed everyone from

⁴⁸ Marcelo Sanz Romo, 'La Educación Física y la Escuela' in *Heraldo Deportivo*, 241, Madrid 1922, quoted in Antonio Herraiz Rivero, 'El deporte como elemento del proceso modernizador de la sociedad española (1910-1936) (Museo del Juego, Madrid), located: http://www.museodeljuego.org/contenidos.asp?contenido_id=283 on August 1 2012.

workers' leaders to members of the clergy, were lamenting the perceived fall from grace of their own countries and proposing remedies to halt such decline.⁴⁹

Unique to Spain or not, it is nevertheless hard to contest Stanley Payne's assertion that, at the turn of the century, the nation's leading thinkers, alongside a sizeable proportion of leading political and military figures, were extraordinarily 'obsessed' by the belief their country had not just stagnated but was slumping backwards while its European neighbours had been moving forwards.⁵⁰ Certainly, as Balfour points out, such despair and internal soul-searching was perhaps inevitable given the international context: those who believed that not only was their country lagging behind but that the gap was steadily increasing in size had sufficient ammunition to back up claims that Spain had not really made any significant contributions to the growth in international trade seen across much of Western Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century, thanks in no small part to a lacklustre and backward economy. Furthermore, it was argued, Spain was not just failing to contribute to the overall progress seen in Europe at this time, but the country was also failing to reap the benefits that were seen to come hand-in-hand with this, namely cosmopolitanism, educational improvements and enhanced culture.⁵¹ That is, many found themselves agreeing with the implications of the oft-cited question posed years before by Nicholas Mason de

⁴⁹ Quiroga makes an interesting and apt comparison with Italy, noting that here the Battle of Adwa in 1896, the final and most decisive battle of the Italo-Ethiopian War, promoted despair and intellectual self-examination on a par with that experienced in Spain in the wake of 1898. See Alejandro Quiroga, 'Nation and Reaction: Spanish Conservative Nationalism and the Restoration Crisis' in Francisco J. Romero Salvado and Ángel Smith, *The Agony of Spanish Liberalism: From Revolution to Dictatorship 1913-1923* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010) pp. 201-229.

⁵⁰ Of course, the movement for national regeneration did have its own contemporary critics. Above all, such critics argued that many intellectuals and politicians were looking to revive a Spain that never was. As Pío Baroja wrote: 'Across the whole of Spain, and in Madrid in particular, there is an atmosphere of absurd optimism: that everything about Spain was once better. This natural tendency to lie...has contributed to a stagnation of new ideas.' See Pío Baroja, *El árbol de la ciencia* (Madrid: Rafael Caro Raggio, 1918), p. 9.

⁵¹ Sebastian Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). See also Lara Anderson, *Allegories of Decadence in Fin-de-Siècle Spain: The Female Consumer in the Novels of Pardo Bazán and Benito Pérez Galdos* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., 2006), pp. 2-113.

Morvilliers, namely ‘What do we owe Spain? In two centuries, in four, in ten, what has she done for Europe?’⁵²

Arguably above all else, such a feeling of despair was fuelled by a feeling of Spain’s declining presence on the international stage. If, as Balfour argues, this was a time when ‘the possession of colonies was seen as the hallmark of a vigorous nation’, then defeat in the Spanish-American War, which saw Spain lose the remaining jewel of its imperial crown, the island of Cuba, undoubtedly stoked the fires of *regeneracionismo*, adding international failure and – given the extent to which the American forces were outnumbered – outright humiliation, to the long list of the nation’s problems at home. It is certainly reasonable to point out, as many done so, that *El Desastre* as it became known, did not in itself trigger the start of the movement calling for the regeneration of Spain and its people. Far from it, in fact; as early as the 1850s it had become apparent to many that the country had failed to modernise to the same extent as the major industrial western powers, with some arguing that it had been in decline for not just decades but centuries.⁵³ Ortega y Gasset, for instance, asserted: ‘From the year 1580 until now, everything that has happened in Spain has been decline and disintegration.’⁵⁴ As such, a wealth of what has become known as ‘regenerationist literature’ was published before Spain lost Cuba and the Philippines in colonial wars of 1898.

⁵² Tasked with providing the entry for ‘Spain’ in a new encyclopaedia, published in 1782, Nicholas Mason de Morvilliers, questioned what the country had contributed to the recent history of the world. His negative answer was highly provocative at the time. For more, see Ciara O’Hagan, ‘Rewriting Spanish Epic Poetry in the Enlightenment Period: Two Competing Interpretations of *Los Naves de Cortés destruidas*’ in Ann L. Mackenzie and Jeremy Robbins (eds), *Hesitancy and Experimentation in Enlightenment Spain and Spanish America: Studies on Culture and Theatre in Memory of I.L. McClelland* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 83-104.

⁵³ At the same time, however, it is worth noting here that the true extent of Spain’s ‘backwardness’, particularly with regards to the national economy, has been the source of some debate and is likely to have been exaggerated by certain members of the *regeneracionismo* movement.

⁵⁴ José Ortega y Gasset quoted in Henry Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2008), p.172.

Nonetheless, the events of this year did serve to crystallise what was a general preoccupation with national degeneration, legitimising the long-held concerns of many and prompting many more to get involved in what turned out to be more than three decades' worth of internal questioning over what had become of the 'glorious' Spain of the sixteenth century and, more importantly, how the country could be made great again. As Azorín, one of the leading lights of the movement wrote: 'The current wave of regenerationist arguments was not created by the colonial catastrophe. This did nothing more than rekindle [the interest].'⁵⁵ Above all, it prompted an upturn in the sheer volume of such texts being published by concerned Spaniards on both sides of the political spectrum. In the immediate wake of the military humiliation, the likes of Joaquín Costa (*Oligarquía y Caciquismo*), Luis Morote (*La moral de la derrota*), Ricardo Macías Picavea (*El problema nacional*), Lucas Mallada (*Los males de la patria y la futura revolución española*), Damián Isern (*Del desastre nacional y sus causas*), Ramiro de Maetzu (*Hacia otra España*) and Rafael Altamira (*Psicología del pueblo Español*) all published what have become regarded as the key texts of the *regeneracionismo* movement, through which they outlined their nation's shortcomings and, in most cases, offered up solutions to the crisis they saw before them.⁵⁶

Again, it is not the place here to discuss the merits or drawbacks of terms such as 'the Generation of 98' or 'the Generation of 1914' when talking about those who took up the cause of *regeneracionismo*, often making it the central theme of their work.⁵⁷ But still, the

⁵⁵ Azorín (1904-1924), (Murcia: Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Murcia, 2001) p. 69.

⁵⁶ It should be noted here that, paradoxically, while the arguments for the nation's decline may well have been fuelled by the colonial losses of 1898, there was no great desire for Spain to win the old imperial possessions back. As Graham notes: 'The colonial fervour exhibited elsewhere in Europe by the emergent middle classes was not replicated in Spain. Most remained indifferent, while the worker constituencies who bore the brunt of conscription were frankly hostile.' Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War 1936-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 4.

⁵⁷ Suffice to say that the shortcomings of such an approach have been identified by others. Indeed, even at the time Pío Baroja declared: 'I don't believe there has been, or is, a Generation of 1898. If there is, then I don't belong to it.' More recently, meanwhile, such terms have been roundly criticised as bogus, purely arbitrary

movement's leading lights, among them Costa, Mallada, Macías Picavea and Isern, did certainly see themselves as 'town criers' (*los pregoneros*), simultaneously serving as Spain's fiercest critics and, in many cases, also its potential (albeit self-appointed) saviours. That said, however, the reasons given for what was actually 'wrong' with Spain and its people – that is, what precisely were, in the words of the time, *los males de la patria* – were numerous, varied and quite often contradictory. What did unite regenerationists of all political and religious persuasions, however, was a propensity for using pathological terms to describe their country. That is, Spain's backwardness was routinely conceptualised in terms of sickness or injury, not just by representatives of the political right striving to fix the national 'body and soul' – though, of course, it would be Primo de Rivera who would finally proclaim himself the 'iron surgeon' needed to 'cure' the country – but also by many progressive thinkers, including those ideas the leaders of the Second Republic would attempt to put into action.⁵⁸

Even the briefest look at the leading texts of the turn of the century *regeneracionismo* movement will uncover a wealth of examples of intellectuals, politicians and novelists using sickness or physical weakness as metaphors for the state of Spain and its people. Indeed, even the term *regeneración* is borrowed from the medical sciences, suggesting, in the words of Costa, that the old skin, namely the inadequate Restoration system, needed to be shed –

constructions, unhelpfully condensing what was a long-term preoccupation shared by many down to a relatively short-term preoccupation of a notable few. Indeed, this thesis concurs with the view of Balfour when he argues that 'the term "Generation of 1898 is now generally accepted as a totally inadequate definition, reducing in time what was a long-term preoccupation and limiting to a handful of writers what was a concern shared by an enormous range of academics, writers, journalists and politicians over at least two generations.' See Sebastian Balfour, 'The Solitary Peak and the Obscure Valley: Intellectuals and Masses in *fin-de-Siècle* Spain', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, Volume 1, (1994), pp. 16-24.

⁵⁸ According to Davis, 'the medicalization of the nation figures prominently in much of Spanish nationalist thought, as evidenced by Joaquín Costa's call for an iron surgeon to operate on the sick body of Spain, the Generation of 1898's diagnosis of Spanish *abulia*, and the Primo de Rivera dictatorship's belief that the national body had been contaminated by anti-Spanish elements.' Ryan A. Davis, *The Spanish Flu: Narrative and Cultural Identity in Spain, 1918* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) p. 10.

mudar el piel – so that a new layer, or new political and social system could grow in its place.⁵⁹ Along the same lines, Costa would employ such imagery to call for ‘deep and profound’ social and political transformation within Spain. ‘The knife needs to be plunged into the gangrenous body right up to the hilt [yet] neither the Cortes nor the Government have dared to even pierce the skin.’⁶⁰ In his use of medical imagery Costa was far from alone. ‘All are infected, all suffer from the illness of Spain,’ wrote Pardo Bazán,⁶¹ while for Ortega y Gasset, ‘the illness is not confined to the country’s political elite; it is society itself which is sick. It is the head and heart of almost every Spaniard which is ailing.’ In short, he would argue, far from being robust and vigorous, Spain had become ‘invertebrate’.⁶²

At the same time, Picavea would lament the ‘chronic illness’ afflicting Spanish society, with this caused in no small part by a political system akin to a ‘general infection of the whole organism’ of the country.⁶³ Meanwhile, for Mallada, Spain was a sickly nation, struggling to move forward due to its stiff and tired muscles: ‘Spain remains numb and lagging behind the rest of the civilized world,’ he wrote. They all advance at a faster rate than us and, when other nations cast us sympathetic glances, they see a weak nation, taking clumsy and insecure steps forward.’⁶⁴ Similar to Mallada’s idea of ‘stiff muscles’ holding Spain back, de Maetzu would attribute the nation’s backwardness to a ‘paralysis’, again making use of physical imagery to portray the nation as a sickly patient needing expert help as it could not help itself.

⁵⁹ ‘Tiene que mudar de piel, romper los moldes viejos que Europa rompió hace ya más de medio siglo; sufrir una transformación profunda y radical de todo su modo de ser, político, social y administrativo.’ See Joaquín Costa, *Oligarquía y Caciquismo* (Madrid: Editorial Simancas, 2005), p. 218.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán quoted in, Alexia Dotras Bravo, *Los trabajos cervantinos de Salvador de Madariaga: historia de una idea doble; sanchificación y quijotización* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2008), p. 20.

⁶² Ortega y Gasset, *Invertebrate Spain* p. 64.

⁶³ Ricardo Macías Picavea, *El problema nacional: Hechos, causas, remedios* (Madrid, 1899)

⁶⁴ Lucas Mallada, *Los males de la patria y la futura revolución española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969), pp. 43-44.

Such a preoccupation with the physical was not simply due to it being an effective means of highlighting Spain's perceived shortcomings through the frequent and repeated use of metaphor. The country was not simply seen as being metaphorically sick. Rather there was a genuine concern that, as well as being economically and culturally backward, its people were, or at least had become, physically inferior to those of other nations, not least in the rest of Europe and, perhaps more pertinently, in America as well.⁶⁵ That is, many of the 'town criers' calling for the regeneration of Spain asked the same question as Lucas Mallada: 'Could it be possible that, physically and intellectually, we should consider ourselves inferior in comparison to other Europeans?'⁶⁶

The response to such a question was, for the most part, yes. That is, in their attempts to explain both the backwardness of Spanish society in general and the humiliating loss of its colonies in particular, many reached the same conclusion as the likes of Mallada, as well as of Santiago Ramón y Cajal, putting both down to 'the current physiological misery of our race'.⁶⁷ Quite simply, Ortega y Gasset pointed out, the problem lay not with the illness but with the patient.⁶⁸ More specifically, many of the leading regenerationist thinkers lamented a perceived decline in masculinity, and thus a drop in national virility. Indeed, Mallada was far from alone in essentially equating the identity crisis afflicting Spain to a crisis of masculinity, though he arguably expressed it the most succinctly: 'The Spanish people now possess less virility than at any time in our history,' he wrote, blaming this on a variety of factors, among them the long-standing indolence and decadence of Spain's upper classes, and even the

⁶⁵ Alongside the existential angst of being 'behind' other European nations, Spain at this time was also experiencing high levels of Tuberculosis in its rapidly-expanding cities, again prompting concerns of national weakness and decline among the intellectual and political classes.

⁶⁶ Mallada, *Los males de la patria*, p. 36.

⁶⁷ See also Ricardo Rubio in *BILE*, 20, (1896), p. 72.

⁶⁸ José Ortega y Gasset quoted in: Kamen, *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity*, p. 63.

growing tendency towards 'feminine habits' such as gossiping.⁶⁹ Costa, meanwhile, went even further, arguing that Spain's men did not even possess the vital energy of women. 'Spain is not a unisex nation, it is a nation without sex,' he wrote. 'It is not a nation of women, it is a nation of eunuchs.'⁷⁰ Decades of decadence, combined with the perceived ills of urbanisation and industrialisation, among them inactivity and the loosening of morals, had therefore created a society that was the very opposite of what was needed to ensure Spain kept its place at the table of great nations. Above all else, as Cleminson notes, 'the fundamental crisis of the nation [was seen to be] rooted in inactivity,' that is, in 'apathy', laziness and indolence.⁷¹ By losing the values associated with masculinity, principally 'vital energy' and 'willpower', it was argued, Spain's decline had essentially been inevitable.

As well as the military defeat in Cuba, such physical weakness was even seen to be behind Spain's inability to keep up in a number of other fields, including science and the arts. Writing in the pages of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza (BILE)* in the immediate aftermath of the humiliation of 1898, Adolfo Buylla summed up this general belief that the Spain's fall from grace could be largely attributed physical degeneration of the people. 'The Latin race,' he wrote, 'once manly and vigorous, capable of the greatest of achievements and enterprises and capable of subjugating the world with its weapons and inspiring with its laws and science; and today, weak and effeminate thanks to past generations who have mocked and neglected what it means to look after the body.'⁷² Similarly, in 1916, one commentator argued: 'The "secret" of the scientific, industrial and economic superiority of other races in

⁶⁹ Mallada, *Los males de la patria*, p. 37.

⁷⁰ For more on this perceived crisis of masculinity afflicting Spain, see Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *Los Invisibles: A History of Male Homosexuality in Spain, 1850-1940* (Swansea: University of Wales Press), pp. 8-10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² A. Buylla, in *BILE* 13, 1889, p. 162.

comparison to ours has already been discovered. This is because they are stronger physically. And that is why they are more active, more hard working and inventing more. Because of this, they are richer.⁷³ Mallada, meanwhile, appeared to partly attribute the failings of the Spanish education system at the turn of the century on the physical shortcomings of the nation's teachers. Quite simply, he argued, teachers were often too ill to carry out their responsibilities, much to the detriment of their students and Spanish society as a whole.⁷⁴

Quite why Spaniards had become so indolent and physically inferior to other peoples was the source of much debate, often bringing to the fore arguments of 'nature versus nurture'.⁷⁵ So, while some commentators explored historico-geographical factors in an attempt to answer such a question, for instance by citing Spain's poor soil, its backward education and political systems, or even its climate, others felt the answer lay in the supposed inherent characteristics of the Spanish, or more generally the Latin, race.⁷⁶ After all, it was pointed out, hadn't Germany managed to establish itself as a major world power even though it too suffered from relatively poor soil quality? And weren't there nations in Europe that were much smaller than Spain yet which boasted a much greater presence on the international stage?⁷⁷

⁷³ Marcelo Sanz Romo, 'La educación física en la Escuela' *Heraldo Deportivo* 240, (1922), p. 28.

⁷⁴ Mallada, *Los Males de la patria* p. 53.

⁷⁵ It is not the place here to explore what members of the *regeneracionismo* movement believed to be the cause of Spain's physical backwardness. Rather, the focus here is on what they believed should be done to redress this (though, of course, the two are very much interlinked). Suffice to say, there was no shortage of arguments pointing to the inherent deficiencies of the Spanish or 'Latin' races. For instance, the works of the English philosopher and political theorist Herbert Spencer – perhaps best known for coining the phrase 'survival of the fittest' – were discussed in the drawing rooms of Madrid and Barcelona, with Miguel de Unanuno himself having translated *The Man Against the State* into Spanish. Similarly, de Maetzu published *A que de debe la superioridad de los Anglosajones?* translated from the original French of Edmund Demolis by Santiago Alba. Mallada, meanwhile, also wrote: 'The Latin race! We can no longer ignore it. We can no longer deny it. To do so would be to deny ourselves!' See *Los males de la patria* p. 39.

⁷⁶ Linking the quality of soil with the physical characteristics and temperament of the people living upon it was hardly a new idea. In fact, Montesquieu had explored this idea in great detail in *The Spirit of the Laws*.

⁷⁷ 'Do you not see a country with soil as poor as Prussia which is still at the head of civilization and a great power? Do you not see smaller nations, like England, with greater roles in civilization, with more power and greater influence on the destiny of humanity?' Mallada, *Los males de la patria*, p. 36.

As the recent work of Joshua Goode illustrates, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards there was a marked movement away from simply subscribing to myths and accepted truths about the Spanish people and instead towards taking a positivist approach to the idea of the Spanish or Latin race (*raza*).⁷⁸ That is, by 1875, the year in which the *Revista de Antropología* was first published out of Madrid, Spain was no longer reliant on imported ideas but had its own vibrant scene revolving around the study of anthropology, which was fully consolidated into mainstream academia by the turn of the century. Lucas Mallada was one of those who sought answers in contemporary views on race. He would write: 'The dark foundations of our way of being...it is to this that we owe the many ills that afflict us.'⁷⁹ More specifically, in *En torno al casticismo*, Miguel de Unamuno investigated the Castillian character, concluding that it had been moulded over millennia by the contrasting extreme heat and cold of the centre of the country and that the people could not escape their unique spirit, or *Volkgeist*.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, in later years, Salvador de Madariaga was sufficiently confident in his knowledge of contemporary anthropological thought to compare and contrast the 'psychological centres' of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards. While, in defining the latter as a 'man of passion', he credited Spain with being the richest of the three nations when it came to the 'raw material of art', he also argued that this was to blame for some much less admirable qualities which could, it was inferred, help explain why it had failed to develop along the same lines as its European neighbours. 'Indifference, laziness, passivity' are all part of the Spanish character, he wrote. But, above all, his fellow countrymen were presented as a 'profoundly individualistic people', with this deemed at least partially responsible for the

⁷⁸ Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930* (Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 2009)

⁸⁰ Miguel de Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1986)

‘tendency seen towards social, political and moral disorder which has often been observed in societies of the Spanish race’, and also the fact that ‘all of the efforts of political propagandists to make the Spaniard feel like a citizen have failed’.⁸¹

What is important to note, however, is that, despite the widespread self-criticism and overall feeling of despondence, for the most part, this doesn’t extend to fatalism. Indeed, for all the evident sympathy for Social Darwinism, the evolution of the Spanish race is not perceived as being linear. That is, Spain was not destined to forever remain ‘backward’ and at the rear of the advance of civilization. Rather, the situation could be recovered. Simply put, what has gone wrong since the glory days of the sixteenth century could be put right. As before, as well its supposed shortcomings, the Spanish - or Latin - *raza* was credited with having inherent strengths, some of which could, it was argued, be used to revive the dying nation. Such a glimmer of hope amid a wave of self-criticism is, for example, well-illustrated in de Maetzu’s *Hacia otra España*. Taking issue with Lord Salisbury’s famous Albert Hall Speech in which the Englishman labelled Spain a ‘moribund’ nation forever destined to be behind its more ‘vigorous’ European neighbours, de Maetzu concedes that his country may well have seen its once-great empire reduced to just a handful of insignificant colonies.⁸² However, there was hope, and this was to be found in the inherent characteristics of the Spanish people. He argued: ‘Scratch a little beneath the surface and one will find a healthy, strong, fertile and vigorous people.’⁸³ Similarly, as De Madariaga illustrates in his study on the psychological make-up of different European peoples, there was also a belief that, for all its

⁸¹ Salvador de Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards: An essay in comparative psychology* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1928), pp. 47-129.

⁸² A useful account of the speech by Lord Salisbury, and the reaction it provoked in Spain can be found here: Rosario de la Torre del Río ‘La prensa madrileña y el discurso de Lord Salisbury sobre las “naciones moribundas” (Londres, Albert Hall, 4 mayo 1898)’ in *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea, VI* (1985), pp. 163-180.

⁸³ Ramiro de Maetzu, *Hacia otra España* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1997) p. 129.

faults, the Spanish *raza* was also blessed with great passion and energy, though, of course, this still needed to be harnessed properly so as to be beneficial rather than harmful.

Thus, even certain negative traits could be eradicated or turned around to the advantage of the nation, it was argued, and nowhere was this more the case than with regard to the physical shortcomings of the Spaniard. That is, the Spaniard could, in the words of Costa, be 'remade', both in body and spirit, and indeed the overall improvement of Spain would be largely dependent on addressing the perceived physical weaknesses of its people. Within this context, and well before the dawn of the Second Republic, physical education and, more specifically sport, had been identified as one key means of arresting Spain's decline and even helping the country once again enjoy the glories of the Golden Age of the sixteenth century. At the forefront of this push for an increased focus on the physical and not just mental development of young Spaniards, Costa argued: 'Half of the "Spanish problem" is due to the school...What Spain needs to demand of its schools is not just men who can read and write; what is needed is "men", and creating them requires training the body as much as the spirit.'⁸⁴

The Case for Sports Within the *Regeneracionismo* Movement

The argument put forward by Costa, that is that 'regenerating the body' could play a key role in regenerating the Spanish people and nation enjoyed much support. Other key figures of the *regeneracionismo* movement to believe likewise included Luis Morote who, in writing of the 'looseness of the body' crippling the typical Spaniard, argued that 'physical education can

⁸⁴ Joaquín Costa, 'Reconstitución y europeización de España' (Huesca: Biblioteca Costa, 1924), p. 26-28.

serve as the remedy to this ill.⁸⁵ Similarly de Maetzu, influenced by both the works of Nietzsche and the tough childhood regime he endured under his own father, argued for young Spaniards to be given ‘a demanding education’, with their physical development to be given as much attention as their intellectual growth.

Significantly, not least as both active members and those sympathetic to its beliefs and aims were to play leading roles in nation-building efforts of the Second Republic, it was the Free Teaching Institute (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza* or ILE) that led the calls for a greater emphasis to be placed on physical education – or ‘active learning’ as it was often described – not just at secondary school level, but also in primary schools and even outside of the sphere of education, such as in the home or workplace. Indeed, for its founder, Francisco Giner de Los Ríos, physical education was just as important as intellectual development, with only the proper nurturing of the mind and the body during the formative years capable of producing the new type of Spaniard the country so desperately needed. Setting out his plans for overhauling the Spanish education system, Giner himself argued:

The precise defect afflicting our youth today, as with all races that have degenerated and been impoverished by long periods of moral, intellectual, political and social misery, is a lack of vigour and a feeling of apathy. And so what even the best of our students needs is a greater intensity of life, for greater activity in both body and spirit. Work more, play more, sleep more, eat more, have more fun and place a greater weight on each dish of the scales (that is, to both the spirit and the body).⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Luis Morote, *La moral de la derrota* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1997) p. 251.

⁸⁶ Francisco Giner de los Ríos quoted in *BILE* 17, (1893), p. 299.

More specifically, a number of *regeneracionistas* had come to recognise that, far from being ‘mere hobbies’, sports could be used to deliver meaningful change. Indeed, right across Europe, the decades leading up to the declaration of Spain’s Second Republic saw sport both grow in popularity, becoming a professional consumer-driven industry, while at the same time also becoming the subject of intellectual merit, with Sigmund Freud and Karl Jaspers among those seeing it as a possible cure to the malaise affecting the Western world and thus worthy of investigation. And, just as Spain, taking a lead from its European neighbours, embraced contemporary racial theory and even Social Darwinism as it struggled to come to terms with its ‘backwardness’, so too was sport increasingly seen as having the potential to arrest national decline and help the country regain its rightful place at the top table of world powers.

As with other areas of regeneration, the ILE looked outside of Spain for ideas they could use to solve their country’s physical backwardness. In particular, many of Spain’s leading lights in this field looked to ‘the vigorous nation of England’ in their efforts to regenerate both the minds and the bodies of their compatriots. Some had even seen for themselves the role sport played in the schools and university colleges of England and would return to their home country, again a nation gripped by an ‘obsession’ with physical and spiritual decline, eager to share what they had observed. Organised sports were not only credited with the formation of a robust people, strong enough to hold onto an empire. The ‘muscular Christianity’ on display in schools such as Eton and at Oxford and Cambridge universities was seen to be one key reason that England could produce ‘gentlemen’ such as Gladstone, Russell and Robert Peel.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Bullya *BILE* 13,1889, p. 164. Here, the writer focuses on Eton and Oxbridge and, more specifically, on the creation of what he calls the ‘complete *sportsman*’ within the English education system.

So, from the late nineteenth century right up until the dawn of the Second Republic in the spring of 1931, the English example of harnessing sport to develop well-rounded and socially-minded men was held up as the ideal model for Spain to follow in its quest for modernity. Quite simply, it was argued that sport had helped to develop in the English a range of character traits that the Spanish were sorely lacking. According to the University of Madrid's Professor Alejandro San Martín, just as it was in ancient Athens, in England 'the playing field has been and continues to be the most appropriate place for the child to learn, practice and correct their notions of right, duty, freedom, authority, subordination, protection, criticism and many other social ideals of the upmost importance.'⁸⁸ Furthermore, sport was also seen as an excellent means of boosting discipline, both inside and outside of the classroom. Participation from an early age, his peer Guimerà argued, instilled in young men 'discipline, submission to command and authority, the obligation to obey, loyalty and self-denial', all traits that could all prove useful in addressing the supposed shortcomings of the Spanish people.⁸⁹

At the same time, however, it must be acknowledged that as well as being inspired by the example of England, many *regeneracionistas* looked to France and the work of Baron de Pierre de Coubertin, especially his revival of the Olympics. As Eugenio Otero Uratza's research has revealed, Giner de los Ríos and de Coubertin were in regular contact between 1888 and 1899, with the founder of the ILE expressing a keen interest in the Olympics movement and

⁸⁸ Alejandro San Martín, 'De los juegos corporales más convenientes en España' *BILE* 13, (1889), p. 273. Interestingly, San Martín was not alone in making reference to Ancient Greece and its exaltation of physical perfection. The Catalan literary figure Adrià Gual also wrote in the sporting press of the 1920s, stressing the potential benefits of sport to Spanish society. He wrote: 'Sport, this fever that today is making Barcelona and almost all of Spain resemble Ancient Greece with its many heroes, will inevitably provide the spiritual education for the new generations and address the shortcomings of the race, with all that this means for the sciences and the arts.' Quoted in *Aire Libre* December 27 1923.

⁸⁹ Ilirio Guimerà, 'Los ejercicios corporales' *BILE* 13, p. 36. Rubio similarly pointed to the disciplinary benefits of organised sports, specifically for creating ordered minds. 'The obligation to follow rules of every game is an excellent grounding for developing orderly habits in thinking,' he said. See *BILE*, 18, (1894), p. 44.

the Frenchman keen to have Spain involved in the modern Games.⁹⁰ Just as significantly, other, increasingly influential members of the ILE, took an active interest in the modern Olympics movement from its very inception. Indeed, a party of three pedagogues from the University of Oviedo attended the 1894 'Congress on the Revival of the Olympic Games' at the Sorbonne in Paris. These three, namely Adolfo González-Posada, Ancieto Sela Sampil and Adolfo Álvarez-Buylla, led calls for sports to play a greater role in Spain's schools, with their arguments put forward in the pages of the *BILE* following firstly their visit to Paris and then the celebration of the first modern Olympics.

As with other currents of thought, it is hardly surprising that the potential benefits of sport – again, that is of English-style sports and the competitive games of the Olympics - were picked up on within Spain. Sport did, after all fit the regenerationist agenda perfectly, ticking several key boxes, not least the one corresponding to the physical improvement of the Spanish people. In particular, in line with the general European current of thought – 'sports are coming into fashion, just as gymnastics are going out of fashion,' *BILE* readers were told as early as 1889⁹¹ – sports were seen as offering benefits mere physical education or gymnastics sessions could not and were thus identified as one possible answer to Spain's arrested development. Professor D. Ricardo Rubio of the National Museum of Pedagogy in Madrid summed up this preference for sports rather than the gymnastics favoured by some of his peers in a piece published in the *BILE* in 1898, the year the regenerationist movement really started taking off. 'Swedish gymnastics is too rigid; it has as its principal goal just the

⁹⁰ See Eugenio Ortero Urtaza, 'Las Relaciones Entre Pierre de Coubertin y Francisco Giner de los Ríos' in *Revista Complutense de Educación* Vol. 7, 2, (1996), pp. 201-210.

⁹¹ Professor D. Ilirio Guimera in *BILE* 13, (1889), p. 35. However, it must be noted that such confidence in the potential benefits of sport was not shared by everyone. For instance, in the pages of *BILE*, it is argued that sport will always be elitist and its growth hampered by a lack of affordability and a lack of proper playing fields. Some writers also argued that sport could hinder development as it demanded too much of the body.

development of the muscles,' he wrote. Meanwhile, he continued, 'French gymnastics is violent and too focused on the upper body.' However, 'English gymnastics – that is, games enjoyed outdoors, otherwise known as sports – exercise both the hearts and lungs, offering a more natural experience.' Notably, Rubio looked to France, citing specifically the work being done by Baron de Coubertin – who he calls one of the great organisers and initiators of popular sports within the country – and the 'scientific basis' of the sporting movement there.⁹²

Professor Rubio's views were shared by others. Again, through the ILE's journal, Spain's leading educationalists and liberal thinkers, including those who would later attempt to put such theory into action in an effort to rebuild Spain along liberal, republican lines, would learn of the latest scientific support for the benefits of sports. And again, it was not simply a matter of Spain looking on from the sidelines. Alejandro de San Martín of the University of Madrid, for instance, informed the journal's readers that English-style sports, rather than French or Swedish-style gymnastics, were better suited to the task of improving the physical wellbeing of the Spanish people. Quite simply, it was argued, all the contemporary thinking showed that 'physical games offer more development than gymnastics, where the benefits are mainly limited to developing certain muscle groups.'⁹³

Not only did sports work more parts of the body than gymnastics, the former were seen to be a more effective means of getting both children and young adults fitter as they were 'more natural' and also 'less boring' than heavily-regulated gymnastics.⁹⁴ Additionally,

⁹² Ricardo Rubio, 'Juegos corporales en la educación' *BILE* 9, (1894), p. 41. Notably, Rubio continued to work to promote the benefits of sport in education well after the turn of the century, translating several notable works on physical education from English into Spanish.

⁹³ Alejandro San Martín, *BILE* 13, (1889), p. 259.

⁹⁴ It was argued, for instance that 'games seem more natural than regulated gymnastics,' with the fact that even 'savages' were known to play games used to support this assertion.

sports had the advantage of being physically challenging yet not overly strenuous, thereby ideally complementing intellectual development without inducing fatigue. As Rubio concluded: ‘Pedagogically speaking, a school should ideally ensure a minimum of sedentary work. Mental work should be as intense as possible and, to compensate for this intensity, outdoor games, not boring gymnastics in closed-off spaces, should be used.’⁹⁵

On a more specific level, among the sports singled out were cricket, which was credited with building ‘arms of iron’, rounders, football and rugby, all of which offered well-rounded physical development alongside the benefits of being outdoors and breathing in fresh air. Boxing was also praised as an ideal pastime for the all-round development of the body, working the arms, legs, torso and the head. Indeed, given Spain’s growing enthusiasm ‘duels with weapons’, it was deemed hardly surprising that the country was lagging far behind England, where disputes, even in schools, were settled by ‘a hand-to-hand fight’.⁹⁶ Indeed, even walking – in the sense of strolling for enjoyment rather than out of necessity – was identified as a ‘foreign sport’ that could be used to combat the supposed feminisation of the Spanish male. ‘It is without doubt one of the most manly of exercises, invigorating the body and lifting the mood,’ Bullya argued.⁹⁷

Again, sports were seen as fitting the *regeneracionismo* agenda perfectly, having the potential to address many of the alleged shortcomings of the Spanish people that were widely blamed for the country’s supposed backwardness and again, within the pages of the BILE, it was those pedagogues who had an active interest foreign education models who exhibited the most enthusiasm. On the most basic level, sports could, Buylla argued, create a Spaniard

⁹⁵ BILE 17, (1893), p. 148.

⁹⁶ Bullya BILE 13, (1889), p. 358. Evidently, the writer’s understanding of both Spanish society – where there is little evidence that duelling was rife among young men – and English society, of which he appears to have had an overly-romanticised view, is questionable.

⁹⁷ Bullya BILE 13, (1889), p. 366.

who is 'strong, healthy and vigorous. They destroy effeminacy and timidity, and develop the energy needed to serve in defence of the *patria*.' But making English-style sports even more attractive to members of Spain's *regeneracionismo* movement, however, was the idea that they could offer so much more than simply the physical enhancement of the people. Indeed, for some, games and sport could be seen as powerful agents in the formation of character, with any corporal improvements merely happy by-products of this.⁹⁸ So, for instance, as the likes of Costa and Mallada lamented the weakness, laziness, passivity and lack of masculinity that was seen to characterise the typical Spaniard, advocates of sport offered the solution. Organised sports, it was argued, gave those who practiced them 'bravery in the face of danger' and 'the heart of a lion', thereby making 'courageous, honest and sober men'.⁹⁹ In doing so, it could thereby address one other fatal weakness widely recognised in Spain in the wake of the Disaster, namely in the words of Altamira, 'a notable lack of self-esteem'.

Pertinently, coming at a time when renewed efforts were being made to boost nationalist sentiment within Spain, sport was identified as an effective means of combating individualism – again a perceived shortcoming of the Spanish people – instilling in practitioners a team spirit, and respect for others. Rubio's assertion that 'English [sport] is altruistic, whereas Swiss, and above all French, gymnastics are individualistic,' was supported by a spate of reports from England by Spaniards illustrating how sports such as football, cricket and even rowing were used to bridge social divides.¹⁰⁰ For instance, a report on life at Oxford University published in 1894 focused largely on the social side of a student's education, noting that almost everyone played sports, with those that didn't stigmatised as

⁹⁸ Rubio, for instance, called sports and games 'powerful agents in the intellectual and moral education of the child', also noting that 'corporeal games have an immense influence on the physical and psychological development [and] the formation of character.' See *BILE* 13, (1894), p. 40 and p. 149.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Rubio, *BILE* 22, (1898) p. 107.

'loafers' (*perezosos*). This, it was explained, was key to fostering a sense of community across different colleges and social classes, enabling Oxford to produce the type of fully-rounded, socially-aware young gentleman many other countries, Spain included, could only dream of.¹⁰¹

Salvador de Madariaga took the same lesson away from his visit to England's public schools in the 1920s. He wrote:

The most important items in the curricula in these schools [Eton and Harrow] are undoubtedly the sundry types of sport which they cultivate...Here, in his early youth, through the play of his muscles and not by any brain work, the Englishman cultivates the sense of fair-play, the spirit of co-operation, the self-denial for the sake of the community to which he belongs, the capacity for fighting with grit and determination yet with detachment and good humour – in a word, all the virtues-in-action which are those of his race.¹⁰²

And all, one might add, virtues deemed by de Madariaga and many of his contemporaries to be sorely lacking in the Spaniard, whose decadence passivity, laziness and individualism – that is, the less attractive characteristics of the 'man of passion' – could be blamed for his country's relative backwardness. Similarly citing the myriad character-building benefits of sport and the potential for improving the 'race', while at the same time also further demonstrating how such arguments were not simply restricted to the pages of the pedagogical press, the-then President of the Spanish Press Association, José Francos Rodríguez, opined: 'Sport is health. It is a joyful manifestation of life. It requires energy and

¹⁰¹ See 'La Universidad de Oxford' *BILE* 18, (1894), pp. 216-218.

¹⁰² De Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards*, p. 137.

balance, it trains the spirit to conquer any doubts; in short, I see in sport a transcendental school for the improvement of the race.¹⁰³

Sports also fit within the regenerationist agenda in the sense that, not only were they foreign but, in the case of English games and German disciplines, they were the products of two leading economic and military powers. Quite simply, by following the lead of England above all, it would be possible to drive forward the 'Europeanisation' of Spain, with all the perceived benefits this would bring. Furthermore, it was argued, participation in competitive sports at an international level could enhance Spain's standing in the world, helping to repair the damage done to the country's reputation by decades of decline. Such calls for Spain to get involved in the international sports movement only increased in the years leading up to the formation of the Second Republic, particularly in the wake of the establishment of the modern Olympics.¹⁰⁴ Putting forward the case for his country to do all it could to ensure its athletes and sportsmen could perform at the highest level, Gonzalo de Figueroa, the Marques of Villamayor and the President of the Spanish Delegation of the International Olympic Committee, argued that a strong showing at the Games could help show the world that Spain had moved on from the colonial losses of the late-nineteenth century and was great once again. Writing in the *Heraldo Deportivo* in 1915, he called for Spain to send athletes to compete in the Berlin and Paris games 'so as to show the whole world that the Spain of legends did not disappear in Santiago or in Cavite, but that it has held onto the qualities and vital energy that made it such an intrepid race.'¹⁰⁵ At the same time, however, just as embracing healthy, character-building English-style sports could enhance Spain's image on

¹⁰³Quoted in *Aire Libre* 8 December 1925. Francos Rodríguez was known above all for his work in the arts, as well as for his political career, further indicating how, by the 1920s, the potential benefits of sports in the education system were being recognised outside of the just the sporting and progressive pedagogical press.

¹⁰⁴ *Heraldo Deportivo*, 2, 5 June 1915, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

the world stage, so too was it argued that the wrong type of sport could do just the opposite. In particular, as Shubert notes, bullfighting was viewed by some leading members of the *regeneracionismo* movement as being the ultimate symbol of their country's obdurate isolation, lending support to foreign charges of the inherent cruelty and backwardness of the Spanish people. Bullfighting, Costa argued, lowered Spain in the eyes of other nations and so had to be left behind if the country were to move forward.¹⁰⁶

Putting Ideas into Action: Sport in the Spanish School Prior to the Second Republic

The arguments being made for the introduction of competitive sports into the national education system remained, however, confined to the pages of journals rather than being translated into action in any meaningful way. That this was the case is far from surprising given that most of those individuals making such arguments, most notably those associated with the ILE, remained on the periphery of Spanish schooling for the first few decades of the institution's existence. Indeed, an appreciation of the history of physical education and sports in this regard can only be understood within the context of the history of the Spanish education system as a whole. In marked contrast to those Institucionistas who, as has been

¹⁰⁶ See Adrian Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). This topic is also expertly addressed in: Antonio Rivero Herraiz and Raúl Sánchez-García, 'Sport Versus Bullfighting: The New Civilizing Sensitivity of Regenerationism and its Effect on the Leisure Pursuits of the Spanish at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century' *The International Journal for the History of Sport*, Volume 33, 10, (2016), pp. 1065-1078. It should be acknowledged here that bullfighting is not discussed in the current thesis not simply because it did not enjoy the widespread support of liberal progressives at the start of the twentieth century. Rather, this is due to the fact that bullfighting was not classed as a 'sport' at the time, but instead regarded as a distinct pastime, separate from other games or mass spectacles. Indeed, the sporting press which emerged at the end of the late-nineteenth century and then boomed in the opening decades of the twentieth did not cover bullfighting – regarded as a '*fiesta*' rather than a sport. Instead, it was served by its own specialist publications which, in turn, did not feature sports such as football. This largely remains the case to this day. For more on this, see: Xavier Torredadella-Flix and Javier Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press in Spain Within the Regenerationist Context of the Late Nineteenth Century', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* Volume 30, 18, (2013), pp. 2164-2196.

noted, identified organised and competitive sports of the type practised in England as one possible means of regenerating Spain, many of their ideological opponents believed that physical education should be fundamentally militaristic in nature. Crucially, the political landscape of Spain throughout most of the first third of the 20th century meant that it was the latter group who had the chance to put their ideas into practice. The former, as shall be seen, had to wait until the establishment of the Second Republic, for their opportunity to do likewise.

A comprehensive history of education in Spain prior to the Second republic is not necessary here. A number of notable studies have analysed the emergence of a national education system and its development – or lack of development – from the start of the 19th century onwards, and the intention here is neither to replicate these nor attempt to build on them.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, an overview of Spain's education system prior to April 1931 is necessary if any analysis of the reforms implemented by the Second Republic, including within the context of sports and physical education in the school, is to be made. Most pertinently, an understanding of the educational policies of the Primo de Rivera regime which preceded the Second Republic is crucial for appreciating the Republic's vision for creating both a new country and new citizens, and the role sports within the education system were to play in achieving these aims.¹⁰⁸ Both the Dictatorship and the Republic believed Spain needed to be regenerated, and not only did both place great emphasis on the role of education here, as shall be shown, both believed that such regeneration was to be a top-down process. That is,

¹⁰⁷ A number of such studies have been consulted for the purpose of this thesis and are referenced throughout the following chapters, as well as in the bibliography.

¹⁰⁸ The Second Republic did not immediately succeed Primo de Rivera. Dámaso Berenguer was ordered by the King to form a government following the forced resignation of Primo in January of 1931. While the Second Republic wasn't established for more than another year, this period was largely a transitory one. Certainly within the present context, the measures taken by Primo with regards to physical education remained untouched by Berenguer, thus it is these that will be assessed here.

it was to be led by an elite few – and indeed, an elite male few – rather than having change driven by the masses.¹⁰⁹ As this thesis shall endeavour to demonstrate, the type of society they envisaged for such a ‘regenerated Spain’ cannot be separated from their policies within the context of physical education, and the marked differences in attitudes towards militaristic gymnastics on the one hand and competitive, English-style team sports on the other.¹¹⁰

Over the course of what Eric Hobsbawm termed ‘the long nineteenth century’ (1789-1914), European nations steadily moved to make education both centralised and rationalised.¹¹¹ Driven by liberal-minded reformists, national legislative bodies replaced local organisations in delivering education, with primary schooling made compulsory and state funding provided to ensure policies were put into practice. In this regard, Spain was no different. A national system of education emerged within Spain around the start of the nineteenth century. Determined to replace the traditional cultural hegemony built around the Church and the Crown, Spain’s liberals, as with their peers elsewhere on the continent, recognized the importance of public instruction for accomplishing this. For several decades

¹⁰⁹ As Carolyn Boyd effectively argues, ‘both the Dictatorship and the Republic...would attempt to institutionalise a “formative” *national* education that could overcome the cleavages in Spanish society and imbue Spaniards with a sense of common values, purpose and destiny.’ *Historia Patria*, p. 166.

¹¹⁰ In her history of physical education in Switzerland, Ingrid Brühwiler, adopts a similar argument, noting that the choice of methods adopted here in the nineteenth century – that is, a mixture of German and Swedish methods – was closely linked to wider plans and hopes for Swiss society. Indeed, she writes, ‘a closer examination of why physical education was important is needed to answer the question of what type of citizenship was intended’. See Ingrid Brühwiler, ‘In-between “Swedish Gymnastics” and “Deutsche Turn-kunst:” Educating “National” Citizens through Physical Education in Switzerland in the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century’, *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, Volume 4, 2, (2017), pp. 71-84.

¹¹¹ This is only a general argument, and indeed the emergence of national systems of education was by no means uniform across Europe. For instance, primary education made compulsory in Prussia in 1763 and Frederick the Great’s enthusiasm inspired Austria to follow suit in 1773. In both cases, this was 50 years after Denmark. In comparison, England was relatively late, only really emerging the second half of the nineteenth century. A good overview of education reform across Europe can be found in: Johannes Westberg, Lukas Boser, and Ingrid Brühwiler, *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling: Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). See also, among many other useful studies: F. O Ramirez and J. Boli, ‘The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization’, *Sociology of Education* 60, 1, (1987): 2–17, and Robert Anderson, ‘The Idea of the Secondary School in Nineteenth-Century Europe’, *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 40, 1. (2004), pp. 93-106.

following the establishment of the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812, attempts to create a national, rational and secular system of education were hampered by a lack of political stability as control of the government alternated between liberals and conservatives. Thus, the first real law of national education was only passed in 1857. The Ley Moyano as it soon became known as, was an effective compromise between Church and state, giving the latter the authority over teaching personnel, curricula and examinations, and the former the right to review the doctrinal content of what was being taught as well as the freedom to establish their own schools.¹¹²

Several modifications notwithstanding, the Ley Moyano endured as the legal framework for Spain's national education system until well into the next century.¹¹³ Indeed, as several studies have noted, unlike in certain other European nations, in Spain, interest in public education 'stagnated' towards the end of the nineteenth century, both due to a lack of political stability as well as the general indifference of the traditional elites who had no desire to aid the creation of a literate and engaged population.¹¹⁴ As a result, the strict vertical segmentation of Spain's education system remained unchanged. Spain's was a three-tiered education system, which at once reflected and reinforced the social hierarchy of the country. The Ley Moyano, though again historically significant, served only to make primary education compulsory for all children. The 1857 law stipulated that all cities and towns of more than 500 people were to provide obligatory primary education for children aged from six to nine.

¹¹² Several scholars have, however, dated the first real changes to the organisation of education in Spain to before 1857. For instance, Manuel de Puelles and Nuria Mallorqui-Ruscalleda argue that the Ley Moyano was 'to a certain extent merely a compilation of changes introduced by previous legislation in education, including the General Regulation for Public Education of 1821 and the Regulation for Public Elementary Primary Schools of 1838.' See Mallorqui-Ruscalleda, 'School Acts and Elementary Education in Nineteenth-Century Spain', in *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling* (2019), and Manuel Puelles Benitez, *Estado y educación en la España liberal (1809-1857): Un sistema educativo nacional frustrado* (2004).

¹¹³ The Ley Moyano was only repealed in 1970, when it was replaced by the General Law of Education.

¹¹⁴ Boyd, *Historia Patria* p. 11

Furthermore, primary education was to be both free and available to boys and girls, while in provincial capitals and other large cities, upper primary education (*primaria superior*) was to also be made available, though attendance here was not compulsory. A Decree of October 1901, issued less than a year after the creation of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, then made school compulsory for all children between the ages of six and nine.¹¹⁵ However, a lack of funds meant that many towns and communities across Spain were unable to comply, meaning large numbers of children were still going without an education.¹¹⁶

Secondary education, however, was not made obligatory, neither under the Ley Moyano nor any of the related legislation that followed it. Primary education, that is schooling up until the age of nine, was deemed to be sufficient for the popular classes, meaning secondary education was almost wholly enjoyed by students from the upper echelons of Spanish society. So, while by the end of the nineteenth century, the law stipulated that each of Spain's provinces was to provide an *instituto* of secondary education, there was no requirement for the provincial capitals to provide funding to help more children continue their studies. By the turn of the century, then, only a small elite (around two per cent of males aged 10-14) had access to secondary education.¹¹⁷ Moreover, secondary schooling was a largely male pursuit, particularly until the 1890s when female students needed to study at

¹¹⁵ Antonio Viñao, *Escuela para todos, Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2004), p. 11.

¹¹⁶ In fact, education beyond the age of nine was not made obligatory in Spain until 1945, when the leaving age was raised to 12. See Inmaculada Egido Gálvez, 'La evolución de la enseñanza primaria en España', *Tendencias pedagógicas*, 1, (1994), pp. 75-86.

¹¹⁷ Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 5-12.

home or employ a private tutor in order to prepare for the *Bachillerato*, and it was often provided by institutions run by the religious orders.¹¹⁸

The rise of the urban middle classes from the end of the nineteenth century onwards did lead to the expansion of secondary education across Spain. While the lower classes had, as a rule, shown no real interest in schooling since it had a negative impact on a family's earning potential, the rising middle classes demanded opportunities for their children to study beyond the age of nine. Thus, between 1890 and 1923, the number of secondary students increased by 82%, and by the end of that same period, girls accounted for 12% of the total.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the demands of the growing middle classes didn't just lead to an increase in the number of students gaining a secondary education. It also drove the improvement of secondary education, both in state institutions and religious *colegios*. As Koessler notes in his study of Catholic education in Spain, middle class parents who paid handsomely for their children's education demanded more from schools were no longer happy to accept rote learning or a curriculum designed just as a foundation for further studies at a university. Rather, demand for a curriculum incorporating the latest pedagogical thinking and designed to prepare students for positions of influence in Spain's burgeoning industries, grew significantly. Many institutions responded by attempting to meet the changing demands of middle-class parents, leading to some secondary schools introducing non-traditional subjects under their own initiative. At the same time, however, some institutions, and in

¹¹⁸ According to Frances Lannon, by the time of the start of the 1930s, Catholic private schools taught at least one third of all primary students and half of all students in secondary education. See Frances Lanon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

¹¹⁹ Egido Gálvez, 'La evolución de la enseñanza primaria en España'. See also, Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 42-63; Carme Benso Calvo, 'Exclusión, discriminación y resistencias. El acceso de la mujer al sistema educativo (1883-1930)' in Jato Iglesias, E. and Iglesias da Cunha, L., *Xénero e educación social*, (Santiago de Compostela, Edicións Laiovento, 2003), pp. 57-78.

particular those belonging to the religious orders, reacted to the forces of modernity, offered 'a more offensive approach to [the] re-Christianization' of the country.¹²⁰

Most pertinently for this current study, the regime established following Primo de Rivera's coup of 1923, placed significant emphasis on education. While styling itself as 'regenerationist', making liberal use of Joaquin Costa's calls for an 'iron surgeon' to cure Spain's ills, the regime emphatically ignored the same writer's belief in the system of democracy. Additionally, soon after taking power, the General backtracked on his pledge to take control for just a brief period of time – 'a brief parenthesis in the constitutional life of the nation', is what he initially promised – and instead moved to make his position a permanent one.¹²¹ In essence, the regime was authoritarian and fundamentally militaristic, spending heavily on public works schemes in order to win popular support among the lower classes. At the same time, it espoused the virtues of Church and Crown so as to maintain the support of the upper, conservative classes on which it relied so heavily.¹²² At the same time, education was identified as the most effective means of building an active and patriotic – that is, loyal – citizenry, a prerequisite for national regeneration and progress.

Thus, under Primo de Rivera, the national education system was expanded and, as several studies have shown, improved.¹²³ The aim here was two-fold: firstly, to modernise the

¹²⁰ Till Koessler, 'Towards a New Understanding of the Child: Catholic Mobilisation and Modern Pedagogy in Spain, 1900–1936', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 18, 1 (2009), pp. 1-24.

¹²¹ Raymond Carr, *Modern Spain: 1875-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 98.

¹²² From 1924 onwards, however, levels of civilian participation in the regime increased. The creation of a single political party, the Patriotic Union, allowed the state greater control at the local level. As Vincent notes, 'military values...spread down into Spanish society. The militarization of the nation was, though, far from complete.' Despite thereafter claiming to be a civilian rather than a military regime, changes to certain sections of the education system, and in particular to the place of physical education in the school, were clearly and almost wholly militaristic in nature and aim. See Mary Vincent, *Spain, 1833-2002: People and State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 111-114.

¹²³ As Rial notes, the Primo de Rivera regime 'made important improvements in education' as the regime worked to 'unify and modernise the country'. Similarly, Quiroja argues that, for all its shortcomings, the Dictatorship

country, not least through raising literacy rates; and secondly, to unify the Spanish people and to instil in them a strong religious and patriotic spirit. The full range of educational reforms undertaken by the Dictatorship will not be described here. But again, an overview is necessary if the reforms of the Republic that was to follow it are to be properly understood. At the most basic level, the number of children attending primary school rose steadily during the years of the dictatorship. By the time Primo stepped down from power in 1930, an additional 8,000 new public schools had been constructed and opened, with the number of primary school teachers rising by 20 per cent over the same period.¹²⁴ Moreover, these teachers enjoyed better salaries than before 1923, even if pay remained relatively low. Such an investment in education paid dividends in terms of national literacy levels. By 1930, the number of Spanish children receiving a primary education was up by around 390,000 when compared with the figure recorded during the final school year before the military. Indeed, according to some studies, by the end of the regime, national literacy was up to 73 per cent, and in the south of the country – traditionally the most impoverished and illiterate region – the proportion of people attaining at least minimal literacy climbed to as high as 60 per cent.¹²⁵

At the same time, secondary education, so often neglected by successive Spanish governments, emerged as a key concern of the Primo de Rivera regime. Again, demand for more and better secondary schooling started growing alongside the rise of the urban middle classes from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Since the dictator counted on this

made several notable improvements to schools and literacy. See: James Rial, *Revolution from Above: The Primo de Rivera Dictatorship in Spain, 1923–1930*, (Fairfax: George Mason University Press, 1986) and Alejandro Quiroja, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses, 1923–30* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹²⁴ Vincent, *Spain, 1833–2002*, pp. 108–109.

¹²⁵ Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 199. See also: Viñao, *Escuela para todos, Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX*.

social group, as well as the upper class, for his support, is regime inevitably invested significant attention and resources into post-primary education. However, the heightened level of state intervention in secondary education was not simply a question of obtaining the immediate and short-term support of middle and upper-class parents. Rather, as it looked to secure its long-term viability and oversee the regeneration of Spain, the Primo dictatorship attempted to 'nationalise teenagers', with a particular emphasis again on making the 'men of tomorrow'.¹²⁶

The creation of seven new *institutos* was followed by a Royal Decree authorising the creation of a further 24, to be located in smaller provincial cities and to offer students three-year courses aimed at preparing them for university studies. This heightened investment meant that, by the end of 1930, there were a total of 96 *institutos* in operation across Spain, a 50 per cent increase on the figure at the start of 1923.¹²⁷ Alongside a marked rise in the overall number of students enrolled in secondary education, the number of female students gaining an education beyond the primary level also rose from 1923 onwards. Indeed, by 1930, females accounted for 12 per cent of all secondary school students, some of them enrolled in the specialist women-only *institutos* opened in Madrid and Barcelona.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, despite these upward trends, secondary schooling remained dominated by the upper classes and by male students. While primary education was obligatory for all children across Spain, no attempt was made to extend this legal requirement to the secondary level. Furthermore, for all the movement towards gender equality, by the end of the Dictatorship, secondary

¹²⁶ Alejandro Quiroja, *Making Spaniards: National Catholicism and the Nationalisation of the Masses Under the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930)*, Ph.D thesis (London School of Economics, 2004). Available from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/46518522.pdf> (accessed 1 October 2019).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-220.

¹²⁸ Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 172-173.

schools were 88 per cent male, with a lack of state facilities for female students, including a lack of co-educational institutions, creating a space for the religious orders to fill. Thus, by the end of the decade, most females wishing to study at the secondary level had to do so either at home or at a religious *colegio*.¹²⁹

The Dictatorship did not just stop at building more schools and employing more teachers. Given the importance it attached to education as a tool for national regeneration via the construction of an active and patriotic citizenry, it took an active interest in what was actually taught in these schools, both at the primary and the secondary level. Indeed, to cite a 1924 report from the Council of Public Instruction, the state was to attempt to modernise and reform this level of the education system in order to facilitate the ‘full development of all physical, moral and intellectual adolescent activities’.¹³⁰ This meant, for example, that teachers were barred from teaching in any other language than Castilian, while from 1924, school inspectors were tasked with monitoring the textbooks being used at both the primary and secondary level and dismissing any teachers found to be instilling in their pupils ‘doctrines opposed to the unity of the patria, offensive to religion or of a dissolvent character’.¹³¹ At the same time, constructing such active and patriotic citizens through the national education system meant at once looking to the past while also building the men of tomorrow.¹³² In the first case, this meant that a particular version of Spanish history, emphasising the imperial

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ ‘Dictamen del Consejo de Instrucción Pública’, *BILE*, April 1924.

¹³¹ Vincent, *Spain, 1833-2002*, p. 108.

¹³² Ramón López Martín, ‘El Magisterio primario en la dictadura de Primo de Rivera: Notas para su estudio’, *Historia de la Educación* 5, (1986), pp.255-262.

glories of the past and above all the Golden Age (*El siglo del Oro*) was given prominence, including at university level.¹³³

More pertinently given the scope of the present study, the Primo de Rivera regime placed great importance on physical education and undertook important steps to institutionalise the subject as it worked to create the 'men of tomorrow'.¹³⁴ Indeed, an analysis of physical education during the years of the dictatorship shows that such a preoccupation with forging the strong and healthy citizens of tomorrow was not limited to moulding the young men of the secondary school. Rather, physical education was to become a central and compulsory pillar of the whole national education system, from infancy right through to adolescence, and then into adulthood. Again, an overview of the physical education policies of the Dictatorship is necessary to appreciate the way in which these policies differed from those of the Second Republic which followed it. More specifically, this will serve to highlight how the Republic's interest in sports and attempts to make them a part of the national education system marked a distinct break from, rather than a continuation of, the policies of the Dictatorship.

The most notable reform undertaken by the Primo regime in this regard was the introduction of the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*. Launched by Royal Decree on 18 June 1924, the Cartilla was, at least in the context of physical education in Spain, a landmark document. It represented the first attempt by the Spanish government to regulate the practice of physical education in the national primary school, clearly setting out the goals of such lessons and the methods teachers should employ in order to build the 'men of tomorrow'. In all, some

¹³³ Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 190-193.

¹³⁴ See: Quiroja, *Making Spaniards* (2004), pp. 139-180.

50,000 copies were produced and distributed not just to primary schools across Spain, but also to both teacher training colleges (or Normal Schools) and to already-qualified teachers. In several ways, the contents of the *Cartilla* reflected the arguments being put forward at the same time in progressive pedagogical journals such as the *BILE*. Physical education was to be compulsory and practised daily, both for boys and girls between the ages of four and 14. Moreover, in several places the language used in the *Cartilla* echoed the arguments being put forward by pedagogical thinkers on the other side of the political divide. Physical education, it was noted, would help instil in the primary school students a respect for rules and authority as well as of their peers (though the notion of teamwork or playing for a team was not explicitly mentioned as it so often was in the pages of the *BILE*, for example).¹³⁵

At the same time, however, the *Cartilla*, which was produced by the Ministry of War rather than the Ministry of Public Instruction, was fundamentally militaristic and, therefore, markedly different both in tone and nature to the guidelines for physical education in schools being published by the progressive pedagogical thinkers of the time. Indeed, while the *Cartilla* did advise teachers that games could help instil discipline in students, thereby helping with the ‘improvement of the race’, it was less effusive with regards to sport. For the youngest students, any type of sport was explicitly prohibited. For older students, meanwhile, teachers were advised that some sports could be useful, including basketball and even football, though these should be specially adapted, for instance with smaller pitches and a reduced playing time so as to protect the children from excessive physical exertion. Moreover, and again in marked contrast with the recommendations of the *ILE* and its followers, competition between

¹³⁵ *Cartilla Gimnástica infantil* (Madrid: Ministerio de la Guerra. Escuela Central de Gimnasia, 1924). See also: Real Decreto 18 June 1924: ‘Declarando obligatorio el uso de la *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*’, *Gaceta de Madrid*, 19 June 1924.

students was discouraged. It was also noted that these should be played 'without demanding that the rules are followed exactly'.

While the Cartilla may have prohibited sports deemed to be 'excessively violent or exhausting' from being practised in the nation's schools, this was clearly due to concerns over student's health and physical development rather than any sense of pacifism. Indeed, the Cartilla was just part of a wider effort to make school life and public life in general more militaristic.¹³⁶ Swiss-style gymnastics were actively encouraged within the primary school, while boys were required to undertake pre-military training and drill, not just in the school playground but also in the street and in public squares. Alongside these 1924 guidelines for primary school teachers, in May 1925, a separate Royal Decree established a special commission tasked with regulating 'everything relating to physical education, from infancy and childhood to pre-military training'.¹³⁷ This new body was to be almost wholly comprised of army officers, with just two members of the commission representing the Ministry of Public Instruction, including the esteemed pedagogue Rufino Blanco y Sánchez.

Alongside the Dictatorship's moves to reform the curriculum of Spain's primary schools through the Cartilla and a new national commission, efforts were also made to train a new generation of physical education teachers. Within 12 months of the publication of the Cartilla, the regime issued a Royal Decree setting out plans to give civilian teachers the opportunity to learn at the Central School of Physical Education in Toledo. Originally established as the Military Institute for Physical Education in the wake of the First World War, the Primo regime changed the institution's name in 1924 and gave it a degree of

¹³⁷ Real Decreto 8 May 1925, 'Creación Junta Interministerial de Educación Física'.

independence, allowing it to start offering training to civilians. A further Royal Order, published another 12 months after the first, celebrated the completion of the first such course, with both primary school teachers and Normal School professors having benefitted in special training from the best specialist instructors in the country.¹³⁸

Again, however, while the Central School of Physical Education was certainly relatively progressive in its outlook and methods, with a history of integrating foreign models into its lesson plans, including even making early educational films, it was, as shall be explored further in a later chapter, by its very nature militaristic, strongly emphasizing drill and gymnastics over free play and competitive team sports. Thus, the relatively few civilian teachers who did attend courses at the Toledo institute were essentially taught the most effective ways of implementing the *Cartilla* in their own schools rather than being exposed to the latest trends in the field of physical education, sports included. Moreover, this militaristic nature gave students little or no freedom to employ their own methods in their schools. What few civilian educators did benefit from training at the Toledo institution were there solely to learn how to implement the lessons of the *Cartilla*. Indeed, the Decree of June 1924 stated explicitly that teaching according to the *Cartilla* was 'obligatory'.¹³⁹ In comparison, as shall be noted later in this current thesis, in full accordance with their *Institucionista* background, complete with its aversion to using fixed text books or lesson plans, the reformist heads of education of the opening years of the Republic placed significant emphasis on only giving teachers the freedom

¹³⁸ Decree of 5 January 1925, 'Por el que se otorgan títulos de maestros a los suboficiales de Gimnasia.'. Published in *Gaceta de Madrid*, 8 January, 1925.

¹³⁹ Decree of 18 June 1924, 'Declarando obligatorio el uso de la *Cartilla* Gimnástica Infantil'. Published in *Gaceta de Madrid*, 19 June 1924.

to use their own initiative. That is, teachers were not only given the freedom to replace militaristic gymnastics with sports, but, as shall be noted, were actively encouraged to do so.

This is not to say that sport was completely missing from the Spanish school prior to the coming of the Second Republic. As is rightly noted in nearly every history of sports in Spain, the ILE broke with the old form of physical education and introduced football (as well as, through the efforts of British public school alumnus Stuart Hembest Capper, cricket and rounders, too) to its Madrid school as early as 1882.¹⁴⁰ While certainly the most notable example of sport being introduced into Spanish schools in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the ILE was not alone in attempting to use football in particular to develop young students, both in body and in character. In 1910, the Catalan Football Federation held its first Children's Championship, inviting school teams to take part in the inaugural competition. Perhaps more remarkably, by 1915, while the public school system of Spain was continuing to focus on militaristic physical education or gymnastics, certain institutions run by the religious orders had started to introduce sport into the school day, with some even responsible for establishing some of the first student football teams in the whole of the country.¹⁴¹ In Valencia, for example, sports and in particular football had become a central part of life at the Colegio de San José by the early 1920s. Indeed, while institutions within the national education system were teaching the militaristic gymnastics prescribed by the Primo

¹⁴⁰ Antonio Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente: Periodo de expansión influyente*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 1996)

¹⁴¹ A good example of Catholic – or more specifically, Jesuit – educators using football in an effort to instil moral values in their students can be found in: Vuillermet, F. A. *La juventud y los deportes* (Madrid: Tipografía Moderna, 1925) Notably, as with the liberal pedagogical movement, Catholic educators were far from united in their attitude to sport. While Vuillermet represented those who believed competitive team sports could help the moral formation of the student, others saw the corporeal benefits of physical exercise but viewed sport as potentially morally corrupting. A wider overview can be found in: Lull Martí, Enrique *Jesuitas y pedagogía: el Colegio San José en la Valencia de los años veinte* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Pontificia Comillas de Madrid, 1997)

regime and its Cartilla, here students were required to play sports two afternoons of every week, making full use of the school's own extensive facilities.

This Jesuit enthusiasm for sport was, like that of the educators of the ILE, based on the belief that it offered more than just physical benefits. Above all, the religious order, in accordance with the writings of its founder Ignatius Loyola, believed in the importance of 'honest recreation' to keep the body rested and healthy so that the mind could focus on study. While in centuries past Jesuit educators had encouraged their students to simply take some fresh air between lessons, the more modern-minded educators of the early twentieth century saw competitive sports as an effective means of ensuring the moral development of their young male students, distracting them from the vices of urban life and instilling in them respect for rules and authority. Again, this was largely in line with *Institucionista* thinking, including the focus on male students and the idea of developing the spirit through sport. However, crucially, while the Jesuits and other Catholic educators were, inevitably, concerned with spiritual development in the religious sense, seeing sport as one way of forming obedient and faithful Catholic men, their counterparts in the ILE put their faith in sports as a tool for secular spiritual development. Thus, while the methods were at times similar, the end goal was markedly different.

Nevertheless, these examples were exceptions rather than the norm in Spain. More significantly, they were fundamentally independent initiatives rather than official attempts to modernise the physical culture within Spain's schools through the introduction of sports.

Conclusions

Well before the proclamation of the Second Republic, therefore, sport had clearly come to be seen as being more than a frivolous diversion for children or a pastime for bored aristocrats. Rather, many of those who had tasked themselves with regenerating Spain saw in it the means of driving the physical, mental and moral development of the Spanish people, making Spanish society more 'European' and thus more modern, and even enhancing their country's image on the world stage. More specifically, many of those progressive pedagogues who viewed the reform of the national education system as an essential prerequisite for such regeneration, saw in competitive team sports such as those practised in the schools of England especially, a way of forging a new generation of physically healthy and morally sound Spaniards.

While, as may be expected, the volume of such arguments appears to have been at its height in the immediate aftermath of 1898, with the pages of *BILE* in particular featuring a notably high volume of articles focusing on physical education and sports both immediately before and immediately after the turn of the century, they continued to be put forward as the century progressed, including during the 1920s. Moreover, such arguments continued to be steeped in the language of the regeneracionismo movement – more specifically, with explicit references to the 'regeneration' of the 'race' – right up until the fall of the monarchy, with sport promoted as a means of driving national regeneration rather than simply one method for ensuring the good health of students.

In spite of this, however, when compared to the amount of attention paid to physical regeneration and the role sport could play in this in the pages of the *BILE* for instance,

relatively little was done to put this theory into action. Indeed, the journalist and educationalist Lorenzo Luzuriaga argued, as did notable others, that even by the 1920s, with the exception of football – and with even that mainly a form of popular entertainment – the actual practice of sport remained very much a minority interest in Spain, with its development having been limited to clearly-defined geographic regions and social classes. Above all, this was the case in the country's primary and secondary schools, with a young Spanish student in the 1920s far more likely to be taught individual and militaristic physical education than competitive team sports. Writing in the *Heraldo Deportivo* in 1920, Luzuriaga stated:

Everywhere, most sports teams recruit from among students of universities, where games and sports occupy an importance place among students and students of educational establishments. As is well known, this is not the case in Spain's primary schools or its secondary schools.¹⁴²

For the opening years of the twentieth century, Spain's national education system was in dire need of modernisation in every sense, from the physical infrastructure through to the working conditions of teachers and what was actually be in taught. This was a key reason why there was simply no real coherent attempt to teach physical education to those children who were fortunate enough to get an education. When the move finally was made to rationalise and centralise the teaching of physical education within the public school system, this was done by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and sports continued to be shunned at the government level. While the authoritarian regime believed, like its ideological opponents, that Spain needed regeneration and that physical education an effective way of bringing this about, it looked at once to the example of Germany and to its own military gymnastics system

¹⁴² *Heraldo Deportivo* 6, 15 November 1920 pp. 451-452.

rather than to the schools of England for inspiration. From May 1925 onwards, citing the lessons it believed Spain and other nations needed to learn from the First World War, the Primo de Rivera regime made the explicit decision to not only implement the militaristic gymnastic model of the Toledo school throughout the whole of the Spanish army, but to implement this method of physical education throughout the whole of Spanish society. As Primo himself most notably declared in the special Royal Decree, his regime believed there was a real need 'to apply the Central School of Gymnastics unity of doctrine to all state, provincial and local educational centres, as well as to all private societies and clubs which have any sort of relationship with public centres.'¹⁴³ This emphasis on militarism was reflected in the regime's physical education policies, from its official handbook regulating the subject in the primary school right through to its efforts to train a new generation of civilian gymnastics instructors at a military institution.

Certainly, as shall be explored in later chapters, the Dictatorship laid some of the foundations for the Second Republic to build its ambitious educational policies upon. Again, Primo oversaw the expansion of the national education system, with the number of students benefitting from a primary education rising steadily between 1923 and 1930. Moreover, the number of students in secondary schools, including female students, also rose under the regime.¹⁴⁴ For all the rhetoric of educating the *pueblo*, the new Republic would see no need to drastically alter the legal framework of Spanish education, secularization aside. That is, the essential pyramid structure of the system, with all children benefitting from obligatory

¹⁴³ Real Decreto, 8 May 1925, cited in Quiroja, *Making Spaniards* (2004), pp. 154-155.

¹⁴⁴ As shall be noted later in this thesis, while the number of schools and the number of both enrolled students and teachers rose during the Dictatorship, not enough was done to achieve universal Access to education. Moreover, many schools were underfunded, underequipped and simply not up to the job of building the strong, patriotic new generation that Primo so desired.

primary education at the bottom and a relative elite few going onto secondary school – and even fewer going to university – was to remain unchanged. Indeed, for all their ideological differences, the Dictatorship and the Institución Libre de Enseñanza which so strongly opposed the regime, essentially shared a common belief that any national regeneration – and both sides of the ideological divide strongly believed this to be necessary – could only be accomplished by strong leadership and through the actions and examples of a small male elite rather than from the grassroots up. Moreover, since Spain's decline as a nation was in no small way attributed to a decline in virility and the 'feminisation' of the Spanish male, it stood to reason that it was young men who not only needed regeneration but who would lead this process. As such, even when reforms and laws relating to physical education made no reference to gender, or indeed made such classes compulsory for boys and girls, there was always an implicit gender bias, as shall be explored in further depth in the pages ahead.

As shall be argued, such an attitude was reflected in not only the writing of key Institucionistas but also in their educational policies, not least within the context of secondary and higher education. However, where the Dictatorship put its faith in strong 'men of tomorrow', physically strong and drilled in military discipline, the Institucionistas who assumed key roles in the new Republic looked to create an elite of 'intellectual aristocrats', selfless and civil-minded gentlemen with a strong sense of secular morality. This crucial distinction between both the type of country the two different regimes wanted to build and the type of elite they believed necessary to accomplish the task was, this thesis will argue, reflected in their attitudes towards physical education and sport. Such an understanding is key to appreciating that the efforts made to introduce English-style team sports into the

national education system after April 1931 marked a break with rather than a continuation of the physical education policies of the Primo dictatorship.

The possibility to break with the past was certainly appreciated by the *deportistas* of the time, just one small section of Spanish society who tied their hopes on the change in political regime. At the beginning of 1932, the specialist journal *La Educación Física* was re-launched, its editors confident that the new occupants of the Ministry of Public Instruction shared their enthusiasm for modernizing physical education within Spain's schools and making sports an integral part of this. The editorial published in the first edition of the returning journal stated:

We send our greetings to the government of the new Republic, and we celebrate the new regime because, up until April 14 1931, physical education has not been given the attention it rightly deserves. And despite being continually urged to make use of the experts that exist in Spain, [the government] has remained deaf to the most patriotic of requests, so that any work done in the field of physical education has been scarce indeed.¹⁴⁵

The editors of *La Educación Física* were not alone in believing the coming of the Republic would herald a shift in educational policy, with sport replacing the old system of militaristic physical education taught according to a handbook written by infantry officers in Toledo. The extent to which their hopes were realized, why this was the case and, just as importantly, why it was not, is the subject of the following chapter.

¹⁴⁵ *La Educación Física* 2, June 1932. The fact that the journal was re-launched, 12 years after its initial publication run came to an end, is testament to the sense of enthusiasm and optimism many within the sporting press of the time felt with the change in political regime. As below, this was also apparent in other leading sports publications, as well as in the pedagogic press.

Chapter 2: The Place of Sport in the Republican Educational Project

*'We assume that the government of the new regime is one with the far-reaching pedagogical aim of realising the great task of the regeneration of the Spanish race.'*¹⁴⁶

On the morning of the June 1931 general election - Spain's first exercise in democracy since the abdication of King Alfonso XIII - the editor of *El Mundo Deportivo* published an open letter addressed to all those standing for a seat in the Congress of Deputies. In a front-page column entitled simply 'Obligatory Physical Education', José L. Lasplazas urged politicians of all parties to keep in mind the role sport could play in reforming not just Spain's education system but the country as a whole. He stated: 'Sport, in its purest sense can play a key role in the formation of future citizens.' Moreover, he argued, 'those of us who have, directly or indirectly, been able to enjoy the benefits of a sporting education have an obligation to work towards a day when... the teaching and practice of the basic principles of hygiene and physical education have been made compulsory.' The nation, he stressed, needed to be healthy 'in mind and body', and 'full of the joys of life', if it were to regain its former vigour and elevated status on the world stage. In short, Lasplazas advised those men (and handful of women) set to take charge of the new Republic, making sport a compulsory part of the national education system could help achieve the ambitious aim of overseeing 'the regeneration of the [Spanish] race'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ *La Educación Física* 1, June 1932.

¹⁴⁷ *El Mundo Deportivo*, 28 June 1931 p. 1.

Similarly, the editors of *El Mundo Deportivo's* chief rivals, the weekly sports newspaper *AS*, likewise expressed their frustrations with the lack of progress made in officially recognising the benefits of sports, while at the same time stating their confidence that this would be addressed by the new political regime. An *AS* editorial stated: 'Up until now, the men of the government have not thought anything about sport. For them, sport has been just a tool. [Sport] attracts crowds, and for this reason alone, got the attention of politicians; they could achieve valuable popularity in the shadow of sport. And nothing more...[However] new ideas can be expected from new governments.'¹⁴⁸

As has been shown, the voices calling for Spain's schools to follow the lead of the English education system in particular and embrace the myriad benefits of organised, competitive sport had been growing both in number and strength in the years leading up to 1931. For those *regeneracionistas* who regarded sport as an ideal means of revitalising Spain's youth and addressing the decadence and lack of virility they believed was still apparent and afflicting the country some 30 years after *El Desastre*, the abrupt change in political regime was welcomed as the opportunity to finally transform ideas into action. More specifically, for many supporters of sports in education, the change of regime represented a chance to see their theories and arguments integrated into wider reforms of the Spanish schooling system. That is, just as proponents of land redistribution, Catalan nationalism or a secular state among many other interest groups tied their aspirations to the new Republic in the hope that it would serve as a vehicle for social and economic reform, so too were advocates of sport confident that their efforts would no longer be frustrated now that Spain was free from the rigid, traditional order of old, a rigidity exemplified by the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil* of the Primo

¹⁴⁸ 'Que se piensa del deporte en las esferas gubernamentales?' *AS*, August 9 1932, p.1.

dictatorship. Indeed, as has been shown, men such as Lasplazas had good reason to feel frustrated. For much of the preceding decade, Spain had been ruled by a regime that, while explicitly stating its belief in the importance of physical education, had decreed that this was to almost wholly centred around militaristic gymnastics, with sport neglected and only practised in institutions outside of the national education system, including those associated with the ILE and even the religious orders.

At the same time, the sporting press had good reason to be optimistic. Their faith in the potential power of sport was evidently shared by some of the politicians who were due to assume key roles within the nascent Republic. Domingo Barnés Salinas, for instance, was set to enter government on the back of a long and distinguished career as an educationalist, a career that had saw him establish himself as one of Spain's foremost progressive pedagogical thinkers.¹⁴⁹ Though Barnés looked to a range of foreign examples for inspiration, and indeed was noted for translating the works of the influential American educational reformer John Dewey into Spanish, it was English thinkers who shaped his views on the potential role of sports in the field of education. Thus, in his book *La Educación de la Adolescencia*, which was first published in 1930 and then updated and reprinted during the years of the Republic, he quoted at length from the work of C.B. Andrews, and in particular his arguments for using sport to oversee not merely the physical, but also the moral and spiritual development of young men.¹⁵⁰

Sports, the future Minister of Public Instruction explained, quoting from the English original, offer several distinct advantages to the progressive teacher, and especially to

¹⁴⁹ Just how well-read and up-to-date Barnés was in his field can be seen in his own book *El desenvolvimiento del niño*. Here he cites a wide range of foreign pedagogical thinkers, addressing topics such as child physiology, mental and physical development, health and ethics.

¹⁵⁰ Domingo Barnés, *La educación de la adolescencia* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor 1931).

secondary school teachers charged with overseeing the development of adolescents at a critical point in their lives.¹⁵¹ On the one hand, sports, including both athletics and 'collective games' like football, are promoted as an effective means of helping a student mature as an individual and develop their own personality and the ability to think independently. Indeed, Barnés affirms, 'in the case of sport, it has no value unless a student has the opportunity to express his personality.' Just as importantly, team sports also help students develop an appreciation of the importance of cooperation, Barnés adds, again citing contemporary pedagogical thought from England. Instilling in adolescent students both a sense of independence and the ability to work as part of a team, sports could help create the citizens a democracy needs to first establish itself and then flourish, Barnés argued: 'There can be no true democracy without freedom [and] there can be no true freedom without the spirit of discipline and solidarity.'¹⁵² It is once again worth contrasting these comments with Primo de Rivera's order to 'apply the Central School of Gymnastics unity of doctrine to all state, provincial and local educational centres, as well as to all private societies and clubs which have any sort of relationship with public centres', as well as the explicit instruction that all physical education lessons were to strictly adhere to the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*, the very opposite of the freedom and joy that Barnés and his peers so evidently encouraged.

Crucially, promoting the benefits of sports and physical education within Spain's schools was not limited to rhetoric alone. The following chapter then will assess the extent to which Lasplazas, the readers of *El Mundo Deportivo* and their allies in the fields of politics and pedagogy saw their ambitions realised. That is, through looking at the educational reforms

¹⁵¹ Note that, during the years of the Second Republic, the government department discussed here was entitled the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts. In the present thesis, for reasons of brevity and clarity, it will be referred to solely as the Ministry of Public Instruction and its head as the Minister of Public Instruction.

¹⁵² Barnés, *La educación de la adolescencia* pp. 109-111.

passed by the Republic, all of which were recorded, often at great length, in the official state journal, the *Gaceta*, it will assess the place of sport in the regime's vision for a new school, both at primary and then at secondary level.¹⁵³ Again, the aim here is not to provide a comprehensive history of the educational reforms undertaken during the years of the Second Republic. As noted above, such studies have already been undertaken and published. At the same time, however, before exploring the ways in which the Republic worked to harness what many of its leading figures saw as the regenerating potential of not just physical education but of sports and organised games in particular, it is worth noting just how much importance was attached to education in general. That is, just as it would be difficult to overstate the emphasis the nascent regime placed on addressing the structure of the armed forces or of land reform, so too would it be hard to overstate the degree to which the Republic saw the wide-scale, top-to-bottom reform of Spain's education system as one of its most pressing concerns.

With this established, the following chapter will analyse how - if indeed at all - the arguments for sport as a means of improving the health of both the individual and, just as importantly, of the nation, put forward by the progressive pedagogues and political figures of the ILE in particular, informed any attempts to reform first the primary school and then secondary education. In addition to the legislation actually passed, an analysis of the pedagogical beliefs of the key figures behind such attempts to reform the Spain's schools will help give a better understanding of quite how education was meant to regenerate Spain and

¹⁵³ Over the course of its long history, the official state publication has had a number of titles. For the period of the present thesis it was entitled *Gaceta de Madrid*.

the role sport, as opposed to the militaristic gymnastics of the preceding political regime, was to play in this.

'The Republic will be saved by the school': The Importance of Education to the Republic

The Spanish Second Republic was declared on 14 April 1931. The Primo de Rivera dictatorship could not survive the damage done as the global economic depression caused the peseta to fall, forcing the abrupt cancellation of the public works projects that had previously won him so much popularity. King Alfonso XIII appointed General Dámaso Berenguer as Spain's new ruler, tasking him with the impossible task of taking Spain back to the old ways. However, with the King discredited and regarded as a willing partner in the dictator's failed, repressive, regime, by the beginning of 1931, a return to the old *status quo* looked highly unlikely even to ardent monarchists.

Municipal elections took place on 12 April. Political parties allied with the Republican movement won almost all Spain's cities and towns, including in the south, where politics had long been manipulated by the wealthy *caciques*. The result was understood as a plebiscite on the monarchy, including by King Alfonso XIII himself. While explicitly refusing to abdicate, he did agree to go into voluntary exile and left the country, ensuring a bloodless transition to Spain's first republic since the short-lived regime of 1873-1874. The old order all at once gave way to new rulers. Those politicians and intellectuals who had been gaining ever-increasing support among the burgeoning urban middle classes and certain reformist elements of workers' organisations could now hope to put into action their plans to modernise Spain.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Indeed, Humlebaek states that 'from having been a minority option at the turn of the century and in deep crisis around 1920, by the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, republicanism had grown to become the

Across the country, spontaneous celebrations broke out, welcoming the new Republic as the old forces of order looked on passive and in disarray.

The euphoria which greeted the establishment of the Republic could not last long as those disparate groups that had so warmly welcomed the change in regime began debating both the nature and the extent of future social and political reforms. Nevertheless, the elections of June 1931 were peaceful and fairly contested. With the right still reeling, the Republican-Socialist coalition that had been forged on the back of the Pact of San Sebastian of August 1930 won a landslide victory: the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) emerged as the single largest party, winning 117 seats in the Cortes, followed by the Radical Republican Party on 89 seats. Acción Republicana, meanwhile, won just 26 seats. However, its leader, Manuel Azaña, the architect of the coalition emerged as the figurehead of the new regime, a position he would hold – at times with evident reluctance – right up to the end of the Civil War.

As has been widely noted, Azaña, a staunch secularist and long-time republican, was firmly aligned with the views and goals of the ILE, most notably in his vision for modernising Spain. Indeed, both then and now, Azaña has been viewed as the ‘political heir to the regenerationist dreams of Giner de los Ríos and the ILE’, presented with the opportunity to its founder’s theories into action.¹⁵⁵ Also taking their seats in the Constituent Cortes were a total of 46 university professors, primary and secondary teachers, alongside a handful of career pedagogues, philosophers, doctors and journalists.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, Azorín was largely

major political alternative’. See Carsten Humlebaek, *Spain: Inventing the Nation* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 39.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Vincent, *Spain, 1833-2002: People and State*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 119.

¹⁵⁶ Jean Bécarud, and Evelyne López Caupillo, *Los intelectuales españoles durante la II República* (Madrid: Siglo veintiuno de España editores, 1978). Interestingly, one of the first criticisms of the Republic focused on just this; Josep Pla, for example, would write of the view expressed in July 1931 that ‘the intellectuals have triumphed

correct when, just days after the King had left Spain, he called the new regime 'the Republic of intellectuals'.¹⁵⁷

Moreover, a sizeable proportion of the intellectuals holding key positions within the first Republican government were, if not self-declared Institucionistas, then certainly ideological allies of the ILE. In this regard, Giner de los Rios had achieved one of his key goals, namely to create a political elite to lead the social transformation he believed necessary to transform Spain. Indeed, upon Giner's death, Luis de Zuleta examined his influence upon the intellectual life of the country. Though undoubtedly biased, and at times more hagiographical than biographical, his piece in the *BILE*, introduced the idea of the "Extended Institution".¹⁵⁸ That is, a loose affiliation, bound not by formal membership or hierarchy but by a common belief in the importance of state-sponsored education emerged during the opening decades of the twentieth century. As such, while even at its peak the ILE never enrolled more than 250 students a year, it nevertheless managed to have a significant impact firstly on the intellectual landscape of Spain and then, with the establishment of the Republic, on the country's political life too.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, Zuleta himself would exemplify this idea, starting out as a writer and university professor before moving into politics and serving as an independent under Republican Prime Minister Manuel Azaña.

completely. And this will be the death of the Republic. These intellectuals know nothing more than writing books and articles, they know nothing about anything.' See also Josep Pla, *El Advimiento de la República* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986).

¹⁵⁷ See Azorín 'La República es de los Intelectuales' in *Crisol* June 4 1931.

¹⁵⁸ Zuleta, 'Los que nos deja', *BILE*, 39, 658, 1 January 1915, pp. 48-56.

¹⁵⁹ Much has been written on the influence the ILE had on Spanish society during the opening decades of the century, and not just within the field of education. See, among others: Shirley Mangini, 'El Lyceum Club de Madrid: un refugio feminista en una capital hostil,' *Asparkia*, 17, 2006, pp. 125-140; Antonio Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente: Periodo de expansión influyente*, (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat Barcelona), Various Authors *La Institución Libre de enseñanza y Francisco Giner de los Ríos: nuevas perspectivas*, (Madrid: Corporación Antiguos Alumnos y Amigos de la ILE, 2013); Antonio Molero Pintado, *La Institucion Libre de Enseñanza, Un royecto de reforma pedagógica* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

This influence was particularly pronounced within the field of education, so much so that the coalition government's political opponents used the predominance of secular and 'liberal' Institucionistas as a weapon with which to attempt to incite hostility to the regime. The first four Ministers of Public Instruction, namely Marcelino Domingo, Fernando de los Ríos, Francisco Barnés and Domingo Barnés, were dubbed the 'sons of the ILE', a description that was almost wholly accurate. To this group might have been added the Director of Primary Education Rodolfo Llopió and the man he appointed to head the national body of school inspectors, Antonio Ballesteros Usano. Furthermore, the ILE's journal, the *Boletín* or *BILE*, was published nationally, promoting its ideas and ideals at the local level. Quite simply, the educational reforms carried out during the Republic, including those relating to physical education and sports, cannot be separated from the ILE, certainly in the case of the so-called reformist biennium which immediately followed the elections of June 1931. Moreover, as shall be argued later in this thesis, the existence of the 'Extended Institution' as well as its encouragement of individual teachers to break with the rigid norms of the past and use their own initiatives inside and outside of the classroom, meant that the influence of the ILE did not completely end with the collapse of the Republican-Socialist coalition and the electoral victory of the right in November 1933.¹⁶⁰

From the very beginning, it was acknowledged that a simple change in political leadership would not be enough. In order to accomplish what Graham has labelled the republican 'counter-hegemonic project', much more would be required.¹⁶¹ In short, the new

¹⁶⁰ Sandie Holguin notes, 'many of the people who became government officials during the Republic had come of age during the regeneration debate of the late-nineteenth century, and had either taken part in moulding the ILE or at least flowered in the intellectual climate that it nurtured.' Sandie Holguin, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 23.

¹⁶¹ Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War 1936-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 61.

Republic, as Marcelino Domingo put it, needed to 'bring about a fundamental transformation of Spanish reality so that Spain might become an authentic democracy.'¹⁶² That is, while they may have achieved their Republic, the new leaders still needed to convert the people into 'republicans', breaking age-old conservative mindsets and replacing subservience to a king or priest with respect for modernity and progress. Education was deemed to have a key role to play in accomplishing such a task, for, as Stanley Payne notes, 'a progressive Republic depended on enlightenment as imparted and guaranteed by secular public schools.'¹⁶³

The high degree of importance attached to 'the school' and the education system in general is, therefore, far from surprising. Reforming education was not just seen as a way of raising literacy rates, important though this was. Nor was it simply a matter of bringing culture to the masses, though again this was a long-standing goal of the ILE. Of equal importance was harnessing the power of education to consolidate the new regime. That is, in the words of the Director of Primary Education Rodolfo Llopis, to 'convert the subjects of the Bourbon monarchy into the citizens of the Spanish Republic' and 'to forge the fighters'¹⁶⁴ it was believed it would need to survive the anticipated attacks from opponents on both sides of the political spectrum.¹⁶⁵ For this group, and in particular for those individuals belonging to the ILE or indeed to the 'Extended Institution', the school would be a key ideological arm of the cultural revolution they intended to carry out and 'the authentic representation of the

¹⁶² Carl-Henrik Bjersrom, *Josep Renau and the Politics of Culture in Republican Spain, 1931-1939: Re-imagining the Nation* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2016) p. 41.

¹⁶³ Payne, Stanley *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) p. 86.

¹⁶⁴ Llopis, *La revolución en la escuela* p. 87.

¹⁶⁵ A number of leading figures serving in the Ministry of Public Instruction were connected to the liberal pedagogical projects of the time, including the first four of the republic's education ministers (Marcelino Domingo, Fernando de los Ríos, Domingo Barnés and Francisco Barnés) see Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Republic in the *pueblos*,¹⁶⁶ capable of not just addressing the urgent problem of mass illiteracy but also promoting the values of 'liberty, autonomy, solidarity and civility', easing inequality and 'saving the souls that had been lost' under the Monarchy.¹⁶⁷ In short, argued Lorenzo Luzariaga: 'The Republic will, in the end, be saved by the school.'¹⁶⁸

Education was, therefore, placed at the centre of the Republic's programme of reforms. On the back of the elections of June 1931, a Constituent Cortes was created and immediately set about drafting a new Constitution for Spain. The new Republican Constitution finally came into effect in December. Notably, Article 48 established 'the provision of national culture' as 'an essential attribute of the state'. The propagation of this new national culture was, the same article added, to be accomplished through a unified schooling system, while elsewhere in the Constitution, it was stressed that education was to be both free for all children, regardless of their social background, and also compulsory, at least at primary level – though, as has already been noted, this was already the case in principle and had become increasingly the case in practice under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. At the same time, other moves were made to nationalise, centralise and indeed rationalise Spain's education system, with the notable exception of Catalonia, which was given some measures of autonomy in this area, including the right to teach in Catalan so long as Castillian remained defined as the official language of the Republic. To achieve such a complete reorganization of the national public schooling system, money redirected from other parts of the budget,

¹⁶⁶ See Marcelino Domingo, 'La Escuela en la República', *BILE* 56, 1932, p. 97. Again, the statement that the first four Ministers of Public Instruction (namely Marcelino Domingo, Fernando de los Ríos, Francisco Barnés and Domingo Barnés) were 'sons of the ILE' was largely accurate, given the background of each. However, in this context it was used as a pejorative term rather than a neutral observation. See Enrique Herrera Oría, *Educación de una nueva España* (Madrid: Ediciones Fax, 1934) p. 322. The book is a useful account of the largely hostile view from the right of the Republic's educational policies.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

¹⁶⁸ Lorenzo Luzariaga in *Revista de Pedagogía* Vol X, May 1931.

including from defence budget fund this key Republican project.¹⁶⁹ As Salvador de Madariaga recalled, 'the Republic took up educational matters with the utmost enthusiasm and resolved to spend freely in this department', a statement supported by the contents of the official state journal, the *Gaceta de Madrid*, which, for the first few months of the new regime at least, often resembled a pedagogical journal given the focus of its contents.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, the official state journal, in recording the legislation passed by the Republic, serves to give a picture of the type of school the new regime sought to create, from the curriculum to the teacher implementing it, and even the physical characteristics of the school building itself. As shall be shown, while most certainly not a priority on a par with removing the religious orders from the nation's classrooms, the *institucionistas* and their allies in the Ministry of Public Instruction did nevertheless concern themselves not just with enhancing the intellects of their youngest citizens but of forging their characters and overseeing their physical development, too. That is, both at primary and secondary level, sport was seen as having the potential to help the school achieve its historic role of regenerating and modernising Spain, even if the hopes and wishes of the most zealous *deportistas* would never be satisfied.

¹⁶⁹ Graham notes that the Republic's drive for a secular education system helped fund other areas of reform: 'Saving on the stipend to clergy, for example, was one way of garnering scarce resources (even scarcer because of the recession) to fund the programme of state school building.' See *The Spanish Republic at War 1936-1939* p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ Salvador De Madariaga, *Anarquía o jerarquía* (Barcelona: Editorial Aguilar, 2008) p. 412.

'A Sports Field for Every School': Physical Education and the Republic's School-Building Programme

Both the legislation passed by the Republic as well as the writings of its leading educational figures support Pérez Galán's assertion that, rather than the job of bringing Spain's secondary schools or universities up to a par with those of much of the rest of Western Europe, the principle preoccupation of the Republic was instigating change at the primary school level.¹⁷¹ As shall be noted later on in this thesis, further education was to remain essentially elitist, open to only the brightest – or wealthiest – students. Primary education was, in contrast, to be obligatory for all Spanish children. Moreover, the new occupants of the Ministry of Public Instruction were determined to ensure this was not simply the case in principle but was also reflected in reality. The Republic had, after all, come into existence at a point in Spanish history when, despite primary schooling being obligatory, between one quarter and one third of the population remained illiterate and an estimated 60 per cent of all children (that is, around 1 million under-14s) received no formal education at all.¹⁷² As has been noted, some progress had been made under the Primo de Rivera regime and so the Republic inherited a country in which primary education was obligatory and which had just experienced a notable decline in rates of illiteracy, both for boys and girls.¹⁷³ Additionally, some progress had been made towards ensuring that primary education was not only

¹⁷¹ See Mariano Pérez Galán, *La enseñanza en la Segunda República* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2011). More recently, Elena Sánchez de Madariaga has highlighted the special attention given to the primary school. See Elena Sánchez de Madariaga (ed.), *Las maestras de la República* (Madrid: Catarata, 2012) p. 8.

¹⁷² A number of studies have placed the illiteracy rate in Spain in 1930 at around this figure. See, for example, Nigel Townson, *The Crisis of Democracy in Spain* (Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2000) p. 25. Similarly, Stanley Payne puts the proportion of illiterate Spaniards at a quarter of the population.

¹⁷³ Ben Ami argues that 'The total decrease in the illiteracy rate in the twenties was the highest in the century until the sixties: 8.7% for men and 9.15% for women.' See Shlomo Ben Ami, *Fascism from Above: Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain, 1923–1930* (Oxford University Press, 1983).

theoretically obligatory but practical and a reality. The number of proper school buildings increased steadily during the 1920s, as had the number of qualified teachers. Nevertheless, many children were still not getting an education, above all girls and those living in impoverished rural communities where their parents simply could not spare them from working in the fields.

The new Republic was determined to address this. But simply improving childhood literacy rates was not regarded as an end in itself, however. Rather, both of the main partners of the new Republican government subscribed to the view, so popular among liberal democrats right across Europe at the time, that a literate, educated people were more likely to abandon the old system of politics, dominated by the Church and the Monarchy, and instead embrace liberal, progressive democracy. Quite simply, it was argued, 'Spain will never be an authentic democracy while the majority of its sons, due to a shortage of schools, are condemned to perpetual ignorance.'¹⁷⁴ More specifically, many of the figures central to the republican project, both before and after the spring of 1931, believed that free, secular education was by some distance the best means of awakening and cultivating a hitherto-suppressed support for democracy and progress, and, just like their ideological opponents in the Church, they recognised the importance of moulding young minds sooner rather than later.¹⁷⁵ Not for nothing, therefore, was a whole section of the newly-created Council of Public

¹⁷⁴ See Ángel Llorca, 'La Escuela en la República Española', *Revista de Pedagogía*, June 23, 1931. Pamela Beth Radcliffe's work surmises the importance the Republicans and their allies attached to education. She explains how they 'ascribed almost mystical powers' to education: 'Their ideas on pedagogical content were simple. If you gave individuals an education that stressed independent thinking, freedom from religious indoctrination and intellectual exploration, they would naturally reject the hierarchy and blind faith that tied them to the Ancien Régime and embrace the liberal democratic values of republican culture.' See 'The Emerging Challenge of Mass Politics' in José Álvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (eds.), *Spanish History Since 1808* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000).

¹⁷⁵ For more on this idea of both Socialists and liberal Republicans viewing literacy and democracy as essentially interlinked, see Holguin, *Creating Spaniards*.

Instruction devoted solely to primary education, the only level of the Spanish education system to be afforded such attention and resources.¹⁷⁶

To begin with, as Luis Jiménez de Asúa, the Socialist deputy who presided over the parliamentary commission tasked with drafting the new Constitution recalled, 'the entire Spanish education system had obviously to be reconstructed from top to bottom, but the most urgent need was for wider and better elementary education.'¹⁷⁷ Such a statement reflected the long-held aim of the ILE, to which he was a long-term ally.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, in contrast to its essentially elitist approach to higher education, the ILE wish to ensure that every Spanish child, boys and girls, had access to free primary education, in practice and not just in theory. Wider elementary education meant, of course, building more schools, a task the new regime launched itself into almost immediately. According to the first Director of Primary Education, Rodolfo Llopis, around one million children were still not receiving an education by 1931, with an estimated 27,150 new schools needed to address this.¹⁷⁹ Thus, under the leadership of the Minister for Public Instruction Marcelino Domingo, the Republic quickly set about 'sowing Spain with schools', backing up their rhetoric and pledges with action. A Decree of June 12 1931 stipulated that the necessary 27,150 new schools were to be built across Spain, 7,000

¹⁷⁶ The establishment of the Council of Public Instruction was one of the new Republic's first tasks. The Decree of May 4, 1931, which set it up, explained this would be the 'most effective means of overseeing the creative renovation of the education system', allowing the latest pedagogical thinking to be used to address the particular problems facing Spain at that time. The Council was divided up into four departments, namely 1) Primary education; 2) Secondary education, commercial schools and special schools; 3) The fine arts and art schools; 4) Universities and veterinary schools.

¹⁷⁷ Luis Jiménez de Asúa, 'The First Year of the Spanish Republic' *Foreign Affairs* July 1932. Retrieved online at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/69279/luis-jimenez-de-asua/the-first-year-of-the-spanish-republic> [Retrieved online on 16 November 2016]. It is worth noting that Jiménez de Asúa was linked to Domingo Barnés and other key figures within the sphere of education through his status as an old *institucionista*.

¹⁷⁸ Pedro F. Álvarez Lázaro and José Manuel Vázquez-Romero, *Krause, Giner y la Institución libre de enseñanza: nuevos estudios* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2005), p. 149.

¹⁷⁹ Rodolfo Llopis, *La revolución en la escuela* p. 34. It should be noted that Spain experienced a notable population rise in the 1920s, meaning the number of children requiring an education in the 1930s similarly increased.

of which were to be ready for the start of the next academic year. Under the terms set out in the Decree, municipal governments were to provide the sites for the new schools Spain so desperately needed, while the central government in Madrid would provide between 50 and 75 per cent of all construction costs.¹⁸⁰ Such a commitment to building more schools continued right through the first biennium of the Republic; as one editorial published in the *Boletín de Educación* noted: 'If one were to reduce the Ministry's programme with regards to primary education down to a single factor, it would be enough to say that it has consisted of flooding the national territory with schools and ensuring the effectiveness of these.'¹⁸¹

The Ministry of Public Instruction did not stop at merely working to increase the quantity of Spain's schools. Under the guidance of Domingo and Fernando de los Ríos, legislation was also passed to ensure all school buildings and facilities were of a good enough standard to allow the nation's teachers to carry out their vital role. As Domingo himself argued, a school needed 'not just classrooms, but a playing field too; not just playing fields, but a library, and not just a library, but a canteen'.¹⁸² Such an argument was fundamentally aligned with *Institucionista* thinking. Indeed, as one article published in the *BILE* advised its readers, 'a sports field is not a luxury but a necessity. It is not something that a child should like to have. It is more than just an essential part of a child's education, it is an essential part of their development.'¹⁸³ As such, the legislation passed by Domingo and Fernando de los Ríos was an early and prime example of ILE theory, and more specifically its views on the moral as

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 34.

¹⁸¹ *Boletín de Educación* 2, April-June 1933, p. 27.

¹⁸² Mercedes Samaniego-Boneu, *La política educativa de la Segunda República durante el bienio azañista* (Madrid: Editorial CSIC, 1977) p. 98.

¹⁸³ Ernesto Nelson, 'La fundación educativa y social de la plaza de juegos', *BILE* 56, April 30, 1932.

well as the physical benefits of sports in the school, being put into action during the years of the Second Republic.

With this in mind, a government Decree of June 7 1933 set out the conditions necessary for each individual school to 'fulfil its mission' of forging a new generation of Spaniards.¹⁸⁴ This legislation represented the first official steps towards addressing what the editors of the *Revista de Pedagogía* referred to as 'the inescapable need for a playing field for every single urban school'.¹⁸⁵ Announcing the Decree the following day in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, Fernando de los Ríos acknowledged that it was not 'logically possible to have one uniform type of school across Spain', with factors such as geographical location, local topography and climate and even the type of earth upon which a school was built all needing to be taken into consideration when either building a new school or refurbishing an existing one.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, he noted, schools had an imperative to 'create children who are robust, hygienic and disciplined', and so they needed to be designed and built accordingly. For instance, in order to achieve its fundamental mission, the Decree stated that a school must have a floor area equivalent to five square metres per pupil, while care must also be taken to ensure classrooms are neither too hot in the summer nor too cold in the winter. At the same time, the Decree called for schools to have their own sporting and leisure facilities wherever possible. Indeed, according to de los Ríos, achieving the primary aims of the school – that is, its mission to create 'robust, hygienic and disciplined' children' – could be greatly assisted by the availability of 'showers, swimming pools and playing fields', while the legislation also

¹⁸⁴ *Gaceta de Madrid* 159, June 8 1933, p. 1800.

¹⁸⁵ See editorial in *Revista de Pedagogía* February 1933, p. 89.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

called for all primary schools to be fitted with dedicated storage facilities for 'communal educational material', including 'sporting equipment'.¹⁸⁷

Again, as de los Ríos stated, the Decree was not designed to ensure that every primary school across Spain had its own sports field and swimming pool – in fact, it acknowledged that, for a school in the centre of a large city for instance, this might not be possible, while in other cases, such as for schools in rural, mountainous locations, it would be neither practical nor even desirable. But still, given that in the decades leading up to the creation of the Republic, the pages of pedagogical publications such as the *BILE* were often filled with articles bemoaning a lack of accessible sporting facilities and arguing that such a shortage of facilities was hampering the physical and moral development of Spain's youth, the legislation represented a concerted effort to extend the school's remit beyond simple classroom-based learning and allow primary students to enjoy the benefits of a more active education, of which sports, games and physical education would be a central part.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the Decree would, it was hoped, go some way towards a wider goal of encouraging greater participation in sports across Spanish society as a whole. Such an aim was discussed by the Prime Minister Manuel Azaña himself in 1932. In an interview granted to the sports publication *AS*, he stated: 'There is an undeniable need to create enough sports pitches, to be made accessible to all citizens,' adding that access to such facilities, including playing fields and swimming pools should be 'available to all citizens' rather than just to an elite few.¹⁸⁹ Again, these comments – which will be returned to throughout the current thesis – indicate that, not only were the early educational policies of the new Republic guided by the fundamental beliefs of the ILE but that

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ *AS*, August 9 1932. This interview, which was also reproduced in several other specialist sports titles, shall be discussed later on in the current chapter.

the new regime's attitude to physical education and sport was also essentially *Institucionista*, including at the very highest level.

It wasn't just the main ministers pushing for Spain's primary schools to be equipped with playing fields. Key figures within the national body of primary school inspectors, which was remodelled and given extra responsibilities and powers under the Republic, were also determined to see such progress being made. In particular, Antonio Ballesteros Usano, the Inspector General of Primary Education, was a vocal advocate of physical education at primary school level and used his position to ensure that schools had the space required for their students to practice it. Such enthusiasm was to be largely expected since Ballesteros could, like many of his colleagues in prominent positions within the Ministry of Public Instruction, be accurately described as belonging to the 'Extended Institution'. As a young man, he secured several scholarships to study pedagogy abroad, including from the JAE (Board for Advanced Studies and Scientific Research or *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*), focusing on modern methods of professional training for new and existing teachers and writing widely across several pedagogical journals. By the end of the 1920s, he was working as a schools inspector in Madrid and then, with the establishment of the Republic, he was appointed to head up the national body of school inspectors, again highlighting the influence of *Institucionista* thought throughout the sphere of public education after April 1931.¹⁹⁰

Just as with Domingo Barnés in his books on best practice in schools, through his own books and articles in the pedagogical press of the time, Ballesteros emphasised the dual

¹⁹⁰ Teresa Marín Eced, *Innovadores de la educación en España: becarios de la junta para ampliación de estudios* (Ciudad Real: Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 1991).

benefits of sports. That is, he argued, utilised properly they can instil in students a sense of independent thought and autonomy alongside respect for others, both regarded as key foundations of a progressive, democratic society. Indeed, for him, the primary justification for sports and games in the primary school was as a tool for the moral and social education rather than simply the physical development of the student which, again, was regarded more of positive side-effect than an aim in and of itself. Citing thinkers from Dewey to Ortega y Gasset and, perhaps above all, Luzuriaga and his writings on pedagogy and teamwork, Ballesteros stressed that education is effectively 'social work', aimed at ensuring children leave the education school to play an active role in society rather than simply being able to read and write.¹⁹¹

Thus, just as with many of the educators he was tasked with overseeing, as well as the politicians who gave him the role, the Inspector General stresses the merits of team games, especially those in which students can play independently among themselves while simultaneously under the direction of their teacher. He writes: 'The primary advantage of this type of game is to take the child's focus away from himself and to instead concentrate it on the group, awakening in him a healthy feeling of solidarity,' adding that 'the idea is to bring to the school environment a spirit of sportsmanship, taking advantage of the natural desire to play to teach students...the fundamental ideas of autonomy and collaboration.'¹⁹²

Elsewhere, Ballesteros, this time writing in partnership with one other Inspector General of Primary Education Fernando Sainz argued that Spain's schools need to 'learn from the lessons of the past' and move away from regarding small, indoor patios and courtyards as

¹⁹¹ Antonio Ballesteros, *La Cooperación en la Escuela* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Revista de Pedagogía, 1934), pp. 11-13.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

being adequate recreational spaces. Rather, they explain to their fellow inspectors and teachers, provincial governments should adopt the latest thinking on the benefits of outdoors recreation, with guidelines for suitable playing spaces give. The pair state, for example: 'A playing field should be divided into two unequal parts: one, a third of the total size, should be designated for sports and organised games' the other, of two-thirds the total size, to free play.' Moreover, the authors add: 'The surface set aside for this should be kept in the conditions necessary for practising sports, preferably local games, but also those better-known games that don't demand an excessive amount of energy, excluding football, boxing, athletics competitions and, above all, rugby.'¹⁹³

This national campaign of school building came against a backdrop of mounting political tensions as the goodwill and popular euphoria that had greeted the change in regime steadily vanished, to be replaced by distrust and outright hostility from both ends of the political spectrum. A monarchist coup in August 1932 was easily put down, highlighting the continued disarray of the traditional right. However, the 'accidental' right, which had initially vowed to give the regime time to prove itself, had started to become increasingly hostile and by the beginning of 1933, the Republican-Socialist coalition was in trouble. Soon after it managed to pass two of its most critical pieces of legislation, namely the Catalan Statute and the Agrarian Reform Bill, its reputation was hugely damaged by its response to Anarchist-led protests. In the small pueblo of Casa Viejas, the Assault Guards, the force created by the coalition to maintain order in urban areas, killed 32 peasants. The tragic event was seized upon by the government's opponents as proof of its inability to either keep the peace or adequately resolve the long-standing issues of inequality in rural Spain. Tensions

¹⁹³ Ibid.

were further heightened with the passing of first the anti-clerical measures of the Constitution and then the Law of Congregations in June of 1933. This second measure, designed to curtail the influence of the Church on public life, and in particular within the public classroom, inevitably served as a rallying point around which the traditionalist right could gather, and the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups (*La Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas* or CEDA), only established in February of 1933, took full advantage of this widespread unease. When President Alcalá Zamora – a Catholic and a traditionalist – withdrew his support of the Azaña administration, the end of the Constituent Cortes was an inevitability, and new elections were called in November of 1933.

Unlike the Republican-Coalition landslide of June 1931, the 1933 elections produced no clear winner. A hung parliament was declared, with both the Socialists and their left republican allies suffering heavy losses. Crucially, newly-introduced changes to the election system gave a distinct advantage to broad political coalitions. As a result, the President called on the Radical Party to form a government, something that was achieved with an expedient political alliance with the CEDA. This abrupt change in the formation of government inevitably placed the reforms made during the first biennium at risk, including within the field of education. The most notable casualty of the change in government, as shall be discussed later, were planned changes to more closely integrate primary and secondary education, while a May 1932 list of authorized school textbooks was made optional rather than compulsory. At the same time, however, as shall be noted here and throughout the following chapters, several areas of reform were not only left untouched but continued.

Indeed, it is worth noting here that, compared to many other policy areas where the legislative efforts of the first, or 'reformist' biennium were either significantly altered or else

suspended or even completely revoked by the coalition of the CEDA and the Radical Republican Party that won power in the elections of November 1933, there was a sense of relative continuity within the field of primary education.¹⁹⁴ A key reason for this was the presence of the Radical Party within the coalition and, more specifically, the presence of Filiberto Villalobos within the position of Minister of Public Instruction from 28 April 1934 to December 1934.¹⁹⁵ The role of Villalobos, a prominent lawyer practising in Salamanca before entering politics, in ensuring the reformist educational plans of the first biennium were not completely halted and reversed, shall be discussed in greater length in due course. Suffice to say, however, he perhaps more than any other single figure, epitomised the Radicals' commitment to progressive educational reform and, as such, far from breaking with the policies of his predecessors, he continued with them, both in the field of primary education and, as shall be shown below, in the more contentious field of secondary education. Indeed, addressing the Cortes upon being appointed to the ministerial post, Villalobos stated: 'I will do whatever is necessary to fulfil strictly the Constitution and the Law of Congregations.'¹⁹⁶ Thus, while the frenzied pace of school construction may have been eased back, the number of teachers actively employed across Spain rose during his term in office, as did the salaries of both new and experienced teaching professionals. Just as importantly, as shall be explored, the Radicals in the government built on the foundations laid down by their predecessors when

¹⁹⁴ The key here is the word 'relative'. That is, the governments of the second biennium did certainly target many of the reforms made in the first two years, including in the field of education. Revoking moves to expand coeducation of schools and of Spain's teacher training colleges, for instance was a priority for many in power in 1934 and 1935, as was reversing moves towards secularisation. For more on this, see Alfonso Capitán Díaz, *Historia de la educación en España: Vol II: Pedagogía contemporánea* (Madrid: Dikinson, 1994), pp. 590-620.

¹⁹⁵ Nigel Townson notes: 'Despite the constraints of the alliance with the right and a patent lack of continuity – there were three different ministers of education in four months – the Radical governments of 1934, due overwhelmingly to the efforts of Villalobos under the Samper administration, considerably extended the state system set in motion during the first biennium.' See Townson, *The Crisis of Democracy in Spain* p. 258.

¹⁹⁶ Cited in Antonio Rodríguez de las Heras, *La obra social y política de Filiberto Villalobos (1900-1936)* (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 1974).

working to modernise the primary school curriculum, including any references to physical education.¹⁹⁷

Such a sense of relative continuity within this specific field meant that in 1934 more instructions regarding how Spain's new school buildings were to be constructed were published by the Ministry of Public Instruction. More specifically, among these new official guidelines were instructions relating to matters of hygiene and the physical wellbeing of students, making clear what should be the minimum requirements for a newly-constructed primary school in Spain. And again, it was pointed out that, wherever possible, a primary school should consist not just of one or several classrooms, but of an outdoor space as well, since such spaces were shown to offer a number of benefits, educational or otherwise. As the Ministerial Order of 28 July 1934 advised the nation's educators: 'A school field is not the school garden, neither is it a field for experimentation where children can learn new things about the evolution of life; nor is it even a games field. It is all of these things at the same time.'¹⁹⁸

Given the educational importance attached to it, therefore, the Ministerial Order cited contemporary thinking from the fields of pedagogy and hygiene, in stressing that the outdoor space of a primary school needed to be properly thought through, taking into account the need for shaded spaces, places to sit and rest as well as places to play and extending into the smallest of details. Moreover, the Order, which was released by Villalobos himself, noted that it is in the playground rather than in the classroom, 'where the teacher can personally

¹⁹⁷ More recently, Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera similarly places Villalobos alongside Fernando de los Ríos and Rodolfo Llopis in being a key figure in the 'Republican political education' project. See: 'La Educación en la Segunda República (1931-1936)' in Idoia Murga Castro and José María López Sánchez, (Eds.) *Política cultural de la Segunda República Española* (Madrid, Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2016), pp. 188-197.

¹⁹⁸ *Gaceta de Madrid* 1 August 1934

influence his students in the most direct way'. As before, such an idea of the teacher playing an active role in the development of his students, not just in the classroom, but on the playing field as well, was central to the philosophy of not just the English public school of the nineteenth-century onwards, but of Giner de los Ríos and the ILE.¹⁹⁹ Notably, both the language used, with references to 'experimentation' and the way in which the Order was addressed to teachers themselves again shows the influence of the ILE, particularly given that, as shall be shown, educators were to be given an unprecedented degree of freedom to use their own initiative during the years of the Republic.

Regardless of such a degree of continuity at the legislative level, however, and regardless of how well-intentioned certain key ministers may well have been, as a number of studies have shown, the Republic struggled to meet its own ambitious targets when it came to 'sowing Spain with schools'. This is not to say that the Republic's achievements in the field of education were negligible. According to the official statistics, some 9,600 new schools had been constructed by the end of 1933, while as many as 7,000 new teachers had either been trained or were in the process of being trained.²⁰⁰ Similarly, even if the rate at which new schools were being constructed across Spain eased following the political shift of 1934, the Ricardo Samper administration, under which Villalobos served as Minister of Public Instruction, oversaw the further expansion of the national teaching corps, in addition to raising teacher salaries and continuing with efforts to increase the size and scope of the national body of primary school inspectors.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ 'Instrucciones técnico-higiénicas relativas a la construcciones escolares' *Gaceta de Madrid*, 1 August 1934.

²⁰⁰ Llopis, *La revolución en la escuela* p. 34. Interestingly, Raymond Carr actually argued that the Spanish economy was given a major boost thanks to the Republic's commitment to spending money on building new schools: 'Republican finance was saved from straight deflationary policies only by its pledges to education,' he wrote. See Raymond Carr, *Spain: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 164.

²⁰¹ Townson, *The Crisis of Democracy in Spain*, p. 258.

Arguably more importantly given the present context, the Republic had also started to put into action the recommendations set out in the Decree of June 1933, that is, for schools to be equipped with sporting and recreational facilities, albeit wherever this was possible or feasible. Indeed, in September 1934, the Minister of Public Instruction confidently told a new specialist physical educational journal that significant progress had been made in this area. He stated: '[Now] almost all schools are able to count on a space to hold physical education lessons, and some have acquired their own pitches and playing fields.'²⁰² Such a claim was, almost certainly, an exaggeration. However, progress was being made, and this was due in no small part to the actions of individual schools and school groups themselves. The example of the public schools of Madrid shows this to be the case. According to one report published in *El Sol*, rather than leading the way in providing Spain's youth with adequate educational facilities, the capital city had been home to some of the worst schools in the country prior to the fall of the monarchy, with many children living in the city not even having a school to attend. It was for this reason that, between the years 1931 and 1933, Madrid was among the major beneficiaries of the Republic's school-building push.²⁰³

Encouraged and supported by the Republic, progressive teachers came together to establish 18 different Scholar Groups right across the city, with each of these going on to oversee the establishment of their schools.²⁰⁴ Notably, as a brief survey carried of the new facilities set up by these forward-thinking professional bodies revealed, all bought into the Republic's vision of what a modern school should be. That is, all of them were equipped with playing fields, while the school set up by the Giner de los Ríos Group (*Grupo Giner de los Ríos*)

²⁰² S.AF. *Una Revista de Educación Física* 4, September 1934, pp. 33-35.

²⁰³ Cited in *Escuelas de España* 15, March 1935.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

also boasted 'a magnificent swimming pool, with changing rooms and 17 individual showers', as well as expansive playing fields.²⁰⁵

Notably, as the regional press from the time shows, this was being replicated across Spain. In Murcia, for example, the local newspaper reported that, thanks to the new funds being directed at education from Madrid, it was possible to build new schools and, more significantly, to introduce sporting facilities for the city's students. The report noted: 'Up until now, we have tripled the number of schools [and]...right now, sports pitches and a swimming pool are under construction in order to contribute to the physical education of the children.'²⁰⁶ Similarly, in Toledo, educators evidently took note of Fernando de los Ríos' wish for every school to have a playing field and took action. In this case, the newly-appointed director of the main secondary school (*Instituto Local de Segunda Enseñanza*) of Talavera de la Reina, wrote to the Mayor of the same city stating simply:

I have the honour of writing to you with regards to addressing the article published in the *Gaceta [de Madrid]* on the sixth of the present month regarding the need for this Institute to possess sports fields. I politely request that you give us space for exactly this purpose as swiftly as possible.²⁰⁷

An Eton complete with expansive sports grounds in every urban neighbourhood or rural *pueblo* it was most definitely not. What it was, though, was an indication that, despite the varied political and economic challenges facing the Republic's educational reformers, efforts were being made to transform rhetoric into action and widen access to the perceived benefits of sports. Significantly, top-level efforts to ensure as many students as possible had access to

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ *El Liberal*, 26 February 1933, p.1

²⁰⁷ Correspondence located in: Archivo Municipal de Toledo, caja 50977 (Instituto Talavera, Talavera de la Reina).

sporting facilities continued after the end of the reformist biennium, with the *Institucionista* influence on official school-building policy surviving the change in government. Furthermore, as the localised examples demonstrate, hopes that schools themselves would take the initiative and put the recommendations coming out of the Ministry of Public Instruction into action were beginning to be realised. Indeed, in the case of the school in Toledo, the recommendations set out in the *Gaceta de Madrid* by Fernando de los Ríos were explicitly mentioned, giving just one small but notable example of *Institucionista* theory being put into practice at the local level.

Nevertheless, as has been widely and comprehensively shown, the Republic struggled, and ultimately failed, to meet its own targets in the field of education.²⁰⁸ The new regime had, after all, come into being at a time of global economic crisis, a crisis from which Spain was hardly immune. Additionally, political changes and opposition, on top of simple bureaucratic delays, further hindered the Republic's attempts to meet, or even come near to meeting, the targets set out by Llopis at the very start of the regime. As Stanley Payne, in his assessment of the accomplishments – and shortcomings – of the Republic argued, even the official statistics showing the number of new schools built during these years should be treated with caution due to the Ministry of Public Instruction's habit of classifying old parish halls, swiftly converted into makeshift teaching spaces, as 'new schools'.²⁰⁹

If the statistics concerning the number of schools either constructed or renovated during the Republic are inconsistent, at least there are some figures for the historian to draw on. In comparison, no numbers relating to how many schools were equipped with sporting

²⁰⁸ As Vincent succinctly notes, 'In the political sphere, the policies enacted by the new Republican government had an immediate effect; the educational policy did not.' *Spain 1833-2002: People and State*, p. 134.

²⁰⁹ Stanley Payne, *The Spanish Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), p. 16.

facilities or new fields were ever published, either by the Ministry of Public Instruction or by the various pedagogical bodies active in the years of the Republic. Given the Republic's record, however, it seems safe to assume that in this area too, the best of intentions were never fully realised. That is, while progress was certainly made on this front, it would hardly have satisfied the most vocal advocates of progressive physical education especially those who, prior to 1931, had been keen to see Spain follow the English public school model and place the sports field at the centre of school life.

The Place of Sport in the Reformed Primary School Curriculum

As was officially stated later on in the life of the Republic, for the first two years of the regime at least, the main concern was expanding access to education, even more so than addressing what Spain's students were actually being taught. This is not to say that educational content was not a concern for *institucionistas* and their allies in power, for, in the case of religious teaching, it most clearly was. Indeed, removing the religious element of the national school curriculum was a key priority of the Republic in its first two years, and in particular of Prime Minister Manuel Azaña, who was determined that Spain follow the lead of the French Third Republic and secularise all aspects of public life, education included.²¹⁰ Thus, the new Republican Constitution of 1931 was, in essence, largely anticlerical and, though Catholic

²¹⁰ Payne calls this the 'anticlerical obsession which insisted that mere separation of church and state was inadequate', arguing that such a policy was 'a fundamental mistake that can never be justified'. See Payne, *Spain's First Democracy: The Second Republic, 1931-1936* p. 121..

schools were permitted to continue outside of the state system, from 1933 further legislation barred monks and nuns from holding teaching posts.²¹¹ Such was the degree to which this drive to secularise education dominated the legislation passed during the first few years, in asking 'what reforms have been made?', a 1934 editorial of the journal *Escuelas de España* stated simply: 'the first few years have been reduced to efforts to replace religious education, which still has not been fully accomplished.'²¹²

Indeed, moves to eliminate all religious content aside, when it came to overhauling and modernising what was being taught in Spain's primary schools, the actual reforms made during the 'reformist' biennium were limited, or at the very least slow in arriving. Certainly, in terms of translating into action the arguments for sports forming part of the daily life of the school that many *institucionistas* had been so vocal in putting forward in the years and decades preceding 1931, relatively little was done, as shown by the legislation passed during this period. Notably, it was not a lack of sufficient funding that saw them delay taking action to make fundamental changes to the primary curriculum and, more specifically, to make sport and physical education in general an integral part of school life. Rather, in terms of the Republic's immediate priorities, official top-down changes to the curriculum were far down the list, with any hopes the most enthusiastic proponents of sports might have had of seeing Spain follow the lead of England's public schools, placed on hold while the government

²¹¹ For the Republican Constitution in full, see Luis Jiménez de Asúa, *La Constitución de la democracia española y el problema regional* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1946). For a briefer overview of the anticlerical reforms of the Republic, see Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1936-1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 43-55.

²¹² *Escuelas de España*, January 1934, p. 37.

focused its energy and limited resources on first addressing the chronic shortage of schools that had been crippling the country for decades.²¹³

The potential of physical education and organised games were at least alluded to in the conclusions of a special project designed to outline the 'foundations' of a revamped school curriculum, one intended to encompass both primary and secondary schooling and create one, unified pyramid-like system. The project was headed by Lorenzo Luzuriaga, a school inspector and pedagogical thinker and the founder of the *Revista de Pedagogía*. As a young man, he had frequented the library of the National Pedagogical Museum (*Museo Pedagógico Nacional*), where he became acquainted with key figures of the ILE. As well as founding his own journal, Luzuriaga was also a regular contributor to the *BILE* and was, thus, another prominent member of the 'Extended Institution' who had the opportunity to directly influence the educational policies of the Second Republic.

The initiative of which Luzuriaga was put in charge of grew out of an Order issued in April of 1932 which emphasised the 'urgent need for clear and simple legislation establishing the rights and the responsibilities of the school and the teacher'.²¹⁴ On the back of this, the Ministry of Public Instruction set up a special commission made up of an advisor from its own ranks (as nominated by the Department of Primary Education, headed up by Rodolfo Llopi), a senior primary school inspector, an instructor and an inspector from Spain's teacher training colleges, and teachers, including one member of the Federation of Educational Workers (*Federación de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza*) and one member of the Teachers'

²¹³ Interestingly, an analysis of the pedagogical press of the time suggests that teachers were supportive of this policy. As one 1932 editorial in the teaching journal *Crisol* read: 'The fundamental thing is the creation of schools! More schools! All the schools that are necessary!' See *Crisol*, January 1 1932.

²¹⁴ Llopi *La revolución en la escuela* p. 249.

Confederation (*Confederación de Maestros*), in addition to a government lawyer and a civil servant.²¹⁵

Ultimately, the commission was tasked with drawing up a comprehensive list of recommendations for nothing less than a complete overhaul of the state education system. As such, the proposed foundations covered every aspect of primary education. That is, the status of a state primary school was officially defined in the first of the 'bases', with the different grades and the ages of the students in each also clarified. In particular, it was stressed that, rather than simply being a place where students would learn by rote, a school should serve a 'wide social function', serving as the heart and soul of a community and nurturing more than just the intellect. The second 'base', meanwhile, defined the role of municipal authorities, particularly with regards to the construction and upkeep of new schools. It was only with the sixth of the eight proposed foundations for a reformed primary education system that the place of physical education was touched upon. And even here the recommendations were, in essence, non-committal in terms of making sport and physical education a fundamental part of primary school life. It was stated that the 'culture' of Spain's primary schools was to be analysed by means of a 'questionnaire', to be drafted and distributed by the Ministry of Public Instruction. This was to analyse everything from the place of traditional subjects such as geography, history and natural sciences, right through to the potential uses of 'hygienic and educational activities', chief among them physical education, gymnastics and music.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ For more on this commission and the early educational reforms of the Republic in general, see Samaniego Boneu, *La política educativa de la Segunda República durante el bienio azañista*, and Antonio Molero Pintado, *La reforma educativa de la Segunda República Española* (Madrid: Editorial Santillana, 1977).

²¹⁶ A good overview of the project can be found in editions of the *Revista de Pedagogía* published throughout 1932.

With just a few minor amendments, the recommendations of this expert commission were written up and, along with similar recommendations for changes and improvements to the secondary schooling and the further education system, were presented to the Cortes by the Minister of Public Instruction, Fernando de los Ríos, in December of 1932. This, however, was as far as the Republic got in its attempts to oversee the thorough reorganisation of the national primary schooling system. Indeed, while, as has been explored, legislation was passed to address the shortage of schools across Spain, and also to secularise the state school system, the reforming zeal of the Republic never translated into any one concrete decree aimed at fundamentally altering the primary school curriculum. Such a failure to implement the plan presented to the Cortes was, in the end, derailed by the change in government, with the centre-right coalition that came to power at the end of 1933 identifying other areas of reform to prioritize instead. This meant that, with relation to the present study, whatever the Ministry of Public Instruction learned from its questionnaires into the potential role physical education could play in Spain's schools, no real action was taken to implement it. Thus, while the militaristic *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil* of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, so anathema to the pedagogic philosophy of the ILE and its allies, was no longer compulsory for primary school teachers, no plan for physical education or sports was introduced to replace it.

It was not until 1937 in fact that the Republican government finally attempted to address what was actually being taught in Spain's primary schools, religion aside. By this point, however, the optimism that had accompanied the election victory of the Popular Front in January 1936, with the left republican parties having learned from the lessons from November 1933 and choosing to work with the Socialists as well as the Communists, was a distant memory. Targeted political assassinations during the summer of 1936 contributed to the collapse of the political centre and the rise of extremism. In July 1936, Spain had descended

into civil war. While taking on the military rebels on the battlefield, the Republic simultaneously carried on working to reform the country, or at least those parts of it that were under its control. As such, efforts to reform the national education system did not stop with the outbreak of war and in fact, in the case of primary education, were given significant levels of attention.

Announcing a shift in emphasis with the passing of a Plan of Studies for the Spanish Primary School, the Ministry of Public Instruction did indeed state that, prior to this point, it had been focusing its attention on 'the most immediate and urgent problems of popular culture: the creation of thousands of new schools, the construction of new buildings, improving the salaries of teachers, campaigning against illiteracy etc'. 'But now,' the Decree of 28 October 1937 read, 'the moment has arrived to begin internal reforms of the national school so as to convert it into an effective means of educating the people.'²¹⁷

This official policy of first addressing the shortage of schools in Spain while also working to make the nation's teachers better-qualified and more motivated meant that, up until the 1937 legislation was passed, the Decree of October 1901 still served as the fundamental basis of the primary school curriculum. Furthermore, in the case of physical education and sport, the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil* though no longer obligatory for teachers to use, had not been replaced. Much of what remained in place was, the Ministry of Public Instruction stated, 'truly anachronistic' and incapable of addressing the challenges facing Spain in the modern age.²¹⁸ To bring the primary school curriculum up to date, therefore, the Ministry established a special commission made up of education professionals, with their

²¹⁷ *Gaceta de Madrid*, 31 October 1937.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

recommendations 'meticulously' assessed by ministers. It was the commission members, along with the relevant ministers, who drew up a comprehensive list of what should and should not be included in the new Study Plan. Notably, their recommendations indicate that sports, and physical education in general, were seen as having a key role to play in the development of primary school students. Indeed, the sixth point of Article 1 of the Decree states that, alongside traditional subjects, physical education would be one of the key elements 'governing the Spanish primary school'. Physical education was, in turn, divided into four separate categories, namely lessons in personal hygiene, gym classes, organised and free games, and sports.

Just a month after passing the Decree, the Ministry of Public Instruction issued a Circular elaborating on the legislation. As well as stressing the importance of ensuring the physical wellbeing of the student, the circular also highlighted the role physical education and sports in particular could have on their moral development. This was consistent with the pedagogical thought of the ILE and stood in contrast to the corporeal emphasis of the *Cartilla* this Decree would have replaced. Indeed, the Circular explicitly referenced this break with the past, while its exhortation for individual teachers and inspectors to use their initiative and implement the Ministry's policies at the grassroots level was also in line with the philosophy of the ILE. The Circular stated:

'Finally, the "Physical Exercises" that used to feature in the old plan have been completely replaced by a system of lessons and activities grouped together under the term 'physical education'; here everything from the hygienic care of the body through to its strengthening through sports and games is covered. Our national schools must give great importance to this

fundamental aspect of education because of the decisive influence on development, physical vigour and the natural state of childhood and, what's more, for the effect this type of lesson, when methodical and consistent, can have on the character, on the discipline of the will and on the formation of a dynamic and vigorous personality. [We must] equip every school, or every group of schools, with sports fields they can make use of, oversee the effective organisation of physical education directed by qualified teachers, [and] draw up a programme of exercises, games and sports; these should be the tasks of our teachers and inspectors, while the Ministry, through the National Council of Physical Education and Sports, will publish a new manual on physical education for children.²¹⁹

The years of the Republic at war are, as has already been noted, beyond the scope of this present study. Nevertheless, the Decree of October 1937, alongside the government's encouraging teachers to embrace the myriad benefits of sports in the school and the plans to make available to them a new, official manual on all aspects of physical education is well worth noting. Here we have a clear sign that the Republic, and more specifically key liberal, progressive elements within the Ministry of Public Instruction, were not just determined to reform the primary school curriculum but, embracing the latest thinking from the field of pedagogy and the hygienist movement, they saw in physical education and sports the means to modernise the system and drive the physical, personal and moral development of Spain's youth. Unlike much of the relevant legislation, this Decree was passed by an individual with no clear affiliation with the ILE, or indeed to the 'Extended Institution'. As with the Circular which followed it, the Decree was passed under Jesús Hernández Tomás, a member of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), albeit one who served under a Popular Front government

²¹⁹ *Gaceta de Madrid*, 1 December 1937.

that also included prominent left-republicans and Socialists. Nevertheless, the stated aims of the reforms, as well as the proposed methods for achieving them – that is, counting on teachers using their new freedom to promote the practice of sport and games for the physical as well as the moral benefit of their students – was consistent with *Institucionista* thinking. In this regard, the Decree and the accompanying Circular built on the reforms that had gone before, representing the natural next step, after the school building drive, in putting the educational aims of the liberal, progressive elements within the Ministry of Public Instruction into action. Indeed, it is not too fanciful to believe that, had one of the staunch *Institucionistas* of the reformist government of 1931-33 been Minister of Public Instruction in late-1937, a similar Decree would have still been published, as would have a similarly-worded Circular to the nation's teachers and school inspectors.

The Republic's 'Enormous Task': Restructuring the Spanish Secondary School

Alongside reforming the national primary schooling system, the Republic also set itself the no-less ambitious task of modernising the Spanish secondary school. Perhaps inevitably, given the importance to which both middle-class republicans and Socialists attached to progressive early years pedagogy, not least in terms of the perceived link between literacy and democracy, revolutionising the Spanish secondary school did not fire the passions of the new regime's leading educational figures quite like the prospect of revolutionising the primary school did. The former was, to many, if not less important in the long-run, then certainly not so pressing in the immediate sense. Thus, just days after the creation of the Republic, in an attempt to bring a sense of order to government, secondary education was placed alongside

'Commercial Schools' and 'Special Schools' in a single section of the Council of Public Instruction, while, as has already been noted, primary education was sole preoccupation of another section.²²⁰

Nevertheless, reforming the Spanish secondary school was undoubtedly on the Republic's agenda from the very beginning. Partly as a result of their looking to the schooling systems of countries such as England, France and Germany, many key figures in the field of education within the Republic saw in secondary education the opportunity to mould the 'gentlemen' the new regime needed to properly establish itself and survive, even if the gender bias was more implicit than explicit. Few if any *institucionistas*, would have been unaware of the importance attached to secondary education in the formation of citizens by Giner de los Ríos, with the founder of the ILE having shared his thoughts on the matter in the pages of *BILE* on numerous occasions.²²¹ In one notable article, summing up his, and by extension the ILE's elitist – and indeed, sexist – view of further education, Giner stated: 'Secondary education, just as with primary education, should never consist of mere instruction, nor in solely in developing the intellect; instead it must promote the development of knowledge, of moral character and of physical strength: In short, [it must ensure] the boy can enter society, and the world, as a man.'²²² That is, from the very start of their time in power, this group of Republican reformists, steeped as they were in the teachings of Giner de los Ríos and of the Institution he created viewed higher education as the preserve of a relative few. While determined to create a literate citizenry through the provision of universal primary education, at the same time, secondary schooling – and, by extension university studies – was to remain

²²⁰ Decree of May 4, 1931, published in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, May 5, 1931.

²²¹ See, for example, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, 'Notas Sobre la Segunda Enseñanza', *BILE* 385, 1893.

²²² Francisco Giner de los Ríos, *Obras Completas*, Volume 17 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1927), p. 167.

open to only the most able students with the aim of forging future leaders of the new citizens of Spain.

Nevertheless, for some educators, reforming secondary education was, in a way, even more vital than introducing changes at the primary level, particularly given the extent to which students over the age of 14 had been neglected both under the previous Dictatorship and in the decades preceding even this. As one *Revista de Pedagogía* editorial of September 1934 noted: 'Of all the grades of Spanish teaching, the one corresponding to the secondary level is that most in need of either reform of, better still, a complete restructuring. The task, however, is enormous.'²²³

The 'enormous task' facing the new regime in the spring of 1931 was not that of simply modernising the secondary curriculum so that, in this regard, Spain was on a par with much of the rest of Europe. Instead, the most pressing challenge facing the Republic was establishing a political consensus over the exact purpose that education should serve beyond the primary school level. As has been noted, the reformist government formed following the June 1931 elections was a coalition between left, liberal republicans and the Socialists. These two groups, while in agreement on several areas of educational reform, held markedly different views on the purpose of post-primary education and on the form it should take.²²⁴ An editorial published in the *Revista de Pedagogía* neatly summarised the arguments surrounding how the Republic should go about reforming the secondary school curriculum. It summed up the debate as: 'The *Bachillerato*; should there be one or many? Should it be

²²³ *Revista de Pedagogía*, September 1934, p. 422.

²²⁴ For a good overview of the frictions between the Socialists and the Republicans regarding secondary school reforms, see Boyd *Historia Patria*.

modern or classical? Humanist or realist? Should it have a character of its own, or should it be a continuation of the primary school, or preparation for university?²²⁵

Within the governing coalition, left and centrist Republicans, most notably including those individuals who were aligned with the ILE or indeed part of the 'Extended Institution' saw the traditional *Bachillerato* as the best possible system of secondary education. This was despite the fact that, in accommodating only the brightest students, it was, at its core, elitist. From its founder Giner de los Rios onwards, the ILE never had as one of its aims making further education obligatory and available to all, as was certainly the case with primary schooling. Again, for this group, secondary schooling, or more specifically the *Bachillerato*, laid the foundations for university studies, serving as one step along a path to creating an elite capable of leading the regeneration of the country.

Certainly, these left republicans were determined to democratize access to higher education in the sense of ensuring it was within the reach of even the poorest of students. As long-standing *Institucionista* Jose Castillejo noted: 'Education must aim at being an aristocracy of minds, but the school must open its doors to all. Separation by class is almost as bad as separation by religion.'²²⁶ Thus, in pursuit of forging this 'aristocracy of minds', the intellectual elitism – nor indeed the sexism – that so characterized the secondary schooling system they inherited, was never seriously questioned. At once then, the ILE's educational philosophy was both egalitarian and elitist, one reason, as shall be noted further on, that the seemingly contradictory nature of competitive sports – games that promoted teamwork but also encouraged competition and rewarded the very best – were so appealing.

²²⁵ *Revista de Pedagogía* September 1934, pp. 422-3.

²²⁶ Castillejo, *War of Ideas in Spain*, p.2.

At the same time, the Socialist side of the coalition saw secondary schooling as a natural extension of the primary school rather than a means of preparing the most academically gifted students for university. For them, the united school model was regarded as the best means of achieving any meaningful degree of reform. Such a lack of political consensus meant that, as with many other policy areas, genuine moves to reform the secondary school were slow in coming. Recognising that something needed to be done to get the 'enormous' task of both modernising and streamlining Spain's higher education system, yet at the same time acknowledging no decisive action could be taken without significant political debate, the Ministry of Public Instruction took the step of replacing the plan of studies for the *Bachillerato* that was in place during the Dictatorship with that of 1903. Essentially a temporary measure, Marcelino Domingo labelled this a 'transitional' or 'provisional' plan for secondary education.²²⁷

Echoing the 1903 legislation, the Plan laid out the compulsory curriculum for each year of the *Bachillerato* and, inevitably, given the fact its foundations were almost three decades old, it was far from progressive. Traditional subjects such as the Castilian language, arithmetic, geography and history were all included, while Latin was also compulsory for two years. Most significantly, given the present context, sports were not included at all or even alluded to. The only provision that might have given cheer to those *Institucionistas* who had hoped the change of political regime would see Spain follow the lead of England and make sport a central part of secondary education, was the inclusion of gymnastics, which was to be compulsory only in alternate weeks during the second and third years (tellingly, much the same as both art and calligraphy). Moreover, publishing the Decree in the official *Gaceta*, Domingo did not

²²⁷ See Decree of 7 August 1931, published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on 8 August 1931.

even set out the briefest of explanations as to why physical education was to be maintained as part of the *Bachillerato*, albeit a limited one, though he did explain the reasons behind the decision to continue with Latin and several other subjects.²²⁸

On its own, then, the legislation passed in August 1931 might have been regarded as a step in the wrong direction by proponents of sports and physical education in general. While under the preceding Dictatorship the Study Plan of 1926 decreed that all secondary students should take part in regular 'physical exercises, walks and sports' each year of the *Bachillerato* course, Domingo's initial plan saw the pedagogical value attached to all types of physical education seemingly diminished.²²⁹ Similarly, when the Republic moved to extend this provisional plan for the reform of secondary education in the summer of 1932, athletically-minded educators would surely have been dismayed. The Order of 13 July 1932 essentially built on the 1926 Callejo Plan, though the status of physical education was not raised at all.²³⁰ In fact, this Order was quickly followed by another, issued on 26 September 1932, in which it was stressed that 'neither drawing nor physical education are school subjects, according to the traditional meaning and understanding of the word, but instead are cultural services,' with organised and directed games placed alongside art classes as a recreational rather than educational activity.

Rather than attempting to make substantial changes to the secondary curriculum without the necessary political consensus, the *institucionistas* in the Ministry of Public Instruction instead channelled their energies elsewhere. For instance, under the leadership

²²⁸ Ibid. As discussed in the preface to this thesis, historians studying sport and physical education have long struggled with such 'self-censorship' as this, with the matter alluded to but never explored in depth.

²²⁹ For the Study Plan of 1926 – named after Eduardo Callejo de la Cuesta, a Conservative Minister of Public Instruction under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship – as well as the Plan of 1930, see Antonio Viñao Frago, *Escuela para todos: Educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Editorial Marcial Pons, 2004).

²³⁰ See Order of 13 July 1932, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 18 July 1932.

of Domingo Barnés, a number of 'formative' measures, many of them long-advocated by liberal, progressive pedagogues, were taken. Among those measures enacted by decree over the summer of 1932 were moves to build new student residences and to substantially increase the number of new secondary schools in place ahead of the anticipated rise in demand to be triggered by both the closure of religious institutions and the new requirement for prospective teachers to hold the *Bachillerato* in order to gain admission to a teacher training college.²³¹ Nevertheless, as the Ministry of Public Instruction was forced to acknowledge, by the end of September 1932, the National Council of Culture had yet to reach a consensus on a new study plan for secondary education, inevitably postponing any attempts to enhance the role organised sports and games played in Spain's schools.²³²

Such a lack of progress in this field was noted by those *deportistas* keen to see sports given a more central, and more formal role, in the Spanish secondary school system. In the specialist journal *Educación Física*, again the preeminent publication promoting the benefits of sports within the school system, an article published under the penname 'Esparanto' lamented the lack of progress that had been made, despite the fact that the Primo de Rivera regime and its singular focus on militaristic gymnastics, had been gone for more than a year. According to the author, such a lack of legislative progress risked Spain falling behind on the international stage. He stated: 'It is now also necessary to focus what have often been referred to as "high school sports", bringing to the Institutes and colleges of second education an atmosphere of sportsmanship, using competition to promote success for coaches and

²³¹ See the Ministerial Orders of 21 September 1932 and 26 September 1932. For more on moves to reform the Spanish university and student residences, see later chapters of the present thesis.

²³² For a broader overview of the 'formative' measures taken by the Ministry of Public Instruction as it attempted to move ahead with reforms while waiting for a political consensus on the role and form of the *Bachillerato*, see Boyd, *Historia, Patria*, pp. 203-205.

athletes on the field.²³³ Again, however, at the time of publication, the Republican government had done little to live up to the hope such proponents of sport had placed in it.

If the official legislation coming from the Ministry of Public Instruction was sure to disappoint the *deportistas* among the nation's educators, then an interview given by the Prime Minister – and for many both then and now the figurehead of the Republic – Manuel Azaña in the same summer would have been much more warmly welcomed. Certainly, there is nothing in the interview or indeed in Azaña's own comprehensive memoirs to suggest that the interview was granted in order to assuage the worries of those observers, particularly in the sporting press, who were growing restless at what they regarded as a lack of sufficient progress in replacing the physical education of old with sport in the nation's schools. Nevertheless, the timing would certainly have been favourable in this regard, as would Azaña's comments. He stated:

The physical education of the youth It is one of the concerns of the government, which believes that the extension of sporting habits should be the basis of all health policies. Only through the rational development of the muscles can we, with a high probability of success, create a robust youth to fight against the endemic diseases that undermine the current society²³⁴

Notably, such 'endemic diseases' were not merely literal but metaphorical, echoing language that would not have looked out of place in any of the key texts of the *regeneracionismo*

²³³ Espartano, 'La Olimpiada de los Ángeles, la educación física en España y el intrusismo', *La Educación Física*, 1, (1932), pp. 16-17.

²³⁴ AS 9 August 1932, p.1.

movement. That is, Azaña put forward his belief that competitive sports, and above all football – along with athletics and rugby, a personal favourite of the Prime Minister himself – could help build develop the character, and not just the bodies, of Spain's youth. Above all, team sport, favoured over individualistic gymnastics or physical education classes, could help combat one of the perceived deficiencies of the Spanish 'race', namely the egotism and individualism that had so excited the intellectuals and politicians seeking to regenerate Spain from 1898 onwards. The Prime Minister added:

I think that these exercises not only strengthen the body but instil in those that practice them a spirit of cooperation, of subordination of the individual to the collective [and so] contributing to correct the fierce personalism of our people²³⁵

Such a reaffirmation of the government's commitment not just to physical education but to sport and the belief that this could be used to both strengthen the nation's youth physically and, more importantly, to help curb egoism and thus make them good citizens of a progressive democracy, would surely have been welcomed by those calling for swift action to transform daily life in Spain's schools. Again, as with much of the legislation and issuances from the government with regards to sports and physical education, the answers given by Azaña to AS were broad. That is, they were ungendered, much as the same way that the legislation and recommendations regarding sport and physical education in the primary school were ungendered. However, the Prime Minister's desire to build a 'robust' youth with

²³⁵ Ibid.

strong bodies to 'fight' the challenges facing Spain, indicates that he saw physical education and sport as a means of forging a new generation of healthy and strong men. Again, the language used was that of *regeneracionismo*, a movement which, as has been noted, was preoccupied with the virility – or lack of – of the Spanish male. Moreover, as has also already been noted, Azaña could be seen as the political heir to Giner's legacy, not least in his fundamental paternalistic liberalism. The Prime Minister, as with his peers, had a 'moralistic, top-down' approach to governing the country and in this way was fully sympathetic to the belief that reform needed to be directed by an elite few, who in turn were to be forged through selective education beyond the primary level.²³⁶

Thus, though brief, these comments from the Prime Minister do arguably offer an insight into his views on the value of physical education and sport. That is, while at once instilling in citizens a spirit of cooperation and obedience, sport was also seen as a means of creating a robust (male) youth capable of fixing Spain's perceived ills and regenerating the country. Furthermore, while Azaña did state that this was 'one of the concerns' of his government, he also conceded that the State would be reliant on the cooperation Municipal governments as well as of clubs and private associations if it was to succeed in making the practice of sport and not just sport as a popular spectacle a central part of Spanish life. As such, the Prime Minister also expresses the possibility of establishing a central governmental body to oversee the development of physical education and sport at all levels of society: 'We will have to think about creating an official body that consolidates and promotes sporting activity'.²³⁷ Since such a body was not yet in existence, it seems reasonable to argue that Azaña used the interview with *AS* to not only outline the Republic's intentions, but to issue a

²³⁶ Javier Tusell, *La Crisis De Los Años Treinta: Republica Y Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 2006), pp. 94-95.

²³⁷ *AS*, 9 August 1932, p.1.

rallying call to those in a position to harness the potential benefits of sports, including both directors of private clubs as well as teachers at both the primary and secondary level.

Soon after the publication of the interview with the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Public Instruction issued a Circular that would have been similarly well-received. Indeed, the Circular was fully in accordance with the *Institucionista* philosophy, both in terms of emphasising the educational potential of sports and also in encouraging individual teachers to take the initiative and assume an active, progressive role in their students' development.²³⁸

The Circular, it was noted, was not 'an attempt to impose upon teachers a new set of rules'. Rather, it was sent out with the aim of 'encouraging them to embrace the enthusiasm they have for their vocation and to develop their own sense of initiative'.²³⁹ From the start, it was acknowledged that a thorough reformation of the secondary school system across Spain was not just desirable but necessary. However, this was to be achieved slowly and methodically, with the different, often contradictory, viewpoints on both the purpose and structure of secondary education to be fully assessed before more profound reforms could be made. Up until then, teachers were to follow the set curriculum, while also taking note of the Ministry's numerous and broad recommendations.

In terms of physical education, the Circular first outlined the reasons behind the recent reforms to the *Bachillerato* and, more specifically, the move to ban physical education textbooks from the classroom. It explained: 'Physical education should never be taught theoretically, but rather in a real, physical sense. Consequently, all the relevant manuals, formal programmes and written materials that may have been introduced into the secondary

²³⁸ *Gaceta de Madrid* 1 December 1932, pp. 1536-40.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

school must be banned absolutely.²⁴⁰ Such a blanket ban on formal pedagogical materials was in no way due to physical education not being seen as important, but rather was fully in accordance with the pedagogical theory of the ILE, which had long argued against the use of text books, to the point that they were even banned in several of its own schools.

In fact, in advising Spain's teachers on how to implement the revised plans for the *Bachillerato*, the significance of working the body as well as the brain was made abundantly clear. Indeed, reaffirming the importance of physical education in the first and second years of a secondary education, it was stated: 'The immediate and fundamental purpose is the training of the body and then, by means of this benefit, the discipline of the will and the refinement of the character.' Furthermore, it was explained that, 'one condition that any lesson needs to accomplish is that the student must perform any physical exercise with the greatest joy and be ready to happily put into it all their energy. For these reasons, physical education should consist primarily or exclusively of games and sport, especially in the first year of the *Bachillerato*. Ideally, these will be enjoyed alongside Swedish gymnastics, rhythmic dance, racing, jumping and swimming.'²⁴¹

The language used in this Circular is worth specific attention. Notably, here sports are credited with the 'refinement' of the character, or the final stage in developing a gentleman. This echoed the arguments in favour of sports that had emerged in England several decades previously. In the public schools that members of the ILE so openly admired, competitive sport was embraced as an effective means of turning boys into gentlemen and of 'fusing together the values of a striving, enterprising liberal elite with the refined and restrained world of

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

upper-class good manners and style.'²⁴² Certainly, the recommendations of the Circular are not gender specific. Indeed, much in line with all official legislation and correspondence in this area, the question of gender is simply not alluded to, suggesting that lessons should be the same for both male and female students. However, in much the same way that when he stated his wish to create a 'robust youth', Prime Minister Manuel Azaña most certainly had the creation of a new generation of strong young men in mind, the idea of 'refinement of character' was implicitly gender-biased, particularly given the ILE's vision for secondary education as a means of, in the words of Giner de los Ríos, transforming boys into men.

The ministerial-level recommendations didn't just stop at advising the nation's teachers of the importance of educating the mind as well as the body and, in line with the English educational model, encouraging them to harness the potential of sports in order to best achieve this. Fully in accordance with *institucionista* thinking, it also stressed that individual teachers should be free to use their own initiative rather than slavishly follow any rigid pedagogical guidelines coming out of Madrid. Thus, it was stated: 'The teachers must retain, as with all their lessons, complete freedom to make effective use of the resources they have at their disposal and to divide their students into suitable groups, according to sex, age, physical strength etc.' So, again, teachers were to be given a free reign to utilise the educational benefits of sports as they saw fit. At the same time, however, the Circular stated that 'all must try to ensure that exercise is done in the open air and, wherever possible, on proper playing fields.' Moreover, it added: 'If we must give advice, it's that teachers take part in the games themselves. This way, they can influence in the most positive and effective way

²⁴² Richard Holt, 'The Amateur Body and the Middle-Class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain', in Dilwyn Porter and Stephen Wagg, *Amateurism in British Sport: It Matters Not Who Won or Lost* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), p. 22.

the soul of the child' and ensure they receive the fullest education,' advice that could have come straight off the fields of Eton or Harrow or from the writings of Giner de los Ríos himself.²⁴³

Shortly after the above Circular was released by the Ministry of Public Education, the long, arduous process of finding common ground and drawing up a concrete plan for secondary education that would suit both of the main parties finally came to an end. Fernando de los Ríos addressed the Cortes, presenting to his colleagues in government and to his political opponents his plans for reforming all levels of education in Spain, including the secondary school. As Boyd effectively argues, the proposals were the surest sign that, within the government, '*Institucionalista* elitism had clearly prevailed over Socialist concerns', with one of the key proposals put forward on 6th December 1932, stating that the *Bachillerato* was to be a series of specific studies rolled out over seven years and largely designed to serve as a bridge between primary schooling and a university education for the most able students.²⁴⁴

Under the new plan, the foundations of secondary education were to be traditional subjects; Spanish language, maths, geography, history, chemistry, economics and law would all be compulsory throughout the *Bachillerato*, while even Latin and Greek were to be mandatory in all public secondary schools. The inclusion of English and German as compulsory subjects may be regarded as evidence that the Republic was looking outside of Spain's borders and add a more progressive element to the compulsory curriculum, though, in terms of sports and physical education, it remained as traditional as traditional as before.²⁴⁵ In fact, just as

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Boyd, *Historia Patria* p. 205.

²⁴⁵ For a fuller overview of all the proposed Bases for a new secondary curriculum put to the Cortes by Fernando de Los Ríos, see Molero Pintado, *La reforma educativa de la Segunda República Española*, pp. 312-313.

with primary education, arguably the most progressive facet of the new study plan was the emphasis on, wherever possible, allowing the nation's *maestros* to use their own initiatives to educate and nurture their students. So, the eighth Base, for example, stated: 'On top of the subjects included above, secondary institutions should endeavour, given the hours available to them, to introduce complimentary teachings and provide their students with extra opportunities to learn [for example] manual labour, music, shorthand typing, or any other lesson that is deemed to be appropriate.'²⁴⁶

Even though the Cortes approved them on the same day they were put forward, as with many other attempts at reform, the proposed foundations remained just that, with a loss of political momentum denying Fernando de Los Ríos the opportunity to translate them into actual legislation. However, to argue, as some historians have, that the *institucionista*-led plans for reforming the secondary education system were brought to a halt as a result of the electoral results of 1934 is not entirely accurate.²⁴⁷ Certainly, in many areas, including with regards to attempts to make all levels of the Spanish education system completely coeducational, the shift in political power did indeed halt or even reverse the progress made by the reformers of the first biennium. Again, however, it was simply not the case that all the work done over the first two years was undone overnight. As with efforts to reform primary school education, the Radical partners of the coalition government that came into power in 1934 were at least partly sympathetic to the aims of their predecessors in the Ministry of Public Instruction, allowing for a degree of continuation.

²⁴⁶ *Diario de las sesiones de las Cortes españolas*, 273, 9 December 1932.

²⁴⁷ Boyd, for example, argues that de los Ríos' plans to change the *Bachillerato* curriculum were 'curtailed by the electoral defeat of the Republican coalition in 1933'. See Boyd, *Historia Patria* p. 221.

Through a series of legislative acts passed over the course of July and August, when the Cortes was suspended, the coalition government made a concerted effort to push ahead with moves to reform secondary education. Above all, with the so-called 'Plan Villalobos', of 1934, the government passed a Decree aimed at doing away with generations' worth of diverse and often complicated legislation and replacing it with a single curriculum for students up to and beyond the age of 15. Writing in the *Gaceta de Madrid* the day after the legislation was passed, the newly-appointed Minister of Public Instruction Filiberto Villalobos Gonzalez noted that 'nothing has disrupted secondary education quite like the diversity of legislation passed over the past few decades'. The curriculum that came to bear his name was, therefore, an attempt to address this shortcoming and provide a rigid framework for secondary education, principally through a thorough restructuring of the *Bachillerato*, the qualification awarded to students after the age of 15.²⁴⁸

Whether Villalobos can truly be considered an *Institucionista*, or indeed part of the 'Extended Institution' that so influenced Spanish thought and then educational policy during the first third of the twentieth century, has been the source of some scholarly debate. As Mendivil Giró notes, 'without neither being a "proper Institutionista" nor ever coming into direct contact with Giner or Cossío, through his friendship with Unamuno and, above all, through his approach to the education of his own children, we can deduce that he knew the educational ideas of the Institution and he appreciated them,' sending his daughter Carmen first to the Institute School and then to the *Residencia de Señoritas* in Madrid.²⁴⁹ Furthermore,

²⁴⁸ *Gaceta de Madrid* 241, August 30 1934, pp. 1871-4. This study plan was to remain in place until September 1938.

²⁴⁹ María Antonia Martín Zorraquino, 'La enseñanza de la lengua española en el Plan Villalobos (1934): Características, fundamentos y proyección posterior', in José-Luis Mendivil-Giró and María del Carmen Horno Chéliz (eds.), *La sabiduría de Mnemósine: ensayos de historia de la lingüística* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2012), pp. 267-274.

while in office Villalobos supported several of the initiatives started by the preceding government, most notably those that were devised and launched by the ILE, namely the Pedagogic Missions, while he also offered the Ministry's support for the work of the *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios*. Such a sympathy for the pedagogic ideals of the ILE was reflected in the contents of the secondary education plan which was to bear his name, again ensuring that the *Institucionista* vision for reforming physical education in the nation's schools endured beyond the change in government.²⁵⁰ Indeed, speaking to *El Sol*, Villalobos himself stated: 'I continue the work initiated by Sr. Fernando de los Ríos in this department in 1932....It is necessary to consolidate and complete this plan.'²⁵¹

Through the Decree, secondary education was structured into seven courses across two separate cycles, with these changes to come into effect for the 1934-1935 academic year. In essence the reformed *Bachillerato* was geared towards both the 'intellectual and corporeal' development of students. In terms of intellectual development, foreign languages, literature and sciences were all made compulsory parts of the secondary education, making up the bulk of the first cycle of courses. Alongside this, in the second of the two cycles, the physical development of students was also made a compulsory component of secondary education. In particular, Article 3 of the Decree stated: 'The physical education of past curricula is to be substituted for games and sports,' a move entirely in keeping with the desire to embrace the varied benefits of English-style sports and games rather than the more one-dimensional

²⁵⁰ Several scholars have highlighted the way in which Villalobos inherited and then continued the work of his predecessor. Thus, even if he was not 'a man of the ILE' himself, the Plan of 1934, passed after the elections limited the *Institucionista* influence in the Ministry of Public Instruction, did reflect in many ways the philosophy and aims of the Institution. Antonio de la Heras, for example, argues: 'I maintain that the influence of the ILE reached into 1934, with this Plan perhaps one of its last and most important contributions.' See Antonio de la Heras, 'La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y La Segunda Republica', *Boletín AEPA*, 15 (1976), pp. 73-83.

²⁵¹ *El Sol*, 30 August 1934.

benefits of German or Swedish-style PE that had, as has been noted in the previous chapter, gripped many of Spain's leading pedagogical figures in the years leading up to the declaration of the Republic.

Moreover, the very same article of the Decree also stated that specific sports and games would not to be made compulsory, while textbooks and specific educational programmes were to be 'absolutely prohibited'. Rather, in line with the *institucionista* tradition of handing individual teachers the initiative, both inside and outside of the classroom, the physical development aspect of the *Bachillerato* course would, it was decreed, depend on the specific 'personal conditions of the students'.²⁵² As Villalobos himself wrote soon after the legislation was passed, his Ministry hoped to 'count on the cooperation of the professors of the *Bachillerato* who will give these teachings the elevated tone the Republic needs', with such grassroots cooperation seen as important as any reform made in Madrid, if not more so. Given this,

The content of the Plan Villalobos, not least its provision that sports and games were to replace the physical education lessons of old, in addition to the emphasis it placed on giving teachers relatively free reign both in and outside of the classroom, therefore, undermines any claims that the proposals put forward by Fernando de los Ríos and his allies during the first coalition government came to nothing. Indeed, in this regard, it seems fair to argue, as some have, that the 1934 plans for reforming the *Bachillerato* represented an *institucionista* victory in the battle for influence within the Ministry of Public Instruction.²⁵³ Not for nothing did the *Revista de Pedagogía*, a journal that, while pledging political neutrality was more than a little

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ See, for example, Rodríguez de las Heras, Antonio *La obra social y política de Filiberto Villalobos* pp. 204-213. The same author argues: 'The *Bachillerato* Plan of 1934 must be understood as the final result (though not complete) of the educational policy program, and unquestionably influenced by the Institucion.'

sympathetic to the liberals and progressives who made up the government of the first biennium, warmly welcome the new legislation. Meanwhile, the press of the right would sarcastically describe the new Minister of 'continuing the "glorious" work of Señor de los Ríos,' with the progressive nature of proposed secondary school reforms causing 'disillusionment and fear' among the Republic's ideological opponents.²⁵⁴

According to an editorial published by the journal just days after the passing of the 1934 Decree, the new Plan Villalobos finally brought a sense of order to Spain's secondary education system. It did so by 'making use of the most valuable recent studies and recommendations (including those of the Council of Public Instruction, the Bases put forward by Fernando de los Ríos, and the work of secondary school inspectors).' In short, far from being completely 'improvised', the editorial concluded, the legislation was well thought through and, crucially, built on the foundations laid during the first biennium.²⁵⁵ Conversely, the right, including key members of the Radical Party's coalition partners, were furious with Villalobos and his reforming efforts. The CEDA, for example, argued that the initiative was nothing more than 'a new tactic of the defeated forces of the biennium', maintaining that they continued 'being masters of the Ministry of Education'.²⁵⁶

Notably, the CEDA weren't the only critics of the 1934 Plan for secondary education. Again, the Plan was, in its approach to sports and physical education, fundamentally *Institucionista*. That is, in stipulating that 'the physical education of past curricula is to be substituted for games and sports', the legislation represented not merely a definitive break with the past – more specifically, with the Primo de Rivera regime and its emphasis on military

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 210.

²⁵⁵ *Revista de Pedagogía* September 1934, p. 422.

²⁵⁶ Townson, *The Crisis of Democracy in Spain* p. 259.

drill and gymnastics – but a victory for those pedagogues and *deportistas* who had long been calling for sports to be introduced into Spain's schools. Furthermore, the Plan's emphasis on discarding textbooks and instead its promotion of the initiative of the individual teacher was similarly completely in line with the ILE's pedagogic philosophy, handed down from Giner de los Ríos to the men in the Ministry of Public Instruction during the years of the Republic. Indeed, to some advocates of physical education reform, this Plan went too far, representing too much of a rupture with the system the Republic had inherited.

Above all, the lack of official guidelines for physical education was questioned and criticised. Writing in the specialist journal *Gimnástica*, Augusto Condo, a physical education instructor and captain in the Spanish infantry, lamented the lack of clarity offered by the government. He argued that, with the introduction of the new study plan, the government had 'disregarded the importance of educational gymnastics, a subject that is demanded in all countries except our own.'²⁵⁷ Similarly, in *El Mundo Deportivo*, the newly-formed Academy of Physical Education of Catalonia also expressed its regret at the 'lack of pedagogical criteria for physical education within the new Bachillerato Plan.'²⁵⁸ Such criticisms further highlight the degree to which the ILE's reforms in this area represented a break with the past, while at the same time showing that the *Institucionista* view of the value of sports versus that of gymnastics and physical education was by no means the predominant one of the time.

As it was, however, Villalobos did not have to face such criticism as Minister of Public Instruction. He was effectively forced out of office with a cabinet reshuffle in the autumn of

²⁵⁷ Agosto Condo González. *La educación física en España. Al nuevo Ministro de Instrucción Pública*. Cited in X. Torreadella, 'La Educación Física Comparada en España (1806-1936)', *Social and Education History* 3(1), pp. 25- 53.

²⁵⁸ 'Academia de Educación Física de Cataluña: El nuevo Plan del Bachillerato y la educación física Escolar', in *El Mundo Deportivo*, 18 April 1935, pp. 3-4.

1934. Up until this point, the then President of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora had held back on asking the CEDA's leader, the Catholic lawyer José María Gil-Robles, from forming a government. Instead, that role had been given to Alejandro Lerroux and his Radical Republic Party, a decision that ensured the presence of Villalobos in the government and the continuation of some of the educational policies of Fernando de los Ríos and his peers. At the beginning of October, the President gave into the CEDA's demands and granted them three seats in the Cabinet. Having earned the antipathy of the traditionalist right, not least through his decision to embrace the policies of his predecessor Fernando de los Ríos including the move to freeze religious *colegios* out and give state institutions a monopoly on examinations, Villalobos lost his position. Furthermore, the appointment of the CEDA ministers marked a shift in the political landscape. Many of the key reforms of the first *biennio* were reversed, particularly those aimed at curbing the influence of the Church. The lurch to the right provoked a reaction, with the miners of Asturias revolting just days after the cabinet reshuffle – and insurrection that was put down at the cost of as many as 2,000 lives – while Catalan separatists also rebelled and again were quickly repressed.

Even now, however, top-down attempts to utilise sports to create a new generation of Spaniards were by no means abandoned. Indeed, it could be argued that, a full four years after the fall of the monarchy, that Republic made its most concerted move to harness what it saw as the regenerating potential of sports and physical education within the education system with the passing of a decree establishing a National Council for Physical Education. Writing in the *Gaceta* the day after the decree was passed in the Cortes, Minister for Public Instruction and Fine Arts, the independent Ramon Prieto Bances made clear that his ministry took action in order to combat the 'physical decay of the [Spanish] race'. 'The harmonious development of the individual,' the minister wrote, 'requires that, while we focus on the

intellectual and moral education, we must not turn our noses up at the educational value of physical exercise.' Indeed, he explained, used properly, as part of a wider effort to nurture the spirit, physical exercise can help individuals achieve a 'perfect balance', between the mind and body.²⁵⁹

Fortunately, the introduction to the 1934 Decree noted, over the preceding years, Spain's youth had grown increasingly fond of 'games and sports played in the fresh air', with such pastimes having obvious physical benefits for the participants. 'However, the existence of these activities, products of enthusiastic and spontaneous reaction of Spanish society should not be a pretext for the state to wash its hands of physical education, least of all in its own centres of teaching.' Despite any progress that might have been made, both by the Republic as well as by past regimes, Spain's schools, it was stated, still did not give physical education the attention it deserved. As such, given the potential benefits of developing the body as well as the mind, it was therefore stated, its provision must not be left to 'private initiatives' such as sporting clubs or gyms, but rather must be pushed for by the government and become an integral part of the education system, both at primary level and beyond.²⁶⁰

In order for this to be achieved, the Decree stated, 'it is necessary that an independent body, composed of specialist individuals, study every aspect of the current problem and advise the government on the best means of developing a way of working together that will place Spain, in this respect, allow Spain to assume its proper place among the most civilised of nations.' In short, it ordered the creation of a nationwide council which, Article 1 of the Decree stated, would be tasked with 'studying the organisation of physical education at every

²⁵⁹ *Gaceta de Madrid* 114, April 24 1935, pp. 669-670.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

level of schooling' across Spain. While, as Article 2 of the Decree stated, the Council would have no executive powers,' it would have the power to propose potential reforms to the schools inspections system, while it would also be tasked with inspecting the work of gymnastics societies and sporting clubs and, if necessary, supporting them through the provision of grants, subsidies and prize.²⁶¹

The fourth and final article of the Decree once again serves to way illustrate the way in which the Republican government and the Ministry of Public Instruction in particular sought to embrace the latest scientific thinking with regards to the benefits of physical education and sports, while also embracing the thoughts of the wider sporting community. Sitting at the head of the Council, as President, Article 4 stated, would be a medical doctor, Pedro Minor Ribas, and he would be joined on the body by the president of the Spanish Olympic Committee, a professor of medicine, the director of the Central School of Gymnastics in Toledo and, equally as interesting, by Ricardo Zamora, goalkeeper for Real Madrid and the Spanish national team.²⁶²

Aside from new appointments, which were announced in the pages of the *Gaceta de Madrid* both before and after the electoral victory of the Popular Front in January 1936, the Council of Physical Education did little more than exist on paper. As with many Republican projects, the outbreak of the Civil War and the demands this imposed on all levels of government meant that, while there was clearly interest in making sports a more prominent part of both civic society and, more pertinently, of the state education system, any potential would never be fulfilled. As has been noted, in his interview with *AS*, Prime Minister Manuel

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

Azaña expressed his explicit intention to create an official body to oversee the development of physical education and sport at every level of Spanish society. Several years, and two elections later, such a body had been created. Even if Azaña's personal role in its creation and development is hard, if not impossible to assess, this undoubtedly fit within the *Institucionista* agenda, forming part of a clear plan to first build schools with playing fields and sports pitches, then refine the curriculum while also ensuring physical education was properly developed as a specialist subject, backed by the latest pedagogical and medical insights and benefitting from a wide range of experts.

The Instituto Escuela: The ideal Republican Secondary School

For a number of reasons, therefore, the rhetoric and ambitious plans set out in political speeches of in the pedagogical journals in the first few weeks of the new Republic were to remain unrealised. The task the *institucionistas* set themselves from April 1931 onwards, namely the fundamental transformation and modernisation of the Spanish school, was not one that could be achieved within the limited time they were ultimately afforded. The ideal school of the liberal pedagogical project was never to be established during the Republic, though in the Institute School (*Instituto Escuela*), the ILE and its adherents left a blueprint for what they imagined such a school to be.

To state that 'Institute School was born with the Republic, and died with it too', is essentially inaccurate.²⁶³ In fact, it was created through a Royal Decree of May 1918, passed under the-then Liberal Party Minister of Public Instruction Santiago Alba Bonifaz.²⁶⁴ Despite this royal approval, the Institute School was indubitably associated with the ILE and, more specifically, to the JAE, from the very beginning – indeed, from 1925 onwards it was governed by a board composed entirely of members of the JAE.²⁶⁵ The co-educational school, initially located on Calle Miguel Ángel in the centre of Madrid, was conceived as a 'laboratory' of pedagogy. Since it was a private school, it was free to experiment with a range of traditional and modern educational models and methods, both to provide a full primary and secondary-level education to a select group of children and, to a lesser extent, to give practical experience to aspirant secondary teachers.²⁶⁶

From its inception, the Institute School of Madrid adhered to the progressive pedagogical aims and methods of the ILE. In marked contrast to the reality in every other Spanish public school of the time, there were no set textbooks to be followed. Instead, the teachers read from their own materials, covering a wide range of subjects, with their pupils then expected to write their own summaries rather than learn by rote. Such an adherence to *institucionalista* ideals was equally as evident outside of the classroom. As the 1918 Royal Decree made clear in its rules (*reglamentos*) for the new school, the learning of foreign

²⁶³ For more on this argument, see Elvira Ontanon 'El Instituto-Escuela, un proyecto educativo vigente' in *El País* 23 April 2007.

²⁶⁴ Santiago Alba Bonifaz was himself an active voice in the *regeneracionismo* movement, writing numerous articles and other works, most notably *Problemas de España* (Madrid: Editorial Hesperia, 1916) and would therefore have seen the national educational system as being in significant need of reform and modernisation.

²⁶⁵ The Institute School is widely regarded by historians of Spanish education as the final main project of the JAE, coming just seven years after the creation of the Student Residence and three after the establishment of the Female Student Residence (*Residencia de Señoritas*). As Elvira Ontanon states, it was the 'final fruit' in the labours of the JAE, while for Tuñón de Lara, the Institute School, along with the Student Residence, represented the 'third and final stage of the reformist drive of the ILE'. See Manuel Tuñón de Lara *Medio siglo de cultura española* (Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1981), pp. 38-45.

²⁶⁶ This secondary role of the Institute School will be further explored in Chapter 3 of the present thesis.

languages, music and dance as well as the practice of sport was to be an integral part of everyday life on Calle Miguel Ángel, both for students and teachers alike. Thus, while schools across the rest of Spain largely practised individualistic, often militaristic, gymnastics, adhering to the model of physical education still being embraced by certain northern European nations, the Institute School took its inspiration from elsewhere.²⁶⁷

Perhaps unsurprisingly given that, along with María de Maetzu, the educational direction of the school was overseen by José Castillejo, the Anglophile secretary of the JAE, students here would participate in English-style sports in the hope that this would help develop more than just their muscles. Indeed, as one visitor to the Madrid school reported, great emphasis was placed on 'recreation', with this part of the school day used to 'promote the idea of collectiveness and regulate that of selfishness.' The same report added that, 'in order to achieve this, it's necessary that games are an organised activity. All the games [played here] are collective, with boys and girls joining to form teams...games are also organised in such a manner that there is never an individual winner, only whole teams, and so every players knows that, however much or little they contribute, they can decide the outcome of the whole match.'²⁶⁸ In the same way, the school also held annual 'Mini Olympics' tournaments that, ignoring the warnings of some pedagogical thinkers of the time, encouraged a spirit of competitiveness among the students. A former pupil at the school, Carmen de Zuleta wrote: 'These "Olympics" made us feel part of something bigger, but a part

²⁶⁷ For more on the school, its foundations and curriculum, see: *Un ensayo pedagógico: El Instituto-Escuela de Segunda Enseñanza de Madrid* (Madrid: La Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, 1925).

²⁶⁸ Menéndez Pilal 'Sobre el juego' in *El Instituto de Madrid: Un ensayo pedagógico* p. 135.

with an individual personality, whether you were in a school of infants or in the fifth year of the *Bachillerato*.²⁶⁹

Indeed, such was the importance placed on this side of school life and the commitment to Giner's ideal that teachers should participate and not simply direct, even Cossío, by then old and frail was, according to the same alumna, active in promoting the benefits of sports in the school. Zuleta added: 'Like a good, the elderly Krausist thinker 'attempted to distance [the students] from bullfighting' and other such vices, instead 'managing to form a football team' from his young charges. Moreover, just as with an English public school master, Cossío himself would often lead the games. As Zuleta further noted: 'You can imagine the shock and pleasure of these young men when they saw this serious professor, who worked them harder than any other, enjoying himself with them, playing football with them every Sunday'.²⁷⁰

Just as the Institute School was not 'born with the Republic' neither did sport only become an essential part of daily life there after April 1931. But still, the change of political regime and the change in political climate that accompanied it did undoubtedly have a positive impact on both.²⁷¹ The years 1931 through to 1936, that is the third and final stage of the pedagogical project, saw the maturity and consolidation of the Institute School.²⁷² More pertinently, the Republican years also coincided with a growth in sports at the specialist school. For instance, in 1932, the school organized a sporting tournament on the grounds of

²⁶⁹ Carmen de Zuleta, *La España que pudo ser: Memorias de una institucionista republicana* (Murcia: La Universidad de Murcia, 2000) p. 60.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁷¹ Antonio Molero Pintado concurs. He writes: 'Although the Institute School was not a specifically-Republican creation, it did represent the mould in which they wanted to change secondary education.' See *La reforma educativa de la Segunda República Española: primer bienio* pp. 226-227.

²⁷² Notably, two teachers from the Institute School of Madrid, namely Luis de Zulueta y Escolano and Francisco Barnés Salinas, would hold positions within the Republican governments of the first biennium, the latter as Minister of Public Instruction from June to September 1933.

the Students Residence. According to one report, more than 600 students, both boys and girls, took part. Notably, while the event predominantly featured athletics trials, competition was encouraged and, in stark contrast to the individualist gymnastics that were obligatory in Spain during the years of the dictatorship, here, the focus was on 'collective' exercises and games (*'gimnasia de conjunto y juegos'*).²⁷³ As illustrated here, for years, the School's sporting activities were limited by its location and relative lack of proper facilities. As such, its move to a new location in the capital allowed the school to begin expanding on its sporting programme. Designed by one of the JAE's most trusted architects, the 'Hipòdromo' complex featured football and hockey pitches as well as a covered swimming pool, with various sections completed between 1929 and 1933.²⁷⁴ To coincide with the move across the city, 1933 also saw the reorganisation of the Institute School curriculum, again along *institucionista* lines. From this year onwards, the number of students playing sports rose steadily, while the standard of sporting prowess similarly kept on rising.²⁷⁵ Indeed, so high was the sporting pedigree of the Institute School at this time that the students were taught by Margot Moles, one of the outstanding athletes of the time and later a participant in the 1936 Berlin Olympics.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the school was held up as an example of how sport can be used to

²⁷³ *La Libertad*, 15 May 1932, p. 8.

²⁷⁴ The architect of the new Institute School, Carlos Arniches Moltó, was first commissioned by the JAE in 1927 and would go on to work on several of its projects, including the design of extensions to the Residencia de Señoritas in Madrid.

²⁷⁵ In his essay on the Institute School, written to commemorate the centenary of the ILE, Manuel de Teran notes that throughout the 1930s, the school consolidated its unique position in the education system, building on its *institucionista* foundations while still 'evolving' and being open to new ideas. 'Sporting activity also increased during this time', he adds. See Manuel de Teran, 'El Instituto-Escuela y sus relaciones con la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios y la Institución Libre de Enseñanza' in *En el centenario de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Madrid: Asociación Española de Mujeres Universitarias, 1977).

²⁷⁶ Furthermore, Margot Moles took on the position of PE teacher at the Institute School of Madrid from her sister Lucinda Moles, who left to take up a sporting scholarship in the United States. See Cristina López-Villar, 'The Beginnings of Hockey in 1930s Galicia', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31 (2014), pp.1133-1157.

instil a sense of solidarity among participants and thus build the foundations of a strong democracy.²⁷⁷

Progressive and innovative it might have been, but the Institute School of Madrid was nevertheless an anomaly. During the 1920s, even supporters of the Madrid school had argued that, however inspiring it might be, it was destined to remain the exception rather than the norm within the Spanish education system. As an editorial in *El Debate* pointed out, the Institute School was largely independent, funded by the parents of the students through school fees and, to a lesser extent, reliant upon the financial assistance of its supporters within the fields of pedagogy and academia.²⁷⁸ Quite simply, however admirable its aims and methods, the model could not be adopted elsewhere in the country as the state lacked the financial means – let alone the political will – to do so.

The change in political regime meant that, even if the necessary funds were still lacking, the political will was certainly now there to replicate this model of *institucionista* educational ideals on a larger scale. Thus, while the initial 1915 Decree establishing the Madrid school envisioned others being established soon after, it was only in 1932, under the Ministership of Fernando de los Ríos, that such intentions were transformed into reality.²⁷⁹ Through a series of Decrees passed between 1932 and 1933, several more Institute Schools were established in cities away from the capital. In February of 1932, an Institute School opened its doors in Barcelona, with another in Valencia following soon after. In November

²⁷⁷ María Antonia Sanjurjo Aranaz, another leading female athlete of the early-1930s, with strong links to the ILE, cited the example of the Institute School and the University of Madrid in telling a 1933 conference of the Amigos del Arte association that 'many social prejudices disappear through participation in sport. Aristocrats and plebeians, the elegant and the twee no longer exist, giving way to simple manners and good or bad athletes.' Cited in López-Villar, 'The Beginnings of Hockey in 1930s Galicia'.

²⁷⁸ Cited in Luis Palacios Bañuelos *Instituto Escuela: historia de una renovación educativa* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, 1988) p. 154.

²⁷⁹ Elvira Ontanon calls the period after 1931 'the Institute School's years of maturity'.

1933, a Seville institution was established and then, finally, in the same month, Andalusia got its second Institute School, this one located in the centre of Malaga. While there were some differences – for instance, the Institute School of Seville made a more conscious effort to its influence beyond the moneyed middle classes by offering more places to children from working class backgrounds²⁸⁰ – all of these new schools purposefully took the original Madrid school as their model, not just in terms of how they were designed, but also in terms of how they were staffed and, just as importantly, in their pedagogic philosophies and how they used active learning and in particular sports to achieve their political educational goals.

In Seville, for example, sports were seen as a vital means of forging a sense of solidarity among the students, encouraging a team spirit and keeping egoism – again, a perceived flaw of the Spanish character and one to be addressed if the nation was to be regenerated – at bay. Here again, physical education was enjoyed daily, with the emphasis placed on team sports over individual exercises, even if the latter were practised for an hour at the start of each school day. Swimming, athletics, fencing and above all football were practised by students of all ages. As one former pupil recalled of the first organised session of the day: 'The usual thing was for us to form teams and play sports; we would do this in our break times, too.'²⁸¹ And, just as in Madrid, the teachers, specially selected for the new institution, were encouraged, if not required, to be the model of Giner's active teacher and join their students on the playing fields: 'Our special coach, had a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the practice of sports, including athletics, swimming, fencing and the likes of football and basketball.' Indeed, further highlighting the openness of the young, progressive teachers and

²⁸⁰ Carlos Algora Alba, *El Instituto-Escuela de Sevilla (1932-36): Una proyección de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 1996). See Chapter 3 of this work for a more detailed account of the key differences between the Institute Schools of Madrid and Seville.

²⁸¹ Algora Alba, *El Instituto-Escuela de Sevilla* p. 228.

their enthusiasm for adopting foreign models, the Institute School of Seville is credited with bringing basketball from America to the Andalusian city, with the sport being introduced as the ideal competitive but non-violent game for its female students.²⁸²

In Valencia, the new Institute School tasked itself with the 'formation of a spirit of solidarity' among both students and teachers. That is, in the words of one contemporary newspaper report, the school was 'not merely a place to obtain a *Bachillerato*, but rather a workshop for forming the students' bodies and their souls in order that they will one day be useful men, both for their own sakes and that of society'. It was with this aim of producing 'useful' and moral men that the founders of the Valencia school likewise chose to follow the lead of their Madrid counterparts and stick closely to the ILE educational model. Thus, the daily school programme differed from the standard secondary school curriculum in its emphasis on organised sports and games, as well as regular sessions on art, music and dance.²⁸³ Similarly, in Barcelona, sport was made an integral part of life at the Institute School. Its Director, Josep Estallela I Graells, was a dedicated *institucionista*, having served as head of sciences at the Institute School of Madrid before returning to his native Catalonia to take up his new position. Unsurprisingly, as a 'disciple' of Giner de los Ríos, he shared the ILE founder's belief that sport could help form the characters of young men. Thus, as one history of the school notes, here 'physical education and sports were treated with care', and used to promote 'responsibility and solidarity' among students.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Algora Alba, *El Instituto-Escuela de Sevilla* p. 229.

²⁸³ León Esteban Mateo, and Alejandro Mayordomo Pérez, *El Instituto-Escuela de Valencia, (1932-1939): Una experiencia de renovación pedagógica* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1984) p. 42.

²⁸⁴ For more on the Institute School of Barcelona, see Buenaventura Delgado Criado, 'El Instituto Escuela' in *José Castillejo y la política europeísta para la reforma educativa española* (Ciudad Real: Biblioteca de Autores y Temas Manchegos, 1987).

In all, the Institute School of the national capital provided a progressive education, of which sport played an integral part, to an estimated 1,600 students. Hundreds more attended those in Andalusia and the north of Spain.²⁸⁵ However, again, despite enjoying several years of growth and maturity, the Institute School was short-lived. Activities in both Madrid and the other institutions were, inevitably, placed on hold with the outbreak of the Civil War and then, for reasons of politics, the schools were disbanded completely after 1939. The Institute School was destined to remain merely a short-lived pedagogic experiment, providing the historian with a blueprint of what the 'ideal' Republican public secondary school might have looked like.

Conclusions

As editor of *El Mundo Deportivo*, José L. Lasplazas was not alone in hoping that the Republic would follow the lead of other European countries and harness the regenerating potential of sport and use it for the 'formation of future citizens'. Looking to the example of England in particular and the way in which the games field had been used to forge an elite cadre of 'gentleman' equipped with the resilience, discipline and fortitude needed to spread the ideals of democracy and 'fair play' both at home and across the Empire, advocates of sports believed their introduction into Spain's schools could help create the new generation of progressive minded young men the country so desperately needed. This regeneration through sports was to begin as young as possible and continue throughout a student's formative years. That is, with the proclamation of the Second Republic, advocates of sports in the school system

²⁸⁵ Palacios Bañuelos, *Instituto Escuela: historia de una renovación educativa*

looked forward to the government overseeing 'the regeneration of the race, starting in childhood, continued through adolescence and maintained during the years of maturity'.²⁸⁶

However, just as those who were keen to see the new regime oversee a profound social and economic revolution, were destined to be disappointed, proponents of the increased use of sports in the Spanish education system would have been far from happy with the actual reforms passed during the years of the Republic. As has been shown through an analysis of the legislation passed between 1931 and 1936, the Ministry of Public Instruction was clearly more concerned with addressing the chronic shortage of schools in the country than it was with overhauling the contents of either the primary or the secondary curriculum. Indeed, when it did move to change what was being taught in the nation's public schools, the overriding concern was with purging the classroom of any trace of religion, a policy which, as it has been widely argued, deprived the nascent regime of valuable support and gave its enemies a cause to rally around. Moreover, even in its aim of building more schools – and indeed, ensuring such schools were, wherever possible, equipped with sports pitches or simply room for outdoor recreation – the Republic was hampered by both economic constraints and, from the very beginning, by political opposition and near-constant changes within the Ministry itself.

The reform of the primary school was, again, one of the principle aims of the new regime. However, anticlerical efforts aside, actual reform as to what was being taught were slow in arriving. Certainly, despite the fact that several of the key figures within the Ministry of Public Instruction evidently did see sport in the school as an effective means of forming a new type of Spaniard and thus helping ensure the regeneration of the country, little was done

²⁸⁶ *La Educación Física* 2,1, June 1932.

to transform arguments into reality, not least during the first 'reformist' biennium. This, however, was due largely to reasons of political pragmatism. As Rodolfo Llopis himself made clear, the Republic initially pursued a 'five-year plan', largely centred around building more and better schools. Within this was the most-concerted effort in Spain's history up to that point to equip both rural and urban schools with playing fields in order to allow students to enjoy the varied benefits of sports and other organised games.

A second five-year plan was, of course, never to be. Had it gone ahead, however, it seems evident that the arguments for sport as a tool for moral, spiritual and physical development would have finally been put into practice. The Ministerial Circular published in 1937, in which it was stated that the exercises of the past were to be replaced by 'sports and games', which would promote the 'discipline of the will and...the formation of a dynamic and vigorous personality', allied with the new study plan for primary education passed that same year suggest just that. Moreover, had such a policy been implemented and the rhetoric backed up with action, it would have been enforced by a national body of inspectors headed up by individuals such as Ballesteros who had openly written of their enthusiasm for sport as an educational tool.

Similarly, at the secondary level, while the initial hopes and expectations of the sporting press would never be realised, it is still evident that certain key reformists within the Ministry of Public Instruction, from Fernando de los Ríos to Filiberto Villalobos believed sport could have a role to play in modernising the country's schools and helping to not only make students more physically healthy and robust but to instil in them discipline while simultaneously curbing them of excessive displays of egotism; in short, sports in the

secondary school could address several of the key 'problems' standing in the way of the regeneration of Spain.

Certainly, progress in this regard was slow or even, as in the case of the August 1931 reform of the *Bachillerato* and the subsequent reversion to the foundations of the 1926 Callejo Plan, non-existent. But still, the reforms of 1934, which built on the *institucionista* ideals of Fernando de Los Rios, stressed the need to oversee both the 'intellectual and corporeal' development of students, with 'the physical education of the past [to be] substituted for sports and games'. Moreover, in the Institute School, the ILE and its allies provided a blueprint for its aims in the field of secondary education reform. As Molero Pintado notes, 'although the Institute School was not a specifically Republican creation...it did represent how [the Republic] wanted to mould secondary education'. Certainly, there was never any wish to open thousands of new Institute Schools. Not only would this be impractical, not least due to costs and the policy of having them serve as centres of training for aspirant secondary teachers, but it would also have been undesirable seeing as it would have minimised the exclusivity of what was, in essence, an exercise in educational elitism. However, it is legitimate to argue that, given the Institute School was the purest representation of the ILE's pedagogic philosophy in practice, the emphasis placed on sport here would have been replicated on a wider scale, that is by being integrated into the national public school system had, of course, its members and allies enjoyed more time and space in power in the Ministry of Public Instruction.

Aside from the more immediate issues facing those determined to regenerate Spain through the education system, chief among them the need to build more schools and the drive to secularise the nation's classrooms, the relative paucity of legislation aimed at more

generally reforming both the primary and secondary curriculum and, more specifically at ensuring physical education and sport played a more prominent role in school life, can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, as José Castillejo argued: 'No educational reform should be undertaken without first preparing the necessary personnel.'²⁸⁷ That is, as shall be explored in more detail, it wasn't just the creation of new schools the progressive pedagogues in the Ministry of Public Instruction concerned themselves with, but also the creation of new teachers. Having inherited a largely disillusioned and, in many cases, under-qualified teaching corps, the Republic needed to oversee the formation of a new generation of educational professionals, with these teachers required to be sympathetic to the political and social goals of the new regime.

Secondly, it needs to be recognised that a paucity of definitive legislative action at the government level does not in itself mean that English-style team sports were not being embraced across Spain in the period between the fall of the monarchy and the start of the Civil War. Running through both the Decrees and Orders that were passed by the Republic as well as the writings of the key figures behind such legislation is a clear adherence to one of the central tenets of the Krausist philosophy that so influenced Gíner de los Ríos, the founder of the ILE, namely giving individual teachers a significant degree of autonomy. It was the teachers rather than any government minister who were seen as the main drivers of reform in the educational sphere, and indeed, as the representation of the Republic within their own individual *pueblos*. As Fernando de los Ríos stressed following the announcement in the Cortes of his ministry's plans for both primary and secondary education, teachers were to be

²⁸⁷ José Castillejo, *War of Ideas in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1937) p. 115.

given the liberty to 'use the method or teaching materials they preferred', free from any overbearing governmental control.²⁸⁸

As has been shown, de los Ríos himself in his role of Minister of Public Instruction issued an official Circular to the nation's teachers in December of 1932 with the specific aim of 'encouraging them to embrace the enthusiasm they have for their vocation and to develop their own sense of initiative'. And again, here teachers were advised of the role physical education and sport in particular could play in the 'training of the body and then, by means of this benefit, the discipline of the will and the refinement of the character'. Thus, a look at education at the grassroots level, and not just an examination of the relevant legislation passed during this period, is crucial for an accurate assessment of the place and role of sports in Spain's schools under the Republic. That is, the degree to which teachers themselves, enthused by unprecedented levels of recognition and autonomy and inspired by the progressive pedagogic press and the Circulars issued from the Ministry of Public Instruction, took the initiative and started substituting the physical education of old for modern sport needs to be analysed. Similarly, the reasons why teachers might indeed have taken such initiative – above all, if there reasons were consistent with the arguments promoting the regenerating benefits of sport – also merits further investigation.

²⁸⁸ Fernando de Los Ríos quoted in Molero Pintado *La reforma educativa de la Segunda República Española* pp. 312-13.



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AÑO I | Martes, 9 agosto 1932 | Núm. 10

¿QUE SE PIENSA DEL DEPORTE EN LAS ESFERAS GUBERNAMENTALES?

El presidente del Consejo de Ministros, don Manuel Azaña, nos habla de la alta misión que incumbe llevar al deporte y apunta las posibilidades de su contacto con las instituciones oficiales.

¿Qué se piensa del deporte en las esferas gubernamentales? Es una pregunta primaria que nos habremos formulado muchas veces para llegar a una conclusión absolutamente negativa; hasta ahora, los hombres de gobierno no pensaban nada acerca del deporte. Para ellos, para la mayoría de ellos al menos, el deporte era una cosa hermética. Atraía a las multitudes, y por esto únicamente merecía de vez en cuando el favor de la mirada de los políticos, porque a su sombra podían buscarse los beneficios de una popularidad cotizabile. Y nada más.

No se creyó interesante ahondar en el significado de ese movimiento que arrastraba cada día a mayores contingentes de ciudadanos ni se cuidó de estudiar su encauzamiento con finalidades de función social.

No se colaboró de manera directa en ese movimiento que se producía y crecía de manera espontánea, y aun podría decirse que, por el contrario, se le pusieron trabas y diques.

La ignorancia en que se vive en los Gobiernos acerca de las realidades del deporte permiten tejer la más variada y extensa gama de bizarros errores.

Se cree que consiste todo en "ser gentil" con las organizaciones deportivas, por los procedimientos al uso. Y las "secretarías particulares" despa chan, con "atentos besalamanos", cantidades de copas y trofeos de similitud, con un generoso criterio de igualdad: lo mismo significa una manifestación internacional de gran envergadura que una carrera de sacos de feria pueblerina, que un torneo de fútbol verbeno...

Se crean comisiones fantásticas, cuya finalidad no parece otra que devorar una rebanadita de presupuesto. Si la influencia política media, se llegan a hacer regala los espléndidos a comités incontrolables o a artificiosas organizaciones de "atracción de



S. E. el Presidente de la República, el presidente del Consejo, señor Azaña, y otros miembros del Gobierno en el palco oficial, durante un partido internacional de "rugby".

A. Díez de las Heras.

forasteros". Esto es todo lo que desde las esferas gubernamentales se hace por el deporte.

Y entre tanto, el deporte, en las bases serias de su organización, sigue sin recibir el aliento, la ayuda y el consejo de los regidores de la cosa pública. Y su misión verdadera y elevada continúa ignorada.

Hemos trazado un panorama que abarca toda la época pasada, incluso el periodo dictatorial.

De Gobiernos nuevos cabe esperar ideas nuevas.

¿En qué disposición estará ante la realidad innegable e importantísima del movimiento deportivo el actual Gobierno de la República?

Tratar de averiguarlo es el propósito de esta información.

Estamos ante don Manuel Azaña, presidente del Consejo de Ministros...

—La educación física de la juventud—nos dice—constituye una de las preocupaciones del Gobierno, que considera que la extensión del hábito deportivo es la base de toda política sanitaria. Tan sólo mediante el cultivo racional del músculo puede lograrse una juventud robusta que permita, con probabilidades de éxito, la lucha contra las enfermedades endémicas que minan la sociedad actual.

—¿Qué misión incumbe realizar a las asociaciones y a las federaciones deportivas y cómo entiende usted que puede aprovecharse para el beneficio común la actividad que desarrollan?

—Las asociaciones y federaciones deportivas tienen una elevada misión que cumplir. Para ello es necesario que olviden un poco el deporte espectáculo para preocuparse del deporte función social. Deben sobreponerse al interés de club para atender al interés general, y puestos en contacto con las instituciones de Instrucción Pública y Sanidad, y prestando su ayuda a las organizaciones obreras, pueden contribuir poderosamente al mejoramiento físico de la raza.

—Pero quizá eso no sea posible mientras el Estado no extienda su control de una manera eficaz a este aspecto de la vida española.

—Indudablemente. Y por ello habrá que pensar en la creación de un organismo oficial que encauce y fecunde la actividad deportiva de las asociaciones privadas.

El presidente del Consejo de Ministros acaba de lanzar la idea (por primera vez apuntada en estas alturas) del Comité Nacional del Deporte, cuya existencia ha sido tan útil en otros países. Pero no debe olvidarse que para que esa existencia tenga realidad es indispensable que las federaciones deportivas preparen el terreno, den ellas mismas la pauta al funcionamiento de ese Comité futuro, y con ella, la sensación de su seriedad y de su importancia.

—Hay, señor presidente, un aspecto fundamental de la cuestión, y tan urgente, que me atrevo, aun a sabiendas de que no es oportuno entrar en detalles, a someterlo a su criterio. Es la cuestión de los terrenos deportivos y del material...

—Es indudable la necesidad de crear terrenos deportivos suficientemente dotados, accesibles a todos los ciudadanos. Pero el Estado poco puede hacer en esa cuestión. Son los Municipios principalmente quienes deben atender a la satisfacción de esa necesidad.

Es momento de dar por terminada esta interesante entrevista. No abusemos de esta democrática llaneza del jefe del Gobierno, que permite a un periodista llegar a su despacho a importunarle con una inquisición. Queremos cerrar nuestras notas con la opinión personal de nuestro interlocutor insigne acerca del deporte.

—He cultivado—nos dice el señor Azaña—la equitación. No he alcanzado los deportes de hoy; pero me gustan como espectáculo, sobre todo el fútbol y las pruebas de atletismo. Pienso que estos ejercicios no sólo fortalecen el cuerpo, sino que infiltran en el que los practica un espíritu de cooperación, de subordinación del individuo o la colectividad que han de trascender a las demás actividades de la vida, contribuyendo a corregir el feroz personalismo de nuestro pueblo...

Chapter 3: '¡Arriba el magisterio republicano!'²⁸⁹ Teachers and sport under the Republic

*'El magisterio hispánico ha de responder con todo su entusiasmo a la llamada de la República. El gran ejército de cerca 40.000 hombres que lo constituyen ha de ponerse lealmente a su servicio....La República se salvará al fin, por la escuela.'*²⁹⁰

As has been shown, for the Republic, and certainly for the *institucionistas* who came to hold governmental positions, education was not simply a top-down affair with policy to be dictated from Madrid and followed in the provincial cities and pueblos. Rather, alongside the passing of any official legislation, teachers themselves were to be entrusted with the job of creating the future citizens of a liberal, democratic Spain. That is, as the Director of Primary Education Rodolfo Llopis made clear in his account of the regime's first two years, at the primary and the secondary level, teachers were to be given the power to use their initiative, both in the classroom and, if they deemed it appropriate, on the playing field as well. 'It is fundamental that the teacher puts his personal stamp on his work,' the Director General of Primary Education for the first biennium wrote.²⁹¹ He added: 'The teacher has the liberty to emphasise whichever of the above-mentioned subjects [singing, gym, handiwork] that he sees fit...and is equally free to choose the method of teaching he prefers.'²⁹²

²⁸⁹ This was a call to arms issued in an editorial of the *Revista de Pedagogía* just days after the establishment of the Second Republic. See *Revista de Pedagogía* May 1931.

²⁹⁰ Lorenzo Luzuriaga, 'Al servicio de la República', *Crisol*, 10 May 1931.

²⁹¹ Llopis, Rodolfo, *La revolución en la escuela*, p. 257.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p.257.

Certainly, for all the praise Llopis and his colleague in the Ministry of Public Instruction Fernando de los Ríos among others heaped onto members of the nation's teachers, the high level of responsibility and agency given to them was, to some extent, due to simple logistics. From the very beginning, the Republic recognised that consolidating the new regime by winning the approval of a sufficiently large percentage of the population meant that it had to spread its ideals beyond the urban centres in which it enjoyed its greatest support. That is, the Republic's reforming project needed to reach 'every hidden corner and *pueblo*' of Spain, something that could not realistically be achieved through rigid, top-down policies directed from Madrid alone.²⁹³ Individual teachers, in occupying a central place in even the most rural of Spanish village, could serve to transmit the values and goals of the Republic far more effectively than any Decree issued from Madrid ever could. Indeed, as Sara Ramos Zamora argues in her history of the education system during the years of democracy, 'teachers were the pampered class of the Republic, because the Republic knew that they were the ones who would train the future generations in the values of democracy. It is for this reason that the school became a centre of creativity and innovation.'²⁹⁴

Several studies have expanded on this idea of teachers, both at the primary and the secondary level, being granted greater levels of freedom under the new Republic than at any time up until that point, with some then exploring the ways in which schools of even individual teachers made use of such relative liberty. As one recent history of the political culture of the Second Republic notes, 'teachers and professors at every level of education, along with their students, joined the many initiatives that were launched during the Republican years' as they

²⁹³ Sandie Holguin, *Creating Spaniards*, p. 8.

²⁹⁴ Sara Ramos Zamora quoted in: Various Authors, *Las maestras de la República* (Madrid: Los Libros de la Catarata, 2012).

worked to ensure the school fulfilled its historic mission.²⁹⁵ For instance, some teachers embraced the latest advances in printing and sought to mimic the work being done across the border in France by Célestin Freinet, thereby enabling their students to access a wider range of pedagogic materials, while others even began to make use of gramophones and the radio as educational tools.²⁹⁶

Of course, not every teacher would take advantage of this new degree of freedom to introduce progressive pedagogical thoughts and methods into their classrooms. On the one hand, the Republic always struggled to reach every level of Spanish society, particularly outside of urban areas. Many teachers simply did not receive or read the progressive pedagogical journals that promoted the Republic's educational reforms of the first biennium, though putting a precise number on this would be difficult, if not impossible. At the same time, many teachers were simply indifferent to the legislation and recommendations coming out of Madrid. As has been noted, the Republic inherited an education system that had been chronically neglected for decades. Even if the Republic raised wages and offered assurances of elevated status within a new society, many educators remained largely apathetic, not least since they had witnessed years of near-constant change in the Ministry of Public Instruction, with orders and recommendations at times completely contradicting those that had gone before. As one teacher noted in 1935, having seen the direction of the government change following the 1933 elections: 'Aren't we convinced that tomorrow or the day after a minister will enter the Ministry and command in the *Gaceta* just the opposite?'²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera, 'La Educación en la Segunda República (1931-1936) in Idoia Murga Castro and José María López Sánchez (Eds.), *Política cultural de la Segunda República Española* (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2016) p. 187.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

²⁹⁷ An editorial published in *Escuela Española*, 2 (October 1935), p. 485, cited in Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 230.

At the same time, in certain parts of Spain, the reach of the state was limited in comparison to that of the Church. While it may have attempted to secularize Spanish society, the Republic could not dictate what individual teachers believed. As several studies of the history of Catholicism in Spain have noted, many teachers simply quietly tolerated the Republic, viewing it as temporary, a view that was ultimately correct. Thus, with the establishment of the Franco dictatorship following the end of the Civil War, a large number of Spain's teachers remained in their posts, quite readily adapting to the reintroduction of religion into the curriculum. Furthermore, teachers loyal to the Church and distrustful of the Republic's reforms were, as shall be noted, catered for by a vibrant pedagogical press.

Among those who did, however, some would take note of the Circular outlining the benefits of introducing sport into the school day issued by Fernando de los Ríos in 1932 and subsequently published in the widely-read regional *Boletín de Educación* journals of the time. Similarly, other teachers would be enthused by the change in political regime and the elevated status and respect granted to them in this new society, and also inspired by articles on the advantages of sport published in the pedagogical press both before and after April 1931. The present chapter, therefore, will assess how the arguments for the regenerative qualities of sport within education were put into practice 'from below'. That is, regardless of what was achieved – or intended – at ministerial level (or, from 'the top-down'), an assessment on how and why individual teachers and schools embraced sport at the local level is necessary in order to gain a fuller picture of the extent to which the 'soldiers of the Republic' helped the Republic in its mission of regenerating Spain through the means of education. More specifically, such an assessment will help give an understanding of whether or not the

teachers the Republic relied upon to forge a new generation of Republics bought into the arguments for using sport to fashion the character of this new man.²⁹⁸

'Sport versus gymnastics': The pedagogical press during the Second Republic

Fortunately for the historian, the establishment of the Second Republic heralded a golden age for pedagogic press (*la prensa pedagógica*), with dozens of new publications, including books, journals and monologues, launched between 1931 and 1936. At the same time, several older titles became more regular, longer, or both.²⁹⁹ Additionally, the Ministry of Public Instruction was keen to share its educational intentions as well as its achievements in the popular press of the time. As Llopis noted in an interview given in the spring of 1931: 'It is our aim that you won't be able to leaf through a single newspaper without coming across a lively discussion on some educational issue.'³⁰⁰ Given that, as media, radio and certainly mobile cinema were still in their infancy in Spain even by 1931, and since relatively few teachers were able to travel much beyond their local communities, such publications generally served as the primary means of disseminating new ideas and reporting on the latest advances in the field of

²⁹⁸ In his work on 'The Pedagogical State', Kaplan argues that 'mass schooling creates contexts for individuals to insert their private selves in public discourses and thus reconceptualise their political selves in light of changing everyday realities.' That is, looking at centralised policies is not enough; an analysis of localised case studies, exploring how such policies were put into effect at the local level, is also necessary. See Sam Kaplan, *The Pedagogical State: Education and the Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

²⁹⁹ A good history of the history of educational journals in Spain can be found in Antonio Checa Godoy, *Historia de la prensa pedagógica en España* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002).

³⁰⁰ See interview with Llopis published in *La Bandera Profesional: Revista de Primera Enseñaza*, 933, 5 May, 1931 p. 2.

pedagogy, in addition to giving individual professionals the chance to share their own innovations among their peers.³⁰¹

Inevitably, freed from the censorship of the dictatorship, the revolutionary left stepped up their publishing efforts, not least in the field of education and other social affairs. Similarly, moves to reduce the influence of the religious orders on public life prompted a response from the right, with journals such as *Atenas* serving as the mouthpieces for Catholic educators, almost invariably critical of Republican reforms no matter how necessary or effective they might have been. Such overtly partisan journals were, however, largely fringe publications, with limited, albeit devoted, readerships. In comparison, publications that were not openly political were both more popular and more influential. As Antonio Checa Godoy notes in his study of the history of the pedagogical press in Spain, the most influential publications of the time were those that, while not being overtly political, were nevertheless, in 'clear harmony with the educational reforms initiated from 1931.'³⁰²

Having built up a solid national readership over the course of several decades, the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza (BILE)* held onto its status as the most widely-read of all the educational journals in Spain. Moreover, though at all times maintaining its freedom from political affiliations, it was, thanks to the personnel at its heart, the most closely linked with the Republican regime. Between 1931 and 1936, several key figures from within the Republican regime wrote articles for the publication, while editorials generally welcomed most of the educational reforms that were introduced during these years. But, while it may

³⁰¹ Though the use of film for educational purposes was still in its infancy by 1931, this medium was nevertheless used in the classroom in some parts of Spain. A good overview of educational cinema of the period can be found in Holguin, Sandie *Creating Spaniards*, while a contemporary account of the utilisation of new technology in the field of pedagogy can be found in the article 'El Cinema, La Radio, Los Discos' in *Revista de Pedagogía* January 1933.

³⁰² Checa Godoy, *Historia de la prensa pedagógica en España* p. 68.

well have been the leader in its field, the *BILE* was not unique. During the years of the Republic, thanks mainly to the marked shift in the political landscape, the *Revista de Pedagogía* also came to prominence and, as such, the pages of this publication also need to be analysed in order to gauge interest in and enthusiasm for sports at the grassroots level.³⁰³

In many ways, the *Revista de Pedagogía* had the same aims as the *BILE*, as reflected in a mission statement that was, as it was for its rival publication, clearly displayed in every issue. This read simply: 'The *Revista de Pedagogía* aspires to reflect the contemporary pedagogical movement and, through its work, contribute to its development. Drawing on a wealth of scientific evidence, it is free from any partiality or exclusivity, inspired [only] by the common goal of the educational project, it directs its attention at all of the problems facing the field of teaching today.' Such a commitment to both reporting on the latest pedagogical trends and encouraging not just Spain's teachers but also its politicians to consider embracing progressive methods, helped make the journal well-respected at home and abroad. As the *English Journal of Education* noted, the *Revista de Pedagogía* was the 'most forward-looking educational journal' of the time, 'whose liberal ideas on education [were] being put into practice under the Republic.'³⁰⁴

Again, while at the same time always stressing his independence from any political party or ideal, the journal was nevertheless extremely sympathetic to the aims and, to a large extent, the methods of the Republic. In one editorial, it stated that the majority of Spain's teachers were behind it in full support of the new regime - though it tempered this with the observation that, given the hardships endured by many educators during the preceding

³⁰³ For a thorough overview of the history of the journal, see: Eloisa Mérida-Nicolich, *Una alternativa de reforma pedagógica: La Revista de Pedagogía (1912-1936)* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1983).

³⁰⁴ *Revista de Pedagogía* September 1933, p. 94.

decades, this was to be expected – and it too saw in the Republic the chance to regenerate the nation through its schools.³⁰⁵ In recognition of its support, and highlighting its links with regime, the-then Minister of Public Instruction Fernando de los Ríos penned a prologue for the special tenth anniversary edition, further emphasising the important role education would play in creating a new Spain and praising the work being carried out by both the journal and its thousands of readers.

What did set the *Revista de Pedagogía* apart from the *BILE*, however, was its explicit affiliation with the international New School movement. Much has been written about the movement, which was enthusiastically embraced by educators across much of Europe, including Spain, though historians of education have failed to offer a precise definition of what either a New School or a New Education was. As one such history notes, it was an 'avant-garde international movement' that was 'diverse in nature' yet which had one central aim, namely 'the hope of replacing the contrived and mechanical methods of the state school with the students' spontaneous efforts and inner discipline'.³⁰⁶

Through both its aims and its methods, the New School movement had much in common with the ILE. Indeed, the ILE was, to some historians of the movement, the first New School to be set up in Europe and, from 1880 onwards, served as the archetypal New School, inspiring educators right across Europe and into North America. Moreover, as Caroline Boyd notes, a number of key individuals serving in the Ministry of Public Instruction from 1931

³⁰⁵ An editorial of May 1932 stated: 'El magisterio hispánico ha de responder con todo su entusiasmo a la llamada de la Republica. El gran ejército de cerca 40.000 hombres que lo constituyen ha de ponerse lealmente a su servicio...La República se salvará al fin, por la escuela.' See *Revista de Pedagogía* May 1931 p. 226.

³⁰⁶ Julio Ruiz Berrio, Teresa Rabazas and Sara Ramos, 'The Reception of the "New Education" in Spain by Means of the Manuals on the History of Education for Teacher Training Colleges (1898-1976) in *Pedagógica Histórica* Volume 42, Issue 1, (2006).

onwards were personally connected to both the liberal and the socialist pedagogical projects. For instance, the first four education ministers of the new Republic, namely Marcelino Domingo, Fernando de los Ríos, Domingo Barnés and Francisco Barnés, 'were affiliated to a greater or lesser extent' with both the Institution and the New School movement, which was, in turn, associated with the Radical Socialist and Socialist parties in Spain.³⁰⁷ Similarly, the main mouthpieces of both pedagogical movements, that is, their journals, were equally supportive of the Republic and progressive in their outlook, above all when it came to embracing the latest trends in teaching.

Unsurprisingly both of these major journals concurred with the assertion of Llopis and his colleagues at the Ministry of Public Instruction, stressing the important role teachers would play in creating a new Spain along liberal, progressive and Republican lines. Just days after the establishment of the new regime, for example, the *Revista de Pedagogía* stated: 'Spanish educators are, more than anyone else, obliged to be the Republic's most enthusiastic defenders. We have a duty to bring to the school the very ideals upon which it rests: freedom, autonomy, solidarity, civility. Nobody who is an educator can be opposed to these, since they are also the basis of the New Education.'³⁰⁸

Not only did some teachers and other educators see themselves as the (self-declared) 'saviours' of the Republic and the men needed to fulfil Llopis's aim of converting 'the subjects of the Bourbon monarchy into the citizens of the Spanish Republic', but many were keen to answer the regime's call and take the opportunity to introduce new ideas and methods into their schools. Freed from the shackles of the previous regime, Spain's teachers seized the

³⁰⁷ Boyd, Caroline *Historia Patria* p. 197.

³⁰⁸ *Revista de Pedagogía* May 1931.

chance to use their initiative and put into action what they had previously only talked or written about. And notably, as the pages of the main pedagogical journals of the time indicate, some of these teachers embraced physical education and, more specifically, sports in an attempt to promote the key ideals of liberty, autonomy, solidarity and civility to their schools while simultaneously improving the physical wellbeing of their charges.³⁰⁹ As has been noted, up until the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, teachers in state schools were required to implement the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*, with no room to deviate from its emphasis on military drill and

This is not to say that all educators were enthusiastic advocates of sports in the school. Far from it; as with prior to the advent of the Republic, the views expressed by the leading lights of the pedagogical movement were varied and by no means all of them saw in sports a tool for regeneration. Similarly, at the primary level of the education system, sport remained of no interest for many teachers, as a number of the pieces chronicling daily life in Spain's schools that were published in the pedagogical press of the time make clear.³¹⁰ Moreover, even among those educators who subscribed to the *mens sana in corpore sano*, not all were fully behind the idea of using English-style sports to regenerate the Spanish youth. For instance, just as in the years leading up to the Republic, from the summer of 1931 onwards,

³⁰⁹ It is worth acknowledging here that not every Spanish teacher who embraced sports may not have done so for ideological, or even strictly pedagogical purposes. J. A. Mangan's research into sports in the English public school suggests that some teachers, particularly younger male teachers, simply saw games as a leisure, rather than an educational, activity. In essence, a football game offered them the chance to escape the confines of the classroom. Though there is no clear evidence that this was the case in Spain (and, of course, it would be hard to prove it either way), it is still worth acknowledging this as a possible motivation for teachers to introduce sports into their schools. What does seem very unlikely, however, is Spain's teachers and headmasters using sports as a means of enhancing the reputations of their schools, as was (and indeed still is) undoubtedly the case in England. See J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

³¹⁰ The journal *Escuelas de España* ran a regular feature allowing teachers to share the details of daily life in their schools. In some instances, individual teachers report that not even gymnastics or any general 'physical education' features in their typical school day, again showing the limits of the government's influence or even that of the contemporary pedagogical journals.

arguments continued to be made for the perceived benefits of Northern European-style gymnastics and physical education. An analysis of such works is necessary and illuminating, showing that the sportive reforms attempted by the *Institucionista* elements within the Ministry of Public Instruction and their allies at the grassroots level came against a backdrop of an ongoing debate between proponents of English-style competitive sports and Northern European gymnastics and physical education.

One such proponent of the latter group was Marcelo Sanz Romo. A former professor of physical education at the Normal School of Madrid and a contributor to the *Revista de Pedagogía*, he clearly saw the benefits of educating the body as well as the mind. Moreover, in accordance with the views of Llopis, Domingo and other key Republican figures, he called on the nation's teachers to seize the initiative and harness the benefits of physical education in their schools. In his manual for teachers, released by the *Revista de Pedagogía's* own publishing house, Sanz argued that physical education served a dual purpose: firstly, it would improve the physical wellbeing of the individual, and, secondly, it would serve the good of the 'Spanish race'. It was, therefore, a teacher's 'moral duty' to educate the body as well as the mind.³¹¹

As such, while noting that physical education may not have been deemed so important by previous generations of teachers, he called on his peers to use the opportunity of a new political regime to make up for past shortcomings in this area: 'Teachers: when you are teaching physical education to your students, you do it with all your heart; take into account that, as teachers, you are also obligated to make sure that your students are developing

³¹¹ Marcelo Sanz Romo, *La educación física: Metodología de la gimnasia racional* (Madrid: Revista de Pedagogía, 1934) p. 7.

physically so that they will grow healthy. The students should develop at the same time physical and mental faculties and moral energy.³¹²

At the same time, however, Sanz Romo warned against the potential dangers of sports, which he regarded as a corrupting influence on the youth of the time. Above all, competitive sports, including both team games and athletics, were deemed overly vigorous and violent and they could, therefore, pose a serious health risk to children in a delicate stage of their development. Moreover, sports were presented as almost frivolous and even corrupting, promoting individualism and rashness over altruism and rationality: 'Sports are neither always healthy nor useful given that their principal objective is to have fun [and] because they are governed by emotion and not reason.' The key message of the book, therefore, is that, though teachers should certainly concern themselves with the physical development of their students, they should refrain from giving into the fashion of the times and encouraging them to take part in sports. At the same time, however, while they may have been divided over whether sports could cause tiredness and hinder a student's concentration in the classroom, advocates would regard the sense of individualism and competition they fostered to be beneficial rather than harmful.

In a similar vein to the writings of Sanz Romo, the pedagogical journal *Avante*, when it did touch on the subject of the physical development of the nation's youth – which was admittedly relatively rare – favoured gymnastics and traditional physical education lessons over sports. In one key editorial, entitled 'The Educational Gym', it argued that, for children aged between the ages of eight and fourteen, the physical rigours of sports would be more damaging than beneficial. Given this, the journal's editors advised, an optimal physical

³¹² Ibid., p. 7.

education course for students should consist of weekly gymnastics sessions, alongside relatively undemanding activities such as hiking.³¹³ Meanwhile, picking up on another of Sanz Romo's criticisms, the leader of one prominent teachers' group, the '*Grupo Escolar Amador de los Ríos*' in Madrid, cited contemporary pedagogical thought coming out of Northern Europe to argue that, whatever some educators might have believed, students did not learn much through 'play', and that many teachers were running the risk of confusing active learning with 'stupidities' and 'trivialities'. Just as importantly, the author argued, team sports could encourage feelings of tribalism and competition, whether between students or adult communities, both deemed to be unhealthy and incompatible with true democracy.³¹⁴

Additionally, though to a much lesser extent, Antonio Ballesteros y Usano, the Inspector General of Primary Education and, as has been noted, a prominent member of the 'Extended Institution', cautioned against students suffering from fatigue in the classroom, warning that too much 'muscular exertion' can lead to tiredness and a loss of concentration, ultimately hampering rather than enhancing a child's education. In particular, the leading inspector advised teachers working in cities and regions where extreme temperatures are the norm, to take care not to push their charges too much, neither intellectually nor physically.³¹⁵ Meanwhile, other teachers and pedagogical thinkers looked elsewhere for ideas on how to regenerate Spain's youth through physical education.

³¹³ 'La Gimnasia Educativa', *Avante* 56, January 1933, p. 304.

³¹⁴ Mariano López Fernández, *La escuela activa y democrática* (Barcelona: Imp. Elzeviriana y Librería Cami 1936) This book, which was mentioned and even reviewed in several pedagogical journals, mainly explores the ideas of Karl Groos, a German educator who had argued that play and games serve as ideal development tools for young children. For López Fernández's thoughts on the potentially harmful nature of team sports in particular, see p. 158 of the above publication.

³¹⁵ Antonio Ballesteros y Usano, 'El Juego y El Trabajo en Educación' *Revista de Pedagogía* January 1933.

Rhythmic gymnastics, for instance, was picked up on by some as the ideal means of achieving just this, not least since the discipline had become increasingly common in other parts of Europe. Indeed, it is interesting to note the upturn in the number of articles published on the benefits of rhythmic gymnastics in the school from 1930 onwards, with this highlighting the fact that Spain's educators continued to look overseas and pick up on and embrace the latest trends both in and outside of the classroom. While traditional German and Swedish gymnastics may well have been dismissed by certain figures, including several writing in the pages of Spain's leading pedagogical journals, with most criticisms arguing that its rigidity meant it developed little more than certain muscle groups, rhythmic gymnastics was seen as a marked improvement on the discipline, not least as it offered many of the benefits associated with English-style sports.³¹⁶

One educator extolling the virtues of rhythmic gymnastics was Ángeles M. Suárez-Pumariega, a professor at the Fundación González-Allende in Zamora. Writing in the *BILE* she warned readers that 'we cannot – that is, we must not – draw a line between physical activities and intellectual activities.' Physical education, therefore, was an essential part of primary education. Notably, the author dismissed the supposed benefits of the 'automatic movements' of military-style physical education, arguing that this type of exercise, far from inspiring or revitalising the student instead deprived them of a sense of personality and autonomy. 'All good gymnastic exercise should have moral, psychological and hygienic benefits and should be practised with as much happiness as possible.' In comparison to

³¹⁶ Though its origins can be chased back to the 18th century, rhythmic gymnastics only really grew in popularity during the first few decades of the 20th century. According to several accounts, its popularity as a discipline really took off after 1929, the year in which Heinrich Medau founded the Medau School in Berlin to train gymnasts in 'modern gymnastics', namely a style that represented a marked break from the traditional gymnastics so many pedagogues had turned against. See: Gertrud Pfister, 'From Europe to America – Gymnastics, a Transatlantic Movement' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* Volume 26, 13 (2009), pp. 2052-2058.

'odious' military-style exercises then, the practice of rhythmic gymnastics – rather than traditional gymnastics – were seen as more inspiring and better-suited to primary school-age children in particular. 'Rhythmic gymnastics is an exercise which unites the body and spirit intimately and for this reason...it must be practised in primary teaching and be a complementary part of all physical education.'³¹⁷

Notably, this debate also took place outside of the pages of the pedagogic press. In a talk given to the Pedagogy Section (*Sección de Pedagógica*) of the Ateneo in Madrid in May 1934, one supporter of rhythmic gymnastics, Guadalupe Pin Llano concurred with the general liberal consensus of the time, namely that the school needed to assume responsibility for the 'formation of character' and not just the training of the intellect. Similarly, the author agreed that sports could assist the physical and psychological development of the student. Nevertheless, she argued, an education that is 'excessively sporting' can be damaging, particularly for younger children and for girls. Rhythmic gymnastics, he argued, offered not just a means of exercise, but also a means of allowing the school to play an active role in the 'formation of character' of its pupils, without being too physically demanding.³¹⁸

Nevertheless, despite there being in some quarters an obvious enthusiasm for Northern European-style gymnastics, and in spite of the fact many educators were virulently opposed to the idea of encouraging competition and vigorous or even 'violent' exercise within the school, as Sanz Romo himself acknowledged, in educational circles, sports were very much 'in fashion' in the 1930s, and not merely for their entertainment value. Again, for decades, Spain's leading pedagogical thinkers had looked outside of their own national borders,

³¹⁷ Ángeles Suárez-Pumariega, 'Importancia Educativa de la Gimnasia Rítmica' *BILE*, December 31 1931, pp. 362-364.

³¹⁸ Guadalupe Pin Llano, 'Gimnasia Rítmica' *Boletín de la Asociación de Maestros de las Escuelas Nacional de Madrid*, May 1 1934, p. 8.

enthusiastically embracing the latest thinking and methods and, in some cases, reporting on their observations to their peers or even attempting to replicate what they had seen in their own schools. Sports ticked several boxes, not least their being foreign and, therefore, progressive. As such, then, it was far from surprising that sports were indeed 'in fashion' as an educational tool precisely at the time when the Republic came into being. This meant that, just as with the years leading up to the establishment of the Republic, post-April 1931 the pages of Spain's pedagogical journals continued to be filled with accounts of physical education and English-style sports being embraced in individual schools, both within Spain and overseas. And as before, the reasons put forward for making sports an integral part of the primary school week were many and varied.

The *BILE*, for instance, continued to feature articles extolling the educational virtues of organised sports, games and physical education, though, as with the previous 30 years, its pages predominantly featured foreign rather than domestic examples of such ideas being put into practice. Among those using the pages of *BILE* to highlight the potential benefits of physical education and sports in the school was José Mallart, one of the leading figures of Spanish pedagogical thought throughout the 20th century and a member of the Institute of Professional Orientation during the Republic. In his piece 'The Fundamental Rules for a Good Education', published in April 1931, Mallart emphasised the need for students' natural, childish energy to be harnessed through physical education, with this benefiting society in general and not just the children themselves.³¹⁹ Properly utilised, the corporeal energy of primary school students could, Mallart noted, 'make possible the improvement of the population', developing both the individual and the 'race' as a whole.

³¹⁹ José Mallart, 'Directivas Fundamentales de una Buena Educación', *BILE* 56, April 30, 1931.

Meanwhile, at a time when, as has been described, the Madrid government was working to ensure that, where possible, schools were able to offer their students adequate sports facilities, the influential journal published a didactic feature by Ernesto Nelson, entitled 'The Educative and Social Function of the Games Field.'³²⁰ Here, readers were advised that, at the most basic level, dedicated playing fields were good for the physical wellbeing of youngsters. The sports field, it was noted, allows for the physical education of children at a crucial stage of their development. Moreover, it allows students to play games and sport, both of which are 'natural, pleasant and joyful, far more so than the gym'. Indeed, Nelson singled out sports such as football, tennis and volleyball as being the best means of promoting 'neuromuscular coordination' and producing strong young adults.³²¹ Joyful yet organised play, he concluded, 'is the great protector of health, the best protection against tuberculosis and allows for a healthy physical development'. In short, used well, the playing field can create children 'strong enough to endure the demands of urban life'.³²²

Here, the author was also keen to stress, the playing field did not simply offer the means of improving the physical wellbeing of Spain's young students. That is, a sports field is not merely an 'open air gym' but a space to shape the intellect, personality and morals of the student and as such should be seen as 'an essential part of the development process that transforms a child into a man or grown woman.' Sport, Nelson explained, is an 'unbeatable means' of promoting 'cooperation, bravery, the art of making friends, the renunciation of personal ambition, it gives [students] the opportunity to work towards genuine goals...it transforms groups that are predatory and socially hostile, like street gangs, into groups that

³²⁰ Ernesto Nelson, 'Función Educativa y Social de la Plaza de Juegos' *BILE* 56, April 30, 1932.

³²¹ Interestingly, Nelson uses the English words for 'football' and 'basketball', despite the Hispanicised terms having already been in use for several years, not least in the sporting press. *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

are motivated by altruistic reasons and possess a collective sense of honour.' That is, Spain's teachers were informed, students who are active on the games field 'are not isolated individuals but teams', with the term again given in the original English. Furthermore, the journal piece stated, team sports can also teach students the importance of a democracy and how to become true citizens, with Nelson citing the example of sports being used to help build breakdown social barriers and integrate a Greek immigrant community into wider Chicago society, a social experiment that would surely have been of interest to a Republican government keen to make a break with the past and forge a new national consensus through the means of culture rather than force.¹³²³

The *BILE* may well have been the most widely-read of all the pedagogical journals being published during the Republic, but it was the *Revista de Pedagogía* that emerged as the best place for a progressive-minded Spanish teacher to learn how his peers were attempting to harness the myriad benefits of sports. Just as with the *BILE*, the *Revista de Pedagogía* looked beyond Spain's national borders, reporting on the pedagogical trends and advances being made in other countries. Through this internationalist outlook, for example, the journal's readers were advised that 'a changing civilization also demands a changing education system capable of solving the problems of our time.' Moreover, one piece sourced from the *Schools and Society* journal noted, 'a new education demands at the same time a new type of physical education, [one which can] physically prepare the youth to face the problems of a world that is changing quickly and fundamentally.'¹³²⁴ Furthermore, the didactic feature advised that 'a modern programme of physical education should be composed of five

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ *Revista de Pedagogía* August 1934, p. 372.

elements', including both the formation of 'strong and healthy bodies' and, above all else, 'the development of character through sports.'³²⁵

However, aside from the occasional inclusion of foreign case studies, from 1931 onwards, the *Revista de Pedagogía* largely focused on featuring Spanish writers and publishing pieces highlighting the work being done in Spain's schools, including in the context of using sports as a pedagogical tool. That this publication was such a champion of sports and physical education in Spain's school is hardly surprising given that its editor, Lorenzo Luzuriaga had long been convinced of the need to regenerate the Spanish on a range of levels, including the physical. In an article published in *El Sol* in 1920, for example, he lamented 'the failure of [Spain's] sportsmen' on the international stage, arguing that the country was not only behind in the fields of science and literature, but also in terms of physical prowess. Indeed, such 'physical illiteracy' was seen to be directly hampering the nation's development in every other respect, with a greater concentration on addressing this through physical education lessons put forward as a good way of achieving this.³²⁶

Indeed, as one of the leading pedagogical figures of his time, Luzuriaga made the introduction and promotion of sports within Spain's schools one of the key messages of his writings, urging his peers to follow the example set by other countries in using such pastimes to reinvigorate the nation's youth. With the establishment of the Republic then, he saw the opportunity to create a 'New School' tasked with nothing less than the transformation of the Spanish education system and society in general. For him, sports and games would play a central role in the New School, a belief he used the pages of his journal, as well as the books

³²⁵ Ibid., p.372.

³²⁶ Lorenzo Luzuriaga, 'Juegos y Deportes' published in *El Sol* and reproduced in *Heraldo Deportivo* 198.

the journal's own publishing house put out. Summing up his view on the matter, Luzuriaga wrote: 'Here we see the great importance given these days to physical education, games and sports [as a means of] cultivating emotions, energy, bravery, valour, curiosity, ingenuity and manual and technical skills, [that is] as the foundations of a complete education.'³²⁷

Such a distinct lack of prioritising the potential physical benefits of sports alone was far from unique. Just as during the decades leading up to the Republic, with the change in regime, advocates were keen to make clear that sports offered much more than just physical development, and, as such, the physical element was often sidelined or noted as little more than an afterthought. For instance, in Pedro Llobera's book *El espíritu deportivo en las Escuelas Nuevas*, the physical benefits of introducing sports into schools are hardly mentioned, with other potential benefits given far more prominence.³²⁸ Drawing largely on foreign examples, and in particular on schools in England and Switzerland, he notes that 'physical culture' is an integral part of school life in such 'happy places', with timetables that focus on both the physical and mental development of the child essential. A good school, the author argues, should ensure that pupils are able to enjoy at least one hour's worth of free play or games before breakfast, while organised sports should be offered throughout the year, with football recommended for the autumn months, tennis in the spring and summer and, where appropriate, winter sports the remainder of the year.³²⁹

³²⁷ Lorenzo Luzuriaga, *Concepto y desarrollo de la nueva educación* (Madrid: Tip. Nacional, 1935) p. 26.

³²⁸ Llobera's book was not a work produced by the publishing arm of the *Revista de Pedagogía* and it did largely focus on either examples seen first-hand by the author – a man affiliated with the ILE – outside of Spain. It was, however, advertised in the *Revista de Pedagogía* and was mentioned in the sections recommending new, relevant publications, making it accessible to Spain's educators. See Pedro Llobera, *El espíritu deportivo de las Escuelas Nuevas* (Barcelona: Imp. Antonio Porta, 1934).

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13

The author gives a long list of reasons for Spain's teachers to follow their European counterparts and make organised sports and games an integral part of the school timetable. For starters, and very much in line with the philosophy of healthy bodies forging healthy minds, the Catalan educator advises that physical exertion through sport can be a healthy cure for the fatigue caused by lengthy sessions of intellectual stimulation in the classroom. Moreover, he adds, 'the agility of the body can aid the liveliness of the soul', while the competitive and structured nature, as well as the rules of organised sports can not only teach students to be 'good winners', but can also tame egoism and excessive individualism, replacing these negative traits with a sense of camaraderie and team spirit. Indeed, again pointing to the example of England, as well as that of Germany, Llobera describes how any sense of camaraderie that is forged on the sports field can endure long beyond the conclusion of a match and can 'at times transform the lives of individuals', making them more social-minded and even more patriotic.³³⁰

Alongside aiding the overall development of well-rounded students, the author notes that sports can also benefit teachers themselves, and again, not merely on the physical level. As has already been noted, through the writings of Giner de los Ríos, the ILE had long advocated teachers taking an active role in their charge's education, an attitude shared by members of the New School movement right across Europe. In accordance with this, Llobera advised that teachers who actively took part rather than passively led matches from the side would stand to benefit the most, not least in developing professionally by seeing first-hand the myriad advantages of sports in the school. 'Teachers...when playing sports with their students or when collaborating with the organisation of sporting activities, see for themselves

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 19

the possibilities the athletics track or the football pitch offers', the author says, adding that such a dedication to actively getting involved in this side of a child's education was helping teachers elsewhere in Europe progress as professionals.³³¹

Others went further still in making the case for sports to play a central role in school life under the Republic. As several past studies have noted, due to the new regime's clampdown on the religious orders in the sphere of education, a key priority from the start was to replace Catholic morality with what Sandie Holguin calls 'civic morality'. This meant not only instilling in Spain's youth a secular sense of morality, but also a sense of responsibility, both towards one another and towards the Republic as a whole. Indeed, given the inevitable attacks from the traditional right following the introduction of anti-religious legislation in the summer of 1931 and beyond, the regime was determined to show that a lack of religion did not mean a lack of morals. To some, sports could be used to help break the long-established and deeply-entrenched links between the Catholic church and the education system, replacing religious morality with civic morality.

Writing in the *Revista de Pedagogía*, Juan Comas, a primary school inspector for the province of Segovia, noted that, ever since the Law of Public Instruction of 1857 was passed, one of the principal responsibilities of primary schools was to teach pupils 'Christian doctrine'. Despite new laws and decrees being passed in 1901, 1913, 1918 and 1923, this emphasis on the religious foundations of the primary school always remained in place. According to Comas, such a sense of morality is effectively 'negative and depressing', more often than not based on the imperative 'don't do it!' In comparison, he puts the case forward for a different approach. 'Rather than repress, the educator must stimulate; rather than taking away the

³³¹ Ibid., p. 18

possibility of doing bad, they must give students the chance to do good.' That is, he argues that, rather than trying to instil morals in their charges through classroom lessons, teachers need to take a different, more proactive approach. 'Morality is action,' he writes, with physical exercise and, more specifically, sports, among the most effective means of combating a wide range of negative traits and encouraging civic-minded behaviour. Comas concludes: 'Games and sports, with their rules, established cases of what is fair and the decisions made by referees, serve as an excellent starting point for an ethical and social life. Such educational activities will be, thanks to their organisation and direction, the best introduction to a life that is fair and disciplined.' Additionally, alongside promoting a keen sense of discipline and respect for rules and authority – both things a significant proportion of the *regeneracionismo* movement had been crying out for decades – sports could also help promote team spirit and help children leave behind their 'egoism', the writer adds.³³²

Such thoughts were closely echoed in the pages of the journal *La Escuela Moderna*. Here, the importance of properly harnessing, rather than neglecting, the natural energy of children was similarly discussed. In an article entitled 'Ideas on the Work of the Primary School', readers were advised that 'recreation' was just as important as intellectual study within the primary school. 'Play in itself has great value due to the educational benefits it offers,' the author explained, noting that games and sport aid the 'spiritual development' of the individual and nurture and the 'creative tendencies' of the student. As such, citing the examples of both the United States and Mexico, the author noted that such a focus on

³³² Juan Comas, 'La Educación Moral en la Escuela Laica' *Revista de Pedagogía* June 1932 pp. 266-271.

recreation must be an integral part of the primary school curriculum in any liberal democratic republic that wishes to create citizens in its own image.³³³

Putting Ideas into Action: School Sports at the Grassroots Level

As has been noted, the *Institucionistas* within the Ministry of Public Instruction, as well as those writing in the pedagogical journals of the time, had a clear vision for educational reform. Integral to this was individual teachers feeling sufficiently empowered and enthused to use their initiative and instigate change at the local level. The extent to which this happened with regards to replacing the militaristic gymnastics of old with competitive sports is difficult to assess, not least since such grassroots accounts are sparse. Nevertheless, some teachers and headteachers did report their sporting activities, including in both pedagogic journals as well as in newspapers. Such accounts do indeed indicate that the Republic enjoyed some success in achieving its vision as educators across the country made the most of being freed from the constraints of the *Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*.

One brief report published in the *Diario de Cordoba* indicates that, for some schools at least, competitive sport began to be part of everyday life during the years of the Republic. Notably, while, as has been noted, students of schools across Spain had performed militaristic drill on public festivals during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, here we learn that instead the young students instead formed a football team and organised matches with other local teams to celebrate Christmas. The report, written by the school's director and entitled 'Happy Christmas' explains that 'our junior football team trained hard in order to be

³³³ Alfredo Uruchurtu, 'Ideas Acerca de la Obra de la Escuela Primaria' *La Escuela Moderna*, August 1931.

ready to play in the match we are thinking of arranging with other junior teams'. Again, however, while the initiative was clearly a new introduction to school life and would have represented a notable departure from the rigid gymnastics the director and his colleagues would have been obliged to teach prior to the establishment of the Republic, this reference to the creation of a football team and organising competitive matches is only relatively brief. Indeed, the same article dedicates more time to detailing a painting competition organised among the students that Christmas. Thus, while there must have been a pedagogical reason for football to be introduced, it is not given, once again illustrating lack of emphasis placed on sport within contemporary accounts.

Similarly, a simple account of daily life at a nondescript school in the province of Toledo, a piece published in the *Revista de Pedagogía* in early 1933 serves as a telling example of teachers doing exactly what both Luzuriaga envisioned and the Republican regime wanted, namely using their initiative and embracing new methods to enhance the mental, physical and moral development of their charges. In the essay, entitled simply 'How We Work at My School', the provincial schoolmaster explains how, given greater autonomy through the change in political regime, he has introduced significant changes to the normal school day. Alongside the teaching of core subjects and in addition to lessons on personal hygiene, one afternoon a week is dedicated to exercise, gym and sport. More specifically, the teacher writes: 'To begin with, we started by forming a football team. Most Thursday afternoons were then devoted to this exercise. We [the teacher and the students] then formed a board responsible for organising everything. Right away they acquired a small box to keep limited team funds in, then they bought a ball to play with.'³³⁴

³³⁴ Carrascal Espino, 'El Hacer en mi Escuela' *Revista de Pedagogía* February 1933, pp. 75-76.

Notably, sports are not being presented here solely as a means of improving the health of the students, nor simply a means of promoting good hygiene. Rather, the author explains that, in his school at least, sports are, first and foremost, an effective means of driving the 'social and moral' development of the child, and this is the principal reason for the introduction of, among other pastimes, football. Additionally, just as pupils at England's public schools were often tasked with organising practices and inter-house competitions, so too were this school's pupils made part of this embracing of sports. By inviting the students themselves to form teams and oversee the weekly practices, the author notes, they are taught the importance of both 'responsibility and liberty', thereby giving them a much more-rounded education than they would have enjoyed through standard physical education lessons or gymnastics.³³⁵

In much the same way, the readers of the main journal for teachers in Madrid would learn how sport was being embraced at the Joaquin Sorolla School Group (*Grupo escolar "Joaquín Sorolla"*) in the city. Located in the Chamberi district of the capital, it was the ideal Republican school, even opening on 14 April 1933, on the second anniversary of establishment of the new regime. Notably, it fitted the criteria of what the ILE deemed a good school should be, with a canteen, showers and heating. More pertinently, it also had a swimming pool and, according to its Director, the amount of 'space dedicated to free play' totalled some 4,500 square metres. Moreover, Luis Huerta Naves was also the ideal

³³⁵ While it's highly unlikely that this individual teacher would have had any great in-depth knowledge of the English public school system and, more specifically, of the historic role of sports within it, this policy of giving the students the chance to take the lead in organising their sporting and leisure activities nevertheless brings to mind initiatives such as the Philathletic Club at Harrow. For more on this and similar clubs and societies at English public schools, see J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, p. 29.

Republican educator, meaning that under his direction, this space was put to you developing the school's 800 students both physically as well as morally.³³⁶

Shortly after assuming his position, Naves explains, he independently worked to identify ways of broadening the mission of the school beyond merely enabling children to read and write. That is, fully in line with the philosophy of the ILE, he believed the school should play a central role in forming the character. He wrote: 'As he becomes a man, the child needs to learn the rules of cooperation and self-control. This means there is a need for a separate organisation for children in the final years of school.' With this in mind, Naves established a 'Children's Club' (Club de Niños), for students in the last few years of the school. One of the three main activities of the Club, Naves added, was to practice sports.

While the Director did not elaborate on the sporting schedule of the school, nor on the types of sport actually practised – evidence again, perhaps of the self-censorship with regards to sport and physical education – he did explain the purpose of the Club and the role of sports here. Naves writes:

The purpose is two-fold: to awaken [the student's] social awareness and sense of responsibility as an individual within the group. The aim is to use their free time to develop their individuality, their habits, a sense of self-control and of interdependence between the child and their fellow students. [At the same time], these activities develop a capacity for organization and the ability to take responsibility for using shared resources.³³⁷

Notably, the author shows an appreciation of the perceived dual benefits of sport; that is, to instil in students a sense of team spirit and cooperation while at the same time developing

³³⁶ Luis Huerta, 'Grupo escolar "Joaquín Sorolla": Reportaje documental y crítico', *Boletín de la Asociación de Maestros de las Escuelas Nacionales de Madrid*, 1 July 1935, pp. 7-14.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

individuality and a sense of personal responsibility – again, the latter in particular was very much not part of the physical exercises of the Cartilla that the teachers of the school would have been teaching just a few years previously.

At the same time, the account of the Director of the Sorolla schools group also hints at one of the key challenges facing those teachers and headteachers who did indeed want to make sport an integral part of school life. As the interview with Manuel Azana in the sports daily *AS* made clear, the *Institucionistas* in the government wanted to see greater participation in sports across the whole of Spanish society, including within the education system. However, the question of who should fund this was never made clear. Indeed, in that notable interview, the Prime Minister urged both Municipal authorities and private clubs to take the lead in ensuring ideas were put into action. Thus, while Circulars and other recommendations from the Ministry of Public Instruction advised teachers to introduce sport into their schools, no guarantee of government funding was ever made.

In the case of the Sorolla schools group, then, this meant that the Director's 'Children's Club', of which sport was an integral part, had to compete for funds with other departments. He himself stated: 'In school life now, the question of funds or resources is sacred.' As such, while the Director himself may have wanted to increase the level of sporting activities among the students, he was required to compete for funds with geography teachers wanting new maps or rocks and minerals, for example.³³⁸ As has been noted, the situation was the same in the Toledo school mentioned above. Again, the teacher there reported that the students themselves 'acquired a small box to keep limited team funds in, then they bought a ball to play with'. This would no doubt have been the case nationally. Indeed, while the pedagogical

³³⁸ Luis Huerta, 'Grupo escolar "Joaquín Sorolla"', p.13.

journals of the time show a keen interest in sports and in replacing militaristic gymnastics with new games, it must be acknowledged that transforming ideas or good intentions into reality was a different matter. Sport may have been of interest to some teachers, but it would not have been a priority for the majority of schools, though it is hard to assess just how many teachers were denied the chance to reimagine the physical education classes of their schools due to the simple fact of not being able to buy even the most basic of equipment.

Conclusions

While top-down efforts to reform the Spanish education system, including attempts to replace the militaristic physical education of old with more progressive sports were recorded in the official state journal, the work carried out by individual teachers has largely gone unrecorded. Indeed, aside from a handful of contemporary accounts and a relatively small selection of memoirs published by teachers themselves, accounts of what was actually happening in Spain's schools during the years of the Second Republic are largely confined to articles published in the pedagogical press of the time. Limited though they may be, such sources do, as has been shown, indicate that some individual teachers were indeed sufficiently enthused by the establishment of the Republic and the extra respect and freedom it brought them to take the initiative and start experimenting with new pedagogical methods, including the use of sport, in their own schools.

It is, of course, difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the extent to which these teachers, as well as headteachers and school inspectors, were influenced by the articles they read in the popular progressive educational journals or indeed by the writings of or recommendations issued by politicians such as Fernando de los Ríos or Domingo Barnés

Salinas. What is noteworthy, however, is that, in explaining their reasons for introducing sport into their own schools or in reporting on such a development happening elsewhere in Spain or in the world, these educators almost invariably echoed the arguments put forward by elements of the *regeneracionismo* movement. That is, in the pages of publications that, as has been noted, were the most widely-read pedagogical journals of the time, competitive sports were not merely promoted due to the physical benefits they offered. Rather, team sports, and football in particular, were presented above all as an effective means of instilling discipline and a spirit of cooperation in students. Indeed, even where educators disagreed over the perceived benefits or possible drawbacks of gymnastics versus those of competitive sport, the arguments put forward were largely progressive in nature, with examples from foreign education systems cited as models for Spain to follow.

That by no means all educators were so eager to heed Rodolfo Llopis's call and take advantage of their new roles as ambassadors of Republican values and 'put their personal stamp on their work' in the manner advocates of sport hoped they might is far from surprising. Indeed, given the historical context, this was only to be expected. At the most basic level, as has been noted, many lacked the necessary funds to introduce sports into their schools. Moreover, while the teaching corps the Republic inherited did undoubtedly include educators equipped with the skills, enthusiasm and knowledge of the latest pedagogical trends, the vast majority of them entered the profession during the years of the Monarchy, and many started their careers during the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship. This meant that, not only did the new Republic look on the intellectual capabilities of the nation's teachers with suspicion – not least since, up until that point, a university education was not a prerequisite for working as a teacher – but their abilities in the classroom, willingness to embrace modern methods and, perhaps above all, their political leanings, were regarded as suspect, too. In short, if the

Republic was to be consolidated – saved, even – 'by the school', then a new 'Republican' teacher was required, one that would be sympathetic to the regime but have the ability to transmit the values of democracy to the next generation of Spaniards in every town and village in the country. As shall be shown, sport was to be embraced as a key tool of forming these new educators, instilling in them the values deemed necessary for them to serve as representatives of the Republic among the people.

Chapter 4: Sports, Physical Education and the Making of the Republican Schoolteacher

*'The most basic problem of education for any democracy, including the Republic, is an age old one: the training of teachers.'*³³⁹

What was being taught in Spain's schools, both at primary and secondary level, was just one of the key concerns in the field of education during the years of the Second Republic. Equally as important, if not more so, was ensuring that the regime was able to rely upon a teaching corps of sufficient size and quality to put their pedagogic plans into action. As the Ministry of Public Instruction stated at the end of September 1931: 'The teacher is the soul of the school. Without proper teachers, the sacrifices made by the country for the sake of primary education – the creation of schools, the construction of school buildings, the acquisition of educational materials, the organisation of school curriculums – would be for nothing.'³⁴⁰

No analysis of the educational reforms of the Republic, and those of the first biennium in particular, whether they were actually implemented or merely planned, would therefore be complete without an assessment of attempts to reform the teaching profession. More specifically, if the new Republic really did see in sports in the education system a tool for modernising Spain through the creation of a 'new man', then any efforts made to make physical education or games teachers distinct, suitably-qualified professionals, also need to be assessed. This chapter, then, will seek to give an overview of how, and just importantly,

³³⁹ Decree of 29 September 1931, published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* 30 September 1931

³⁴⁰ See the Decree of 29 September 1931, announcing the new Professional Plan for Spain's Normal Schools. This was also printed in the *Boletín de Educación* 1, January-March 1933. As one decidedly self-aggrandizing editorial published in the journal *El Ideal del Magisterio* stated: 'We have to bear in mind, friends and colleagues, that the Republic is in our hands, that the fate of the Republic lies not in the hands of the political parties but in the teachers of its schools...We can say that this is our Republic!' *El Ideal del Magisterio*, 21 January 1932.

why, the new regime sought to reform the national teacher training system and create a new wave of teachers it believed could help rebuild Spain. Within this, it will look at the role of physical education and, more pertinently, of competitive sport, identifying how – if at all – this was used to mould the characters of the aspirant teachers themselves. Once again, an analysis of any progress, or lack of it, made in this field prior to April 1931, as well as of the relevant arguments of the time, will help deepen any understanding of the challenges the Republic faced and how and why it aimed to address them. At the same time, it will note the efforts made to create a first civilian national school of physical education and explore how the planned training of new, specialist instructors fit into the broader plans for the rebuilding of Spain along liberal, Republican lines, marking a notable break with the Primo de Rivera regime and its overt militarism.

Since, as has been noted elsewhere, the main instruments used to promote efforts made to change the teacher training schools and the formation of educational professionals included the *Boletín de Educación* journals launched in provinces across the country, as well as the short Perfectionism Courses (*Cursillos de Perfeccionamiento*) and the Pedagogic Weeks (*Semanas Pedagógicas*), an analysis of these, along with other pertinent publications, will help to inform the chapter.³⁴¹ Additionally, since it was in publication prior to the establishment of the Republic and continued to be produced right up until the summer of 1936, the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* will similarly give a good understanding of both the theoretical arguments and any local-level actions carried out in this section of the education system. Meanwhile, the arguments of figures from outside the world of educational policy or

³⁴¹ See Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera, 'La educación en la Segunda República (1931-1936): De visiones de conjunto a estudios de caso' in Idoia Murga Castro, and José María López Sánchez, *Política cultural de la Segunda República Española* (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2016).

pedagogy, above all, those more closely linked to the world of sport, whether through their work as journalists, editors or merely simple enthusiasts, will also help inform the chapter by shedding light on the key questions and challenges of the time. Similarly, an overview of previous efforts at reforming the teacher training system and making the role of physical education instructor a recognised, professional position – that is, a look at the foundations the Republic either sought to build upon or else destroy and replace with their own – will help determine what, if any, success the reformists had. Furthermore, such an appreciation of the state of teacher training prior to the Republic will show the extent to which the reforms passed after April 1931, as well as the initiatives taken by educators sympathetic to the regime, formed part of a coherent *Institucionista* vision for reform.

More and better teachers: The reform of the Normal School

Addressing the shortfall of teachers that the Republic inherited was not simply a matter of filling vacant positions. Had this been the case, it would have been relatively easily accomplished given that, in 1931, thousands of qualified teachers who had previously abandoned the profession due to poor pay and conditions, could have been tempted to return to the classroom with the promise of higher salaries and a better standing in the new society. However, as the Director General of Primary Teaching Rodolfo Llopis himself noted, if teachers were not of a sufficient standard, all of the Republic's early legislative efforts within the field of education, including the construction of new schools as well as moves to modernise curricula, would be in vain. Moreover, the Republic, in line with the educational philosophy of the founder of the Free Teaching Institute (*Institución Libre de Enseñanza* or

ILE) Giner de los Ríos, was determined to give teachers relatively free rein, entrusting them with the task of regenerating Spain's youth not just intellectually but, through the effective use of gymnastics and sports, morally and physically as well. It was imperative, therefore, that the Republic could count on not just a teaching corps of sufficient size to fill the spaces created by its own ambitious school-building plans and the push for a secular education system, but one that was fully-skilled and, equally as important, sympathetic to the liberal, modern aims of the regime.

As was the case with its school building drive and efforts to reform the primary and secondary curriculums, it must be noted that at least some of the foundations for the Republic's teacher recruitment and training drive had already been laid before the fall of the monarchy. Indeed, while a detailed history of teacher training in Spain is not necessary here, it should be noted that a centralised system for selecting and then developing teachers for state primary schools was already in place well before the advent of the Second Republic. In fact, the first official 'Normal School' opened its doors in Madrid almost a century beforehand, in 1839.³⁴² The Central Seminary for Teachers of the Kingdom (*Seminario Central de Maestros del Reino*) was established by one of the leading pedagogical lights of the first half of the nineteenth century, Pablo Montesino, and open to aspirant teachers from every part of Spain, not merely those in the capital. By 1845, there were 43 Normal Schools operating across Spain, many of them set up by graduates of the Madrid school, though this was reduced to

³⁴² The 'Escuela Normal' or Normal School was the main centre of teacher training in Spain, as with the rest of Europe. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle is generally considered to have established the world's first normal school, the *École Normale* in Reims, France, in 1685 – this original school was created with the aim of establishing a system of teaching standards (or *norms*). See James Johnson, Diann Musial and Annette Johnson, *Introduction to Teaching: Helping Students Learn* (Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield, 2009).

32 through an 1849 Decree aimed at curbing any 'revolutionary' excesses in certain provincial institutions.³⁴³

While certainly far from revolutionary, the country's earliest teacher training centres were nevertheless relatively progressive in both their aims and their methods. In Madrid, for example, Montesino channelled his energies towards ensuring that the newly-trained teachers could oversee not just the intellectual development of their own students, but also their moral and physical development. To achieve this, the institution's study plan included religion and 'morality' alongside more traditional classroom subjects while students were also instructed in the science of conserving and improving childhood health and wellbeing through the effective use of gymnastics and games.³⁴⁴

It was not until 1898, however, that physical education was introduced as a distinct, and compulsory, Normal School subject. While throughout the preceding decades it had featured as just one element of general pedagogical training or, more commonly, as part of wider training in childhood hygiene, a decree of September of 1898 ruled that gymnastics was to be taught as a subject in its own right.³⁴⁵ Significantly, the aim here was not to ensure that future teachers entered the profession with a solid understanding of gymnastics and the ability to teach it for themselves in their new schools. Rather, the goal was to enhance the 'general physical toughness' of the aspirant educators themselves, in essence bringing the

³⁴³ For a wider overview of the earliest teacher training efforts in Spain, including the pioneering work of Pablo Montesino, see, among others: Rocio Pajarón Sotomayor, 'La Educación Física Escolar en España en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XX' (PhD thesis, Complutense University of Madrid, 2001) and also José María de Lucas Heras, *Historia de la Educación Física Oficial: España 1900-1936* (Alcalá de Henares: University of Alcalá de Henares Press, 2000).

³⁴⁴ See Pajarón Sotomayor *La educación física escolar en España* pp. 131-133.

³⁴⁵ Decree of 23 September 1898, published in the *Gaceta* 25 September, 1898. The publication of this Decree was warmly welcomed by the League for National Physical Regeneration (Liga Para la Regeneracion Física Nacional), among others organisations and individuals within the wider *regeneracionismo* movement. Cited in Pajarón Sotomayor, *La educación física escolar en España* p. 171.

dictum of *mens sana in corpore sano* into the field of teacher training. Similarly, the 'Romanones Plan' of 1901, named after the ambitious Count Romanones and introduced just weeks into his appointment as Minister of Public Instruction, saw physical education once again made a compulsory subject, placed on a par with trigonometry, for example, to be practiced on a daily basis. In this case, however, it was divided into three distinct sub-categories, namely games, exercise, and hygiene and physiology. Again, the aim was not simply to increase the depth and breadth of knowledge Normal School graduates would take into the classroom with them, but rather to ensure their own 'intellectual, moral and social' development.³⁴⁶

As with almost every other area of education, that relating to teacher training was subjected to myriad alterations over the subsequent years, with near-constant changes in the personnel of the Ministry of Public Instruction often to blame for such a lack of consistency. However, the reforms introduced in 1914, known as the Professional Plan of the same year, were to remain in place right up until the declaration of the Second Republic itself. Building on the legislation that had gone before it, the Decree was again aimed at ensuring the nation's Normal Schools created fully-rounded teachers rather than those capable merely of teaching by rote. That is, the Plan of 1914 had as its goal the creation of 'true teachers, capable of fulfilling their role'. By once again legislating that physical education was to be a compulsory part of the student teachers' four-year training alongside both more traditional subjects and those that were newer in the field of pedagogy, it was hoped that each and every Normal

³⁴⁶ Decree of 17 August 1901, published in the *Gaceta* 19 August 1901. For more on the 1901 legislation reforming the Normal School curriculum, see Carmen Fernández Rubio, *La Escuela Masculina de Oviedo y su Incidencia en la Formación de Maestros (1900-1940)* (University of Oviedo Press, 1997) pp. 35-41, and also: Pajarón Sotomayor, *La educación física escolar en España*.

School would provide 'appropriate professional training that gives [the student teachers] the ability to not just teach, but also, more importantly, to educate'.³⁴⁷

The Plan of 1914 served to expand on the role physical education would play in the Spanish Normal School. Alongside daily physical education and gymnastics lessons held within the grounds of the individual institutions, the legislation also recommended the acquisition or at least the utilisation of a separate field where the students could exercise. Moreover, following on from the Decree, a Royal Order of September 1916 further enhanced the importance attached to the physical development of Normal School students. Again, physical education was to be an integral part of the Normal School curriculum. This was not so as to ensure graduate teachers would be able to instruct pupils of their own in the subject, but rather to ensure that they were sufficiently healthy and physically fit enough to take on the role assigned to them.³⁴⁸

Despite its relatively progressive nature, however, the 1914 Plan failed to keep up with the pedagogical zeitgeist. Thus, by the 1920s, teachers' associations and other key figures within the field of education were being openly critical of it and actively calling for the legislation to be updated. For instance, an article published in the *La Escuela Moderna* journal in 1925 was particularly critical of the Plan, which by then had been in place for more than a decade and would continue to serve as the basis for the work of Spain's Normal Schools for six more years.³⁴⁹ The author, a professional pedagogue himself, argued: 'It is evident that,

³⁴⁷ Decree of 14 August 1914, published in the *Gaceta* 31 August 1914.

³⁴⁸ See Royal Order of 25 September 1916, published in the *Gaceta* on 9 October 1916. The recommendations outlined here would form the basis of physical education within the Normal School system up to and throughout the Dictatorship of the 1920s, despite increasingly vocal criticism from educators themselves.

³⁴⁹ Of course, given the background of this publication and the author, it should be acknowledged that such criticism of the government of the time and its legislation, might have been, to some extent, politically-motivated rather than simply motivated by professional or purely pedagogical concerns.

given the way it has been designed, the Plan in question neither challenges the student mentally nor physically', adding that, the number and breadth of the subjects the students were required to take meant that they would often qualify with only a rudimentary understanding of most.³⁵⁰

Thus, the Republic inherited a teacher training system that, while the foundations were certainly there, was, at best 20 to 30 years behind those in place elsewhere in Europe and, at worst, largely unfit for purpose, particularly if the aim were to entrust the regeneration of Spanish society to a select cadre of enlightened teachers. Most pertinently, despite the pedagogical arguments of the time, and in particular those from progressives such as the *institucionistas* keen to see Spain follow the lead of Britain and certain other foreign nations, the Plan of 1914 remained largely conservative in its promotion of militaristic exercises and gymnastics at the expense of competitive sports, either individual or team disciplines.

Almost immediately then, the Ministry of Public Instruction got to work addressing this, seizing the opportunity to, in the words of one historian, 'put the educational ideals of [Joaquín] Costa's regenerationist movement into practice'.³⁵¹ And, notably, from the start, the work of the Ministry in this regard was underpinned by the pedagogic philosophy of the ILE. As has been noted, the first government, formed on the back of the electoral victory of the Republican-Socialist, featured a significant number of educators, many of them either firm allies of the ILE or part of what its own members termed the 'Extended Institution'. Moreover, two of the most influential figures in the Republican government of the first

³⁵⁰ See Gerado Rodríguez, 'Manifiestas Deficiencias Graves del Plan de Estudios' in *La Escuela Moderna* 405, June 1925.

³⁵¹ Carmen Fernández Rubio, *La Escuela Normal Masculina de Oviedo y su incidencia en la formación de maestros* (Oviedo: University of Oviedo) p. 53.

biennium, the first Minister of Public Instruction Marcelino Domingo and the Director of Primary Education Rodolfo Llopis, were not only *Institucionistas* but had also served as Normal School professors prior to entering politics on a full-time basis. Both had long been advocates of Normal School reform. Writing in the pages of *La Libertad* in 1927, for example, Domingo argued that 'of all the state organs of culture, the Normal School is the worst...they do not prepare our teachers well enough', with a shortage of funding, an outdated curriculum and a lack of political leadership all to blame for such failings.³⁵²

In the short-term, the prospect of improved salaries, as well as an elevated status in a new society, did indeed encourage many of those teachers who had moved into other areas of civil service under the preceding dictatorship to return to the classroom. Indeed, according to some estimates, some 15,000 qualified teachers expressed an interest in re-joining the profession in the first 12 months of the Republic alone.³⁵³ To ensure that these returning teachers, as well as those who did not have recognised formal qualifications, were up to the required standard, the Republic introduced short courses (*cursillos*), alongside a series of what were termed 'Pedagogic Weeks'.³⁵⁴ Held mainly in provincial capitals, these courses were aimed at addressing what was deemed the 'insufficient training of teachers', and in

³⁵² See Molero Pintado, *La reforma educativa* p. 267. Alongside Domingo's writings and campaigning, Llopis was an active member of several professional associations as well serving for some time as the editor of the *Revista de Escuelas Normales*. Alongside the personal arguments of Llopis, the Association of Normal School Professors (*Asociación de Profesores de Escuelas Normales*) and the ILE were both prominent in campaigns to modernise and improve the Normal School. For more on this movement, see Sansoles San Román, *Una maestra Republicana: El viejo futuro de Julia Vigre* (Madrid: Machado Libros, 2015).

³⁵³ Gabriel Jackson, *Spanish Republic and the Civil War: 1931-1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956) p. 63.

³⁵⁴ The Decree of 3 July 1931 established the short courses for under-qualified teachers. The first courses were then held in the following November, highlighting the determination of the Ministry of Public Instruction to put their plans into action as soon as possible. Notably, far from being universally welcomed by teachers eager to boost their professional credentials, many resented being required to attend courses that were held in the school holidays and for which they were not financially compensated. See María Jesús Leoz Munilla, *Mujer y educación en La Rioja durante la Segunda República (1931-1936)* (Pamplona: University of Navarra, 2010).

particular those that were admitted to the profession through the system of entrance exams introduced in 1928, exams widely regarded as being not fit for purpose.

The short courses were, in fact, three months long in total, with those teachers judged to be in need of extra training required to complete three separate stages of 30 days each. For the first month, the focus was placed on giving them a grounding in modern pedagogical theories, with this followed up by a month of practical experience in approved schools and finally by a month's worth of seminars on wider culture and its relation to pedagogy.³⁵⁵ The new 'Pedagogic Weeks', meanwhile were, as their name suggests, shorter and more intense. As Llopis, one of the most enthusiastic backers of this push to drag Spain's existing teaching corps into the modern age and to rid the profession of mediocrity, explained: 'The teachers of one province, usually in great number, come together in one location, generally in their own provincial capital. Here, they visit the most important schools [and] they come to work with the most prestigious teachers, listening to lessons and learning of advances in pedagogical techniques.'³⁵⁶ Quite what the beneficiaries of this extra training were to learn was, for the most part, left undefined, and the pedagogic press of the time reveals the topics discussed during such weeks to be varied, encompassing everything from music and art in the classroom, the importance of classic Spanish literature and foreign languages to the health and hygiene of students and, notably, the place of physical education and sport in the school.³⁵⁷ One Pedagogic Week attended by the teachers of Ciudad Real in the spring of 1933, for example, included a seminar on 'The Social and Cultural Significance of Sports: Advantages

³⁵⁵ See Decree of 3 July 1931, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 4 July 1931.

³⁵⁶ Llopis *La revolución en la Escuela* p. 131.

³⁵⁷ The journal *El Ideal del Magisterio* was particularly efficient at reporting on Pedagogic Weeks held around Spain. In general, however, it focused on salaries and other bureaucratic matters than on discussions relating to pedagogy itself.

and Challenges'.³⁵⁸ Evidently, those teaching professionals who had learned their profession under the old Plan of 1914 were, at least in this part of the country, being encouraged to move away from the militaristic and purely corporeal view of physical education promoted by the old system and embrace the potential benefits of sports.

Again, such a programme of short courses was merely a short-term solution. What was needed, the leaders of the nascent Republic believed, was the creation of a new generation of teaching professionals to supplement the relatively few existing educators deemed to be sufficiently skilled and sufficiently progressive to help regenerate Spanish society. This would require a profound transformation of the way in which public educators were themselves trained. As Marcelino Domingo himself argued: 'The system that has been followed up until now can in no way meet the new educational challenges facing the Republic.'³⁵⁹ A longer-term vision, taking into account the type of country the new regime wanted to create, and the type of teachers it believed would be necessary to achieve this, needed to be defined and then pursued.

In order to increase the quality of the nation's teaching corps in the longer term, then, steps were taken to make teaching as a profession significantly more robust and scientific, in essence elevating it to the same status as the legal and medical professions. Almost straight away, therefore, the central government issued a Decree creating the Department of Pedagogy at the University of Madrid, the first such specialist department anywhere in Spain. Issuing the Decree, Fernando de los Ríos explained that 'right across the world', interest in pedagogy was on the rise, with the subject no longer overlooked, but rather seen as a science

³⁵⁸ See Francisco Asensio Rubio, *La enseñanza primaria. Ciudad Real: II República y Guerra Civil* (Diputación Provincial de Ciudad Real, 2007).

³⁵⁹ Decree of 3 July 1931, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 4 July 1931.

capable of nothing less than 'the formation of culture and of the human personality'.³⁶⁰ As such, he added, 'There is no need to justify the creation of not just one isolated professorship but of a whole university department dedicated to pedagogy and the sciences related to education.' This new department, attached to the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts effectively replaced the old Higher School of Teaching (*Escuela Superior del Magisterio*) and, like that institution, was tasked with overseeing the professional development of those men and women who would serve as instructors in the country's teacher training colleges. Moreover, the new department was also created to provide professional training for secondary school teachers, school inspectors and 'teachers wishing to widen their cultural knowledge and assume roles of great importance and responsibility'.³⁶¹

The creation of a new university department in Madrid was just one act of an ambitious effort to rejuvenate and transform teaching as a profession. Far more important were the steps taken to reform the Normal School (*Escuela Normal*), that is the country's teacher training colleges. Issued on 29th September 1931, the new Professional Plan was designed to achieve precisely this, signalling what María de Maetzu, pedagogue and sister of the noted *regeneracionista* thinker Ramiro de Maetzu, enthusiastically referred to as 'a radical change to the system of teacher training'.³⁶² Notably, the Plan was heavily influenced by the

³⁶⁰ As Fernando de los Ríos correctly noted, this period coincided with a growing interest in pedagogy as a subject and, more specifically, its elevation to a discipline to be studied at university level. Indeed, Spain was by no means at the forefront of European nations in its elevation of pedagogy to a university discipline. The Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, for example, held its first seminar on pedagogy in 1876, while there were also chairs of pedagogy installed in universities in Germany and Austria in the 1880s. See Gonzalo Jover, and Teresa Rabazas, 'Continuities and discontinuities in the origins of the institutionalisation of pedagogy in Spain' in *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 45:3 (2009), pp. 335-367.

³⁶¹ See Decree of 27 January 1932, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 29 January 1932

³⁶² See the chapter on Normal Schools by María de Maetzu in *Guía libro del maestro* (Madrid: Editorial Espasa Calpe, 1936). Molero Pintado is also one of many historians in agreement with this sentiment. Indeed, several respected histories of Spanish education single the Professional Plan of 1931 as a landmark in the modernisation of the national system. See also: Manuel de Guzmán, *Vida y muerte en las Escuelas Normales: Historia de la formación del magisterio básico* (Barcelona: PPU, 1986).

ILE's pedagogic philosophy, so much so in fact that has often been referred to as simply the 'Llopi's Decree'.³⁶³

This 1931 Decree was aimed at nothing short of a complete overhaul of the profession, and thus the Spanish education system, by changing how teachers were trained. Citing its recent establishment of the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Madrid, the Ministry of Public Instruction now stated its aim of 'converting the Normal Schools into professional institutions', again, elevating the status of teaching as a profession and putting it on a par with law and medicine. One simple, effective way of ensuring this was to make a break with the Professional Plan of 1914 and require all prospective teachers to be at least 16 years of age. More significantly, the Decree also meant that, for the first time, aspirant teachers would be required to hold a *Bachillerato* in order to start their training. This simple measure alone would be sufficient to mean that a qualification from Spain's Normal Schools would be equal to a university degree. And, furthermore, completing the *Bachillerato* and meeting the stipulated age requirements were, in themselves, not enough to be guaranteed a place on a teacher training course, as was previously often the case. Rather, the new regime stated its intention to limit the annual intake of each provincial Normal School to no more than 40 students.³⁶⁴ Given that applications far outnumbered the number of available spaces, and not just in the immediate aftermath of the declaration of the Republic, each Normal School was in a position to select only the best candidates. The reforms here did not just fulfil Llopi's long-standing aim of ridding Spain's teaching corps of incompetence and mediocrity.³⁶⁵ Rather, the Decree was fundamentally *Institucionista* in its elitism. As has been already

³⁶³ Molero Pintado, for example, stresses the determination of Llopi in particular in this regard.

³⁶⁴ Decree of 29 September 1931, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 30 September 1931.

³⁶⁵ Decree of 29 September 1931. The legislation also decreed that each provincial capital should have its own Normal School, with two to be located in both Barcelona and Madrid.

shown, while the ILE was determined to democratise access to secondary and university education in terms of ensuring an individual's social or economic background should be no barrier to their continuing with their studies, at the same time, it viewed higher learning as the preserve of only the best and brightest. As before, this was reflected in the reforms made to the secondary school curriculum by the Republic, as well as by the lack of reform in refusing to make further education obligatory. Such selectivity made addressing the urgent need for more teachers even more challenging, of course. However, for *Institucionistas*, this was a price worth paying. Such a view was encapsulated by José Castillejo who argued: 'Spain needs more schools, but the final number will be dependent on the number of well-trained teachers [available]. It would be a fatal error to make up the shortage by appointing bad ones.'³⁶⁶

Also evidence of the ILE influence, and much to the consternation of their political and religious opponents, Domingo and Llopis immediately ordered that the Normal School was to be coeducational, with institutions previously training either male or female teachers merged into a single centre. At the same time, religious instruction was also barred so that, just as with its primary and secondary schools, Spain's Normal Schools would be completely secular.³⁶⁷ In terms of the actual content of the Normal School training, however, the Professional Plan of 1931 was more a case of evolution than revolution, with much remaining from the Plan of 1914.

Thus, Article 1 of the Decree announcing the new Professional Plan stated that, just as in the preceding decades, training of new primary school teachers would take four years in total and be divided into three distinct stages, namely giving students a cultural grounding,

³⁶⁶ Jose Castillejo, *War of Ideas in Spain* (London: John Murray, 1937), p. 115.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

professional training and finally practical classroom experience. More specifically, students would be taught the history of pedagogy alongside 'current trends', modern languages, philology and also the administration of a modern school. Expanding on this, Article 10 of the official Decree stated that, alongside giving them a thorough grounding in the arts and culture, each Normal School would be responsible for 'the physical education of the students'. Furthermore, the legislation stressed that this responsibility was to be taken 'with double earnestness'.³⁶⁸ This was, however, as far as the Decree went in terms of requiring the Normal School to nurture their students' bodies as well as their minds. Indeed, while the legislation did specify that each institution should have at least one staff member suitably qualified to give classes on art and music, there was no such requirement for specialist sports or physical education teachers, nor even any stipulation that a certain number of hours per week should be given over to either of these.

To conclude that the Normal School under the Republic neglected this aspect of student development, however, is to be mistaken and, moreover, to fail to comprehend the spirit rather than just the words of the relevant legislation. As María de Maetzu noted at the time, the 'radical change' that the September 1931 decree brought about was not so much what was taught in Spain's Normal Schools, but rather *how* it was taught. That is, fully in line with the philosophies of the ILE and their British public school foundations, the legislation 'brought a new dynamic' to the profession.³⁶⁹ Above all, the Normal School headteachers, as well as the teachers under them, were to be given more powers and, at the same time, greater responsibilities. Just as with their colleagues in Spain's primary and secondary schools,

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ De Maetzu quoted in *Guía Libro del Maestro*.

the Normal School educators were to be entrusted with taking the initiative in, firstly, the selection of students, and then the precise structure of their professional formation.³⁷⁰

With this in mind, Article 8 of the new Professional Plan also stated that a small section of the weekly timetable of the country's Normal Schools was to be set aside for free studies, with each institution entrusted to complement the official curriculum with useful and relevant lessons, practical courses, seminars or excursions. 'The Normal School must not simply limit itself to fulfilling its fundamental mission of overseeing the professional formation of future teachers,' the Ministry of Public Instruction stated. 'It must also take care to enhance and strengthen the culture of these students, cultivating in them the most elevated of feelings.'³⁷¹ Moreover, Llopis himself highlighted the importance of the Normal School and its potential, both within the field of education but also within wider society. 'The Normal [School] must come to be the true home of a teacher and the body that drives every initiative capable of elevating the level of spiritual wellbeing in our provinces.'³⁷²

Once again, there was no official requirement for physical education or sports to be practised alongside the Professional Plan, meaning Normal School professors were equally as free to enhance their students' personal and professional development through trips to museums as they were to do so on the sports field. At the same time, however, the *institucionalista* elements within the revitalised education sector would ensure that the potential benefits of sports and exercise would not be lost on those tasked with training a new generation of teachers.

³⁷⁰ María Rosa Domínguez Cabrejas effectively explains how, after September 1931, the staff at the Normal School in Zaragoza were given both more freedom and greater responsibilities. See *La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Zaragoza, 1844-1936* (Zaragoza, Diputación General de Aragón, 2002) pp. 67-70.

³⁷¹ See *los Estudios de maestros en las Escuelas Normales* (Editorial Magisterio Español, Madrid, 1935)

³⁷² Llopis in Ministerial Order of 5 October 1932.

Following on from the September 1931 Decree, for example, Fernando de los Ríos, in his position as the Minister for Public Instruction issued a circular doing just this. Sent out to all the centres of education across Spain, though with a particular emphasis on the nation's Normal Schools, he set out a series of 'recommendations' geared towards ensuring the proper formation of students according to the modern trends of the time. Here, De los Ríos stressed the 'necessity of a vigorous academic life' within the Normal School, as well as in the nation's public universities. In particular, through the circular, the minister recommends 'the creation of sports fields, swimming pools, mountain refuges, artistic associations: in short, that which makes up the vigorous academic life enjoyed in Anglo-Saxon towns more fortunate than our own.' Notably, this exhortation to follow the English example and harness the benefits of sports to enhance the development of student teachers was reprinted in the pages of the *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, ensuring it was distributed right across the country and, presumably, not merely widely-read but, moreover, read by Normal School professors invigorated by their newly-enhanced standing in society and new sense of freedom the change in political regime had brought them.³⁷³

Similarly, a chapter dedicated to this part of the education system in the Teachers' Guidebook (*Guía libro del maestro*) also stressed the benefits of introducing sports into the Normal School week, specifically with regard to ensuring such institutions produced competent professionals of good morals and physical vigour. Indeed, the author, a Normal School professor himself, argued that, while competitive sports might be physical damaging for younger schoolchildren, given that trainee teachers were, in essence, grown adults, there were no drawbacks, only potential benefits, of their being practised. As such, he argued,

³⁷³ See *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, 86, January 1932 p. 20.

'sports constitute an excellent method of physical education that must be included in any [such] plan for adults.'³⁷⁴

Just as with the *Revista De Escuelas Normales*, the prestige of this guidebook – with other chapters written by leading pedagogues such as Félix Martí Alpera, an expert on Spanish literature and foreign language teaching – meant that it would have been widely distributed and, moreover, widely-read by a largely engaged and sympathetic audience. Put simply, while the Republic's new Professional Plan for the nation's Normal Schools may have neglected to stipulate that physical education and sports were to be a compulsory part of the curriculum for aspirant teachers, it did encourage individual institutions to take the initiative in creating a new generation of education professionals. And, as the Circular written by Fernando de los Ríos shows, the Ministry of Public Instruction joined experts and other influential voices from within the field in urging the Normal Schools to make full use of this relative freedom being offered to them by the central government in Madrid, specifically through harnessing the benefits of competitive sports to oversee the physical as well as the moral and emotional development of their students.

Notably, in the same way that individual schools and teachers did indeed hear the rallying cry of the Republic and act upon it by introducing sports at the grassroots level, so too did Normal Schools across Spain move on from the emphasis placed on militaristic gymnastics by the Professional Plan of 1914 and use the relative freedoms granted to them by the 1931 legislation to move towards the English model of competitive sports. As before, it is the pedagogical press of the time, rather than the legislation passed by the government, that gives the best picture of what was happening at the grassroots level. Such publications show

³⁷⁴ See C. Demetrio Garralda, in *Guía libro del maestro* p. 612.

that Normal Schools either introduced sports for the first time or else made them a more important part of the curriculum in order to better fulfil their mission of producing young teachers who were not merely physically fit, but also equipped with the progressive outlook and moral standing the new Republic sought.

The Escuela Normal in Action: Sports in Spain's Teacher Training Institutions

As the Circular issued by Fernando de Los Ríos recommending that Spain's Normal Schools follow the lead of their 'Anglo-Saxon' counterparts demonstrates, organised and competitive team sports were regarded as an integral part of Normal School life, aiding the formation of physically and morally robust young professionals capable of leading the regeneration of the country. Notably, as the pedagogical journals of the time show, such exhortations did not fall on deaf ears. Right across the country, provincial Normal Schools were certainly taking the initiative and embracing the benefits of both physical education and organised sports and games.³⁷⁵ Above all, the pages of the main journal dedicated to this sector of the national education system, namely the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* contain several examples of different institutions acting independently and either introducing sports into the everyday life of the students or else increasing the frequency with which they were practiced, the importance placed on them, or both. At the same time, however, it should be acknowledged that, as with the wider school system, such first-person contemporary accounts of sporting life in Spain's Normal Schools are relatively rare, certainly in comparison to the amount of

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

space given to other subjects and activities, indicative of the relative lack of importance given to sport.

Nevertheless, the curriculum and philosophy of Normal School of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia (*Escuela Normal de Generalitat de Catalunya*), for example, would not have looked out of place in England. Indeed, the institution, which was established through the Decree of August 22, 1931, serves as an effective illustration as how physical education and sports were embraced as part of the 'thriving academic life' De los Ríos and his colleagues so craved in a bid to forge a new, well-rounded teaching corps to serve the Republic. Writing in the *Revista de las Escuelas Normales*, the school's own Señor Costal, whether consciously or not, almost directly quoted from the works of Llopis in explaining that its mission was far from 'the mere creation of primary school teachers'.³⁷⁶ Rather, in line with the Republic's whole educational ethos, the school had greater ambitions. Its mission, he said, was the formation of rounded professionals, at the same time equipped with general teaching skills yet also boasting specialised skills. Notably, sports, and not just physical education, played a central role in such efforts to create teachers who could not just improve Spain's poor levels of numeracy and literacy, but who would possess the specialist knowledge and the aptitude needed to help address numerous other societal ills – whether real or imagined - among them individualism, laziness and passivity and a lack of discipline. 'Within the campus of the University, we have a garden and playing fields [which are used] for all physical education practice, sports and games,' he explained. It was on these playing fields that all

³⁷⁶ See *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, 99, December 1933, pp. 6-12.

students, regardless of their interests or abilities, were required to participate in half an hour of compulsory physical recreation each and every school day.³⁷⁷

According to Señor Costal, the playing fields, as well as the school's own swimming pool, offered students the chance to relax during the course of the school day, while the fields also meant classes could be given in the fresh air – something the ILE's founder Giner de los Ríos would surely have approved of. Pictures published with the article effectively illustrate the degree to which both social life and lessons at the school revolved around the sports fields, with even female students, for whom sports were not compulsory, leaving the classroom to learn by the sides of the pitches.³⁷⁸ Again, however, while undoubtedly progressive, including in its ground-breaking policy of coeducation in the Normal School, the Republic's teacher training plan was still traditional in some aspects, not least of all gender roles. As this published image illustrates, sports and physical education were largely a male pursuit, with female students implicitly encouraged to engage in 'feminine' pursuits alongside their studies.

At the same time, the school's sporting facilities, along with its policy of compulsory participation, offered students more than simple diversion and relaxation, while also taking care of more than their physical wellbeing. Sports, the journal's readers were told, helped create 'an atmosphere of camaraderie (*compañerismo*), of loyalty and of respect', both for rules and for teachers and fellow students. It also helped develop in students 'a certain refinement', and again, it is worth paying attention to the language used here. This idea of 'refinement' of character through sports was fully in line with the essential elitism of the ILE

³⁷⁸ Such was the emphasis placed on sports and physical education at the Catalan Normal School, one newspaper reported that a group of Catholic students turned up to protest its 'physical culture and other teachings', deeming them to be 'immoral'. The protest eventually turned violent. See *La Voz de Guipúzcoa* 17 January 1931.

and its members. Furthermore, though there is no specific mention of gender, the language here was fully in accordance with that used by those proponents of sport who had long pointed to the way public school games in England were used to create 'gentlemen'.³⁷⁹

Alongside the regular practice of sports, students also learned the theory of physical education, thanks largely to the school's close relations with the Psychotechnological Institute (*Instituto de Psicotécnica*) of the adjoining university. Again, this emphasis on working alongside the scientific community was geared towards elevating the overall status of teaching as a profession and giving the students a robust grounding in the latest pedagogical thought before sending them out to create the Republican citizens of the future. Clearly following the Republican regime's desire for individual schools to take the initiative and set their own individual curricula, the Normal School of Catalonia, readers of the journal learned, taught two specialist courses on the teaching of PE and sports during the 1931-32 academic year. These short courses were geared towards giving qualified teachers skills that would enable them to teach sports and physical exercise within their own schools. Both short courses, it was noted, were a 'great success.'³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

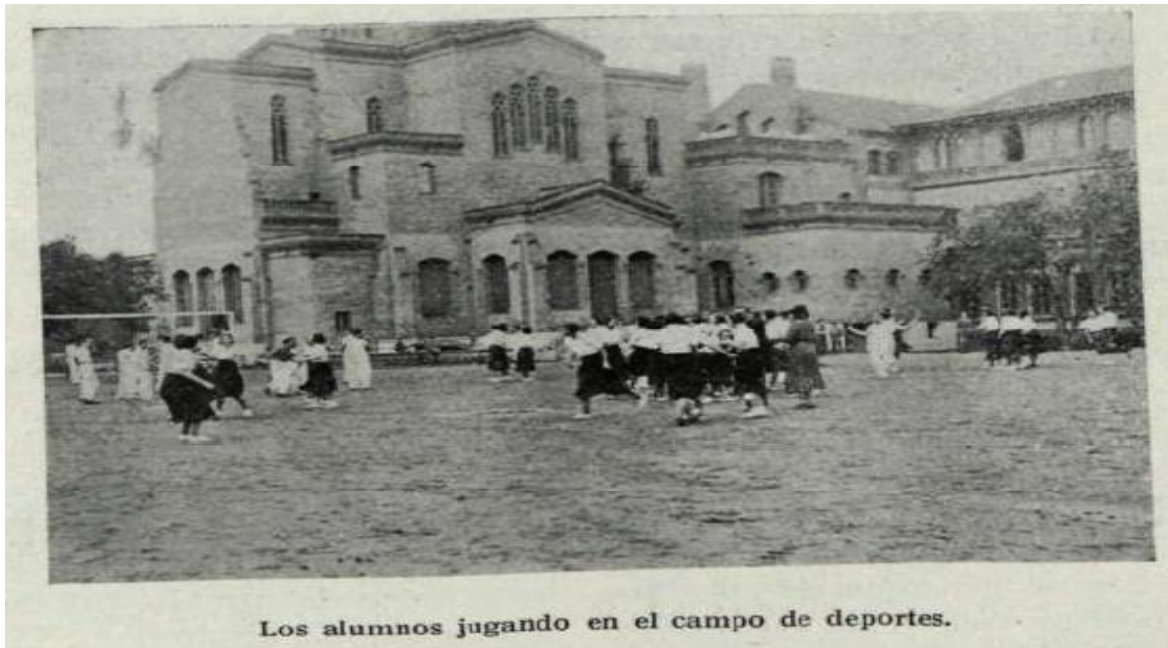


Figure 1: Students at the Normal School of Catalonia at play.³⁸¹



Figure 2: Students in the garden, with the playing fields behind them³⁸²

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

The Catalan school was not alone in identifying the potential benefits of sports. In March 1933, the same professional journal published a piece elaborating on the government's recent legislation aimed at bringing Spain's Normal Schools up to the same level as those in the rest of Western Europe. In Madrid, readers of the same journal learned, the Normal School specialising in training teachers for younger children were taught the varied benefits of physical education, rhythmic group exercises and games. Training the body, this school's students were taught, not only allows for the physical development of the child and helps improve overall levels of health, but can also instil in younger children a sense of discipline and 'willpower'. At the same time, however, it was noted that, at such an early age, young children would benefit most from rhythmic gymnastics, free play and exercises such as balancing on one foot rather than from properly-structured English-style team sports.³⁸³

As with the Normal School system in general, however, the inclusion of sports in daily life at the Madrid institution was not principally for the benefit of the children the aspirant teachers would go on to take charge of. Rather, sports were mainly included for the benefit of the student teachers themselves. That is, they were regarded as a means of producing future educators sound in mind and body and equipped with a strong sense of self-discipline and a team spirit – as exemplified by the female hockey team of the Madrid Normal School. The leading sporting journal *Campeón* published a special feature on these athletically-minded students in February 1933, praising their pursuit of both their studies and sporting excellence, making the Madrid team 'one of the best in Europe'. Moreover, the report also stressed that, despite being 'fierce' and competitive on the hockey field, 'the students of today, very soon to be teachers themselves, still possess the maternal qualities needed to

³⁸³ *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, 111, April 1935.

look after young children – and, it must be noted, to adhere to the traditional role expected of women, even in a relatively progressive environment.' Indeed, as the report explains, the students, among them some of Spain's best female players, 'took a break from their daily tasks to demonstrate that playing hockey is not at odds with sewing or embroidery.'³⁸⁴

Also taking heed of the Ministry of Public Instruction's calls to make sport a key part of student life, was the Normal School of Murcia. As one letter from various Normal School directors to the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* made clear, many institutions lacked the space or facilities to offer such extra-curricular activities, and the Murcia school was one of them. Nevertheless, the director of this institution took the initiative, seeking out the help of two local football teams, Murcia FC and El Imperial. The latter responded, giving their pitch to the Normal School's students to use for free.³⁸⁵ Thus, competitive football came to be part of the timetable, with the school getting a football team for the first time in its 90-year history. Quite whether the director was prompted to take such action by the Circular of Fernando de Los Ríos recommending the introduction of English-style sports is unclear. What is clear, however, is that this was another example of an educational institution acting independently and expanding on the role sports were to play in the daily life of its students, as was the case of the Normal School of Oviedo. Here, presented with the opportunity to propose short, specialist courses to be included in the third year of its courses, the institution's staff put forward the idea of introducing a course on 'sports in the school', with the aim of better equipping their graduates to keep up with the latest pedagogical trends.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ *Campeón* 5 February 1933.

³⁸⁵ See *Escuela Normal de Murcia: 150 Aniversario, 1844-1994* p. 111.

³⁸⁶ Carmen Fernández Rubio: *La Escuela Normal Masculina de Oviedo y su incidencia en la formación de maestros* p. 130.

Moreover, as one other example shows, some heads of Normal Schools recognised their unique position to mould the educators of the future and so create a brighter future for not just their own institution and region, but for the whole of the country. In an article published in the summer of 1934 in the *Boletín de Educación de Logroño y Su Provincia* – and penned by an author playfully named as a certain 'D. Porte' - readers would learn of the inaugural sports day held at the city's Normal School, and of the importance attached to it.³⁸⁷ Held on the 'beautiful grounds' of the city's main Sports Club, this, the report noted 'was the first time the Normal School has organised a fiesta of sports.' Alongside the standard athletics disciplines such as the long and high jumps, a number of organised sports were also competed. These included, the report noted with enthusiasm, 'a demonstration of a new sport, "handball", a game only recently introduced into Spain and one of the best for developing the whole body, always within a fine sporting spirit.' Far from being a day away from studying, the sports festival was designed to enhance what was being taught in the classroom; the aspirant teachers of La Rioja's principal Normal School were to see physical education and sports as a key tool in helping them in their historic mission to transform Spain through education. The report adds:

Teachers are not to be discouraged if there are no true athletes among their students. This is not always the case. Rather, we must seek to elevate the sporting spirit, instilling in children a love of exercise as a basic and fundamental part of their intellectual and moral development. *Mens sana in corpore sano*. This is what is essential. Let's educate the child physically. And we think that Spain will be so much greater, stronger and more vigorous

³⁸⁷ *Boletín de Educación de Logroño y Su Provincia, Colección Completa 1934-1935-1936* (Logroño: Biblioteca Archivo de Logroño: Historia de la Rioja)

strong and vigorous if we educate them in a healthy manner. That they know how to apply this [belief] in the days to come is what we hope³⁸⁸

Evidently, various provincial Normal Schools were busy doing exactly what many *deportistas* and pedagogical thinkers, including members of the government wanted, namely encouraging the practice of sports among students...In 1933 the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* emphasised this point, suggesting to its audience of educational professionals that a school could, 'among other things', set up a number of student associations. Top of its list of recommendations was the establishment of student teams for physical education 'in which the maximum number of students' could participate, though it was noted, all games should be as far from 'professional sports' as possible. Along with mixed choirs, excursions to the countryside and participation in other scholarly and extra-curricular activities, such team games and sports could, it was noted, 'awaken in students feelings and habits of solidarity and collaboration, helping them fulfil the function of the [Republic's] new schools'.³⁸⁹ Just as with the muscular Christianity of the English schools so many of the Republic's leading educationalists were looking to emulate, sports and group physical education were seen as an effective means of combating any sense of egotism – again, a trait seen by many intellectuals as a reason for the country's alleged backwardness – and instead fostering a sense of solidarity and social purpose that could be harnessed and used to model a new Spain.

At the same time, just as with the Journal of the Free Teaching Institute (*BILE*), the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* also published regular reports on pedagogical trends outside of

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ This piece was published in the journal's 'Normal in Action' section, which came with the heading: 'In this section, we will recognise the work our colleagues are carrying out...the problems they encounter and suggest practical changes to the everyday life of the Normal.' See *Revista de Escuelas Normales* 95, April 1933

Spain, allowing those tasked with overseeing the professional formation of the country's next generation of teachers.³⁹⁰ Moreover, readers were also reminded of the benefits of sports and physical education not just for student teachers but for the children they would go on to teach. For instance, A J Piaget, in the 'Sciences and Education' section of the journal informed readers of the latest thinking on 'the development of the spirit of solidarity within children'.³⁹¹ Here, it was noted that children can be taught traits such as companionship, cooperation, respect for one another and respect for rules from an early age, so long as they are taught well. More specifically, the writer pointed to 'the solidarity' social games can, when used alongside 'intellectual work', instil in children of primary school age. Indeed, readers were informed of studies that had shown social games such as bowls – 'in such fashion among young boys' – helped boost levels of solidarity between classmates, teach respect for rules and also instil 'what we may call "mutual respect"' between the students.³⁹²

Again, it is evident that the interest in sports was there at the grassroots level, with institutions such as the Catalan school leading the way in creating teachers capable of passing the benefits of organised sports and physical education on to their own students. But still, according to some key figures within this sector of the education system, the country was still lagging behind its European neighbours. Shortly after Fernando de los Ríos issued his Circular advising Normal Schools to follow the English example and make competitive team sports an

³⁹⁰ As well as the United States, examples from Switzerland, France, Mexico and Germany were all published in the pages of the *Revista* in the years 1931 to 1936.

³⁹¹ *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, 97, October 1933. As one of the preeminent psychologists and experts in child development of his time, Jean Piaget was routinely mentioned in Spain's pedagogic journals. For example, his thoughts on promoting a sense of solidarity and justice in the school were published in the journal *El Ideal del Magisterio*, the journal of the National Teachers Federation (Confederación Nacional del Maestros). Since this journal was distributed free to the Federation's members across Spain, it seems evident that Piaget's works would have been familiar to the nation's teachers, even if at times it may have been published without his knowledge or permission. See, for example: 'Piaget, 'El Desarrollo del espíritu de solidaridad de los niños' *El Ideal del Magisterio* 359, 16 October 1933.

³⁹² *Ibid.*

integral part of student life, the editors of the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* noted that the Minister's recommendations seemed a little too ambitious given the state of many teacher training institutions – indeed, it was argued, the majority of Normal Schools were lacking sufficient classrooms, without gardens and patios and places to rest between classes', thereby making it 'difficult to think of sports fields or conference rooms' at that point in time.

More tellingly, a letter published in the *Revista de Escuela Normales* in 1936, a full five years after the Republic started to take an active role in reforming Spain's Normal Schools, indicates that, regardless of the best of intentions, such efforts were having a limited impact. As has been noted, the nascent Republic concentrated its efforts firstly on creating more and better schools and, while the change in government that followed the elections of November 1933 did not completely derail the ILE's pedagogical project, with several areas of reform continued thanks in no small part to the presence of the Radical Party in the government, the initial speed of reform slowed considerably. Thus, this letter, which was signed by alumni of the Normal School of Guadalajara bemoaned the scant attention given to physical education in their alma mater. 'Physical education needs to become more indispensable, to be properly taught and regulated in our Normal Schools [in order to] invigorate our race through physical discipline.' A subject 'so important, so indispensable' cannot, indeed must not, be neglected in the course of any prospective teacher's training 'one moment more', the open letter concluded.³⁹³ To rectify the situation, the signatories recommended the training and recruitment of specialist physical education teachers. These specialists would not only boast the skills and knowledge necessary to work in primary and secondary schools, they would also

³⁹³ *Revista de Escuelas Normales* 119, April 1936

be installed in every provincial Normal School, driving the 'modest pedagogical revolution', proponents of sports and physical education were restless to witness.

Teaching the teachers: Towards a civil school of physical education

It might seem hard to believe, but there are no genuine physical education teachers in our Normal Schools. Only in some do they briefly touch on this branch of pedagogy. As such, in Spain, how children must be educated in gymnastics and in sports continues to be officially ignored.³⁹⁴

As one of the leading figures of the progressive pedagogical movement and a key *institucionista* Manuel Bartolomé Cossío argued, it was futile spending money on schools and teaching materials while at the same time not spending money on the teachers who could bring such materials to life.³⁹⁵ That is, just as there was a pressing need for competent educators to fill the new classrooms the Republic undertook to construct across Spain, so too was there an equally pressing need for suitably-qualified instructors capable of leading activities on the new sports fields and gyms the Republic also recommended provincial leaders to invest in. The fundamental philosophy of the ILE placed great emphasis on teachers as the 'soul of a school'; in return for greater professional freedom, better pay and an elevated social status, they were given the responsibility of being the 'foot soldiers of the Republic' and converting the subjects of the old monarchy into the citizens of the new democracy. In all

³⁹⁴ *La Educación Física* 2 June 1932

³⁹⁵ For more on his views on teacher training, see: See Jaume Carbonell, *Manuel Bartolomé Cossío: Una antología pedagógica* (Madrid: Publications of the Ministry of Education and Sciences, 1985)

areas and all subjects, then, the Republican schoolteacher needed to be up to the task assigned to them.

Again, for the most part, the inclusion of physical education and practice of sports within the Normal School was aimed at the rounded development of a new generation of teachers that were healthy in body and mind. That is, the aspirant teachers were to be encouraged to participate in team sports and other modes of physical education so as to develop them personally rather than professionally. It was not the intention to create physical education teachers here – rather, the Normal School was to carry on in its role of training teachers in a range of subjects; if they were to graduate with the skills and knowledge to lead their own students in games and exercise, this would be an additional benefit rather than an end in itself. Given this, and given the fact that – as the De Los Ríos circular indicated – the new Republic was keen to see the more widespread use of sports in both primary and secondary schools, it was also necessary to take steps towards training a large number of dedicated physical education instructors outside of the Normal School system.

This is not to say that the Republic inherited a nation completely lacking such educational specialists. Indeed, in the preceding decades, a degree of progress had been made in this area, even if, going into the 1930s, Spain was still some way behind many of its European neighbours when it came to regarding the teaching of physical education, and certainly of sports, as a distinct – and valuable – skill. Most pertinently, while the first official Normal School was founded in the 1840s, there was to be no equivalent for the training of physical education professionals for almost another 50 years.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ A detailed analysis of the early history of the training of physical education teachers in Spain can be found in Pajarón Sotomayor, *La educación física escolar en España*. For a more specific history of Madrid, see *Orígenes*

The first institution of its kind, the Central Gymnastics School of Madrid, was established with the aim of preparing already-qualified educators to teach the subject at secondary level or at Normal School level. Like so many educational initiatives of this period, however, the Madrid school was short-lived, falling victim the political whims of the two-party system. Opened under a Liberal administration in 1887, it closed its doors for good just five years later as Spain was being governed by Conservative politicians.³⁹⁷ Moreover, while certainly a sign of progress in this particular field, the school was far from progressive, particularly when compared with what was happening elsewhere in Europe. Limiting itself to instructing its students in standard gymnastics and rhythmic exercises designed with just the physical refinement of the body in mind, it completely neglected the potential role of sports and games within the school while also disregarding contemporary pedagogical thought on the moral and psychological benefits of such activities. Similarly, while also arguably a sign of progress in the Spanish context, the school, was nevertheless behind the pedagogical trends dominating much of Western Europe at the time. That is, while ruling that educators needed to pass tests set by the Faculty of Medicine in order to hold an official title for the teaching of physical education, the legislation ensured that the physical wellbeing of the student would continue to be seen in purely scientific terms, again ignoring contemporary pedagogical arguments for the moral and spiritual benefits of exercise and play.³⁹⁸

The short life of the Madrid school meant that, it was not until 1919 that the country had a single and central establishment dedicated to the training and development of specialist physical education instructors. And, almost inevitably, it was the army, and more specifically

del Deporte Madrileño: Condiciones Sociales de la Actividad Deportiva 1870-1936 (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987)

³⁹⁷ The School was established with the Decree of 9 March 1883.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

the Academy of the Infantry, that finally addressed the lack of such an institution. In a Royal Decree issued by Alfonso XIII in December of 1919, a Central School of Physical Education was created in Toledo, though within the space of just a year, its name was changed to the Central School of Gymnastics, a name it would retain right throughout years of the Republic and up until the end of the Civil War. The Minister of War José Villalba Riquelme, himself a leading figure in the field of physical education in early twentieth century Spain, was given the directorship of the institution and tasked with training a large number of army officers to become specialist instructors. From the outset, the Toledo institution was very much a military institution, established just days after the end of the Great War, at a period of heightened anxiety within the upper echelons of Spanish society. Its key purpose was to raise fitness levels at all levels within the Spanish army, though with a particular emphasis on the officer class, with Villalba Riquelme utilising the latest thinking from within the field of physical education to achieve just this. Indeed, in addition to requiring his students to pass physical tests, Villalba Riquelme also ensured that they left the Toledo school with a solid understanding of the science of physical education, specifically with regards to physiology.³⁹⁹

Within the space of just a few years, the Central School of Gymnastics had succeeded in modernising physical training methods in the Spanish army and, in doing so, helped raise overall fitness levels among the officer class. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the institution's achievements caught the attention of civil society, with the Ministry of Public Instruction taking a particular interest in the work being done in Toledo. The introduction of the Book of Infant Gymnastics (*Cartilla Gimnástica Infantil*) in 1924 made physical education lessons a

³⁹⁹ For a more detailed history of physical education training at the army headquarters in Toledo see J.L. Chinchilla Mingués, 'La Escuela Central de Educación Física de Toledo (1918-1980)' in Rodríguez Rodríguez, L.P. *Compendio histórico de la actividad física y el deporte* (Barcelona: Masson, 2003) pp. 318-350. Other useful histories of the Toledo school can be found in Pastor Pradillo, *El espacio profesional de la educación física en España*, and in Pajarón Sotomayor, *La educación física escolar en España en la primera mitad del siglo XX*.

compulsory part of the primary school day, prompting the Ministry of Public Instruction to look into addressing the lack of specialist skills among the nation's teachers.⁴⁰⁰ Within 12 months of the introduction of the *Cartilla*, a Royal Order was issued setting out plans to allow civil educators to learn at the Toledo school. And, within 12 months of the plans being released, another Royal Order was published, celebrating the completion of the first course held at the army school specifically for non-military personnel. Here, the latter Royal Order noted: 'It was arranged that a course on perfecting of physical education teaching would be held at the Central School of Gymnastics for state school teachers.' The aim of this initiative was to give teachers and Normal School teachers the skills and knowledge they would need to ensure the subject was properly taught at primary level. In this first course alone, some 34 Normal School teachers, all having proven themselves to be in good physical shape, under the age of 32 and with a genuine interest in physical education, benefitted from spending several weeks at the army institution. Indeed, such was the immediate success of the project, the Toledo school's directors met in September of 1926 to discuss plans to create a special 'civil section', with a full plan on the table by 1929, even if they were never to be realised.⁴⁰¹

By the time the Second Republic was established, therefore, Spain did have a central school dedicated to training physical education teachers. Furthermore, the Central School of Gymnastics was essentially progressive in nature, at least in terms of looking to the rest of Europe and embracing current thinking, if not in terms of adopting a liberal philosophy. Alongside its classes for civilian teachers, the school was also one of the most active and prolific publishers of books and leaflets relating to physical education in the whole of Europe,

⁴⁰⁰ Chinchilla Mingues, 'La Escuela Central de Educación Física de Toledo (1918-1980) and Pajarón Sotomayor *La educación física escolar en España en la primera mitad del siglo XX*.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

with its team of scientifically-minded instructors and researchers ensuring that the latest developments in this area of pedagogy reached not only the nation's army officers but its teachers, too. Pertinently, by the 1920s, certain sections of the old parade grounds of the Academy of the Infantry had been transformed into playing fields, with students able to make use of running tracks, football pitches and basketball courts alongside the standard gym, with the 'pedagogic value' of sports and games, as well as 'foreign examples of physical education' an integral part of the curriculum. For example, between September and December of 1932, the Toledo institution held a course specifically for primary school teachers with the aim of giving them a thorough grounding in the theory and practice of physical education, with an emphasis on gymnastics and 'the application of games and sports'.⁴⁰² Furthermore, additional legislation was passed in 1935 with the aim of 'developing special courses for civil doctors, teachers and any other suitably qualified personnel so that they may learn about or develop their understanding of physical education'.⁴⁰³

Nevertheless, regardless of the efforts of the Central School of Gymnastics to offer training to primary school teachers, Normal School professors and inspectors, arguments for the creation of a separate civil school of physical education continued to grow throughout the 1920s, both from *deportistas* and pedagogues. In 1928, just a matter of weeks after the Toledo school announced its aim of creating a civil section, one leading Spanish pedagogue, Augusto Gonzalez Condo, argued even this would not be enough to meet the pressing need for suitably-qualified teachers. He maintained: 'It is clear that, in order for the teacher corps to practise, on a grand scale, this important discipline, it will be necessary to create a civil

⁴⁰² The journal *Educación Física* reported on the activities of the Toledo school in 1933. The report, complete with photographs of classes in action, highlighted the thorough theoretical and practical training received by teachers attending courses there, noting that 'games and sports' formed a key part of the curriculum

⁴⁰³ See 'Reglamento Para el Régimen de la Escuela de Gimnasia,' Circular Order of 11 November 1935.

centre or institute of physical education dedicated exclusively to primary school teachers. The guidance given here will radiate throughout the country through the Normal Schools so that two to three thousand teachers can be trained each year. Even then, it will take ten years for all teachers to have a complete understanding of physical education in the school.⁴⁰⁴ Several years after Marcelo Sanz Romo, himself a teacher of physical education, had lamented that most of his colleagues were simply 'not fit for purpose' and often likely to do more harm than good by teaching the subject without a proper scientific understanding of the human body or the pedagogical benefits of proper exercise, little progress had been made.⁴⁰⁵

Despite these long-standing calls for the creation of a specialist civil school, the declaration of the Republic and the wave of popular enthusiasm which followed the change in regime provoked a new sense of optimism in those who wanted to see such an institution. As with many sectors of Spanish society, the *deportistas* largely welcomed the fall of the monarchy. Generally progressive and looking to Spain's European neighbours for inspiration, they shared with many of their fellow Spaniards the sense that the coming of the Republic would bring with it a wave of social changes, not least in their own particular field. As a result, the general tone of the sporting press, just as with the sympathetic pedagogical press, tended to be more optimistic in the weeks and months immediately following April 1931. For instance, the editors of one of the leading sports and physical education journals of the time, *Educación Física*, conceded that the dearth of specialist teachers need not in fact stand in the way of Spain developing a school sports culture equal to those of nations such as Britain, Germany or Switzerland. After all, the publication pointed out, none of Georges Hebert, Pehr

⁴⁰⁴ Augusto Condo Gonzalez, *Gimnasia e hidroterapia en el desarrollo infantil* (Madrid: Imp. de Cleto Vallinas 1928) p. 193.

⁴⁰⁵ See Marcelo Sanz Romo, *Manual de higiene y juegos escolares* (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Cuesta, 1895)

Henrik Ling or John Dewey had attended a specialist physical education school or even medical school and yet they went on to establish themselves as 'the great apostles of a corporeal culture'.⁴⁰⁶

Meanwhile, in an interview with the same publication, one of Madrid's leading physical education and sports instructors – an 'ace' among the nation's small band of 'professors of physical culture' – Heliodoro Ruiz, expressed his optimism that the change in regime would mean that Spain would be able to 'make a giant leap' forward and start giving experts such as himself the status and recognition they merited. While he himself had been training students in a range of sports for more than two decades, he had been unable to gain an official title, unlike his peers in other countries, a situation he was sure would change under the new pro-sport government. Notably, it was once again Fernando de los Ríos who was singled out as evidence that the new Republic appreciated the important role sport could play in what Professor Ruiz also referred to as the 'regeneration of the race'. He stated: 'I know that Señor de los Ríos is a supporter of plans for a large new stadium for all sports, with a corresponding school out of which will emerge the future professors – or instructors or monitors – who will bring to our universities and secondary schools the cult of scientifically-studied sports.'⁴⁰⁷

Within a few months, however, certain sections of the sporting press were calling for more progress to be made in bringing standards of physical education in Spain up to a par with those elsewhere in much of the rest of Europe. Moving on from its earlier stance, then, the *Educación Física* journal argued: 'At the moment, the lack of an official title is not an

⁴⁰⁶ *La Educación Física* 2, June 1932.

⁴⁰⁷ *La Educación Física* 2, August 1932.

impediment [to starting work] since a civil school of physical education does not exist. It is now time to create a school where teachers can update their specialist skills and knowledge.⁴⁰⁸ Moreover, the same publication urged the Republican government to follow the lead being set in England and even the United States and equip Spain's teachers with both a good understanding of sports as well as standard physical education and also the ability to actively direct classes themselves. As the journal stated: 'It is now necessary to focus on what have been referred to as "high school sports", bringing "a sportive environment" into institutes and secondary schools [with the help of] competent professionals who enjoy a reputation of success in coaching or of triumph on the sports field.' Indeed, the most enthusiastic of *deportistas* cited Spain's relatively poor representation at the 1932 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles as evidence that the country needed to follow the lead of other nations and not only make sports an integral part of the school curriculum but to ensure that lessons were led by specialist coaches.⁴⁰⁹

Thus, the same editorial concluded: 'We ask that the Budget of 1933 include a decent allowance for teachers of gymnastics and physical education in institutes and schools and allow for the current vacancies in our schools to be filled with graduates of a civil school of physical education as soon as possible.'⁴¹⁰ It is worth noting here that, for all its ambitions in the field of education, the Republic was hampered by economic constraints. As Carreras notes, the regime came into existence against a backdrop of 'a permanent oppressive

⁴⁰⁸ *La Educación Física* 2, August 1932.

⁴⁰⁹ See Esperanto, 'La Olimpiada de los Ángeles, la educación física en España y el intrusismo' *Educación Física* 1, May 1932 pp. 16-17. In reality, Spain, represented by just six athletes, was far from the only country poorly represented at the Los Angeles Olympics. Since the Games were held during the Great Depression, many nations and individual athletes were simply unable to afford to travel to California to compete. Interestingly, the Republican government subsequently declined to subsidise the Spanish Olympic Committee in its work to send athletes to the 1936 Olympics in Berlin since they – correctly – felt that the Games would be 'politically tainted'.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

atmosphere of economic crisis', and the Republic struggled to gain both domestic and international respectability by attempting to pass balanced budgets and addressing the debts it inherited from the dictatorship.⁴¹¹ Such circumstances inevitably hampered the regime's reformist ambitions, including in the field of physical education and teacher training.

Following up on this editorial, the same journal published an open letter to Fernando de los Ríos, at once praising his dedication to progressive pedagogy while also urging him to do more, even going so far as to argue that training physical education professionals was in the national interest. While noting that the sporting press had long been lobbying the government for a civil school of physical education, the letter stated that the change in the political climate made it more likely that their request would be answered: '

Now, things have changed, and more radical changes are needed. We now have a Minister of Education who is an eminent pedagogue and as such, recognises the heightened role that the practice of exercise can play in modern education and in the regeneration of the race. We therefore urge Mr. De los Ríos to create in the medicine faculties of Madrid and Barcelona (just as in Paris, Bordeaux, Ghent, Liege etc) new "Institutes of Physical Education" that can be the nurseries of teachers and instructors.⁴¹²

At the same time, the open letter calls for the salaries of physical education teachers to be raised at least to the level of those paid to teachers of art and calligraphy – argued to

⁴¹¹ See Eduardo L. Gimenez and Maria Montero, 'The Great Depression in Spain', *Economic Modelling*, 44 (2012), and Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, *Historia Económica de la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2004), p. 289.

⁴¹² *La Educación Física* 1 June 1932.

be very much lesser subjects when placed alongside physical education – and also the reorganisation of sports and physical education classes in schools, ‘so that weaker students aren’t mixed with stronger ones’.⁴¹³ In summary, it was argued: ‘It’s necessary to create (just as in certain foreign countries) Directors of Children’s Games and Sports Instructors.’⁴¹⁴

Such arguments did not fall on deaf ears. Nor were they ever likely to. Despite its record of success, its commitment to training civilians alongside military personnel and its embracing of the latest research from the field of physical education allied with its enthusiasm for team sports, the Central School of Gymnastics could never be relied upon to deliver the specialist teachers the Republic needed. For starters, the Toledo school only admitted male teachers, a policy completely at odds with the Republican philosophy of coeducation at all levels. Additionally, while sports, including competitive team sports, were certainly practised, the school’s methods were predominantly Northern European in origin. Indeed, rather than taking his influences from England, the director Villalba Riquelme had travelled extensively around Sweden, Italy, Switzerland and Germany before returning back to Spain a convert to the militaristic Ling method of gymnastics. Above all, however, it was the school’s military connection that meant that, while it became independent of the Academy of Infantry in 1928 and continued to offer courses for schoolteachers throughout the 1930s, the Ministry of Public Instruction moved to create a completely new central school of physical education, one completely free from the influences of the army or the Church.

⁴¹³ *La Educación Física* 2,1 June 1932

⁴¹⁴ It was also hoped that Miguel de Unamuno, in his position as president of the National Council of Culture, would ‘take the initiative’ and address the lack of a uniform system for training specialist physical education instructors. ‘Nobody is more aware of the importance of physical education than the great Spanish Hellenist. We remain hopeful that our admired Don Miguel will one day help our cause. That will be a great day for Spain.’ See *Educación Física* 2,2 August 1932

'Towards the Creation of Official Physical Education Teachers': The San Carlos Central School of Education

The idea of a specialist institution dedicated to the training of physical education instructors, like that of including the subject in the nation's Normal Schools, was not a new one. Nor, as illustrated above, was it only the most evangelical of *deportistas* calling for the creation of such an establishment. What was new, however, was the context in which such arguments were made. By substituting 'sports and games' for gymnastics in the *Bachillerato* and by encouraging the practice of competitive sports at both primary and secondary level, the Republic's policies meant that the teachers they inherited would not be up to the job, and so a new generation of properly-qualified educators would need to be created, ideally free from the influence of the army or the Church and formed within a progressive environment. Fortunately, according to the sporting press at the time, around '40,000 teachers' were waiting to benefit from extra professional training so as to qualify as physical education instructors.⁴¹⁵

What was also new was the political context within which such arguments were being made. That is, the politicians in charge of the Spanish education system during the reformist biennium of the Republic were ready to put ideas into action. Given the degree to which the ILE had been embracing physical education and sports as a means of 'regenerating the nation'

⁴¹⁵ The first issue of the revamped *La Educación Física* journal claimed that this many existing teachers were waiting for the creation of a civil school of physical education and keen to "*recibir la luz de sus orientaciones*". There are no statistics available showing how many physical education teachers or sports coaches would have been needed. The Decree establishing the Central School of Physical Education in Madrid sets out hopes for 'thousands' of graduates to pass through its doors, though this would appear to be purely hyperbolic, especially given the Republic's own figures stated that some 7,000 standard teachers would be needed to fill the vacancies created the combination of its school-building drive and the anti-clerical policies which saw large numbers of educators barred from the classroom.

during the decades leading up to the coming of the Second Republic, it was apt that, as Minister of Public Instruction, it was Domingo Barnés – an *institucionista* through and through – who passed the official Decree, published in December 1933, to set up a civil institution for the training of physical education teachers.

Writing in the pages of the *Gaceta de Madrid* just days after the decree was published, the Minister stated the case for taking steps to create such an establishment. He wrote:

Our country needs to organise physical education within our cultural centres in line with the example being set by other countries, and for this, resolving the fundamental problem of the teaching profession is of primary importance. A national School of Physical Education must be the first step in the organisation of this area of teaching. In it will be formed of the teachers of the future, with the school serving as the most appropriate field of experimentation for anyone interested in the physiology and pathology of sport.⁴¹⁶

Establishing the new school within the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Madrid was not simply a means of ensuring the Republic's new wave of teachers would have a solid understanding of the workings of the human body. Nor was it simply a question of establishing it outside of the influence of either the army or the Church, though this would have been welcomed by most Republican educators. Passing the Decree, Barnés talked of the 'pressing urgency' of getting the new institution open and functioning; having it sited within the campus of one of the country's biggest – and best – universities was one way of ensuring that it would be able to make use of existing expertise and so start producing the well-

⁴¹⁶ *Gaceta de Madrid*, 348, December 14, 1933, p. 1810.

rounded specialist teachers the Republic so badly desired as soon as possible. Given the urgency of the situation, he wrote, the new school should make use of the resources already in place at the university, with this again ensuring its work would have the input of the scientific community, including members of the medical profession.

This commitment to guaranteeing the intellectual and professional robustness of the new institution was also reflected in Article 5 of the Decree. Here, it was stipulated that only qualified teachers – that is, those who had passed through one of the country's Normal Schools could enrol for further training. Moreover, it was stated that prospective students would have to be 'no less than 20 years of age', though preferably no older than 35, while they would also be required to demonstrate a sufficient level of fitness – in line with the philosophy of the ILE, teachers were expected to play an active role in their pupils' education, both in the classroom and on the sports field. Notably, unlike the Central School of Gymnastics in Toledo, the new Madrid institution would welcome both male and female students, even if some practical classes would be segregated along gender lines. At the same time, it was also stated that, in order to graduate from the new National School of Physical Education, students would be required to demonstrate a solid understanding of not just sports and games, but also human anatomy and physiology, with tests to be carried out by members of the university's medical faculty. In short, the Decree implied that the title of 'Teacher of Physical Education' was not to be conferred lightly, despite the Republic's urgent need for such specialists.⁴¹⁷ Indeed, it was clearly stated: 'The Ministry will determine, according to the

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

grades they obtain at the school, if [a student] has done sufficiently well to merit the title of Professor of Physical Education, or if they need to be subjected to further examinations.⁴¹⁸

In terms of everyday life at the school, as Article 2 of the Decree sets out, students were to benefit from both classes in the theory of physical education and sports, but also from practical lessons. Indeed, alongside two teachers tasked with giving lessons in theory, one specialist teacher was to be in charge of the practical elements of the course. Article 2 of the Decree explains: 'In the school, there will be two classes being taught: one theoretical, demonstrating to the students the fundamental scientific principles of physical education and another, practical in order to train [the students] in whichever games and sports are considered necessary.'⁴¹⁹ All of the classes, both theoretical and practical, were to be overseen by suitably-qualified experts, themselves selected through professional examinations, with the school itself given the responsibility of determining class sizes and annual intake levels.

Notably, while the Decree made clear the ultimate objective of the new National School of Physical Education – that is, the creation of a new generation of dedicated physical education professionals – it stopped short of drawing up a specific curriculum for the new institution. What it did do, however, was announce the planned creation of a special Commission, to be tasked with just this. Article 9 of the Decree stated: 'A Commission will be formed to set out a plan of studies [as well as] the organisation and functioning of the school and, moving forward, any reforms deemed to be necessary.' This Commission, it was also explained, would be made up of three spokespersons from the National Council of Culture,

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

specifically one each representing primary, secondary and further education, alongside a professor from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Madrid and also an active teacher of physical education, the latter to be appointed by the Ministry directly. The legislation also seemed to acknowledge that Spain may need to look outside its own borders in order that the new institution could benefit from the finest minds in the field of physical education and pedagogy. Indeed, Article 10 stated: 'The Commission referred to in the previous Article may temporarily contract, at least during the initial phase of the school, foreign teachers who can demonstrate the methods used in their home countries.'⁴²⁰

As its name implied, the Madrid school was to serve as the national centre for the training of dedicated physical education professionals, taking advantage of the expertise of the city's main university to create specialists who would then go out and work in all corners of Spain. At the same time, however, a similar initiative was undertaken in Barcelona, where both pedagogical leaders and *deportistas* had also long been calling for such a school to serve Catalonia. With the establishment of the Republic, the government in Barcelona moved to use the powers and freedoms granted to it by Madrid to address its own shortage of physical education teachers.

A small story published in *El Mundo Deportivo* in July of 1935 entitled 'Towards the Creation of Official Physical Education Teachers' noted that 'The sports committee of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia has been asked by the Academy of Physical Education of Catalonia to draft a plan for physical education that also includes a budget for the proposed school so that it may soon begin granting official titles of professor of physical education.' Unsurprisingly, the establishment of the Academy of Physical Education in

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

Barcelona was enthusiastically welcomed by Catalonia's *deportistas*, including those who had previously been most the vocal in bemoaning the lack of such an institution.⁴²¹ 'Finally, Catalonia will do justice [to physical education]' wrote one happy journalist in the pages of the same sports newspaper. According to the report, written following a visit to the new centre, the school would serve to train educational professionals in the 'basic and fundamental science of gymnastics and, alongside this, of sports and athletics'. While in the past, 'ignorance' of the subject had led to it being neglected at all levels of the education system, this new institution would, it was argued, help create 'healthy men of strong will'. As with the National School of Physical Education in Madrid, the Barcelona institution was fundamentally scientific in its orientation, with doctors and other medical professionals the dominant force from the start. Working alongside such scientists, pedagogues and active teachers would, the report noted, would allow for the creation of 'a department for the preparation of physical education teachers in Catalonia through a study plan that will reach the heights of those nations who are at the vanguard of "*gimnasia educativa*".⁴²²

Ultimately, however, as with many of the Republic's progressive initiatives, both in the field of education and in other policy areas, the outbreak of the Civil War in the summer of 1936 meant that the plans set out in the Decree of December 1933 remained just that. Not a single student would enrol at the Central School of Physical Education let alone graduate from the institution, though it would remain in existence, linked to the Faculty of Medicine throughout the subsequent Franco dictatorship. Neither did the Commission intended to draw up a plan of studies enjoy the time or political freedom it would have needed to fulfil their task. Such a gap between intention and accomplishment was also evident in Barcelona,

⁴²¹ *El Mundo Deportivo*

⁴²² *El Mundo Deportivo*

where the hopes and ambitions of the *deportistas* were dashed as the descent into civil war meant that the Catalan Academy of Physical Education never produced a single graduate, despite the best of intentions.

Conclusions

The dawn of Spain's Second Republic, as numerous previous studies as well as several notable contemporary accounts attest, breathed new life into the country's Normal Schools. Not only did the new regime demand that aspirant teachers be educated to university level before they undertook their professional training, but, since they were to be the 'soul of the school' and effectively serve on the front line in the fight to transform the nation, they needed to possess certain characteristics as well. That is, their political convictions aside, the ideal Republican schoolmaster or mistress would be young, enthusiastic, progressive in their pedagogical thinking, as well as being physically healthy and at once able to follow direction while thinking and acting independently under their own initiative.

Sport, as has been shown, represented an excellent means – albeit one among several – of forming this ideal educator. Thus, while the reformed Professional Plan for the formation of new teachers may not have explicitly stated that sport should form an integral part of daily life for students, a combination of the Circular issued by Fernando de los Ríos, alongside the case studies shared through regional pedagogic journals and the chief journal of the Normal School system, meant that few principals could be in any doubt that competitive sport was to be encouraged wherever possible. And, as has also been shown, the years of the Republic did indeed see physical exercise and sport assume a more prominent position in Normal Schools right across Spain. A heady combination of youth (and not just of the aspirant teachers

themselves – not for nothing was Rodolfo Llopis called the 'Rudolph Valentino of pedagogy')⁴²³, combined with the hitherto-unprecedented freedoms and the sense of modernity that came with the switch to coeducation, undoubtedly encouraged students and their instructors to embrace sports, most notably those 'foreign' games so in vogue at the time.

Again, sports were seen to offer more than mere physical benefits, even if this was a large part of their appeal. Indeed, as above, the editors of the educational journal of Logroño clearly saw the need of ensuring that the Republican educators of the future were strong and healthy; only such vigorous young educators could be counted on to help drive the 'regeneration of the race', they argued. At the same time, however, as the examples put forward elsewhere in the contemporary pedagogical press show, sport was also seen as an effective means of instilling a sense of 'fair play', as well as a sense of discipline within the students, qualities they would need if they were to serve as ambassadors of liberal democracy at the local level. Moreover, it was hoped that, once qualified, this new generation of teachers would take their enthusiasm for sports and exercise to their new schools and put into practice what they learned during their professional training, including not just the rules and best application of new, foreign sports, but also what they had learned through classes in human physiology.

At the same time, the planned opening of a new National School of Physical Education was aimed at creating Spain's first specialist civilian physical education and sports instructors, effectively specialist professionals to 'teach the teachers'. Ultimately, the aim was, as the Decree establishing the institution stated, to 'organise physical education...in line with the

⁴²³ Stanley G. Payne, *The Spanish Revolution* p.99.

example being set in other countries', an ambitious goal and one that was never to be accomplished. Just as with other areas of Republican policy, it could be argued that more might have been achieved in this regard had the more progressive elements of the regime not been so obdurate in their determination to lead a revolution rather than guide the evolution of the Spanish education system. That is, had the Ministry of Public Instruction worked with the Central School of Gymnastics in Toledo rather than attempted to establish a completely new, independent civil National School of Physical Education in Madrid, more might have been achieved, and in a shorter space of time, with regard to training the specialist teachers required to oversee the physical and thus, the moral and spiritual regeneration of the nation's students.⁴²⁴

Certainly, in breaking with the Central School of Gymnastics, the Republic deprived itself of much-needed expertise and resources.⁴²⁵ Again, within a few years of its creation, the Toledo institution was undoubtedly one of the leading, if not the leading centre of excellence in its particular field in the whole of Spain, staffed by professionals boasting knowledge of the latest pedagogical trends. Though undeniably militaristic, the school had several years' experience training civil teachers by the time of the Republic came into power. Furthermore, far from simply drilling its students or restricting the curriculum to Northern European gymnastics, by the late 1920s, sports were not only being regularly practised in the grounds

⁴²⁴ In particular Pastor Pardillo argues that legislating for the creation of the Central School of Physical Education while at the same time reducing the presence of the subject in the secondary school curriculum represents 'the number one contradiction of the Republic with regards to physical education'. See *El espacio profesional de la educación física en España* p. 335.

⁴²⁵ Pajarón Sotomayor is among the historians who credit with the Central School of Gymnastics in Toledo with making marked progress within the first decade of its opening, in particular moving away from being a solely military establishment to being at the forefront of training teachers state school sector. She writes: 'Without a doubt, the creation of the Civil Section of the Toledo School would have represented a big step forward in the progress of physical education in our country, creating at last a centre specialising in training teachers in this subject, with the added advantage of being able to make use of the many years' of experience offered by the Military School.'

of the Academy of Infantry, but their pedagogic value was being discussed within its fortified walls. Additionally, the Toledo academy had, by 1931, an excellent track record of offering training to non-military personnel, including primary school teachers and Normal School instructors, with the number of civic courses being held here only increasing in size and frequency. Given this, just as the Republic has often been condemned for being too idealistically obdurate at best and self-defeating and divisive at worst in its efforts to banish the religious orders from the national education system, so too could it be argued that its determination to break from the influence of the military deprived it the modern training facility and valuable expertise available to it in Toledo.

Such an argument, however, fails to fully take into account both the mission the Republic set itself and the magnitude of the challenges it faced in order to accomplish it. If the new regime were to succeed in regenerating the nation, it needed to break with the past, and that included removing the influence of the military in the training of teachers who were, after all, destined to become the embodiment of the Republic's values among the people.⁴²⁶ Taken in this context the Decree announcing the creation of a National School of Physical Education remains highly significant, above all with regard to revealing the longer-term educational plans of the Republic. As the Spanish Ministry of Education itself notes in its official history, the creation of a Central School of Physical Education was 'an initiative of grand vision, although, unfortunately, of limited impact'.⁴²⁷ It also once again highlights the essential elitism of the ILE elements of the regime, with enhanced selectivity introduced

⁴²⁶ The determination of the new Republic to break from the 'old Spain' cannot be overstated. As Pamela Beth Radcliffe notes, 'Republicans sought to construct a truly "modern" Spain, that was secular, republican and vaguely democratic'. See Pamela Beth Radcliffe, 'The Emerging Challenge of Mass Politics' in José Álvarez Junco, and Adrian Shubert, *Spanish History Since 1808* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2000) p. 143.

⁴²⁷ See *Revista de Educación* 236 (Madrid: Ministry of Education) p. 236.

within yet another part of the education system even if this was at odds with the urgent need for more teachers to fill the new classrooms it was also creating.

Again, the outbreak of Civil War in 1936 meant that the Republic's long-term vision for sports and physical education within the education system were never to be realised. However, the intentions are all too evident. Indeed, this single piece of legislation is arguably the clearest single indicator of the regime's long-term vision for the teaching of physical education and sports in the nation's schools. That is, in line with the work of the ILE and the Spanish pedagogical movement in general, the legislation illustrates a concerted effort by the Republic to add intellectual rigour to the teaching of physical education and sport. No longer was the subject to be neglected and entrusted to teachers without a solid understanding of the physiological and pedagogical foundations of physical education, nor the ability to actively lead lessons themselves.

Just as importantly, neither was physical education to remain militaristic, either in terms of the personnel leading it or the style of exercises students were to undertake: As anyone with an interest in the subject would have been all too aware, in most of the nations at the forefront of sports and physical education, and most notably in England, it was civil society rather than the military who were leading the way in shaping young minds and bodies. As the writings of many of the Republic's leading figures, among them Manuel Azaña, Fernando de Los Ríos, Domingo Barnés and Rodolfo Llopis make clear, great importance was attached to the potential role of physical education and, in some cases, more specifically to sports. Given this, it seems natural that such men were unwilling to entrust the military with such a vital task as the training the teachers who, had the Republic survived were to be charged with helping inspire the regeneration of Spain.

Chapter 5: Sports and the University: The Refinement of the 'Spanish Gentleman'

In the midst of the construction works for the future University City, they are successfully meeting the demands of the students of today: the unification of the brain and muscle⁴²⁸

As has been established, the core aim of the Free Teaching Institute (ILE) and its allies, including those who were to assume key roles within the new nascent Second Republic, was to harness the potential of education to regenerate Spain. Much of the rhetoric, both during the years of monarchy and then into the start of the Republic, stressed the importance of reforming, and extending, popular education. In short, free and secular (primary) education was to be made available to all, regardless of religion, political affiliation or social class. It was this goal, a key pledge of the new regime, that drove efforts to reform both the primary and secondary school. The Spanish university, by its very nature, was not to be part of this drive for popular education. That is, university education was to remain as it always had been, namely the preserve of a few. But that is not to say it was to play a lesser role in the larger liberal, progressive pedagogical project that was put into action with the creation of the Second Republic.

Education was, according to this school of pedagogical thought, a single, joined-up and continuous process, one which had the ultimate goal of forming a new elite capable of regenerating Spain. Quite simply, the view was: 'Elementary and secondary education cannot be separated. They form a continuous process which should also be extended to the

⁴²⁸ *Campeón* 25 October 1932 pp. 8-9.

universities, with the same methods and overall aims.⁴²⁹ Thus, while the number of students to receive a higher education would always pale in comparison to the masses to receive primary or secondary education, the university was an integral, indeed essential, part of the whole. It was inevitable, then, that, upon inheriting power, these progressive pedagogues quickly set about reforming, or more specifically, modernising, the Spanish university. For them it represented the final stage in the creation of what Fernando de los Ríos himself termed 'morally refined men'.⁴³⁰ After all, hadn't the brightest stars of the ILE themselves had not only their intellects, but also, and to no lesser degree, their beliefs and characters, moulded by their own university years, whether at home in Spain or abroad in Oxford, Cambridge or Heidelberg?

Since, as has already been shown, many of the leading figures from the ILE saw in sport an effective means of producing such moral men, the following chapter will go beyond looking at any reforms aimed at raising the academic prestige of the nation's centres of higher learning or the intellectual capabilities of their staff and students. Rather, the focus here will firstly be on how the new Republic recognised the shortcomings of the university system they inherited and then worked to ensure that the student's moral and 'spiritual' development was properly addressed, just as much as his intellectual development, whether through specific legislation or else through offering up greater freedoms and thus allowing a sporting culture to thrive on the university campus. At the same time, an analysis of student sport both immediately prior to and during the Republic will help provide a fuller understanding of how,

⁴²⁹ This was one of Giner's 'Pedagogical Principles' for the ILE, principles he stated on several occasions in his writings. See Giner de los Ríos, Francisco *Ensayos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1969)

⁴³⁰ Fernando de los Ríos quoted in Carl-Henrik Bjerstrom, *Josep Renau and the Politics of Culture in Republican Spain, 1931-1939: Re-imagining the Nation* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2016) p. 47.

if at all, the very young men the regime was relying on to be its future bought into its project and, more specifically, its enthusiasm for sports as a tool for national regeneration.

The Spanish University on the Eve of the Second Republic: 'A Difficult Inheritance'

Addressing a group of students at the University of Madrid in the winter of 1930, José Ortega y Gasset, by then among the nation's most revered intellectuals, began: 'It is now close to 25 years since I wrote my first articles on the reform of the Spanish state in general and the university in particular – articles which won me the friendship of Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos. In those days you could count on your fingers all the people in Spain who admitted the necessity of reforming either the state or the university.'⁴³¹

Undoubtedly, Ortega y Gasset was exaggerating relative lack of allies in the fight to force through the modernisation of the Spanish university during the opening decades of the twentieth century, though not by much.⁴³² However, the philosopher was far exaggerating when he claimed that the university, just as with the state itself, was in desperate need of reform, even if there was staunch opposition to any idea of modernisation. While one of the key deficiencies of Spain's school system in 1931 was a simple shortage of actual school buildings, this was not so much an issue in the area of higher education. Indeed, Fernando de

⁴³¹ In addition to the publication of this work – reproducing his speech in Madrid – the thoughts of Ortega y Gasset concerning the Spanish university and its need of reform were also published in *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (BILE). See: lv (1931), pp. 84-91, pp. 109-117 and pp. 143-147. A good overview of Ortega y Gasset's views in this matter can be found in Fernando Vicente Jara, and Ángel González Hernández, 'Concepto y misión de la Universidad. De Ortega y Gasset a la reforma universitaria del nacional-catolicismo', *Revista Española de Educación Comparada*, 8 (2002), pp. 137-173

⁴³² As Samaniego Boneu argues, just before the proclamation of the Second Republic in Spain, the issue of university reform was a divisive issue, most notably among those intellectuals who would have classed themselves as progressives and their more conservative counterparts. As she describes it: 'On the eve of the Second Republic, the university as an institution was experiencing a time of internal division.' See Mercedes Boneu Samaniego, *La política educativa en la Segunda República durante el Bienio azañista* p. 336.

los Ríos was just one of several observers to note that in the years leading up to 1931, Spain's student population was close to that of Britain, even though the latter's universities recruited from across the vast British Empire. Spain, it was argued, had the dubious honour of leading Europe in the production of university graduates with no useful societal role awaiting them upon the conclusion of their studies. The issue lay with the quality, not the quantity, of graduates, with the blame laid firmly at the door of the universities themselves.

In Spain, in stark contrast to several of its European neighbours, the Catholic Church and the monarchy continued to have a dominant hold over university education right up to, and even beyond, the start of the twentieth century – indeed, it was the move to censure university teaching and reading materials to ensure they offended the sensibilities of neither the church or the crown in 1875 that led a young Giner de los Ríos to lose his teaching post and so set up the Free Education Institute the following year. Proponents of a more progressive education system freed from religious or political constraints, were briefly given hope by the dawn of the First Republic in 1873, only for these hopes to be dashed with the return of the monarchy and the staid two-party system that came with it less than a decade later. Writing from Heidelberg in 1844, Sanz del Río lamented: 'Our universities are institutions where science is taught, formerly under the influence and even effective direct and intimate guidance of the Church and now of the State; in Germany, the university is, within itself and even in its teaching, an institution totally independent of both Church and state.' To a large extent, such a criticism was equally valid almost a century later when the monarchy fell once more to give birth to the Second Republic.⁴³³

⁴³³ Adolfo Posada, *Breve historia del Krausismo Español* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2014), p. 55.

Undoubtedly, progress was made during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though the modernisation of the Spanish university tended to move forward or stall according to the whims of politicians or the general political climate of any given time.⁴³⁴ It was, thus, private initiatives that were often at the forefront of any such progress, above all the Board for Advanced Studies and Scientific Research (*Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas* or JAE), established by Royal Decree in 1907 under the umbrella of the ILE and headed by one of the finest scientific minds of the era, Santiago Ramón y Cajal. Between 1907 and its dissolution in 1939, the JAE worked tirelessly to advance scientific knowledge in Spain, encourage new research in private laboratories, museums and universities and, just as importantly, promote ongoing dialogue between Spanish scientists and their peers across Europe.⁴³⁵ However, even when judged alongside the limited progress made in other areas of the Spanish education system, attempts to reform the university were particularly slow in coming – one reason why the JAE, and José Castillejo in particular, placed so much emphasis on sending students and early career researchers abroad, mainly to England or Germany. Indeed, such a lack of success in freeing the university from its traditional shackles of the establishment, even well into the twentieth century, meant that Ortega y Gasset himself was to resign his post as chair of metaphysics at the University of Madrid in April of 1929 in an act of protest against Primo de Rivera's repressive educational policies, supported by the resignations of four of his academic peers.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ It is not the place here to give an in-depth account of the history of the Spanish university. This has already been effectively done. Notable works describing the origins and evolution of the universities of Spain include: Francisco Giner de los Ríos, *Escritos sobre la universidad española*, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1990); Hilde de Ridder-Symoens and Rüegg, Walter (eds.), *A History of the University in Europe Volumes I-IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

⁴³⁵ See the Decree of 11 January 1907, published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* 15 January 1907, announcing the creation of the JAE and outlining its key aims, namely the 'creation of the educators of the future and giving them the means to closely follow the latest scientific and pedagogical movements of the most advanced nations.'

⁴³⁶ 'Resignation of Five Spanish Professors' *The Times of London* 5 August 1929, p. 15.

Such a lack of academic freedom inevitably hurt Spain intellectually. Far from being dynamic and progressive scientific research hubs, the nation's universities were deemed to be significantly inferior to institutions of neighbouring countries – so much so that Ortega y Gasset was far from a lone voice when he bemoaned the 'obstinate backwardness of Spain in intellectual activity'.⁴³⁷ Even if they employed some of the nation's best minds, Spain's universities remained little more than finishing schools for young men destined for professional service, with attendance at lectures neither compulsory nor indeed necessary. As Alberto Jiménez Fraud remembered: 'When I look back on my time at university I see a young man whose mind was intrigued by synthetic truths and whose study of law was no more than a key to gain entry to a range of professions and State posts. Neither myself nor any of my classmates regarded university as anything other than a dispensary of official qualifications.'⁴³⁸

It was not simply such a lack of intellectual rigour that so frustrated the progressive pedagogues of the ILE in the years leading up to the Second Republic. Just as importantly for Giner de los Ríos and, therefore, his followers and those who aligned themselves to the pedagogical philosophy of the ILE, was the fact that even by 1931, the Spanish university system was failing to address what they believed to be one of the key purposes of further education, namely the moral and spiritual development of the student.⁴³⁹ Regardless of the quality of academic instruction offered, the Spanish university, Castillejo argued, had 'no spirit'; there was 'no university life' to speak of, a situation that would have been particularly

⁴³⁷ Ortega y Gasset, *Mission of the University* p. 41.

⁴³⁸ Alberto Jiménez Fraud, *Historia de la Universidad Española* (Madrid: Editorial Alianza, 1971) pp. 427-428.

⁴³⁹ Perhaps the best account of the history of the Spanish university from an *institucionista* point-of-view can be found in the autobiographical writings of Alberto Jimenez Fraud, though – perhaps inevitably given their years of publication – these can often be nostalgic, even tinged with regret. See, in particular the later single volume of his three separate works: *Historia de la Universidad Española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1971).

evident to those men who, like he had himself, spent time at a foreign university. As one account tells it: 'According to Francisco Giner [de los Ríos], the Spanish university student was a young man who frequented theatres, cafes, casinos and bullrings; he knew nothing of sports, excursions or life in the countryside'.⁴⁴⁰ While *tauromaquia* aficionados might charge that regular attendance at bullfights would demonstrate at least a familiarity with sports, for Giner and his followers this would have been dismissed as a frivolity; participation was key, as was choosing the right kind of sports. Quite simply, a leisurely day at the bullring would have done nothing to aid the spiritual or moral formation of the student; indeed, according to some *regeneracionistas*, it might even have the opposite effect, merely reinforcing characteristics and stereotypes progressives were anxious to leave well behind.⁴⁴¹

The university – that is, a coherent view of what a university should be as opposed to a single institution – the Republic inherited was, to a large extent then, little more than an extension of the secondary school, a place for privileged young men to pass through with the sole intention of gaining the qualifications they might need to begin a career in service of the state. It was, in the words of one historian, 'a difficult inheritance' for the Republic to take on.⁴⁴² Top-down reform had been slow in coming and lacking in ambition, including, or indeed above all, during the dictatorship that directly preceded the Republic. At the same time, some advances had been made in making the student experience more rounded, not simply

⁴⁴⁰ Quoted from Mercedes Montero Díaz, *Liberalism Revisited: The Autobiographical Writings of Alberto Jiménez Fraud (1883-1964)*, (Zaragoza: University of Navarra, 2010).

⁴⁴¹ As noted in Chapter 1, while spectator sport in general was regarded by some Spanish intellectuals, including those concerning themselves with the regeneration of the nation, as a frivolous distraction, bullfighting in particular was identified as being backward and both a hindrance to the country's internal development while at the same time damaging its image internationally. Paul Levine in his history of bullfighting notes that 'Like many before and after him, Ortega y Gasset viewed bullfighting as emblematic of Spain's singular and backward nature'. See Paul Levine, *Death and the Sun: A Matador's Season in the Heart of Spain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005), p. 56.

⁴⁴² Samaniego Boneu, *La política educativa en la Segunda República durante el Bienio azañista* p. 336.

focused on occasional attendance at lectures and, indeed, closer to life at an English university. Here, however, students themselves were, as shall be noted, at the forefront, with the change in political regime and climate that April 1931 brought further encouraging them to make real the *institucionista* vision for higher education and realise its potential for creating the intellectual and spiritual elite needed to transform the country.

The Republic and University Reform

Such a profound belief in the pressing need to create what Giner de los Ríos most notably referred to as the 'intellectual aristocrats' Spain needed, was clearly shared by those *institucionistas* who occupied key positions in the new Republic. Thus, addressing the University of Madrid to inaugurate the academic year 1931-32 – the first academic year to begin under the new regime – Marcelino Domingo, in his role as Minister of Public Instruction, argued that the role of the modern university was as vital as it was varied. It had to elevate the culture of a nation, and it was required to advance scientific knowledge. Additionally, he continued: 'The university has a third duty, as imperative and demanding any other: that of strengthening the national spirit; that of awakening [the nation] if it is sleeping: that of giving us the men who will forge the future; that of creating the aristocracies of democracy.'⁴⁴³

Upon assuming power, therefore, the leaders of the new Republic tasked themselves with nothing less than the complete renewal and rejuvenation of Spain's education system, from the primary school right through to the university. University education was seen as the final stage of one continuous process of secular, co-educational, free and egalitarian

⁴⁴³ Marcelino Domingo, *Discurso leído en la solemne inauguración del curso académico de 1931 a 1932* (Madrid: Imprenta Colonial Estrada Hermanos, 1931).

education, from child to moral, educated citizen. All stages were interlinked, and as such reforming the primary or secondary school would be for naught if the university remained backward, while conversely, the university could not shape the ideal Republican gentleman if he started his higher education behind in their intellectual, spiritual or moral development. Given this, as has been explored, the secondary school was required to 'form, not just inform' the student, ensuring that a reformed university could, as was the case in England, put the finishing touches to the entire liberal educational project.⁴⁴⁴

Again, it is not the intention here to provide a thorough overview of the legislation relating to university reform passed during the years of the Republic, not least since, as might be imagined, there were no official reforms made with the specific and stated intention of encouraging wider participation in team sports for the purposes of nation-building or regeneration.⁴⁴⁵ However, official steps were certainly taken that served to provide new freedoms and create a campus atmosphere in which student-led sports could flourish, even if it was not for almost another two full years before the Republic, or more specifically the Ministry of Public Instruction under Fernando de los Ríos, officially set out its plans for university reform. The Decree of 11 March 1933 – published in the *Gaceta* eight days later – was fundamentally *institucionista*, both in the shortcomings it identified in the nation's higher education system, which, it noted was essentially unchanged since the reforming Law of 1857, as well as in its vision for the university and its proposed methods for achieving this.⁴⁴⁶ Again,

⁴⁴⁴ This idea ('la segunda enseñanza ha de formar – no informar – al joven') is expressed in the Decree of 11 March 1933. See below.

⁴⁴⁵ Unquestionably one of the biggest university-level reforms made in the years of the Second Republic was the appointment of a Chair of pedagogy at the University of Madrid and the related move to require all aspirant teachers to hold a bachelor's degree in order to gain admission to the Normal School, as mentioned in Chapter 3 of the present thesis.

⁴⁴⁶ Decree of 11 March 1933, published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 19 March 1933, pp. 2074-2084. The Decree notes that, despite some attempts at reform made between 1868 and 1874, 'the universities returned to function as

the Republic was not so much concerned with increasing the number of Spaniards receiving a higher education – indeed from a student population of 38,987 in the academic year 1930-31 total, in 31-32, this actually fell slightly to 38,343 and continued to fall to just below 34,000 during the remaining years of the Republic.⁴⁴⁷ Instead, the focus was placed on modernising the university as an institution, both in terms of its structure and, perhaps more importantly, its perceived value and role, that is, what Ortega y Gasset so notably called the 'mission' of the university.

Thus, the Decree begins by lamenting the 'cultural anxiety [that] has gripped Spain since the war with the United States'. While crediting the JAE with laying the foundations for the renovation of Spanish education, most notably through its work in sending young men and women to other countries where they could 'come into contact with new cultures and with teachers, and return to our country filled with scientific dreams and pedagogical yearnings', it nevertheless maintained that, given such cultural backwardness, 'university reform is, therefore, one of the main concerns of our time, and the task must be approached with the appropriate vigour'.⁴⁴⁸

If the Decree hinted at a sense of exasperation about the lamentable state of the Spanish further education at the start of the 1930s, so too was there a sense of optimism that, properly reformed, the university could play a key role in regenerating the country, just as it had done so in the past. Indeed, as the Decree noted at its start, 'In the course of history the university has always responded to an underlying social ideal,' and so it should again. Indeed,

flaccid organs of a culture not aimed at elevating the spirit, promoting science or opening up new ways of thinking, but simply to administer inventoried knowledge'.

⁴⁴⁷ While overall student numbers may not have increased, female participation did, with the proportion of females enrolled on university courses increasing steadily over the same period. See Mariano Pérez Galan, *La enseñanza en la Segunda República* p. 382.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

readers of the Decree only had to look at the example of Italy, where changes to university education under the Fascist regime was accomplishing much more than improving the intellect of the Italian youth: 'The Italian university reforms of 1927 encapsulate the Fascist vision of man, and the means of making him through the university,' it stated. While, of course, the Fascist ideal for a man and the Republican ideal for a man were significantly different in several ways, the Decree indicated one shared belief between Madrid and Rome, namely that university education, both within and outside the lecture hall, could be used to create the loyal citizens their respective regimes would need to firstly consolidate their power and then to build a new future.⁴⁴⁹

Again, such an ambitious piece of legislation did not specifically address the matter of university sports, or even the promotion of a physical culture among the student body. Rather, the main focus lay on setting out plans for the furtherment of scientific research, more specifically through the establishment of new centres of investigation, as well as the reforming of existing centres and university faculties, including, as has already been explored, the elevation of teaching to a graduate-only profession.⁴⁵⁰ Similarly, much detail was also given over to proposed changes to university admission policies, faculty administration and administration, among other matters of bureaucracy.

However, underlying all the proposed foundations (*bases*, of which 63 were published) for a modernised university was a philosophy that, as shall be demonstrated, helped foster

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ The creation of new research hubs, above all the two Centres for Oriental Studies in Granada and Madrid, special veterinary medicine schools, and the Centre for Hispano-American Studies in Seville, are regarded as being among the most notable examples of Republican efforts to enhance Spain's scientific reputation, both at home and abroad. Certainly, Fernando de los Ríos proudly pointed to such initiatives when describing the Republic's university reforms – see, for example, his interview in *La Voz de Guipúzcoa*, 1 March 1932. Most pertinently, the new university-level centres of speciality established by the Republic included the Escuela de Educación Física de San Carlos, though the Decree setting this up was to be passed at a later date.

an environment in which student sports could flourish. That is, in a clear move away from the rigid system of the past, the Decree stressed the importance of students being given the opportunity to develop away from the lecture halls. It stressed, in Foundation 4: 'The student, under the tutelage of his professors, must enjoy the greatest possible degree of personal liberty, both in the choice of his studies and the best means of pursuing them, and also in the management of his personal time...[The university] must keep its demands to a minimum.' Such a provision for greater student freedom and levels of flexibility was not simply a clear nod to the tutorial system of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge but, moreover, part of a broader effort to ensure the student body was more active in university life, even if this could be viewed as just as much a calculated act of politics as it was a genuine desire to make the student experience more positive and fulfilling for the young men and women themselves.

As Mariano Pérez Galán explains in his history of Spanish education during the first third of the twentieth century, in the years leading up to the Republic there had been growing pressure from students themselves to be more involved in university administration and to be given greater freedoms, both academically and socially in terms of being able to join associations, whether they be political or social. It is even argued that 'one of the causes that led to the fall of Primo de Rivera, and consequently, the dawn of the Republic, was [the Dictatorship's] clashes with the university sector, both at the professional level...and at the student level.'⁴⁵¹ Perhaps mindful of the price Primo de Rivera paid for not simply ignoring the concerns of Spain's students, and in particular those of the University Scholars Federation (FUE), but of actively working to block any progress, the Republic made enhancing levels of student representation one of its first acts in the area of further education. This initiative, by

⁴⁵¹ Mariano Pérez Galán, *La enseñanza en la Segunda República: Edición de Manuel de Puelles Benítez* (Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2011).

increasing levels of participation in the decision-making process, would also help bolster the democratic credentials of the new regime. Thus, through the official Order of 3 June 1931, Marcelino Domingo stated that 'taking into account the favourable and encouraging results that the progressive incorporation of students into the scholarly life will show', the Ministry of Public Instruction would ensure that representatives of the FUE would start to be included in policymaking, beginning with the election of academic directors.⁴⁵²

More significantly, such a readiness to encourage rather than repress a growing clamour for recognition and participation from a student body that was once happy to keep their interaction with their university to a minimum, would help enthuse organisations such as the FUE. The official Decrees or Orders passed by the Republic may not have specifically legislated for the growth of university sport or physical education, or indeed for the promotion of other extra-curricular activities including those relating to the arts.⁴⁵³ They did, however, as shall be demonstrated, create an atmosphere in which campus life flourished and even started to resemble the English university colleges the *institucionistas* heading up the Ministry of Public Instruction so admired.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵² It should be noted here that the second biennium of the Second Republic produced little in the way of reform of the university system. Instead, the period was largely dominated by student unrest, most notably in Madrid and Seville. This period has not been overlooked for the present work, therefore, simply it is only giving passing reference due to the lack of pertinence to the thesis. A good account of the university during the second biennium can be found in Galán Pérez, *La Enseñanza en la Segunda República* and Samaniego Boneu, *La política educativa de la Segunda República*.

⁴⁵³ One notable example of the FUE, or rather its national umbrella organisation the UFEH being enthused by the new political and educational atmosphere came almost at the start of the new regime, with the launch of the Popular University (*Universidad Popular*). Here, beginning in the academic year 1934-35, members of the FUE, joined by professors from the University of Madrid and their allies, organised evening courses, including lessons in foreign languages, sciences and even the history of art, for hundreds of workers from the city.

⁴⁵⁴ In much the same way, several histories of spectator sports in Spain note that, while the Republican Constitution did not directly encourage greater interest in football or tennis, for example, Articles 38 and 39, in guaranteeing freedom of meeting and association, did indeed help an already-thriving sports industry grow further still, in addition to helping drive the growth of worker sports.

The Summer University of Santander

Of the Republic's efforts to reform university education, arguably none had such a lasting impact as the establishment of the Summer University of Santander. For while many of the educational reforms made during the first Republican Biennium, most notably those passed under the Ministership of Fernando de los Ríos, were either never put into action by the governments of the second biennium or else quickly repealed from 1939 onwards, the Summer University endured. Though interrupted by the Civil War, and then briefly suspended in the immediate post-war years, the Summer University was re-launched in 1945 as the Menéndez Pelayo International University, named in honour of the city's most famous man of letters. To this day, scholars from around the world meet in Santander for several weeks over the summer, with the aim and the underlying philosophy essentially unchanged from the vision of its Republican founders.⁴⁵⁵

Moreover, while certainly a relatively minor act by the reformist government of the Republic's years, most notably when compared with the ambitious attempts to reform the entire schooling system, the establishment of the Summer University nevertheless merits attention. A mere side event to the larger pedagogic mission of the ILE and its allies in the Republic it may have been, but, just like equally small initiatives such as the creation and promotion of the Institute School, the creation of the National School of Physical Education, or the importance placed on the Student Residence, it perfectly encapsulates the Republican *Institucionista* vision not just for the Spanish education system, but for the country as a whole

⁴⁵⁵ Several notable histories of the International University of Santander, from its beginnings to modern day, have been published. These include: Benito Madariaga de la Campa and Celia Valbuena Moran, *La Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander (1932-1936)* (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1999) and Sánchez Ron, José Manuel et al. (Eds.) *El laboratorio de España: la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (1907-1939)* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 2007).

- not for nothing does one history of the ILE describe the Summer University as the 'final stage' of the liberal educational project.⁴⁵⁶ As with the other quintessentially *institucionista* projects, the Summer University was progressive, international in outlook, combining intellectual stimulation with the corporeal and moral benefits of sports and physical activities. Furthermore, though limited in location and duration, it was imagined that the Summer University would have a wider impact on Spain, both in terms of its national regeneration and, just as importantly, how it was perceived abroad. **And, it should be added, this initiative was also *Institucionista*, in its exclusivity, with only a small number of individuals to benefit from it each year.**

Though summer courses had been given in the Cantabrian city prior to the Republican era, the Summer University was, as its founders were only too keen to stress, a first in a number of ways. Penning the Decree of 23 August 1932 which established the initiative, they noted: 'For the first time, you will find brought together in scholarly work, *andaluces, aragoneses, castellanos, gallegos*, etc, all united by a common discipline in a spiritual atmosphere.'⁴⁵⁷ It was not just Spaniards from the different regions of the country invited to the Summer University, held at the Magdalena Palace, a former royal holiday residence. The focus was very much placed on creating a truly international atmosphere, with students and scholars from around the world invited to visit the north of Spain for ten weeks from the start of July to the end of August. Over this time, participants would give or attend lectures and seminars and attend workshops and discussions on a wide range of topics. However, an emphasis would be placed on 'the most modern studies and methods of investigation', and

⁴⁵⁶ 'El final de un camino: la Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander' in Martínez del Campo, *La formación del gentleman español* p. 285.

⁴⁵⁷ Published in *Gaceta de Madrid* 24 August 1932, pp. 1429-1431.

on exposing the Spanish participants to the latest ideas and progress from abroad, though at the same time working to 'attract foreign students with an interest in Spanish matters, offering them courses in the Spanish civilization, the language and culture.'⁴⁵⁸ Such an international scope was, Fernando de los Ríos, explained, unprecedented: '[This is] the first time, perhaps, that such an ambitious scheme has been undertaken in Europe. Neither does this exist in America. Spain is ambitiously leading the way and declaring its wish to found an International University.'⁴⁵⁹

The academic prestige of the Summer University – and thus the high regard it was held in among those in key positions of power or influence – was reflected in the make-up of the board established to oversee its administration. The inaugural board included some of Spain's most-respected public figures, thinkers and pedagogues, among them Miguel de Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset and the heads of several universities and major faculties.⁴⁶⁰ They were tasked with not only choosing which courses would be included over the nine-week programme, but also with choosing which teachers, university professors and school inspectors from Spain were to be chosen, with, unsurprisingly, the emphasis on only inviting the most progressive in outlook and methods. Again, however, this was not to be the sole focus of the initiative. Indeed, as one contemporaneous report from the University of Madrid surmised it: 'The International University is not a "professional university", nor does it issue titles in this way. It is, instead, a body for interuniversity cooperation,' while the first Rector of the Summer University (1933-34), Ramón Menéndez Pidal, noted that its aim was 'the spiritual improvement of man', and not merely their intellectual refinement. Thus, alongside its

⁴⁵⁸ *Gaceta de Madrid* 24 August 1931, p. 1430.

⁴⁵⁹ Fernando de los Ríos quoted in: José Ignacio Pérez Pascual, 'Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander' in *Memoria de un sueño compartido*, (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 2010).

⁴⁶⁰ For the full list of individuals appointed to the board overseeing the administration of the Summer University, see *Gaceta de Madrid* 25 August 1932, p. 1462.

diverse intellectual offerings, the Decree also highlighted the need to promote 'social life of the [Summer] University. The aim was, after all, to meet the academic needs 'not just of professionals, but the universal needs of humans'. Given this, and in line with the educational ethos of those behind the project, participants were encouraged to develop culturally, spiritually and physically during their free time, with several hours of each day given over to this.⁴⁶¹ Sporting activities were encouraged and, as contemporary reports from the first few meetings of the Summer University show, participants made full use of the specially-constructed facilities.⁴⁶² As one history of the educational project notes, alongside classrooms, lecture halls and seminar rooms, invited participants would also find tennis courts, an athletics track, sports pitches and other facilities, as well as an agreement with the Santander city authorities in place for organising matches against local teams.⁴⁶³

Such was the vibrancy of sporting life at the Magdalena Palace that members of the public were invited to watch organised football matches between local teams and teams made up of participants in the Summer University, as well as tennis matches between individual participants. Starting in the first year, one day was set aside and designated as a sports day, with competitions held in several disciplines and many of the invited dignitaries joined crowds made up of citizens of Santander to watch the action. Notably in 1934, Fernando de los Ríos was photographed by the local newspaper keenly observing a women's hockey match.⁴⁶⁴ While the election results of the previous winter may have forced him out

⁴⁶¹ As a curious aside, alongside poetry recitals and theatrical performances by Lorca's *La Baraca* touring arts company, participants in the Summer University were also invited to observe, and even judge, local summer beauty contests.

⁴⁶² *La Universida Internacional de Verano en Santander* (Madrid: Publicaciones del Ministro de Instrucción Publica y Bellas Artes, 1935).

⁴⁶³ *La Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander (1932-1936)* pp. 117-119.

⁴⁶⁴ Madariaga de la Campa, Benito and Valbuena Moran, Celia *La Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander (1932-1936)* (Santander: Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1999).

of government, the initiative that he started endured beyond the change in government, in much the same way that the ILE-led reforms to both primary and secondary education survived largely or at least partly intact, both in form and in spirit.

This varied programme, mixing intellectual stimulation with leisurely – though not frivolous – activities was evidently welcomed by the first participants. As one alumnus of the inaugural Summer University noted, the inclusion of sports, as well as the privileged location of the campus, helped break down barriers and install a sense of solidarity among the varied participants. He recalled: 'The experience is shared the students and the professors both sleep and dine at the Magdalena [Palace], they stroll and they practice sports, according to their available time and interests – the common life, in the fresh air, frees this group of men from the austerity and melancholia that the routine of studies or university teaching can often bring.'¹⁴⁶⁵

The establishment of the Summer University, and more specifically, the construction of its sporting facilities, also helped the Republic meet one of its other educational aims, as alluded to in the second chapter of the present thesis, namely to ensure that, where possible, every school in Spain would be able to make use of its own sports field or space for physical exercise and recreation. As noted in a local pedagogical journal of the time, when the Summer University was not taking place, a nearby secondary school was given permission to make full use of its sporting fields and pitches. Thanks to this, students could enjoy physical education lessons three times a week, while it also made it possible to introduce new activities to the school day, most notably sports competitions, including "football".¹⁴⁶⁶ Again, while only a

¹⁴⁶⁵ Pedro Salino quoted in Vitoria Agosto Pérez, *1936, el último curso en la Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander el fin de una gran esperanza* (Madrid: Amigos de la Cultura Científica, 1989) p. 10.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Luis Cendero Curiel, *Instituto Nacional de Segunda Enseñanza de Santander: Memoria Correspondiente al Curso Académico de 1934 a 1935* (Santander: Imprenta Andraca, 1936).

small, localised example, this further lends weight to the argument that there was a coherent vision for creating a sporting society throughout Spain, with several key areas of *Institucionista*-influenced reform inter-connected.

This, however, would have been merely a side benefit rather than a goal in itself. Indeed, it could be argued that the main aim of the project was not even to expose Spanish students and teachers to new ideas from overseas, but rather quite the opposite; to promote Spain to the rest of the world. As the rector Ramón Menéndez Pidal told the people of Santander in a speech given to mark the opening of the first course, the Summer University offered the chance to promote the 'good name of Spain'.⁴⁶⁷ Above all, it offered the chance to demonstrate how the Republic was not only open to new scientific and pedagogical ideas, but was capable of producing ideas of its own, countering any ideas of Spanish intellectual backwardness. Similarly, by including sports, especially those deemed to be in vogue at the time such as football and hockey, in the daily programme of the Summer University, the Republican organisers could demonstrate to the world the progressive, internationalist nature of the new political regime. Indeed, if decades earlier Giner de los Ríos wanted to bring Europe to Spain, here was a chance for Fernando de los Ríos and his colleagues to bring Spain to Europe, with sport just one means of showing their esteemed visitors how far the country, or at least its approach to education, had progressed.

⁴⁶⁷ Menéndez Pidal's speech to *La Cantábrica* newspaper, quoted in *La Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander (1932-1936)* p. 93.

Training the Brain and Muscles: Student sports in the Second Republic

Looking back on the evolution of higher education in Spain over the first third of the twentieth century, José Castillejo, an enthusiastic anglophile and advocate of a more English-style approach to moulding young minds and bodies, touched on the topic of university sports in his 1937 work *War of Ideas in Spain*. While he may have credited certain progressive politicians or pedagogues – most notably his beloved Institution of Free Education – with driving change in the primary or secondary school sphere in the years leading up to and during the Second Republic, when it came to the development of organised sports in the nation's universities, Castillejo believed others deserved the bulk of the credit. Quite simply, he stated, 'the Student Associations have taken to sports and begun the transformation before the universities themselves even thought of implementing any changes.'⁴⁶⁸

This was certainly the case in Madrid, for example, with the student body at the forefront of ensuring that university life at the start of the Second Republic no longer resembled the inactive, uninspiring 'dispensary of official qualifications' Alberto Jiménez Fraud remembered it as. In particular, the University Scholars Federation (FUE) led efforts to ensure Madrid's students were active and engaged outside of the lecture hall, whether it be in the theatre, in the wider community or, more pertinently, on a sports pitch.⁴⁶⁹

Certainly, it would be wrong to assert that organised sport only became a key feature of student life at the University of Madrid with the coming of the Second Republic.

⁴⁶⁸ Castillejo, *War of Ideas in Spain* p. 131.

⁴⁶⁹ One of the key initiatives of the FUE of Madrid was the establishment of the Popular University (*Universidad Popular*). An extraordinary congress of the FUE's umbrella organisation, the UFEH, held in 1931 in response to the change in political regime, stated that 'the educational mission of the university does not end with the student, it must be extended to the community (*pueblo*)

Indeed, as the university's own yearbook noted in 1931, 'the sporting section of the FUE (Students Federation) of Madrid is not, as many people would believe, a new phenomenon.' The FUED was, in fact, established in 1928 by Miguel Morayta, one of the city's finest athletes and a student of the university at the time. Immediately, this specialist arm of the larger FUE got to work ushering in a new era of student recreation. As the popular sports newspaper *Campeón* noted, 'up until 1928, student sports were limited to a handful of attempts, led by the FUE itself, to establish a rugby team. Apart from this, the university languished like a mere spectator in this area of study.'⁴⁷⁰

Nevertheless, as the same university yearbook also noted, prior to the 1930s, enthusiasm for student sports on campus had been, to a certain extent, more grounded in theory than in practice. Rhetoric and enthusiasm – though certainly genuine – were unmatched by reality, with the FUED unable to make use of its own games pitches, field its own teams or even a clubhouse or headquarters. It wasn't until after April 1931 that Morayta and his companions in the FUED really started to transform student life in the Spanish capital, seizing the opportunity presented by the construction of a new University City in the Moncloa district of Madrid to further their cause.⁴⁷¹ *Campeón* reported favourably on such a development at the time, noting that 'in the midst the construction works for the future University City, they are successfully meeting the demands of the students of today: the unification of the brain and muscle.' The construction of a new University City for Madrid was not, it must be noted, a truly 'Republican initiative'. The initial plan for a new campus was drawn up and approved under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, with a Royal Decree of 17 May 1927 aimed at bringing fragmented departments, faculties and student residences in one

⁴⁷⁰ *Campeón* 25 October 1932 pp. 8-9

⁴⁷¹ *Gaceta de Madrid*, 23 October 1931.

location, namely the Moncloa district of the capital. Nevertheless, it was unquestionably the Republic which did the most to put such a plan into action. The Law of 22 October 1931, published in the *Gaceta* the following day, did indeed make the construction of the University City a Republican one, creating an overseeing council comprising the President of the Republic, the President of the Government, and the Minister for Public Instruction, alongside leading figures of the University of Madrid itself.

Notably, this was more than a simple matter of installing a few sports pitches or tennis courts alongside the more important task of constructing new faculty buildings. Rather, new sports and recreation facilities were regarded as a fundamental part of the new campus. 'To complete the project, and with the aim of attending to the physical culture – a very important element of the modern university education - work has begun on a special sports zone at the University City,' noted the university yearbook approvingly. More specifically, it reported that this special zone was to boast '17 tennis courts, one rugby pitch, two football pitches, a hockey pitch, a baseball [diamond], three pelota courts, covered and open-air swimming pools and a big athletics area, [in addition to] lots of room for spectators'. Ensuring the student body could make use of up-to-date facilities, including those that would support the practise of newly introduced 'foreign' sports, was evidently a priority for the FUED. Indeed, Morayta and his companions worked directly with Luis Lacasa, the architect appointed to lead the entire University City project shortly after the change in political regimes. According to the accounts of the time, Lacasa 'took their recommendations into consideration', thus ensuring that not only would new sporting facilities be built, but that they would meet the exacting standards

of a student group determined to make Madrid's students sportsmen and women the equal of their peers in England, Germany and even the United States.⁴⁷²

Given the emphasis placed on ensuring both 'brain and muscle' in the construction of the new University City, it was appropriate that the completion of the project and the inauguration of the new facilities at the end of 1933 was celebrated with not just a sporting spectacle but with one of the biggest scholarly sporting events Spain had ever seen. The day-long event, which was held on 19 November, featured athletics competitions and a range of team events that saw the different faculties and departments of the new University City compete against one another in front of a sizeable crowd in Moncloa. The faculties of law, medicine and agricultural studies, as well as the Instituto Escuela of Madrid, all fielded teams to compete against their academic peers in a range of team sports, most notably football, rugby and basketball. Though the event was unique in terms of the size of the crowd it drew and the number of events taking place over the course of single day, it was nevertheless an accurate representation of just how prominent organised team sports had grown to become in the daily life of students in the years leading directly up to, and most importantly, in the first years of the Second Republic. Thanks largely to the work of the FUED, and boosted by the installation of such new facilities, there was a genuine and thriving sporting culture in Madrid from 1931 onwards, with hundreds of students competing either individually or in one of dozens of teams playing competitively.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷² See: 'El Deporte en Las Clases Estudiantes: Como se ha formado y como progresa la afición a las más variadas manifestaciones del "sport" en los medios escolares' in AS 25 October 1932 p. 8. Interestingly, Lacas may have been so open to such an idea due to his own affiliation with the progressive pedagogical movement. The architect was sponsored by the JAE to study in Germany, and was stayed at the Student Residence in Madrid, where he befriended Federico García Lorca and Luis Buñuel. In this regard, he can be considered a member of the 'Extended Institution' that so influenced political and intellectual life during the years of the Republic.

⁴⁷³ Useful pictorial evidence of the richness of sporting life at the University of Madrid during the 1930s, and above all of the practice of team sports led by the FUED, can be found in: *Orígenes del deporte Madrileño: Condiciones sociales de la actividad deportiva, 1870-1936, Volumen I* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987)

Notably, it wasn't just in Madrid where students were, as Castillejo noted, taking the initiative and driving the growth of sports. As match reports from the sporting press of the time make clear, the University of Madrid was not alone in embracing rugby, that most quintessential of English team sports. Student teams representing the universities of Barcelona and Valencia in particular regularly competed in both regional and national competitions, while enthusiasm for football and hockey, including among female students, was similarly widespread. At the same time, other sports were being embraced by Spain's universities, with the nation's students only joining their peers from England and the United States in competitive winter sports in 1933, a development warmly welcomed by the sporting press. *Campeón* wrote: 'The University of Columbia! Yale! Howard! Oxford and Cambridge! And now in the Sierra Nevada, students from Spanish universities have competed in a most daring skiing championships'⁴⁷⁴

In Zaragoza, meanwhile, the university journal also credited students with both introducing new sports and leisure activities and with making them increasingly popular. The journal, which reported on new research and developments at the University of Zaragoza, dedicated between five and ten pages of each edition to the sporting endeavours of its students, in addition to the tournaments and competitions held during the annual Summer University programme, held in the nearby city of Jaca. 'Sport, so fashionable these days, is now practiced by our young people in every possible way, thanks to the students of the university,' the institution's own journal noted. Indeed, not only were the students of Zaragoza credited with introducing and growing sports at their own university, but the journal also praised their sense of initiative, noting that without them, the Summer University would

⁴⁷⁴ See 'Campeonatos universitarios en Sierra Nevada', *Campeón*, 5 May 1933.

have lacked the active sporting scene that helped make it look dynamic and progressive to the international students and scholars it aimed to attract: 'The well-maintained tennis courts are always in use, and the football pitch, which resembles that of a big city, puts Jaca in the midst of great athletes. How can we speak of all this without mentioning the university? We wouldn't have even been able to count on a village football team due to a lack of enthusiasm or initiative...[without this] what serious team would come and play against us, or visit us?' answering its own rhetorical question as to who was responsible for transforming the sporting life of the Summer University, the journal affirms: 'The University! Who could ever doubt it?'⁴⁷⁵

Similarly highlighting the new sense of momentum the change in Spain's political climate gave to university sports right across the country, *Campeón* also reported from the city of Castellon de la Plana in the province of Valencia. Here, the publication's readers learned, after several years of inactivity – partly attributed to a lack of funds and thus, a lack of proper facilities – the students of the city were once again hosting tournaments and competitions. 'These youths, such lovers of sport in general, could not stay inactive for long', especially since, three years after initially drawing up plans to get organised and establish a formal students' sport society, were finally approved by the government in February 1932.⁴⁷⁶ The nascent 'Sporting Culture' (*Cultura Deportiva*) society hosted its inaugural sports festival in the summer of 1932, and then again the following year, with teams and athletes competing against the FUE from the neighbouring city of Valencia, as well as against representatives of the local army barracks.

⁴⁷⁵ *Universidad: revista de cultura y vida universitaria* (University of Zaragoza).

⁴⁷⁶ *Campeón* 5 May 1933.

For the most part, contemporary accounts of sporting activity at the university suggest that, rather than their moral and spiritual development, most students played in teams or entered competitions principally for their own personal recreation. Following their inauguration in November 1932, the sporting fields and athletics facilities of the University City in Madrid were often used just as much as a meeting place for friends, especially for sports enthusiasts to meet and discuss the latest accomplishments or news in various disciplines, than they were for serious competitions. And, while a notable number of students from the capital did certainly compete at the highest level, both for their university as well as their region and even for their country, the majority of those taking part in matches or events organised by the FUED did so mainly for fun, with no underlying aim of personal development or to advance a political goal. Moreover, the FUED itself was undoubtedly focused on encouraging wider participation in sport and then ensuring any activities taking place at the university were properly regulated and of a competitive nature. That is, as the University of Madrid's own yearbook noted, the FUED's aim was 'purely sporting', with no ideology, neither political nor religious, inspiring its work.⁴⁷⁷ Certainly, in none of the interviews he conducted with either the sporting press or the *Anuario* does the organisation's president Miguel Morayta outline any political views or even express any political opinion, including any statement of support for the Republic itself. Rather, he consistently refers to the 'joy' of sports and his desire to ensure as many of his fellow students as possible are able to 'enjoy' actively participating in them.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁷ The 'purely sporting' aims of the FUED were, for the time, most noteworthy, particularly given the stark politicisation of the main student sports groups elsewhere in Europe. In Italy, for example, the GUF (*Gruppi Universitari Fascisti*) combined recreation and organised competitions with paramilitary training and lessons and workshops in Fascist doctrine. Indeed, Italy's students were tasked with promoting their country's fascist regime abroad, most notably at the Fourteenth Congress of the International Student Federation in Riga in 1933, and then again at the World University Student Games in Turin in 1933.

⁴⁷⁸ See in particular Morayta's comments in *Compulto* and *AS*.

At the same time, however, some of the leading figures in the advancement of university sport during the years of the Republic, saw in it something more than a mere leisure activity. For the leaders of the FUED in particular, the most desirable disciplines were not Spanish in origin but instead had their roots elsewhere. 'We do not wish to boast and take credit for the ideas of others', they stated as they led the way in introducing competitive team sports, most notably English ones. Such sports, they believed, were both particularly in vogue and particularly useful. That is, they were able to offer more than just physical benefits, not just to those students were active participants, but to the university and even Spanish society as a whole.

Writing a comprehensive overview of 'University Sport in Madrid', FUED president Morayta set out his vision. The introduction and promotion of 'new sports', of those 'little known' within Spain, was highly desirable in order to ensure that the organisation over which he presided was not 'a static, terminal entity that serves merely to regulate traditional sports according to the old rules, but something dynamic and alive'. Such a new direction and focus, he argued, would offer substantial benefits. Getting actively involved would mean that 'the Spanish student, through sport above any ideology, may learn the values of cooperation and may learn through the struggle which exalts and instils a sense of pride in all who take part, without leaving behind the feelings of resentment other forms of competition might provoke.'⁴⁷⁹

Rugby in particular was embraced by the FUED in Madrid, as well as by university students across Spain. This rise in popularity coincided with the first few years of the Republic,

⁴⁷⁹ *Compulso: Revista de la A.P.E.F.L. (F.U.E.)* 1,1, October 1932 (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Central) p. 23.

as one report published in *Campeón* in 1934 served to illustrate. 'The progress is evident,' their correspondent reported from the playing fields of the University of Madrid. 'Just two years ago you would hardly find any rugby teams. Now, there are various teams, the "XVs" set up by the students themselves, each with their distinct characteristics and a different style of play, but all with the identical enthusiasm.'⁴⁸⁰ Notably, for students, the sport offered much more than simple physical exercise. It also offered them the chance to engage in 'tough but fair' competition. Indeed, it was largely for this reason, the reporter noted, that this particular foreign discipline 'found in these boys faithful followers, all of them amateurs, the purest type of sportsman'. Thus, matches organised between different university faculties or between whole universities, while hard-fought and competitive, adhered to the philosophy of 'fair play', an ideal so integral to the sporting life of the English public school.

⁴⁸⁰ The FUED is similarly credited with, if not introducing rugby to Madrid, then certainly making it a popular pastime, by the University of Madrid's *Anuario*. In its overview of sports at the university, it states: "'Rugby", an American university sport, hardly existed in Madrid, and was only practiced by the few teams, is now organised by the FUE, which succeeded in holding a regional tournament in the year it was introduced.' Of course, the journal was incorrect in labelling rugby – unquestionably English in its origins - an American sport, though the rest of the statement is accurate.



Figure 3: Students compete in the inaugural University Rugby Championships, March 1932

On the slopes of the Sierra Nevada mountains, meanwhile, participation in the university skiing championships gave Spain's students the chance to further develop this sense of team spirit. That is, though essentially an individual sport, by entering as a team and competing against their peers from France, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, the Spaniards, the *Campeón* report of the event noted, 'developed a level of camaraderie that can only be achieved through *sport*'.⁴⁸¹

Again, a determination to exercise both the brain and the muscle was evident; sport was most definitely not regarded as the frivolous leisure activity some of its detractors may

⁴⁸¹ *Campeón* 5 March 1933. NB: The italics are mine; this was once again an example of English sporting terminology being used untranslated.

have dismissed it as. Thus, alongside its tournaments and team practises, the FUED organised short courses, conferences, lectures and even screenings of films dedicated to sports, exercise and 'physical culture'. Additionally, the FUED leadership also produced books and other publications in addition to running their own specialist library, supporting Morayta's claim that the organisation was to be dynamic rather than static, and constantly open to new ideas and innovations, including – indeed especially – those from abroad.

In this regard, the FUED and, thus the FUE across Spain, was aligned with the philosophy and aims of the Institute for Free Education (ILE). Its leaders were, if not *institucionista* in words, then in intentions and deeds. Looking beyond the physical benefits of exercise and identifying the myriad benefits of team sports in particular – and especially those imported to Spain from England – including the way in which they could potentially be used to instil a sense of camaraderie and fair play into those that practised disciplines such as football and rugby, united the *institucionistas* directing the reformation of the national education system from their offices on Calle de Alcalá in Madrid and those directing practices and matches on the fields of the University City just a few miles to the north. So too did the emphasis placed on team sports over individual, militaristic physical education, and a clear admiration for the idea of the 'amateur sportsman'. That is, they both saw in sports the opportunity to shape character and provide a moral education, to promote the principles of tolerance and fairness and to create young men who were at once 'team players' and also strong individuals; in short, the kind of man needed to regenerate the nation. But just how 'Republican' was the FUE, or more specifically, its sporting arm, in Madrid and elsewhere in Spain?

As Morayta himself made clear, the work of the FUED was entirely self-funded, both founded and operating 'without any help or subsidies from the State', and certainly, accounts of the student sporting events and activities show that they were far from politicised, a notable exception in the European context.⁴⁸² However, it would be disingenuous to argue that the FUE, and thus the FUED, was apolitical. Fundamentally, the FUE was 'Republican' in its sympathies. It was formed in 1927 out of student opposition to the Primo de Rivera regime, with its members pointedly eschewing membership of the *Juventudes Patrióticas*, the association of the dictator's own Unity Party.⁴⁸³ The FUE's opposition to the dictatorship saw the organisation declared illegal, though it was still managed to organise clandestinely and direct protests the regime, most significantly in 1930 when one of its actions led to the temporary closure of the University of Madrid. It was only with the end of the dictatorship that the FUE become legal again.⁴⁸⁴

Notably, the FUE was not merely anti-authoritarian and secular - one of its main opponents from 1927 to 1931 was the Confederation of Catholic Students⁴⁸⁵ – but it was essentially pro-Republican in its fundamental ideological philosophy and aims.⁴⁸⁶ Again, in the

⁴⁸² For an overview of the politicisation of university student sports elsewhere in Europe at the same point in history, see, among other works: Pierre Arnaud and Jim Riordan, *Sports and International Politics: The Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport* (London: Routledge, 2013) and Pierre Bairner, John Kelly and Lee Woo Jung, *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁸³ Indeed, the FUE's founder Antoni Maria Sbert went on to become one of the founding members of the Catalan Republican Left (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*) party, serving in and supporting the regime throughout its short existence, including in August 1936 when he was one of a group of Catalan intellectuals to publicly pledge their allegiance to the Republic in the face of the Nationalist uprising.

⁴⁸⁴ Interestingly, Ortega y Gasset dedicated his work *The Mission of the University* – quoted at the start of this chapter – to the FUE.

⁴⁸⁵ Though established in 1920, the Confederation for Catholic Students became increasingly active and numerous during the first Republican biennium, largely driven by anger at the close ties between the FUE and the regime. They argued: 'The vertical monopoly of the FUE is [now] official. The government has granted them concessions and only students who are affiliated with the FUE have a vote in elections to influence university governance.' Julio Ruiz de Alda cited in Stanley Payne, *Falange: Historia del Fascismo Español I* p.45

⁴⁸⁶ Not for nothing was FUE itself was dismantled by Franco, first in 1936 in the Nationalist Zone during the Civil War, and then in the whole of Spain. As one history of the time puts it, democratic or left-wing students were 'driven into clandestine activity [while] in the student world, power went to the Falangist "Spanish Student Union" that was tied to the apron strings of the regime.'

higher educational journals or sporting press of the time, the FUED and its leaders in Madrid did not openly speak out in favour of the Republic, nor did they adopt any overtly political symbolism, like many of their peers in Italy or Germany were doing at the time. However, their work was, to a degree, 'politicised', albeit subtly. At the sporting festival held to mark the inauguration of the University City in the capital, a link between the FUED and the Republic could not have been more apparent to the crowd of thousands – nor indeed to the journalists in attendance who reported that the President himself, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, was among those watching the action, alongside the Republican Mayor of Madrid, Pedro Rico López.⁴⁸⁷ Also subtly associating the Republic with the sports being embraced by the nation's students, the inaugural university skiing championships hosted by Spain, held in the Sierra Nevada and, again, heralded by some members of the sporting press as evidence the country was joining prestigious company in having its brightest young minds competing on the slopes, honoured the nascent regime by naming several trophies in honour of its key figures; thus, participants competed for the President of the Republic's Cup, as well as the President of the Government's Cup and the Minister of Public Instruction's Cup.⁴⁸⁸

More pointedly, the FUED actively associated itself with the new regime just weeks after the proclamation of the Republic.⁴⁸⁹ A notice published in the sports section of *El Sol* in June 1931 announced that the student body was to organise a special sporting festival to honour the first Day of the Republic. The short article, simply entitled 'The *fiestas* of the

⁴⁸⁷ This was far from the only sporting event where key figures of the Second Republic were in attendance. Manuel Azaña, for example, was in the crowd when Spain played France in a high-profile international rugby match, and he also revealed that he would attend football matches on a regular basis.

⁴⁸⁸ *Campeón* 5 March 1933.

⁴⁸⁹ It should be acknowledged here that by no means all Spain's students affiliated themselves with or even had sympathy for the FUE or its Catholic rivals. An interesting, alternative view of student politics in Spain during the years of the Republic can be found in Sid Lowe, *Catholicism, War and the Foundation of Francoism: The Juventud de Acción Popular in Spain, 1931-1937* (Brighton: Sussex University Press, 2010).

Republic and sports', outlined plans for the event, Tellingly, imported, English team sports – with the original, untranslated names used - were to take centre stage. Thus, there was to be an exhibition match of rugby, to be contested by the students of Madrid and their Catalan counterparts, in addition to hockey matches, basketball games and an athletics meet.⁴⁹⁰

The vibrancy of the student sports culture, particularly in Madrid, could, therefore, be tied to the new Republic. Such an association with youth culture, physical prowess and, just as importantly, with foreign and therefore progressive pastimes such as competitive team sports, would undoubtedly have been welcomed by those *institucionistas* keen to present the change in political regime as a movement towards modernity. Furthermore, the growth in university sports and determination to learn from foreign examples was even recognised as having the potential to enhance the image of the Republic on the world stage and place it on a par with other leading nations. As one report argued: 'If we can succeed in bringing to our [new] University City [sporting] champions from Finland, Sweden, the United States...who are also able to teach well, then we might start properly preparing ourselves for the 1936 Olympics.'⁴⁹¹

Again, unlike certain other political regimes in Europe at the time, there was no move by the *institucionistas* in the Republic to explicitly politicise university sport or physical education. What was certainly was, however, was a coherent vision for both education as a whole and for the role of sport more specifically. Again, this vision was one of obligatory, free and secular primary education for all, and then of selective further education. Integral to the pedagogic philosophy of the ILE, sport was seen as an effective way of both creating a healthy,

⁴⁹⁰ *El Sol* 21 June 1931. The event was held on 25 June – the Saturday following the publication of the notice. The same newspaper did not, however, publish a report on the event.

⁴⁹¹ See 'Esperanto', 'La Olimpiada de Los Ángeles, la educación física en España y el intrusismo' in *Educación Física*, 1, May 1932 pp. 16-17.

robust and loyal citizenry while at the same time forging leaders. Such future leaders, as with individual teachers, were to be encouraged to take the initiative and to assume responsibility for themselves and others. Thus, the legislation passed in the name of the liberal educational project was instead aimed at giving students greater freedoms and, partly in reaction to mounting pressure for such, greater participation in university administration. Though not a specific aim of such an approach, this nevertheless had the effect of creating an atmosphere in which university sports could thrive to an extent never before seen in Spain. As has been shown, in several notable instances students, and in particular student associations, did indeed take advantage of this, building up their membership bases, practising a wider range of disciplines.

At the same time, however, while the vision that the *institucionistas* of the Republic had for the university unquestionably included active students, healthy in body and mind, sport still remained a minority pastime for Spain's student population throughout the 1930s. Even if, as reports from the FUED show, levels of participation were steadily rising, most of the young men and women in higher education studied for their degrees without making use of the sporting facilities that were also increasing in number and quality over the same period. Given that the Republic was a liberal democracy and thus not the type of regime to dictate its citizens' social lives and, more importantly, given that the vast majority of students still only attended their universities for the minimal amount of time necessary to complete their degrees, this is only to be expected. As such, the liberal, progressive vision of the university and its ideal students, were not to be found at the Moncloa campus in Madrid, or on any other campus in the country, but instead in the rooms and on the fields of the Student Residence.

Conclusions

Where once Giner de los Ríos lamented that the Spanish university student was a young man who 'knew nothing of sports', a young man – and, again, the implicit gender bias of the ILE and its elitist vision is only too evident – entering the university system under the Republic would have found a steadily growing sporting culture. Certainly, as before, the Republic did not pass any legislation aimed specifically at making physical education or sport an integral part of further education. Indeed, while undoubtedly a priority for the new Republic given its place in the larger educational project it was determined to accomplish, little official effort was made to regulate student life. This was partly due to circumstance; the large amounts of money directed at constructing thousands of primary schools – and this at a time of global economic depression – meant that little of the education budget was available for higher education reform, even if a costly new University City in Madrid was completed and opened during the Republic. At the same time, the Republic declined to aggressively link itself to university sport, certainly not to the same extent as other European regimes of the time – or indeed to the extent of the Franco dictatorship which was to follow.⁴⁹² Rather, as has been shown, the *Institucionista* elements of the regime adopted other, more subtle ways of associating itself with student sport, that is with modernity, strength and virility.'

For the ILE and its supporters both within and outside of the government, the 'mission' of the university was not simply to pursue and propagate scientific advances, but to create an elite capable of regenerating the nation. It is no coincidence that, when opening the first academic year of the Republican era at the University of Madrid, Marcelino Domingo

⁴⁹² Richard Holt, 'Sport, the French, and the Third Republic' in *Modern & Contemporary France* 6:3, pp. 289-299. Holt also notes: 'The governments of the Third Republic were willing to give limited official support but never contemplated the kind of mass state sports programmes of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.'

used Giner de los Ríos' term, urging the students sat before him to become 'be men of your time' and the 'intellectual aristocrats' he believed the country needed. And, just as the pedagogic press reported teachers acting on the words of Llopis, Domingo and other key figures from inside the Ministry of Public Instruction and using their new freedoms to introduce sports into the primary and secondary school day, so too do the accounts of sporting life in Spain's universities during the early years of the Republic suggest that both individual students and, more importantly, student-led organisations, were taking the words of Manuel Azaña to heart.

As before, in his most revealing and pointed discussion on the place of sports and the role they could play in regenerating Spain along liberal and progressive lines, the one man in Azaña who embodied the *Institucionista* vision for the Second Republic, stated that 'only through the rational cultivation of the muscles can we succeed in developing a robust youth that would be capable of winning the fight against the various endemic illnesses that plague the society of today'.⁴⁹³ Given the short amount of time the Republic had been in existence, and thus its limited influence over all aspects of daily life, including the extracurricular activities of university students, the state alone could not hope to achieve this. Rather, Azaña stressed, 'sporting associations and federations [had] an essential mission to accomplish'. Such organisations were to move away from promoting sport merely as a leisure activity to be watched, and instead promote it as one of active participation. Moreover, they were to 'look beyond' small interests, be they any political or religious motivations, and instead focus

⁴⁹³ AS, 9 August 1932.

on the wider general interest and thus 'contribute significantly to the physical improvement of the [Spanish] race'.⁴⁹⁴

This is exactly what student sports organisations were doing.⁴⁹⁵ Indeed, with the FUED in Madrid as the clearest example, such groups not only shared the ILE's enthusiasm for sport but, more importantly, they bought into the *institucionista* arguments for sport's regenerative qualities. Sports such as football and rugby above all were seen as effective ways of instilling in students a sense of 'fair play', self-discipline and a readiness to follow rules. New university graduates with these traits would most certainly be welcome, not least since the such characteristics would counter one of the main self-perceived 'faults' of the Spanish 'race', a charge dating back to the beginning of the *regeneracionismo* movement, namely a propensity to individuality and egoism.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, as the words of Marcelino Domingo attested, the university was seen as the final stage in the creation of the Republic's planned 'intellectual aristocrats', the men who were to bring about the long-hoped-for renewal of the nation. Alongside their intellectual excellence, such men also needed confidence and leadership skills – again, qualities which both the *institucionistas* in government and the students themselves believed could be instilled and cultivated through the practice of competitive sports.

The mere presence of key figureheads at student sporting events not only sent out the clear message that the new regime welcomed the growth of university sports, but it also allowed the Republic to implicitly associate itself with the positive qualities of health, strength

⁴⁹⁴ See 'Que se piensa del deporte en las esferas gubernamentales?' in *AS* 9 August, 1932

⁴⁹⁵ That is, they were in the present context. However, it must be acknowledged that, while the FUED did not explicitly associate itself with any religious ideology, Catholic student groups and, later, Falangist student groups did attempt to harness the potential of sport for building loyal followings and sowing anti-Republican sentiments. See Sid Lowe, *Catholicism, War and the Foundation of Francoism*.

⁴⁹⁶ Again, Salvador de Madariaga's harsh critique of the Spanish as 'profoundly individualistic people' should be remembered here.

and youthful enthusiasm. Similarly, the deliberate inclusion of competitive sports at the Summer University of Santander helped project the image of a modern, outward-looking and healthy Spain to the rest of the world, while at the same time demonstrating what its liberal organisers believed to be the ideal mix between training the mind and the body. But still, there, no explicit 'Republicanisation' of university sport, and neither could there have been. As a liberal democracy, the Republic could not follow the lead of other regimes and attach itself to student sport for its own political gains. Neither could it dictate how Spain's university students spent their spare time. Indeed, only by being able to influence the daily lives of the young men they hoped would regenerate Spain could the Republic's progressive pedagogues hope to ensure that they reaped the myriad benefits of playing competitive sport. In this context, the Student Residence of Madrid represents the best example of their vision for the final stage in the creation of this elite few, a vision that, once again, was never to be realised.

Chapter 5: "Oxford and Cambridge in Spain": The Student Residences and the Making of the Spanish Gentleman

Behind the Palace of Fine Arts...lies a sunny promenade by the Isabel II Canal and here, surrounded by sports fields, English gardens and Spanish poplar trees, are the pavilions of the Student Residence. This house, governed by young people, by the gardener and the footballer, is a refuge for great spirits.⁴⁹⁷

For many *institucionistas*, if the Spanish university was to throw off its historic role as serving as merely 'the dispensary of official qualifications' and instead come to resemble the English model of higher education, what was required was a complete reimagining of not just the sphere or academia but also of student life and of relations between students and their professors and tutors, and not simply in the academic sense. Giner de los Ríos and José Castillejo were not the only Spanish pedagogues who looked approvingly at the student residences of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as those of certain other "redbrick" English universities, most notably Birmingham and Manchester. For them, the lesson was clear: providing students with accommodation presented an opportunity to ensure that, alongside their intellectual development, they could also be moulded culturally and even, to use the preferred *institucionista* term, spiritually as well.

The following chapter, therefore, will explore the significance of sport in these educational laboratories. More specifically, the physical culture of the Student Residence in

⁴⁹⁷ Alfonso Reyes in *Residencia* 1, 2, 1926

Madrid will be documented, identifying how competitive sport rather than rational gymnastics was seen as a valuable tool in the formation of the ideal man, both prior to April 1931 and, more pertinently, during the years of the Second Republic. Since the Institute of Free Teaching (ILE) and its allies in the new regime sought to regenerate the whole of Spain through the formation of an elite group of middle-class men, efforts to replicate the Madrid model, including its emphasis on the practice of sport, elsewhere in Spain similarly need to be assessed. Ultimately, however, it is the Madrid Student Residence that is identified as being the clearest example of what was designed to be the final stage of the progressive pedagogical project, a project that had its roots in the *regeneracionismo* movement but which many hoped would come to fruition with the change in political climate. Above all, it examines the Residence's own journal to show how, while the physical benefits of sport were certainly welcomed, the emphasis here was on the way in which disciplines like rugby and football could instil in the students a willingness and desire to both follow rules but also to assume positions of leadership. In short, the following will show how the student residences established as progressive educational laboratories, with sport regarded as the ideal means of moulding a new generation of Spanish 'gentlemen' capable of regenerating the country.

The use of the word 'gentlemen' – often given in its original form or else literally translated (*caballero español*) for the texts of the time – points to the inherent gender bias at the heart of the entire pedagogical project. The ILE, as with its allies – and indeed, its political enemies – sought to create a new elite to replace what they saw as an old, obsolete oligarchy, and this elite was to be composed of well-educated males of good character and morals. At the same time, however, several notable figures within the *regeneracionismo* movement sought not only to increase the number of female students in primary and secondary education but in further education as well. For them, a lack of female participation in

university education was both a cause and a symptom of a lack of modernity and thus, if Spain was to catch up with its European neighbours, something to be addressed. Here again, as Rowold notes, the 'ILE were at the forefront of introducing feminist debate to Spain,' with their efforts culminating in the opening of the Women's Residence shortly after male-only Student Residence.⁴⁹⁸ This establishment, and more specifically the role sport played in the daily life of its female residents, will also be examined in this current chapter, so as to both place the Women's Residence in the wider project of the ILE and its allies, while at the same time serving to emphasize its fundamentally elitist nature.

No '*meros pasatiempos*': Sport and the Student Residence of Madrid

As with most areas of educational reform, some progress had been made in the years leading up to the coming of the Republic. And again, in the case of student residences, the ILE and its associates were at the forefront of such progress, nowhere more so than in Madrid. Once more, an analysis of the progress made prior to April 1931 helps inform an understanding of what it was these progressive pedagogues hoped to achieve with the coming of the Republic and the degree to which, if at all, they realised their goals.

The Student Residence (*Residencia de Estudiantes*) of Madrid was established in March 1910 by the Board for Advanced Studies and Scientific Research (JAE), the body tasked with promoting scientific investigation and education within Spain from the start of the 20th century until it was disbanded as a direct result of the Civil War. Initially located on Calle

⁴⁹⁸ It should also be acknowledged that the ILE (or 'Krausists') were not alone in pushing for females to have access to higher education on the same terms as males, with the Catalan nationalist and anarcho-syndicalism movements also active voices in this regard. See Rowold, Katharina *The Educated Woman: Minds, Bodies and Women's Higher Education in Britain, Germany and Spain, 1865-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2010). This is addressed further later in this current chapter.

Fortuny, it was established to provide accommodation to a select group of the growing numbers of young men relocating to Madrid from other parts of Spain to pursue their university education, while also providing them with informal tutelage, companionship and recreation.⁴⁹⁹ That is, the Student Residence was established with the aim of addressing the failings of the nearby University of Madrid. As before, such perceived shortcomings included above all else a failure to attend to the fuller development of the student into a modern man of the times, and in particular a lack of concern for his wider development, whether this be through the learning of modern languages or the practice of sport.

A Royal Order of August 1913 saw the Student Residence relocated to Calle del Pinar. That this street was at that time situated at the very edge of Madrid, where the city met the Castilian plains, points to just one of the aims of the establishment. By being set back from the city, the Residence could help shield the country's brightest young minds from the perceived vices the urban centre contained. Similarly, the student residences subsequently established first in Barcelona (1921) and then Zaragoza (1924) also served to keep their young men away from the temptations to be found in modern urban centres, enabling them to concentrate on their studies and giving their parents, often hundreds of miles away, peace of mind. As the founder of the Zaragoza Student Residence, Miguel Allué Salvador explained: 'A big city can teach a lot, but at the same time, it also offers too many distractions, offering too readily paths as tempting as they are dangerous...The university finds in the cosmopolitan city stimuli to encourage absenteeism, and this is either beneficial nor recommended.'⁵⁰⁰ And it

⁴⁹⁹ For a more detailed history of the Student Residence, see, among other works: Isabel Pérez-Villanova Tovar *La Residencia de Estudiantes 1910-1934* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Residencia, 2011); Margarita Sáenz de la Calzada, *La Residencia de Estudiantes: Los Residentes* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Residencia, 2011) and Luis G Martínez del Campo, *La formación del gentleman español: Las residencias de estudiantes en España (1910-1936)* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012).

⁵⁰⁰ Martínez del Campo, *La formación del gentleman español* p. 211.

was not most likely not just the students' ability to focus on their work that some parents, and indeed, some of those pedagogues behind the new residences had in their minds when choosing the location of the new establishments. As Cleminson notes, ever since 1898, 'an attraction to the city and its vices' had been regarded by some within the regenerationist movement as a reason for the declining vigour of Spain's upper class males; quite simply, if this process of 'emasculatation' of the race was to be countered and strong, 'masculine' men forged to remake the nation, then the temptations of the big city were to be avoided wherever possible.⁵⁰¹

However, the Student Residence of Madrid, as well as those established in other major urban centres, was not merely intended to protect its young guests from outside influences deemed to be potentially distracting or even harmful. It was also – indeed, it was above all – a place where wider learning could be encouraged, ideas shared and positive values instilled.⁵⁰² Over the first third of the century, the Madrid institution firmly established itself as one of Spain's leading, and most prestigious, centres of culture, fostering a forward-looking and inclusive intellectual environment within which the country's foremost artists, philosophers and writers could thrive. The Residence's status as a hub of cultural and intellectual activity reached its peak in the years leading up to the foundation of the Second Republic. Within the space of just a few years, some of the brightest lights of both the Generation of '98 and also the Generation of '27 visited, lectured or stayed at the Residence, notable among them Miguel Unamuno, José Ortega y Gasset, Antonio Machado and, perhaps most famously of all, Luís Buñuel, Salvador Dalí and Federico García Lorca. At the same time,

⁵⁰¹ Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *'Los Invisibles': A History of Male Homosexuality in Spain, 1850-1939* (Swansea: University of Wales Press, 2007) p. 177.

⁵⁰² Vincente Cacho Fiu argues, Giner de los Rios believed that the ILE had a 'mission to complete' and was not simply a protest movement but instead a creative force. This belief was clearly shared by the founders of the Student Residence. See: Vincente Cacho Viu, *La Institucion Libre de Enseñanza* (Fundación Albéniz, Madrid, 2010).

the Residence also welcomed leading international figures: Howard Carter, Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, John Maynard Keynes, Igor Stravinsky, H.G. Wells and Henri Bergson were among those who visited prior to 1931, helping enhance its reputation and exposing its Spanish guests to intellectual debate, research and culture from abroad.

That the Residence, under the direction of its director Alberto Jiménez Fraud, was so keen to embrace international thought and welcome thinkers and artists from outside of Spain's borders to lecture or even lodge is far from surprising given its close links to the ILE. Indeed, the initial plan for such an establishment was tabled by none other than José Castillejo himself and devised shortly after he returned to his native country after a period of time touring the higher education institutions of England. Fraud, among the leading pedagogical figures of his time, had allied himself to the aims and beliefs of the ILE from 1905, the year in which he met Giner de los Ríos for the first time. His marriage to Natalia, daughter of fellow pedagogue and leading *Institucionista* Manuel Bartolomé Cossío would further cement his affiliation with the ILE.⁵⁰³ As with most other *Institucionistas*, Fraud made a concerted effort to familiarise himself with, and learn from, both the individual schools and the larger systems of education of other countries. And, again just as with many of his peers, it was England that was to have the greatest influence upon his pedagogical philosophy.⁵⁰⁴ Following his initial meeting with Giner in 1905, Fraud visited England on several occasions and was particularly

⁵⁰³ Fraud was a prolific writer, and his works, particularly his autobiographical writings, feature numerous references to his association with the ILE and time at the Student Residence. See in particular his trilogy: 'La ciudad del estudio: la Universidad Española medieval' (1944), 'Selección y reforma: Ensayo sobre la Universidad renacentista española' (1944), and 'Ocaso y restauración: ensayo sobre la Universidad Española moderna' (1948). The post-mortem 'Residentes, semblanzas y recuerdos' is also a useful source, providing a first-hand account of daily life at the Madrid institution.

⁵⁰⁴ It should be noted that, as with Giner himself, Fraud did find inspiration in places other than England. For example, his work was partly influenced by what he learned of the Royal College of Spain in Bologna, Italy, founded in 1367, as well as by St Bartholomew College of the University of Salamanca, another historic institution known for producing select numbers of educated men capable. See Fraud 'Selection and reform: an essay on the Renaissance Spanish university.'

impressed by the house system of the main public schools as well as the collegiate system of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (both institutions that he would later work for after being exiled from Spain following the end of the Civil War).

Along with his colleagues, Fraud, who took charge of the Student Residence in 1910 and remained in his position until its very end, sought to emulate the collegiate and house systems of England's public schools and universities, and so enjoy the perceived social and moral benefits attached to them. So too did he make physical culture, including sports and games, an integral part of daily life at the Residence, with this embracing of the latest trends from overseas far from surprising given his relative youth, assuming his role at the age of just 26. From the very beginning, in fact, residents were actively encouraged to take time off from their artistic and intellectual pursuits and engage the body as well as the mind. Indeed, such a commitment was specifically mentioned in the Royal Decree establishing the Student Residence, with the legislation stressing the importance of 'play and physical exercises' and their role in helping ensure the 'intellectual and moral prestige [and] scrupulous hygiene' of both student residents and tutors alike.⁵⁰⁵ Thus, despite the lack of available space at the Residence's initial address on Calle Fortuny, the initial batch of young intellectuals and artists were encouraged to make use of a ping pong table housed within the building itself, while many also used nearby gardens for recreation purposes.⁵⁰⁶

However, it was only from 1915, when the Residence moved to its permanent site on Calle del Pinar that sport really established itself as a key component of everyday life for both residents, again including both staff and students, and also for visitors. Here, in grounds

⁵⁰⁵ Royal Decree of 1 October 1910.

⁵⁰⁶ See *Residencia* 1, 1926.

designed by a Nobel Prize winner, alongside specially-constructed 'pavilions', housing living quarters as well as lecture halls and meeting rooms, residents could make use of an athletics track, a football pitch, hockey pitch and three tennis courts, in addition to landscaped grounds that could be – and were – used for individual exercise.⁵⁰⁷ This model was replicated elsewhere in Spain as the founders of other student residences sought to emulate their peers in Madrid and provide their young residents with facilities to aid their corporeal and spiritual development.

This embracing of sports and physical education was, as before, a means of keeping the young men of the Residence occupied and so distracted from the vices and temptations to be found just a few miles away in the city centre. However, in line with the thinking of the ILE and progressive pedagogues right across Europe, sports were not to be regarded as '*meros pasatiempos*', but rather something altogether more serious. As Salvador Dalí learned during his time lodging on Calle del Pinar, 'frivolity was taboo and when there was fun, it had to be the good, clean variety.'⁵⁰⁸ And, one might add, any fun was required to have a purpose, namely to help foster the emergence of a new generation of Spanish 'gentleman', instilled with the physical and moral strength needed to regenerate the nation.

It was principally with this end in mind that, right from the beginning, Fraud, and the Residence in general embraced English sports rather than gymnastics and the more militaristic style physical education so predominant in the wider education system of the time. As one former resident, José de Orbaneja recalled of his time in Madrid, 'the majority of the sports practiced were English in origin (tennis, football, hockey). There was never even any

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. Several issues of the *Residencia* journal describe in details – and with notable approval and enthusiasm – the sporting and recreational facilities on offer at Calle del Pinar.

⁵⁰⁸ Dalí quoted in Ian Gibson, *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997) p. 88.

mention made of any other team sports, such as basketball, handball or volleyball.⁵⁰⁹ Such a preference for English-style sports was, to a certain extent, pragmatic, with space and resources limited. For instance, while, as the institution's own journal, *Residencia* reveals, winter sports such as downhill skiing and mountaineering were offered in the early years of the Residence, with time, societies and informal groups related to these specific sports were disbanded due to the effort and expense required to organise regular excursions.⁵¹⁰ In comparison, tennis, hockey and football, all of which are much easier to practice within a small campus in suburban Madrid, thrived. Moreover, it's worth noting that basketball and other American sports were not deliberately shunned by the Residence during its first epoch due to their not being played on the fields of Eton or Harrow, but rather because such pastimes were largely unknown in Spain, and indeed in much of Europe at that time.⁵¹¹

Nevertheless, such practicalities were clearly just one reason why certain pastimes were encouraged in Spain's student residences while others were not. Very much in line with the arguments set out by Giner de los Ríos in his work *Los problemas de la educación física*, the leading figures at the Madrid Student Residence explicitly pointed to the advantages of English team sports over German and Scandinavian gymnastics. Following on from his earlier observations, and in particular those outlined in *La educación en Inglaterra*, Castillejo was one of the most notable critics of gymnastics, so popular among German educationalists, describing this type of exercise as overly 'intellectual', both suppressing individual initiative

⁵⁰⁹ José Orbaneja, *La Fragua de la Residencia de Estudiantes de Madrid* (Madrid: Ketres Editoria, 1997) pp. 45-46.

⁵¹⁰ The 'Alpine Association' of the Residence was disbanded in 1927, partly due to the costs of travelling to the mountains, but also due to the growing popularity of football among the residents. The Football Association at the Residence was established in 1916, though it enjoyed its most notable surge in popularity in the early-to-mid-1920s.

⁵¹¹ In 1926, the *Residencia* journal would report that 'little by little, football has been losing its predominant place as it competes with other activities such as tennis and Alpine sports [which] being less violent and less passionate, are imposing themselves among the residents.'

and spontaneity while also lacking any 'collective element' capable of uniting participants. By way of contrast, and again, wholly in line with the central philosophy of the ILE, the games played in England's schools and universities offered much more.⁵¹²

At the most basic level, sports, unlike many of the vices and temptations of the city, promoted good health, hygiene and, just as importantly, they were seen to safeguard and enhance virility. Though not as explicit as some English institutions, where *Mens sana in corpore sano* was often akin to an official school motto, it is only too apparent that the founders of the Student Residence subscribed to the belief that a healthy body promoted a healthy mind. Sports could ensure 'cleanliness and health', with those practiced in the fresh air especially beneficial to the physical development of young men.⁵¹³ Not for nothing was Luis Buñuel – later to gain fame as a film director – presented in the pages of the *Residencia* journal as the model resident. As the auteur recalled in his own memoirs, his daily regime consisted of early morning jogs, gymnastics and boxing, while he also combined his studies and burgeoning artistic career with a range of other sports. Here, then, the journal implied, was proof that, far from being a frivolous distraction from serious intellectual and moral development, properly harnessed, sports could perfectly complement intellectual pursuits and so be an integral part of a student's development.⁵¹⁴

But, again, sports were not just seen as a means of ensuring the physical wellbeing of the young residents. In line with the thinking of many *Institucionistas*, any physical benefits offered by sports were seemingly coincidental rather than an end in themselves. From the

⁵¹² Castillejo, *War of Ideas in Spain* p. 130-131.

⁵¹³ Castillejo, *La educación en Inglaterra* p. 57.

⁵¹⁴ Bunuel would credit the Residencia in Madrid with giving him a muscular body that he would maintain throughout his life. For more on Bunuel's athletic endeavours while a student in Madrid, see Luis Buñuel, *Mi último suspiro* (Barcelona: Editorial Debolsillo, 2012) pp. 56-57.

very beginning, those in charge at the Student Residence of Madrid, as well as their counterparts elsewhere in the country, saw sport as 'an effective means of not only promoting good health, agility and strength, but also maintaining a moral environment, creating strong links for a cooperative life and developing a sense of personal initiative and discipline'.⁵¹⁵ That is, used properly, team sports had the potential to help instil a sense of civic responsibility in Spain's next generation.

Drawing on what he personally observed in England, Castillejo used the pages of the Student Residence's own journal to state the many benefits of football, rugby and other sports. They could, he argued, offer 'the ideal means of promoting and reconciling a vigorous personality with a sense of social solidarity', while also being able to help with the development of 'a spirit of cooperation and the qualities of altruism, bravery, patience, gentlemanly conduct [*caballerosidad*], good humour and fair play', all perceived characteristics of the admired 'English gentleman'. Indeed, team sports, Castillejo noted, should be seen as a modern version of the chivalric tournaments of the Middle Ages, promoting both a healthy sense of competition and chivalry - or 'fair play' - while also aiding the development of strong, brave young men. Once again echoing the earlier writings of Giner de los Ríos, Castillejo also outlined how, properly used, team sports and, more specifically, the 'English model', could serve as a healthy outlet for competitive urges while at the same time instilling in young men and respect for rules and authority and a keen sense of discipline, again qualities widely perceived to be lacking among the Spanish youth of the time.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ Memorias JAE; Memorias - Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (Vol 1915-1916) (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas)

⁵¹⁶ Interestingly, Castillejo used the English term 'self-control' in his writing for the *Residencia* journal, a clear indication of the English influences on his arguments and thinking. Cited from Isabel Pérez-Villanueva Tovar, *La Residencia de Estudiantes (1910-1936)*

With a mind to fostering the sense of camaraderie, team spirit and altruism they observed and so admired among the young men of Oxford and Harrow, the practice of team sports at the Spanish student residences was closely modelled on the English example. So, alongside matches against teams and athletes from outside of the Student Residence— for example, competitive fixtures against teams fielded by the Spanish Gymnastics Society during the late 1920s – as the pages of the *Residencia* journal show, competition between older students and younger students, between the different school houses, between students representing their home regions and between law and philosophy students was actively encouraged, with regular tournaments held on the Madrid campus, including properly-organised football matches most Sundays. Furthermore, in a direct nod to the English example of Oxbridge fellows joining students on the sports pitches, members of staff at the Student Residence also took part, again with the fundamental aim of breaking down traditional barriers and promoting an atmosphere of relatively free and progressive thinking.

At the same time as instilling a sense of solidarity among students and strengthening their ties with their *alma mater*, sports were also seen as an effective means helping achieve one other key objective of the Student Residence, namely instilling in young men a keen sense of personal initiative. As J.B Trend observed, 'the aim of the *Residencia* is to awaken curiosity – a faculty lacking in many Spaniards – to arouse a desire to learn and the power to form personal judgements instead of accepting what other people say.'⁵¹⁷ So, as with school sports in England, residents were encouraged to take the lead in organising sporting activities themselves; just as the student-led Philathletica club had organised most formal and informal competitions at Harrow for more than a century, so too did the young men of the Student

⁵¹⁷ J.B. Trend, *A Picture of Modern Spain* (1921) pp. 36-7.

Residence establish their own Sports Society. Overseen by the Board of Directors of the Sports Society of the Residence, made up of student residents and tutors, the society organised matches and competitions in a variety of disciplines, both internally and, increasingly from 1920 onwards, externally, inviting teams from the various faculties of the nearby University of Madrid to Calle del Pinar.⁵¹⁸

It was thanks largely to the work of the Sports Society of the Residence that, within just a few years of the Residence being established, its sportsmen were already competing with the best of their peers. From 1921 until 1925, for example, the First XI football team were part of a regular league, competing with teams from across the central Spain and not merely Madrid. Even when matches or tournaments with other institutions weren't being held, from 1926 onwards the *Residencia* journal routinely devoted four or five pages per edition to sports. In addition to the pages dedicated to the achievements of its teams and individual athletes, its features on pedagogy often touched on the place of sport in other educational institutions, including, as the case of the report on University College London illustrates, those outside of Spain.

Such a focus on sports was noted, and indeed welcomed by visitors to Calle del Pinar during the Student Residence's first few years. Most notably, while visiting in the 1920s, the English hispanist J.B. Trend wrote approvingly of the practice of football, tennis and rugby, as well as of the exaltation of the scholar-athlete, the inclusion of tutors in their practice and the central role the students took in organising matches and competitions. Within a few short years, the Residence, he would reflect, had become the 'closest thing to Oxford or Cambridge

⁵¹⁸ In particular, the football matches organised between 'viejos' and 'nuevos' closely resembled the matches held between students and 'old boys' at English public schools.

one could find in the whole of Spain', no small compliment given this was the stated aim of its founders and their supporters, some of whom would take on key roles within the new Republic.

The Student Residences Under the Republic

Without a doubt, therefore, sports were well-established and were playing a central role in the residents' daily life long before the establishment of the Second Republic and, again, far from being frivolous pastimes, they were properly-organised and practiced as a means to several ends. Nevertheless, looking at contemporary accounts from not only the Madrid institution, but also of the Residences created elsewhere in Spain, an upturn in the amount of energy devoted to properly-organised, competitive sport from the start of the 1930s is only too apparent. As José de Orbaneja wrote during his time as a Resident during these years, 'There are in Spain thousands of university students; there are only around 150 of us living in the Student Residence and [yet] we have a rugby team, a hockey team who are runners-up in the national championships, another in football who are the university champions of Spain, another in athletics, of whom, Duran has broken the Spanish record for shot-putt, and Calzada is the high jump champion of Castille...What's more, we play a lot of tennis, we ski in the sierra etc.'⁵¹⁹

From 1932 onwards, the editors of the *Residencia* journal evidently dedicated more space to sports, above all celebrating their students' accomplishments and the vital nature of sports at the institution. As one feature article from the summer of 1932 noted: 'Sports, which

⁵¹⁹ José Orbaneja, *La Fragua de la Residencia de Estudiantes* pp. 45-46.

since the founding of the Residence, have been embraced by evident enthusiasm, have more recently become a great source of satisfaction for us, [mainly] for the quality of the students' achievements'. This summer saw the Student Residence begin entering a team into official tournaments for the first time in 1924 - the year in which they dropped out of the Castillian Football Federation – and the selected XI immediately returned to winning ways. With evident pride, the journal reports that the 'esteemed Minister of Public Instruction', Fernando de los Ríos himself, presented the Student Residence team with the trophy after they comprehensively beat a team from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Madrid 6-0 in their first competitive tournament for almost a decade. Once again, the Republic, or more specifically its *Institucionista* elements showed their enthusiasm for sport here, associating the regime with modernity, progressiveness and with youthful energy. Evidently, 'despite football competing for attention with other activities here at our home, including hockey, rugby and athletics', the first XI were enjoying a golden age, establishing themselves as the arguably the strongest university-level team in Madrid and central Spain and one of the finest in the whole country.

Similarly illustrating this heightened enthusiasm for competitive sport from 1931 onwards, the same journal also reported on the inaugural Residence Cup (*Copa Residencia*). Up until this point, tennis, while a long-standing leisure activity, was largely played for recreation rather than competition. The creation of the cup changed this, adding yet another annual event to the growing sporting calendar of the Student Residence. Inevitably, the journal included a lengthy report on the inaugural event, which included a marching band and displays of dancing and even 'water exercises in the swimming pool' prior to the awarding of

trophies, and again heralded the skills of the winners as well as the cordial atmosphere of the friendly though competitive event.⁵²⁰

Notably, the Student Residence's football team were not alone in enjoying their most successful period during the years of the Republic. Prior to 1931, men's hockey had been increasing in popularity, mirroring the larger trend in Spanish society in general. From 1932 onwards, the *Residencia* journal features regular updates of the accomplishments of the hockey team, celebrating their victories whilst also stressing the importance of sports to the mission of the Student Residence. Thus, readers are informed that 'as a sport, hockey is a fine alternative to football; it demands greater agility and, though it lacks some of the qualities of football and, above all, of rugby, it is essentially an educational sport, instilling players with the highest degree of altruism, courage, endurance, gentlemanly behaviour (*caballerosidad*) and discipline within the team.'

It was for this reason that the sportsmen of Calle del Pinar were held up as the ideal resident and the model of the 'man of tomorrow', with the Residence itself perfectly suited to their creation and perfection.⁵²¹ In one instance, the journal praises the quality of the Student Residence's own sporting facilities, saying its 'high quality pitches...are perfect for the development of the sport', and so it is therefore, 'a beautiful thing to see games of hockey being contested on our fields'. As for the athletes themselves, it praises them for 'dedicating their leisure time to hockey and putting as much effort into their studies as they do into swinging their sticks.' Such a use of their leisure time is, the report concludes, most 'prudent',

⁵²⁰ The first Copa Residencia was held in April 1932 and then on an annual basis until the start of the Civil War that ultimately led to the end of the Student Residence. *Residencia* 3, 1932

⁵²¹ As John Crispin notes, the head of a blonde athlete was adopted as the symbol of the Student Residence, including being placed prominently on the cover of each issue of the *Residencia* journal. See Crispin, *Oxford and Cambridge* p. 65. The 'blonde athlete' was replaced by a logo made up of the initials of the Residence on the shirts of its sports teams from the academic year 1928-29 onwards.

allowing them to better deal with the stresses of their degree courses or other work commitments.

The years of the Republic, therefore, saw the significance of sports at the Student Residence of Madrid increase to an unprecedented level. Moreover, not only were more of the residents competing in a number of teams or taking part in in-house tournaments such as the annual athletics or tennis tournaments, but even those residents who preferred to focus their energies on other, non-physical pursuits such as art or poetry, couldn't fail to appreciate the emphasis placed on the active sportsmen. Just as in the Public Schools or university colleges of England that Jimenez Fraud and his allies so openly sought to emulate, the Student Residence on the eve of the Civil War was a place where the 'scholar-athlete' was placed on a pedestal. Not only would such athletes have been highly visible on and around Calle del Pinar, conspicuous in their specially-designed uniforms – again, influenced by the English model, with the different teams adopting the same colours, styles and logos – but they also featured more prominently than ever in the pages of the *Residencia* journal. The finest sportsmen and athletes were featured by name, their records or scores noted and photographs taken. These were the ideal 'gentlemen' or 'men of tomorrow', boasting not just physical prowess and strength, but the admirable qualities of discipline, fair play, moral fortitude and the ability to work as part of a team while at the same being self-reliant and motivated, all of them either acquired or else enhanced by their practice of sports.

The Women's Residence (*La Residencia de Señoritas*)

The Student Residence then stands out as the idealised final stage of the ILE's educational project, aimed at supplementing the intellectual formation offered by the university with the

moral development of the student. However, while certainly meriting the most attention, the Student Residence was not unique, with the model of offering students a healthy atmosphere to socialise, learn and play sport copied elsewhere, not least a short distance away at the Women's Residence, another of the JAE's key initiatives and another useful example of the importance attached to sport in efforts to build a new Spain through the means of political education.⁵²²

The Women's Residence was established by the JAE in 1915, with the aim of helping achieve Giner de los Ríos' stated goal of opening further education up to female students. Under the leadership of the *institucionista* María de Maetzu, its mission, and the methods it would adopt to accomplish it, were largely indistinguishable from those of the male-only Student Residence. That is, in the words of de Maetzu, it was to be 'a home for the female students of Spain, where they can find not just what they need materially, but a spiritual environment the moral discipline that make possible a noble and dignified life.'⁵²³

To a much greater extent than the Student Residence, the Women's Residence, and more specifically its non-academic activities, were guided by American rather than English influences. Its close ties to the International Institute for Girls in Spain, an American residence established at the beginning of the twentieth century, ensured this was the case. Such ties not only meant that a significant number of Spanish students were able to benefit from scholarships to study at female-only colleges in the United States, but that, in one of the few

⁵²² In some English language histories, the *Residencia de Señoritas* is referred to as the Girl's Residence, though here it will be referred to as the Women's Residence. Once again, a comprehensive history of the Women's Residence is not necessary here, but can be found in, among other works: *Mujeres en vanguardia: La Residencia de Señoritas en su centenario (1915-1936)* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 2015) and De Zulueta, Carmen and Moreno, Alicia *Ni convento ni college: La Residencia de Señoritas* (Madrid: Publicaciones de la Residencia de Estudiantes, 1993)

⁵²³ María de Maetzu quoted in Vázquez Ramil, María Raquel *Mujeres y educación en la España Contemporánea: La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la Residencia de Señoritas de Madrid* (Madrid, Ediciones Akal, 2012)

deviations from the example set by the Student Residence, female residents would regularly participate in dance and gymnastics classes of the kind enjoyed by their peers on the other side of the Atlantic.⁵²⁴

Nevertheless, just as with its male-only equivalent, the daily life at the Women's Residence was undoubtedly influenced by the English educational model. As Carmela Gamero Merino notes, if the philosophy underpinning life on Calle del Pinar could be personified in the figure of its director Alberto Jimenez Fraud, then the aims and methods of the Women's Residence are best understood through the figure of María de Maetzu.⁵²⁵ As with her male counterpart, De Maetzu was a confirmed *institucionista* and, moreover, an Anglophile. Being born to a British mother herself, she spent time in England and soon came to admire the English people and, above all their teaching methods and the residences of their university colleges. As a visitor to England during the 1920s, she, like Jimenez Fraud and her friend and close intellectual ally José Castillejo, could not have failed to notice female participation in the sporting life of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. And as with Castillejo, she developed a keen admiration for the use of sports in the English education system and a determination to replicate this in her home country.

While women's sport had undoubtedly grown both in popularity and acceptability throughout the 1920s in particular, by no means had all of Spanish society come to accept it. Even within progressive pedagogic circles, there were some who voiced strong opinions that, while physical education classes or gymnastics could have their benefits, competitive sports were at best 'unfeminine' and at worst harmful to the physical and spiritual development of

⁵²⁴ Raquel Vázquez Ramil, *Mujeres y educación en la España Contemporánea*.

⁵²⁵ Carmela Gamero Merino, 'Residencia de Estudiantes' in *José Castillejo y la política europeísta para la reforma educativa Española* (Ciudad Real, Biblioteca de Autores y Temas Manchegos, 1987) p. 165.

future wives and mothers. María de Maetzu and other leading figures at the Residence for Girls did, it must be acknowledged, seem to share some of these concerns. Thus, in the first years of the institution, the female residents were generally discouraged from partaking in any activity deemed 'unhygienic', or, in other words, overly demanding and unfeminine. Rowing, for instance, was discouraged on the grounds that the pressure placed on the upper body could jeopardise a lady's chances of bearing children later in life.⁵²⁶

Such a ban was very much the exception, however, and sport soon became an integral part of life for the female residents, and, far from being discouraged, competition was actively encouraged for the same reason as it was at the nearby Student Residence. Above all, it was in the final era of the Women's Residence, that is in the 1930s, that sport really grew in popularity and importance. In part, this was due to practical reasons. Initially, the residence only enjoyed limited space, minimising the number of women it could offer accommodation to as well as the range of extra-curricular activities it could offer, even if its residents were still able to make use of the tennis courts of the men's residence. In 1930, however, the Women's Residence moved to occupy two larger buildings on Calle Fortuny, with these supplemented by more extensive grounds ideal for games and recreation.⁵²⁷ But this was far from the sole reason for that the years of the Second Republic represented the golden age of sport here. As one history of the Residence notes, 'the proclamation of the Republic in April of 1931, and the almost immediate closure of religious centres of education promoted a fresh influx of students to the institutions of the JAE, including the Women's Residence.'⁵²⁸ Another

⁵²⁶ Cited in María Raquel Vázquez Ramil, 'La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la educación de la mujer en España: la Residencia de Señoritas (1915-1936)' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Santiago de Compostela, 1988) p. 332.

⁵²⁷ *Mujeres en vanguardia: La Residencia de Señoritas en su centenario* p. 86.

⁵²⁸ María Raquel Vázquez Ramil, 'La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la educación de la mujer en España: la Residencia de Señoritas, p. 320.

history of the initiative similarly notes that, with the dawn of the new regime, 'the JAE and its different establishments found lots of friends, who favoured the educational ideas of the Board, installed in positions of power...the Women's Residence was a beneficiary of the new government and its political and artistic educational [policies].'⁵²⁹ Additionally, as the same account tells it, the change in political regime changed the atmosphere at the Residence, making it more 'cosmopolitan' and emboldening both its governors and the students and their tutors.⁵³⁰ Such a shift in atmosphere could explain why, from 1931 onwards, the young female residents of Calle Fortuny, just like their male counterparts only a short distance away, took the initiative and built on the sporting foundations that had been laid down over the preceding years.

In 1932, the Alumna Association, itself only established in the preceding year, opened its own sports section tasked with creating teams organising practices and matches, with both former and current residents encouraged to join in. Soon after, in 1934, the list of physical education activities and sports practiced at the Women's Residence increased further still, with a swimming team and, most notably, a rowing team, established, with the latter testament to the willingness of De Maetzu in particular to be flexible in their thinking and open to new ideas and arguments.⁵³¹ It was, hockey, however, that firmly established itself as the primary sport at the Women's Residence. This sport was significantly more popular than the other disciplines introduced over the same period, most notable among them tennis and basketball. It was also, just as importantly, the sport in which the residents themselves truly excelled.⁵³² Indeed, such was the leading role the Women's Residence played in

⁵²⁹ De Zulueta and Moreno *Ni convento ni college* p. 189.

⁵³⁰ Vázquez Ramil, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la educación de la mujer en España*.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

promoting female sport that it has been credited with driving its growth across Spain as a whole. For instance, one alumna, Maria Antonio Sanjurjo, already a firm *institucionista* and a feminist, was introduced to competitive sports and, more specifically, to hockey while staying at the Residence during the academic year 1931-1932. Upon leaving Madrid she would go on and play a leading role in its growth in firstly her native Galicia and then in the United States. At the same time, and closer to home, the Women's Residence's own hockey team established themselves as one of the finest teams in all of Spain and played an instrumental role in the launch of the inaugural Spanish Women's Hockey Championships in 1934.⁵³³

From just 30 students in the first year of its existence, the Women's Residence went on to offer lodging to 215 female students in 1931 and then around 250 in 1936.⁵³⁴ This marked growth, again not coincidentally coming during the years of the Republic, meant that a further move was necessary. Work on a new home for the Women's Residence, set within the new grounds of the University City of Madrid, got underway in 1935. Had it been completed and the Women's Residence relocated to Moncloa, the female residents would have been able to make use of the fine sporting facilities the campus had to offer while also benefitting from the dynamic, sportive environment that had been growing there thanks largely to the work of the sporting section of the student federation, the FUED. Not only would levels of participation in sports have almost certainly increased, so too would the range and scope of sports being practiced – again, not merely for the sole purpose of physical wellbeing – have most likely gone on widening as the Residence's leaders looked overseas for new ideas and trends. At the same time, the planned move across the city to a location with direct access

⁵³³ Cristina López-Villar, 'The Beginnings of Hockey in 1930s Galicia: A Female Phenomenon' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, 9, 2014, pp. 1133-1157.

⁵³⁴ Vázquez Ramil, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y la educación de la mujer en España*

to the latest sporting facilities would surely have helped the Student Residence build on its already-notable record of producing some of the nation's finest sportswomen, with these athletes not only able to represent the new, dynamic Spain on the international stage but, as was the case with female hockey in the 1930s, to serve as the ideal ambassadors to help drive the growth of non-university women's sport across Spanish society as a whole.

Once again, however, the aims and efforts of this particular part of the wider progressive political education project were ultimately thwarted by the descent of Spain into Civil War. And again, the ultimate outcome of the conflict meant that the initiative, while revived in 1940, was to lose its *institucionista* ideals, with any liberal, outward-looking principles or methods replaced by those of the conservative and largely inwardly-looking Women's Section of the Falange Youth Party. Like its male counterpart, it was only in existence for a short while. However, through its structure, teaching methods, and both the organisation of student life and the writings of its founders, especially those of María de Maetzu, offer a useful insight into the ultimate aims of the Women's Residence. As before, the Residence was established with the specific aim of fulfilling Giner de los Ríos 's desire, and that of many other progressive members of Spanish society, to widen female access to university. This was to be done by offering them a secure environment, away from the stresses of the city. Moreover, the Residence was not simply a refuge, but also something of a forge. As de Maetzu herself made clear on many occasions, 'the work of the Residence is not limited to giving the [female] students an intense intellectual formation. The aim is to offer these girls a healthy environment, favourable to [the formation of] moral and ideals.'⁵³⁵ This was to be accomplished by the promotion of a life defined by a sense of 'cooperation'

⁵³⁵ Quoted in De Zulueta and Moreno, *Ni convento ni college* p.127.

and 'prudent freedom', or, in other words, a sense of team spirit yet also of individual responsibility and initiative – all perceived benefits of English-style team sports.⁵³⁶

Thus, just as the original Student Residence actively promoted team sports over almost all other types of physical activity in order to build the 'gentleman of tomorrow' the *institucionistas* of the JAE and their allies believed Spain needed, so too were sports to be practiced by the students of the Women's Residence for similar reasons. For the ILE, the JAE and their allies, the ideal female student university graduate was not simply destined to become a wife and mother, but rather an active member of a new society, whether as a politician – as in the case of the notable Residence alumna Clara Campoamor, who was elected to the Constituent Assembly of 1931 in an historic step forward for women's suffrage in Spain – or as teachers, lawyers or even athletes and sporting ambassadors. Far from being unfeminine and dangerous, sport, María De Maetzu and her colleagues, recognised, could help instil a 'spirit of cooperation' which, alongside a university education, would help create a new generation of able women, equipped with the intellect and, just as importantly, the spirit deemed necessary to aid in the regeneration of the country.

The sporting life of Spain's other residences

Understandably given its pioneering status, not to mention its stellar roll call of visiting guests and esteemed lodgers, the Student Residence of Madrid has been the subject of numerous histories alongside the accounts produced from Calle Pinar at the time. Likewise, the

⁵³⁶ This term '*prudente libertad*' was a key principle of María de Maetzu, and the instilling of this among her residents a central part of her work. Such liberty would stand in marked contrast to the strict nature of the convents that for so long had offered Spain's girls their only opportunity for further education or lodging away from the family home. For more on this, see De Zulueta and Moreno *Ni convento ni college*.

pioneering nature of the Women's Residence, its significant place in the plans of the JAE and its similarly notable list of alumnae has made it worthy of considerable study. But the Madrid institutions were not the sole Student Residences in Spain, even if their strong ties to the JAE and thus, by association, the political education project of the reformist Republic, were largely exceptional.

As has already been noted, the 130-plus students and professors attending the Summer University of Santander, one of Fernando de los Ríos' most notable initiatives in the field of further education, were able to count on comprehensive sporting and leisure facilities alongside comfortable accommodation. However, the political and philosophical ties of the Student Residence and the Women's Residence stood in marked contrast to those underpinning one of the nation's other main student residences of the era. The Student Residence of the University of Zaragoza, the third largest in Spain after those of Madrid and Barcelona, was modelled at least partially on the English university college model and was established in 1924.⁵³⁷ It was, however, associated with the Primo de Rivera regime as opposed to the JAE, with this association reflected in the daily life of its residents, who were able to make use of a private chapel. Nevertheless, thanks partly to its founder, Miguel Allué Salvador, it did adopt some foreign, progressive influences. As with the Madrid institution, sport played a central role of Residence life from the very beginning. Indeed, it grew out of the merging of several organisations, including the Association of Old Alumni and, more pertinently, the University Sporting Society. Thus, the architectural plans for a new Residence included the provision of tennis courts and a space of the grounds reserved for the practice

⁵³⁷ As well as spending time in Oxford and Cambridge, the founder of the Student Residence of Zaragoza, Miguel Allué Salvador also visited the universities of Manchester, Birmingham and London. Dalton Ellis Hall in Manchester in particular would serve to shape his vision of the ideal university residence. For more on his travels and vision for Spain's universities, see: Miguel Allué Salvador, 'El problema pedagógico de las Residencias de estudiantes' in *Universidad: Revista de cultura y vida universitaria* 2, (1924), pp. 199-208.

of football.⁵³⁸ Indeed, while the fall of the Dictatorship and the coming of the Regime meant that, in marked contrast to the fortunes of the Student Residence of Madrid, the Zaragoza establishment experienced a period of decline, sport was the one area of activity that actually increased in vibrancy during the opening years of the 1930s.

Further from Madrid, in Santiago de Compostela, meanwhile, the years of the Republic saw the city's historic university push ahead with ambitious plans for a new Student Residence, one better suited to the demands of the time. As one report on the initiative noted, 'for years, fathers who have sent their sons to study for a degree at [our] university have lamented the deplorable conditions of scholarly life in the city. Without sports fields [or] adequate spaces for the students to communicate outside of those hours set aside for academic work...they will inevitably seek refuge in the morally and physically unhealthy atmosphere of the coffee house.'⁵³⁹

Here, again, one of the biggest proponents for reform of the student residence of the University of Santiago de Compostela, Ciriaco Pérez Bustamente de la Vega, aligned himself with the political opponents of the ILE and JAE, firstly attaching himself to royalist parties and then, with the outbreak of the Civil War, with the Falange and the Francoist movement in general. Nevertheless, he shared some of the goals of such opponents. Using the Galician press to share his arguments, he advocated for a residence modelled on that of Madrid, outlining the myriad potential benefits of investing in such an establishment. As well as referencing the Madrid Student Residence, the professor also cited the examples of both

⁵³⁸Martínez del Campo, *La formación del gentleman Español* p. 223.

⁵³⁹ See 'La Residencia de Estudiantes de Compostela' in *Galicia en Madrid: Órgano de Lar Gallego* 31, July 1934. An artist's impression of the proposed 'sports stadium set within the residential zone of the university' was featured in *Pro "Residencia Universitaria de Compostela"* (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1935)

English and American college residences while at the same time referencing the ideal residence envisaged by Joaquin Costa decades before.

Pérez Bustamente himself took an active role in designing the buildings, ensuring that, along with a monumental fountain and landscaped gardens, future residents would be able to make use of tennis courts and other open spaces for healthy recreation. This, he explained, would help the university fulfil its 'social function'. Evidently proud of his design, the professor concluded: 'The rooms, clean, luxurious and modern, and the appropriate furnishings, will offer the residents the greatest level of peace and comfort. The proximity of the sports fields will contribute to making the Residence a healthy and active place, fulfilling every reason for its creation.'⁵⁴⁰ Thus, not only did the plans for a new Student Residence include tennis courts and 'perhaps a swimming pool', the project's most enthusiastic backers even sought extra funds for a full sports stadium with an athletics track surrounding a football pitch and room for hundreds of spectators.

Again, the men chiefly responsible for the reform of these two distinct student residences were by no means part of the ILE, or indeed of the 'Extended Institution'. However, they still recognised the important role sport could play in offering their students a healthy environment in which to develop as intellects and young men. As with the content of the pedagogic journals of the time, as well as the examples of football being played in Jesuit schools well before 1931, this further demonstrates that the ILE was not alone in recognising the myriad benefits of sport. Nevertheless, with the establishment of the Republic, they were able to experience a fresh wave of enthusiasm across the whole of the education sector, while

⁵⁴⁰ Pérez Bustamente, C. and García-Paz, S. *La Universidad de Santiago: El Pasado y El Presente* (Santiago de Compostela, Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Regionales, 1934)

even if they did not agree with its ultimate aims, such ideological opponents still took inspiration from the sporting life of the Residence of Madrid. Indeed, it is worth noting that Allué Salvador had himself applied, albeit unsuccessfully, for one of the JAE's scholarships to travel in England and, again, both he and Pérez Bustamente directly cited the Student Residence of Madrid as a model of progress, admiring its organisation and methods, if not its ultimate aims.

Conclusions

More than a decade before the Student Residence of Madrid opened its doors to welcome the first of its esteemed guests, its spiritual founder Giner de los Ríos observed: 'The character deficiencies of our youth, as with all races that have been impoverished and degenerated following a long period of material, moral, intellectual, social and domestic misery, is weakness, a lack of vigour and [a feeling of] apathy. And so what even our best students need most is a greater intensity of life, greater activity, both for the spirit and the body; to work more, play more, sleep more, eat more, have more fun, and place greater emphasis on balancing the spirit and the body.'⁵⁴¹ The Student Residence, as Giner himself envisaged, could provide all of this. Away from the noise and distractions of the centre of the Spanish capital, and apart from the uninspiring atmosphere of the nearby University of Madrid, the Residence offered its lodgers a chance to complement their studies and learn from their peers. It also offered both tutors and residence the opportunity to experiment with new ideas, often brought to Spain from overseas.

⁵⁴¹ Giner de los Ríos quoted in *BILE* 17, 1983 p. 299.

Using sport as a means of developing the character as well as the body was one such experiment, approached tentatively at first but then fully embraced for its myriad perceived benefits. That is, while at the start of its existence, residents were solely able to make use of a ping pong table, by the 1920s, sport was no longer a mere recreational activity but a vital pillar of life for students and tutors alike. Thus, residents such as Salvador Dalí would have immediately recognised the way in which 'the Residence balanced its intellectual seriousness with a devotion to sport, mainly inspired by what Don Alberto [Jiménez Fraud] had seen in England.'⁵⁴² Certainly, it should be acknowledged that much of what the historian can know about the use of leisure time at the Student Residence comes from the accounts published in the *Residencia* journal which, far from being an objective account of the institution was essentially an alumni magazine presenting an idealised image of daily life on Calle del Pinar.

However, even if the journal's principle concern was to present to the rest of the world an idealised rather than a fully accurate picture of life at the Residence, it nevertheless serves to illustrate the importance placed on sport. While many of the key texts of the regenerationist movement cited indolence, inactivity and apathy as significant causes of Spain's decline over the first third of the century, here, a man of action was placed on a pedestal, both metaphorically and also, on occasion, literally. The 'ideal resident', and thus, the ideal man, was an athlete and a scholar, seeing no contradiction between training the body and training the mind, but indeed seeing them both as complementary and of equal importance. It wouldn't only be current residents who could not fail to notice this moral teaching; since it was an alumni magazine, former residents would, it was to be hoped, also

⁵⁴² Ian Gibson, *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí* (London: Faber & Faber, 1997) p. 90.

be inspired to remember the values instilled in them by sports while undertaking their new roles remaking Spain.

To some extent, it is accurate to argue, as certain historians of the Student Residence and its *institucionista* founders have, that, while keen to project an image of itself as outward-looking, progressive and modern, in many ways it was the opposite.⁵⁴³ That is, in its patriotism and wish to purify or regenerate Spain via a new intellectual aristocracy, the Student Residence was essentially inward looking and fundamentally conservative. In the context of sport, such a charge is largely invalid. Indeed, the enthusiasm shown for sports, and more specifically for those competitive disciplines imported from England, demonstrate that, here at least, the Residence was the exact opposite of traditional and inward-looking. As has been shown, foreign trends were embraced whole-heartedly, new disciplines taken up or dropped, and students permitted to take the initiative rather than wait on instructions from their seniors. That said, there can be little doubting that, for all the rhetoric suggesting otherwise, this was to be an elitist rather than a populist endeavour. That is, while the initial Decree creating the Student Residence did envisage the establishment of more such institutions over the proceeding years and, while such plans partly became a reality through the creation of the Women's Residence and the residences of Santiago de Compostela and Barcelona, there was never any intent to replicate the model on a mass scale.

From the very beginning, the ILE made its objective clear: to regenerate Spain along modern, liberal lines through the education of a select few. The university was to be the final stage of creating the small band of men they believed were needed to make their ambitions

⁵⁴³ A good argument for this is put forward by Alison Sinclair. See Alison Sinclair, 'Telling It Like it Was: The Residencia de Estudiantes and its Image' *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 6, (2004), pp. 739-763.

a reality, and the Student Residence of Madrid was conceived as the ideal location to forge these 'intellectual aristocrats'. In this context sport was viewed as an effective way of ensuring they had the necessary character to fulfil their historic mission. Thus, at the Student Residence, team sports were embraced while individuals were named and their personal accomplishments and records celebrated in the page of its journal. Moreover, articles on sport published in the journal, were just as likely to emphasise the character-building benefits of competitive sports as they were to highlight the physical benefits.

Just as some critics point to the 'contradictory tendencies' of the ILE - that is its desire to create an elite, separate from the masses, while at the same time espousing a doctrine of egalitarianism and popular education - so too does it need to be seen that the use of sport was similarly 'contradictory'.⁵⁴⁴ As several of the best studies of the place of sport in the English public school and university system demonstrate, for all the rhetoric about 'team play' and 'the suppression of the ego for the greater good', games such as rugby simultaneously promoted an ideal of leadership and a culture of elitism.⁵⁴⁵ This would not have been lost on Jiménez Fraud and other *institucionistas* who visited England and would go onto play an active role in reforming student life in Spain.

The residents of Calle del Pinar were, therefore, encouraged to break with the egotism that was, according to the central arguments of the *regeneracionista* movement, one of the '*males de la patria*', and embrace the concepts of 'fair play' and working as part of a team. At the same time, however, sports were to instil in these men a sense of leadership and personal initiative, essential if they were to rebuild the country. Moreover, by making the *Residencia*

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ See, for example: Richard Holt, 'Cricket and Englishness: the batsman as hero' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7, (2007) pp. 48-70, and J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

journal an alumni magazine, the JAE could ensure that its work to build these new men would go beyond the two or three years they were actually lodging at the Student Residence. Rather, once installed in their new positions, whether in the field of education, law or government, they would be continually reminded of the values instilled in them during their time on Calle del Pinar and, in the case of teachers, be inspired to embrace sports to mould the character of their own students.

Thus, while regulating sporting life at the Student Residences was not an explicit part of the Krausist reformist project during the Republic, what was happening on these fields and pitches did nevertheless fit in perfectly with wider aims of the ILE. As was made explicitly clear, and not just through the decision to maintain the selectivity of the *Bachillerato*, those *Institucionistas* in and around the Ministry of Public Instruction viewed education as a single, linear process, with the latter stages reserved for a relative few. The ultimate aim, along with creating a literate mass citizenry, was the creation of 'intellectual aristocrats', a mission for which the Student's Residence was created and one important reason why sport played such an important part of student life. Therefore, though the Republic did not pass any specific legislation regulating the Student Residences – in fact, it did the opposite, granting them enhanced levels of freedom – it support the JAE in the strongest possible way, with the Minister of Public Instruction himself present at sporting competitions, plus it fostered an atmosphere in which such elitist institutions could flourish. Again, however, the descent into Civil War and the ultimate dismantlement of the liberal educational project meant that its long-term vision was never to be realised.

Conclusion

Writing his memoirs, the Director of the Student Residence of Madrid, Alberto Jiménez Fraud, recalled an incident that points to not just the overall goal of the liberal Republican educational project of which he was a part of for more than 20 years, but to the underlying beliefs and philosophy of the ILE and its allies. He noted:

The education of a conscious, loyal and well-informed leading class was a matter of great urgency. I felt this work to be my vocation and committed myself to it wholeheartedly. One day, in my third of fourth year at the Residence, in response to some comments of mine he thought too zealous, a young conservative minister, a regular contributor [to Residence life], said to me: 'But do you really think *this* is Spain?' 'No,' I said with natural conviction. 'But it will be.'⁵⁴⁶

What was the 'Spain' Fraud, and by extension the ILE and its members and adherents in the Republic, hoped to build? While a definitive answer has always been beyond the scope of this single thesis, the current research does serve to add to the historian's understanding of both the goals of the republicans who assumed power in April 1931 and, moreover, quite how they envisaged achieving these. That is, while several previous studies have emphasised the central place of education in general to the republican project of creating not just a new citizenry that would ensure the consolidation of the regime and then its long-term survival but also an elite capable of overseeing this, the present research has highlighted the role sport was to play within context. Moreover, the above research has shown that the idea of sport,

⁵⁴⁶ Jiménez Fraud, Alberto *Historia de la Universidad Española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1971) p. 436.

and specifically organised, competitive games imported into Spain from foreign nations, as a tool for making a new man was firmly rooted in the arguments put forward by the *regeneracionismo* movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, not least in the language and terminology used.

Again, the traumatic loss of Spain's colonies in Disaster of 1898, cast its long shadow well into the twentieth century. The perceived loss of national 'greatness', especially at a point in history when other European nations were either in possession of sizeable empires or else flexing their imperial muscles, prompted much introspection among Spanish intellectuals. Many of the writers and politicians who can be associated with the regeneration movement, or *regeneracionismo*, preoccupied themselves with what they believed to be an existential crisis crippling Spain, lamenting a loss of national soul or spirit. Nevertheless, within the vast – and indeed varied – number of texts produced in the years and decades following 1898, a preoccupation with matters of the body is only too evident; Spain was not merely metaphorically sick or weak, but literally so. That is, for many notable figures in the *regeneracionismo* movement, Spain's decline could be directly attributed to the physical decline of its people. More specifically, as has been discussed, the blame was laid largely at the feet of the country's upper-class men; quite simply, it was argued, the men of Spain had allowed themselves to become lazy and passive, sacrificing virility for the frivolities of the modern city, and lacking the iron will or discipline of either their forefathers or indeed their contemporary peers elsewhere in Europe, most notably in England or Germany.

The possible solutions put forward for the 'regeneration of the nation' were by no means consistent. While some intellectuals and politicians argued that, only by embracing

the values that they believed were fundamental to Spain's 'Golden Age', namely a strict adherence to the institutions of the Crown and the Church, could Spain return to greatness, others believed the opposite to be true; that is, they believed that the solution to Spain's existential crisis lay in embracing modernity even - or indeed especially - if this involved looking outside of the nation's borders for inspiration. The ILE evolved out of the latter camp, with its members and allies in the field of pedagogy and politics determined to see every stage of Spain's public education system, from the primary school to the university, thoroughly reformed. Faithful to the philosophy of its founder Giner de los Ríos, the ILE would consistently stress the importance of physical education alongside traditional classroom-based learning. More specifically, through the pages of its own influential journal, the *BILE*, it advocated the use of sport in the school, promoting competitive and organised games. Those young men who had spent time in England, either under their own initiative or, more pertinently, thanks to the patronage of the *institucionista* body the JAE (*Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas*) would have returned to Spain with tales of a vigorous and vital group of elite men being forged on the rugby fields of England's schools and university colleges and presented this model as an ideal means of addressing many of the perceived shortcomings of the Spanish character.

The arguments for the sport to be introduced into the national education system with the ultimate aim of using it as a tool for national regeneration continued to be put forward right up to, and then beyond, the establishment of the Second Republic in April 1931. But, as this thesis set out to show, with the change in political regime came the expectation that, now that certain figures either full members of the ILE or else sympathetic to its aims and methods had assumed key positions in the Ministry of Public Instruction, rhetoric would finally be translated into action. Certainly, the popular sporting press, which had been

enjoyed a period of substantial growth over the first third of the new century, welcomed the change in political regime, and understandably so.

On a general level, sport as a means of building character was a central tenant of the *institucionista* pedagogic philosophy, so it stood to reason that such an idea would be included in any educational reforms. Moreover, as has been noted, several of the key figures of the reformist Republican project, including in the sphere of education, had been among those advocates promoting the pedagogical or character-building values of sport in the years leading up to the fall of the monarchy. Such figures included Domingo Barnes, who, it should be recalled, wrote about 'quote here' in a book published shortly before he was to first enter government and then take on the post of Minister of Public Instruction.⁵⁴⁷ More encouraging still, the Prime Minister himself, Manuel Azaña, made a point of granting a lengthy interview in which he stressed the important role sport as a participatory activity rather than a popular spectacle would play in forming the citizens of a new Spain.⁵⁴⁸ But perhaps above all, to coin a phrase used by sports enthusiasts, advocates of embracing sport as a means of regenerating the country through the education system saw in Fernando de los Ríos 'one of their own'. As the editors of the popular journal *La Educación Física* exclaimed: 'We have a minister of education who is an eminent pedagogue and who, therefore, knows the role that the practice of corporeal exercises can play in modern education the regeneration of the race.'⁵⁴⁹

Even though Fernando de los Ríos occupied the position of Minister of Public Instruction for 543 days – that is, around one third of the total period of the Republic in

⁵⁴⁷ Barnés, Domingo *La educación de la adolescencia* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor 1931)

⁵⁴⁸ See again, AS

⁵⁴⁹ *La Educación Física*

peacetime – neither he nor the government department he headed would live up to the such high hopes. Of course, this was almost inevitable. Indeed, once the popular enthusiasm and general good will granted to the new Republic had abated, those interest groups who had seen the change in political regime as the moment their long-held desires and grievances would finally be addressed grew frustrated and restless. While in some cases, most notably the rapid disillusionment certain workers' movements and left and anarchist parties, this would pose a serious threat to the stability of the Republic itself, here the feeling of disappointment and frustration was mainly channelled into critical editorials in the sporting and pedagogic press.

As has been shown, such criticisms were often valid, or at least understandable. Again, while harnessing the myriad benefits of sport was central to the *institucionista* philosophy that came to dominate the Ministry of Public Instruction from the spring of 1931, and while ministers and indeed the Prime Minister himself openly stated their belief in the advantages that organised and competitive sport offered over the individualistic and militaristic physical education of old, including its ability to help drive the regeneration of Spain, actual top-down reform aimed at translating such rhetoric into action was slow in coming, if indeed it came at all. That is not to say nothing was achieved in this regard. Against the backdrop of a vibrant sporting press in addition to journals of progressive pedagogy in which modern methods, including the use of sport in the school, were presented as ideal templates for Spain to follow, measures were taken to include physical education and indeed sport into in the wider mission of achieving the complete transformation of the public education system. As has been shown, for instance, within the urgent matter of building sufficient schools to ensure that no child went without a primary education, the Ministry of Public Instruction under Fernando de los Ríos stated that, where

possible, all schools should have outdoor spaces, including recreation fields, in order to help forge 'robust, hygienic and disciplined children'. Again, financial constraints above all else hampered the Republic's school-building project but the pedagogic press from the time does show that progress was being made and growing numbers of children, especially those in urban centres such as Madrid, were able to make use of dedicated sporting and games facilities. Meanwhile, though the proposed 'Bases' for the reform of the primary curriculum put forward in April 1932 neglected to explicitly mention either physical education or sport in the school, the hitherto unprecedented degree of respect and freedom granted to the men and women praised as being the 'soul of the school' and the Republic's representatives in the towns and *pueblos*, meant that some did indeed begin to take the initiative and put into practice the arguments for organised they would have read in the pedagogic journals of the time. Again, an analysis of such publications shows this to be the case.

Similarly, in the area of secondary education, steps were taken to modernise what was being taught in Spain's schools, most pertinently through placing greater emphasis on the potential of sport during the years of adolescence. Above all, the Circular issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction in December 1932, 'encouraging [teachers] to embrace the enthusiasm they have for their vocation and to develop their own sense of initiative,' highlighted the myriad benefits offered by sports and games while also recommending that educational professionals dispose of the physical education teaching manuals of old. Such a commitment to modernisation was then reaffirmed with the Plan Villalobos in which it was explicitly stated that 'the physical education of past curricula is to be substituted for games and sports.'

However, as the thesis has sought to demonstrate, simply analysing the official legislation passed during the years of the Republic is not in itself sufficient to gain an understanding of the place of sport in the political educational project of these *institucionistas* and their allies. Rather, an appreciation of what was intended but ultimately never achieved, made possible through a combination of analysing the wording of any official legislation alongside the writings of key figures within the pedagogical project and also an understanding of its ultimate goals, is needed. Once again, for all the urgency the Republic brought to the task of transforming and regenerating Spain through education, most notably the speed with which the religious orders were removed from the classroom or coeducation introduced to the Normal School, the political educational goals of the *institucionistas* and their allies in government could only be achieved in the longer term. In many areas, not just the field of education, the Republic believed that it would be futile to sow the seeds of modernisation if they did not fall on fertile ground. It was for this reason that the Pedagogic Missions were launched in the summer of 1931 to bring literacy and culture to long-neglected towns and villages.⁵⁵⁰ It was with such a long-term vision in mind why just as much focus was placed on reforming teacher training as it was on reforming the primary school curriculum or that of the *Bachillerato*.

⁵⁵⁰ Interestingly, to date no research has been carried out into the place of sport in the Pedagogic Missions. While they were fundamentally focused on spreading culture to 'the people', and thus histories of the initiative have rightly focused on efforts to bring theatre, poetry, music and Spain's artistic heritage to small, long-forgotten villages, it seems quite likely (or indeed likely enough to merit further investigation) that the predominantly young, male, urban-dwelling students taking part in the Missions would have been only too aware of the fashion for sports such as football, and even arguments for using them as pedagogical or character-building purposes. Furthermore, the founder of the Pedagogic Missions, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío was, as has been shown, an Anglophile and recognised the important role played in the English education system. Research for the current thesis has uncovered suggestions that sport or games may have occasionally been organised by the young men of the Missions – mentions of 'games' after theatre performances noted in the journals of students who took part in the Missions, or simply photos of young boys in villages holding footballs presumably brought to their villages by said Missions – though again, more work needs to be done here.

Again, it is worth remembering the words of José Castillejo, who remarked: 'No educational reform should be undertaken without preparing the necessary personnel,' and it is in this context that efforts to translate the arguments for the transformative power of English-style sport in the education system into actual policy should be seen. That is, while the importance role sport could play in offering Spain's children a wide, modern and progressive primary education was certainly recognised, first it was necessary to ensure the country had sufficient schools and, more pertinently, that these schools had, wherever possible, games fields or other sporting facilities. Similarly, no thorough reform of the secondary curriculum, including the introduction of sport into the *Bachillerato* at the expense of gymnastics or individualistic physical exercise classes would be carried out before the national teaching corps had been thoroughly regenerated itself, with the religious orders banished and the underqualified and uninterested individuals who entered the profession under the old regimes phased out and replaced with a new generation of young university graduates equipped with knowledge of the latest pedagogical thinking in addition to the enthusiasm, personal initiative and progressive ideals that would help them transmit the values of the Republic into every corner of Spain. As Rodolfo Llopis, who as the first Director of Primary Education as well as one of the most influential pedagogical writers of his time maintained, the Republican educational project was a long-term one, and thus the first 'five-year plan' focused on the most pressing concerns, among them the shortage of schools and an underqualified and unmotivated teaching corps.

The current thesis, analysing as it does how and why the arguments for sport in education that grew out of the *regeneracionismo* movement were put into practice during the Second Republic, does then beg the question: what if Llopis and his colleagues been able to not only pursue their initial five-year plan for Spain's education system free from political

instability and crippling economic restraints, but been afforded the opportunity to follow this up with a second five years? The historian can, of course, only speculate 'what might have been' had Spain not descended into a vicious Civil War in the summer of 1936. And, indeed, there is no shortage of 'counter-factual' musings on the history of the Second Republic, with most hypothesising what might have been had, for example, the drive to secularise Spanish society been pursued less vigorously, agrarian reform been given greater attention so as to alleviate the concerns of the regime's opponents on either side of the political divide. In his history of the period, for instance, Stanley Payne wonders: 'Had the Republic enjoyed a generation of peace, it might well have trained a new generation more prudent and temperate than its elders.'⁵⁵¹ Such musings are often little more than intellectual parlour games. In the present context, however, it seems only right to argue that the drive to make sport an integral part of the Spanish education system with the ultimate goal of forming citizens sympathetic to liberal democracy was undoubtedly cut short before it began in earnest.

The Decree establishing the San Carlos National School of Physical Education is one of the clearest signs of the intentions of the political educational project of the Republic in this regard. With earlier legislation having sought to address the more pressing issues of constructing schools and elevating the status and abilities of the teaching profession, at the close of 1933 the Ministry of Public Instruction moved finally moved to satisfy demands from both pedagogues and members of the sporting press and establish a specialist school for physical educator teachers. To quote Domingo Barnés: 'A national School of Physical Education must be the first step in the organisation of this area of teaching. In it will be

⁵⁵¹ Payne, Stanley *Spain's First Democracy* p. 89.

formed of the teachers of the future, with the school serving as the most appropriate field of experimentation for anyone interested in the physiology and pathology of sport.⁵⁵²

These 'teachers of the future' would be the professionals alluded to in the Circular issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction at the close of 1937. Despite being at war, the Republic was nevertheless looking to the future and continuing with the educational and nation-building project started in 1931. Again, the Circular, stated that the time had come for 'the "physical exercises of the old plan" to be replaced by sports and games', with this to be 'directed by qualified teachers' making use of 'a new manual on physical education for children'.⁵⁵³

Such specialists would be part of a new generation of educational professionals, all of them university graduates themselves and sympathetic to secular and progressive ideals and formed in Spain's revitalised Normal Schools where, as has been shown, sport featured as an integral part of daily life. At the same time, the creation of the National Council for Physical Education, an organ established with the stated aim of combatting the 'physical decay of the [Spanish] race', further emphasises that sport was being taken seriously as a tool for national regeneration at the very highest level of government, with reforms not to be rushed but to be carefully considered and benefitting from the input of medical experts, educational professionals and, in the inclusion of Ricardo Zamora on the board, the most famous footballer in Spain at the time.

Thus, to use one historian's words, 'the Spain that might have been' would most likely have been a country where sport came to occupy a prominent position at every level of the new

⁵⁵² *Gaceta de Madrid*, 348, 14 December 1933, p. 1810.

⁵⁵³ *Gaceta de Madrid* 1 December 1937

unified education system. For instance, though there was never any intention to replicate the Institute School on a large scale, this can legitimately be seen as a blueprint for what the ideal secondary school would have looked like for the *institucionistas* and their allies within the Republican regime, especially with regards to its adoption of English organised and competitive sports so as to ensure the rounded development of the students. At the primary level, meanwhile, FINISH

Significantly, however, as the above research has shown, the way in which sport could be harnessed in the schools system to address many of the alleged *males de la patria* and so create a citizenry that was healthy in body, virile and well-disciplined, was just one advantage it could offer over individualistic physical exercise or gymnastics. Just as, if not more important, was the way in which organised and competitive sports such as football and rugby could instil in young men a sense of leadership – that is, 'the ability to command and obey'. As has been noted in several studies of the Second Republic, and more specifically of the liberal politicians determined to use it as a vehicle to modernise and Europeanise Spain, for all the rhetoric of it being a regime of the people and for the people, many leading figures on this side of the intellectual spectrum were simply wary of mass mobilisation. Indeed, as one account neatly surmises, 'Spanish republicanism was progressive in that it favoured certain structural reforms to redistribute socioeconomic power in Spain. But it was also conservative in that modernising Spain was envisaged as something to be implemented *top down* by a political elite via the machinery of the

state.⁵⁵⁴ This thesis, therefore, makes a unique contribution to this understanding of the Republican project, its underlying beliefs and ultimate aims. Noting how such republicans saw in sports a means of forging the new generation of men they believed would be needed to regenerate Spain lends further weight to the school of thought that posits the Republic, in its elitism and romantic liberal belief in the importance of reform being led by enlightened few, was naïve and arguably out of touch with quite how society had developed over the preceding decades.⁵⁵⁵

In this way, the English public school philosophy and the underlying ethos of the *regeneracionismo* that culminated in the founding of the Republic were fundamentally similar. That is, common to both was a sense of mission for a select few, whether this was the English gentleman sent out to rule the colonies or what Marcelino Domingo labelled the 'aristocrats of democracy', young men who would be tasked with spreading the values of liberalism and republicanism and building the foundations for Spain to become a democracy in the truest sense of the word.⁵⁵⁶ And just as English public schools 'used modern sport as a central prop to support a structure of perceived moral superiority' and so provide suitable leaders for the country and the Empire, so too did some athletically-minded educationalists in Spain see in sports the means of not only improving the physical wellbeing of students but,

⁵⁵⁴ Graham, Helen *The Spanish Republic at War* p. 24

⁵⁵⁵ Was this the 'era of the masses'..? See Fraud article Ortega y Gasset would write: 'There is one fact which, whether for good or ill, is of utmost importance in the public life of Europe at its present moment. The fact is the accession of the masses to complete social power.' Ortega y Gasset, Jose *Revolt of the Masses*

⁵⁵⁶ See *Homenaje a D. Marcelino Domingo: Primer Ministro de Instrucción Pública de la República Española* (Madrid, 1936) pp. 12-13. Pamela Radcliffe neatly sums up this idea. She argues that 'the Republicans sought to construct a truly modern Spain that was secular, republican and *vaguely democratic*.' That is, they wanted to create citizens, not subjects, though the paternalistic instincts of the *institucionistas* and their allies meant that they felt the masses were not yet ready to assume this role, but needed to be first directed by their social and intellectual superiors.

more importantly, of equipping them with self-discipline, a sense of initiative and leadership and a sense of ethics and morality not based on Catholic teachings.⁵⁵⁷

To return, then, to the memoirs of Alberto Jimenez Fraud and his vision of what he believed would be the Spain of the future. Looking out over the grounds of the Student Residence, Fraud and his companion would have seen where a place where sport played an integral role in honing the character of its young, male lodgers; moreover, this was to be the final stage of a unified education system throughout which not only the students' minds, but also their bodies and characters been moulded and refined. They would have seen students shunning the militaristic gymnastics of old and following the lead of their peers in England, forming teams and organising their own tournaments to compete in football, rugby or other team games. And above all, they would have observed that, far from being a frivolous leisure activity, sport was seen as a natural, indeed vital, complement to intellectual and cultural pursuits. For while lectures, readings and culture could create young men who were indeed 'conscious' and 'well-informed', the practice of competitive sport would help ensure that they were at the same time 'loyal' and, just as importantly, possessed with the quality of leadership they would need to lead the modernisation, Europeanisation and indeed the regeneration of Spain.

On the back of his research into the history of the Student Residence of Madrid and the institutions it helped inspire across the rest of Spain, Martinez Campo concludes that, by the time of the Republic, such 'gentlemen' were slowly starting to emerge. Indeed, he points to the Student Residence's most famous alumni, most notably Lorca and Bunuel – again, a man

⁵⁵⁷ As has already been noted, unlike in England, there was no Empire for Spain's elite young men to be tasked with administering. Nor indeed was there any desire to reverse the colonial losses the country suffered at the end of the nineteenth century and acquire new possessions. Rather, this new 'Spanish gentleman' would be put to work at home and, like his English counterpart working in the various outposts of the British Empire,

held up as the ideal Resident and therefore, the ideal Republican gentleman due to his equal enthusiasm for harnessing the body as well as the mind – as examples of this.

But even if they were,

But, all anelephant

Language used consistent throughout – especially the themes of regeneration and idea of race!

FINAL 700 WORDS TO FINISH!!!

Reasons why the Republic failed are, of course, way beyond the scope of this thesis.

This thesis does not look at the Republic backwards through the prism of the Civil War.

Failure to achieve hegemony contributed to 'power vacuum' and dissatisfaction that eventually led to the civil war.

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Adds to the understanding of the counter-hegemonic project of the Republican-Socialist coalition in particular – Holguin shows how they attempted to use cultural projects to

⁵⁵⁸ As Sandie Holguin notes, 'there is some degree of consensus indicating that the educational reforms embarked on during this period had their roots in the liberal ideologies that were propounded during the late nineteenth century.' *Creating Spaniards* p. 6.

construct a particular kind of national identity. Gramscian hegemony – construct consensus "orchestrate consent" (p. 8. Of Holguin)

Holguin also argues convincingly that the intellectuals responsible for creating cultural policy during the Second Republic also tended to be rooted in late-nineteenth century liberalism, and thus focused on theatre, novels and poetry 'but were slow to accept twentieth century ones, such as film'. P.12

Add idea about use of word 'race' – ie in arguments throughout!

Boyd notes that 'in the meantime, the institucionistas in the ministry, led by Domingo Barnes, had enacted by decree "formative" measures they had long advocated: student residences and preparatory primary schools within the institutos; coeducation; university training in pedagogy for future instituto catedraticos; new Institutos-Escuela in Barcelona, Seville and Valencia' – sport in all of these! P.204

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