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**The Rebirth of the ‘Spanish Race’:
The State, Nationalism, and Education
in Spain, 1875–1931**

In 1898, the loss of the last Spanish colonies of Cuba and the Philippines after the war with the United States aroused a strong national consciousness in which pessimism and hope were mixed. At that moment, many Spanish intellectuals were united not only by the idea that Spain had become a decadent country, but also by the notion that there could be a genuine renaissance if only it was based on the creation of a new Spanish ‘race’. In his famous book *Los males de la Patria*, Lucas Mallada describes the perceived inferior position of Spain in relation to other European countries on the basis of five indicators: (1) a feeling that the Spanish people were physically inferior because of their Semitic background; (2) their general belief in miracles and superstition; (3) the idea that Spaniards are capable of starting all kinds of projects, but can never complete them; (4) the supposed laziness and apathy of the Spanish people, which coincided with a low esteem for the Spanish labour force; (5) a so-called ‘false’ patriotism, taking pride in the usually barbarian stereotypes that were traditionally related with the image of Spain throughout the world. An example of such a stereotype was the bull, which was proudly presented as a symbol of Spain at all the international exhibitions of the nineteenth century, along with the complete set of instruments required for killing it.

The efforts of nearly all Spanish intellectuals to correct this negative image consisted of putting forward the concept of a ‘new’ Spain that would rise after a ‘regeneration’ or a rebirth of the Spanish ‘race’.¹ They wanted to substitute the old and false

concept of 'patriotism' with a new 'nationalism' based on the building of a strong nation state and the design of a common project; Joaquín Costa called it a 'national programme'.² According to this group of intellectuals, usually referred to as the generation of 1898, this regeneration or rebirth could be accomplished in two ways: (1) by using the schools to improve the children's physical condition and intellectual capacities, to prevent illnesses, to introduce a system of health care, etc.; (2) by educating (or 'nationalizing') the masses with lectures, articles in newspapers, books, and other kinds of 'pedagogical propaganda' to stimulate a moral regeneration based on concepts like honesty, work ethos, solidarity, culture, and citizenship.

The generation of 1898 was trying to resolve the so-called 'Spanish problem' by undertaking a programme of social renewal that was based on the concept of 'regenerationism'. They also promoted the idea of the 'Europeanization' of the Spanish nation. The well-known regenerationist Ramiro de Maeztu stated, for instance, that Spain should be like other Western European countries: an internationally respected nation state, characterized by political unity, social cohesion, and economic competitiveness. The building of a new nation should be based on a shift from a traditional society towards a modern nation state in which mobility and literacy encouraged new forms of social communication.³ One of the necessary conditions for promoting these social changes was the development and strengthening of a national system of public schooling.⁴

In general, the three main ideas of a physical and moral regeneration, the 'Europeanization' of Spain, and the 'new nationalism' that involved a process of national reconstruction based on a strong nation state were adopted by a second group of intellectuals, the so-called generation of 1914, which was formed around the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset.⁵ When members of this generation became part of the governing élite of the Second Republic in 1931, they attempted to build a modern nation state. It is doubtful whether this can be said for the several political groups that were in power during the Restoration, although they also adopted the idea of a moral regeneration that was mainly based upon traditional Spanish values.

Social Changes in Spain: the Restoration

The period from 1875 to 1931 is known in Spain as the Restoration. In 1875, after six years of political experiments and the first republican experience, the Borbón dynasty was restored, and the majority of Spaniards apparently considered the monarchy as the best kind of government. But the expectations with which King Alfonso XII was received in 1875 had been transformed into boredom and disappointment when his son, Alfonso XIII, gave up his crown in 1931. Municipal elections in April of that year were used as a referendum on the permanence of the monarchy; the negative results obliged Alfonso XIII to begin his journey into exile.

The period from 1875 to 1931 can be described in terms of a growing pluralism in space and time. The Restoration possessed a political regime with liberal and conservative parties, which were alternately in charge of ruling the country from 1875 onwards. In the first decade of the twentieth century, this system, although initially quite effective, became less and less so. Neither party represented the conservative and liberal sections of Spanish society as a whole, but only the aristocracy, the upper class, and the high bourgeoisie. This led towards a separation between the 'official' and the 'real' Spain. The two major parties that alternated in power were not supported by popular opinion. There seemed to be no way of integrating the movements for regional autonomy, the new proletariat, and the intellectuals into the political system. The conservative and liberal parties were bound together by the need to defend and maintain 'the established social order'.⁶ An analysis of the legal measures taken by these parties in the first two decades of the twentieth century suggests that the ideological differences between conservatives and liberals were becoming less clear.

Parliament was consistently unrepresentative, although after the turn of the century a few seats were won in urban Spain by deputies of socialist, republican, radical, and regionalist political groups. Parliament was elected by only a small minority of Spaniards in elections dominated in many areas by local bosses or 'caciques'. In rural areas especially, results were often questionable because of electoral fiddles or 'pucherazos'. The balance between liberals and conservatives was broken when a

military coup d'état occurred in 1923, which put the power into the hands of General Primo de Rivera.⁷ The monarchy, however, did not disappear: the king remained the head of state and tolerated the change of power.

During the period of the Restoration, Spain was slowly changing from an agricultural into an industrialized society in a continuous process that was accelerated due to the neutral position of Spain during World War I.⁸ This economic modernization, although quite imperfect, was characterized by an industrial expansion, especially in Catalonia, the Basque country, and the big cities; by the consolidation of an important number of banks that would be the basis of the industrialization process; and by the protectionism of the state. The most important characteristic of this process, however, is the identification of the Spanish state with the capitalist economic model.

The shift of the economically active population from agriculture to industry had two consequences. First, the number of inhabitants of the big cities grew while the number of people living in the countryside decreased. Second, a new social class emerged, which consisted of manual workers who were better qualified, had higher levels of political awareness, and organized themselves in Trade Unions or left-wing political parties. Another consequence of Spain's economic development was the decrease of illiteracy from 72.01 per cent in 1877 to 42.54 per cent in 1930. The former oral culture was gradually transformed into a literate culture in which newspapers and popular books became an important part of everyday life. The Spanish political class was slowly becoming aware of the social problems from which so many other Spaniards suffered, and an increasing number of Spaniards were willing to act to resolve these issues.⁹

State, Values, and Education

Spanish society in the 1875 to 1931 period can be characterized by political, economic, demographic, social, and cultural changes that were affecting the three pillars on which Spanish society was built: the unity of the nation, the Catholic Church, and the monarchy. What was the state to do? It could take the supposed traditional homogeneity of the country as a starting-point for national politics, or it could accept the growing pluralism in

society as a basis for creating a modern nation state like Italy and France, the two neighbouring countries that were generally considered to be models for Spain.

Both sociologists and historians have discovered a close relationship between the process of industrialization, the development of economic capitalist models, and the rise of nationalist sentiments.¹⁰ This nationalism can be defined as a nation's search for unity, conformity, a collective identity, and a so-called 'strong-we' position.¹¹ The issue of nationalism drove us directly to the concept of state because 'the existence of politically centralized units, and of a moral-political climate in which such centralized units are taken for granted and are treated as normative, is a necessary though by no means a sufficient condition of nationalism.'¹² Because the nation is understood as unitary and integral, 'nationalist thought discourages notions of multiple and multifarious publics: it typically rejects claims to the quasi-autonomy of sub-national discourses or movements as divisive.'¹³ In Spain, the combined influence of economic changes and intellectual 'modernizing' élites activated a new discourse about nationalism, which was rapidly adopted as an important aim of state politics.

In the period of the Restoration, the intention of the Spanish state was to develop a unitary concept of nationhood that would reach all Spaniards, but it could not do so in practice because of its weakness and inefficiency.¹⁴ The state could not construct the nation because of the contradictions between modernization and tradition: while some parts of Spain experienced quickly a process of social and economic transformation, large parts of the country, especially the rural areas, did not modernize and could still be characterized by the persistence of the old regime of Church, army, and *caciquismo*.¹⁵ The monarchists and the conservative party, loyal to the line of its first leader Cánovas del Castillo, identified the unity of the fatherland with the imperial model, based on the glorious past, and with the Catholic religion and the king as a means of national unification.¹⁶ The liberal party and many intellectuals, following the line of German and French nationalism, identified the unity of Spain with a centralist state that would maintain its cohesion by means of the Castilian language, the only one that could be admitted and used for official purposes.¹⁷ The regional languages (notably Catalan, Basque and Galician) were instruments of popular communica-

tion and potentially dangerous vehicles for the politically and culturally regionalist movements. The republican politicians, at least in the first period of the Restoration, failed to develop a nationalist discourse that differed markedly from that of liberals, but, following the line of the North American nationalism, they identified the Spanish nation, not with the Catholic religion or the monarchy, but with a community of citizenship and historical feelings, and an identity of economic and cultural relations. National cohesion would come about by means of the democratization and secularization of the country.¹⁸ Primo de Rivera, in his 'regenerationist dictatorship', integrated and fortified the conservative-liberal patriotic model, trying desperately and myopically to identify Spanish regions with the national symbols of the state.¹⁹ But in a few Spanish regions — Catalonia, the Basque country, Valencia, and Galicia — different nationalisms were appearing that were clearly competing with the official ones. Although each of these regionalisms showed different patterns and developments,²⁰ one common characteristic was the opposition between peripheral nationalist symbols and the central ones, i.e. language, flag, history, etc.

One of the main tools the Spanish state had for achieving its nationalist aims was the consolidation of a strong public education system. But the Moyano law (1857) had established a system in which public teaching was in many respects controlled by the Catholic Church. The conservative Restoration governments did not wish to stimulate a public model for all the population, because Cánovas denounced the danger of nationalizing the masses with an educational instrument that could also foster a kind of 'communism'.²¹ But in the last years of the nineteenth century, the educational instrument was used in other countries, like Italy and France, as a means of imposing a national language and a school system controlled and directed by the state.²² Because the conservative Spanish nationalists had assumed that the national conscience was rendered quite secure by imperial pictures and religious feelings, they did not consider it necessary to take other educational measures. The situation had changed quite a lot in the first decades of the twentieth century. Around 1918, it was quite evident that this policy was incapable of integrating and unifying the citizens around the national symbols in the same way that it was doing in other European countries. It is at this moment that we can see a rapprochement between liberal

and conservative governments that had traditionally been very polemical in educational matters such as state control of the public schools, in such a way that, from 1910 onwards, it is quite difficult and imprecise to speak about 'liberal' or 'conservative' educational policy. Both tried to find an identity for the public school, but this did not come about until the republican period after 1931.

In this article, we will focus on one of the strategies which the Spanish state pursued during the Restoration in order to develop their liberal-conservative model of nationalism: the transmission of specific values to future generations by means of primary education.²³ In our case, the state can be more accurately defined as the central government that was in charge of the Spanish public schools in the period 1875–1931. The main problem we wish to analyse concerns the educational measures taken by the state to prevent, guide, or alter the various social changes that were occurring in Spain during these years. We are interested in such questions as: Was the state using its public schools as a tool to transfer specific values? What measures did the state actually take in relation to the transfer of values? How can these measures be seen as responses to social changes? And how effective were these measures in the end?

After identifying and analysing the educational measures which the state took in relation to the transfer of values which could be found in national laws or official regulations, we were able to detect four axiological lines. The first and most important concerned nationalist values and focused on such concepts as the nation, the fatherland, and the monarchy. The other three lines concerned economic, moral, and ecological values. This classification of values gives a rough indication of the policy objectives of the state. The educational policy of the state was directed towards goals like maintaining the unity of the nation, stimulating the capitalist economy, supporting the Catholic religion, and protecting the natural environment. International values clearly received less attention, in spite of the fact that Spain had developed a consistent international policy during the Restoration period.²⁴ There is only one example of the teachers being obliged to speak about such values. In 1923, they were ordered to give an annual lecture about the League of Nations. This was related to the fact that Spain was a member of the Executive Council, and because, in the meeting of this League on 27

September 1923, all member countries agreed to spread the ideals of the League.²⁵

Maintaining the Unity of the Fatherland: Nationalist Values

From the last years of the nineteenth century, one of the main concerns of the state was, as we have already stated, maintaining the unity of the nation. Regionalist movements, like those in Catalonia or the Basque country were to be resisted, and initiatives in favour of greater local autonomy in the big cities discontinued. The central government was not very successful in controlling the regions, but it was quite capable of putting an end to local initiatives, even in Madrid, the capital of Spain.

Quite a few of the Royal Orders published in this period concern the stimulation of nationalist values. These regulations can be classified into five main groups: national symbols, teaching subjects, extra-curricular activities, textbooks, and teacher behaviour.

First of all, there are rules that apply to the introduction of *national* symbols in the school, the clearest and most significant being the monarchy. In 1921, a Royal Order appeared which stated that there must be a portrait of the king, as the 'head of the power that represents the unity of the fatherland', 'in a visible place' in all public schools.²⁶ This regulation was issued by a conservative Minister, César Silió, member of a government headed by Antonio Maura. It came at a special moment: two months after the disaster of Annual in the war in Morocco. Although the political situation was critical at the time, many parts of society were touched with feelings of patriotism because national dignity had been offended by a foreign enemy. It is clear that the conservative government, in accordance with the idea that the king was considered as a 'national' symbol, had tried to project this general emotional patriotism onto the figure of the king.

On the other hand, the idea that the picture of the king should be in all state schools was not new. It had been introduced into school practice in the first half of the nineteenth century. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1875, the state considered it necessary to oblige the public schools to put up paintings of the king. The fact that this Royal Order was published in 1921 and not before indicates that in the first years of the Restoration, the

monarchist spirit of the public teachers had, from the government's point of view, been at an acceptable level. In later years, however, and especially from 1909 onwards, it is very probable that in schools in regions with strong autonomous tendencies, devotion to the monarchy gradually decreased.

In any case, the state valued other national symbols much more highly than the monarchist ones, and liberal governments were much more inclined to publish rules for introducing these national symbols in the schools. In 1893, the liberal government declared that the national flag should be raised everyday in all public schools, and the national weapon should be in front of every public school, as the symbol of 'the love for the fatherland', the identity sign of 'the one and indivisible fatherland' and the hope of 'a possible regeneration'. By 1918, this activity had become common practice in many educational institutions, along with the singing of patriotic hymns.²⁷ The flag was considered the main symbol of the Spanish nation, although it was not accepted by everyone. Republicans, socialists, and anarchists, for example, preferred the official flag of the First Spanish Republic (1873) to that affiliated with the monarchy. In addition, several regions which were striving for autonomy had their own flags. This diversity could also be found in the public school system. In Madrid and Castile, the central part of Spain, teachers collaborated enthusiastically with the government in setting up daily ceremonies like raising the flag and singing patriotic anthems. In the northern and eastern parts of Spain, however, it was more difficult to implement these rules, which were generally welcomed neither by the children nor by parents.

A second set of rules of a nationalistic nature applied to the teaching of *specific subjects* in the classroom. Clearly, teachers, even if they had no patriotic feelings at all, informed their pupils about the most important aspects of Spanish culture. In all parts of Spain, for instance, the children learned about the discovery of America, which was generally considered the most glorious moment in the history of the Spanish people. The state did not have to order schools to teach historical facts like these. In some cases, however, they designated a specific subject which was considered important enough to receive special attention in the classroom. These activities took the form of 'occasional lessons', obligatory lectures which were not part of the compulsory curriculum. The objective was obvious: to introduce the younger

generation to a kind of nationalistic self-confidence and pride in their country that was lost after the colonial period ended in 1898. The following four examples illustrate this phenomenon.

In 1920, the state declared it compulsory for public school pupils to read parts of *Don Quijote*, the classic novel by Miguel de Cervantes.²⁸ Even the amount of time the children must dedicate to this book was prescribed: 15 minutes a day. The reasons for reading the book were also given. First, everybody should know the book because it was 'our flag in the world'; second, it was a tribute to Cervantes who was a spectacular representative of his culture. This was the legal expression of an old hope of the liberals, which from 1905 had been trying to convert Cervantes into a national symbol, and the *Quijote* into the expression of the national character, as one of the most famous intellectuals and educators, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, had proclaimed it to be.

In 1922, the national authorities ordered teachers to hang the portrait of the scientist and professor Santiago Ramón y Cajal, the first Spanish winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine, in the public classrooms.²⁹ With this measure, the government hoped to show the children Spain's contribution to the international development of science, a contribution that had been questioned by French scientists such as Masson de Morvilliers since the end of the eighteenth century.³⁰

In 1926, the state ordered that geography classes taught in public schools should discuss the first trans-Atlantic crossing of a Spanish airplane from Spain to South America.³¹ This exploit, besides its technological importance, was of great value to the relationship between Spain and Latin America and was a reminder of the great potential of the Spanish people, since it could be compared with the voyages of Columbus.

In 1929, the state obliged public school teachers to discuss the life and reign of the recently deceased Queen Mother María Cristina, who had been the Regent of Spain in the last years of the nineteenth century.³² At a time when the monarchy was under threat, the government wanted to instil strong monarchist and patriotic feelings in the children with the story of her seventeen-year reign. This Royal Order was intended to inspire 'love for the fatherland and for the monarchy'.

Finally, the state also incorporated 'occasional lessons' when some kind of catastrophe was taking place, like the gunpowder explosion in Melilla or the major fire at the Novedades Theatre

in Madrid. These tragedies were used as a way of stimulating 'citizen education', 'Christian charity', and national solidarity among the younger generation, preparing the children to respond to the call of their compatriots when they needed help.³³

A third group of regulations that is related to the transfer of nationalistic values are *extra-curricular activities*. These activities mainly took the form of special holidays organized for the community in which the school children were supposed to participate. One of these days was held in 1924 when the King of Italy visited Madrid;³⁴ another in 1928 commemorated the fifth anniversary of the coup d'état that placed power in the hands of dictator Primo de Rivera.³⁵

One very important holiday was celebrated for the first time in 1892. On 22 September of that year, the conservative government of Antonio Cánovas published a Royal Order stating that the twelfth of October would be a national holiday commemorating Columbus' discovery of America. This idea was supported by Pope Leo XIII, who asked Spanish, Italian and Latin American bishops to celebrate this day as a religious holiday.³⁶ In this instance, the representatives of the Catholic Church and the politicians of the Restoration agreed; the twelfth of October was proclaimed a national holiday, the 'Day of the Race (Fiesta de la Raza)'. This day was highly valued by the Catholic Church, which interpreted the discovery of America as the start of the successful 'Christianization' of the new continent. The Spanish conservative, liberal, and leftist politicians were also in favour of the holiday because they believed in the existence of a 'Hispanic Race', which had its roots in a national character and a common language.³⁷ Finally, the Latin American countries supported the celebration of the existing blood relationships between Spain and America as a way of protesting the growing influence of the United States in Latin America. In response to this 'Panamericanism', many Latin American countries adopted the Day of the Race as a national holiday: Argentina and Peru in 1917, Chile in 1921, and Cuba in 1922; other countries followed during the course of the 1920s.³⁸

In Spain, the nature of the Day of the Race on 12 October was strongly determined by the Royal Decree of 15 June 1918, published by the conservative government of Antonio Maura.³⁹ This holiday was very popular under the monarchy, while during the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera its celebration received even

more attention. After 1931, the year in which Spain became a Republic for the second time in its history, the holiday was still celebrated, although much more discreetly.⁴⁰

This national holiday was received with more enthusiasm by local governments and teachers in the central part of Spain than in the rest of the country. Madrid, for example, was one of the cities in which a substantial number of festivities were organized. A demonstration was held in the Plaza de Colón, where representatives of the authorities gave speeches and thousands of school-children put flowers near the statue of Columbus.⁴¹ In addition, the madrileño teachers, who were also in charge of the organization, celebrated the holiday before and after 12 October, conducting lectures on the discovery of America and the related historical phenomena: the birth of the Spanish nation and its development as an empire. Lessons, educational movies, contests, poems, and biographical and historical readings were presented to give pupils an understanding of the distinguished role of the 'Spanish Race' and the 'Spanish fatherland' in history, and, even more important, 'the high destiny that still had to be fulfilled'.⁴²

Conservative politicians and the Catholic Church considered Catholicism the unifying element of all Latin American countries. Most of the liberal groups, however, were of the opinion that it was the Castilian language that was the most important unifying factor. The use of Castilian was threatened by the spread of the English language in the former Spanish colonies,⁴³ and by the rise of regional languages including Catalan and Basque, in Spain. Another holiday, the Holiday of the Book, was therefore centred around Miguel de Cervantes. This started in 1916 when the City Council of Madrid organized a large-scale festival on 23 April, the date of Cervantes' death.⁴⁴ In 1918 and 1919, the local government of Madrid proposed to the national government that this day become a national holiday in honour of the Castilian language.⁴⁵ By virtue of the Royal Order of 17 September 1926, the 'Day of the Spanish Book' (Fiesta del Libro Español) was established, although not on 23 April but on 7 October, the anniversary of the birth of Cervantes. On this holiday, the brightest pupils received books as presents. Teachers, for their part, were encouraged to present Cervantes as a model of glorification of the Spanish language and a patriotic hero, the maintenance and improvement of Castilian being one

of the best ways of safeguarding the unity of the *Patria*. At the same time, but in the opposite sense, the regional languages of Catalonia and the Basque country were used as a means of strengthening nationalist feelings.

In this context, mention should also be made of the measures taken by the several Restoration governments to maintain Castilian as the national language. The liberal minister of education, Romanones, published the Royal Decree of 21 November 1902⁴⁶ ordering that the teaching of the catechism and the Catholic religion should take place entirely in Castilian. This measure attracted much unpopularity and was not supported by the Catholic Church. In many Catalan villages, only the regional language was spoken, which is why all the catechisms approved by the Catalan bishops were written in Catalan, as were the explanations given in churches and schools by priests. The Catalan representatives in the Chamber of Deputies repeatedly asked for the derogation of the Royal Decree to prevent street riots and disorder.⁴⁷ The national conservative newspapers completely supported the Catalan bishops and the regional politicians, reminding their readers that the state could not interfere in religious matters or in decisions taken by bishops, and that the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century had ordered that the catechism be taught in the mother tongue of every city and village.⁴⁸ In Catalonia there were many protests, the Guardia Civil occupied the University of Barcelona, and there was violence in the streets.⁴⁹ Finally, the liberal government had to resign. The new conservative government of Francisco Silvela quickly annulled the Royal Decree of 21 November 1902 by the Royal Order of 21 December in which the right to select religious textbooks for teaching the catechism was given to the Catholic Church; teachers were allowed to use 'non official' languages to address children who could not speak Castilian.⁵⁰ With these legal measures, the conservative politicians were clearly showing that, for them, the Catholic religion, and not the Castilian language, was the most important vehicle of maintaining the unity of the nation.

In 1923 and 1924, however, the Primo de Rivera dictatorship reminded primary school teachers that it was their obligation to teach in Castilian without any exceptions, not even the minor ones that were introduced in 1902.⁵¹ Three years later, a Royal Order appeared with sanctions against teachers who taught in a

language other than Castilian.⁵² To speak Catalan or Basque in the classroom was considered 'an indirect way' of showing 'hostility to Spain' and such behaviour must be severely punished. It is one of the few times the state was willing to use its power to maintain control over the national educational system. Maintaining Castilian as the only language of instruction in schools was a vital element in the fight against 'separatist' movements that, among other things, preferred to speak their own language.

The dictatorship's educational measures can only be understood in the context of the general politics of Primo de Rivera and the peripheral nationalist movements that, after 1918, were seen by the conservatives and the more traditional groups as the main threat to the monarchy and unity of the Spanish nation.⁵³ A few days after the coup d'état, the Royal Decree of 18 September 1923 'against separatism' was published. Symbols such as the regional flags could not be displayed in public buildings, the Catalan language was declared to have no official status — it could only be spoken in private — and, of course, all primary teaching, as a state activity, had to be in Castilian. It is ironic that during the Restoration, governments were clearly reluctant to build a strong, state-controlled public education system, and that during the Dictatorship more power was given to the Church in educational matters, yet the regime did not hesitate to use the state education system to repress the 'anti-nationalistic' behaviour of teachers in a few regions. This repressive politics, although apparently effective in the short term, changed the line of argument of political Catalanism and put the defence of the teaching in Catalan, Basque and Gallego first. In this respect, the three nationalist movements, which were all quite different in origin, found a common point in educational vindication.⁵⁴

A fourth way of transmitting nationalistic values was by means of *textbooks*. In this respect, the state was less active. The first official history textbook for primary schools did not appear until 1930.⁵⁵ Prior to that year, teachers could choose from a variety of books. Of course, many indirect measures were used, i.e. certain books were declared 'useful for the primary schools' and were recommended as textbooks. The state also published lists of books that should be bought for public and school libraries, leaving it to the school inspectors to prevent books with anti-patriotic, socialist, or anarchist ideas from entering the public

primary school system. Educators who recommended books to their students with 'dangerous moral or social doctrines' were punished, though these measures were not aimed at the primary schools, but rather at the universities and Teacher Training Colleges.⁵⁶

The state introduced other initiatives relevant to the transmission of nationalist values. In 1921, the conservative Minister César Silió published a Royal Decree announcing that a prize would be awarded to the children's book that most inspired love for the *Patria*.⁵⁷ (Examples of such books were written by, for instance, Amicis in Italy and Bruno in France.) Beginning in 1918, Catalan and Basque institutions offered similar prizes for books written in their own languages.⁵⁸ The prizewinner in the Spanish contest was to be declared an official textbook and made compulsory reading in the public schools. The government provided a few ideas about the contents and spirit of such a book, ideas which sounded more like the regenerationist programme of 1898 than a model for a better understanding of Spain's present and future. The idea was conceived not only as an ideal travel guide for all the regions of the Spanish *Patria*, but also as providing a quick historical perspective of the 'glorious' past of the nation and as a means of forging 'the national spirit' as well as inculcating feelings of patriotism in the younger generation.⁵⁹ A year later, sixty-three works were presented.⁶⁰ Nine months later, a new government with a liberal orientation declared that none of the books submitted met the prescribed conditions.⁶¹ There was not going to be a national book of virtues that would be used in all public schools. Despite this, several of the sixty-three manuscripts were published and used in some schools. It is clear that the model of patriotic education as conceived by the conservative Silió in 1921, which included the publication of a 'Book of the *Patria*', was not acceptable to the new liberal Minister Salvatella two years later. In the meantime, the Third International Conference on Moral Education had approved the 'supranational' concept which sought to replace nationalism and patriotism with international values in the schools.

A fifth way of transmitting values in education was by means of the *teacher*. In 1925, the Primo de Rivera regime announced that public school teachers would be suspended or possibly fired if they taught antisocial doctrines or spoke against the unity of the fatherland and the established social order.⁶² School

inspectors were ordered to monitor teachers in many ways, for example, by observing their behaviour outside the classroom to find out if they were spreading 'antipatriotic propaganda'.

The pedagogical idea behind this Royal Order was that the teacher was a moral example for the younger generation. If the teacher clearly showed his love for his king, his government, and his country, in the end his pupils would also learn this love. Not only did the teacher have to behave patriotically in the classroom, but his behaviour in public life should also be consistent with his status as a civil servant. Being a civil servant simply implied being loyal to the state and the *Patria*. It also meant that the socialist, anarchist, and republican ideas that were gaining in popularity should be kept out of the classroom, and that no thoughts of regional autonomy should be expressed either inside or outside the schools. Most Spanish teachers followed this state model as illustrated by the next example. Following the 'disaster' of Annual in July 1921 (i.e. the humiliating defeat of the Spanish troops in the war in Morocco) Spanish society reacted with exaggerated patriotism, as did most teachers, even without orders from the government to do so. The National Association of Teachers raised funds for the Spanish soldiers in Africa. There were even plans to buy an airplane for the Army, to be paid for out of the pockets of the poor teachers. Many teachers also organized activities inside their classrooms, such as encouraging the children to write letters to the soldiers 'thanking them for their sacrifices for the fatherland', and making clothes for the soldiers.⁶³

Not all teachers, however, reacted with the same enthusiasm to the patriotic propaganda of the state and the support of their colleagues for the war. A few educationalists, those involved in the international 'New Education Movement', tried to introduce a feeling of international co-operation, love of other countries, and pacifist values into their classrooms. Furthermore, there were signs that not all the children were responding to the patriotic encouragement of the state. In 1922, in the decisive moments of the war, two researchers presented at the Third International Conference on Moral Education a paper on the pacifist orientation of youngsters as a function of gender and social background. The results were surprising: 71 per cent of boys and 40 per cent of girls attending public schools were totally against the war, although the results in the private sector were

less dramatic: 58 and 21 per cent respectively. The arguments in favour of the war were clearly nationalistic (defending the *Patria* and expanding civilization), while the arguments against the war had a religious and moral basis (war was not compatible with Christian principles and the rights and lives of others should be respected). There is one straightforward explanation for the difference in percentages between children from public and private schools: the public school pupils, being from poor families, were more personally involved in the armed conflict. Because of the way soldiers were drafted into the army, they were more likely to be sent to Morocco when they reached the proper age than the upper- and middle-class pupils attending private schools.⁶⁴

Stimulating Capitalism: Economic Values

In 1911, *Mutualidad Escolar* (Schools Mutual Society) was created in Spain.⁶⁵ One year later, its regulations were approved,⁶⁶ and by 1919 every public school was obliged to have such a body.⁶⁷ These institutions were purely capitalist in nature. Children were encouraged to save money, which it was hoped they would continue to do as adults. The money was put into newly established savings banks, the ‘*cajas de ahorros*’. These public banks used the accumulated capital to invest in up-and-coming industries that would eventually contribute to the prosperity of the nation. The state used every possible means — prizes, diplomas, medals — to encourage children to save for a pension or to build capital that would increase throughout their lifetime. The state was quite successful with these mutual societies, 6,878 of which had been established throughout the country by 1930.

Similar activities were introduced in France at the end of the nineteenth century to foster qualities like social co-operation, solidarity, mutual help, autonomy, and responsibility — the aims of the famous co-operatives of Profit and Freinet, related to the ‘New Education Movement’. Spain, however, did not follow these ideas.⁶⁸ The Spanish mutual societies were part of a hidden agenda to prepare the younger generation for the coming capitalist society, in which individual savings would be the pillar of the national economy. Without banks to provide the necessary

capital for industry, the economy could not grow. The view that accumulating capital to develop industry was a necessity was shared by many. Conservatives, liberals, and socialists agreed with these capitalist ideas. The teachers too, even the socialist ones, explained to their pupils the importance of banks in the new economic order and the close relationship between saving and national prosperity.⁶⁹ The fact that the idea of putting money in a bank was never very popular with the older generations of agrarian Spanish society, made it necessary for the government to emphasize the usefulness of saving money.

Keeping the Faith: Moral Values

The Spanish Constitution of 1876 clearly stated that Spain was a Catholic country. In the public schools, teaching Catholicism was of course compulsory. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the state realized that there might be parents who did not want their children to be forced to learn Catholic doctrine.⁷⁰ Spain might be a Catholic country, but that did not mean that all Spaniards were practising Catholics. Additionally, the 1876 Constitution protected non-Catholics by declaring that they would not come under scrutiny because of their religious opinions or religious practices. In 1913, therefore, a Royal Decree was published which stated that children of non-Catholic parents in public schools could refuse instruction in Catholic doctrine and sacred history.⁷¹ Although the regulation was contested by various ideological groups, from Catholics to socialists and supporters of the ideas of neutrality,⁷² in practice, this liberal demonstration of tolerance made little impact between 1913 and 1931.

Most parents had no interest in abandoning the teaching of the Catholic religion. Many were probably not even aware of the existence of the Royal Decree. Only the students from the Teacher Training Colleges who were not Catholics had used the Royal Decree of 25 April 1913 in asking the government for a special exemption from exams in the subject of Religion. In the Royal Order of 1 July 1921,⁷³ the state exempted future teachers from three different religions — Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim — from following courses on Catholic doctrine at the Training Colleges. In spite of the short life of this measure, which only

affected a few students from the Spanish territories of North Africa, Catholic associations organized a protest against it.⁷⁴

It was also clear that the Catholic Church was using its influence in the public school system to prevent the Royal Decree of 1913 from being put into practice. The last campaign of the Catholic groups in favour of the compulsory teaching of the Catechism in public schools was waged in 1922–3, under the liberal government that preceded the Dictatorship.⁷⁵

When Primo de Rivera came to power in 1923, more parents wanted to have recourse to the Royal Decree of 25 April 1913 because many of the socialist, neutral, and anarchist schools had been closed. However in many cases their requests, especially if presented collectively, were simply not acknowledged by the official supervisors of the school system.⁷⁶ There were even many priests who, contrary to the regulations of the state, tried to prevent non-Catholic children from attending public schools.⁷⁷ The relative freedom in Spain at the end of the Dictatorship stimulated the foundation of groups like the *Liga Laica* (Laic League), created on 17 March 1930 by M.B. Cossío and Ramón Pérez de Ayala. This league, which favoured neutrality in education, was opposed to the common practice that pupils in primary schools were obliged to follow lessons in Christian doctrine.⁷⁸ It is clear that, if the Royal Decree of 1913 had been put into practice, these kinds of organized social movements would not have been necessary.

The Royal Decree of 1913 was one of the state's few attempts to interfere in matters of religion and education. In 1921, the conservative minister César Silió also stated that there should be a crucifix on the wall of each public classroom,⁷⁹ as established in the primary education regulation of 1838. The idea of putting a Catholic symbol in a public school was an expression of the fact that, in a Catholic country, the public schools should also have a Catholic character, or at least should not be 'neutral'. Basically, the activities of the state were directed towards values with a nationalist or patriotic nature. Responsibility for perpetuating moral and religious values was in the hands of the Catholic Church and its priests, who had the generally accepted right to visit public schools to supervise the teaching of a completely orthodox moral code.⁸⁰ The position of the Catholic Church was based on the principle that the teaching of morality could only be accepted if it was extracted from Catholic doctrine. The Catholic

religion and morality were inseparable. Secularized forms of moral education, such as pantheistic ideas of universal morality, were out of the question. Two examples will make this position clearer.

The first example concerns the *Ligas de Bondad* (Goodness Leagues). In 1926, these Leagues were established in honour of St. Francis of Assisi. Their activities began with the first 'Goodness Week', celebrated in Madrid between the first and seventh of October 1926, on the occasion of the Franciscan Centennial. Among the activities programmed for this week were an exhibition of drawings made by the children of the public schools' 'humanitarian education' competitions, with prizes for the 'best' children, lectures and conferences on various subjects, 'fraternity' parties, and celebrations in honour of St. Francis of Assisi. The 'Goodness Week' was organized by the Iberian Federation of Societies Protecting Animals and Plants, an association that created the first *Ligas de Bondad* in the city and province of Madrid. Some of them were inaugurated between October and December of 1926 by the royal family and were installed in private Catholic schools, because initially the Catholic Church was not opposed to them.⁸¹ Thanks to the support of the state, within a short period of time every public school had a *Liga de Bondad* directed and organized by the pupils themselves. The main goal of these leagues was the enforcement of morally 'good' behaviour by way of a 'humanitarian education'.⁸² In this respect, there are similarities between these leagues and the international 'New Education Movement', in that both shared the concept of 'a new man' from a moral perspective. Despite the ethical aims and the founding of similar institutions in other predominantly Catholic countries like Belgium,⁸³ the spread of the leagues throughout the public school system was quickly hindered by the Spanish Catholic Church. There were several reasons for this. First, the Church was not in control of the leagues. Instead they were directed by organizations and individuals with 'neutral' ideas about teaching. Second, the leagues in the Spanish schools were said to be modelled on prototypes in England and the United States that had a Protestant or Jewish character. For the Catholic Church, it was clear that the Spanish Leagues lacked a specific Catholic foundation. To regain their lost power, the Catholic Church created '*Legiones de Bondad*' (Goodness Legions) in 1927. Except for the

fact that these *Legiones* were connected to the Church, whereas the *Ligas* were not, there were many similarities between the two initiatives. Despite this, the Catholic Church saw no advantage in tolerating both the *Ligas* and their own *Legiones*, so that in 1929 the *Ligas de Bondad* were forbidden by the Catholic Church.⁸⁴

A second example which clarifies the identification between moral values and Catholic values is the programme of activities organized in honour of the death of Pestalozzi in 1927. Some of the activities, which took place at the public schools, involved the children making drawings and writing letters which were later on sent to the Pestalozzi Museum in Switzerland.⁸⁵ Again the Catholic Church disapproved of this action. Pestalozzi may have been an admirable pedagogue interested in the well-being of children, but that did not make him a perfect role model for the Spanish younger generation to follow. Not only was he not Catholic, but he was also known for the breadth of his Christian principles, to say nothing of his appreciation for the work of Rousseau. The opinion of the most conservative sector of the Catholic Church was that propaganda about ‘pagan educators’ was one more step towards the introduction of neutrality in the public primary schools. Another argument was used to attract the support of the state: Pestalozzi was a ‘foreign pedagogue’, and Spain had an abundance of ‘national pedagogues’ — Juan Luis Vives, San José de Calasanz, San Juan Bautista de la Salle — whose work in the field of primary education would help to instil younger generations with the nationalist values so vigorously pursued by the government.⁸⁶

The state supported the Catholic Church in both campaigns, against the Goodness Leagues and the celebration of the Centennial of Pestalozzi. With respect to other moral issues, like the prohibition of co-education (even during leisure time), the state sided with the Catholic Church. In return, the Catholic Church unequivocally supported the patriotic education of the state, frequently using the pulpit and religious celebrations to preach the ‘love of the *Patria*’.⁸⁷ The Church based this ‘moral regenerationism’ upon three axiological pillars: ‘spiritual instruction’, directed towards the avoidance of the pitfalls of atheist materialism; ‘patriotic instruction’, aimed at preventing the dangers of individualism; and the ‘nature cult’, to be nearer to God and creation.⁸⁸

Respecting Animals and Plants: Ecological Values

In addition to national, economic, and moral values, we can also distinguish a certain interest in ecological values at the beginning of the twentieth century. The state established two official holidays: the Day of the Bird (*Fiesta del Pájaro*) and the Day of the Tree (*Fiesta del Arbol*). The former goes back to an international agreement between Spain and various other European countries in 1902. The Day of the Tree was celebrated for the first time in 1896, officially established in 1904 and declared a compulsory holiday in 1915,⁸⁹ at which point it was celebrated all over Spain. It can be seen not only as an ecological holiday but also as a nationalistic one, since it embodied the exaltation of the 'small fatherlands' — the *patrias chicas* or villages — which, together, would regenerate the 'great fatherland' — Spain. In this respect it can be seen as a conservative holiday. In the big cities like Madrid, the Day of the Tree was celebrated with activities like gathering children in one of the biggest parks to listen to lectures and poems and sing hymns. In the villages, it was also common for each child to plant a tree.⁹⁰ In later years, the interest in this holiday diminished. Around 1925, during the Dictatorship, the Day of the Tree was revived because of its nationalistic message of literally letting the country grow. Songs and hymns were composed for the Holiday of the Tree. One of them, written by the Madrid school teacher Ezequiel Solana, presented the tree as the symbol of industry, progress, and peace, as a way of creating richness in the country, and, consequently, as a means of increasing national prosperity. On both holidays, public school pupils as well as their teachers were expected to participate in activities organized by the local authorities. Organizations such as the Iberian Federation of Societies for the Protection of Animals and Plants and the Society of the Friends of the Trees also played a part in stimulating ecological awareness.

This early interest in ecological issues is not easy to explain, but we can distinguish four broad sources. First, the burning of forests and fields by individuals who were only interested in getting rich was beginning to be a problem, although many people were unaware of it in the first years of the twentieth century. The massive and random wood-cutting that was common in many Spanish villages from the end of the eighteenth century was more worrisome to the government and to 'regenera-

tionists' like Joaquín Costa.⁹¹ Second, the interest in plants and animals was probably related to the 'New Education Movement' and its ideas about man living in harmony with his natural surroundings. For example, ecological issues were the focus of the *Ligas de Bondad*, institutions identified with the moral aims of the New Education and supported by the Iberian Federation of Societies for the Protection of Animals and Plants. One of the activities of the schoolchildren who joined these leagues, for instance, was to organize speeches about plants and animals. The third ingredient was the enthusiastic support of the Catholic Church for the idea of instilling a love of nature in children, the basis for the 'regeneration of the race', and a way of unifying patriotic and moral values. Fourth, we can also see this interest in nature as a way of replacing the usual destructive behaviour of children from public and private schools with respect for plants and animals. In 1912, the Madrid City Council sent cartoons to all public schools to inspire in the children 'a love for birds and respect for their nests'.⁹² In 1914, the School Inspector of Barcelona published a document to stimulate 'respect for animals' and to announce prizes for teachers who succeeded in changing the negative attitudes of their pupils towards birds.⁹³ In 1919, another municipal recommendation was issued to the principals of Madrid's primary institutions, as they tried to inculcate into their students 'love and respect for trees and plants'.⁹⁴ There were frequent complaints from the local authorities because children damaged gardens or killed birds with catapults in order to sell them at the market. Only children accompanied by adults were therefore allowed access to public parks and gardens, and vigilance in these areas was very strict.⁹⁵

Conclusions

Since the end of the nineteenth century one of the main educational aims of the intellectual 'regenerationists' had been to put new life into the concept of the 'Spanish Race'. The objective was adopted by the liberal-conservative governments of the Restoration and by the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship as a way of awakening nationalistic feelings in the Spanish masses. The focus on race in the process of building a nation was not an uncommon practice in other European countries, for example

Germany and Italy. In the case of Spain, however, some specific characteristics must be mentioned. Other countries stressed ethnocentrism as a means of inspiring nationalistic feelings in youngsters to prepare them to fight against external enemies. Spain, on the other hand, wanted to instil these sentiments, firstly, to compensate for the pessimism over the loss of the colonies, and, secondly, to maintain the unity of the country, which from the point of view of the state was threatened by the various regionalistic movements.

Between 1875 and 1931, the different liberal-conservative governments made an ongoing effort to impress nationalist values on pupils through education. Not only love of the *Patria*, but also pride in being Spanish, was inculcated into primary school children. This aim can only be understood in the context of the loss of the last Spanish colonies in 1898 and the defeat of the Spanish army and navy by the United States. These facts, together with the regenerationist movement, produced a general inferiority complex and collective self-criticism. The state wanted to defeat the former by providing constant reminders of the country's glorious past; its present contribution to science, art, sport and technology; and the magnificent future that would be built by new generations, composed of the best men and women — physically and mentally — that Spain had produced. The goal of this campaign was also to engender pride in a unified Spain and to create a collective destiny by consolidating individual experiences.

The real aim of the Restoration governments, however, was to control the growing pluralism in Spanish society. One of their main goals was to limit the expansion of regionalist movements that were seen as a threat to the unity of the nation. These movements gained momentum during the Restoration, but it was in 1917-18 that they came to be regarded as potentially dangerous by the government, the conservative newspapers, and the more traditional sectors of society. At that point, the state implemented laws to intensify the transmission of nationalist values in the schools. The main objective was to maintain the unity of the nation. To accomplish this, it was necessary to choose a national symbol that represented all the different ideas, but that would also serve as a common reference point for various ideologies and social changes. In the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church served this purpose. From the beginning of the twentieth century,

however, the Church lost some of its power despite state intervention. In other countries, like Belgium, the Netherlands, and England, the national symbol, by consensus, was the monarchy. In Spain, however, the monarchy had become by the early twentieth century an institution with diminished prestige which would never function as a national symbol in the school. At any rate it looked as if this was the belief of most Restoration governments, since attempts to maintain the unity of the nation rarely involved king and monarchy. The state did little more than require schools to display the king's portrait in their classrooms and encourage teachers to discuss the death of Alfonso XIII's mother. They appear to have been reluctant to adopt the king as a national symbol to the degree that operated in other European countries. Cervantes was a better alternative; he at least was recognized in a national holiday, which the king was not.

An important measure for keeping the country unified was the exclusive use of Castilian as the language of instruction in the public schools. To avoid uncomfortable consequences, teachers had to follow this rule. Educators also had to be careful about expressing opinions that challenged the ideas of the dominant political élite. These measures, however, could not eradicate socialist, radical, and republican influence, nor did they silence the regionalist movements. In fact, repression of the minority languages produced the opposite effect by reinforcing the nationalist sentiments of the regions concerned.

Governments also looked to the past to find a national symbol. The discovery of America appeared a good alternative because it was an event which engaged the country as a whole. It was generally accepted as the most glorious moment in Spanish history and was clearly associated with the other two symbols promoted by Restoration governments: the Catholic religion and the Castilian language. These hidden symbols, commemorated in the 'Day of the Race', served chiefly to make many Spaniards indifferent to this day of supposed celebration.

These state initiatives to teach nationalist values, reflected the belief of Spain's élites that education was a tool to change society. The clearest example of this pedagogical optimism was the creation of the Schools Mutual Societies. The aim of these institutions was to stimulate school children to save money. The real objective, accumulating capital for developing industry, was founded on the expectation that once children had learned how to

save, they would do so for the rest of their lives. The concept proved to be successful.

The various regulations implemented between 1875 and 1931 to transmit values covered a wide range of pedagogical methods: introducing specific subjects to the curriculum, setting up special compulsory lessons, organizing extra-curricular activities, developing textbooks, and influencing teacher behaviour. For a successful transmission of values, however, all of these methods should at least have been used simultaneously, systematically, and consistently, but this did not happen. The state should also have simultaneously directed its attention to socializing agents other than the school. The educational policy did not meet these conditions. Regulations were drafted in response to particular events or perceived threats. A long-term perspective did not exist, owing to the regular and frequent political changes in the government.

All this shows the inability of the Restoration governments to generate successfully a 'new' nationalism capable of uniting the intellectual ideas of regenerationism and the geographical and social diversity of Spain. They could only manipulate the kind of 'emotional patriotism' inspired by the idea of seeing the 'fatherland in danger', for example, in the wars with the United States and in Morocco. The state could not differentiate between the traditional concept of 'fatherland' and the new concept of 'nation'. It failed to establish an appropriate educational model that embodied the general idea of the 'Spanish nation' as a political and social unity. The end of the monarchy in 1931, the beginning of the Second Republic, and the Civil War of 1936 clearly exposed the failure of the strategies developed by the monarchist governments of the Restoration to control the social changes that were occurring in Spain.

Notes

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39. '12 de Octubre, fiesta nacional en España', *Unión Ibero-Americana*, 3 (junio de 1918), 1.

40. 'La Fiesta de la Raza', *El Liberal*, 19,000, 13-X-1931, 3.

41. For a description of the celebrations of the holiday of the race in an educational aspect, we can look at newspaper articles that were published every year, like:

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53. Josep M. Figueres, *Història de l'anticatalanisme. El diari ABC i els seus homes* (Tarragona 1997), 22–33.

54. Josep González Agàpito, 'Catalán o castellano: la alfabetización y el

modelo de Estado'; Narciso de Gabriel, 'Lengua y escuela en Galicia'; Pauli Dávila Balsera and A. Eizaguirre Sagardía, 'Alfabetización y euskaldunización en Euskal Herria', all in *Leer y escribir en España. Doscientos años de alfabetización*, dir. Agustín Escolano (Madrid 1992), 155, 173–83 and 201–11.

55. Royal Order of 15-IV-1930, *El Magisterio Nacional*, 752, 6-V-1930, 9–10; 'Noticias y Comentarios. Texto de Historia nacional para las Escuelas', *El Magisterio Nacional*, 753, 8-V-1930, 11.

56. See, for example, the case of a female teacher in the Teacher Training College of Lérida, which was closely followed by the newspapers and received the support of liberal and intellectual groups. 'La libertad de cátedra. El profesorado español denuncia al rector de la Universidad de Barcelona y al Obispo de Lérida', *El Liberal*, 15,186, 26-II-1922, 1.

57. Royal Decree of 9-IX-1921. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 74, 16-IX-1921, 1078–9.

58. Pauli Dávila Balsera and A. Eizaguirre Sagardía, op. cit., 200 and Salvador Domènech i Domènech, *Manuel Ainaud i la tasca pedagògica a l'Ajuntament de Barcelona* (Barcelona 1995), 169.

59. Alberto del Pozo Pardo, 'El Libro de la Patria, un concurso escolar vacío, de matiz regeneracionista (1921–1923)', in *La educación en la España contemporánea. Cuestiones históricas*, ed. Julio Ruiz Berrio (Madrid 1985), 195–202.

60. Announcement of 1-VI-1922. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 49, 20-VI-1922, 784.

61. Royal Order of 27-III-1923. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 28, 6-IV-1923, 506.

62. Royal Order of 13-X-1925. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 84, 20-X-1925, 522.

63. 'Maestra patriótica', *El Magisterio Español*, 6064 (1921), 315; 'Suscripción patriótica', *El Magisterio Español*, 6066 (1921), 331; 'El patriotismo de los Maestros', *El Magisterio Español*, 6068 (1921), 346; and Francisco de Paula Belbel, 'Campaña Nacional. Por el soldado de Africa', *El Magisterio Español*, 6076 (1921), 417.

64. Mercedes Rodrigo and Pedro Rosselló, 'Lo que piensan de la guerra los niños españoles', *Revista de Pedagogía*, 11 (1922), 423.

65. Royal Decree of 7-VII-1911. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 195, 14-VII-1911, 184–5.

66. Royal Order of 11-V-1912. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 55, 9-VII-1912, 4–6.

67. Royal Decree of 20-IX-1919. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 77, 26-IX-1919, 2.

68. Herminio Almedros, 'La cooperación y la escuela', in *Libro-Guía del Maestro. Los problemas y los órganos de la enseñanza primaria. Didáctica de todas las materias. Obras alrededor de la escuela. Bibliografía* (Madrid 1936), 703–12.

69. Angel Llorca, 'La actualidad en la escuela. La económica', *Boletín Escolar*, Supl. 528 (1921), 17–18.

70. The Minister of Public Instruction published the Royal Order of 20-III-1901 for re-establishing the Royal Decree of 26-I-1895, in which the subjects of Religion and Morality were, only for the children of non-Catholic parents, declared non-compulsory in secondary education. Its aims and contents caused a much bigger ideological polemic between the Catholics and the 'neutrals' than the document of 1895. This controversy was a consequence of the fact that the second group extended its influence, which unleashed an important countermovement from the Catholics. Royal Order of 20-III-1901. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 81, 22-III-1901, 1235; Royal Decree of 12-IV-1901. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 104, 14-IV-1901, 198–201; Ivonne Turin, *La educación y la escuela en España de 1874 a 1902* (Madrid 1967), 313–14.

71. Royal Decree of 25-IV-1913. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 34, 29-IV-1913, 2.

72. Teódulo García Regidor, *La polémica sobre la secularización de la enseñanza en España (1902–1914)* (Madrid 1985) 289–336; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, 'Planteamientos ideológicos en torno a la enseñanza del Catecismo en España en el primer tercio del siglo XX', *Revista de Ciencias de la Educación*, 125 (1986), 87–96.

73. Royal Order of 1-VII-1921. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 189, 8-VII-1921, 149.

74. In the summer of 1921, a group of 1015 schoolteachers, who were members of Catholic Associations, sent King Alfonso XIII a formal protest against the Royal Order of 1-VII-1921. 'Escuelas y Maestros. Un mensaje al Rey', *El Debate*, 3759, 3-VIII-1921, 5.

75. 'Por la libertad de enseñanza', *El Debate*, 3963, 29-III-1922, 2; 'La reforma del artículo 11. Una pastoral del Obispo de Jaca', *El Debate*, 4278, 3-IV-1923, 1.

76. For example, a group of parents from Tarragona and Oviedo requested that their children be exempt from the subjects of Christian Doctrine and Sacred History, but an inspector refused permission. 'La enseñanza del Catecismo', *Revista de Pedagogía*, 28 (1924), 157.

77. From time to time, the socialist press published cases of parish priests who influenced the agenda of the public schools in their neighbourhood. When the Dictatorship came to an end in 1930, a socialist Madrid town councillor, Andrés Saborit, presented a report on various incidents which had occurred in the city since 1923 and asked the City Council to take strong measures to ensure the implementation of the Royal Decree of 25-IV-1913. However, the subtle intervention of the Bishop of Madrid-Alcalá curtailed any possible municipal participation in this subject. 'Un cura que se desmanda', *El Socialista*, 4104, 1922, 2; AHV, sec. 27, leg. 4, 1 (214).

78. 'Fundación de la Liga laica', *El Sol*, 3930, 18-III-1930, 7.

79. Royal Order of 4-X-1921. *Boletín Oficial* . . . , 85, 25-X-1921, 1265.

80. The right of the priests to visit public schools was based on the official Regulations of 1838 and 1857 and the 1851 Concordat between Spain and the Holy See. The 1838 regulation put all religious activities of the public and private schools under the supervision of the parish priests. The 1857 regulation established that they could go to the schools once a week for religious instruction and that the Catholic Church had the right to supervise the kind of religious education and the purity of the Catholic Doctrine that was taught in all educational institutions. The 1851 regulation stated that all university, secondary, and primary school instruction should comply with the rules of the Catholic religion, delegating the responsibility for supervising the performance of this obligation to the bishops and priests. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the liberal governments tried to limit the influence of the Catholic Church in the public schools, but in practice, the parish priests still visited them. If a schoolteacher did not accept the presence of the priest in his classroom, the State reminded him of the Law of 1857, and ordered him not to hinder the actions of the priest.

81. 'Hoy comienza la Semana de Bondad', *El Liberal*, 16,626, 1-X-1926, 4; 'La Exposición de dibujos de los niños de las escuelas de Madrid, inaugurada ayer en el salón Nancy', *El Liberal*, 16,627, 2-X-1926, 1; 'La Semana de Bondad. Festival celebrado ayer en las escuelas Carmen Rojo', *El Liberal*, 16,628, 3-X-1926, 1; *El Imparcial*, 20,819, 5-X-1926, 3; 'El centenario franciscano. La Semana de Bondad', *El Imparcial*, 20,820, 6-X-1926, 2; 'La Semana de Bondad',

El Imparcial, 20,821, 7-X-1926, 1; L. Santullano, 'La semana de bondad. Niños y mayores. Enseñanzas que se desprenden de un ensayo', *El Imparcial*, 20,823, 9-X-1926, 1; 'De Actualidad. Exposición interesante', *El Magisterio Español*, 7593, 16-X-1926, 148; 'Autoeducación infantil. Una fiesta en Navalcarnero', *El Sol*, 2914, 7-XII-1926, 4; 'Una inauguración. La Liga de Bondad. Protección a los animales y las plantas', *El Imparcial*, 20,877, 11-XII-1926, 3.

82. The aims of these Ligas de Bondad were very well described by a famous Spanish philosopher, María Zambrano, a disciple of Ortega y Gasset. María Zambrano, 'La escuela y la vida. Las Ligas de Bondad', *El Socialista*, 6136, 10-X-1928, 4.

83. Clarice-Eugène Simon, 'L'enfant dans les Ligues de Bonté', *Pour l'Ère nouvelle*, 74 (janvier 1932), 14-15.

84. The Primate Cardinal of Spain, Cardinal Segura — famous because of his traditionalist views on religious matters — forbade Catholics to participate in the Ligas de Bondad because they represented 'a morality without religion for arriving at universal peace,' refusing 'the only true morality and the only true Religion'. Lorvent, '¡Tenía que suceder! Rotarios, Ligas de Bondad, Lyceum Club' and 'Documento importantísimo. Admonición Pastoral sobre el Rotarismo, Lyceum, Ligas de Bondad e instituciones análogas de carácter neutro', *El Iris de Paz*, 1650, 13-II-1929, 107-10.

85. 'Información del Municipio. Se va a dar gran solemnidad al centenario del pedagogo Pestalozzi', *El Liberal*, 16,713, 11-I-1927, 2; 'De enseñanza. El centenario de Pestalozzi', *El Liberal*, 16,742, 13-II-1927, 2.

86. The opinion of the Catholic Church about the celebration of the centennial of Pestalozzi can be found in Ignacio Navarro Canales, *El Centenario de Pestalozzi en España* (Avila 1927).

87. 'Brillantes fiestas. En el colegio municipal de San Ildefonso', *El Imparcial*, 19,962, 24-I-1923, 5 and 'En el colegio de San Ildefonso. La fiesta de ayer en honor de los asilados', *El Liberal*, 15,473, 24-I-1923, 4.

88. P. Graciano Martínez, *Hacia una España genuina (Por entre la Psicología nacional)* (Madrid 1924), 176-8.

89. Royal Order of 11-III-1904 and Royal Order of 5-I-1915. The history of the celebration of both holidays in Spain and around the world can be found in: Hilario Crespo Gallego, *Recuerdos, datos, consejos, poesías, himnos, máximas y pensamientos dedicados a la Fiesta del Arbol y del Pájaro* (Madrid 1933), 11-16.

90. 'De Actualidad. Fiesta del Arbol', *El Magisterio Español*, 4596, 17-III-1915, 497; and Santiago Góngora Nuñez, 'Acción cultural. Fiesta del Arbol', *Boletín Escolar*, 702, 11-III-1922, 304.

91. Joaquín Costa Martínez, *El arbolado y la Patria* (Madrid 1912), 14; Antonio Puig Campillo, *Joaquín Costa y sus doctrinas pedagógicas* (Valencia 1909), 221.

92. *El Liberal*, 11,914, 18-VI-1912, 4.

93. *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Barcelona*, 99, 25-IV-1914, 2.

94. AHV, sec. 20, leg. 239, 14.

95. María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, 'La utilización de parques y jardines como espacios educativos alternativos en Madrid (1900-1931)', *Historia de la Educación*, 12-13 (1993-4), 149-84.

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