



A look at Spanish public schools during the Spanish Civil War and Postwar period through the eyes of teaching students and their practice reports

Uno sguardo alle scuole pubbliche spagnole durante la guerra civile spagnola e il dopoguerra attraverso gli occhi dell'insegnamento agli studenti e dei piani di lavoro

Teresa González Pérez

University of La Laguna - teregonz@ull.edu.es

ABSTRACT

In recent times, the history of education has expanded its scope of study with the use of new sources, such as teaching practice reports of primary school would-be teachers. In order to know the reality of the public school system in post-war Spain, we focus on the analysis of an unpublished collection of teaching practice reports, written between 1936 and 1949, stored in the archives of the University of La Laguna (Tenerife, Canary Islands). This analysis allows us to affirm that there are aspects of classroom everyday life that surpass the archetypes of the Francoist school and its school culture, determined by its ideological impositions and its legal norms. It is confirmed that there was certain continuity in the pedagogical renewal of education at the time, a fact that shows the distance that separates what is prescribed by legislation and what actually happens within the school classroom.

In tempi recenti, la storia dell'istruzione ha ampliato il suo campo di studio con l'uso di nuove fonti, come i piani di lavoro delle pratiche di insegnamento degli aspiranti insegnanti della scuola primaria. Per conoscere la realtà del sistema scolastico pubblico nella Spagna del dopoguerra, ci concentriamo sull'analisi di una raccolta inedita di relazioni sulle pratiche di insegnamento, scritte tra il 1936 e il 1949, archiviate negli archivi dell'Università di La Laguna (Tenerife, Isole Canarie). Quest'analisi ci consente di affermare che ci sono aspetti della vita quotidiana in classe che superano gli archetipi della scuola franchista e della sua cultura scolastica, determinati dalle sue imposizioni ideologiche e dalle sue norme legali. Si conferma che, all'epoca, c'era una certa continuità nel rinnovamento pedagogico dell'educazione, un fatto che mostra la distanza che separa ciò che è prescritto dalla legislazione e ciò che realmente accade all'interno delle classi della scuola.

KEYWORDS

History of Education, Francoist Dictatorship, Teaching Practice Reports, School Ethnography, Primary School.

Storia dell'educazione, dittatura franchista, rapporti sulle pratiche di insegnamento, etnografia scolastica, scuola elementare.

Research approach

Teaching practices are compulsory academic activities in the vast majority of teacher training curricula. They are governed by specific regulations that have a clear training purpose with the aim of producing competent teachers. Practices are integrated into the curriculum and are designed based on academic objectives and competences. Through them, the theoretical and practical knowledge acquired during the academic preparation in teacher training colleges can be applied. In Spain, these practices have always been carried out outside the centres where teachers train and with the guidance and advice of an experienced teacher in practice schools to help students resolve their methodological doubts.

Within the framework of this paper, we intend to discover the reality of schools in the Canary Islands (Spain) during the years of the Spanish civil war and post-war period (1936-1949) through an analysis of the practice reports of trainee teachers. To achieve this main aim, the following specific objectives are proposed: 1) Verify whether the official guidelines and norms of Franco's nationalist government were imposed immediately or instead the innovative Republican educational model continued to be applied. Thus, we intend to check if school teaching practice radically changed, i.e., whether an authoritarian model was imposed or a progressive teaching methodology continued. 2) Analyze if the model of school culture that Franco's regime intended to impose at a time of uniformity of primary education was actually established. 3) Contribute to the history of regional and national education, valuing the teaching practice reports as important documentary sources that provide information on the empirical culture of schools. It is in these reports of a pedagogical character where student teachers relate their experience, as teachers in practices, in public schools of different towns of the western islands of the Canarian archipelago. Their testimonies, opinions and observations, as witnesses of the time, are of indisputable educational and ethnographic value. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider the subjectivities mediated by ideological influences, highlighting those aspects that student teachers considered opportune and which are often imbued by the strong national-Catholicism of the time. However, such subjectivities with an inevitable bias do not diminish the value of these reports. They provide useful descriptions of daily school life and the activities developed by teachers. The methodology applied in this article also provides information on the pedagogical practices, school materials, infrastructure, resources as well as opinions about the childhood and the culture of the school of that period, all of which gives us a detailed historical-educational vision of this period.

Indeed, we aim to delve into education during the war and post-war, in the case of the Canary Islands following the coup d'état by General Franco and his nationalist supporters. We analyze the evolution of education given that the islands were under national power from July 18th, 1936. Though the islands were not "at war", there were some pockets of resistance, and so Franco's nationalist model of government was imposed from the beginning (Morente, Rivas 2015). Moreover, the island territory, despite being far from the Spanish mainland, faithfully reproduced the forms that governed the educational discourse of national-Catholicism (López, 2017).

Theoretical foundation

Despite school culture and the political discourse arising from new laws and norms often regulating education, educational theories and teaching practices

developed over time can still influence the methodology employed by teachers for a long time. In fact, the distance between what is prescribed in the norms and the actual didactic application has been evidenced in many cases. To highlight such differences and to study the ethnography of schools the teaching practice reports that student teachers have to elaborate during their passage through schools can be used as reliable sources of information. Curricular teaching practices are part of the empirical culture and very much in line with prevailing educational models and current teacher training curricula. Teaching practice as a compulsory curricular subject as part of teacher training has evolved with different study plans and in accordance with social demands (Martín, 2011).

Indeed, addressing the historical study of school culture in the recent past requires using a range of sources to determine the reality. The use of different documents and records brings us closer to that reality and allows us to look at yesterday's schooling, practices and schools (Escolano, 2007 and 2010). Innovative research methodology in recent decades has opened up new sources. These sources range from school supplies, books, notebooks, teaching materials, images, to academic reports along with oral sources, and allow the reconstruction of school practices, in this case, during the Franco regime

The literature highlights the use of teaching practice reports in several parts of Spain, such as in Castilla-León carried out by Martín Fraile (2017) or the teaching practice reports of the Balearic Islands researched by Barceló, Comas and Sureda (2016). In addition, there are studies by M^a del Mar del Pozo and Teresa Rabazas (2013) using a collection of practice reports of pedagogy students of the Anselmo Romero Marín Foundation of the M. B. Cossío Museum of the Complutense University of Madrid. Other authors have also used teaching practice reports to study previous eras, such as Fernández Soria and Agulló (2002).

It seems clear that these practice reports constitute important documentary evidence, which can provide useful information about past school realities. Recent developments in research into teacher training in the Canary Islands during the war and post-war period have led to this study of teaching practices. In this article, we intend to analyze the unpublished reports presented by student teachers. These self-written and subjective documents provide a wealth of information. They narrate students' experiences of teaching practice and the daily pedagogical activity in the schools where they did their practices. As direct observers, they reflect the situation of school infrastructure, school buildings, playgrounds, ventilation, as well as materials, school organization, ideological impositions, patriotic content and the control of pedagogical practice. The reports also inform of the didactic and teaching methodology which was adapted to the requirements of the new imposed order but also reflect, in some cases, the use of didactic innovations typical of previous eras.

Methodology and Sources

Historical-educational research methodology has benefited from contributions from other related sciences, such as historiography, anthropology and ethnography, and which can contribute to explaining everyday reality in schools on the Canary Islands during the civil war and post-war periods. Ethnography also provides a useful subjective and gender approach. Thus, we investigate how school life was after the military uprising in 1936, whether there was a break with the previous teaching practice and whether a new educational model was implemented. Since there was no truce in the Canary Island archipelago, the academic year ended

under the Republican government and a new one began under the yoke of a military dictatorship. Through the reports on teaching practices, we can see that the doctrinal guidelines were imposed immediately, and yet the innovative model of progressive schooling continued to be applied.

Thus, our initial hypothesis is that school practice did not change radically and teachers continued using an active pedagogy. The model of school culture that the Franco's regime tried to impose was built on an ideological base anchored in symbology and manifestations of national-Catholicism, but underlying this was a current of progressive pedagogy, despite a time of uniformity in primary education.

As sources, we use unpublished teaching practice reports preserved in the Teacher Training Repository of the Historical Archive of the University of La Laguna (AULL). We have examined a sample of a hundred unpublished reports, corresponding to different teacher training curricula in force at the time. We locate reports from the 1914 Plan, the Professional Plan of 1931, the Bachiller Plan, the 1942 Plan and the 1945 Plan. Student teachers of the 1914 Plan and the Professional Plan of 1931, who had not yet completed their studies by 1936, carried out their teaching practices under the military government. So, they had to apply immediately the postulates of the new political order that was imposed by force in Spain, with the advance of the troops, as of July 18th, 1936. The reports studied correspond mainly to girls' schools from different geographical areas of the Canary Islands, mainly from the islands of Tenerife, La Palma and La Gomera. That is, the western sector, since the Teacher Training College where they studied was located in the city of San Cristobal de La Laguna, in Tenerife.

In total, we consulted 250 teaching practice reports between 1936 and 1949, which are filed in Boxes 53 to 151, labelled as Inventory of Student Teaching Records. They correspond to files between the years 1903 and 1949. Box 53 starts with file 1494 and the Box 151 ends in the file 3125. The boxes are organized with the student files and catalogued in alphabetical not chronological order with each file having a registration number. Likewise, we consulted the Registration Books of Official Student Teachers and the Registration Books of Non-Official Student Teachers, as well as the Applications for Teaching Practices (Box 140). However, we have not been able to locate the reports of all the students registered. We do not know if this is due to some loss owing to the continual transfers of the files and the archive itself. In addition, the repository is still in the process of being catalogued.

Student teachers carried out curricular teaching practices under the supervision of a teacher in the attached school, known as the "practice school". They were also given practices in national graded schools (in which students were divided according to age and level) and in national unitary schools (all students mixed together regardless of age or level) under the guidance of the respective senior teacher. Student teachers of non-formal education previously agreed on the place where to carry out their practices, with the acceptance of a permanent teacher at the particular school, and then communicated this to the Head of Teacher Training College. This protocol involved keeping a record of the teaching practice with the student's name, last name, school, teacher and locality (Box 140).

Enrolment in the non-formal education system was high in the Canary Islands, a fact that is justified by the dispersion of the population as well as by geography, the limited economic resources of families and the intra-insular communication difficulties. Additionally, there was a double insularity, in the sense that students from other islands had to travel to Tenerife, which was not always affordable for

some family economies. The solution was to access the teaching profession through non-formal teaching and to take exams in ordinary or extraordinary sittings. Students who requested the schooling waiver used various reasons, among them, age, distance, lack of economic resources, being married with small children, etc. In such cases, each teacher training centre considered the request by taking into account age and personal circumstances. For these reasons, a substantial number of teacher trainees had access to teaching qualifications through unofficial training, although they also had to complete and accredit the period of regulated teaching practices.

Given the importance of the system of registration in non-formal schools, student teachers carried out practices in public schools, located in urban areas, either in the centre of the city or on its periphery, whereas some did teaching practice in rural schools. However, curricular teaching practices were generally carried out in the metropolitan area of Tenerife, that is, in San Cristóbal de La Laguna and Santa Cruz de Tenerife, near the Teacher Training College. In Santa Cruz de Tenerife, girls' graded schools in the capital's districts of Duggi, Los Lavaderos, Salamanca, El Norte, El Cabo and García Escámez were the most used by teacher trainees¹.

In La Laguna, the Aneja Graded School was a model school in which teacher trainees regularly did the internships, but they also came to learn to teach in the Number 1 and 2 Girls' Graded Schools, as well as the schools of the Taco neighborhoods, San Bartolomé, La Cuesta and Geneto. Among the unitary or graded schools located in other towns or in rural areas, mention should be made of the girls' public schools in Tacoronte, Tejina, Tegueste, El Sauzal, La Victoria de Acentejo, Puerto de la Cruz, La Orotava, Realejo Bajo, La Guancha, Icod, Garachico, Los Silos, Güimar, Arico, Fasnía, Arona and other areas of Tenerife. On other islands, in La Palma (Santa Cruz de La Palma, Breña Baja, Fuencaliente, Puntallana, Los Sauces and Mazo) and La Gomera (San Sebastián and Hermigua). In many cases these schools are repeated because student teachers attended them on different dates. The great variety of school locations corresponded to the practices of the students of the Plan Bachiller (1940). After the prescribed period of practice, the teachers of the respective schools credited the completion of the teaching practice, reporting on the correct performance and pedagogical commitment of the student. To this end, teachers wrote and signed a certification, with the approval of an inspector.

The reports are very representative of the schooling of those decades. They describe the main features of public school teaching. They reflect the school universe, daily life in the classroom, the fundamental issues of school culture, pedagogical work that has an ideological circularity although concepts of pedagogy were present. Progressive pedagogy alternated with the archaic forms of patriotism and Catholicism in classrooms. Although, the insular reality is clear from the reports, it can, nonetheless be extended to other geographical areas because the teaching contexts were similar. Analogous experiences could be found in other areas, thus demonstrating common links between the socio-historical and political-educational conditions of the time throughout Spain.

1 Later, in the post-war years, the schools appear with different denominations, since names were modified or added to the time. For example, the girls' graded school in the Duggi neighborhood was renamed "San Fernando"; the school in the northern district was called "Onésimo Redondo"; the school in the district of Salamanca was renamed "José Antonio"; and the graded school in El Cabo district became "Isabel la Católica".

However, the reports are not homogeneous, neither in the content nor in the number of pages. They were presented in manuscripts or typed, sometimes adorned on the cover and accompanied by illustrations. The pages were glued, stapled, bound, ringed or fastened with a cord. Some were more extensive and very explanatory, with 34-35 pages and an appendix with lesson preparation sheets (Contreras, 1946; Ramos, 1937), and there were other shorter ones that did not exceed 5 pages (Carrillo, 1947; Hernández, 1937; 1937; Soler, 1947). Several reports were accompanied by school plans and drawings related to the lessons. However, most of the reports have a similar structure and analyze fundamentally infrastructure, equipment, methodology, programs, the teaching of the Christian doctrine and religious history, patriotic training, content and materials. At the same time, the reports mentioned that the schools were decorated with pictures of Franco and the “unforgettable José Antonio” (Ríos, 1943) and the images of the Virgin Mary, the Sacred Heart and Christ. This decoration, symbolism and use of images were repeated in all the mentioned schools.

Discussion: Teaching practice reports as a mirror of school reality during the war and post-war years

In the Canary Islands, education did not immediately break with the previous model. It maintained its own forms of progressive pedagogy, although the message from the authorities was aimed at generalizing the traditional and conservative methodology. However, the majority of teachers did not alter their practices and continued using innovative pedagogy, the legacy of renovating currents and approaches in education of the time. Thus, teachers continued to apply active methodologies, although tinged with the new patriotic postulates of national-Catholicism. This can be seen in the preparation journals or in the so-called preparation sheets, which accompanied many teaching practice reports. From the powers above, the separation of sexes was prescribed and coeducation or mixed education was immediately suspended in all educational activities. Teaching was sexist and segregated by sex, strengthened by the traditional ideas of nineteenth-century pedagogy. However, there were schools where mixed education persisted, especially in some rural areas and in some peripheral neighbourhoods (Carrera, 1948, Catalan, 1943, Delgado, 1947, Delgado, 1949). The daily routine of schools and their deficiencies were observed by the trainee teachers, who even had to substitute for absent teachers. One of the trainee teachers did teaching practice with 3rd year pupils at a school and due to the teacher’s illness, the trainee was appointed as a substitute by the administrative section of primary school (Ramos, 1937). This indicates the insufficiency of teaching staff, especially if we consider that during these years some teachers were removed from their teaching posts (Bulletin 1936, Morente, 2001). From an analysis of the practice reports, the most relevant aspects of school reality can be studied during the war and the post-war period.

1. School facilities

All reports include information about the building, the state of the property, space it occupies, situation, ventilation, etc. They tend to be very critical and analyze the precarious facilities and compare them with the optimal conditions. Different kinds of buildings were used as school establishments, such as rooms in the town

hall, houses, old houses and old convents. These were often old and unhygienic buildings, in fact, 90% of schools did not meet the minimum hygienic and pedagogical conditions. Not even the school attached to the training college met pedagogical requirements. Regarding the facilities, trainees mention that they do not correspond to what is indicated by modern pedagogy with small and poorly ventilated classrooms and a small and insufficient playground (Rodríguez, 1937). Few buildings were proper school buildings, except for the schools in the capital. In Santa Cruz, the school buildings of San Fernando (Davi, 1946, Delgado, 1947), José Antonio (Díaz, 1947), Onésimo Redondo (Coello, 1946, Herráiz, 1943), Isabel la Católica (Palenzuela, 1947) and García Escamez (Déniz, 1948) had been built for such purposes, so they met the optimal pedagogical and hygienic conditions. In fact, the school buildings of the San Fernando School were seen as a “model of its kind” (Delgado, 1947).

Sometimes the buildings were worthy as spaces to hold schools. The national graded school for girls in Güimar occupied facilities that were not typical of an educational building. However, it had a large room, playground and adequate toilet service (Cubas, 1947). By contrast, there were other inadequate and highly deficient graded schools (Hernández, 1937, Grote, 1938, Ramos, 1943, Barba, 1944, Barrios, 1947). It is surprising that the graded school attached to the teaching college (Girls’ National No. 1 School of La Laguna) is noted for not meeting the pedagogical conditions (Dorta, 1937, Rodríguez, 1937, Grote, 1938). The building was “very old, unhygienic and anti-pedagogical, which gave rise to teaching under the worst conditions” (Ramos, 1943). Teacher trainees also detected deficiencies in the unitary schools of Tacoronte (Bencomo, 1937), Puerto de la Cruz (Hernandez, 1937), Garachico (Contreras, 1946), Realejo Bajo (García, 1937), Icod (Bravo, 1944), Los Silos (Dávila, 1947; Yanes, 1949). An identical situation was repeated in the unitary schools on the island of La Palma, in Santa Cruz (Bravo, 1944), in Fuencaliente (Ríos, 1943) and Puntallana (Hernández, 1947). In general, these were old and deteriorated facilities that did not meet optimum conditions nor did they fulfil the pedagogical recommendations to house children for so many hours a day. The mention of buildings that were not built as schools and had many deficiencies was repeated in the reports. Schools lacked playgrounds, running water and “toilets” (Hernández, 1947, García, 1937, Yanes, 1949). The playground was necessary as a place for recreation, an area for children’s games and for physical education exercises: “where the girls can grow plants and be distracted during the hours of recreation” (Bravo, 1944). So many schools were in buildings that did not fit their purpose often lacking many pedagogical elements “but we know that in Spain, there are few schools that are in the state they should be, because only modern constructions are suitable, and these they are not very abundant at the moment ... we hope that the new State will dictate measures to remedy this lack” (Bravo, 1944).

All the reports describe the decoration of classrooms. In all schools, unitary and graded, urban and rural, from September 1936, pictures of Franco, José Antonio, the flag and religious images were displayed. Works and murals made by students were also placed on the walls. The furniture consisted of a table and chair for the teacher, two-person desks for the students, a bookshelf, a closet for material and a cupboard for storing school documents (Cañadas, 1947; Casa, 1944; Dávila, 1947; García, 1937). Furniture was deteriorated and aged, so that many student teachers felt that it needed to be replaced or that it was insufficient for the needs of the school (Suárez, 1947).

2. Material

School material included the necessary tools to perform learning tasks, such as notebooks, pencils, rubbers, coloured pencils, pens, ink, inkwells, white chalk and coloured chalk. Classrooms also had blackboards, geometric figures, globe, wall maps, compass, rulers, etc. In the Icod Graded School, for example, there were five maps of the world, one of Spain and two maps of the Canary Islands (Borges, 1947). In Fuencaliente (La Palma), there was a sewing and embroidery machine of the “Singer” brand, one showcase of the geometric, metric, decimal system, thirteen geographical maps and seven blackboards (Ríos, 1943). In the Güimar School, there was also a sewing machine for learning garment making skills (Cubas, 1947).

All schools had a small library and collection of books, a product of the provisions made in previous times. As for textbooks, teaching practice reports referred to the encyclopaedias of Antonio Fernández (Hernández, 1947) and the encyclopaedias of Dalmau and Salvat. Other reference books included: the Sopena collection (24 vol.), Labour collection, Xandry Pich collection, Seix Barral collection (Isabel la Católica, Cristóbal Colón, Hernán Cortés, Pizarro, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Santa Teresa de Jesús, Saints and heroines, Imperial Glories, The Spanish Race), books by Martí Alpera, Charentón, J. de Muro, Manuel Marinel-Lo (Dorta, 1937, García, 1937), Misal (Dávila, 1947). Reading books used included: New Patriotic readings by Antonio Fernández, El Quijote, the Lessons of things, Imperial Glories by Luis Ortíz, New Excitement of Spain by M. Liurot, Thus, I want to be of Sons by Santiago Rodríguez, Catechism Explained and the Explicit Gospel of Llorente (Dávila, 1947, Dorta, 1937, García, 1937, Soler 1947), Travels in Spain and Imperial Horizons by Federico Torres, El cielo de Azcarza (Hernández 1937, Borges, 1947, Hernández, 1947, Suárez, 1947), Mari-sol, This is How our Children are, The Memories of Pepito and Active Mental Reading (Dávila, 1947).

Moreover, in many schools, there was a small school museum that had been set up with objects obtained on school trips and field trips. For example, in the girls’ school of Güimar, there was a museum with collections of minerals, natural science materials, skeletons, physics and chemistry apparatus (Cubas, 1947). In the graded school of Santa Cruz de La Palma, there was a varied collection of insects, minerals, cereals, mostly brought in by the girls (Ramos, 1943). Similarly, in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, there was a small school museum, organized by the teacher with the help of the girls, who collected objects from their school trips (Díaz, 1947) and in the school in Tacoronte. All of which made an important contribution to teaching materials (Bencomo, 1937).

3. School organization

Religion and the patria were the basic pillars that supported the new educational model, centred on the tradition to serve God and the Homeland (Martín, 2010). The confessional teaching of Catholicism was restored and the obligatory education of religion and religious history at all the levels was established, but especially in primary education, since it was deemed vital to achieve social transformation from below.

School organization was very similar according to the practice reports. The morning classes devoted mainly to the core subjects and the afternoon to activities that required less mental effort. So the mornings were occupied with grammar (writing exercises, dictation, reading), arithmetic, geometry, history and geography

with various exercises. The afternoons were used for manual tasks, drawing, physical education, religion, catechism and learning about the homeland. The girls were taught how to sew, embroider and weave “preparing the girls for their future work in life as mothers and housewives” (Palenzuela, 1947). There were cases in which the girls did not have the resources to buy material and threads so the teacher would provide these for them (Contreras, 1946). They learned to make white clothes, and after how to darn, mend, sew and embroider (Carrillo, 1947). Schools did not ignore the role assigned to girls, future women, hence the importance of female subjects aimed at training them to fulfil their purpose (Coello, 1946): “Social education tends to train girls for the Christian home ... Domestic economy and work intend to turn a girl into a woman who knows how to direct, lead and make a home” (Álvarez, 1943).

In each class (morning and afternoon ones), at the entrance and exit, there were prayers (Carrillo, 1947, Catalan, 1943). When entering school, there was an entrance prayer and patriotic chants, and likewise when leaving an exit prayer and more patriotic chants. Obligatory Saturday classes were used to explain the gospel and in many schools pupils recited the rosary. On the eve of any religious festivities, the reason for the festivity and the subject of saints were explained. The daily routines of entry and exit, with prayers and patriotic chants, were repeated in classes, there were patriotic readings and exaltation to the “national movement” (Barba, 1944). They spent 6 hours a week studying the homeland, in addition to singing (García, 1937). Schools in this period always provided religious knowledge and patriotic morality and “pursued the goal of inculcating girls with a love of God, of their country and of others” (García, 1937, Barrios, 1947).

The timetable distribution coincided in all the schools with the standard schedule divided into two sessions. From Monday to Friday, in the morning, classes were from at 9 am to 12 noon, in the afternoon between 2 and 4 pm, and on Saturday from 9 am to 12 noon. In some schools there were classes on Saturday afternoons, for example, the La Laguna number 1 Unitary School, on Saturdays there was a full afternoon schedule (Álvarez, 1943; Butragüeno, 1946). In other schools, Saturday afternoon was reserved for trips and excursions as in the school of Puntallana (Hernández, 1947), while in others it was dedicated to the study of Christian doctrine, pupils even went to church and the priest followed up on the girls’ progress. Regularly on Saturday mornings, there were readings and explanations of the gospel, geography, Spanish patriotic history and gymnastics. In addition to learning the doctrinal precepts, the obligation to attend mass on Sundays and holidays was transmitted.

Enrolment in national girls’ schools was high. However, not all girls were enrolled; school absenteeism was, in fact, notorious in both urban and rural areas. The causes of low and irregular school attendance were mainly poverty and child labour (Bencomo, 1937, Borges, 1948, Contreras, 1946, Dorta, 1937, García, 1937, Hernández, 1947, Ramos, 1943). In rural areas, there was greater irregularity in attendance during periods of agricultural harvests (Bencomo, 1937, García, 1937). “There are a few months when drops in attendance are due to the harvest of fruits in the fields; “A defect of every agricultural town” (Bencomo, 1937).” The cause of girls missing class I believe is due to a lack of resources of the parents, who are forced to use their children in domestic chores and sometimes in agricultural work” (Ramos, 1943). The reports stated that girls helped doing the household chores or in other jobs, also serving in other private homes to earn a livelihood, food and clothing (Contreras, 1946). They also pointed out that due to poverty, many girls “lacked clothes to attend school, and this insufficiency could be corrected if a school wardrobe were created” (Hernández, 1947).

4. Teaching methods used

The Circular of the Ministry of National Education of March 8, 1938 (BOE, 1938) established the curricula to be followed in schools until the approval of the Primary Education Act of 1945 (BOE, 1945). The curricula of all subjects were impregnated by national-Catholicism in a transversal way. The national-Catholic pedagogical culture was projected on subjects ranging from grammar, arithmetic, history, geography, natural sciences, physical education to commemorations, prayers, liturgy and gospel. Subject content was structured around four axes: civic, religious, patriotic and physical. Study programmes and textbooks were used to legitimize education with ideological potential, politics and Christian morality. The textbooks that provided subject knowledge were official ones and served as the ideological foundation for this educational praxis. These books also dictated the teaching model to be followed in schools to ensure the implementation of the programmes set by the educational authorities. A model aimed at not disrupting the political order as well as fulfilling a social function. However, many study programmes marked restrictions in the knowledge to be acquired owing to strict control, manipulation and censorship of subject content. This content was governed by national-Catholicism and traditional orientations. However, in spite of the limits mentioned, teaching methods remained flexible and were adapted to girls. Practice reports show that progressive pedagogical models in school practice were constant, and there was no break with the pedagogy used in the pre-war era.

However, religious and patriotic teaching, with its external manifestations, faithfully adhered to the principles of the national movement particularly from the female perspective. Teaching staff complied with the educational guidelines and respected the norms, but it seems that methodology was not under such control. The teachers declared themselves defenders of national Catholicism and at the same time proponents of active pedagogy. Student teachers often mention in their reports outstanding events and teaching methodologies in the classroom reflecting what some historians of education have called “the empirical culture of the school” (Escolano, 2008).

With the return to the conservative values of the old order, and based on the ideology of the dictatorial regime, the educational patterns were marked. The authoritarian pedagogy of Catholicism imbued the new schemes of thought from the pedagogues of the regime. However, despite the slogans, the active and intuitive pedagogy did not disappear. The empirical culture of the school of these decades shows this and is reflected in all the reports. Methodological practices had not changed, although ideological and religious manifestations were included in daily school practice. The emphasis on patriotic and Catholic emotional education affected the education girls received. The teachers internalized the models and guidelines imposed and then disseminated them in schools

Many examples demonstrate the use of an active pedagogy that linked with the pedagogy and methodologies of the new school, a fact that represented a continuity of the pedagogical renovation implemented during the years prior to the civil war. Despite the regime discrediting the introduction of the ideas of foreign pedagogues (Rousseau, Decroly, Montessori, Fröebel), these ideas remained valid in classroom practices. It is true that a number of teachers during the war and post-war period had received academic training with the 1914 plan and the professional plan of 1931. These plans internalized the recommendations of progressive pedagogy and did not reject its use in the face of the instructions received from Franco's authorities. The model of Catholic pedagogy and the pedagogues

Andrés Manjón, Luis Vives and Calasanz were examples to be imitated. Some student teachers, however, criticized foreign pedagogues, stating that “it has been a painful reality, that in nefarious times everything was seen through foreign pedagogues, having them, so good or better” (Ríos, 1943). The moral and religious education was based on “the theory of Father Manjón” (Dávila, 1947). The aversion to pedagogical renewal was not reflected in the first decade; although, it was progressively chosen among the teachers trained with the subsequent curricula, that is, with the 1942 and 1945 programs. However, various reports are accompanied by the class preparation sheets teacher trainees used to plan the lessons of the subjects to be taught. These reflected the active methodology (Carrillo, 1947, Coello, 1946, Delgado, 1945).

In this way, a good part of active pedagogy continued to be present in schooling. The lessons of objects or centres of interest were practiced during the war and post-war period (Borges, 1948, Dorta, 1937). Decroly’s methods were also used in all subjects in the teaching practice school attached to the teaching college. They also used the rotation of notebooks and class diaries as resources (Delgado, 1945). However, the main innovations are observed in the history and geography classes, with the use of narration and story-telling. Teachers used theatre and the performances of students’ comedies to develop the capacity for expression (Díaz, 1945). In addition, teachers took advantage of commemorations, areas of interest, themes of the day, visits and excursions to show some features of the progressive pedagogy that survived Franco’s regime. Student teachers followed the progressive development of lessons, according to the level, and they used the intuitive method in the early school years. For mathematics they used analytical, intuitive and active teaching methods (García, 1937, Barrios, 1947). Sometimes, teachers used an individual method when few girls attended (Contreras, 1946) and they combined methods adapting them to the reality of the pupils. For example, teachers used the analytical method in addition to the synthetic (Butragüeno, 1949) and active methods with intuitive procedure (Álvarez, 1943, Barrios, 1947, Carrillo, 1947, Delgado, 1947, Dorta 1937). Verbal and Socratic procedures were employed for the teaching of Christian doctrine, history, social education, patriotic education and movement. Teachers also resorted to the exhibition, intuitive and active methods “trying not to make the method an extreme rigidity, but involving the personal aspect of the teacher” (Álvarez, 1943).

The practical intuitive method was applied in the teaching of geography, so for example, students started from the study of their town, school, house, building, street in their neighbourhood or city (Dorta, 1937). Geography, history and patriotic education were three subjects that were related and considered fundamental, “a nation without history or without its political formation has no real existence”. As for support material to explain geographical topics, maps, photographs, a globe to locate countries, big cities and capitals were all used. History was taught through simple narratives in which they tried first of all to inspire love of the country “as something noble and inherited from our ancestors” (Dorta, 1937). The methodology for teaching religion and catechism was through narrations and explanations, memorisation of Christian doctrine and religious celebrations. In the month of May, the month of Mary, rituals were performed to the Virgin Mary, a small altar with flowers was made by the teacher and the girls sang songs and prayers. At the end of the class they sang, prayed for Spain and its leader (Barrios, 1947, Coello, 1946, Palenzuela, 1947)

Excursions and walks were promoted from the official spheres, given the benefits for children’s health and at the same time for learning. The trips and excursions

sions of didactic character were frequent activities (García, 1937, Cañadas, 1947, Casas, 1944). There were trips to the sea and the countryside to relate nature to the studied subjects of geography or natural sciences: "School trips and field trips are of great pedagogical value, from the point of view of a complete education" (Dorta, 1937). Not only did teachers and pupils take walks around the school, but also to different areas of the island, among which the most outstanding was the visit to the García Water Mountain and the botanical garden (Barrios, 1947, Hernández, 1937). A teaching practice student stated that "the unitary school has to have vitalization; to do so, it must be taken out of the narrow classroom environment and taken to the street, to the family, to the field, to the workshop, to the factory, to the office, to all places and to all the media in which a child lives or can live" (Bencomo, 1937).

Conclusions

Researching into school realities and teacher training in the past using new formulas involves challenges and difficulties but has the potential to make a valuable contribution to our understanding of educational history. Among the new research tools in this field, there are not only school notebooks but also the reports written by teacher trainees during their teaching practices in public schools. This written footprint brings us closer to the education of yesterday. The reports of mandatory teaching practices written by student teachers are witness statements of the daily occurrences of schools. The reports contain direct observations by trainees from their vantage point in the teaching-learning process. In the case that concerns us, as student teachers, their reports introduce us to school routines, methodology, study programmes, lessons, activities, the hygienic conditions of the building but also to the ideas and beliefs of a school controlled by national-Catholicism. Through the mirror of the teaching practice reports written by trainees of La Laguna Teaching Training College, we can immerse ourselves in the reality of schools between 1936 and 1949. These reports not only illustrate the school reality of the Canary Islands but also to that of the rest of Spain in that period. They allow us to explore daily school activity and observe teaching methods of the day. Moreover, the reports take us beyond the merely academic to give an insight into everyday lives of children, family economies and the deprivation of girls, at a time when child labour prevented them going to school or caused a fragmented schooling. We cannot ignore the fact that child labour was still maintained in the decade of the seventies in Spain.

One aspect that stands out among these reports is the lack of divergent thinking in their content, not even those reports written during the war years. Teaching students narrate with naturalness the most significant events of their school experience and positively value the work of teachers in their daily activities. They are humble about their vocation and their good intentions, they even entrust themselves to God to guide them in the development of their profession.

Though the reports are not uniform, there is a similarity in the set of elements that they consist of. It is essential to highlight the reflections made in the reports on teaching methodology, revealing the survival of teaching methods and innovations that followed the tenets of active pedagogy and the use of a range of resources. Teaching methods from before the war were not eliminated though the educational programme of the authoritarian regime was incorporated. During the ritual of class entry and exit, prayers and patriotic chants were recited; the morning flag was raised to the song of the "cara al sol" (face to the sun) with the arm raised.

This was a formula that was repeated in all public schools on the Canary Islands, and in schools in other areas of Spain. The singing of the Spanish national anthem and other patriotic songs, the celebration of tributes, patriotic and religious festivities was common and widespread.

In all schools, it was clearly evident that girls were taught subjects considered feminine (work, hygiene and domestic skills) and important for their mission as women. A learning priority, together with the main subjects, was the ideological principles of national-Catholicism. Both trainee teachers and the permanent teachers adopted the moral values and religious practices as well as the postulates and principles of national-Catholicism. Therefore, the dogmas that reproduced this ideological discourse were transmitted to the girls. In addition to gender roles, activities were carried out in a context where home life prevailed and where teachers were models for women to imitate.

On the other hand, in a collective such as that of repressed and chastened wartime and post-war teachers, no other forms except for the faithful ideological reproduction of the principles of national-Catholicism were expected. In general, through the reports, a very receptive and very positive attitude is observed, recognizing the importance of this dogma and in none of the reports is it questioned or doubted. It is also true that the reports were evaluated and had to comply with minimum requirements and thus the any type of subversion of the order was not even considered. The insular ideological apparatus worked perfectly and with good results, following the repression deployed against the republican population. The islands had been punished in multiple ways, as happened in other areas of Spain. Perhaps even more severely, as the island population was reduced from July 18, 1936, according to various specialists (Rivas, 2015).

Pedagogical authoritarianism was not projected in the reports. We did not find references to lack of discipline and handing out punishment, since in girls' schools the atmosphere was calmer because of the control exercised over them. On the other hand, the topics of school absenteeism and low attendance are repeated with insistence.

The role given to student teachers was limited to observation of the school reality and small teaching practices. However, through the reports, these teachers have been able to immortalize a period of Spanish educational history. As sources, the reports provide a wealth of information that enhances knowledge and opens up new lines of research. The study of these unpublished documents offers the chance for an expansion of knowledge and future research, which could usefully be extrapolated to other periods and contexts.

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