

Becoming Teachers: the Pedagogy Manuals of Normal Schools during the Franco Era (1939-1970)

Andrea Marrone
Department of Pedagogy, Psychology
and Philosophy
University of Cagliari (Italy)
andrea.marrone@unica.it

ABSTRACT: This research investigates the evolution and content of pedagogy manuals used in Spanish Normal Schools from the end of the Civil War to the enactment of the *Ley General de Educación* (1939-1970). It focuses on academic volumes addressing disciplines such as *Pedagogía*, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, *Educación y su Historia*, *Filosofía de la Educación*, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, and *Prácticas de Enseñanza*. The primary objective is to comprehensively analyse the influence of these pedagogical texts on teacher training, with an exploration of several critical dimensions: how pedagogy as a discipline was presented, the representation of non-Catholic pedagogical movements, perspectives on the inclusion of experimental pedagogy, the ideal teacher model advocated, and the role of religious and Catholic ideals in shaping methodological proposals. Additionally, the article seeks to identify developments and changes over this period, highlighting any transformations in the teaching of pedagogical disciplines despite the educational policies and cultural directives of the dictatorship.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Pedagogy manuals; Normal Schools; Spain; XX Century.

1. *The pedagogy textbook as a source of research*

Textbooks have been recognized as one of the most significant sources in the study of educational history. They provide crucial insights not only into the subjects taught in the various grades but also into teaching methods and practices, for which the textbook has long been – and continues to be – a key reference¹.

¹ For insights on the importance and heuristic potential of this source, see: A. Choppin,

Indeed, textbooks have historically represented, though not exclusively, the pivotal instrument of school life, representing essential navigational guide for student learning in both classroom and independent study contexts.

The content of textbooks reflects the national curricula of specific disciplines but also reveals the individual interpretations of their authors, who may convey particular points of view, cultural prejudices, or even ideas that diverge from the national indications. When analyzed together with sources such as historical curricula, ministerial surveys, student notebooks, and various school memoirs, textbooks offer an interesting means of understanding the ‘inside’ history of education.

Beyond documenting pedagogical discourse, textbooks hold critical significance in secondary schools preparing future primary educators. They have helped to define the goals and methods, thus significantly shaping the future of teaching. Not surprisingly, within the growing body of research on textbooks, several studies have already focused on pedagogy textbooks for mainstream schools².

Regarding the Spanish context, Teresa Rabazas Romero has conducted exemplary research on the pedagogy manuals used in normal schools from the founding of the first in 1839 until the beginning of the Civil War³. The later period, however, deserves a more in-depth and dedicated study.

This article examines the content and evolution of textbooks across various

L'histoire des manuels scolaires. Une approche globale, «Histoire de l'éducation», vol. 3, n. 9, 1980, pp. 1-25; Id., *Les manuels scolaires: histoire et actualité*, Paris, Hachette Education, 1992; A. Escolano Benito, *Tipología de libros y géneros textuales en los manuales de la escuela tradicional*, in A. Tiana Ferrer (ed.), *El libro escolar, reflejo de intenciones políticas e influencias pedagógicas*, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2000, pp. 439-449; J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli Rubio, *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 47-59; 119-138.

² On the subject see: A. Molero Pintado, *Los manuales de historia de la educación y la formación de los maestros (1900-1930)*, «Historia de la Educación», vol. 17, n. 1, 2000, pp. 251-288; M. Roulet, *Les Manuels de Pédagogie. 1880-1920*, Paris, PUF, 2001; L.M.B. Da Mota Girão, *Tacto, bom senso e prudência nos manuais de pedagogia e didáctica do magistério primário: a dimensão hermenêutica do trabalho do professor (Portugal, 1870-1950): A dimensão hermenêutica do trabalho do professor (Portugal, 1870-1950)*, Tese de Mestrado em Ciências da Educação, Área de Especializado em História da Educação, Tutor prof. J. Barroso, Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, Academic Year 2005; A.C. Da Luz Correia, E. Peres, *Aprender a ser profesor a través de los libros: representación profesional, currículum escolar y modelos de aprendizaje en los manuales de pedagogía y didáctica para la formación de profesores de enseñanza primaria en Portugal (1870-1950)*, in J.-L. Guereña, G. Ossensbach, M.d.M. del Pozo (edd.), *Manuales escolares en España, Portugal y América Latina: (siglos XIX y XX)*, Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2005, pp. 195-214; D. Gatti Júnior, C. Monarcha, M.H. Camara Bastos (edd.), *La enseñanza de historia de la educación en perspectiva internacional*, Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2019; P. Caocci, *La formazione magistrale in Italia negli anni del secondo dopoguerra e i manuali scolastici di pedagogia (1945-1968)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIX, n. 1, 2024, pp. 573-591.

³ T. Rabazas Romero, *Los manuales de pedagogía y la formación del profesorado en las escuelas normales de España (1839-1901)*, Madrid, UNED, 2001; Ead., *La evolución del ma-*

pedagogical disciplines used in Spanish normal schools from 1939 until the late 1960s. This period culminated in the *Ley General de Educación* (1970)⁴, which profoundly restructured the Spanish school system, including primary teacher education.

The sample includes approximately sixty manuals, sourced mainly from the Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE) in Berlanga de Duero⁵. These manuals span a range of subjects central to the pedagogical education of primary school teachers, covering general foundations such as *Pedagogía*, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, *Educación y su Historia*, and *Filosofía de la Educación*, as well as practical subjects like *Metodología y Organización Escolar* and *Prácticas de Enseñanza*.

2. Normal schools in Spain from the Plan of 1914 to the General Law of 1970

To understand the evolution of pedagogical subject textbooks between the rise of Franco's regime and the enactment of the *Ley General de Educación* of 1970⁶, it is essential to briefly outline the principal transformations that have characterized primary school teacher education. Spanish historiography has made significant contributions to this area, not only through studies on the evolution of normal schools⁷

terial escolar a través de los manuales de Pedagogía (1875-1936), «Revista española de pedagogía», vol. 243, n. 2, 2009, pp. 275-298.

⁴ For details on the characteristics, role, and impact of this law, see the essays in the recent special issue of the journal SEDHE, published on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the law: «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», vol. 14, 2021.

⁵ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Augustin Benito Escolano, former Professor of History of Education at the University of Valladolid and founder and director of the Center, for his gracious hospitality, invaluable advice, and numerous insights that have greatly enriched the study of the history and manuals of Spanish normal schools during the Franco dictatorship.

⁶ For information on the history of Spanish education during this period, see: A. Escolano Benito, *La educación en la España contemporánea. Políticas educativas, escolarización y culturas pedagógicas*, Madrid, Biblioteca nueva, 2002, pp. 159-218.

⁷ For information on the history of normal schools and the education of primary school teachers, see: M. Guzmán, *Cómo se han formado los maestros. 1871 a 1971: cien años de disposiciones oficiales*, Barcelona, Prima Luce, 1973; A. Escolano Benito, *Las Escuelas Normales. Siglo y medio de perspectiva histórica*, «Revista de Educación», vol. 269, n. 1, 1982, pp. 55-76; M. De Guzmán, *Vida y muerte de las Escuelas Normales. Historia de la formación del Magisterio básico*, Barcelona, Promoción Publicaciones Universitarias, 1986; J. Melcón Beltrán, *La formación del profesorado en España (1837-1914)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1992; R. Rodríguez Izquierdo, *Formación de las maestras desde 1940 a 1970. Un análisis de los Planes de Estudio desde una perspectiva Histórico-Legislativa y de Género*, «Escuela Abierta», vol. 2, n. 1, 1998, pp. 63-81; A. Molero Pintado, *La formación del Maestro español, un debate histórico permanente*, «Revista de Educación», Extraordinary issue with theme *La educación*

but also through more focused research on specific institutions of this kind⁸.

In the 19th century, much like in other European countries, Spain saw the widespread establishment of *escuelas normales* – secondary institutions dedicated to teacher education. Moving into the 20th century, a crucial step was the reform plan introduced in 1914 by Minister Francisco Bergamín García. Through the Royal Decree of August 30, several innovations were enacted, including eliminating the traditional division between elementary and higher grades, introducing scholarships, establishing new annexed colleges, and a cap of fifty pupils per class. The curriculum had a strong cultural focus and emphasized professional education, mainly through apprenticeships in annexed schools. These institutions allowed future teachers to gain hands-on teaching experience in real pedagogical environments, aligned with the latest developments in pedagogical theory across Europe.

An essential transformation in the structure of normal schools occurred in 1931 with the decree of September 29, which restructured these institutions, elevating them to university status. Among the key advocates of this reform was Rodolfo Llopis Ferrándiz, the Director-general of primary education, professor at the normal school, and director of the influential «Revista de Escuelas Normales», a publication that kept pace with the latest developments in pedagogy theory across Europe.

en España en el siglo XX, n. 1 Extra, 2000, pp. 59-82; M.D. Peralta Ortiz, *La escuela primaria y el Magisterio en los comienzos del franquismo*, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia, 2012, pp. 151-206; A. Molero Pintado, *Modelos de formación de maestros* and M. Beas Miranda, J.A. Lorenzo Vicente, S. Montes Moreno, *Identidad profesional del magisterio español en el tardo-franquismo*, in T. González Pérez (ed.), *Reformas educativas y formación de profesores*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2015, pp. 23-47, 49-80; F.A. Gómez, *La renovación metodológica en la formación de maestros. El caso de la escuela de magisterio de la Iglesia Escuni (1967-1983)*, Tesis Doctoral, Escuela Internacional de Doctorado – UNED, directora Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter, codirectora María Dolores Peralta Ortiz, 2023, pp. 102-142.

⁸ Some of the most significant works include A. Ávila Fernández, *Historia de la Escuela normal de maestro de Sevilla en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*, Sevilla, Ediciones Alfar, 1986; J.F. Cerezo Manrique, *La formación de maestros en Castilla y Leon (1900-1936)*, Salamanca, Ediciones de la Diputación de Salamanca, 1991; A. Miñambres Abad, *L'Escola normal de Lleida. Una crònica dels seus primers 100 anys*, Lleida, Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1994; A.S. Porto Ucha, *A escola normal de Pontevedra (1845-1940). O contexto curricular e social na formação do profesorado*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1994; A. Ávila Fernández, Á. Huerta Martínez, *La formación de Maestros de Primeras Letras en Sevilla y Cuba durante el siglo XIX*, Sevilla, Editorial Kronos, 1995; *A educación en Galicia (1669-1970). Aos 150 anos da creación da Escola Normal Superior. Textos escolares, escritos de Pedagogía, prensa educativa. Catálogo da exposición*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1999; A. Marco López, A.S. Porto Ucha, *A Escola Normal de Santiago de Compostela. De Escola Normal Superior a Escola Universitaria (1849-1996)*, Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2000; M.R. Domínguez Cabrejas, *La Escuela Normal de Maestros de Zaragoza (1844-1936)*, Zaragoza, Aragón en aula, 2002; F. Larossa Martínez, L. Maldonado Izquierdo, *Las escuelas normales de Alicante. Conservadurismo y renovación entre 1844 y 1931*, Alicante, Publicaciones Universidad de Alicante, 2012.

The legislation was then completed with the promulgation of new school regulations (17 April 1933). This new plan reorganized primary teacher education into three stages: cultural, professional, and final apprenticeship. The cultural stage was to take place during the higher baccalaureate. However, a transitional three-year *Formación Cultural* course, organized by the normal schools themselves, was offered for those lacking this qualification. The professional stage occurred within the same normal schools, which had evolved into post-secondary institutions by this time. This phase lasted three years, followed by a year-long apprenticeship during which students were assigned to an institution under the joint supervision of teachers from the normal schools and the Primary Education Inspectorate.

In addition to general pedagogical knowledge, the curriculum also included specific methodologies, placing a strong emphasis on teaching in kindergartens and working with children with disabilities. The reform introduced co-education, entrance exams with capped numbers, and streamlined pathway to the teaching profession. The 1931 reform positioned Spanish normal schools at the forefront of Europe, on par with German innovations, which had already integrated 'pedagogical academies' into university-type institutions.

After the end of the Civil War, the Spanish dictatorship repealed the legislation enacted during the Second Republic (1931-1936). Regarding teacher education, the regime reverted to a model similar to 1914, requiring only second-level schooling to qualify future teachers. An exceptional measure was introduced on February 10, 1940, with the approval of the so-called *Bachiller Plan*. This policy aimed to facilitate the qualification process for primary teaching for individuals holding a basic higher baccalaureate degree. This move reflected the need to address teacher shortages during a challenging historical period.

Initial work on the new system began with a provisional plan approved in 1942, which applied to the first year of study. Over the following years, further provisions were established for the remaining three years, culminating in approving a new law on July 17, 1945. This law, focused on primary education and teacher education, was further detailed by a ministerial order issued on October 9, which renamed these schools as *Escuelas del Magisterio Primario*.

Admission requirements included passing a closed examination, being at least fourteen years old, and having completed the first four years of baccalaureate studies. The program spanned three years and included practical hours in annexed schools. After extended debate and various proposals that shaped Franco's reconstruction, the 1945 plan ultimately endorsed a secondary-level model for teacher education institutions.

On July 7, 1950, a new regulation for the *Escuelas del Magisterio Primario* was approved. The regulation revised the curriculum to emphasize the following objectives: religious and moral education, political and social teaching, physical development, general cultural knowledge, theoretical professional instruction, and practical teaching experience.

This legislative order remained in place until the late 1960s, during the technocratic phase that shaped Spanish educational policies in the final years of Francoism. This period was influenced by the growing impact of international organizations, such as the OECD and UNESCO, which advocated for significant educational reforms to address the increasingly evident inadequacies in the Spanish system, as highlighted in the well-known 1969 *Libro Blanco*. One of the first reform initiatives was the 1967 revision of the normal school's curriculum, a substantial step forward in teacher preparation that prefigured elements later formalized in the Act of 1970.

Although the entrance test was eliminated, the 1967 reform introduced the higher baccalaureate as a requirement, effectively elevating teacher education to an academic level. The program included two years of disciplinary-focused teaching, followed by an examination. Upon passing this exam, students could progress to a third year, consisting of a paid apprenticeship. However, this plan was short-lived; it was soon revised amid the sweeping changes by the *Ley General de Educación* championed by Minister Villar Palasí and enacted in 1970.

The regulation permanently restructured the *Escuelas Normales*, renaming them *Escuelas Universitarias del Profesorado de Educación General Básica*. A 1972 law further clarified this transition. In 1971, an experimental plan for teaching activities was approved and later confirmed, with some modifications, in 1977. Aligned with the new *Enseñanza General Básica* system introduced in 1970, which mandated eight years of compulsory teaching, the teacher education program was structured as a three-year course that combined foundational and didactic subjects. The first year provided a common curriculum, while the following years specialized in fields such as language teaching, science, or humanities, with preschool and special pedagogy added in 1977. However, adapting to the university model proved challenging and led to issues that were only fully resolved in the 1990s.

3. *Pedagogical subjects in normal schools*

Between the post-war provisional plans and the passage of the 1970 Act, pedagogical subjects remained central in normal schools, though their organization varied across different plans. As with all textbooks, curriculum changes influenced the publication and updates of these materials. Before examining the content of these books, it is essential to consider the critical stages of this evolution and the distinctions among the pedagogical subjects.

To understand the distribution of pedagogical disciplines in normal schools during the Franco dictatorship, it is helpful to examine their allocation in the 1914 plan, which served as a model after the Civil War. *Pedagogía* was

introduced in the second year in this four-year program and continued into the third. The third year also included the more specialized *Prácticas de Enseñanza*. In the fourth and final year, *Prácticas de Enseñanza* continued alongside courses in *Historia de la Pedagogía* and *Rudimentos de Derecho y Legislación Escolar*.

As noted, the 1931 Normal Schools Act introduced significant innovations in teacher education. The professional curriculum included three annual courses, each focused on preparing students for their future teacher roles. In the first year, students studied *Psicología* and *Elementos de Filosofía*; the second year covered *Pedagogía*; and the third year included *Paidología*, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, and *Organización Escolar*. Each year also required six hours of weekly apprenticeship. However, with the advent of Francoism, the provisions of the Second Republic were repealed, and the four-year course from the 1914 plan was reinstated. Following provisional plans, the curriculum was revised again in 1945: *Pedagogía* and *Psicología General y Aplicada* were taught in the first year, *Filosofía de la Educación* and *Metodología y Organización Escolar* in the second, while *Psicología General y Aplicada* and *Historia de la Pedagogía* were included in the third year. The teaching of *Prácticas de Enseñanza* was confirmed in all three years.

The 1950 plan, which remained in effect for seventeen years, introduced several changes. *Pedagogía* was removed from the first-year curriculum and replaced with *Filosofía: Psicología, Lógica y Ética*. In the second year, alongside *Psicología: Pedagógica y Paidológica*, a new course titled *Pedagogía: Educación y su Historia* was introduced, merging general pedagogy with its history. In the third year, students studied *Pedagogía: Metodología General y Organización Escolar*. Additionally, a dedicated *Prácticas de Enseñanza* course was included each year.

This curriculum remained unchanged until 1967 when normal schools transitioned closer to university-level institutions. Admission now required a higher baccalaureate, and the program spanned two years, followed by a third year dedicated to an apprenticeship. The curriculum placed strong emphasis on specific disciplinary didactics – such as *Didáctica de las Matemáticas*, *Didáctica de la Geografía y Historia*, and *Didáctica de la Religión* – while also incorporating foundational disciplines, including pedagogical studies. In the first year, students completed courses in *Pedagogía y Historia de la Educación*, *Prácticas de Enseñanza*, *Psicología General y Evolutiva*, and *Filosofía y Sociología de la Educación*. In addition to these subjects, reinforced in the second year, there was the teaching of *Didáctica y organización escolar* and *Filosofía y Sociología de la Educación*, as well as *Prácticas de Enseñanza*. In the second year, these subjects were reinforced with additional courses in *Didáctica y Organización Escolar*, *Filosofía y Sociología de la Educación*, and *Prácticas de Enseñanza*.

The 1970 reform marked a significant transformation of Normal Schools.

They are now integrated into an academic framework and have a curriculum increasingly open to educational sciences, special pedagogy, and preschool.

4. *The sample analyzed: some common elements*

Before delving into the content of the volumes, we can begin by identifying some common elements among the analyzed manuals. One notable aspect relates to the authorship. Most editors of these works were directors or professors at normal schools or affiliated colleges. For instance, Antonio Gil Muñiz was a professor in Málaga, Cesáreo Herrero Salgado served as director of the affiliated college in Valladolid, and Eduardo Málaga García was a professor in Cáceres and a former inspector. Other prominent figures, such as Antonio Floriano Cumbreño, Emilio Latorre y Timoneda, Teodoro Agustín Rubio, Francisca Montilla, and Luis Alonso Fernández, held positions as professors in Madrid. Some authors, like Antonio Onieva, were inspectors, while others were university professors of philosophy and pedagogy, such as Consuelo Sánchez Buchón and Ángel González Álvarez. Additionally, a few were clergy members, such as Daniel Llorente, Bishop of Segovia. In particular, several authors, including Antonio Floriano Cumbreño, Gil Muñiz, Latorre y Timoneda, Ezequiel Solana, Francisca Montilla, and Luis Alonso Fernández, have published scholastic books dedicated to several pedagogical disciplines, such as general pedagogy, history of pedagogy and methodology.

In the 1940s and 1950s, these manuals exhibited a noticeable simplicity in graphic design. Covers were austere, layouts were minimalist, and illustrations or images within the text were largely absent. Some volumes included summary diagrams, as seen in Sánchez Buchón's popular volume⁹, while others provided brief summaries at the end of each lesson or chapter.

Since the 1960s, with the emergence of the so-called «second generation of textbooks»¹⁰, there has been a notable graphic evolution and substantial redesign. Sánchez Buchón's volume is emblematic of this change: in the 1969 edition, for example, the paper is thinner and glossier, the layout more flexible, with bulleted lists and bold text used to emphasize key concepts. Methodology books also saw significant updates, now enriched with illustrations and photographs, albeit still in black and white¹¹. Additionally, these books included

⁹ C. Sánchez Buchón, *Curso de pedagogía*, Madrid, Colección Padre Poveda, 1958.

¹⁰ See: A. Escolano Benito, *La segunda generación de manuales escolares*, in Id., *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España. De la postguerra a la reforma educativa*, Madrid, Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1998, pp. 19-47.

¹¹ C. Herrero Salgado, J.F. Pastora Herrero, *Prácticas de Enseñanza. Primer Curso. Adaptada al Cuestionario Oficial*, Valladolid, Editorial Minon, 1969.

exercises and review questions at the end of each chapter. Similar innovations appeared in Jesus Llopis's volume, which incorporated numerous images to illustrate the history of pedagogy¹².

Regarding the contents of the manuals, it is helpful in first explore those related to *Pedagogía* and *Historia de la Pedagogía* (which were combined from 1950 to 1967), and then to examine the more practical subjects: *Metodología General y Organización Escolar* and *Prácticas de Enseñanza*.

5. Textbooks on general pedagogy and the history of education

As noted, until 1950, teacher education included distinct disciplines such as *Pedagogía*, *Filosofía y Sociología de la Educación*, and *Historia de la Pedagogía*. Under the new plan, *Filosofía de la Educación* was removed, and *Pedagogía* was merged with *Historia de la Pedagogía*. Although this change led to the publication of new manuals covering both subjects together¹³, separate volumes on General Pedagogy and History of Pedagogy continued to be published and reprinted, suggesting that they were both still used within the same discipline.

The Pedagogy textbooks generally followed a three-part structure: first, an exploration of the concept of pedagogy, including its epistemological status and connections to other sciences; second, the core themes of general pedagogy, covering the aims of education, key participants, methods, didactic systems, and the physical, intellectual, and ethical development of students; and third, differential pedagogy, which addressed factors like age, gender, and aspects of special pedagogy. Additionally, these textbooks often included insights into child development, with principles of paidology and methods for assessing growth. The History of Pedagogy volumes provided a historical overview of the field, beginning from the Paleolithic era.

The syllabus then continued with studying ancient civilizations, including Eastern cultures, followed by examining classical pedagogical models. Significant emphasis was placed on religious Revelation and its impact on education¹⁴, with detailed coverage of Christian figures, traditions, and religious

¹² J. Llopis, *Historia de la educación: Obra adaptada al cuestionario de primer curso de las Escuelas Normales*, Barcelona, Jesus Llopis, 1969.

¹³ See: F. Montilla, *La educación y su historia*, Madrid, Prologo de Socorro Santos, Huerta, 1951; L. Alonso Fernández, *Pedagogía. Educación y su Historia*, Madrid, Impresos Marcos, 1953; E. Málaga García, *Educación y su historia*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1953; R. Vega Alonso, *Educación y su historia*, Madrid, Imp. Soler, 1952.

¹⁴ The figure of Jesus Christ was represented with great emphasis. In a chapter paradigmatically titled «La educación en los orígenes radicales de la actual cultura occidental» which discussed Jewish and Christian culture following classical culture, Jesus of Nazareth was intro-

congregations. The volumes then explored significant authors and periods from the Renaissance to contemporary movements. While Spanish contributions received considerable attention, substantial space was also devoted to the history of international, primarily Western, pedagogy. Most volumes included a specific section on Latin American pedagogy and educational contexts. Overall, the focus of these reconstructions leaned heavily towards the history of pedagogical ideas, though references to social and cultural realities, as well as school legislation, were also present.

The *Educación y su Historia* manuals integrated these two elements by first exploring the concepts of education and pedagogy, then tracing the history within the previously outlined historical framework. Notably, the historical perspective remains a fundamental component even in the pedagogy manuals, which are organized thematically.

The content of these manuals cannot be considered neutral in their presentation of pedagogical science and guidance for future teachers. They generally reflected an anthropological outlook rooted in a spiritualist perspective, emphasizing ethical education and the religious dimension. In a chapter titled *Tendencias actuales en la enseñanza*, the manual published by Edelvives underscores this orientation, clarifying: «La educación es incompleta cuando se limita a facilitar solamente la adquisición de conocimientos. Debe formar la voluntad, ilustrar la conciencia, elevar el alma hacia el bien supremo. Los países más cultos advierten la importancia de la enseñanza religiosa. Si por casualidad algún gobierno sectario la proscribiera de las escuelas oficiales, las escuelas privadas conservan celosamente la enseñanza de la religión»¹⁵. A sentence in Francisca Montilla's textbook emblematically represents a common perspective found in other texts as well: «La educación debe ser religiosa. De tal manera, que no puede limitarse a dar noticia de las principales verdades de fe, ni a transmitir siquiera el conocimiento completo de su contenido. La Religión será, por el contrario, la base de la tarea educadora, su motivo inspirador, su raíz, su apoyo, su culminación»¹⁶. In another volume, the same author writes: «Únicamente la doctrina católica tiene en cuenta la totalidad de la persona humana y confiere al hombre la plenitud de su ser y la grandeza sublime de su destino»¹⁷.

duced in a sub-chapter called *El Maestro divino*. These are the opening lines: «Extendido por todo el mundo conocido el imperio romano y gozando de paz, bajo el reinado de Augusto, se verificó el acontecimiento más extraordinario que han presenciado los siglos; la Segunda Persona de la Santísima Trinidad, Jesucristo, tomando carne humana por obra del Espíritu Santo, nació de María Virgen, pobre y desconocido, en el Portal de Belén. El Mesías prometido por Dios y anunciado por los Profetas, el Redentor del mundo, que habla de salvar a los hombres del cautiverio del pecado, 'vino a su propia casa y los suyos no lo recibieron'». F. Montilla, *Historia de la Educación*, Madrid, Graficas Andreas Martin, 1958, p. 64.

¹⁵ Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, Zaragoza, Editorial Luis Vives, 1965, Vol. II, p. 399.

¹⁶ F. Montilla, *Teoría de la educación*, Madrid, Gráficas Andrés Martín, 1959, p. 23.

¹⁷ Id., *La educación y su historia*, Madrid, Prologo de Socorro Santos, Huerta, 1951, p. 42.

The connection to the Catholic faith is deeply ingrained, permeating various chapters and often explicitly expressed through the bishop's formal *impri-matur* and declarations of loyalty to the Catholic Church and its educational ideals¹⁸. Some books conclude with the phrase *Laus Deo*¹⁹. An emblematic example is the book by Sanchez Buchon, who, after sending the first edition to Paul VI, received a letter of esteem and encouragement from the Pope. This letter was subsequently included in the introductory section of all thirty editions published between 1954 and 1970.

The Vatican magisterium heavily influences the content of these volumes, with numerous references to encyclicals by popes such as Leo XIII, Pius X, and Pius XII. A central point of reference is the encyclical *Divini illius Magistri*, which is constantly quoted in all the manuals, including those focused on methodology and school organization²⁰. Notably, the second volume of the History of Pedagogy, published by Edelvives in 1935 and reprinted with additions in 1965, devotes its final chapter to the pedagogical encyclical of Pius XI²¹.

In terms of content, the historical sections of the pedagogy manuals emphasize the Catholic view and tradition. In tracing the evolution of pedagogical

¹⁸ In this regard, the following remark in the preface of a textbook is particularly significant: «No detallamos las innovaciones de la presente edición. El lector las comprobará por sí mismo. Diremos, sin embargo, que la modernidad no le resta ninguno de sus reconocidos y antiguos valores: sencillez, claridad, información, criterio católico e imparcialidad». Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, cit., Vol. I, p. 12.

¹⁹ R. Blanco y Sanchez, *Tratado elemental de Pedagogía: Educación y Enseñanza*, Oviedo, Editorial «Hernando», 1941, p. 237; L. Alonso Fernández, *Metodología y organización escolar*, Madrid, Impresos Marcos, 1952, p. 167; A.C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Curso general de Didáctica (Metodología y organización escolar)*, Oviedo, Editorial Supra, 1947, p. 323.

²⁰ See: Edelvives, *Pedagogía general*, Zaragoza, Editorial Luis Vives, 1945, p. VI; E. Ubeda, *Lecciones de Pedagogía Fundamental*, Murcia, Imprenta Escuela Lourdes, 1945, pp. 141, 149, 153, 172, 181; L. Alonso Fernández, *Pedagogía elemental: obra adaptada a cuestionario oficial*, Madrid, Imprenta Sáez, 1946, p. 186; E. Solana, *Pedagogía general*, Madrid, Editorial Escuela Española, 1946, pp. 29-32; L. Alonso Fernández, *Filosofía de la Educación*, Madrid, Imprenta Saez, 1946, p. 145; D. Llorente, *Curso teórico práctico de pedagogía*, Valladolid, Editorial Casa Martín, 1948, pp. 3, 29, 32, 37, 42, 53; L. Alonso Fernández, *Pedagogía. Educación y su Historia*, cit., pp. 28, 196; E. Latorre Timoneda, T.A. Rubio, *Psicología pedagógica y paidológica*, Madrid, Imprenta Juan Bravo, 1955, p. 14; A. Gonzáles Álvarez, *Filosofía de la Educación*, Madrid, Editorial Escuela Española, 1956, p. 103; F. Montilla, *Metodología y organización escolar*, Madrid, Editorial Imprenta y librería, 1956, pp. 102, 204-205, 208, 249; Sanchez Buchon, *Curso de pedagogía*, cit., p. 38; Montilla, *Historia de la Educación*, cit., pp. 253-255; T.A. Rubio, *Prácticas de enseñanza, primer curso. Obra adaptada al cuestionario oficial*, Madrid, Talleres de editorial magisterio español, 1958, p. 116; Montilla, *Teoría de la educación*, cit., pp. 27, 83, 86, 212; E. Damseaux, E. Solana, *Historia de la pedagogía: Completada hasta nuestros días por "Escuela Española"*, Madrid, Editorial Escuela Española, 1967, pp. 284, 543-549; P. Griéger, *Pedagogía general: Tratado de pedagogía*, Alcoy, Editorial Marfil, 1968, p. 23; Llopis, *Historia de la educación: Obra adaptada al cuestionario de primer curso de las Escuelas Normales*, cit., pp. 445-447.

²¹ Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 408-414.

thought, significant attention is given to the educational aspects of the Christian message. In a section aptly titled *Epílogo cristiano del clasicismo*, Antonio Floriano Cumbreño introduces the topic as follows: «El advenimiento de JESÚS, Nuestro Señor, es el hecho que viene a señalar al hombre su verdadero fin y su destino; ruta y destino que traspasan las fronteras de lo terreno para alcanzar un más allá y situarle, tras lo temporal y caduco, en las regiones infinitas de lo perdurable y eterno. JESÚS redime al hombre, señalándole las vías de su salvación mediante la sublimidad de su sacrificio y merced a las excelencias de su doctrina. Esta cambia los conceptos de la vida que regían las aspiraciones humanas del viejo mundo y, al concretar el fin supremo en supremos ideales, transforma la marcha vital de las sociedades y señala nuevos rumbos a las costumbres, sobre las bases de una renovada moral, que comporta, en sí la marca augusta de su divino origen»²².

The influence of Catholicism and the Vatican Magisterium is also evident in the adherence to specific views. Among these, the manuals explore the reasons for opposing coeducation²³, emphasizing the advantages of separate teaching paths for each sex²⁴ – a position strongly endorsed by *Divini illius Magistri*.

The texts therefore reaffirm the educational role of the Catholic Church, which holds a primary role alongside the family. Various manuals criticize the «posturas abusiva del Estado»²⁵ abusive stance of the State, which, in some countries, has claimed monopolistic control over teaching. It is important to remember that the 1945 Elementary School Act itself defined the school in this way in Article 15: «Escuela es la comunidad activa de maestro y discípulos, instituida por la Familia, la Iglesia o el Estado, como órgano de la educación primaria, para la formación cristiana, patriótica e intelectual de la niñe española».

There are numerous references to the Spanish Catholic pedagogical tradition, with authors such as Andrés Manjón, Alberto García Vieyra, Pedro Poveda, Víctor García Hoz, Rufino Blanco, Juan Zaragüeta, and Ruiz Amado

²² A.C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Los problemas educativos ante la historia. Historia de la pedagogía, Primer tomo, La pedagogía antigua y medioeval*, Madrid, Editorial Magisterio Español, 1942, p. 80.

²³ Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 406-407.

²⁴ «La coeducación es indefendible, porque si educar es adaptarse al educando en el desenvolvimiento de sus potencias *específicas*, en las materias de enseñanza e incluso en el método, fácilmente se advierte que los niños y las niñas no pueden recibir una misma educación. Al niño se le educa para potenciar sus facultades, formar su carácter *varonil* y prepararle para la vida dura y luchadora que ha de exigirle la formación de una familia. A la niña se la educa para potenciar sus facultades, intensificar su *feminidad* y ser una mujer de su casa, esposa fuerte y madre amorosa e inteligente de sus hijos, y también para, en su caso, crearse un porvenir independiente del matrimonio. En cualquiera de los dos casos, la educación no puede ser la misma». A.J. Onieva, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, Madrid, Editorial Magisterio Español, 1950, p. 276.

²⁵ Montilla, *Teoría de la educación*, cit., p. 84.

prominently mentioned. Foreign authors' quotes are also abundant, primarily from the French-speaking pedagogy of the 19th and early 20th centuries, including figures like Félix Dupanloup, Martin Gillet, Frans De Hovre, and Désiré Mercier. Additionally, though to a lesser extent, Italian Catholic authors such as Don Giovanni Bosco, Mario Casotti, and Giovanni Calò are highlighted²⁶. The spiritualist approach predominantly draws from neo-scholastic inspiration²⁷, with numerous references to Tommaso d'Aquino and the authors associated with the Louvain Catholic circle. Manuals on the History of Pedagogy also devote considerable attention to this tradition, particularly noting its affirmation following the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. This perspective influences several aspects of educational theory, most notably the tripartite view of education – emphasizing physical, intellectual, and moral dimensions²⁸ – as well as in the fundamental concepts of pedagogy and the frameworks used to articulate educational discourse.

In most volumes, the preliminary sections illustrate the epistemological status of the discipline. While the experimental dimension is acknowledged as highly important – Herbart's contributions are particularly valued – it is emphasized that the scientific approach alone is insufficient to address the educational problem fully. A distinct philosophical, rational, or metaphysical perspective is also deemed essential. In a short chapter titled *El justo medio*, Llorente argues: «No puede admitirse que la Pedagogía experimental sea la única Pedagogía, ni que ese método empírico baste para un sistema total de la misma. Por de pronto nada puede decirnos del fin de la educación, tema trascendental en nuestra ciencia. Muy poco nos ofrece acerca de la formación del entendimiento y de la voluntad. Prescinde generalmente de la religión y hasta de la moral misma»²⁹.

The spiritualist and Catholic inspiration also strongly influences the model of the teacher presented in these volumes, which dedicate a specific section to this topic. The ideal teacher is portrayed as a virtuous and exemplary figure, both inside and outside the classroom³⁰. One of the most significant examples

²⁶ Regarding the Italian context, there are numerous references to pedagogues of various backgrounds: from the positivist tradition to Maria Montessori, from Giovanni Gentile to the criminological school of Lombroso. Notably, the pedagogy of Lombardo Radice stands out for its strong impact, with most textbooks drawing on his work. For more on the influence of this Sicilian pedagogue in Spain, see Y. Álvarez González, *Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and his reception in Spain in the first third of the 20th century*, in E. Scaglia (ed.), *Giuseppe Lombardo Radice in the early 20th century*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2023, pp. 111-121.

²⁷ Blanco y Sanchez's book refers to Matteo Liberatore and his volume *Del Compuesto humano* also published in Barcelona in 1882. Cf: Blanco y Sanchez, *Tratado elemental de Pedagogía: Educación y Enseñanza*, cit., p. 10.

²⁸ See: González Álvarez, *Filosofía de la Educación*, cit., p. 8.

²⁹ Llorente, *Curso teórico práctico de pedagogía*, cit., p. 26.

³⁰ An exemplary treatment of the subject can be found in the chapter dedicated to it in Edelvives's volume, *Pedagogía general*, cit., pp. 29-62.

is the view of Úbeda who, in identifying the primary qualities of a teacher, writes: «Primeramente, hay que considerar las cualidades religiosas y morales. En este orden el maestro ha de aspirar a la mayor perfección posible. «El alumno – dice Lombardo Radice – busca en el maestro su propia conciencia». El valor de un maestro como tal, pende, tanto de cómo se ofrezca él mismo como ejemplo, cuanto de su propia actuación positiva. Su vida religiosa y su vida moral ha de ofrecerse tan pura y tan recta, sobre todo, fan clara, a la luz de la sociedad, que sirva de firme cimiento, de valoración y de confirmación a su actuación profesional»³¹. All textbooks discuss the role of patriotic education, emphasizing that from an early age, students should be introduced to national values and knowledge of «hazañas españolas». Gil Muñiz, for instance, writes: «La escuela española ha de enseñar al niño a amar y reverenciar el pasado de la patria, sus glorias pretéritas. las hazañas de su historia, y entre todas y sobre todas las que ha hecho para siempre el nombre de España inmortal en los fastos de la historia universal; el descubrimiento, conquista y civilización del continente americano»³².

In various pedagogical and historical manuals, the ideological perspective also shapes the interpretation and portrayal of other educational currents. Especially in the 1940s and 1950s, attitudes toward non-Catholic pedagogues or viewpoints were strongly critical. These texts highlighted the potential harms and risks associated with perspectives considered partial or, to varying degrees, distorted. The main perspectives criticized were naturalism, socialism, anarchism, individualism, rationalism, and even nationalism, the latter blamed for attempting to reduce human life to that of the state.

Certain books specifically criticize a form of activist naturalism³³, both in its international expression – such as Dewey³⁴, who is sometimes classi-

³¹ Ubeda, *Lecciones de Pedagogía Fundamental*, cit., p. 176.

³² A. Gil Muñiz, *Tratado de la Educación*, Málaga, Librería Denis, 1958, p. 68.

³³ Francisca Montilla's critique of naturalism is notably uncompromising: «El naturalismo posee una noción incompleta del hombre: no ha querido reconocer en él más que el aspecto puramente natural, ignorando o negando otros aspectos mucho más valiosos y estimables. Tampoco se da cuenta de la vida real, poseyendo una visión de la misma vana y superficial, incapaz de satisfacer las aspiraciones humanas». Montilla, *La educación y su historia, Prologo de Socorro Santos*, cit., p. 38.

³⁴ «Las ideas de Dewey – Ubeda writes – se han extendido rápidamente responden al aspecto utilitario del pensamiento norteamericano. Mas no pueden aceptarse en sus principios ideológicos, cuando afirma que las cosas han de ser comprendidas en su origen y en su función, sin tener para nada en cuenta consideraciones supra naturales». Ubeda, *Lecciones de Pedagogía Fundamental*, cit., p. 183. Similarly, Alonso Fernández writes: «El gran defecto de Dewey es la ausencia de todo sentido religioso; además, el individuo es, en último término, fin de toda la vida social; en nuestra conciencia y en lo íntimo de nuestro ser buen pensamientos y acciones que escapan a la comunidad sin dejar de tener una considerable significación social, y no toda la vida ni la educación es actividad manual». L. Alonso Fernández, *Historia de la pedagogía*, Madrid, Imprenta Saez, 1946, p. 195.

fied among «socialist» and «atheist» educators³⁵ – and in the views of some Spanish authors like Luzuriaga³⁶. Several authors expressed concern over the possibility of socialist tendencies infiltrating activist approaches, sometimes through oversimplified representations³⁷. For example, in Francisca Montilla's book, *the Institución Libre de Enseñanza* is described as an expression of «pedagogical atheism» which, during the republican phases, was committed to opposing Spain's religious educational tradition³⁸.

It should be noted that the volumes published in the early 1940s still reflect the upheavals that profoundly impacted Spain during the Civil War³⁹. While the Dictator and the «Alzamiento Nacional»⁴⁰ are praised, the need to rediscover Spain's national pedagogical tradition, rooted in Catholic inspiration, is often emphasized. This tradition is argued to have often anticipated other international currents.

The History of Pedagogy volume by Damseaux and Solana is particularly

³⁵ Cfr. Montilla, *La educación y su historia*, Prologo de Socorro Santos, cit., p. 230; Id., *Historia de la Educación*, cit., p. 293.

³⁶ Cfr. Gonzáles Álvarez, *Filosofía de la Educación*, cit., pp. 92, 178.

³⁷ «Una cosa es el «trabajo escolar» y otra distinta las «escuelas de trabajo», preconizadas en estas últimas décadas por Dewey, Kerschensteiner, Thorndike y otros, y que no son sino la preparación del niño para los sistemas políticos socialistas que aquellos autores preconizaron. Consideramos natural que al niño se le forme como futuro participante de «lo social», es decir, como muchacho que ha de estar encuadrado en la sociedad con un oficio, profesión o carrera que le permita cumplir sus fines humanos; pero estimamos erróneo formarlo como futuro adepto de determinadas agrupaciones político-sociales. Si rechazamos la formación técnica escolar, con más calor rechazaremos la futura preparación política de grupo o secta. La escuela española debe formar buenos católicos y buenos ciudadanos, preparados con la educación general suficiente, para que luego puedan elegir la profesionalidad que mejor les convenga. Otra cosa sería desnaturalizarla». Onieva, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., p. 52.

³⁸ «Los hombres de la Institución libre de enseñanza, estratégicamente situados con el apoyo suicida de la monarquía, fueron después los directores de la pedagogía y de la política republicana, que quiso imponer el laicismo, la coeducación y la escuela única, novedades calcadas en moldes extranjeros, contrarias a nuestras creencias, a nuestro temperamento y a nuestra tradición. En el extranjero, la pedagogía que no quiere intervenir el problema de orden religiosos y nada dice al niño sobre estas cuestiones, ha enaltecido a sus paladines, dándoles categoría de grandes reformadores. Así lo hizo con Ferriere, Dewey, Clapared, Deeryol [sic!]. El movimiento mundial denominado *educación nueva*, se apoya sobre postulados semejantes a los que ofreció a España la república de 1931». Montilla, *La educación y su historia*, Prologo de Socorro Santos, cit., p. 232.

³⁹ The manuals contain various references to the Caudillo. In the 1940 edition of Ezequiel Solana's book, there is an emblematic eulogy to the dictator, which was later removed in the 1946 edition: «Los deseos de muchos maestros y la necesidad de dar un medio para estudiar las cuestiones de Pedagogía general a los alumnos normalistas y bachilleres que aspiren a obtener el título de maestro, nos decidió a hacer esta nueva edición, que ofrecemos al público con el mejor deseo de servirles y de colaborar al engrandecimiento de la Patria ganada por nuestro invicto Caudillo para el Orden, el Trabajo y la Cristiandad». Solana, *Pedagogía general*, cit., p. 5.

⁴⁰ Edelvives dedicated an entire chapter to defending and promoting the recent educational and school reforms of the new regime, titling the chapter «El renuevo de la Cruzada española». Cfr: Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 364-370.

significant in this regard. The first edition was published in 1911 and subsequently revised and republished over the decades by the journal «Escuela Española». In the preface to the 1944 edition, the editors stressed the importance of reestablishing a national approach to pedagogy⁴¹, dedicating a specific section in each chapter to the Spanish contribution.

In the same volume, Franco's victory is represented as a pedagogical achievement, marking the beginning of a *Nueva España* capable of overcoming the educational and scholastic errors of the early 20th century⁴². In his presentation of Antonio Floriano Cumbreño's pedagogy manual, Alfonso Iniesta made similar remarks: «Entre las modas intelectualistas que triunfaron en la España sectaria anterior al Movimiento nacional, la pedagógica tuvo alcance máximo y virulencia disolvente. Múltiples manuales fueron traducidos para ponerlos al servicio de los Maestros españoles. No discutimos el volumen científico de su contenido, más o menos calificado o exacto, pero hacemos destacar una tacha común a todos ellos: su extranjerismo [...]. Sin examen de aclimatación imprescindible, sin pensar en la fisonomía propia del niño español y en sus reacciones específicas, se introdujeron todas las novedades. El fracaso fue estrepitoso, agravado por el sectarismo y las pasiones antirreligiosas y antipatrióticas puestas al servicio de todas las malas pasiones y de todos los intereses de clase»⁴³.

⁴¹ «Al emprender la tarea de enfocar el estudio de la Historia de la Pedagogía nos queremos situar de lleno desde el punto de vista de las ideas genuinamente nacionales y de las creencias religiosas, como ya entonces preconizaba nuestro padre y que constituyen hoy el ideal que impulsa el Movimiento de la Nueva España. El criterio español, hoy día, ha adelantado un paso gigantesco. La manera de ver limitada, por mil razones que no son de este lugar, durante el siglo XIX y principios del XX, a una introducción a veces tímida del factor España en el concierto del mundo, cambia hoy en virtud de nuestro poderoso resurgimiento espiritual, que hace a España situarse a la cabeza de la civilización y que en el campo de la enseñanza reivindica para la Pedagogía española el haber constituido en su universalidad la Interpretación del concepto católico de la educación en todos los ámbitos del mundo. Así, pues, hay que revalorizar figuras y doctrinas que el criterio antinacional y antipatriótico del espíritu liberal había oscurecido sectariamente, y hay que revisar valores que también sectariamente se habían exagerado». E. Damseaux, E. Solana, *Historia de la pedagogía: Completada hasta nuestros días por "Escuela Española"*, Madrid, Editorial Escuela Española, 1944, p. 6.

⁴² These considerations, which already appeared in the 1944 edition, are confirmed in the 1967 edition.: «Vino el glorioso Movimiento Nacional como una reacción enérgica y rotunda contra todas las teorías y todos los procedimientos que habiendo germinado en filosofías laicas y extrañas arraigaron en España al amparo de un liberalismo inconsciente y acabaron por desvirtuar las puras esencias de la noble tradición española. Y, naturalmente, el Caudillo del Movimiento no lo había de ser sólo de los campos de batalla, sino que, en su visión de gran estadista, Franco quiere infiltrar gérmenes de vida nueva en el cuerpo enfermo de la Patria y se dirige a los maestros y les dice (Salamanca, 1937): 'Habéis visto el resurgir de un pueblo, de una raza, al calor de los santos ideales de Patria y Religión' 'Sois vosotros, maestros, los que tenéis que cultivar los ideales nacionales y a los que os corresponde la misión extraordinaria y sagrada de forjar la grandeza de España'». Idd., *Historia de la pedagogía: Completada hasta nuestros días por "Escuela Española"*, Madrid, Editorial Escuela Española, 1967, p. 584.

⁴³ A.C. Floriano Cumbreño, *Estudios de Pedagogía*, Madrid, Editorial Magisterio Español, 1941, p. 7.

Similar observations can be found in Llorente's textbook, particularly in the section on contemporary pedagogy. After exploring the pedagogy of activism, the author writes: «Desgraciadamente, de la escuela nueva muchos han pasado a partidarios de la escuela única, no sólo en el sentido de que haya conexión entre los diversos grados y etapas de la enseñanza, sino en el masónico-marxista que, con el pretexto de igualdad y bien social, ahoga toda libertad, conculca los derechos de los padres y pretende implantar, como obligatoria, la escuela laica y coeducación en todos los grados. El Museo Pedagógico Nacional, cuando estuvo en manos de la *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, propagó con el mayor empeño ese engendro masónico. El Señor, en su misericordia infinita, nos ha librado de semejante desgracia, dando el triunfo al glorioso alzamiento nacional, para bien de la niñez y de la juventud, de la Iglesia y de la Patria»⁴⁴. A negative portrayal of the association, and more broadly of the republican school, is also common in other textbooks⁴⁵.

Since the late 1950s, the rigorist attitude toward other pedagogies appears to diminish in the manuals analyzed, giving way to a more descriptive and conciliatory approach toward non-Catholic perspectives. One of the most notable examples of this more open attitude is the work of Consuelo Sánchez Buchón⁴⁶, who, influenced by Teresian pedagogy, was committed to developing a more open pedagogy that could engage in dialogue with contemporary educational debates⁴⁷.

6. *Methodology manuals*

Since the provisional plan of 1940, normal schools have greatly emphasized the methodological and practical aspects. While general pedagogy, alongside the philosophy of education, addressed the metaphysical and ethical dimen-

⁴⁴ Llorente, *Curso teórico práctico de pedagogía*, cit., pp. 486-487.

⁴⁵ To give just two examples see: Montilla, *Historia de la Educación*, cit., p. 293; Edelvives, *Historia de la Pedagogía*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 358-363.

⁴⁶ For more on the contribution of this congregation, see: T. Rabazas Romero, C. Sanz Simón, S. Ramos Zamora, *La renovación pedagógica de la Institución Teresiana en el franquismo*, «Revista de educación», vol. 388, n. 2, 2020, pp. 109-129.

⁴⁷ In this regard, he writes in his volume: «Finalmente, debo señalar que en toda esta labor he contado con la ayuda, ¡quien lo creyera!, hasta de quienes militan en los campos ideológicos más distantes, ya que la verdad se impone por sí misma. Por esto podemos apreciar, que en fondo de toda doctrina que responda a un pensamiento sincero, aun del hombre no creyente, se percibe sin gran dificultad, en medio de sus confusiones y equivocaciones, una pugna entre la verdad y el error que le hace vacilar y caer no raramente en contradicciones, y permite vislumbrar entre celajes, afirmaciones de auténtica verdad. Y nos place hacer constar que cuanto de bueno en ellos se encuentra – a veces no poco –, se halla siempre asentado, aun con plena inconsciencia, sobre Quien, aunque desconocido o rechazado, es ‘piedra angular de todo edificio’, causa eficiente, ejemplar y final de toda educación». Sánchez Buchón, *Curso de pedagogía*, cit., p. 15.

sions of the discipline, other subjects – particularly *Metodología* and *Prácticas de enseñanza* – introduced teachers to a scientific understanding of the child and effective teaching methods. In this context, the teaching of *Paidología*, focused on defining the characteristics, development, and diversity of children's lives, is also of great interest.

During this period, the manuals followed the guidelines of the 1945 and 1950 plans, which were very similar in terms of program content. Methodology and school organization were presented as two distinct yet interconnected parts. The first part began with foundational principles of general methodology, covering topics such as the purpose of didactics, distinctions between educational methods, and principles for evaluating children on both anthropometric and intellectual levels. A significant portion was dedicated to special methodology, focusing on the didactics of specific subjects – religion, language, mathematics, science, art, and vocational work. For each discipline, the manuals outlined curricula, proposed teaching activities, and offered lesson suggestions. Beyond this general framework, the various manuals provided unique perspectives and insights. For example, Antonio Floriano Cumbreño included a brief history of each subject's teaching.

The section on organization always began with preliminary aspects related to the concept of a school and its aims. The program then delved into the technical aspects of buildings, covering topics such as classroom ventilation, sun exposure, bathroom requirements, and open-air spaces. Attention was given to common educational spaces like the library, school museum, and gymnasium. The manuals discussed the classroom, furniture, the importance of classroom decor, desk arrangement, and teaching aids.

The manuals also covered various school types, such as early childhood schools, single-room, rural, and mixed schools, with a typical emphasis on foreign school systems. They examined classroom organization in detail, including aspects of discipline, correction methods, and school inspections.

In addition to the methodology books, there were *Práctica de enseñanza* texts, which supported the practical education provided to students throughout all academic years. These books expanded on elements from the methodology texts and offered useful tools for classroom work, including evaluation sheets, teaching unit models, and dialogue-based lesson plans.

The practical dimension of these two disciplines should not imply that they were presented neutrally. Instead, they consistently reflect and align with the broader educational project for future teachers mentioned above. These volumes also reveal a strong influence of Catholic pedagogy, with numerous references and citations even at the practical-methodological level, prominently featuring figures like Manjón and Poveda. Other authors specializing in didactics and experimental pedagogy are also referenced. Notably, the works of Raymond Buyse are frequently cited, especially concerning the connection

between pedagogy and experimental research⁴⁸. Overall, a practical approach and the application of scientific methodology are emphasized, though several authors stress the need to balance this with rational pedagogy

All the volumes emphasize the significance of the new education movement and activism, highlighting key innovations it introduced. However, several authors note that some of these ideas had previously surfaced⁴⁹. Using the Spanish context as a reference, some authors underscore the pioneering contributions of Andrés Manjón's Ave Maria schools, particularly in the areas of active and outdoor education. Regarding instructional choices, the textbooks reflect a strong influence from Decroly's global method⁵⁰, which was then popular in several countries, including Italy.

Generally, all sections of these volumes are inspired by a vision in which the religious dimension serves as the core and unifying structure of teaching. It is no coincidence that religious teaching is always presented first in the sequence of special didactics. A significant portion of didactic instruction is dedicated to religious teaching, emphasizing its moral importance. References and appendices related to this dimension also appear in other sections. For instance, the section on the teacher's profile consistently begins with reflections on their qualities and education. While considering the professional aspects, all manuals underscore the ethical and moral role of the teacher, which is seen as grounded in a solid religious foundation. For example, Francisca Montilla, author of several popular volumes, writes: «Todo Maestro tiene que ser catequista. Pero no un catequista negligente, que se da por satisfecho haciendo que sus alumnos aprendan de memoria las preguntas de libro llamado Catecismo. El Maestro tiene que ser catequista educador, con igual sentido de responsabilidad y entrega que el Pontífice Pío X pedía a los Ministros de la Iglesia en su Encíclica *Acerbo Nimis*; entendiendo que la formación catequista de su alumnos es 'su obligación más estrecho y que no deben ponerse delante de ellos sin haberse antes preparado con estudio y seria meditación'»⁵¹. In a similar vein, Rubio also writes: «Varias son las notas fundamentales que podríamos dar de lo que se necesita para ser un buen Maestro. La labor educativa es tan comple-

⁴⁸ A. Gil Muñiz, *Didáctica. Metodología y Organización Escolar*, Málaga, Librería Denis, 1954, p. 139.

⁴⁹ Alonso Fernández's considerations are particularly significant: «Las escuelas al aire libre funcionan en Granada, por la iniciativa del ilustre educador don Andrés Manjón, desde 1888, dieciséis años antes que la más antigua del Extranjero, fundada en 1904 en Chalotemburgo [sic!], cerca de Berlín, según el testimonio de don Rufino Blanco». Alonso Fernández, *Metodología y organización escolar*, cit., p. 105.

⁵⁰ See: E. Málaga García, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, Burgos, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, 1954, p. 86; Montilla, *Metodología y organización escolar*, cit., pp. 55-59; Rubio, *Prácticas de enseñanza, segundo curso. Obra adaptada al cuestionario oficial*, cit., pp. 94-98; Onieva, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., pp. 112-114; Gil Muñiz, *Didáctica. Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., pp. 159-160, 515-517.

⁵¹ Montilla, *Metodología y organización escolar*, cit., p. 38.

ja, que para llegar en ella a la perfección se necesitan dotes tan singulares y especiales que es difícil encontrarlas vinculadas en una sola persona. Solamente el Divino Maestro poseyó en grado eminente todas las cualidades intrínsecas y extrínsecas para el ejercicio de su divina misión»⁵².

Some historical evaluations also highlight the role of Christianity. In sections devoted to special education, there is often a brief historical overview of institutions for disabled children. Several authors acknowledge the contributions of religious congregations in caring for these individuals and, more broadly, emphasize the inclusive sensitivity fostered by Christianity. Among the many examples, we focus on the Methodology textbook by Málaga García, who observes: «El Cristianismo respetó la vida de todo anormal, cualquiera que fuese la deficiencia, debiendo a nuestra Religión el respeto a su vida. Se inició con ello una etapa más humana, pero en cuanto a su educación y utilización, hasta bien entrada la Edad Moderna, ningún país se preocupó de ellos»⁵³.

When analyzing the didactics of various disciplines, emphasis was often placed on the educational and moral dimensions of the subjects. In introducing the teaching of history, for example, Gil Muñiz advised future teachers that: «La Enseñanza de la Historia ha de ser mórale». «El niño – writes – tiene que formular juicios y dar su opinión acerca de muchos personajes y sucesos y, por consiguiente, ha de ejercitar su conciencia con la formación de tales juicios. Además, la Historia predica con ejemplos, y los ejemplos ejercen más influencia, como sabemos sobre todo en los jóvenes-que los preceptos morales. Ella presenta ejemplos de todas clases; héroes que se sacrifican por la patria, mártires que ofrendan su vida a Dios, gentes honradas que dedican todas sus energías al trabajo, egoísmos, ambiciones, traiciones, inmoralidades... El maestro debe aprovechar todos esos elementos, que la Historia le ofrece, para despertar en los niños sentimientos de amor y admiración hacia lo bueno y de odio y repulsión hacia lo malo»⁵⁴. References to the religious dimension also appear in volumes covering other disciplines, such as art teaching⁵⁵.

These volumes, especially the sections addressing educational institutions, emphasize the importance of the family over state schools and defends freedom of education. Additionally, they underscore a critical stance on coeducation⁵⁶.

⁵² Rubio, *Prácticas de enseñanza, primer curso. Obra adaptada al cuestionario oficial*, cit., p. 116.

⁵³ Málaga García, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., p. 267.

⁵⁴ Gil Muñiz, *Didáctica. Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., pp. 286-287.

⁵⁵ Here is the incipit of the chapter titled *La educación estética en la escuela primaria*: «Un recuerdo de belleza es una alegría para siempre. Se goza espiritualmente ante una colección de cuadros de pintura, en un concierto, en un jardín, al contemplar un grandioso o pintoresco paisaje que Dios nos ofrece gratuitamente en plena naturaleza. A nadie le están prohibidos los goces de carácter estético, muchos de ellos totalmente gratuitos». Málaga García, *Metodología y Organización Escolar*, cit., p. 98.

⁵⁶ In Antonio Floriano Cumbreño's volume, for example, we read: «La coeducación por consiguiente es una modalidad escolar más que éticamente peligrosa, pedagógicamente equivocada.

Even in the section on classroom setup and furniture, references to the importance of the religious dimension can be found. For instance, we read: «el Crucifijo no se mantiene en la condición de elemento decorativo, olvidado a fuerza de verlo siempre a igual distancia inasequible. Su incorporación a la escuela, después de nuestra gloriosa Cruzada de liberación, tiene otro significado. Ya no es un símbolo religioso que recuerda la postura confesional del Estado, oficialmente proclamada. Su presencia, delante de los niños, significa que Cristo informa la educación entera y que los pequeños le pertenecen totalmente y por lo mismo, lo aman y le rinden culto de adoración rezando ante El y prodigando a su bendita imagen actos de devoción y de homenaje. Por eso el Crucifijo debe colocarse siempre a una altura conveniente, para que los niños no pierdan nunca el recuerdo de su presencia y se acostumbren a rezarle, a adornarlo con flores a encomendarle sus trabajos y ocupaciones, etc.»⁵⁷.

Teaching manuals also include references to and tributes to political power, including recommendations for celebrating *Caudillo Day* with children as part of educational activities⁵⁸.

Conclusions

While it would be beneficial to expand the sample of volumes studied, this research has identified some common elements in Spanish pedagogical textbooks during Francoism, shedding light on the content and perspectives of teacher education in that period. Despite some variations and nuances, the textbooks reflect a strong alignment between the pedagogical approaches promoted by the authors and the ideological orientation of the Dictatorship, which was distinctly marked by a national-Catholic influence. Notably, these volumes emphasize the Spanish and European spiritualist pedagogical traditions, displaying a certain disapproval toward some figures of activism pedagogy and a decisive critique of the socialist and anti-religious traditions that influenced certain phases of the Republic.

The analysis of these volumes reveals a vision of the teacher not only as an instructor of basic literacy but also as a moral and patriotic role model, with the task of promoting Christian values and love for the nation. In teaching methodology and practice, there is a clear effort to incorporate these principles

No la culparemos exageradamente como fuente de inmoralidad; pero sí como consecuencia de conceptos inmorales y anticristianos que justifican plenamente su condenación». Cumbreño, *Curso general de Didáctica (Metodología y organización escolar)*, cit., p. 276.

⁵⁷ Montilla, *Metodología y organización escolar*, cit., pp. 122-123.

⁵⁸ Rubio, *Prácticas de enseñanza, segundo curso. Obra adaptada al cuestionario oficial*, cit., pp. 139-140.

within the educational framework. At the same time, the methodological sections show a critical examination of international pedagogical debates, including some perspectives that go beyond strictly Catholic ideology. Furthermore, some authors show a gradual opening and shift away from more rigorist approaches, reflecting the nuanced and varied nature of Spanish pedagogy at the time, which was far from monolithic.