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Chapter 11

The Visual Discourse and Public Image of the Spanish Scouts (1912–1931)

Introduction

The publication, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (1908), by the English serviceman Robert Baden-Powell thrust the scout movement onto the world stage.¹ Nonetheless, there was no strategy to create a new organization behind this first edition. What did exist was a clear intent to form young people morally through recreation and play. This play, however, was actually a framework for educating adolescents in their free time. It was specifically designed to be implemented in existing British youth organizations, such as the Boys' Brigade or the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), as well as directly by groups of citizens.² The ideological background of this crusade was a clear response to certain social and political tensions of the time. On the one hand, it dealt with the fear of moral and physical decline among youth as the result of industrialization, urbanization, and the mechanization of production. On the other, it responded to the latent threat of a possible German invasion and a population of adolescents who were ill prepared to defend against it. Both issues were addressed by Baden-Powell's proposition.³

And thus arose the vision for the scouts which, with an overtly patriotic focus, aimed to promote character building and teach useful abilities by engaging with nature in play and observation, using a popular, motivational format.⁴ The Romantic

¹ *Scouting for Boys* became an immediate bestseller. Four editions were published during its first year, and during its second year, 60,000 copies were printed. Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell, Founder of the Boy Scouts* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 390–397.

² Eduard Vallory i Subirà, *L'educació en la ciutadania global. Estudi sobre els fonaments ideològics, el desenvolupament històric, la dimensió internacional i els valors i pràctiques de l'escoltisme mundial* (PhD dissertation, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2007).

³ Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920," *The English Historical Review* 101, no. 399 (Apr., 1986): 376–398. Allen Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts, Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900–1940," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 232–256.

⁴ Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2004); Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); John

Note: This chapter was written as part of the project *School Culture and Practices in the 20th Century*, funded by ERDF/ Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades–Agencia Estatal de Investigación/ EDU2017-82485-P.

perceptions of nature and the positive consideration of outdoor activities – compared to the negative effects of cities – are ever present in Baden-Powell's writing. We should note that in Europe at the time, the discourses on hygiene and nature, inspired by *romantisches Naturphilosophie* and based on the union of man and nature, had become basic pillars for all social regeneration programs at an international level. Even the *Lebensreform* (life reform) social movement in Germany and Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century defended a return to a lifestyle that was more in harmony with nature. All of this had a direct impact on the teaching reforms of the era. Nature and play, two ubiquitous concepts in the far-reaching progressive education movement, were connected in Baden-Powell's vision for the scouts. Consequently, young people formed into groups that started identifying themselves using the term "scouts" and began to feel that they were part of something bigger.

Baden-Powell's comprehensive educational proposal was built around the following points: 1) character education by cultivating certain civil and moral qualities; 2) physical education via mental determination and healthy habits; 3) the development of manual skills and arts via technical, manual, and mental training; and 4) encouraging a spirit of cooperation and service to one's neighbor, country, and God. All of these elements are interrelated and integrated in order to foster the personal, social, and spiritual development of each subject.⁵ Scouting – focusing on action, free assembly, co-existence in small groups, and respect for personalities and individuality – quickly became a successful recipe for education.

In line with the social analyst Eduard Vallroy's reflections, there are many keys to scouting's success. First, its timing in history. Scouting appeared at a time when the concepts of "youth" and "free time" began to take shape in the western world; and when outdoor life and "being in touch with nature" were recurring ideas in teaching reforms. Secondly, the extreme number of overlapping elements between the scouting project and institutions of social and political authority in Great Britain – i.e., the monarchy, the army, the education system, and the Anglican church – was a recipe for success. This overlap would be reproduced in many other countries. Finally, the diversity and relative ambiguity of the system for promoting citizenship in *Scouting for Boys* was an element that led not only to widespread acceptance, but also to the later internationalization of the project.⁶

Springhall, "The Boy Scouts, Class, and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements, 1908–1930," *International Review of Social History* 16, no. 2 (1971): 125–158; John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?," *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 934–942.

5 José Antonio Cieza García, "La educación física en la obra de Baden Powell (1875–1941)," *Historia de la Educación* 20 (2001): 284–285.

6 Eduard Vallroy i Subirà, "L'educació en la ciutadania global".

As a consequence, if we consider the movement at an international level, we appreciate its flexibility and how it was applied and focused very differently depending on the countries and cultures in which it took shape. The different scouting organizations that were created also had varied relationships with a wide range of political and religious powers. Taking this idea as a basis, the main objective of the current chapter is to explore the public image and social impact of the activities carried out by the Exploradores de España (Spanish Scouts) from the creation of the organization (1912) to the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic (1931).

Towards this objective, and as presenters, mediators, and observers, we analyze a large collection of photographic evidence (500) that has been found in various communication channels and archives: illustrated magazines (including *Nuevo Mundo*, *Mundo Gráfico*, *La Esfera*, *España Forestal*, *La Ilustració Catalana*, *Gran Vida*, and *Stadium*); publications created by the Spanish Scouts themselves (*Adelante*, *Cataluña Escultista*, *El Aullido del Lobo*, *España*, *El Tigre*, *Lobatos*, *Explorador*, *España*, *Faro y Guía*, *Kim*, *La Patrulla*, *La Selva*, *Málaga Escultista*, *Patria*, *Siempre Adelante*, *Siempre Útil*, and *Tabernes*);⁷ the photographic archives of the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (Catalonia Outdoor Center; a collection of more than 200 photos taken between 1912 and 1931 of the Minyons de Muntanya, a Catalan scout movement); and the general press (*ABC* and *Blanco y Negro*). The latter two were selected because they represent the resources with the greatest number of photographs from the time period under consideration. Their significance does not reside solely in the fact that they served to establish photography as a part of the news, but also in the influence that they had on other media at the time.⁸

The historical analysis of this collection of photographs is necessarily conditioned, as Peter Burke, Catherine Burke and Kate Rousmaniere⁹ have pointed out, by our previous understanding of the scouting movement as well as by the collective construction of a public imaginary around the movement that has been gestating for many years. The set of photographs of the Spanish Scouts that appeared in illustrated magazines, daily newspapers, and special publications created by the Scouts themselves shaped an iconic discourse that projected and spread a specific public image. We cannot ignore the power of these images to influence the construction of identities.

⁷ All of these publications were found and analyzed in the Biblioteca Valenciana Nicolau Primitiu (<http://bv.gva.es/va/>), and we would like to thank this library and its staff for their preparedness, professionalism, and facilities.

⁸ Antonio Pantoja Chaves, "Prensa y Fotografía. Historia del fotoperiodismo en España," *El Argonauta Español* 4 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.4000/argonauta.1346>

⁹ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); Catherine Burke, "Containing the School Child: Architectures and Pedagogies", *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 41 no. 4–5 (2005): 489–494, DOI: 10.1080/00309230500165635; Kate Rousmaniere, "Questioning the Visual in the History of Education", *History of Education* 30, no. 2 (2001): 109–116, DOI: 10.1080/00467600010012391.

We understand visual language to be a pivotal resource for the social construction of reality and, thus, for configuring and reconfiguring collective identities. Our approach to analyzing the media identity of the Spanish Scouts uses a qualitative methodology based on a study of the visual discourse strategies employed by specialized publications and the general press to handle information, and thus affect the social representation and impact of the public image of the scout movement.

The Scout Movement in Spain

In 1911, cavalry captains Pedro Rosselló (1873–1956) and Teodoro Iradier (1868–1940) attended a military training course in Paris and came into contact with the Éclaireurs – the French Scouts. Upon their return to Spain, Teodoro Iradier¹⁰ headed the creation of the Spanish Scouts, and Pedro Rosselló the creation of the Exploradores Barceloneses (Barcelonan Scouts). Pedro Rosselló's objective with the first scout movement in the country was to ensure that young people were healthy, in shape, moral, and spiritually well off. For his part, Teodoro Iradier received support from King Alfonso XIII and, in 1911, with the help of publicist Arturo Cuyás Armengol (1845–1925), began a public awareness campaign. The youth movement was well received, especially among the more affluent classes.¹¹ According to Iradier, scouting represented life in the open air, learning useful things, and carrying out good deeds. He also stated that today's scout would be tomorrow's practical man, proudly holding the title of restorer of the homeland.¹²

Though the aim of its creators was not to build an organization associated with the military, the Spanish Scouts were considered to have a conservative, nationalistic character that supported militarized patriotism. Their military style and near-complete disregard for the Catalan language created distance with the Barcelonan Scouts,¹³ and the significant education reforms that took place during those years in Catalonia, thanks to progressive republicanism and conservative, pro-Catalan political and financial groups.

¹⁰ His uncle, Manuel de Iradier Bulfy (1854–1911), upon returning from his travels to Equatorial Guinea between 1874 and 1884, organized what has been considered the predecessor to scout groups in Spain, the youth group known as “La Joven Exploradora.” Years later, his nephew, Teodoro Iradier, would kick-start the first group of Spanish Scouts. Xavier Montilla Salas, “Estatutos y reglamento orgánico de la asociación nacional de los exploradores de España y disposiciones oficiales que afectan a la misma,” *Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria* 22–23 (2003–2004): 431–450.

¹¹ María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, *Currículum e identidad nacional: regeneracionismos, nacionalismos y escuela pública: (1890–1939)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

¹² Ana María Varela-Lago, *Conquerors, Immigrants, Exiles: The Spanish Diaspora in the United States (1848–1948)* (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2008): 111.

¹³ Albert Balcells and Samper, Genis, *L'escotisme català (1911–1978)* (Barcelona: Editorial Barcanova, 1993).

Pedro Rosselló himself, in an expression of his disagreement with the conservative and centrist direction, stepped down in 1914, shortly after the Barcelonan Scouts became a local branch of the Spanish Scouts. In 1920, the Barcelonan Scouts actually merged with the Spanish Scouts, leaving the national group as the only recognized scouting organization in the country.

As previously noted, the ambiguity of the principles proposed by Baden-Powell allowed, without any serious contradictions, the Spanish Scouts to incorporate a comprehensive education plan based on activism and the outdoors as an educational space. At first, the organization was treated warily by the church, due to its close ties to the scout movement born in England that lay outside its realm of influence. The sectors involved with the redevelopment of the education system at the time were also wary of the group, fearing its high level of militarization, perhaps due to Iradier's more militarized interpretation of Baden-Powell's initial educational project.¹⁴ But the authorities' and church's unease was soon quashed, as the scouts began to embrace Catholic, conservative, monarchist, and patriotic Spanish ideals and values.¹⁵ In fact, the support received from traditional Spanish powers, such as the monarchy and nobility, military leaders, and the church, was fundamental to the growth of the Spanish Scouts. From their inception, they were supported by the monarchy and the government. On February 26, 1920, the organization received official national recognition via a Royal Decree issued by King Alfonso XIII. Under the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930), political support for the scout group grew, and the organization saw its highest level of expansion and development.¹⁶

The substantial militarism, and its use by the monarchy and the dictator Primo de Rivera, stirred opposition among groups involved in teaching reforms. Some of the leaders of the scout movement expressed their reservations and proposed different directions. In fact, in Catalonia for example, the so-called *Minyons de Muntanya* (Minions of the Mountain) were founded in 1927 by Josep Maria Batista i Roca (1895–1975). The group expanded and lasted for some time, distancing itself from militaristic principles, which Baden-Powell himself had also already shed by that time. The *Minyons de Muntanya* involved itself with the movement to defend Catalan language and culture

¹⁴ Motilla, "Estatutos y reglamento," 435.

¹⁵ Bernat Sureda Garcia and Augusta Martiarena, "Los reportajes fotográficos en la prensa gráfica como instrumento de propaganda y divulgación del escultismo al sur de Brasil y en España en las primeras décadas del siglo XX," *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 8 (2018): 200.

¹⁶ Regarding the spread of scouting in Spain, see: Fabián Buendía, *Los Exploradores de España. Retazos de su historia* (Madrid: Imprenta Tutor, 1984). José Ignacio Cruz Orozco, *Escultismo, Educación y Tiempo Libre. Historia del asociacionismo scout en Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Institut de la Joventut, 1995). Anastasio Martínez Navarro, "El escultismo en el marco de la educación física: su implantación en España," in *La educación en la España contemporánea. Cuestiones históricas*, ed. Julio Ruiz Berrio (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Pedagogía, 1985), 151–163. José María López Lacácel, *Así fuimos, así somos. Historia de Scouts de España. Exploradores de España* (Madrid: Federación de Asociaciones Scouts de España, 2003).

that was driven by local governmental institutions in Catalonia during this time. The priest Antoni Batlle i Mestre (1888–1955), who took part in activities in a wide range of innovative educational centers and collaborated with María Montessori herself (who lived in Catalonia at the time), helped spread and provide education related guidance to the Minyons.¹⁷

The Public Image of the Spanish Scouts through Photography

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain saw a rudimentary relationship between the press and photography. It was conditioned partly by the technical limitations of newspapers to print images, but mostly by the first photographs were not as easy to obtain for the press as instant photos would later be. Although a similar lack of technological development also afflicted other countries, it was made worse in Spain by the high levels of illiteracy and citizens' inability to afford newspapers.¹⁸ Nevertheless, during the first decades of the twentieth century, photography took on a notable role in the press, especially in both general and specialized magazines. Such magazines offered readers current information from a graphic perspective, something that newspapers could not offer due to, among other reasons, technical issues, the pace required by the form, and its high cost. Larger newspaper companies did try to overcome their shortcomings in this area, though this did not go much beyond publishing a few special issues as weekly supplements, or for some special events. Thus, it was not until the appearance of magazines – such as *Blanco y Negro* in 1891, founded by Torcuato Luca de Tena, or *Nuevo Mundo*, founded almost three years later – that photography began to be widely integrated into Spanish press.

The set of photographs of the Spanish Scouts that appeared in illustrated magazines, daily newspapers, and special publications created by the scouts themselves shaped an iconic discourse that projected and spread a certain public image. Additionally, the photos surrounded by text in features and articles often served as advertising and propaganda.¹⁹ We can affirm at this point that, through the publications analyzed, there was a clear and deliberate use of images as an instrument to reinforce the institutional and group identity of the scouts. The photographic set under study undoubtedly contributed to the construction of a collective mentality about the iconography of the scouts. An image linked, among other things, to order, discipline, national patriotism and service to authority. At the same time, it was inseparably linked to nature, health

¹⁷ Sureda and Martiarena, “Los reportajes fotográficos,” 202.

¹⁸ Pantoja, “Prensa y Fotografía”.

¹⁹ Dolores Sáiz, “Propaganda e imagen: los orígenes del fotoperiodismo,” *Historia y comunicación visual* 4 (1999): 173–182.

and hygienism, elements clearly shared with the pedagogical reform movement that took place during the first decades of the early twentieth century.

Therefore, both movements (Scout and New School), regardless of their more conservative or progressive orientation, shared the use of photographs, and even motion pictures,²⁰ as propaganda to create awareness and construct a social and public image for the movement. As with many other countries, scouts received special attention in magazines in Spain and even used photographs in their own publications to advertise their activities and project their image both within and outside the group. In this way, scouting's spread around the world involved images.

Photographs of the Scouts Published in Illustrated Magazines

The spread of the scout movement in Spain quickly reached the press. *Alrededor del mundo* (Around the world), an illustrated weekly magazine that was published in Madrid between 1899 and 1930, put out a story on the method developed by Baden-Powell on August 8, 1909, under the title “Un ejército de chicos escuchas” (An army of boys you hear).²¹ The text was accompanied by two photographs, and described general aspects about scouting, highlighting the movement's focus on the practical, moral, and physical training of young boys. The photographs – one of a troop placing a walkway over a creek and the other of a group of scouts resting near a tent – graphically highlight the importance of the uniformity of the scouts' wardrobe, the value of nature to scouting activities, and the attention given to teaching manual skills.

Between 1912 and 1913, various publications helped spread word of the movement. The Catalan author, Artur Cuyas Armengol, can claim large responsibility for this. The publication of his pamphlet titled *Los Exploradores de España ¿Qué son? ¿Qué hacen?* (The Spanish Scouts Who are they? What do they do?)²² and his book *Hace falta un muchacho* (We need a young man),²³ as well as his intense campaign to promote scouting in newspapers such as *El Hogar Español* (The Spanish Home), *Mundo Militar* (Military World), *Pro Infancia* (Pro Childhood), *Nuevo Mundo* (New World), *La Tribuna* (The Tribune), *Mundo Gráfico* (Graphic World), *Heraldo de Madrid* (the Madrid Herald), and *ABC* served as propaganda for the movement. Shortly

²⁰ See, for example: Joseph Coquoz, “Le Home ‘Chez Nous’ comme modèle d’attention à l’enfance,” *Educació i Història: revista d’història de l’educació* 20 (2012): 27–46.

²¹ *Alrededor del mundo*, (August 18, 1909): 100. [<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001867852&page=6&search=escuchas&lang=es>] (accessed May 7, 2021)

²² Artur Cuyas Armengol, *Los Exploradores de España ¿Qué son? ¿Qué hacen?* (Madrid: Julián Palacios, 1912).

²³ Artur Cuyas Armengol, *Hace falta un muchacho. Libro de orientación en la vida para los adolescentes* (Madrid: Julián Palacios, 1913).

afterward, the movement was endorsed by physician Tolosa Latour, Professor Domínguez de Rueda, and journalist Ruiz Ferry, all of whom collaborated on promoting scouting.²⁴

Other magazines began to include illustrated stories that showed activities being carried out by the Spanish Scouts and foreign scouting organizations. One example can be found in the Barcelonan magazine *Ilustración Artística* – containing high quality images taken by photographer Carlos Abeniacar²⁵ – which showed photos of campsite tasks, food preparation, and Neapolitan Scouts in their uniforms posing for the photo. The prestigious Madrilenian magazine *La Ilustración Española y Americana* published photos of French Scouts during a parade at the Place de la Concorde in Paris.²⁶ In 1913, the weekly *Alrededor del Mundo*, the first weekly to publish a story on scouting in Spain, ran a three-page special titled “Hazañas infantiles los Boy Scouts Ingleses” (The childhood deeds of the English Boy Scouts); the piece was then continued in a later issue. The following years saw a great number of graphic references to the activities carried out by the scouts, especially their international camps, or Jamborees.

In turn, specialized magazines became interested in scouting, too. For example, in February 1913, the magazine *España Médica* (Spanish Healthcare), founded in 1911 by pediatrician and author José Ignacio de Eleizegui López (1879–1956), included an illustrated story on the English Scouts carrying out various activities related to healthcare and hygiene (Fig. 11.1). The story also provides information on the scouts’ physical activities, stating that they practice Swedish gymnastics, Pole-vault and long-jump, footraces, riding horses and bicycles, jiu-jitsu and boxing for self-defense, target shooting, swimming, rowing, and fishing.²⁷ The article recommends that the militaristic aspects of the system be removed, but considers the movement to be highly positive.

Another example of a story published in a specialized magazine comes from *España Forestal* (Spanish Forestry), in its 1919 August/September/October issue. The article provides textual and iconographic details of a Spanish campsite that was set up in the mountains of Murcia. Though the scouts’ social activities are depicted, the story predominately shows photos of activities being performed outdoors, and is focused on the training and development of manual abilities and skills related to life in the countryside. The photos chosen by this magazine contrast sharply with those published around the same time in *Blanco y Negro* (Black and White) magazine. Both

²⁴ José María López Lacárcel, *Así fuimos, así somos. Historia de Scouts de España. Exploradores de España* (Madrid: Federación de Asociaciones Scouts de España, 2003), 18.

²⁵ *Ilustración artística*, (May 20, 1912): 346, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001617501&page=14&search=scouts&lang=ca> (accessed May 7, 2021).

²⁶ *La Ilustración española y americana*, (December 15, 1912): 374, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0001224793&search=&lang=es> (accessed May 7, 2021).

²⁷ *España Médica*, (February 1, 1913): 12–14, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0005095920&page=12&search=scouts&lang=es> (accessed May 7, 2021).

Fig. 11.1: Some scouts transporting water to their campsite. *España Médica* (February 1, 1913).

report on scout camps in Spain but, visually, they tell different stories. While *España Forestal* focuses on the daily lives of the scouts and their routine chores via detailed foreground images, the latter focuses on providing a portrait of the camp leaders and some scouts posing in front of the tent of Isidoro de la Cierva (1870–1939) – a Spanish lawyer, notary, and politician who publicized the scouts in the region of Murcia, as noted in the photo caption. The other image published by *Blanco y Negro* shows a nature scene with trees and tents; alongside these is a group of scouts, although they are so far away that it is difficult to see what they are doing.²⁸

The newspaper press, intended for a mass audience, and thus with a greater reach, focused their graphic discourse almost exclusively on portraying authorities and ceremonial acts following specified protocols; meanwhile, the lesser known illustrated press focused more on publicizing and spreading what the scouts themselves aimed to transmit in practice, though always dressed up with some kind of symbolism related to scouting. The graphic testimonies involve rituals, ceremonies, symbols, and specific terminology that lend the scouts' activities a certain mystique.

Alongside all of this, nature and the environment appear as central, recurring elements that almost always serve as the background for these photos. Discovering nature has been one of the central pillars of the scout movement since its conception. Scouting was understood in a conception as the ideal context for the development of natural learning, as opposed to the artifice of learning developed in schools.

²⁸ *Blanco y Negro*, 27–07-1919, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19190727-49.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

In *Mundo Gráfico*, we see Barcelonan Scouts performing activities in the forest near the city.²⁹ The photos of the group, or the compositions that appear in some magazines, provide an inside look at the activities carried out by scouts, showing them in close proximity to the natural world, to activities in the forest, and to one another (Fig. 11.2). Most of the photographs published in magazines were taken during outings and campouts. Such photographs spoke an essential claim: that nature provides the most ideal medium for forming young boys' characters, instilling a spirit of adventure, and putting them into situations where they can overcome difficulties and feel a sense of self-worth.³⁰ As Frederik Herman has noted in Chapter 4 of this book, following historian Victor Turner, it was a kind of "liminal space,"³¹ set apart from the structured spheres of work and formal learning, where one could experiment with new forms of seeing and acting; it was a "space of regeneration" that would counterbalance the negative by-products of industrialization.

After the 1920s, and especially after coup of dictator Primo de Rivera, the non-specialized graphic press began to pay more attention to Spanish Scouts, rather than foreign scouting organizations. There are large numbers of photos of Spanish Scouts in magazines such as *La Unión Ilustrada* (The Union Illustrated), *La Esfera* (The Sphere), *Mundo Gráfico*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *África*, and *Baleares*. The Spanish Scouts also received textual and photographic support in elitist sporting publications, such as the Madrilenian *Gran Vida* (Great Life) or the Barcelonan *Stadium*.³² In these magazines, some of the scouts' activities are shown, although they are almost always related in some way to the presence of monarchs or authorities. As such, we can see certain differences when compared to earlier photographs. For the most part, the photos in *Gran Vida* (Great Life) and *Stadium* these two magazines serve to build a public image focusing on national patriotism and service to authority. In this way, and in line with the ideological focus that the monarchical and dictatorial government wanted to impart on the Spanish Scouts, the images prioritize the scouts' participation in patriotic activities and parades over their outdoor activities.

²⁹ *Mundo Gráfico*, (March 19, 1913): 15, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/issue.vm?id=0002084397&search=&lang=en> (accessed May 7, 2021).

³⁰ Francesca Comas Rubí, Miquel March Manresa, and Bernat Sureda Garcia, "Les pràctiques educatives de l'escoltisme de Mallorca durant la dictadura franquista a través de les fotografies," *Educació i Història* 15 (2010): 209.

³¹ Victor Turner, "Liminalität und Communitas," in *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, ed. Andréa Belliger and David J. Krieger (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998), 251–264.

³² Sureda and Martiarena, "Los reportajes fotográficos," 207–208.

Fig. 11.2: Spanish Boy Scouts. *Mundo Gráfico* (March 19, 1913).

Photographs of the Scouts Published in Scouting Magazines

The Spanish Scouts started a significant number of magazines and newsletters, spreading not only their organization but also reinforcing the construction of their own identity. Photographs play a key role in these publications, helping to project an image and create a visual discourse. We have identified three elements around which it is possible to group all such photos: 1) militarism, 2) authorities, and 3) scouting activities and rituals.

Baden-Powell envisaged scouting as ceremonial, with uniforms, formations and hoisted flags, all of which stems from the military. Baden-Powell himself was a serviceman, and rituals play an essential part in the service: uniforms, flags, changing of guards, badges, etc. The 4th World Scout Jamboree in Budapest was an opportunity for the scouts to display to themselves all the pageantry of their organization; as well as its military overtones.³³ In *Kim*, a magazine published by the Aragonese Scouts, there is an extensive story on the event, in which the parades, flags, and tidy scout uniforms from all over the world are all photographed.³⁴ The raising of the flags, after being blessed, is shown in many photographs in *Escultismo* (Scouting), a weekly newsletter from the Spanish Scouts in the Valencia region. The reception of authorities and presidents of scout groups followed this ceremonial pattern and often included military-like formations, flags, and fully uniformed groups. Issue Nine (June, 1930) of the magazine *Adelante* (Onwards) contains a photograph that epitomizes this resemblance. The setting is the new Sierra Espuña campsite with a row of scouts holding flags to make a guard of honor for the president. The inauguration of new campsites, along with military-like scouting ceremonies, is another of the moments that appear most frequently in visual format. The 1930 September/October issue of *Lobatos* (Cub Scouts) has a story that includes images of military formations, the raising of the flag, and even a shooting gallery. The cover of Issue 14 of *El Aullido del Lobo* (The Howl of the Wolf), a publication from the Spanish Scouts in Melilla, shows Infantry Colonel José Miaja Menant, troop leader Mr. Revilla, and instructors from Camp Taurit on the day that the Colonel was awarded the rank of Commander in Spain's Order of Civil Merit.

There are also images that aim to show support for the monarchy. For example, in *Adelante*, a monthly newsletter from the Spanish Scouts of Murcia, the cover of Issue 62 from January 1931, reads “¡Viva el Rey!” (Long Live the King) followed by a large image of King Alfonso XIII and a caption that reads “Los exploradores de España en Murcia ofrecen a su augusto Monarca S.M. el Rey D. Alfonso XIII y a S. A. R. el Srmo.

³³ Jordi Font i Plana, *Del joc a la festa: escoltisme catòlic català (1930–1980)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2002).

³⁴ *Kim* 2 (1934): 8–9.

Sr. Príncipe de Asturias, el más profundo testimonio de adhesión y respeto” (The Spanish Explorers of Murcia offer the dignified Monarch His Majesty King Alfonso XIII and His Royal Highness the most distinguished Prince of Asturias their deepest respect and allegiance”).³⁵ Three months later, in April 1931, the king abdicated.

With regard to the “authorities”, we should mention that, despite their significant presence in these publications, they do not represent the largest category. A large number of the images pertaining to the “scouting activities and rituals” category show distinctive traits of the group, and include scout ceremonies and liturgies, physical activities in nature, and the celebration of contests during which scout-related symbols were present. Scout ceremonies and liturgies involving the lighting of the fire, passing from one section to another, or the naming of guides, represent a kind of enshrinement of all stages in scouting life. All of this represents a teaching methodology that aims to transmit certain values and the need to express group sentiment.³⁶ *Escultismo* (Scouting) includes a photograph that depicts one of the most symbolic moments in the scouting world: the swearing of the oath.³⁷ This process involves the individual committing to uphold the values and principles of scouting.

As with magazines for the general public, nature takes on a central and recurring role that serves as the background for nearly all photos in scouting magazines. Scouting activities, physical exercise, and daily camp life are repeatedly photographed in and about nature (Fig. 11.3). Images capturing scouts washing dishes or bathing in the river were published in the 4th issue of *La Patrulla* (The Patrol), a practical scouting magazine in 1927. Making use of natural resources was frequently conveyed through photos. *Patria* (Homeland), a newsletter from a troop of Spanish Scouts in Aguilas, provides graphic evidence of many moments of scout camp life, including mountain outings, swimming in the river, visiting mines, or taking rowing lessons. In another photograph, published in *Málaga Escultista* (Scouting Málaga), three scouts are building a sundial.

Animalistic totems with banners also often appear in photographs from the “scouting activities and rituals” collection. For example, in images published in *Cataluña Escultista* (Scouting Catalonia), one of the scouting publications with the greatest number of photos from the era, Issue Two (1929) shows the five victorious scouts from the different totem competition categories (Fig. 11.4). They are in uniform and pose proudly in a nature setting. The animals chosen by the scouts serve as a reference with which the scouts can identify. The totem tradition itself was inspired by the customs of peoples who lived in harmony with nature, such as Native Americans, and represent the identification of the group with the qualities of an animal. In fact, these indigenous traditions

³⁵ *Adelante* 62 (January 1931).

³⁶ Font, *Del joc a la festa*, 27.

³⁷ *Escultismo* 6 (December 1926).

Fig. 11.3: A troop hiking. San Roque campsite (Pauls). Exploradores de Tolosa. *La Patrulla 37* (November, 1932).

are present in other scouting practices, as we can see in Fig. 11.5, where a scout from the Rhinoceros Troop is painting his tent. Ancestral paintings and totems were elements that formed the basis of the mystical nature of the scouting method. They served to reinforce group members' sense of commitment to the group, and personal vows to overcome hardships and continue seeking self-perfection.³⁸

³⁸ Comas, March, and Sureda, "Les pràctiques educatives," 213.

Fig. 11.4: The winners of the different categories in the totem competition. *Cataluña escultista* 2 (June 1929).

Fig. 11.5: A scout from the rhinoceros troop painting his tent. *Cataluña escultista* 8 (August 24, 1929).

Photos of the Minyons de Muntanya in the Archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya

Most of the over 200 photos of the Minyons de Muntanya preserved in the archive show outdoor activities. Physical exercise is the main focus, and nature serves as the backdrop where the action takes place. Since their foundation, the Minyons de Muntanya had a close relationship with various outdoors associations, which explains their focus on this particular subject matter. For example, there are images of scouts broadcasting radio signals and eating in the forest, playing camp games, performing group activities next to a river, playing on the beach, receiving new Minyons at camp, setting up tents or participating in races, among others. There are also images related to healthcare and hygiene in the camps, as well as those focusing on making use of natural resources for provisions and survival (Fig. 11.6).

Play also appears in many images, and these particular photos seem to show the greatest level of naturalness and spontaneity of the entire set of photos analyzed in this chapter. While the general tone of the publications discussed up to now was structured – with prepared compositions in seemingly coordinated photos – the photographs of the Minyons de Muntanya capture real, uncontrived moments that are often simple and involve movement. The following photograph (Fig. 11.7) is a good example of this, in which two scouts entertain the rest of their peers by playing the classic game Blind Man's Buff.

Fig. 11.6: A group of scouts around a well at camp, pouring water from a large tub. *Photo Archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (undated).

Fig. 11.7: Scouts playing blind man's bluff at camp. *Photo archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (undated).

The prominence of images showing action in nature demonstrates that these groups of scouts, who were not supported by Spanish authorities and only received support from the Catalan church – in contrast to the Spanish Scouts – took an approach more in line with the post-WWI scouting method. As Sica states in his summary of Baden-Powell, this was a movement from citizens of the empire to ideal citizens of the world.³⁹ Note also that Baden-Powell had undergone a significant ideological change since 1908 and shifted his focus to four objectives. First, the relationship of the scouting method's active educational discourse, especially with regard to the teachings of María Montessori and the rejection of scouting's militaristic undertones. Second, by putting more emphasis on the need to have one's own standards and playing down the idea of obedience. Third, via a clear international focus, which was linked to the ideals of the League of Nations, detaching the Scouts from nationalist sources of power. Finally, as a consequence of the First World War, ensuring a permanent commitment to peace.⁴⁰

³⁹ Mario Sica, comp. and ed., *Citizens of the World: Selected Writings on International Peace* (Roma: Fiordaliso, 2006).

⁴⁰ Eduard Vallory i Subirà, "L'educació en la ciutadania global," 66.

Photographs of the Scouts in the General Press (ABC & Blanco y Negro)

The large number of scouting photographs in general and specialized magazines, as well as the photo archives at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, contrast with the lack of such graphic testimony in *ABC* and *Blanco y Negro*. Despite the fact that these publications are considered to have the most extensive photographic content from the era, we have found little more than a dozen photos of scouts published between 1912 and 1931 between them both.

The images that do appear predominantly show authorities and ceremonial acts performed by foreign scouts. In 1916, under the title “Un Príncipe Boy Scout” (A Boy Scout Prince), *ABC* published an image taken by Charles Trampus of the visit by heir to the throne of Italy, Umberto, Prince of Piedmont, to an Italian scout camp in Villa Savoia.⁴¹ It shows a group of scouts of various ages, dressed in their uniforms, apparently posing in front of the camera, surrounded by trees and vegetation. The same year, *Blanco y Negro* published photographs of another visit, this time of the Spanish Royal Family visiting a group of scouts camped out in the pine forests of Sardinero, Santander. The Prince of Asturias and Infante (hier to the throne) Jaime of Spain is dressed as a scout, and join their group to participate in activities. The images capture two specific moments: the arrival of the Queen and Princess Beatriz of Spain before a parading group of scouts, and another moment where the group of officials are monitoring water safety drills.⁴² *Blanco y Negro* also photographed Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Doveton’s visit to the English marine scouts aboard the battleship Exmouth. The compositional iconography of this photograph reinforced the identity and fundamental values of the scouting method: group cohesion, camaraderie, discipline, order, responsibility, wardrobe cleanliness, and uniformity. In the picture, we see scouts forming an anchor by sitting firmly and orderly with their heads straight forward and legs crossed, while the Admiral reviews their performance.⁴³

Baden-Powell himself serves as the object of these publications’ attention on multiple occasions. For example, there is a photo showing the serviceman handing over flags to the boy scouts during an international scouting meeting in London during the summer of 1920.⁴⁴ Another photograph was used on two different occasions, with one taking up the entire front page of the Seville edition of *ABC*. In the

⁴¹ *ABC*, May 31, 1916, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/el-heredero-del-trono-de-italia-humberto-principe-de-piamonte-5582765.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

⁴² *Blanco y Negro*, September 3, 1916, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19160903-11.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

⁴³ *Blanco y Negro*, October 3, 1920, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/blanco-negro-19201003-8.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

⁴⁴ *ABC*, September 31, 1920, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/el-general-ingles-sir-roberto-baden-powell-x-entregando-7553079.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

image, Baden-Powell uncovers a plaque displaying the name of a locomotive, “The Boy Scout.”⁴⁵

A couple of group and campsite photographs round out the body of scouting images in *ABC*. Overall, the images focus more on authorities and officials, or on the places where scouting activities took place; there are no photos showing the real, daily lives of the young scouts.

Conclusions

An analysis of the set of images gathered for this chapter shows that, despite the large number of photographs found, the diversity of situations and locations captured, and the circumstances of which they provide evidence, most share an iconography and reinforce the image of scouting methods and culture that the scouts had of themselves. That is to say, regardless of the changes that took place over time, this set of scouting photographs conveys a set of messages that were constructed using a specific repertoire of symbolic elements, and a more or less deliberate visual syntax and morphology. The visual discourse reinforced through these photos reinforces the identity and values of the scouting method: discipline, order, group cohesion, camaraderie, responsibility, endeavoring to overcome difficulties, religiousness, manual skills, and the spirit of adventure. In this way, photographs had a key role in giving shape to or reinforcing identities, showing scouts how they should behave, and how they should be perceived by the world.

The common setting for all of the images is nature. Respect and a positive appreciation of nature are evident in the graphic discourse of scouting. In the line with the New School and social hygiene movements, physical exercise and open spaces are often depicted to construct an image of scouting that the public would always associate with the outdoors. However, despite the fact that scouting photos from the era were taken in an informal, non-institutional settings, most of them appear staged, and only a few appear to be spontaneous. The poses and gestures of those being photographed show that they are aware that the scene is being captured and will be seen by other people. However, in the case of the Minyons de Muntanya, this particular aspect is absent from many photographs, and images of this group tend to show the more real practices of the scouts in nature as they are simpler, involve movement, and are not contrived.

This is one of the fundamental aspects that lead us to consider the existence of a differentiated approach between the Scout movement in Spain and the Minyons

⁴⁵ *ABC*, December 19, 1929, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/abc-sevilla-19301219-1.html>; *ABC*, 31/12/1929, <https://www.abc.es/archivo/fotos/lord-baden-powell-fundador-de-los-scouts-en-la-estacion-de-4413008.html> (accessed May 7, 2021).

movement. Two scouting movements, whose founding principles led them to place different emphases on what it means to be a scout, and which were depicted in the photographs they used to communicate to themselves and others. The Minyons de Muntanya distanced themselves from militaristic principles, from which Baden-Powell himself had also already shed by that time (in the late 1920's). They were also linked to hiking groups and professionals who had direct contact with innovative educational centers. In addition, they were involved in the movement to defend the Catalan language and culture that was promoted by local government institutions in Catalonia during this period, as mentioned above. All of this means that this group can be analyzed in a particular way, and in contrast to other groups in Spain, by showing its own identity within the iconographic panorama that has been analyzed in this work.

For the Spanish Scouts in the early decades of the twentieth century, the method created by Robert Baden-Powell was adapted by existing political powers and put to use instilling nationalist ideals based on patriotism, discipline, and militarization. The number of photographs that transmit this discourse to the general public, in very different publication formats, is far-reaching (with the exception of the Minyons de Muntanya). The majority of the large sample of photos considered for the present chapter the majority convey a message that relates the activities of the scouts with civil and military authorities, with demonstrations of discipline and order via formations and exercises, with their participation in patriotic civic celebrations and activities, and with the paramilitary. Scout or soldier, their strict uniformity, decorations or use of national flags were the same.

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