DEVELOPMENT OF SPANISH VILLAGES THROUGH ORAL MEMORY: MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY EL CAMPELLO

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Abstract. Oral memory is one amongst the most valuable sources of human knowledge, even more so nowadays when the COVID-19 pandemic has taken so many of our elders out. The personal narratives of our towns’ dwellers during the past century let us know not only their way of life, customs, and traditions, but also the morphology of the city, its layout and urban evolution, its architecture –both for family homes and monuments–, and most significant of all, the way of using said spaces. The researchers behind this paper, in partnership with Grup Salpassa and the Council of El Campello, have chosen a methodology based on the oral history to expand the knowledge of the mid-20th century village by means of a series of interviews with some octogenarian locals –shaped as thematic “micro-histories”, published on social media, and orthophotos, which are subject to urban analysis with the location of streets, public buildings, facilities, and commercial areas. All this is accompanied by moving and previously unpublished images of everyday life and festivities, which set up a stronger emotional bond and stronger terrain roots for current societies.

Keywords: urban planning, urban development, traditional architecture, Spanish villages, 20th century, oral memory, oral history.

Introduction

According to the National Institute of Statistics (2021), Spain has 8,131 municipalities, of which only 39.8% have more than 100,000 inhabitants. 13% of them have between 50,001 and 100,000, 26.9% between 10,001 and 50,000 and the remaining % less than 10,000. This large number of small and medium-sized Spanish towns mostly lacks archival graphic documentation that allows us to know their evolution and urban development over time. In the second half of the 20th century, many of them, mainly the towns on the Mediterranean coast, experienced significant growth due to the arrival of tourism. This development led to a profound urban transformation that, on many occasions, distorted and blurred the old urban layout, as well as its main boundary posts, and changed the traditional way of using and enjoying public space.

The lack of archival documents means that the only form of knowledge of Spain in the mid-20th century lies in the memory of its witnesses, the population over 80 years of age, who lived in these towns during their childhood and youth. Therefore, it is necessary to record their memories in some way in order to, later, through the analysis and interpretation of their stories by competent staff, generate objective graphic information that allows us to safeguard the recent history of our towns.

Oral tradition is humanity’s most ancient way of diffusing knowledge, and the main until the 19th century, a time in which History founded on written sources was established as a discipline. By the mid-20th century, the use of oral reports is resumed in 1948 with the foundation of the Columbia University Center for Oral History Research in New York. The use of oral history will grow widely during the 1970s, becoming institutionalised in the 1980s (Yusta, 2002).

Some historians argued their lack of reliability, while others answered back that the written documents came from the very same oral reports, placing themselves in the same quandary (Muñoz, 2016). Nevertheless, oral reports have to be systematised, employing methodologies that ensure their scientific value (Peppino, 2005). Thus, they can appear as a highly relevant documentary source, analogous to the graphic and the bibliographic, as well as periodicals (Pensado & Real, 2003).

Oral history employs a methodology based on the gathering of oral reports of a personal nature, conveyed
during a selected questions interview that lead the interviewee’s recollections towards the object of study, regional history in this case (Peppino, 2005). The importance of preserving the history of urban areas and their inhabitants for the knowledge of their architecture and landscapes was sanctioned by an ICOMOS charter in 2011, “The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas” (Gilli et al., 2019).

The addition of all the testimonies allow for individual memories to become collective, making known not only the traditional crafts and trades, educational systems, or cultural and leisure activities, but also the morphology of the city, its urban planning, facilities, constructions, and building systems.

It helps us understand the use of public spaces and their relevance within the city as a whole. It allows us to retrieve and value a number of landmarks, sometimes lost or concealed by the urban changes of the last decades and the erection of new buildings, which compete with said milestones and diminish their significance (Jodelet, 2010).

Affective bonds with the city are regained and reinstated, as well as the links between the physical space and the individual, which are connected to the people’s subjective use and appreciation and help when shaping an identity connected to the terrain (Campos & López, 2004).

Furthermore, it encompasses a wider social background of the city, since it includes statements by groups usually left in the margins of history, women for instance, who are rarely consulted in other types of academic research (Mancini et al., 2012). This feature is what distinguish this study from others using oral history, interviewing experts or professionals in urbanism and architecture (De Garay, 1994).

This way, oral histories allow us to bring back the past into the present, granting the viewers of current societies a better knowledge of the cities where they live, stimulating their reflective action, and strengthening the bonds with their home turf (Lapeña, 2015); understanding the social and cultural changes that have taken place, as well as the urban development generated throughout the second half of the 20th century (Biord, 2007).

1. Methodology

This methodology of research was employed to document the mid-20th century history of El Campello, a village in Alicante (southeast of Spain).

The goal was to safeguard the oral heritage of the village, making the customs, ways of living, folklore of the previous century, and urban planning publicly known and at hand for the citizens.

The interviews were carried out with a group of neighbours older than 80, valuable witnesses of historical period to be documented. The participants were selected with the help of Grup Salpassa, an association that divulges the traditional folklore of the village. The interviewees were the sisters Vicenta (b. 1922) and Leonor Gomis Sala (b. 1924), a.k.a “las alcaldesas”1; María Caturla Giner (b. 1928), a.k.a María “la blanca”2; José Fornés Solana (b. 1932), a.k.a Pepe “el cartagenero”3; and Francisca Lledó Baello (b. 1934), a.k.a. Paca “la de Ca’ Emilio”4.

The interviews were completed at the interviewees’ homes by Daniel Alberola, a member of Grup Salpassa, denizen of the village and an acquaintance to all the subjects. All this allowed for an intimate and familiar environment, which improves communication and provided the interviewer with an efficient way to focus the narrative on the topics of interest.

The scheme of the interview and the questions had been previously analysed and agreed upon. First of all, personal data were gathered as well as a brief life history of the subjects; subsequently, we endeavoured to activate their memories about ways of living, productive sectors, migrations, trips to and from El Campello, education and training, renowned characters, ways of relating socially with family members, friends, and neighbours; the calendar of religious ceremonies and festivities, family gatherings for those festivities, and places for socialisation; traditional gastronomy, songs and dances; and lastly their memories on historical events (Spanish Civil War, Dictatorship, and the Transition to democracy).

The recordings were edited and distributed on social media (Instagram, “patrimonioral_elcampello”) as 1-minute microhistories that collected the most salient statements regarding the different subjects.

The interviews allowed us to compile a sizable amount of urbanistic and architectural data, which —after being analysed and included in orthophotos of the village— allowed us to analyse the old urban planning, its morphology, neighbourhoods, streets and plazas, its public buildings, facilities, and commercial spots, as well as the architecture of the traditional houses, compositional aspects, and available supplies. Furthermore, all this information was illustrated with numerous unpublished images from the family albums of the interviewees.

2. Results

2.1. Urban development

In the 1930s, El Campello appeared divided between the trades: the inner urban core was where the farming families resided; and the neighbourhood located on the seafront was where the neighbours working in the fishing sector had their dwellings, the carrer La Mar5.

These sections were communicated by a pathway that coincides with the current carrer La Mar Avenue and Generalitat6 Avenue, through which people went on foot or by horse-cart, connecting carrer La Mar with Pal Street, one of the most important in the old village, together with

1 The Mayoresses (Translator’s note [T.N.]).
2 Maria the White (T.N.).
3 The Native of Cartagena (T.N.).
4 From the House of Emilio (T.N.).
5 Sea Street (T.N.).
6 The government of the Autonomous Community of Valencia (T.N.).
Santa Teresa Street and Mayor Street, which link transversally with it, to the left and the right respectively, and crossing at Church Plaza.

Mayor Street linked to Convento Street in a wider area, New Plaza. It had a substantial area, communicating the village with the cemetery, passing by the Mercedarian convent. It was surrounded by trees and orchards, mulberry trees and a pine tree at the start, facing the establishment of Emilio Lledó, father to Doña Paca, and a few scattered houses (Figure 1).

The streets were made of dirt and stone, so women swept and watered them on a daily basis for the powder to settle (Figure 2).
Carrer La Mar flooded frequently with the high tide in the winter storm season. “The waves came in through the front door and went out through the back door”, tells Doña Leonor. The force of the sea was so hard that “some neighbours from San Vicente Street [there were only two streets in that neighbourhood, running parallel to the coastline; San Vicente on the seafront and San Pedro Street behind] moved out of the village for fear that the high tide would pull their houses down”.

There was a flood in 1934, with the water coming “from the little ravine”, which is how Doña Paca calls the mouth of the Seco river. It happened early in the morning on All Souls’ Day [November 2nd], in which there was the tradition of attending mass at 5 in the morning, something that minimised property damages and personal injuries.

The division between neighbourhoods permeated all the spheres: social, cultural, and economic. "Boat owners were the masters of the village", says José Fornés highlighting the sharp contrast in purchasing power between fishermen and farmers. The inhabitants of the village only went to carrer La Mar on counted times, on Our Lady of Mount Carmel day [patron saint of sailors and fishermen] or for the occasional summer swim in the sea. And the people from carrer La Mar only went to the village for groceries or religious services, since their chapel would not be built until 1960. According to Doña Leonor, “we the “carramaleras”7 women were more into religion. Such was the legacy of rivalry that "the children from both sides arranged to meet and throw stones at each other on the way”, relates Don José.

The urban planning of the village did not go through major changes until the 1950s, when there happened a remarkable population growth on account of the rise in the purchasing power of the fishermen, who began to go on squid-fishing, and the arrival of new families, “the Castilian” who came from Granada, Baza, and so on, to work at “Boni’s tomato plants”.

The Council expropriated plots to be developed, such as the orchards opposite Pi’s shop, which were used to draw up two new streets, Doctor Fleming and Sol, running parallel to Pal Street.

Between 1953 and 1954, the so-called “casas baratas [cheap houses]” were built in those streets, a non-profit making development which received governmental subsidies; it is where María “La Blanca” still lives (Figure 3).

The arrival of immigrants brought with it the phenomenon of renting. “Those who came to work at Boni’s tomatoes rented dwellings in the attics of houses”. “There were several families in just one hose. “They built their own houses later on”. “Marco’s Inn had stables and some people lived there. They hung curtains to divide the rooms”, say Doña Paca and Don José.

However, the great change in the villages took place in later decades, with the arrival of tourism. “The first to arrive were the French and the English, and then there was people coming from everywhere”.

7 Portmanteau word designing the true blood natives of carrer La Mar, the street of the sea (T.N.).
The rhythm of building construction increased, “pushing up the value of plots which had been worthless before”, shaping a sizable prosperity: “there were families that came to have 3 or 4 houses”. According to José Fornés, “the village stopped from being the village and became something else…” (Figure 4).

2.2. Traditional housing

The Post-war traditional housing was the single-family home in its typology. The great majority were houses with double orientation, developed as a single-storey construction (Figure 5).

“The construction of any house began with the digging of two large holes, one for the cistern and another for the latrine.” “The cistern could reach a depth of up to 11 metres”, says José Fornés, and it was meant to store rain water for human consumption (Figure 5).

Inside there was a wood-burning stove, and everyday life happened in its vicinity. The rest of the chambers were bedrooms.

All of them had an outer patio, located at the deep end in the back of the house, a yard where people kept a vegetable patch and raised animals for their own consumption as well as for sale or bartering (Figure 5).

There was also a latrine, equipped with a bench over a deep hole, and covered by a simple closing.

Some houses in the village –belonging to well-to-do people– had a carriage entrance and a second storey. There could be more bedrooms in this top floor, though in some houses it was used as an open-plan attic, intended for the preservation of provisions.
2.3. Water supply and sanitation

The lack of sanitation networks has been called "Spain's sanitary problem" by some historians. Many illnesses were associated to the absence of minimal health standards. Although the villages of the Mediterranean coastline were favoured by their population state, their closeness to the shore, the temperate climate, and a better access to the scarce health standards of the time (Galiana & Bernabeu-Mestre, 2006).

El Campello did not have a drinking water supply network, but it had an irrigation canal, a course of water coming from the dam of Tibi, whose route went under the streets of the village. Every house could use a supplying device that allowed the filling-up of the cisterns with irrigation water, which was used in the construction of the house. Once it was finished, the cistern was emptied and thoroughly cleaned in order to be filled up with rain water, collected by means of troughs under the eaves of the slanted roofing and assorted tubes.

When the irrigation ditch was running, the vegetable patches were watered, the cisterns were replenished and, in addition, people took advantage of that to take a bath, as Doña Paca told us. Some neighbours, as was the case of her family, had a second cistern out in the street that was also refilled with irrigation water. This was used for clothes washing and house cleaning, as well as for their personal hygiene. The owners shared it openhandedly with the neighbours.

The houses at carrer La Mar also had available a second water well that reached the phreatic level, thanks to their closeness to the sea. They did not need to fill it up with irrigation water, given that it was refilled with salt-water in a natural way. This was used for house chores, to hose the streets down, and to mix it with pigments so as to dye fishing nets.

There was not any sanitation network either. The household latrines kept the excrements in a cesspit, which was emptied by hand every 4 or 5 years. The waste was taken with farm carts to the outskirts of town, where it was dumped.

2.4. Electrical house wiring

In the 1940s, there was barely any cable installation in the village. Household and street lighting was carried out by means of carbide, kerosene, or oil lamps. In later decades the use of electric lighting was generalised, which banished and rendered obsolete those traditional lighting systems.

2.5. Venues for the cultural, entertainment and hospitality sectors

The Marina Theatre, located at Generalitat Avenue with Doctor Fleming, was one of the most important cultural venues, in which there were not only film showings, but also theatrical performances with the neighbours playing all the roles, according to Doña Paca (Figure 6). The takings from said theatricals provided funding for the construction of the parish hall.

The most important entertainment venue was El Gallo Rojo [The Red Rooster], an open-air dance hall with more...
than 6,000 square metres, located in the old estate La Basseta, a palm grove on San Bartolomé Street. From 1962 to 1984, it attracted punters from all classes and origins thanks the presence of renowned singing and dancing performers, such as Lola Flores or Francisco; it was listed as the best dance hall in Europe (El Campello Turismo, 2019).

Cash-strapped people went also there and stayed in the vicinity to enjoy the show. The ensconced themselves in a pine grove located in a plot adjacent to the venue, from which they could see the stage.

El Gallo Rojo meant a great economic boost for the village. Many of the visiting artists had their accommodation there, and even commissioned the local dressmakers to make their performing outfits. Such was the case of Doña Leonor, a seamstress by trade (Figure 7).

The other venues for leisure and socialisation were the bars and cafeterias, located in the vicinity of Plaza de la Iglesia: Café España right in the corner of the square, followed by Bar Central and Bar El Sant down in Pal Street; and lastly, Bar Planelles, located on Mayor Street, a bit higher than the plaza (Figure 6).

2.6. Commercial premises

There were three butcher’s shops in the village, two on Pal Street; one between Café España and Bar Central, and Uncle Quico’s, a bit further down Bar El Sant. The third was on Mayor Street, opposite Plaza de la Iglesia, between the pater’s house and Señora Aurelia’s haberdashery.

There was only a fishmonger’s, located in the vicinity of Plaza de la Iglesia: Café España right in the corner of the square, followed by Bar Central and Bar El Sant down in Pal Street; and lastly, Bar Planelles, located on Mayor Street, a bit higher than the plaza (Figure 6).

2.7. Educational institutions

There were two schools at El Campello, one in the village at Don Bosco Street, and another at carrer La Mar (Figure 6).
The one in the village had 3 classrooms for boys and 3 for girls, divided by gender, educational levels, and age cohorts, between 6 and 14 years old. The building, belonging to the Salesians of Don Bosco (SDB), had a sizeable playground at the back.

The school at carrer La Mar only had two classrooms, one for boys and the other for girls, placed in different buildings. The boys’ classroom was on San Vicente Street, and the girls’ on San Pedro Street.

2.8. Religious buildings

The Parish Church, built in 1849 to honor Santa Teresa and substituting the preceding one from the 18th century, was a place of worship which people came to every Sunday and religious festivities, turning the plaza into the nerve centre of social life (Figure 6) (El Campello Ayuntamiento, 2019).

Another religious building of note was the Mercedarian Convent, located at the end of the eponymous street –Convento–, close to the cemetery, which was already neglected back then and in a sorry state of dereliction (Figure 6).

2.9. Other buildings of value

The old Town Hall, located in the first storey of the house between Bar Central and Bar El Sant, assembled all political life (Figure 6).

The dockyards epitomised the economic activities. The first one, from the late 18th century, was located on the mouth of the Seco River (El Campello Ayuntamiento, 2019). “Later on they shifted them to the side of the rock, at carrer La Mar”. Together with those, the houses for the fishermen were built (Figures 6 and 8).

2.10. Use of public spaces

2.10.1. Everyday use

The streets were conceived as an extension of the household, meeting places that united the neighbours in “a great family”.

Women’s everyday life took place within their homes, tending to the house chores, but they went to the street to share their lunch with the other ladies. The evenings were occupied by sewing or embroidering right there in the streets while keeping an eye on the children, who were free to play as they pleased since there was no traffic at all. Men left very early for work and, when the day was done, they used to gather at Coveta Fumà, according to Doña Paca.

2.10.2. Use during festivities

The During the festivities of Santa Teresa –in the village– and the ones of Our Lady of Mount Carmel at carrer La Mar, the neighbours decorated the streets with paper flowers and garlands. There was a competition to discern which street had the best decoration, usually won by San Pedro Street in the case of the neighbourhood of carrer La Mar (Figure 9).

The square of the Church was the spot where the celebrations took place during the three days of festivities to honor Santa Teresa. People went dancing in the afternoon with the marching bands from Alicante; they went to the jamborees and open-air dancing by night. The square was packed with food carts selling nougat and ice-cream (Figure 10).

The festivities of Our Lady of Mount Carmel had the carrer La Mar neighbourhood as a nerve centre, where a religious procession took place. A portable altar was shaped and open-air masses were celebrated.

![Figure 8. a) Dockyards at Carrer La Mar; b–c) Images of boats, taken from the family album of Leonor Gomis](image)
Both festivities –Santa Teresa and Our Lady of Mount Carmel– gave occasion for the running of young fighting heifers, roaming free through Mayor Street and San Pedro (Figure 10).

On Christmas Eve the streets were packed to the rafters with neighbours singing carols door to door and asking for the traditional Christmas tip or present, right before Midnight Mass. On Christmas Day, families gathered together to eat the customary *cocido* stew with meatballs.

On Easter, there was the solemn procession of Good Friday, which had the culminating moment in the square of the Church, right in front of the priest’s house, with the encounter of Our Lady and Jesus Christ, after their symmetrical itineraries. Easter Sunday was also celebrated, with people going to the countryside to eat their lunches and the typical *toña* [a sweet sponge cake that could be garnished with a hard-boiled egg, nuts, honey, and the like].

On Saint John’s Eve and Midsummer Day, the streets were peppered with bonfires, where the neighbours burnt old stuff, with sparklers and fireworks aplenty. The young ones run up to the road to watch the huge firework palm tree that signalled the end of the festivities in Alicante.

2.10.3. Historic occupation

The During the Spanish Civil War, the village did not go through worth-mentioning attacks; there were just two bombs falling –leftovers from the bombings of Alicante–, which did not provoke casualties, neither property
damages of consideration. When the air-raid alarms rang, people run to the refuge set up in a basement in the square of the Church, or to the caves at “la illeta [the islet]” (Figure 11).

After the Civil War, the prisoners were taken to La Basseta. Later on, they were taken to the large basement under the square (Figure 11).

During the Second World War, between 1943 and 1945, there was a contingent of Italian ships sheltered in Spanish ports (De Yanguas, 1949). El Campello accommodated a number of Italian soldiers, who lived in the homes of the villagers.

Doña Leonor and Doña Paca remember that even though their presence was an imposition, the relationship...
between the Italians and the villagers was cordial. Boys and girls visited their camp, located at casa Nova, so as the soldiers shared with them their macaroni rations (Figure 11).

In 1944, concurrent to the Italian presence, the village hosted soldiers on their period of military training. There were barracks erected at the end of Pal Street, where young men from everywhere in the country found accommodation (Figures 11 and 12).

Conclusions
The research carried out in El Campello highlights that oral reports constitute a very valuable source of information for the safekeeping of material and immaterial heritage. The individual depositions provided by the villagers, once analyzed and share, turn into collective memory, shaping a unifying thread whose gaps are completed with the different narratives, resulting in a deep and rigorous knowledge of the city.

Furthermore, it is another documentary source perfectly valid for the knowledge of traditional architecture, yielding definitions for the essential features of the household: its rooms, supplies, and so on.

The combination of spoken sources with planimetry grant us the possibility of producing documents with a great urbanistic value (CNIGMT), which convey the growth of the village by mid-20th century and let the citizens know the old landmarks, the monumental constructions, the old shopping venues, and such.

The images from the family albums of our leading characters makes possible the growth of the graphic documentation that exists about urban planning and city architecture, as well as the use of public spaces.

Social media appear as a satisfactory resource for the transmission of this knowledge among the lay people, who are the main recipients and beneficiaries of this work. The division of the audiovisual documentation in just-1-minute “microhistories”, published on Instagram, makes the visualization of content more amenable, increasing the number of followers and views.

This experience can be adapted to other villages and cities, in order to safeguard and preserve our rich heritage, both local and regional. Regrettfully, this is out of the focus of other historical studies, but we should give it the value that it deserves.

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