



Mass being celebrated at the war memorial in Seville. General Queipe de Llano is standing in the left foreground.



Church parade at Cabeza Lijar (Madrid front), 6,200 feet above the sea level.

THE Spanish National Movement has developed within the short period of two years, but it has been a period full of events of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. At this juncture we must reject as useless all those terms which were originally adopted to designate it. There must be no more talk of "Rebels" and "Insurgents" and even less of a "Military Revolt" as if one wished to give a modern name to the old Spanish term "Pronunciamiento," a term of which Spain gave so many examples throughout the 19th century. The army interpreting the desires of the

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overwhelming majority of the Spanish nation has fulfilled the mission which the prophetic voice of the ill-fated Calvo Sotelo assigned to it. He said it must be the backbone of the people, more concrete than the executive body, which is blind, deaf and dumb; of this role the army had its first experience in the Socialist revolt of 1934. This can easily be realised, since a whole nation rose when Franco unrolled his flag in July, 1936. The generous enthusiasm of our youth was a clear example of this true fervour on behalf of a Spain which Senor



The agricultural worker salutes the new Spain

Unamuno, Rector of the University of Salamanca summed up so aptly. He said "The Spanish War is not just one more civil war, it is a question of saving Western civilisation." He died on the last day of the year 1936 with the words "Spain will be saved, because it must save itself." Over his birth and his death there rose the spectre of Spain rent by civil war.

## The Origins.

Between the 17th and the 21st of July the movement took shape all over Spain. Spanish patriots rose in arms in all parts of itself. Then Melilla, Ceuta and Tetuan rose in unison, and while they looked to nearby Spain, from which the sea divided them, they awaited the leader who was to come to them through the air from the Canaries, where the Duke of Seville, for Franco and thus secured communications with Africa and helped the patriots of Granada and Cordoba, who had also heard the call. Mola gathered the troops of Navarre, with their warlike traditions, and led them towards Madrid. Valladolid, like an advancing guard, to Castile, poured bluishirted Phalangists on to the crests of the Sierra de Guadarrama. In the words of that poet of the 19th century, whose lines Unamuno loved to repeat, "the mountains of Guadarrama and Fuenfria were once again 'protectors of the land of Castile'."

The troops which came from Africa were apparently better equipped by the defection of a large part of the fleet. Yet, this obstacle was overcome and the Sevillian nucleus reinforced from Morocco, the city was freed from the Moors, connections with Cordoba and Granada were severed, and Huelva was liberated and together the men of Morocco and Andalusia marched on Madrid, taking in their rapid stride Merida, Badajoz, and Seville. The culmination of this was the liberation of the Alcazar at Toledo, where for seventy days a body of true Spaniards, led by Menéndez, had resisted their besiegers.

Meanwhile, the Moors were using the rocky fastnesses of Avila Province, the armies of the North and South met, and the arrow was strengthened. The Navarrese, descending from their mountains like a battering ram, took the town of Sebastian and almost the whole of

Guipuzcoa. Thus, this stage, characterised by rapid advance and intense activity on all fronts, even in Aragon, where all the enemy offensives were held up, and in the Balearics, where Ibiza passed into our hands, came to an end.

Parallel with the chronicle of military events, we must make a rapid examination of the texts of the speeches and documents which motivate and co-ordinate them. In selecting three of these; two date from the beginning of the movement, while the third marks the transition to the next stage.

The first is the proclamation of General Franco to the people of Spain, made in the Canaries in the early hours of July 18th. The tone of this document is suitable to its form and to the moment in which it was made and the aims which

inspired it. The first part is like an accusing finger pointed at the record of the preceding months of anarchy and disorder culminating in the cold-blooded murder of Silvio Sotelo by uniformed police. This part is brief, but devastatingly impressive: "The Constitution was suspended and violated at every point. There was no equality before the law. While liberty was in chains, the victim of violence was not a citizen, no fraternity, no brotherhood, no love, no respect, no peace when hatred and crime had taken the place of mutual respect." After this accusation there opens the prospect of a happy future, the reverse of this past, in which he promises: "Justice and equality for all, peace and brotherhood between all Spaniards, work for all; and

FOREWORD BY THE DUKE OF ALBA



JAMES CHARLES  
MANUEL FITZJAMES  
STUART, 10th DUKE  
OF BERWICK AND  
17th DUKE OF ALBA.

AGENT GENERAL  
OF NATIONALIST  
SPAIN.  
DIRECTOR OF THE  
SPANISH ACADEMY  
OF HISTORY.

*At the kind suggestion of Dr. J. F. Crowley, the "Cork Examiner" asked me some time ago to obtain a series of articles from eminent men in Spain whose opinion might serve to enlighten the public in Ireland and England as to the true position in my country. Accordingly, I wrote to some of my friends, who have responded with pleasure to this request.*

All the authors are known as authorities on the subjects on which they write. Though throughout their life they have been of different shades of thought, they are now united under the banner of Nationalism—a proof that all the best elements in the country are solidly combined in defence of the old traditions of Spain, of Christianity, and of Western civilisation.

*I trust that their statements may help to bring the truth before a large part of the English-speaking public, who, as a whole and in all good faith, have allowed themselves to be misled as to the nature and importance of the National Movement in Spain.*

A totalitarian State (here means "graded organisations") a hierarchic regime, national unity, co-operative organisation, guaranteed work free of absolute submission to capitalism, and respecting for the social conquests of the working class. The State will make a concordat with the Catholic Church, respecting the religious feelings of the people. Defence and reinvigoration of Agriculture. Cordial relations with all foreign peoples, while avoiding all contacts with the Soviet. A strong army, etc. In order to realise these objectives the "Junta Técnica" was created. Its political and administrative work is divided between the various committees. The "Junta Técnica" which Franco himself assumes a double role of civil and military direction and his language has two forms of expression, that of arms on the field of battle and that of the pages of the "Boletín del Estado".

Military action continues its rapid and triumphal course. On sea the fleet is reorganised with the ships which have escaped the Bolshevik poison and with the help of the cruisers under construction, and quickly completed, the Straits of Gibraltar are soon under the control of the national fleet, thus securing free access to our troops from Africa. Communications between the mainland and the islands are re-established, enemy ships are pursued and defeated, while many of those

loaded with arms and munitions from abroad are captured. A considerable Air Force is built up, whose fighting strength is apparent on all the fronts. On land by the combined action of all three arms the advance of the South of Spain continues to eliminate the last pockets of Malaga on the 8th February and the subsequent advance of our lines almost to the confines of the Province of Almeria. In the North, after the relief of the 10th Division, the 10th Army on 1st October, the march on Bilbao begins on the 31st March, and by the end of this period the summits of Amboto, Gorbica, Barazar and Urriola with the town of Gernika are held by our troops. In General Spain the advance on Madrid continues to the north-east-Segura and to the South, Illescas, Navalcarnero, Pinto Getafe and Leganes are taken. On the 7th November our troops cross the bridges of the 7th November and the "Government" of Madrid flees to Valencia. At this point, as General Franco was to point out months later, the character of the war changed. The International Brigades, the 10th Army and the 10th Division, the Government at Valencia, imposed their tyranny on the capital city of Spain. From this point on we were no longer opposed by other Spaniards, but by a wedge of men who had come to Spain to fight against us and with experience of war. In spite of all this our soldiers drove a wedge into the defences of Madrid, by taking the

University City on November 17th. On the following day Italy and Germany gave official recognition to the Government of General Franco. Meanwhile, activity on the Madrid front was paralysed by the rigours of winter, which lasted until the middle of January. The front moved to Jarama, south-east of Madrid, and cut the road to Valencia. Enemy attacks on Oviedo increased in intensity, yet the city held firm.

By the time activity was wholly devoted to the organisation of the country. Various dispositions prepared the life of the new State, especially in the sphere of economics. The national currency was restored. The export of agricultural products was encouraged and a series of measures were enacted for the benefit of the fighters and of the working class. The former were given pay, which was handed over to their families while they were at the Front. The latter were given food, clothing and entertainments were imposed. The workers were assured of their wages and of the rights they had gained, while the unemployed were exempted from paying rent and electricity. At the end of October the winter of 1937 in Spain began to function, and at the end of a few months more than fifty thousand persons were being catered for in their Children's Dining Halls, and Brotherhood kitchens.

At the end of the year, the country was in a new style, redolent of joy, modernity and cleanliness. In order that this and similar

A further speech by Franco on the 19th of June emphasised that the aim of the Government was the improvement of living conditions for the masses, with a view to making it more immediately efficacious. "Those of us who have lived in close contact with the people," he said, "have not scorned to take the hand of the working man, we know the people and share their feelings, better than those who would not deign to do so. We must not approach them to deceive and exploit them." Together with solicitude for the working man, one of the characteristics of the Government was the attention to places in the youth of the country; this is a favourite theme of General Franco who has often touched on it. This once he mentioned the "Alcalá de España," "Where the first letters F spell the faith (faith), that is the faith in our destiny, in our civilisation, in God Almighty, and in the future of a new fatherland." (Speech of 19th June 1938.)

This stage terminated with the reintroduction of two national symbols, the red and yellow flag and the National Anthem. These as being so essentially Spanish ought never to be associated with the instability of ephemeral systems of government. The return of these symbols (which had only been recently cast aside and proscribed) was accompanied by three new acquisitions.

countries, by means of posters and public offers of the International Brigade; when we found French officers among the prisoners taken, and when we knew that the enemy armies were being commanded by Russian generals, then there was no further reason why we should reject the volunteers who offered us their services. But their number was limited and we have given them honorary posts in the battle against International Communism."

In the military sphere there occurred another unification, no less important, that of our Front line. This took place on 21st October with the fall of Gijón and the establishment of the direct line of communication. We must now consider how this was achieved from the beginning of April, on when this region was first reached by the troops of the Southern Fronts was very slight. In July there was enemy pressure in the centre of Spain, around Madrid and near Segovia, which was met by the troops of the Southern Fronts, and the result was a brilliant aerial victory. On the Madrid Front the hard fighting at Brunete which caused the evacuation of Madrid, was followed by a heavy order for him, without achieving any desirable result. On the other hand in the North this period is characterized by the withdrawal of the enemy. In April we took the hills of Inchoenta and entered Eibar, Marquina, Durango and Estella. In May we took the towns of Alsasua and Marquina, and the mountains of Lemona and Solube. On the 11th of June the famous "Iron Front" was broken which had been formed by the Basque country. On the 19th our soldiers entered Bilbao, continuing their advance through the mining area, which was the last of the Basque province of Santander. In July the port of



Child refugees listen attentively to a history lesson.

three new songs, given the respect and dignity of national hymns. The songs which had gained this honour in the front line and in the enthusiastic towns and villages behind were "The Song of the Phalanx," the "Oriamendi" march of the Carlists, and "The Legion," the official hymn of the Legion in Morocco.

Somiedo in Asturias was taken and in August, in the short space of twelve days, the whole of the province of Santander. In September our forces advanced along the coast in Asturias and with the fall of Gijon on the 21st October the whole of the Asturian Front disappeared. Our forces were now unified on one line stretching from the Aragonese Pyrenees to the Mediterranean.

## Unification.

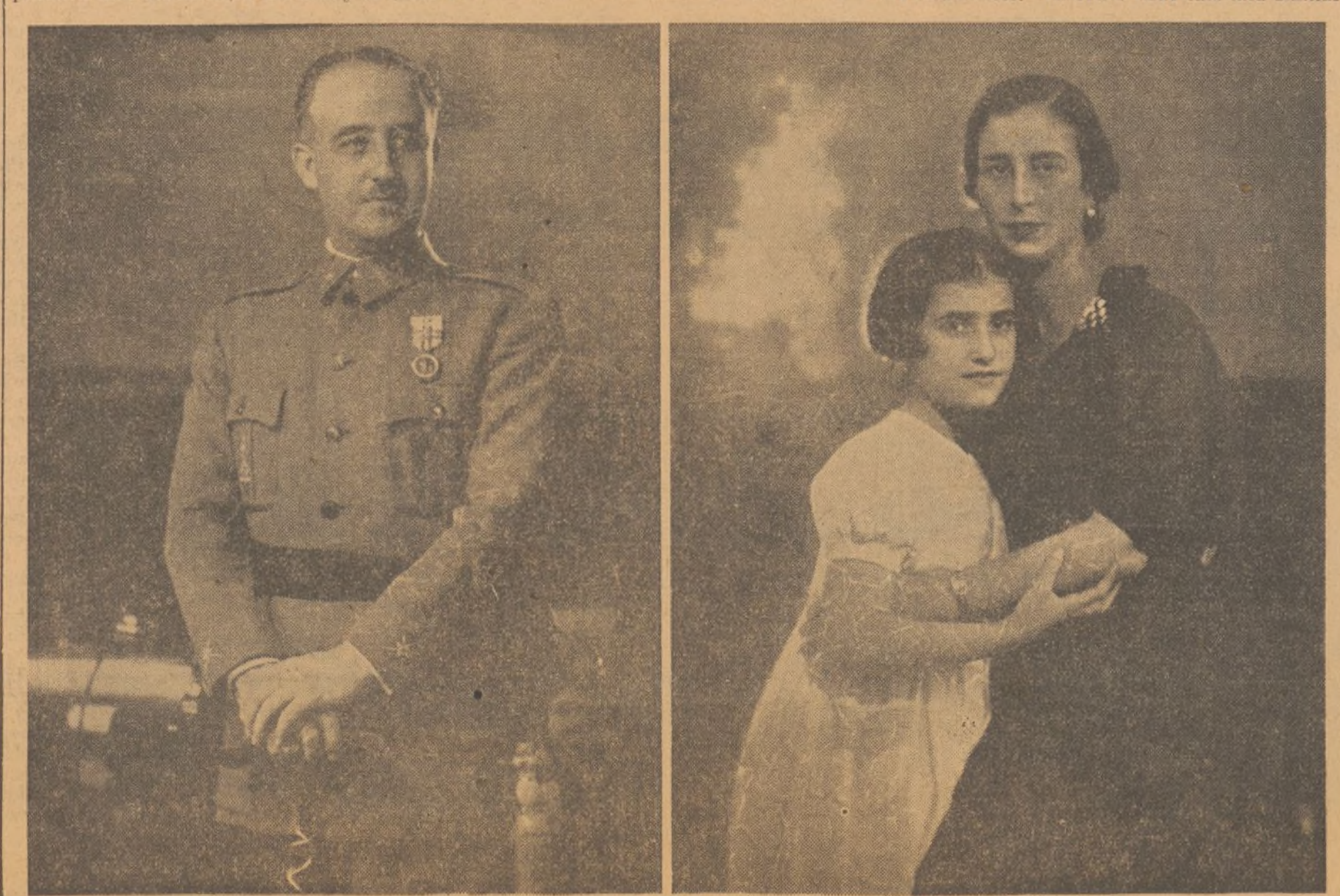
This period opens on the day Franco spoke at Salamanca to the Spaniards with words of clear resonance and tremendous appeal.

"I ask for unification," he said on that memorable night, "in order that I may bring the war to a speedy conclusion. I ask for it that I may start on the great task of clearing the air of the new Spain of the thought and the outlook of our national revolution." With foresight he added: "This unification does not signify the concentration of all the elements of commercial concentrations, nor a species of patriotic 'union sacree' of discordant elements. I appeal for unity in the main towards a common goal, but not towards a common internal. What we are leading to-day is a movement rather than a mere programme; therein lies its essence." In order to bring about this unification, the two great national forces are fused, the "Falanx Espanola" de las J.O.N.S., founded in 1938 by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, and the Communist Party, the latter of which was born a hundred years ago, and revived in the recent struggle, while the remaining political organisations and parties are absorbed. We take these two elements, the Falanx and the Com-

Almost at the end of this period an event of great importance took place. On October 12, 1900, the "Fiesta Nacional de la Raza," celebrated all over Latin America, 20,000 students of the "Sindicato Español Universitario" met in Burgos, Spain, to inaugurate the Blue Cross of Spain. Phalaris addressed them. Knowing that they represented the seeds of the new State he expressed a hope in a tone full of clarity and emotion requiring no further words. "To-day, on the Festival of the Race, the Festival of Spain, we can offer to the world the fruits of the new nations in the Americas that have been born in the last century." "But we must save the treasure of Youth, this glorious Youth, this exemplary Youth, for the service of the Nation." "Because he is speaking before young people who are the standard bearers of the Empire, he affirms the independence and the eternal youth of the Nation. He does not need to worry, Spain alone will suffice to defend her territory, Spain demands the last inch of her national territory." Spain admits of no compromise, she is for or against the whole. It is certain that to-day the Youth of Spain keeps guard over its arms or is ready if need be to take them up. But Franco Phalaris, the first of our Latin American ship, which was the motto of Jose Antonio Pina de Rivera, far from dulling or debilitating the spirit, refines it and makes it more potent. He is not content with the aim of a Spain, great and free, he is reckoning on the dual effort both intellectual and physical of this Youth. For it was just in the days of the "Fiesta Nacional de la Raza" and Letters co-operated best.

Towards A National  
Government.

This last stage of the Spanish National Movement retains like the previous ones the double device of political and military activity. The liquidation of the northern fronts and the recovery of higher industrial areas bring a new factor with its own problem—that of reorganising these industries with a view to immediate yields, and that of moving to other sectors of the front. The new tactical and administrative problems released. In the first months of this period great territorial advances were not made. At the end of the year an enemy offensive was repulsed, and the National Movement's characteristics were pointed out by so serious a journal as the 'Times', and a severe snowstorm, allowed the enemy to enter the town of Vitoria. At the same time was carried again under fire from our guns, thus diminishing the value of a success, which was excessively trumpeted abroad by those whose conspicuous lack of them makes such a success seem even more important. On the part of February our forces once again advanced on the Teruel front, and in three days liberated almost a thousand square miles of territory, and in the last three lines 25 miles further east towards the Mediterranean. On the other fronts the positions were improved slightly, and in the South new activities began, which will assuredly lead to new advances. At the same time, movement is continued. Freed from the watch and blockade of the North Coast, our fleet is concentrated in the Mediterranean, and is now in a position to threaten the coast of the "Government" of Valencia has moved to Barcelona, and has called together at nearby Montserrat a rump of the Cortes, in order to inaugurate a new type of semi-parliamentary regime. The war in the Mediterranean are disturbed once more by the sinking of foreign vessels and the capture of merchant ships. The chancelleries and puts their nerves on edge. The latest declarations of Franco to a corres-



Gen. Franco with his wife and daughter.

The next texts of this period which must be quoted are those dating from the anniversary celebrations of the National movement; there are two of these. The first is another speech to the Spanish nation in which the following words occur: "The Spanish Nation is a nation which is being built up by the youth, which is learning in the trenches and the front line the brotherhood of man in the hour of truth, of valour and of discipline; this is the national ideal; this is the national motto; this is the guarantee of the new Spain"; The other comes from an interview given by General Franco to *El Sur*, *Boa de Tene*, the director of the daily *El Sur*. There are three items which stand out in the conversation, besides the repetition, once more of the affirmation that this is not a military insurrection, but "a national movement" which has never been interrupted since the time of the first mention of the possibility of the restoration in Spain of "the regime which forged the greatness of Spain and its unity." "This possibility," said General Franco, "must necessarily be subject to circumstances of time and atmosphere. But at this moment we must think only of bringing the War to an end, then it must be liquidated and liquidation must be the basis of new foundations. The other statement of supreme interest concerns the foreign aid: "No foreign aid is necessary; the aid of the War all offers of foreign volunteers. But when at the beginning of November the Reds brought up to the Madrid Front 30,000

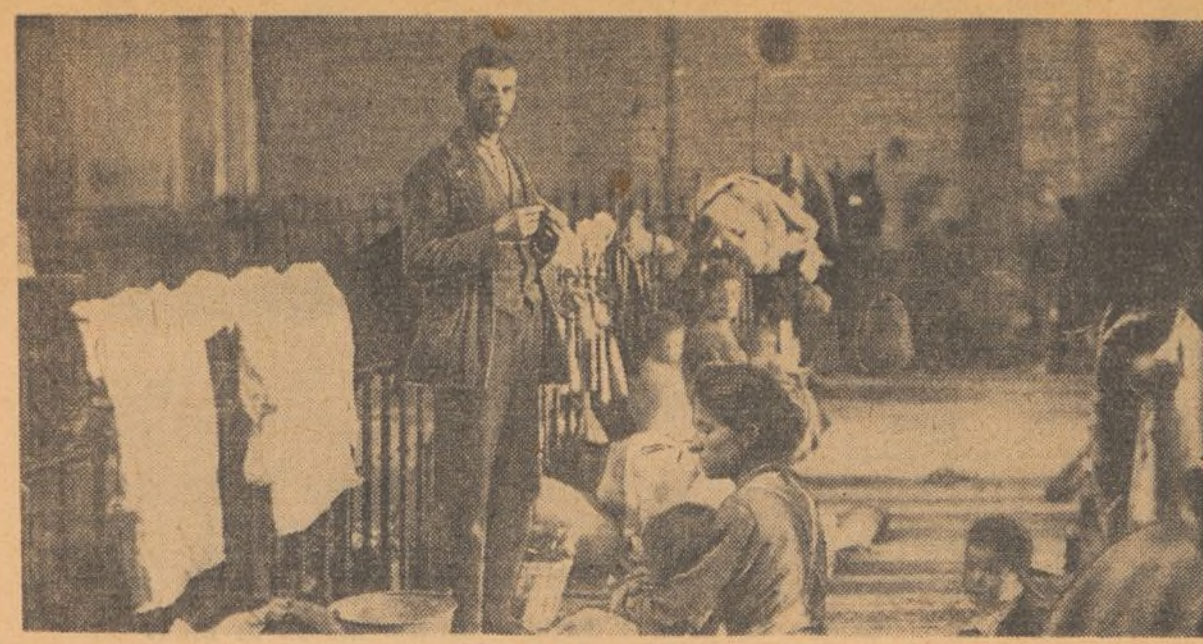
(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX.)





Shell fragments from Government guns. Russian characters denote its origin.

# The New SPAIN



Homeless Refugees in the Streets.

## THE WAR: Providence and Satanism

### Destruction of Religious Objects and Profanation of Churches

#### THE IRISH BRIGADE.

The "Clare-Irlandais" Regiment.



Uniform (in 1762)—Coat, red, collar, revers and cuffs, buff, white buttons, pale grey waistcoat and breeches.

Flag—Quartered, in red and yellow; red cross in centre, with motto: "In hoc signo vinces." and Harp and Crown in white. There is a Royal Crown in each quarter.

The "Walsh" Regiment.



Raised in 1661 under the name of the Royal-Irish; passed into the service of France in 1690, and went aboard the squadron of de Chateaufort; particularly distinguished itself at Arles, 1711, and at Denain, 1712. Fontenoy 1745. In 1764 this regiment sailed for Scotland from Dunkirk, and took part in the battle of Culloden. Went aboard in 1778 the ships of Comte d'Estaing; captured the 16th Regiment of English Infantry; then a detachment went to the island of St. Eustache, thence to Martinique until 1784, when it returned to France. Sent to the Ile de France in 1788, furnished a detachment for an expedition to Cochinchina; returned to France, 1790, and were garrisoned in the West. In 1791 a battalion sailed for St. Domingue; took part in the attack of Genon, 1793; returned to France 1794; acted as seaborne defence, was then formed into the 92nd Regiment Infantry.

Uniform (in 1780)—red coat, royal blue collar, cuffs and revers, gold buttons and sword, white waistcoat and breeches.

Flag—White, with red cross, in the centre of which was a lion standing on a Royal Crown; all in silver.

WHEN talking to a friend about the war, I remarked that one can scarcely find an explanation for the abominations that the so-called "Reds" have committed on persons and sacred things, unless one allows that there has been a diabolic influence at work.

"Drop the 'scarcely,'" he replied, "and be sure that neither the form nor the extent of the sacrilege perpetrated by the mob in Spain can be explained by ordinary human psychology."

In these profound disturbances of a social order, and especially in the terrific outburst of human passions that every war entails, is there a Malign Spirit which intervenes, just as there undoubtedly is a providential intervention on the side of God.

There naturally arises the question that tormented the old Russian Senator when speaking to the Comte de Maistre during the seventh of the "Eves of St. Petersburg." Is war Divine or diabolic? There are reasons for saying it is both.

St. Augustine said: "The evils of war are so great, so cruel, so horrible ('tam magna, tam saeva, tam horrenda') that only the spirit of evil seems to be able and malicious enough to produce them." "Horrible butchery," "frightful scourge," "raging hurricane," "useless killing," "suicide of civilised Europe," Benedict XV called the Great War several times. When secret intrigues nearly provoked a European conflict, Pius XI uttered his lofty imprecation: "Destroy the nations that seek for war (dissipi gentes quae bella volunt)."

War is so persistent a phenomenon in the history of the human race, that if the Spirit of Evil were its author, one would have to admit its triumph over the God of Peace. Who came to bring peace to men of good-will. If the Spirit of Evil were the instigator, would the warlike virtues of men and nations be worthy of praise? Would the need for war to restore decadent countries have become a recognised philosophic principle in history? Would writers on theology and law have filled volumes discussing the conditions for a just war, which though being a war, fits into the moral order in which God wishes the nations to live, and has nothing to do with the work of the Evil One, which is unjust as it demands the corruption of nature through sin?

War is as inexplicable as the unchanging dualism of the human free-will, which "without wanting to, does what it ought not to" (volens nolens, says St. Augustine); or like that mysterious age-long stream of humanity which cries unceasingly: "Vae nobis, quia peccavimus" (Woe to us, for we have sinned); and continues sinning, without improving, down the centuries; or like the very origin of good and evil which tormented the Manichees; it is inexplicable to those who do not put religion at the heart of their life. The Spirit of Evil in the moral life of the first man and in the unhappy story of his children. War, though the thought seems out-of-date, is the offspring of sin and a condition for its expiation which God has demanded in the social order of all human generations.

This semi-philosophic introduction serves to embark upon the subject we wish to discuss. I have been asked for an article on the Spanish war illustrated with photographs, and I could not use these merely to illustrate a philosophy. I do not want to use photographic proofs—never more aptly described as when they are as faithful as the accompanying ones—merely as proving the charge against the unhappy militiamen who perpetrated the sacrilege, but as illustrated proofs of a subject.

They knew not what they did. If they had known, one could say with the Apostles, they would not again have crucified the Lord of Glory by maltreating Him in the works that represent Him.

#### Russian Influence.

Nearly a century ago it was written that "if it were possible to bury a desire of Russia's in the bosom of the earth, the earth would burst into atoms." No mere desire, but a really infernal spirit from Russia has taken possession of modern society, causing the outbreaks we have all witnessed in Mexico and Spain, and which will cause further outbreaks in other countries to-morrow, if God does not give back common sense to man. This doctrine from the East could not be more graphically described than by using the words of the Apostle—"A devil's doctrine." It is the doctrine of those who have no God; and of those in opposition to God—Satan's irreconcilable foe.

In the course of this Spanish war, which in a way is providential, this doctrine has shown what might be termed its satanic aspect. Perhaps two more contrary ideas have never before taken shape and met face to face on a battle-field. Setting aside all individual and human factors in the conflict, one might say that in the spiritual plane one has witnessed a struggle of Belial against Christ. When the world learns the depth and extent of the systematic sacrilege committed in Spain during the first months of the war, it will be astounded.

The accompanying photographs are exceptionally reliable witnesses—for the atrocities they depict took place in my own city of Toledo and I give my word as a Bishop that the photographs which illustrate them are authentic. We make them public to prove the Satanism that led the malefactors to perpetrate their horrid crimes.

Look at this series: Photo No. 1—Image of a saint in the Conception Convent; the face and hands are mutilated; bayonet-thrusts in the breast, with one deep gash

and the inscription "F.A.T." (Iberian Anarchist Federation). Quite a masterpiece of Satanism.

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#### Destruction Of Crucifixes.

Photo No. 2—The magnificently woven "Adoration of the Wise Men" in the Santa Cruz Hospital (which had been converted into an Art Museum) has been riddled with bullets. There are signs that it has been used as a machine-gun target. Scrawled all over the cloth with the point of a dagger are the initials "F.A.T." and "C.N.T." (National Confederations of Workers).

Photos 3, 4, 5, 6—Images of Christ were the chief object of the soulless mobs. All the crucifixes in the Archbishop's Palace were horribly destroyed, as also were those in nearly all the churches. Photo No. 3 is a fragment of fifteenth century Christ, sculpted in wood, from the Church of St. Peter the Martyr, which was completely pillaged and its statues mutilated. No. 4 shows the shapeless remains of a fine fourteenth century papier-mache statue of Christ belonging to the Convent of St. Isabel of the Kings, where all the statues were also terribly mutilated. Photo No. 5 shows the remains of the Risen Christ, hacked with axes. No. 6—The Crucifix in the College of the Noble Virgins, was broken and the figure stabbed in the face and breast. Whilst the images of Christ, Redeemer of the World, were treated thus, large portraits of the Communist leaders were displayed for public admiration in Madrid and Barcelona—a new "mysticism" in opposition to the eternal mysticism of the God "Whose kindness and love for men will to appear among men, His Son," to redeem them from all sin, temporal and eternal.

Another series. The saints are like a continuation of Christ on earth—His picture. By combining their spiritual gifts we obtain a vivid reminder of Christ's most noble human life and history. Like the representations of Christ, these, too, were



The numbered pictures on opposite page illustrate the references to "anti-God" Red atrocities, referred to by the Cardinal Primate.

Isabel's Convent—show various groups of images, some of great artistic merit and historic value, all treated as shown in these photographic proofs. Many here, as elsewhere, have their eyes scooped out—a kind of martyrdom to which the militiamen subjected the venerated images.

examples of several civilisations. The famous Treasure of the Cathedral has disappeared. Sixty-two unique pieces were by order of the Government, wrenched from the places where the centuries had enshrined and guarded them for the glory of the City and its Church. Amongst these was the famous tray "Rape of the Sabine," with 4,800 miniatures. The incomparable Custodia of Arle, reckoned the richest piece of precious metal work in the world was shattered—left behind by the thieves, in their precipitate flight when the Nationalist troops arrived, after they had removed the best part of it.

The destruction—the result of infernal hatred—done to the religious works of art in the city is unimaginable. Here are a few examples of it. Photo 16—One of the famous tapestries in the Santa Cruz Hospital, slashed. No. 17, Heads of the founders of the Conception Convent, fourteenth century painted wood carvings. No. 18, some of the Cathedral fourteenth century windows with broken panes, damaged when the mines were exploded under the Alcazar. No. 19, Profaned tomb of the founders of the Repentance Convent. No. 20, is a monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—Hispano-Moorish design—destroyed only three years after its erection. The image, defaced with hammers lies on the ground. Such is the work of the revolution in Toledo seen in part. It is as great or greater in every part of Spain which is under the heel of the Communist hordes. Let foreigners know of it—they who obstinately close their eyes to the awful truth of things in Spain. I have no doubt that happenings in Spain in the second half of 1936 will make an unique page in the history of the civilised world. Do not forget that in Toledo City alone over 100 priests and religious were murdered—nearly all there were—and that the priests and faithful of Christ sacrificed to hate of Christ and His Holy

#### Desecration And Profanation.

Series 16, 17, 18, 19, 20—Toledo has always been considered the "Treasured City" containing the richest, most complete and most varied of representative artistic



Rest ward for homeless children in Sevilla.

religion make a total of hundreds of thousands.

And now in the face of the awful sight of so much destruction, we ask once more "is war divine or diabolic?"

St. Paul speaks of the "Princes that rule the world of darkness." Every day, when Mass is ended, we priests beseech God to "thrust down to hell Satan and all wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls." We can allow, as good Catholic teaching, as we admit possession of devils, that the enemy of God, "a homicide from the beginning," can by means of suggestion arouse in the human breast tempest of mass-passion with its perverse intentions, and can goad men on and pull the strings of their deeds in an anti-divine sense. Christ and Belial, who were irreconcilable foes in the Gospel, will be so as long as the work of Christ through His Gospel endures.

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#### "Providential And Diabolic."

The war in Spain is therefore both infernal and divine, providential and diabolic. It is divine because the hand of God has raised from the depths of the National and Christian spirit a protest against the destructive work of His enemy, and diverted this feeling into the epic struggle in which faith coupled with patriotism is having the better of the fight; and because of the general course of the terrific struggle Divine Providence appears guiding, clearly and surely the trend of events; and because only God could so awaken the soul of Spain that it appears before the world haloed in the glory of the lofty virtues which have flourished on the field of battle; and finally because in the ordinary sequence of Providence, God will raise out of all this ruin, with our co-operation, a new Spain, which shall be once again the Herald of Christ and His Gospel in the world.

On the other hand this is also a Satanic war, because it has been a war of darkness, confused thought and unbelief of crimes; because during it, anything associated with God has been the object of destruction; because only the goading of the Spirit of Hell can turn men into wild beasts and make them hurl themselves against Heaven; because to gain the day, it has called together all the known and unknown powers of the world and united them in a terrible plot against truth, justice and religion, and used them as a weapon against a country, which if it has not conducted all her internal affairs faultlessly, has done nothing more in the whole course of her history that exert all her influence and power for the benefit of the universe.

As far as the enemy is concerned, the present war has been a most violent attack against the law of God, the Church—men, things, rights. The Church has been swept like poison out of a large part of the country. The Church, pacific and pacifying by the law of her nature and history, has felt in an unguarded moment, the might of Hell fall on her like lightning or a bomb, in order to destroy her forever. That is the ecclesiastical meaning of our war as regards our enemy—the wiping-out of the Church—refusing us the earth, the air, the sun so that we cannot live—to kill us as though we were noxious animals.

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#### Spiritual Reaction

For those of us who survived the hecatomb, the reaction must be a vigorously spiritual one, a complete reversion to the Christian way of living. When Jesus Christ, adjoined the evil spirit to abandon the body of one possessed, the devil replied furiously: "What have we to do with Thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art Thou come to destroy us?" Yes. That was Christ's mission—to destroy the Devil and his works. This must be the Church's work—to destroy evil and heap up good; to rebuild the edifice of truth and shape our brethren in virtue. For all, even our enemies, are brethren. Contrary to them, for we are children of Jesus, we may neither hate, nor slay, nor destroy, as they have done to us. Our works must be those of Charity and Truth—the truth that enlightens and sets spirits free; the charity that loves all and makes them turn towards God, the sole centre of the spiritual world.

We still have an immense strength. Besides the strength of the Gospel and Jesus Christ—"the strength of God"—we have our ancient tradition, and that national soul, which we might call "naturally Christian," and which is the source of half our strength. Therefore our war which exhibits a typical case of Satanism in the social shape, may be definitely divine if the rout of the foe on the field of battle brings in its train the ruin of the evil spirit which dragged us into this cruel situation; and the restoration of that other and Christian spirit, which was the reason for our past greatness, and which must be so for its coming greatness. There is no other way.

Providence and Satanism. When the spate of barbarians from the North submerged the old Roman Empire, the world was scandalised that God's providence had permitted the ruin of that imposing civilisation.

St. Augustine wrote his "City of God" to justify the work and ends of Providence and to console that generation. We, by the help of the God of Battles, shall not have to undergo the danger of humiliation through the triumph of the enemy. Though victory be won at the price of immense ruins and the dust and clashing of a most cruel war, we look forward, as a result of a not distant triumph, to the breakdown of the machine that Hell raised among us to ruin the work of God, and the building up again of the City of God in our beloved country.

(Signed)

J. CARDINAL GOMA, TOMAS, Archbishop of Toledo.  
February, 1938.

#### THE IRISH BRIGADE.

The Berwick Regiment.



Formed in 1776 from the remnants of the Clare-Irlandais Regiment; returned from the Ile de France and the Ile de Bourbon, decimated; were garrisoned on the borders of Brittany and Vendee. In 1791, a battalion was sent to St. Domingue, from which it never returned, having disappeared in the course of the revolutionary troubles of the island. Later this regiment became the 88th Infantry Regiment.

Uniform (in 1780)—Red coat, black revers and cuffs, jonquil collar, gold braid on the sleeves, black buttons, black "Fleur-de-Lys" on the flaps.

Flag—Four green divisions, barred with red; red cross edged with white, in the centre of which was the motto: "In hoc signo vinces."

The "Lally" Regiment.



Raised on the 1st October, 1774, by the Marquis de Lally-Tollendal; were at Flanders, Fontenoy, 1747; Berg op Zoom, 1747. Sailed for India 1747; took part in the capture of Goudelour 2nd May, 1783; were present at the siege of Fort David, took 700 English and 1,700 mercenary prisoners, and secured 180 cannon guns; in the attack on Madras, and fought at Arcate; defended Pondichery in 1761; recalled to France in 1762; combined with the Dillon Regiment.

Uniform (in 1756)—Red coat, cuffs and waistcoat, green buttons, sword and lace on hat, gold, white breeches.

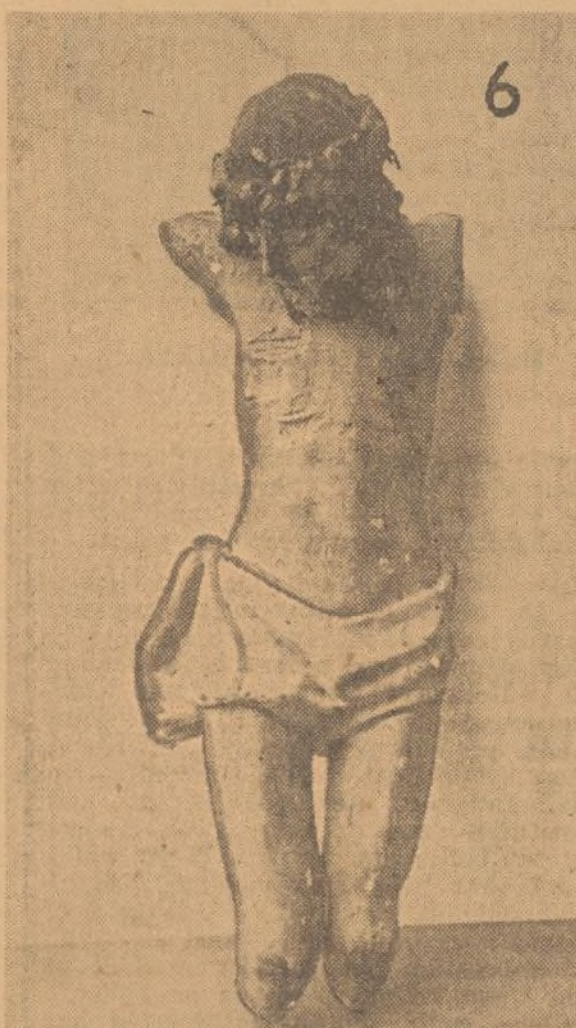
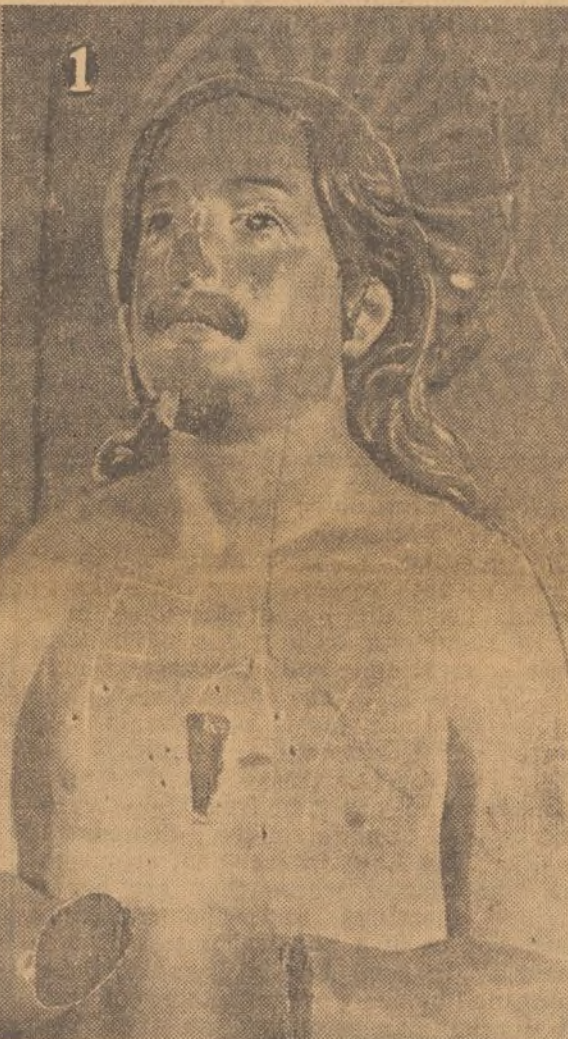
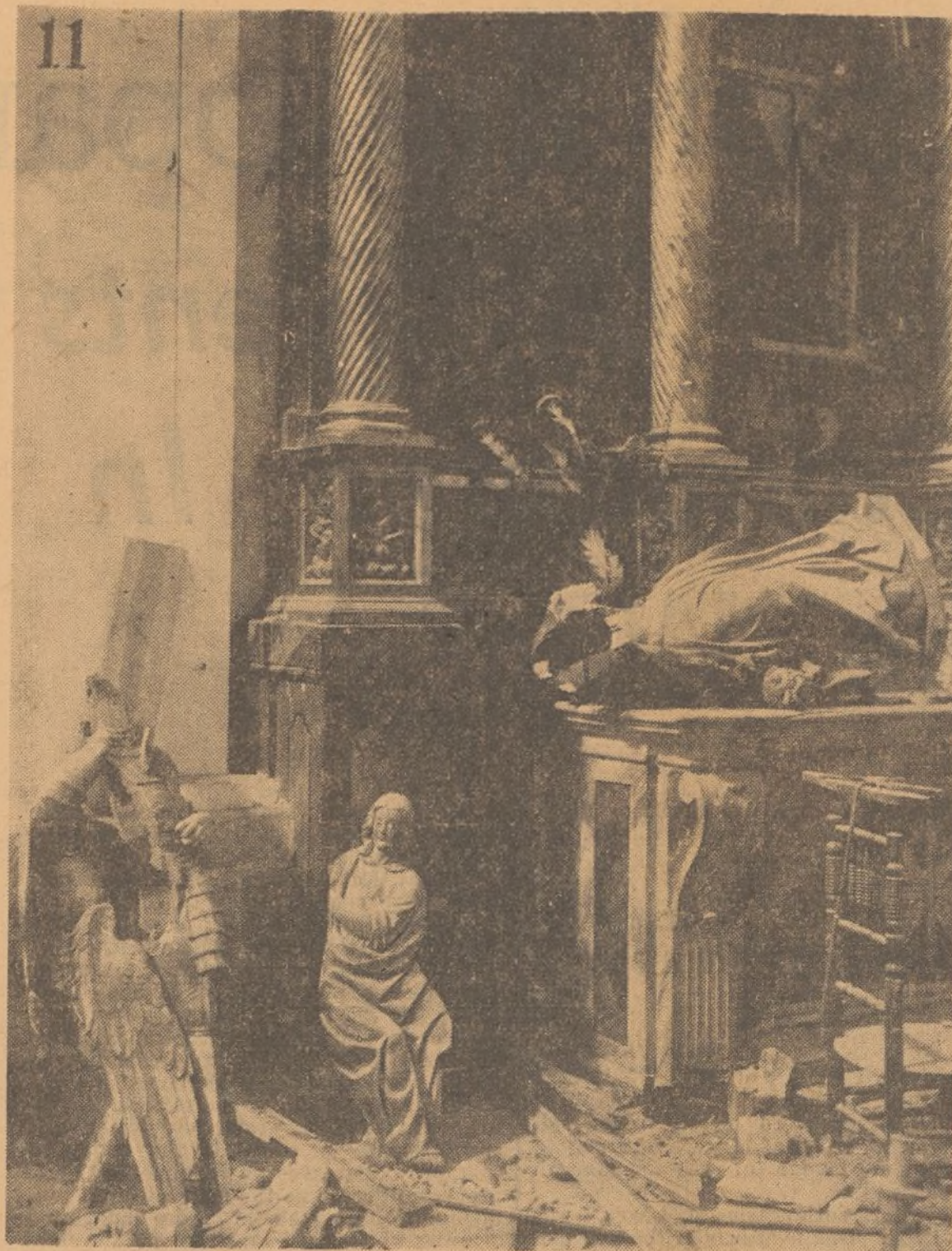
Flags—Two quarters red, two quarters sky blue, with Royal Crowns in white in each quarter, red cross, edged with white, Harp and Royal Crown in white in the centre, with the motto: "In hoc signo vinces."



SPAIN'S "LAWFUL"  
GOVERNMENT  
AND THE CHURCHES  
ANTI-GOD ACTIVITIES

# The NEW SPAIN

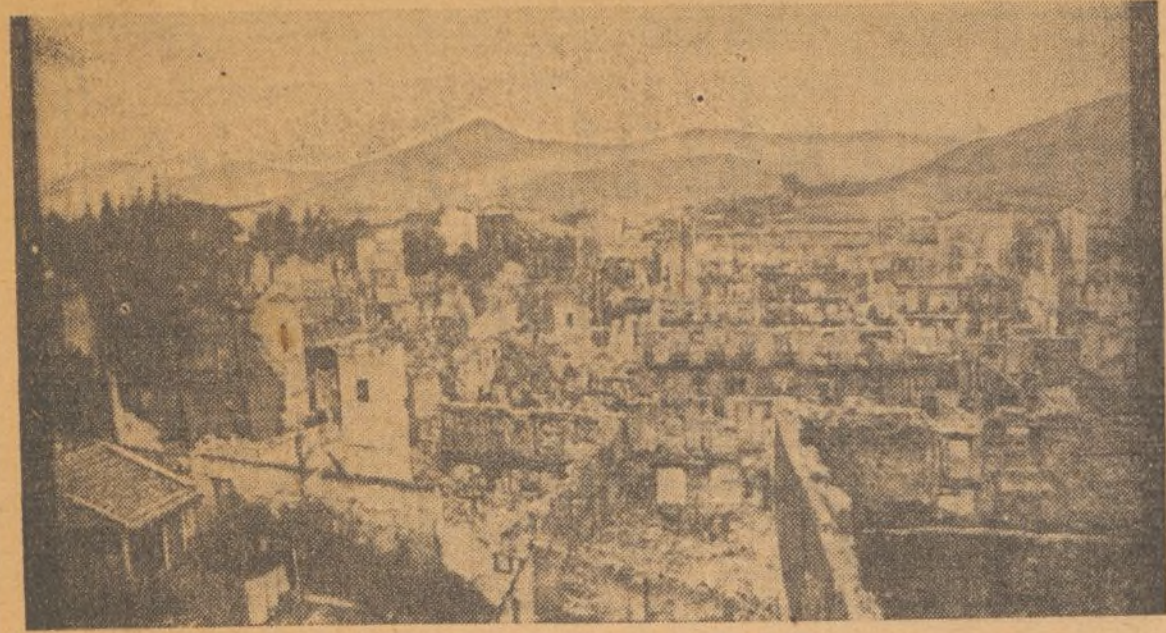
This is what the Spanish  
Reds think of Organised  
Religion



Ayuntamiento de Madrid



# The Spanish Tragedy



Guernica as the Reds left it.



New social club in La Coruña.

## The Religious Aspect of the Spanish Tragedy

### Examination Of Events Which Culminated In The War



Church altar destroyed by the "Reds" on August 15th, 1937.

TO anyone who has watched the Spanish tragedy gradually unfold, there has for long been manifest among the Spaniards of the National zone a sense of wonder, mingled with vexation, at the attitude of other countries towards their cause.

No matter what their religious and political beliefs may be, say the Spaniards, how does it come about that, in the present luckless plight of our land, those responsible citizens of the other nations who retain within them even a spark of repugnance against barbarism, continue to withhold their sympathy and deny us their support? Why is it, above all, that we cannot count upon the unreserved devotion of the Catholics, who must be well aware that the triumph of our enemies would sound the death knell of all religious life in Spain?

There can, of course, be little doubt that the inevitable barrier that in all wars springs up between the belligerents and the so-called neutrals, is in itself enough to create an atmosphere of mutual misunderstanding. And it is probably herein that the key to the problem is to be found. For it is not difficult to trace one source of misconception to the ingenuity with which, ever since the war began, certain words and phrases, pregnant with suggestiveness and bombast, have been exploited.

Who, for example, could resist the seductive appeal of "the cause of a republican legality," the sponsor of "liberty," and "democracy," the "guarantor of peace at home and abroad" in a country whose very existence is imperilled by "the tyranny of an international fascism," a "factious" movement, fostered by a gang of military "rebels" and "traitors"?

And when, amid the confusion, it is insisted that Spanish Catholicism, yes, the Church itself, faithful to its time-honoured precepts, has sided with the reactionaries, sympathy with the indignant "loyalists," mixed with a feeling of indulgence towards the excesses they may have committed in retaliation, begins to grow imperceptibly in the minds of the peoples. Peoples who, although honest enough in other respects, have failed to grasp the true significance of the events that have led Spain into the dire struggle that still goes recklessly on, before the startled eyes of a Europe which, though not readily disposed to comprehend the meaning of it all, is nevertheless, also, very closely concerned.

#### EARLIER PHASES.—

#### I, Under The Constitutional Monarchy.

Article 11 of the Constitution of 1876, without prejudice to the proclamation that Catholicism was the state religion, recognised toleration in religious matters; that is to say, the exercise of any cult in private and even the free profession of religious opinions, "save the respect due to the Christian code." Further, Article 19, in admitting without limitation the typical liberties of a liberal legislation, left the door open to doctrinal propaganda of every description.

The result was that revolutionaries of all kinds took full advantage of their freedom to sow the seeds of their respective theories on the fertile soil of every stratum of society, through the media of the public platform, meetings, books, and especially

the daily Press—in whose columns anti-clerical or anti-religious insolence was seldom curbed by "the respect due to the Christian code."

As regards social problems, at the time both of the Concordat and of the Constitution, these were of minor importance. As day by day they were becoming more serious, however, they engaged the special attention of the Spanish state, the policy of whose progressive government was to safeguard the rights of the workers. To this end, in the Institute of Social Reforms and in the Ministry of Labour, Catholics collaborated with non-Catholics—just as in the Legislative Assemblies the party known as "Conservative" periodically took the initiative in furthering the movement in the manner duly preconized in the pontifical encyclicals.

Unfortunately, the predominant and ever-growing strength of Socialist and Anarchic-Sindicalist organisations, which boasted of their religious neutrality, gave them a decided advantage over the Catholics with their express confession of faith.

So far as economy is concerned, it has been noted that from time to time there goes the round in foreign countries a rumour of the "great affluence" of the Spanish Church.

Those who generate such an idea are surely blind to the fact that, in the first half of the 19th century, as has happened in other countries, the immovable property of the Church was radically dismantled. Admittedly, an indemnity was granted by the state, but this indemnity—which each year was included in the estimates as a sum fluctuating around 30,000,000 pesetas—proved quite inadequate to meet the demands made upon it.

Moreover, in spite of the steady rise in the cost of living, the grant was never increased, with the result that to-day it is not even sufficient either to provide the clergy, no matter what their status, with a decent living or to supply the material necessities of the churches and seminaries.

So far as the secular clergy were concerned, the state enjoyed the right of presenting to the Holy See nominations for the episcopal vacancies

(Art. 44) as well as for certain benefices (Art. 18).

As regards the regular clergy, the number of religious orders and congregations in the country did give rise to considerable contention, and from time to time, on the grounds that only three in the whole of Spain were explicitly recognised by the Concordat, efforts were made to have the number confined to that limit. As it happened, however, none of these efforts bore fruit, and under the Constitutional Monarchy the religious institutes served to their cultural, missionary, charitable, or educational activities and even to industry, which is more or less related to them. As for the alleged riches that were such a drain on the national resources, let what has already been said suffice to dispel the myth of "the great affluence of the Spanish Church."

In the cultural field, due credit for their meritorious work must admittedly be given to the many private schools, as well as to those maintained by the religious associations, congregations, and orders, and regarded as free and public, as examples of which it may be sufficient for our purpose to mention the "Brothers of the Christian Schools," the "Salesianos of Don Bosco," and the Spanish institutions of D. Andres Marañon. Still, the Spanish Catholics themselves, in all probability deceived by the officially "catholic" nature of public education, made no attempt to emulate their brothers in Belgium and France by covering the country with a network of free schools, which would have proved veritable nurseries for the propagation of the Christian faith.

Again, the number of large schools for secondary education was exceedingly limited, and those that did exist were for the most part insufficiently equipped to meet the requirements of students bent on taking degrees.

Technical training was at a still lower ebb, although the excellence of such institutions as the Catholic Institute of Arts and Industries, of Madrid, and the Commercial University of Deusto—both of which, incidentally, were under the management of the Jesuit Fathers—cannot be gainsaid.

To make matters still worse, the control of all free education, whether in the way of new schemes, curricula, textbooks, or examinations, was vested in an educational authority whose reputation could by no means be classified as high.

Advanced learning was much in similar case. Here again, if we leave out of account the Colleges of Deusto and the Escorial for the study of law, Spain was behindhand in establishing either an entirely independent Catholic university, or the lines of Louvain in Belgium, or even centres of learning such as the Catholic Institutes that had contributed so largely to an extent in raising the standard of religious and secular culture in France and many of the other countries.

The situation, no doubt, would have assumed a different complexion, if the Spanish Catholics had but chosen to assert their rights and bring the pressure of their influence to bear upon the educational authorities.

As it was, the defence of Catholic interests in the Councils of the Ministry and the appointment to Chairs was left to men who were not always worthy of that trust. By neglecting to give the necessary training and support to the young candidates for Chairs they drove them to seek such support elsewhere, and they went so far in their indifference to official requirements as to have men at the head of schools and colleges who lacked the academic degrees that were definitely required by the Government.

In the solution of the social problems, if we leave pontifical guidance in all

such matters out of the question, there was too often displayed a vacillation or confusion of thought.

#### II, Under The Republic Of 1931.

It was on the 12th of April, 1931, that the Spanish Monarchy fell, the victim of elections which were merely municipal, and which, in the cities, returned a majority in favour of the Republican candidates.

The wild enthusiasm, however, was short lived. One month later, on May 11, under the flimsy pretext of some incidents that had occurred the day before in one or other of the Monarchic centres, the torch of incendiarism, brandished by the mob with impunity before the eyes of the impassive authorities, began its work of destruction. First in Madrid and afterwards in the provinces, many churches, convents, colleges, and religious institutions of every kind, with all their

to what extent these principles were upheld in these laws in so far as the legal standing of religion and its devotional, educational, and economic rights were concerned.

The constitutional law, in conformity with its Article 39, which authorises Spaniards to "conscience and syndicate freely for any purpose at all that is consonant with the laws of the state," recognises in its sixth article the legal capacity and competence in their internal affairs, of the members and bodies that constitute the hierarchy of religious confessions." But later (Art. 7), in referring to clerical appointments, it imposes the condition that only Spaniards are eligible for these posts and "reserves the right of not recognising the position of those appointed . . . when the appointment devolves upon anyone who may be regarded as a danger to the order and security of the state." As for the religious orders and congregations, the Constitution decrees in its Article 26 that any of these, which "by their activities constitute themselves a menace to the security of the state," will be suppressed. Among the groups specially mentioned in that article was the Society of Jesus; and, as a matter of fact, this

By JUAN ZARAGUETA



MONS. JUAN ZARAGUETA

valuable collections of works of art and treasures of learning, accumulated after years of patient labour on the part of the inhabitants, were reduced to ashes.

The attitude of the Republican legislation to religion, with which we are primarily concerned, is shown at once in the Constitution and in Article 26, dealing with "Religious Confessions and Congregations," of the special law of June 2, 1931, promulgated by the Constituent Cortes by mandate of the Constitution itself. In short, the spirit of the new Constitution was entirely laical, a fact that is borne out by Article 3, which ordains that "the Spanish State has no official religion," as also by Article 2 of the said law, which established that "no legal concession or restriction shall be based upon religious status or belief."

How else could this be interpreted, but that all Spanish citizens, irrespective of their religious status or belief, were equal in the eyes of the law and entitled to the same privileges? We shall see presently

Society was eventually suppressed and all its property nationalised.

The Constitution, while according to all citizens without reservation "the right to assemble peacefully," and providing for a law to regularise "the right of holding open-air meetings and demonstrations" (Art. 38), restricts the confessions to the exercise of their forms of worship "in private" ("within their temples," as Article 3 of the Law puts it) and requires "in every case" a permit from the Government to hold "public religious demonstrations." The Law, in its turn, stipulates that "no matter where they are held," religious meetings and demonstrations "must not be of a political nature," such as determined by the Government in power.

A similar ban is placed on "political activity of every kind" on the part of the religious orders and congregations (Art. 23). And preaching, which plays so eminent a part in religious worship, would appear to be likewise restricted. As a branch of religious education, it receives attention in Article 20 of the Law of Confessions, which subjects it to the control of the state, as a guarantee that within ecclesiastical institutions "there shall be taught no doctrines that may be injurious to the security of the republic."

The question of education is of particular importance for the purpose of judging the constitutional criterion in religious matters. That, however, is by no means easy. For one thing, we are told in the Constitution (Art. 43) that "education shall be free," which seems to signify that, not only shall no course of religious instruction be given but philosophic, moral, historical or historic-religious questions which, though belonging to the sphere of profane learning, also form part of a doctrine such as the Christian and Catholic, shall not be dealt with in a spirit favourable or unfavourable to any religious or anti-religious conception, or from any confessional or anti-confessional point of view, but in a strictly neutral sense, if that is possible.

As for the religious Orders and Congregations, not excepting those with long scholastic traditions, they are very definitely prohibited from teaching by the Constitution (Art. 26) and, by its complementary law, from "establishing or maintaining colleges for private teaching, either directly or through the medium of laymen." Further, article 31 peremptorily ordains exactly when the Congregations must cease their educa-

tional activities and submit to the supervision of their staffs by an official personnel. It is a sad commentary on this ordinance that the said personnel was invariably as inadequate as it was incompetent.

Here it must be noted that the closing of educational centres as a result of this decree affected many, which, although generally Catholic, had not been founded by either the Church or the religious orders. This was due to the fact that there given a guarantee of freedom for the organisation of secular centres of learning that include religion in their curricula; all that is said in this connection is summed up in the vague, laconic decree that "education shall be laic" (Art. 43).

With regard to economic matters, the Law of Confessions (Art. 11) begins by establishing the capital principle that "churches of every kind, as well as their annexes and all their property, shall remain under the protection of the State as the legal representative of the Nation to which they belong." Nevertheless, such property (Art. 12) "shall, continue under the control of the Roman Catholic Church for its conservation, administration and utilisation, according to its nature and purpose," but the Church shall have no authority to dispose of it and shall confine itself to employing it for the ends to which it is dedicated. The State alone, for reasons justified by public necessity, by special statute, shall have power to dispose of such property for any other purpose than that indicated in the foregoing paragraph. Further, the State (Art. 16) reserves to itself the right to cede to the Church property that has no artistic or historic interest, this property, though not that has such an interest, being then regarded as alienable.

#### Rights Of The Church.

The Law, too, recognises the right of the Church to acquire estate, both personal and real, "sufficient to meet religious requirements, and that of the State to set a limit to these requirements, to co-act any surplus upon Spanish Government bonds (Art. 19).

Finally, the Constitution, in its article 26, disposes that the religious Confessions shall receive no financial assistance from the State "for the fulfilment of their private ends," but were "liable to be nationalised," as, in fact, were those of the suppressed Society of Jesus. In addition, all these groups were forbidden to engage in industry or commerce of any description.

The contrast between all these restrictions and the basic principles of the Constitution was so flagrant and the unequal treatment meted out to the religious orders, when compared with that of all other civil institutions, so obvious—especially when the free-footed licence accorded to the anti-religious propagandists, not matter how subversive of the political and social orders their professions might be, is taken into account—that one can scarcely marvel at the feeling of disgust that sprang among all those republicans who were liberals at heart.

This, at any rate, seemed to be the opinion of the then President of the provisional Government, Don Niceto Alcalá Zamora, who, considering it impossible for him, as a lifelong Catholic, democrat and liberal, to subscribe to so repressive and biased a course of action,

promptly resigned. And yet, but a few days later, under the pledge of exacting observance of its fundamental code, he accepted the Presidency of the Republic from those selfsame colleagues who had forced him to resign from the Cabinet, just as later, in 1936, they forced him to resign from the Presidency to which they had exalted him. (V. the history of and reasons for that resignation, as set forth by Zamora himself in his book, "The Defects of the Constitution of 1931," Madrid, 1936, pp. 87 to 91).

In the meantime, what was the attitude of the Church? This can best be defined in the words used by the Spanish Episcopal Conference in its recent Collective Letter to the Bishops of the world. "Since the year 1931," runs the Letter, "the Spanish Episcopate has set a sublime example of apostolic and civic prudence. Maintaining the traditions of the Church and conforming to the standards set by the Holy See, it placed itself alongside the recognised constitutional powers and exerted every effort to collaborate with them for the common good. And, in spite of one insult after another to the members, the affairs, and the rights of the Church, it never once wavered in its determination to pursue its long-established policy of concord." To this abuse we humbly and loyally submitted, whenever it was possible for us to do so. When we were driven to answer it, our protests were dignified, moderate and apostolic. Never did our people respond that, on more than one occasion of profound social and political unrest, our intervention proved an invaluable factor in preserving peace within these shores."

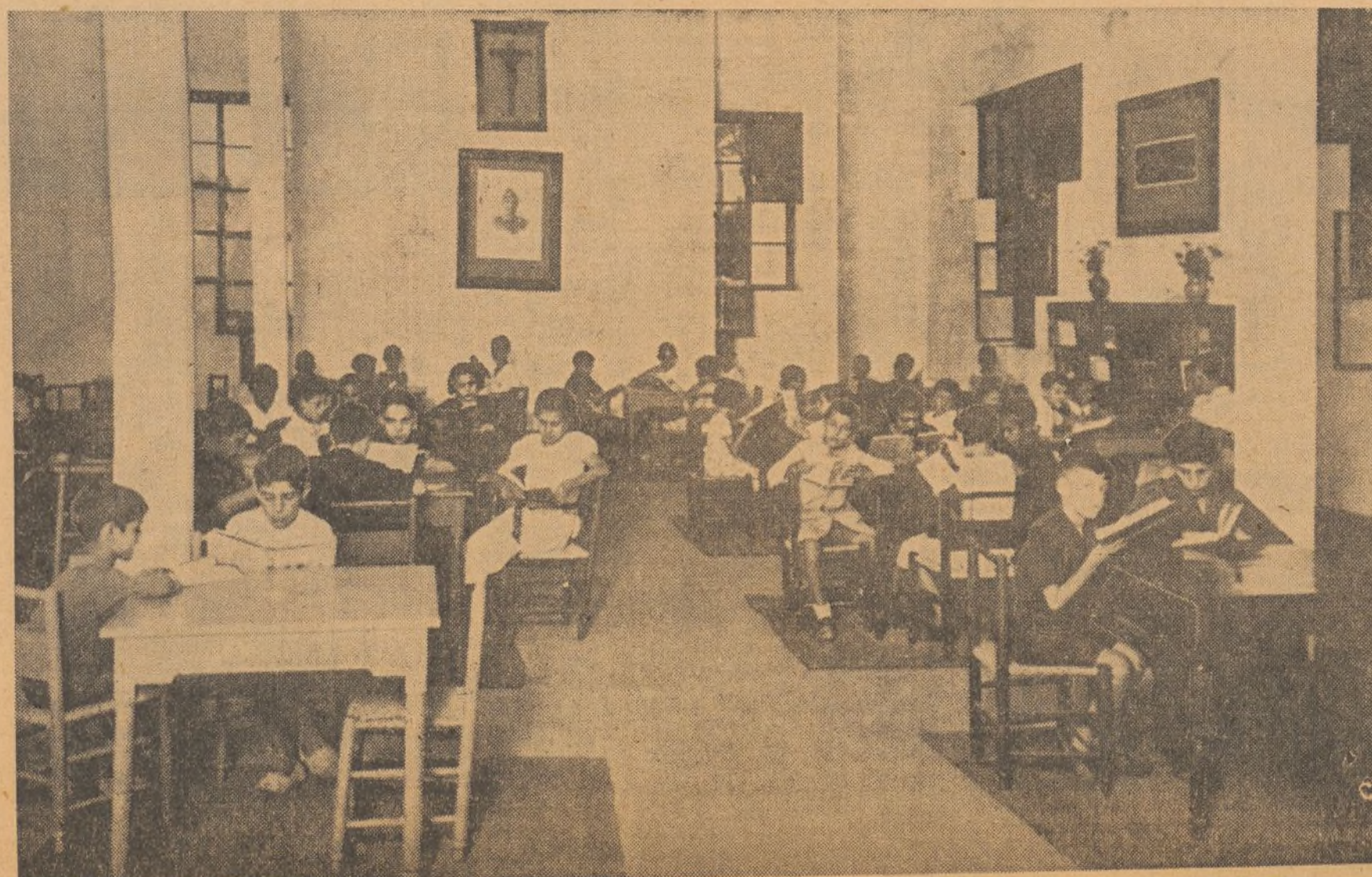
Eventually, if we leave out of account the half-hearted rebellion of August, 1932—which the Government soon suppressed by the indiscriminate use of the most repressive measures—by far the greater bulk of Spanish opinion, brused as it was by the wholesale usurpation of the rights of the Church, was in favour of essentially legitimate medium of the polling booth, the result being the stupendous electoral triumph of 1933.

This triumph, however, although it served to avert further abuses and to temper the application of the sectarian constitutional decrees in force, did not bring about the abolition of these decrees. Its chief effect, indeed, was to split the Catholics into two parties, the one for and the other against the acceptance of a republican form of government. The former, adopting the titles of "Agrarian Party" and "Popular Action," decided provisionally to support the radical Republican Government then in power, with the result that, one year later, in October, 1934, they succeeded in being represented in the Government by exact three Ministers, a number that was out of all proportion to their parliamentary preponderance.

Their action was fraught with disaster. The Socialist party at once seized the opportunity to launch the terrible revolution for which they had so long been preparing and which, from the point of view of assassination and destruction, might be regarded as a rehearsal of the carnage of to-day.

When this rebellion was quelled, there followed a period of oppression during which the activities of the mixed Cabinets that succeeded one another up to the end of 1935, were open to grave criticism.

It was in this year that the leader of the Popular Action, Senor Gil Robles, demanded the reins of government, to which, by all the rules of parliament, he was entitled, with the express view of revising the constitution. Rather than yield to the pressure of the predominant party, however, the President of the Republic chose to entrust the power to an insignificant group of "centrists"; and



Reading class in one of General Queipo de Llano's schools in Seville.

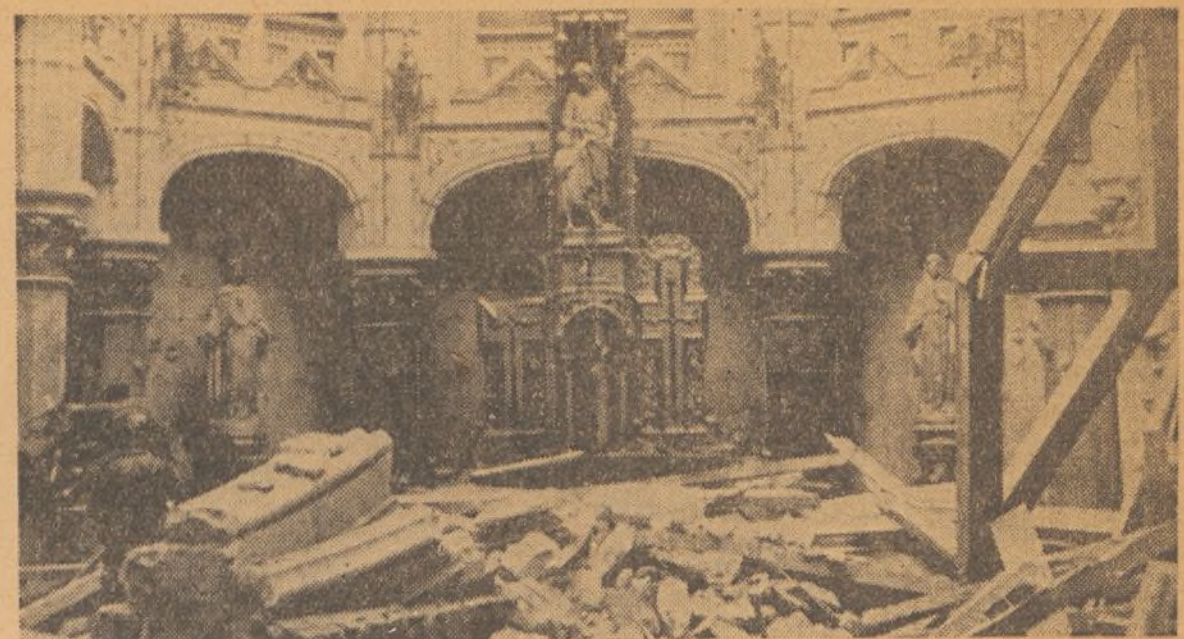
Ayuntamiento de Madrid





Ruins of the Church of the Jesuits, Durango.

# The NEW SPAIN



Desecration of the Private Chapel in the Church of the Jesuits.

## A Detailed Politico-Social Review

### CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY! REPUBLIC! CHAOS!

so he dissolved Parliament and called for new elections, presided over by that group.

It was then that there arose, in opposition to the compact bloc, composed of the "Right" section and the radical Republican Party, which was the oldest Republican Party in the country, the hitherto obscure Popular Front. This Front comprised the small group of the Republican "Left," which had fallen into line with the numerically superior Socialist and Communist parties—instigators of the revolution of 1934—and the Anarchist-syndicalists, who, although more rabidly revolutionary than the others, still had held aloof from political strife.

The elections to all appearances constituted a victory for the Popular Front. But so narrow was the victory that every effort had to be exerted by the Popular Front Government, which, incidentally, had been invested with the power before the constitution of the Parliament, to ensure a working majority to meet any contingency.

And then began that ignominious period of anarchy that swept the country from February to July, 1936, during the whole of which security of life and property were conspicuous by their absence.

Time and again, without avail, deputies of the Opposition rose in the House to denounce the work of wholesale destruction that was being carried on by the assassins, rioters, and incendiaries, in full view of the indignant, so-called public Power. Work, it need scarcely be added, that in the great majority of cases involved the victimisation either of members of, or institutions known to belong to, the "Right," or more often still to some Catholic, ecclesiastical, or religious Order.

One deputy, Don Jose Calvo Sotelo, who, in defiance of a warning given him in the House by the Minister of the Interior, had ever been to the fore in making these denunciations to the Government, was dragged from his house at dawn on the 13th of July, and murdered by the very men who were of that Minister. This was the outrage that brought the national indignation to boiling point.

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### III, The National Movement

In the light of the foregoing facts, it is not so difficult to comprehend the real significance of current events in Spain and their bearing on matters of religion. Let us try to recapitulate as follows:—

(1).—No matter to what extent the Spanish people in 1931 contributed to the triumph of the Republic, the fact remains that, owing to the orientation of the Republic, which was contrary to all true democracy, liberty, and equality, there resulted a formidable reaction against it which by no means met with the disapproval of the party most representative of the original Spanish republicanism.

Opposed to that reaction there remained the bloc, composed of the dwindling republican "Left," which was subdivided into various groups, and the countless masses, who, although organised, some under the banner of the Socialists and Communists ("The General Union of Workers"), others under that of the Syndicalists ("The National Confederation of Labour"), still under that of the Anarchists ("The Iberian Anarchist Federation"). These masses, which in reality represented the strength of the Popular Front, were at no pains to conceal that, so far as they were concerned, the "political revolution" that brought about the Republic was purely and simply an instrument to facilitate and accelerate the "social revolution," which would be the consummation of all their strivings.

Although in agreement on the negative aspect of this ideal—the destruction of the social order, based upon the family, property and religion—any confederates were already at loggerheads on the positive aims they were pursuing. The Socialists and Communists, taking Russia as their model, favoured a rigorous control by the State over economic and all other manner of activity. The anarchist-syndicalists indulged in chimeric dreams of a new order that would arise from the ashes of the present State.

Nevertheless, even although their aims were so diametrically opposed and in spite of the long-standing feud between them, the two groups, as was proclaimed at a meeting at their meetings and in their literature, were now jointly preparing for the immediate subversion of the Spanish "bourgeois society" by whatever means, no matter how violent, might be deemed to be the most efficacious.

Unfortunately for their ambitions, the National Movement anticipated their designs on July 18th, 1936.

(2).—Three days later, following the break-down of negotiations with the leaders of the National Front, on the basis of a Cabinet formed by the dissident radical, Martinez Barrio, the so-called Republican Government solemnly proclaimed by Radio that "with the vigour of combating Fascism with the requisite vigour, the Government had decided to arm the people." "Arming the people," of course, simply meant taking the power out of the hands of the authorities and placing it in those of an uncontrollable and irresponsible semi-military rabble.

(3).—The result of this abdication soon made itself felt and was horrible for Religion, the Catholic Church, and Christianity in general. This is reflected in paragraph 20 of the Encyclical of his Holiness, Pope Pius XI, on Communism. "There too," runs the paragraph, "where as in our beloved Spain, the Communist scourge has not yet had time to make all the effects of its theories felt, it has retaliated by breaking forth in excesses of unmitigated violence and anarchy. Nor has it contented itself with razing to the ground this and that church or a convent here and there. Wherever it could, it has destroyed all the vestiges of the Christian religion, without any regard at all to their intrinsic value as notable monuments of art and science. Its fury has not been confined to the murder of Bishops and thousands of priests, monks and nuns, among whom the first to fall were invariably those who had laboured with the greatest zeal among the poorer and working classes. By far the greater number of victims were laymen of every class and condition, and it is they, every day, it may be said, are being assassinated en masse for no other crime than that of being good Christians or, at the worst, opposed to the atheism of Communism. And the appalling work of destruction is carried on with a hatred, a barbarity, and a ferocity that would not have been thought possible in our century."

After the first few months of this blind orgy of bloodshed, rapine, and destruction, on the part of the "popular militias," the so-called Government, which had placed the arms in their hands, began to curb their activities to a certain extent, perhaps with the view, promptly denounced by a Spanish Red periodical,

ment and at which I had the honour to be present. "Communism and Catholicism are the two great Powers between which the ultimate battle will be fought. All sorts of events and facts form, so to speak, a smoke-screen behind which great evolutions of principles take place. The groups holding the central position between the two extremes are dwindling, and each day brings them nearer to the ultimate choice between Rome and Moscow. The modern man cannot be put before a choice of more importance in

and war, between the strategy of God and the tactics of Satan, the ruler of this world, as St. Paul called him." (V. the special number of its Bulletin, "A Catholic Survey," page 48—London, 1936).

(6).—From the religious point of view, it is to the everlasting credit of the Spanish National Movement that it proclaimed the religious ideal, as embodied in the Christian-Catholic doctrine, to be the source of its inspiration, and that, in the territory it dominates—which com-

Christianity in Spain." But, in spite of all that, "the people were deceived by promises that could never be fulfilled, for the simple reason that they were incompatible with the economic life, not only of the country but of any other organisation whatever." Hence the paradox of the triumph of Communism in the wealthiest regions and in those where the worker was better paid, those regions, precisely, that have now been reduced to a state of the greatest misery. That is how the Spanish Bishops express themselves on the matter.

### Political Conception Of Public Life.

(9).—That the Spanish National Movement, over and above the religious, national, and social ideals already referred to, inclines to a political conception of public life that is not exactly favourable to the democratic idea, tending rather towards authoritarianism and totalitarianism, is a notorious fact. Neither Religion nor the Church, however, identifies itself with any of these tendencies. As the Cardinal Archbishop of Lisbon points out in his aforementioned radio message, "the lovers of democracy would like the Church to condemn the authoritarian regimes, and the lovers of authoritarian regimes would like the Church to condemn democracy." But the Church, well aware that no political regimen is absolutely perfect or immutable, declares that it is not within its province to interfere in questions that are purely political. This political independence of the Church arises from no Machiavellian opportunism, but from consciousness of and respect for its own mission. The Church takes no part in politics. It gives its blessing to any regimen that respects and promotes the common weal. It teaches Christians obedience to and loyal co-operation with any constituted power that shows no sign of tyranny, but it identifies itself with none of them."

(10).—Unfortunately, tyranny is a danger that lurks in political regimens of every kind; and now the Spanish National Movement is charged with having adopted a statism that enslaves the nation; and the Spanish Church, in fleeing from the persecution of the Communist Republican Government, is accused of choosing to resign itself to this statism, which is just as antichristian. That a similar statism exists in other European countries is, unfortunately, true; but the Pope has not been behindhand in putting the Catholic peoples on their guard against it, as well as Communism. In his Encyclical, "Mit Brennender Sorge," specially directed to the German Episcopate, he points out that any political system, however authorised, derives its normal and juridical value from its congruence with the natural law.

He then comments upon the misleading axiom, "The welfare of the people is the law," and explains that "to give a proper meaning to this proposition, it would be necessary to add that anything that is morally prohibited can be of no service to the welfare of the people. Without this moral proviso, such a principle signifies, in international life, a perpetual state of war among the different nations. In the national life, it ignores, by the amalgam it effects between the considerations of law and those of welfare, this fundamental fact: that man, as an individual, possesses rights, derived from God, that must be protected in the collective body from every tendency to deny, abolish or condemn them. To disregard this truth is to ignore the fact that the common good is determined by the nature of man, which counterpoises harmoniously, personal rights and social obligations."

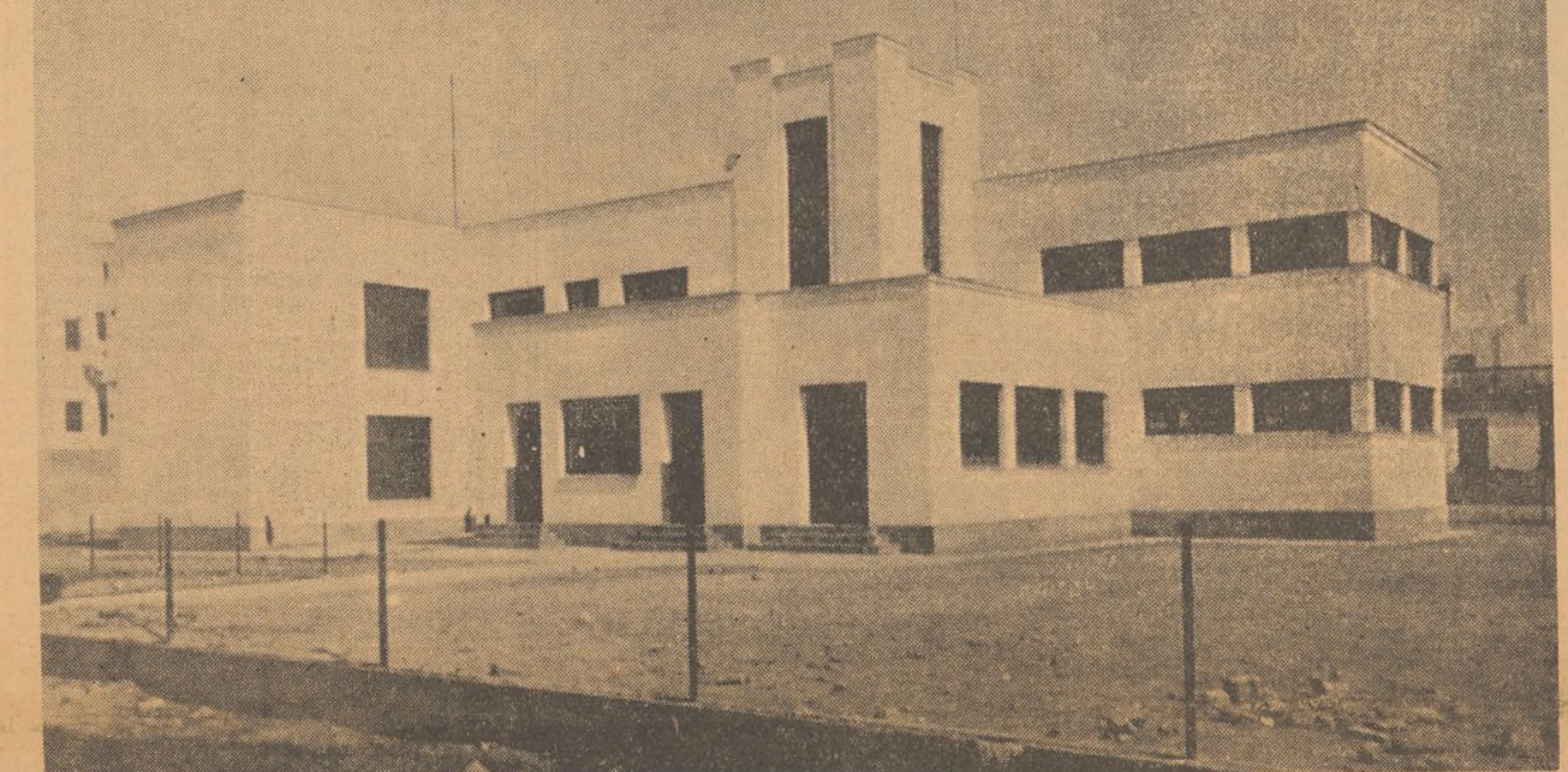
The Cardinal Archbishop of Lisbon, commenting on this Encyclical, lays emphasis on the fact that a political despotism that seeks to absorb the religious mission is incompatible with the Church, and cautions the Catholics who base their political ideal on the supreme exaltation of the Nation and of force, because "the

(7).—From time to time accusations of excessive violence have been flung at the National Movement by those who are antagonistic to it. "Every war has its excesses," retorts the Collective Letter of the National Episcopate. "No doubt, the National Movement has had them, too. Nobody defends himself with complete serenity against the insane attacks of a merciless enemy. While condemning, in the name of justice and Christian charity, any excesses that may have been committed in error, or by the rank and file, and which, incidentally, have for the most part been grossly exaggerated in the foreign Press, we declare that the report we rectify (namely, that of the "white terror," which even appeared in some of the Catholic publications) does not correspond with the truth; and we affirm that there is an enormous gulf, which will never be bridged, between the principles of justice and its administration, as applied on either side."

To this authoritative pronouncement may be added the fact that any incidents of violence occurred chiefly during the confusion of the first days, when the other side was tacitly threatening to launch the revolution. The situation in this respect has gradually become normal; and still the watchword of the National Movement is to win the vanquished enemy over by conversion. The Spain of to-morrow should not be divided into two camps—one, the conquerors, and the other, the conquered; it should be united in a brotherhood bound together by the golden chains of justice and Christian charity.

(8).—Another charge that has been brought against the National Movement is that "this is a class war, and the Church has taken the side of the rich." In these words the Spanish Bishops epitomise the accusation and reply to it in the said Collective Letter to their brethren throughout the world. They have no difficulty in recognising "a certain carelessness in the fulfilment of the duties of justice and charity, which the Church has ever been the first to urge." But it would be unjust to forget that already in Spain "the working classes were strongly protected by the law, and the nation was on the way to a better distribution of wealth."

Nor must we overlook, along with the advance in our social legislation, "the great work done by the benevolent institutions and hospitals, both public and private, that owe their origin to



Santa Marina Schools—typical of others under construction in Seville, for 4,000 children.

of conveying to "foreign democratic powers" an impression of "republican normality." To assume, however, that the ensuing semblance of comparative order typified the rule of "constitutional normality" is entirely wrong. This legality remained a myth; firstly, because of the inability of the Legislature to function in accordance with its statutes; secondly, because of the domination of the syndicalist organisations over Executive; and, thirdly, because of the subjection of the Judiciary to the "popular tribunals."

Certainly, attempts were made, with some measure of success, to keep in check the masses that had enrolled, either under the anarchic-syndicalist standard of the "National Confederation of Labour," that of the "Iberian Anarchist Federation," or the various standards of those socialist groups that had renounced their allegiance to the Russian Soviet. But the public power still remained the slave of Socialism and Communism whose main objective was twofold: the extermination of religion and the collectivisation of economic life in its various aspects of property, whether urban, agricultural, industrial, or commercial, while curbing all liberty in excess of that strictly essential to its plan of campaign.

It is true, moreover, that we have even seen a timid attempt made "the said Government to re-establish the right of worship and religious liberty. But the newspaper "Solidaridad Obrera," in its issue of January 28, 1937, took it upon itself to announce the closing of this attempt in the following terms:—"Not an altar has been left standing; not one dummy figure is to be seen whole on the altar-pieces; scarcely a parishioner remains; and yet they have the presumption to seek a return of worship. That will never happen."

And so, as affirmed in the "Governmental" organ, "El Socialista" of January 16, 1938, "in Spain Communism holds sway," and it is common knowledge that the leaders of the party, such as the General Secretary, Jose Diaz, mean by that. They mean, in short, what the same Jose Diaz said at Valencia on March 6, 1937: "In our part of Spain, landowners do not exist; and neither does the Church. Militarism has likewise disappeared, and so, too, have the wealthy bankers and industrialists. That is the true state of affairs to-day, and the guarantee that these conquests shall never be lost rests in the assurance that the arms are in the hands of the anti-Fascist people."

(5).—In some foreign countries there is a tendency, when events in Spain are under review, to adopt an attitude of "non-intervention," on the grounds that these events constitute so many "internal questions" that can only be adjusted by Spain herself. In this connection let us turn to the sentence that concludes the afore-mentioned paragraph of the Encyclical of the Pope on Communism: "No right-thinking private individual, no statesman with a due sense of his responsibility can be anything but horror-stricken at the thought that what is happening in Spain to-day may be repeated to-morrow in any of the other civilised countries." Indeed, those best informed in these countries are already studying the problem set by Communism and its international propaganda from a universal standpoint. As Dr. A. Cornet, of the University of Nimegue, remarked at the meeting of the Catholic Council of International Relations, which was held in London a few days before the inception of the Spanish National Move-

matters of principle, for it means a choice between Heaven and earth, between the spiritual and the material, between peace

### The "Dillon" Regiment.



An Irish regiment, which passed into the service of France in 1690; took part in the sieges of Cremona 1702, Italy and Lerida, Spain, 1708, and Fontenoy 1745. At Brast they went on board the ships of La Motte-Piquet's squadron. Became famous at the conquest of Grenade, where it secured seventeen cannon guns, and at the Fort de l'Hopital (seven hundred prisoners, three flags and six hundred mortars). Took part in the siege of Savannah, 1779; they fought on the ships of Comte de Guichen, the naval engagements against Rodney. Went aboard the ships of Comte de Grasse; took part in the attack on Sainte-Lucie, and the storming of Tabago, May, 1781. In November, 1781, this regiment joined the Expedition of Saint-Eustache. Assisted in the re-taking of Saint-Christophe, 1782. Present at the siege of Bristone Hill; returned to France 1783, and were garrisoned in the North. One battalion sent to St. Domingo, January, 1792, and was incorporated with the troops "Colonies des Antilles." Later this regiment became the 87th Infantry.

Uniform (in 1780)—Red coat, cuffs, collars and revers jaquill, black breeches and white.

Flag—2 quarters red, 2 black, silver crown in centre, red cross edged with white, with Harp and English Royal Crown in the centre of the cross.

Nation is not an absolute end. To serve it is the duty of the Catholic, just as it is the duty of the Nation to subserve the glory of God and the destiny of man."

As regards force "they deceive themselves, those Catholics who hope for victory by material strength alone. Force is no doubt necessary in this world to guarantee the dominion of justice and right. But force, if it is not subject to reason and justice, soon becomes oppression." And so, in the present crisis, which affects not one particular institution, but the whole of Christian civilisation, there has been raised, through sheer hatred, such a clamour for war as has never been heard before. Atheistic Communism, the plague of our time, attacks the social system everywhere, broadcasting the seeds of hatred and inciting the people to join in the struggle between the classes. On the other hand, other doctrines, although declaring war on Communism, obtrude upon the minds of the people an entirely erroneous conception of race or nation. But in the midst of this troubled sea, "like the ark of salvation at the time of the flood the Church remains to guard the essential values of Christian civilisation."

### Protection Of The Church.

So far as their country is concerned, the Spanish Bishops, in the Collective Letter to which we have so often referred, deny that the Church has placed herself at the disposal of despotism. "The Church," they say, "rather than perish at the hands of Communism, as has been the case where Communism predominates, is content to feel herself protected by a power that, whatever its political tendencies, has so far guaranteed the fundamental principles of all society. As for the future, we cannot predict what will happen when the struggle is over. Yet, we can say that the object of this war was, not to impose an autocratic State upon a humiliated people, but to restore the national spirit to the Christian strength and liberty it enjoyed in days of old."

"We trust in the prudence of our administrators to reject foreign moulds for the configuration of the future Spanish State and to keep in mind the exigencies of the inner life of the nation and its trajectory throughout the ages. . . . We would be the first to deplore the place of a Parliament, representing an irresponsible autocracy, should be taken by the more terrible autocracy of a dictatorship having no root in the nation. Let us cherish the legitimate hope that this will not happen. Precisely, what has saved Spain at this most critical moment has been the persistence of the principles that have shaped our life for ages, as well as the fact that so large a sector of the country has risen to defend these principles. It would be wrong to cut short the spiritual trajectory of the nation, and we cannot believe that the people will fall into that error."

Before leaving this subject I should like to refer to the sober parallel the Bishops draw between the present situation in both

zones in Spain and the great hope it gives them for the future. The regions still under the sway of the Communists, "without priests, churches, worship, justice or authority, are a prey to anarchy, hunger and misery. On the other hand, amidst the terrible din and desolation of war, the other regions live in the tranquillity of internal order, under the aegis of true authority, the principle of peace, and of progress, which alone can promote the fecundity of social life. Whereas Marxist Spain lives without God, in every part of the intact or reconquered regions divine worship is practised, and there new manifestations of the Christian life are germinating and flourishing."

"This situation gives hope of a regimen of justice and peace in the future. We do not wish to venture any prophecy. Our afflictions are certainly grievous. The relaxation of the social bonds, the abuses of a corrupt political system, the flouting of civil obligations; the retarded development of an integrally Catholic consciousness; the division of minds over the solution of our great national problems; the elimination by assassination of the vilest description, of thousands of men, whose high standing and education rendered them particularly apt for the work of national reconstruction; the hatred and the penny that are the aftermath of all civil wars; the foreign ideology regarding the State, which tends to produce a new Spain, engrafted upon the stem of our old history and vitalized by its sap, will be a most formidable task. And yet we cling to the hope that, when the enormous sacrifice that has been made is realised, we shall in time recapture our true national spirit."

Now, before we conclude, a word from the Bishops of charity for the present enemy, of supplication to our brothers in foreign lands, who are with us in this hour of tribulation. "God knows that we love in the spirit of Christ and that we pardon with all our heart all those who, not knowing what they did, have wrought such grievous harm upon the Church and our native land. They are our sons. We invoke God to hold in their favour the good work of our martyrs, the ten Bishops and the thousands of priests and Catholics who died forgiving them, as also the deep sea of grief into which our country has been submerged. Let us pray that in our beloved Spain hatred shall be no more, and that we shall revert to a brotherhood united by the bonds of charity. Let us give thought to our Bishops so cruelly done to death and to the thousands of priests and laymen, who were doomed to die for another reason that that they were chosen soldiers of Christ. Let us hope, in the hour of the Lord, that their generous blood has not been shed in vain."

"Not of one of the thousands can it be said that he faltered in the hour of his martyrdom. The death of each of all was the death of a hero; and their unflinching glory is the glory of Spain."

"Join with us in our prayers, that the sun of Christian peace may once again shed its rays upon Spain, to-day imbued with the blood of our brothers, proclaiming to the world that the return of its pristine glory to the Church and of prosperity to our native land."



Children at a meal in one of the schools built by General Quiroga de Llano.



Vineyards at Ontivero.

# Agriculture In Spain—

## PEASANT LESSEES NO BETTER THAN SERFS

PRESIDENT Harding said in his message at the Opening of Congress in 1922: "Agricultural crisis does not only affect the Farming Community. Agricultural depressions are National depressions. The farmer must share in the prosperity of the nation, otherwise, the prosperity is not genuine."

During the Great War, Mr. Lloyd George said: "Now the country realises, as never before the essential role of Agriculture in the community, and come what may no Government will neglect it again. I know of no greater evil for any nation than the voluntary destruction of its rural population."

### Life Impossible In The Country.

Agriculture in Spain was hampered by high cost prices and low selling prices. It suffered profoundly from the uncertainty of obtaining a livelihood and the insecurity of tenure of property in rural districts. When seeking labour, the farmer was limited, by law, to employ local workers. Mixed juries had powers exceeding Parliament itself, and they infringed in the agricultural sphere of action on those of the Courts of Law, and even on the State itself.

Limits were placed on the employment of machinery, while at the same time its use was praised and schools were created for training men in its management. In violation of the freedom of employers, farmers were obliged to employ extra labour and also to increase the area of land under cultivation. This led to overproduction of crops and to a diminution in the numbers of cattle.

Government intervention in marketing and the imposing of tariff charges took place with only a few days' notice. Spanish industrial produce was exchanged for foreign agricultural produce, which only served to make a bad situation worse for the Spanish farmer.

The so-called Law of Agrarian Reform had no real advantages, and only led to the creation of a new type of lease, slaves bound to make the land fruitful by the sweat of their brows, but having no hope of ever being able to own it. All this took place at the expense of the Treasury, since rural landed property declined considerably in value owing to the lack of confidence on the part of the would-be agricultural creditors. The prices of crops and livestock declined, while the lessee had to face a rise in his overhead charges, excessive local and national taxes and dues. Every day new social burdens were laid on, and the farming districts went through a period of great crisis in which crops were

follow the ideas of the scientists and the counsel of the engineers than the farmers, providing that the propositions are economic.

Routine is an evil when it is contrary to progress; but when it is a synthesis of the experience, observations and judgment of centuries it is the necessary means for economic production—in accordance with individual, national and climatic differences. How many times has not the technician heard the satisfaction of the peasant, who previously had driven the yoke with hands either freezing or perspiring? How often have not theories based on the experience of other more privileged lands, with an annual rainfall of more than a metre (39 inches), been proved wrong when applied to the Spanish table land, where there is barely 30 centimetre of rain and a severe climate varying between 45 and 40 degrees Centigrade, where it freezes during nine months of the year and the remainder is a period of tropical heat.

Each cultivates what he can, where he can. It is true that in the dry areas in Spain antiquated systems are still in existence. Areas are often left fallow and the rough Roman plough is still used. This is due to the fact that better systems adapted to this poor type of soil have not been found. And to-day with the ultra-modern practice of dry-farming, which is practically the same, it is being initiated.

### Agricultural Machinery.

Neither large nor small-scale farmers have ever rejected machinery which could be economically employed. There are so many useful types of machinery for agriculture in general, that it would be easy to extend this mechanism considerably.

In 1932 a sudden rush attempt to solve the question of the influence of mechanisation on the unemployment figures was made. The use of expensive machinery was forbidden, and its owners had no right to claim compensation under this measure. This policy had the effect of disturbing the whole of the Agricultural Scheme, which had been based on the use of machinery. Crops which should have been gathered without delay were left in the fields with grave risk of loss. This measure also resulted in the raising of the costs of production, while the products had to be sold at a lower price.

Later when harvest time arrived, the Minister of Labour in the Gaceta de Madrid issued a decree restricting the use of agricultural machines, which might not absorb more than half of the labour employed.

The problem of unemployment in the countryside was attacked by laying the weight of remedying it on the farmer, and without applying similar restrictions on other Spanish producers. What would the industrialists say if only 50 per cent. of the iron and steel might pass through

the cotton mill, which consumes 80 per cent. of the total industrial production of Spain according to the testimony of leading industrialists quoted in official documents. Thus directly and indirectly all Spain lives by agriculture and yet the agricultural interests were always put last.

The increase in production in the course of the century has been enormous as may be seen by a comparison of present figures with those of the years 1900-1905.

Wheat increased from 254 million metric quintals in 1905 to nearly 44 million in 1925. In five years averages it rose from 32 to 39 million.

Oil from 180 million kilos in 1900 to 600 million in 1927.

Wine from 20 to 22 million hectolitres.

Beet production from 800,000 tons in 1911 producing 95,000 tons of sugar to 1,800,000 tons.

### Agricultural Exports.

In 1913 our total exports amounted to 1,195 million pesetas of which 505 million consisted of agricultural produce, the next largest share left to mining products. When this reaches the limits of capacity then will come the problem of industrial exports; this we shall prepare for by the provision of credit and transport facilities on land and sea. There lies the whole problem.

In 1923, according to the official statistics the total of agricultural exports had risen to 1,550 million pesetas, equivalent to 70 per cent. of the total exports of 2,185 million. But as the Union Nacional de Exportacion Agricola—admirably informed on all Spanish economic problems—has shown by argument and figures, which seem to the writer to be dependable, the total of Spanish exports in 1928 amounted to 2,363 million. Even

MARINO MATESONZ.

He was President of the Madrid Chamber of Commerce, and has been a Member (i.e. M.P. in the Republican Party).

policy with tenacity we should quickly arrive at an equilibrium in our Trade Balance. A policy in direct opposition to this would result in immense damage to the National Economy.

The basis on which our national industries must be built up is on that of a rich and powerful agricultural community, which will be its own chief consumer. If Spanish industry does not have this fundamental support, its future will always be precarious and uncertain, nor will it be able to resist the attacks of a large internal market, such as has always been the prelude to the conquest of external market, must first be created. An internal market is impossible

### By MARINO MATESONZ

In Spain, we might almost add in all other countries, without a rich agricultural body, able to support densely populated areas, a change in the British policy towards Spain, among others, for geographical reasons. This geographical reality will have to be recognised, and once the Soviet policy is exposed, British policy will necessarily turn towards the Mediterranean.

### The Role Of Agriculture.

What is the role of agriculture in the sphere of National Defence in Wartime?

In these times when there is so much Government intervention and protection of industry by advances, loans, duty-free imports, increases in tariffs, manufacturing monopolies, subsidies, etc., there is hardly a single appeal for help from a petitioning industry which is not based chiefly on the essential part which such an industry would play in the event of war. For the writer to make no arguments at all; yet I can remember no single instance of an agricultural petition which used this line of argument.

It has been said "there is no aspect of public or private life, which is not affected by war," but nowhere are we so profoundly and so directly affected as in the economic life of a nation. The consequences of a war, whether successful or unsuccessful, relate to obscuring those of any economic crisis, however serious. Economic policy should aid in the peaceful development of the nation, but in the event of wartime complications. This should not be the least important reason for giving the population works on the land, and where home agriculture supplies the home market in large measure and yields the majority of its primary necessities, these nations are more capable of resisting in times of difficulty and recover more easily than those who have no resources other than industry and trade. Carriage gave proof of this in face of Rome.

Every weakening of agriculture is a weakening of a nation's defensive power, a diminution of its strength and of its security. Industry and trade have been able to develop with so much power of expansion only because the strength of the nation's armaments has given them such a long peace. They cannot continue to prosper if the protection and importance of armed forces are reduced. But to constitute such a nation must maintain a numerous and healthy agricultural population which will find work and sustenance in a flourishing agriculture.

Lloyd George said during the Great War: "The War will have taught us one lesson at least, and that is that the maintenance of our Army and Navy is as important a part of our national defence as the maintenance of our land and sea forces." "To-day the land is our hope."

In his Message to the American people, President Wilson said on April 15th, 1917, also in the middle of the War: "The fate of the War and the fate of nations depend to a large extent on the American farmer." "These quotations from the utterances of leading statesmen of the greatest industrial nations of the world are significant."

The Great War did not terminate for lack of war material, transport or any other industrial failure, but because there was a scarcity of wheat, rye, potatoes and meat, in fine the products of the soil. As a consequence Hunger arose and, as has always been the case with all nations throughout the course of history, Hunger brought Revolution with all its consequences.

In our crusade against Spain, while General Franco's heroic soldiers fight courageously and with valour unprecedented in history, the farmers of both Castiles,

the cattlemen of Galicia and Extremadura, the olive farmers of Andalusia, the vine-growers of Rioja and so many others from all other parts of liberated Spain, direct production, supply the markets and take care that nothing is lacking to those who are pouring out their blood so generously in the Front line of Spain. Thus they too, are doing their bit so that nothing may fail our cause and our Government in the final triumph and building up of the New Spain.

### Agricultural Credit.

Agricultural Credit in Spain is still in a state of embryo. It was only in 1925 that the national service of Agricultural Credit was created, and it functioned normally until 1929. This State organisation began by facilitating advances which were to be repaid, to farmers although no attempt was made to develop this service as much as was possible.

Much has been said on the subject of Agricultural Credit, but nothing has been as apt as the remarks of the late Senor Aragon y Montoya, whose memory Spanish farmers will never forget. He said that agricultural credit must be founded on the following basis and asked:

What are the essential conditions for agricultural credit?

Cheapness, a long term of amortisation, and facilities for obtaining it. That is to say the problem of risks be solved since they are difficult to obtain.

Cheapness; because agriculture is a poor trade and cannot support high rates of interest when he has no harvest and therefore a long period for amortisation; because

the slow pace of agricultural productive transformation necessitates this.

Facility in obtaining it; because the farmer is not skilful in business matters and legal procedure, and because he lives in a remote place and distance makes negotiations more expensive. In fact for so many well known reasons. Processes be fulfilled by a strong and excellent guarantee?

Even if the guarantee is based on the good personal reputation of the borrower, how can the lender be sure of the honesty of the borrower? How can the most honourable man fulfil his promises and repay his debt in a penitence was repaid to the public purse. There was not a single failure to pay.

This proves the honesty and scrupulous fulfilment of his contracts by the Spanish farmer from the creation of the Agricultural Credit Service in 1925 up to 1929 advances were made to 40,000 farmers of some 80 million pesetas of which every cent was repaid to the public purse.

There was not a single failure to pay.

Spain's Vincicultural Wealth

One and a half million hectares of vine are cultivated, of which 1,300,000 are destined for wine and the remainder for fruit. The annual value of this production is about 800 million pesetas. This wealth of vines is the more admirable in that most of our vineyards are on poor and flinty soil.

One hectare equals 2,471 acres.

Vine growing has a peculiarity in the sphere of social organisation. There are means by which the peasants who work as vine cultivators are the owners of the land. This is possible in Eastern and some parts of Central Spain by contracts between landowners and workers. The workers agree to plant and tend the vines for five years and at the end of this period, when it begins to produce they begin to share equally the land planted.

If we have already urged, future commercial treaties are based on the interests of Spanish agriculture the future of the vine-growers will be rosy, for, for his own types of wine we have no competitors.

Cereals And Leguminous Vegetables.

It should be remarked that cultivation on arable land is well carried out by the Spanish farmers. But they have been badly treated. For many years they have been protected on paper by tariffs but in reality they suffered as in no other country. Every ten days there were alterations in customs duties

## INTOLERABLE BURDEN ON PEASANTRY

restitution of more than 100 million pesetas of duties, exemption from duty on cereals, which competed with the home product.

### Olive Oil.

Since 1927, the price of this product has declined so that from 232 pesetas gold it declined by 70 per cent., and by 1934 it was selling at 71 pesetas gold—or 30 per cent. of its previous value. Exports also declined from 109,000 tons in 1928 to 43,000 in 1933. Yet internal consumption increased from 250 to 300 thousand tons.

A brilliant future is prophesied for this product. It is believed with considerable truth, that its application for the purposes of lubrication as needed by modern machinery, will be of great advantage to this Spanish product.

### The Future Of Spanish Agriculture.

There is likely to be a glorious resurrection in the countryside affecting not only the soil and its fruits, but also the men, women and their children, the ripest and richest fruit of the peasant who gives greater wealth and a larger family to the State than anyone else. For the Earth from which we come, on which we suffer and toil, in which the dust of our mortal remains rests, is the Mother of Humanity. It makes men good and hardworking; it makes them live in an atmosphere of peaceful calmness akin to the fields they till, in that deep solitude the countryman's meditation bids him forget the ambitions of the city and fills his heart with a deep reason, like for his property, poor, hard and imperfect though it may be. Yet he loves it with all his strength and does not abandon it without feeling that his very soul is being drawn out. He loves it so much that even though he loses bonds, or shares which he may hold, he suffers less than others would. But if anyone tries to take from him one inch of his land, or tries to plough one furrow of his holding, how-

ever insignificant its value, he is up in arms and fights the usurper who is seeking to take from him not a few pesetas, but a part of his loved one. This has been the spirit of land-owning and therein lies the difference from the possession of other goods.

But victory does not come in a day. However, it is a holy cause, and all through history it has been fought for. Let us aspire to this ideal and perhaps within this century we may yet realise that hope expressed on the first day of this century by the men of a master: "We are on the road to ruin if in the century which is commencing we do not push on the magnificent work of ennobling the peasant, and making him rich and wise in order that he may form the first and most important social class." There are signs that the near future will see this carried into effect in the destinies of Spain. And thus perhaps those who see the transition from the 20th to the 21st century will witness among other wonders that of a bucolic culture.

Agriculture will preside over all the arts, the peasant will be raised in status, the cities stationary beside the fields, palaces among cornfields, humors will be less sad than to-day, the soil will be gay with its natural beauty, younger the more it is ploughed, prettier the less virgin it is.

### Conclusion.

To summarise:

Social peace is a necessary postulate for normal economic life especially so in the country. Without it the effects applied to production will be sterile.

If Spanish economy is not ordered from the point of view that Agriculture is the basic wealth of the country, any attempts at industrial development will be doomed to failure. For the agriculturist is and must be industry's chief consumer.

Attempts are made to justify much industrial production by quoting the need for such goods in wartime. But here no industry is so essential as Agriculture.

Spain's external commercial policy must be based on her agricultural exports for which she is world-famed. Commercial treaties must take this into account.



Nationalist Spain supports the agricultural worker.

plundered and destroyed and there were daily attacks on persons and property. The authorities gave no help in inspiring security or confidence in the principal national industry, whether it be regarded as a producer, a consumer, or an exporter. It was impossible to work or even to live in the country.

The laws and regulations of the Government set out to undermine the foundations of the existing order of Society, and in no way benefitted the standard of living among the working classes. Nor did it raise the status of the peasant. All this took place at the expense of the Treasury, since rural landed property declined considerably in value owing to the lack of confidence on the part of the would-be agricultural creditors. The prices of crops and livestock declined, while the lessee had to face a rise in his overhead charges, excessive local and national taxes and dues. Every day new social burdens were laid on, and the farming districts went through a period of great crisis in which crops were

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the rolling mills and the rest had to be treated with hammers? What would be the reaction of the textile manufacturers to 50 per cent. of the machine looms had to close down in order to give place to distasteful hand-looms?

Yet at the same time the farmer is accused of being retrogressive because he does not use machinery!

In 1917 the Asociacion de Agricultores de Espana founded the first Spanish Co-operative on a national basis for the insurance of crops against damage wrought by hail. This fund commenced by insuring harvests valued at 1,000,000 pesetas with 64 different policies. By 1920 there were 4,500 policies of an aggregate of 19,000,000 pesetas. The State then intervened, and set up the "Mutualidad del Segundo Agropecuario," which imitated the Co-operative, and only insured against hail. As a result of this competition, the funds of the Co-operative fell, in two years, to 6,000,000 pesetas, and the total of both funds hardly attained that of the previous Co-operative one. Later the Government ceased direct insurance, and restricted itself to making up deficits in bad years and even this with but scanty funds. New companies entered the field of insurance against hail. Thanks to all this, the totals insured had by 1933 attained a considerable figure. By 1938, the Co-operative alone was insuring 36,000,000 pesetas.

### Importance Of Agriculture In Spain.

Prior to 1881 the total annual agriculture of Spain, apart from pastoral products, exceeded 9,000 million pesetas. According to official figures the manure produced was worth 400 million pesetas per annum. Of the economically active population of the country 70 per cent. are engaged in agriculture and this agricultural popula-



Typical carts and peasants in the vicinity of Noya.

## SPANISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE.)

pendent of Reuters form the best key to these events. Speaking of the Mediterranean piracy, he said: "Illicit trade and commerce exists, and it is clear that it is up to the British policy to put an end to this traffic, which provides a painful precedent in international maritime law." He recognised the verities of the situation, and he was right. British policy will soon have to realise what is really happening, i.e. that stolen ships are sailing the seven seas, temporarily flying the British flag. Ships laden with contraband arms belonging to unscrupulous owners of every nationality are also hoisting the Red Ensign of Britain. Finally, he prophesied a change in the British policy towards Spain, among others, for geographical reasons. This geographical reality will have to be recognised, and once the Soviet policy is exposed, British policy will necessarily turn towards the Mediterranean.

In the political sphere the work of unification begun in April continues. In early August the Statute of the "Balagne Espanola Tradicionalista de las J.O.N.S." was approved and General Franco as national head of the movement named the first National Council of the Falangas in accordance with the Statute. It consisted of fifty members, including the most distinguished members of the Falangas, of the Traditionalists and of the Army, whose officers and leaders are also factio members of the organisation, besides a number of eminent individuals who were brought in from outside the ranks of the Falangas.

This Council met for the first time in the historic convent of Las Huelgas at Burgos, presided in 1817 by Queen Eleanor of Castile, daughter of Henry II. of England. In this convent in the chapel of which King Edward I. of England kept vigil before being knighted, the Council of the Falangas met on December 2nd in order to consecrate themselves to the service of Spain and to the mission entrusted to them by the Falangas, and to swear loyalty to the head of the State. The latter took the following oath: "Before God I swear to dedicate myself always to the service of the unity, the greatness, and the liberty of Spain, to live in brotherhood with the Spanish Traditionalist Falangas, and to lead it as its chief."

At the end of the year Franco addressed the Spanish Nation, again, repeated his faith in an early victory, and said that once the war had been ended the reconstruction of Spain would need the energy of all its children. He summoned them all to this task, and all will join in it according to the measure of their individual energies, each with all his faculties and knowledge.

On the 30th January there appeared in the "Boletín Oficial del Estado" the names of the National Government, who under the Order, Home Affairs, Finance, Public Works, Agriculture, Education, Labour, Syndical Organisation. As soon as it was taken the oath the new Cabinet issued a message to the Nation, which included the following points: Solidarity with the armed forces on land, sea, and in the air; a sure omen that the first and principal preoccupations of this Government, born of War and for the War, must be the maintenance of spiritual community with the Falangas in desiring a great victory.

After greeting all our fighters and those who have suffered sorrow and loss through the War other enterprises are mentioned which must be carried out: the organisation of the State on National Syndicalist lines, order that the working class, incorporated in the organisation may, through the State, unite with the technicians and employers in forming great motive force of national production. The Statute of the Falangas will be instrumental in giving the truth to Spain. The organisation of a new municipal structure to improve administration. The moral and cultural health of a people by means of a cultural and sanitary policy. National reconstruction to undo the havoc wrought by War. A deep religious feeling of the Spanish people, economic position and increase our prestige to all others. The cultivation of friendship with our sister nations in America.

policy of justice and an agricultural programme which will improve the standard of life of the peasants, improve cultivation and increase the yield. A re-affirmation of the deep religious feeling of the Spanish people. The men who under the leadership of Franco the Government of National Syndicalism have dedicated themselves to the gigantic labour. The short time work of the Falangas since its constitution preceded by the National Government, previous to the 18th July, 1936, promised to solve its task, and all will join in it according to the measure of their individual energies, each with all his faculties and knowledge.













Mass being celebrated at the war memorial in Seville. General Queipo de Llano is standing in the left foreground.

# The NEW SPAIN



Church in Cabeza Lizar (Madrid front), 6,200 feet above the sea level.

## THE HISTORY OF SPANISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

### STEMMING THE WAVE OF MURDER, RAPINE AND TERROR

THE Spanish National Movement has developed within the short period of two years, but it has been a period full of events of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. At this juncture we must reject as useless all those terms which were originally adopted to designate it. There must be no more talk of "Rebels" and "Insurgents" and even less of a "Military Revolt" as if one wished to give a modern name to the old Spanish term "Pronunciamiento," a term of which Spain gave so many examples throughout the 19th century. The army interpreting the desires of the

Guipuzcoa. Thus, this stage, characterised by rapid advance and intense activity on all fronts, even in Aragon, where all the enemy offensives were held up, and in the Balearics, where Liza passed into our hands, came to an end. Parallel with the chronicle of military events, we must make a rapid examination of the texts of the speeches and documents which motivate and co-ordinate them. I am selecting three of these; two date from the beginning of the movement, while the third marks the transition to the next stage.

The first is the proclamation of General Franco to the people of Spain, made in the Canaries in the early hours of July 18th. The tone of this document is suitable to its form and to the moment in which it was made and the aims which

By **MANUEL GARCIA BLANCO**,  
Professor of the Salamanca University.

overwhelming majority of the Spanish nation has fulfilled the mission which the prophetic voice of the ill-fated Calvo Sotelo assigned to it. He said it must be the backbone of the people, more concrete than the executive body, which is blind, deaf and dumb; of this role the army had its first experience in the Socialist revolt of 1934. This can easily be realised, since a whole nation rose when Franco unfurled his flag in July, 1936. The generous enthusiasm of our youth was a clear example of this true fervour on behalf of an aim which Senor

inspired it. The first part is like an accusing finger pointed at the record of the preceding months of anarchy and disorder culminating in the cold-blooded murder of Calvo Sotelo by uniformed police. This part is brief, but devastatingly impressive: "The Constitution was suspended and violated at every point. There was no equality before the law, while liberty was in chains, the victim of tyranny. There was no fraternity, when hatred and crime had taken the place of mutual respect." After this accusation there opens the prospect of a happy future, the reverse of this past, in which he promises: "Justice and equality before the law; peace and love between all Spaniards; work for all; and



The agricultural worker salutes the new Spain

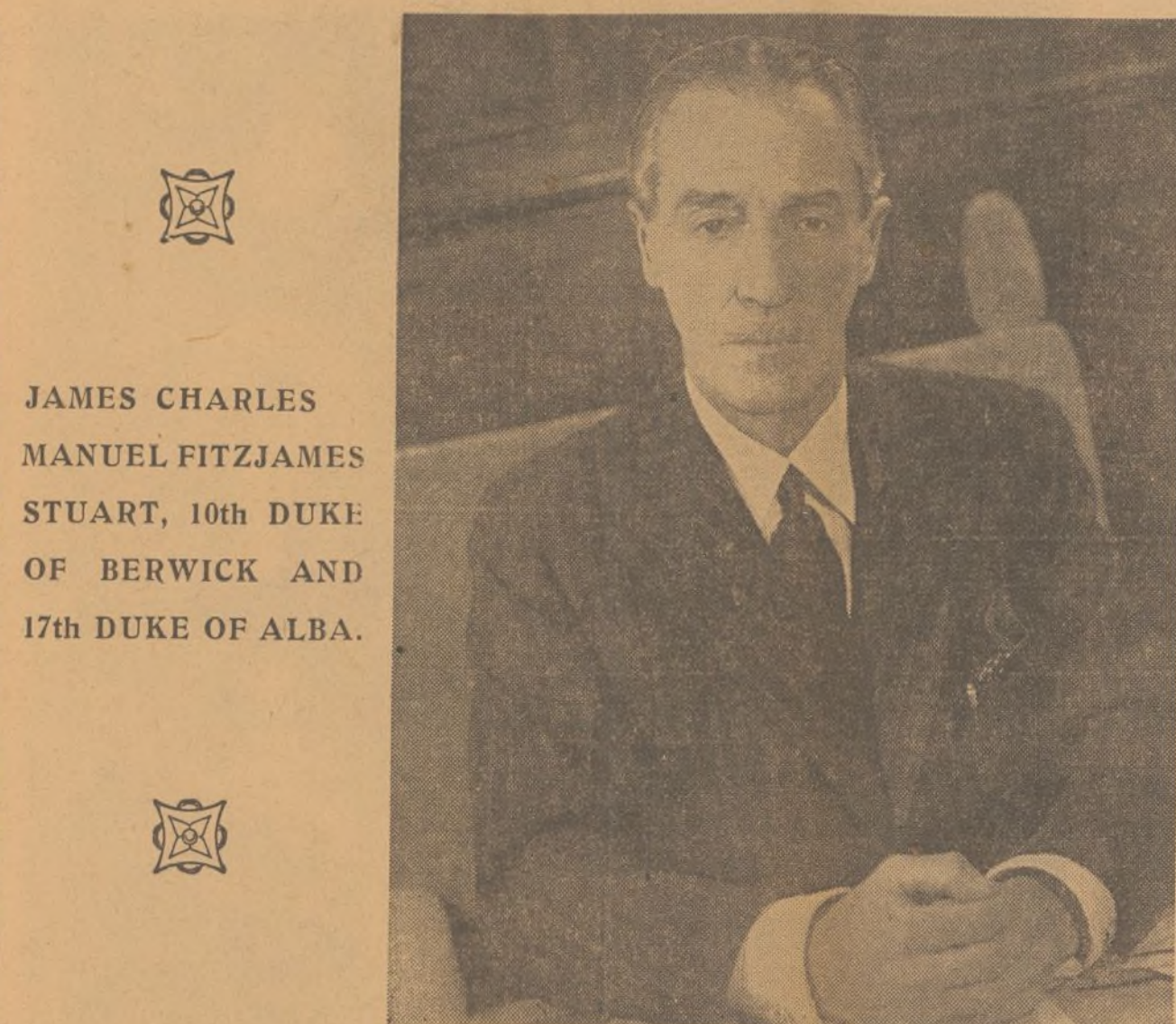
Unamuno, Rector of the University of Salamanca summed up so aptly. He said "The Spanish War is not just one more civil war, it is a question of saving Western civilisation." He died on the last day of the year 1936 with the words "Spain will be saved, because it must save itself." Over his birth and his death there rose the spectre of Spain rent by civil war.

#### The Origins.

Between the 17th and the 21st of July the movement took shape all over Spain. Spanish Morocco was the first to declare itself. Then Melilla, Ceuta and Tetuan rose in unison, and while they looked to nearby Spain, from which the sea divided them, they awaited the leader who was speeding to them through the air from the Canaries. Queipo de Llano won Seville for Franco and thus secured communications with Africa and helped the patriots of Granada and Cordoba, who had also heard the call. Mola gathered the men of Navarre, with their warlike traditions and led them towards Madrid. Valladolid, like an advance-guard of Castile, poured blue-shirted Falangists on to the crests of the Sierra de Guadarrama. In the words of that poet of the 19th century, whose lines Unamuno loved to repeat, the heights of Guadarrama and Puenfria were once again "protectors of the land of Castile."

The army which came from Africa was apparently blunted by the defection of a large part of the fleet. Yet, this obstacle was overcome and the Sevillian nucleus was reinforced from Morocco, the city was freed from all threats, connections with Cordoba and Granada were assured. Huelva was liberated and together the men of Morocco and Andalusia marched on Madrid, taking in their rapid stride Merida, Badajoz and Talavera. The culmination of this was the liberation of the Alcazar at Toledo, where for seventy days a body of true Spaniards, led by Moscardo, had resisted their besiegers. Meanwhile, at Puerto de Pico in the rocky fastnesses of Avila Province, the armies of the North and South met, and the arrow was strengthened. The Navarrese descending from their mountain like a battering ram took Irun, San Sebastian and almost the whole of

### FOREWORD BY THE DUKE OF ALBA



JAMES CHARLES  
MANUEL FITZJAMES  
STUART, 10th DUKE  
OF BERWICK AND  
17th DUKE OF ALBA.

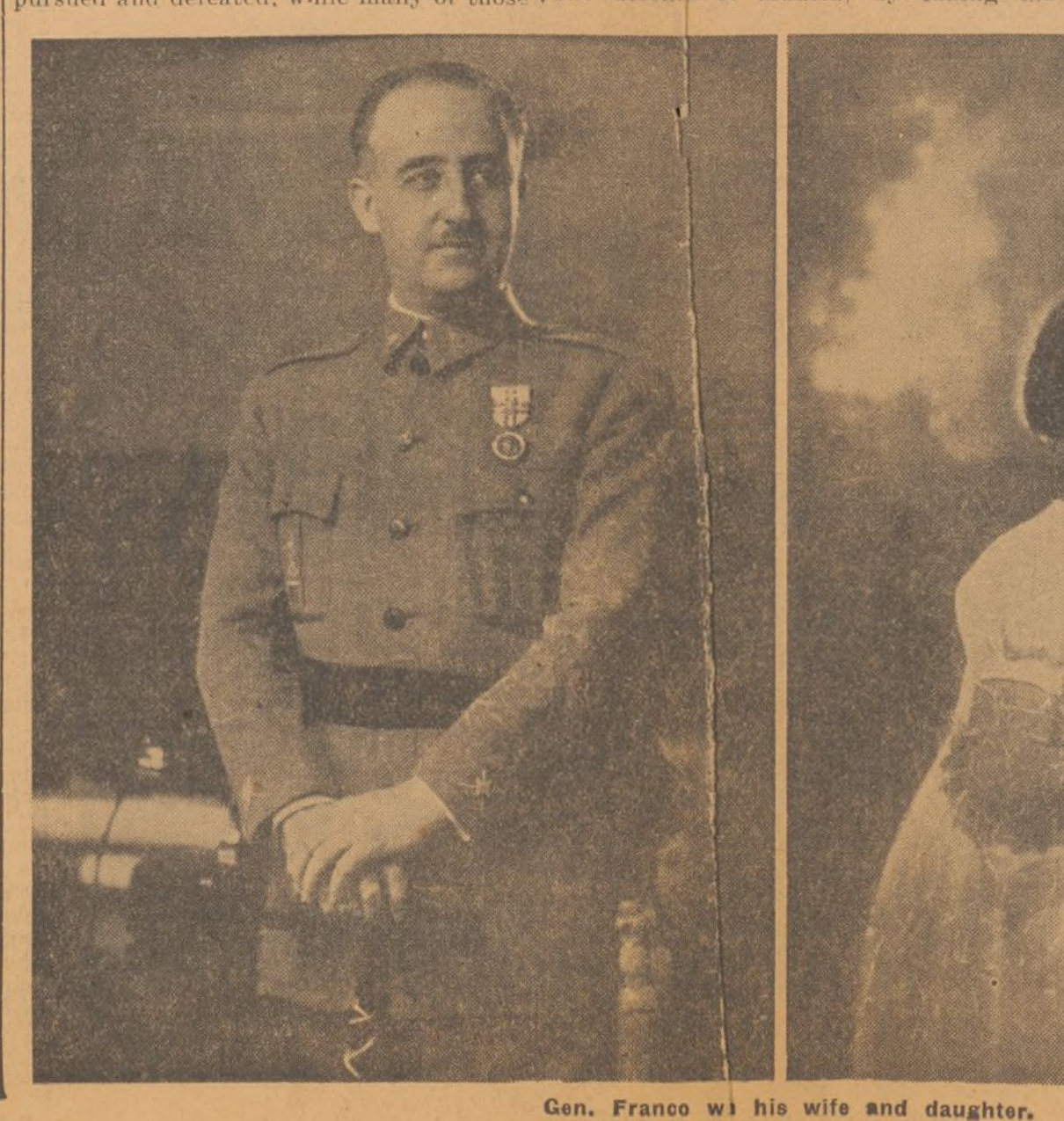
AGENT GENERAL  
OF NATIONALIST  
SPAIN.  
DIRECTOR OF THE  
SPANISH ACADEMY  
OF HISTORY.

At the kind suggestion of Dr. J. F. Crowley, the "Cork Examiner" asked me some time ago to obtain a series of articles from eminent men in Spain whose opinion might serve to enlighten the public in Ireland and England as to the true position in my country. Accordingly, I wrote to some of my friends, who have responded with pleasure to this request.

All the authors are known as authorities on the subjects on which they write. Though throughout their life they have been of different shades of thought, they are now united under the banner of National Spain—a proof that all the best elements in the country are solidly combined in defence of the old traditions of Spain, of Christianity, and of Western civilisation.

I trust that their statements may help to bring the truth before a large part of the English-speaking public, who, as a whole and in all good faith, have allowed themselves to be misled as to the nature and importance of the National Movement in Spain.

A totalitarian State (here means "graded organisations") a hierarchic regime, national unity, co-operative organisation, guaranteed work free of absolute submission to capitalism, and respect for the social conquests of the working class. Without being confessional or clerical the State will make a concordat with the Catholic Church, respecting the religious feelings of the people. Defence and reinvigoration of Agriculture. Cordial relations with all foreign states while avoiding all contacts with the Soviet. A strong army, etc. In order to realise these objectives the "Junta Tecnica" was created. Its political and administrative work is divided between the various committees of specialists which form it. Franco himself assumes a double role of civil and military direction and his language has two forms of expression, that of arms on the field of battle and that of regulations in the pages of the "Boletin del Estado."



Gen. Franco with his wife and daughter.

University City on November 17th. On the following day Italy and Germany gave official recognition to the Government of General Franco. Meanwhile, activity on the Madrid front was paralysed by the rigours of winter, which lasted until February, when our men crossed the Jarama, south-east of Madrid, and cut the road to Valencia. Enemy attacks on Oviedo increased in intensity, yet the city held firm.

Political activity was wholly devoted to the organisation of the country. Various dispositions prepared the life of the new State, especially in the sphere of economics. The national currency was restored, exports were organised, agriculture encouraged and a series of measures were enacted for the benefit of the fighters and of the working class. The former were given pay, which was handed over to their families while they were at the Front. For this purpose special duties on tobacco and entertainments were imposed. The workers were assured of their wages and of the rights they had gained, while the unemployed were exempted from paying for rent and electric light. At the end of October the "Winter Help" of the Falangists began to function, and at the end of a few months more than fifty thousand persons were being catered for in their Children's Dining Halls, and Brotherhood kitchens. All these apartments were constructed in a new style, redolent of joy, modernity and cleanliness. In order that this and similar

beneficent works may be able to continue the "One Course Meal Day" was instituted and the proceeds collected by the State are all handed over to these organisations. A further speech by Franco on the 19th January emphasised this work for the improvement of living conditions for the masses, with a view to making it more immediately efficacious. "Those of us who have lived in close contact with the working masses," he said, "those of us who have not scorned to take the hand of the working man, we know the people and share their feelings, better than those who, while calling themselves their protectors, approach them to deceive and exploit them." Together with solicitude for the working man, one of the characteristics of our movement is the hope which it places in the youth of the country; this is a favourite theme of General Franco, who has often touched on it. Thus once he mentioned the "Falange Espanola," "Whose first letters F E spell the word 'Fe' (faith), that is the faith in our destiny, in our civilisation, in God Almighty, and in the future of a new fatherland." (Speech of Feb. 8th).

This stage terminated with the reintroduction of two national symbols, the red and yellow flag and the National Anthem. These being so essentially Spanish ought never to be associated with the instability of ephemeral systems of government. The return of these symbols (which had only been recently cast aside and proscribed) was accompanied by three new acquisitions,

countries, by means of posters and public offers of the International Brigade; when we found French officers among the prisoners taken, and when we knew that the enemy armies were being commanded by Russian generals, then there was no further reason why we should reject the volunteers who offered us their services. But their number was limited and we have given them honorary posts in the battle against International Communism."

In the military sphere there occurred another unification, no less important, that of our Front line. This took place on 21st October with the fall of Gijon and the ensuing collapse of the whole Asturian Front. We must now consider how this was achieved from the beginning of April, when this period begins. At this time activity on the Southern Fronts was very slight. In July there was enemy pressure in the centre of Spain, around Madrid and near Segovia, where it was rapidly overcome after a brilliant aerial victory. On the Madrid Front the hard fighting at Brunete which caused the enemy such losses in men and material was a heavy ordeal for him, without achieving any desirable result. On the other hand in the North this period is characterised by brilliant Nationalist activity. In April we took the hills of Inchoristas and entered Elbro, Marquina, Durango and Cuernica. In May the port of Bermeo fell, as also Amorebieta and the mountains of Lemona and the whole of Santander. In June the famous "Iron Belt" was broken which had defended the Basque capital and on the 19th our soldiers entered Bilbao, continuing their advance through the mining area, until they reached the confines of the Province of Santander. In July the port of



Child refugees listen attentively to a history lesson.

three new songs, given the respect and dignity of national hymns. The songs which had gained this honour in the front line and in the enthusiastic towns and villages behind were "The Song of the Phalanx," the "Oramendi" march of the Carlists, and "The Legion," the official hymn of the Legion in Morocco.

#### Unification.

This period opens on the day Franco spoke at Salamanca to the Spaniards with appeal of clear resonance and tremendous

"I ask for unification," he said on that memorable night, "in order that I may bring the war to a speedy conclusion. I ask for it that I may start on the great work of peace and crystallise in the new State the thoughts and the outlook of our national revolution." With foresight he added: "This unification does not signify a conglomeration of forces, nor Governmental concentrations, nor a species of patriotic union sacred to discordant elements. I appeal for unity in the main towards a common objective, both internal and external. What we are leading to-day is a movement rather than a mere programme; therein lies its essence." In order to bring about this true unity the two great national forces are fused, the "Falange Espanola de las J.O.N.S.," founded in 1933 by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, and the "Comunion Tradicionalista de las J.O.N.S.," which was born a hundred years ago, and revived in the recent struggle, while the remaining political organisations and parties are absorbed. To take their place he created the Falange Espanola Tradicionalista de las J.O.N.S., which is a blending of the two and forms an intermediary organisation between society and the State. The 26 points of the National Syndicalist Programme of the Falangists became the programme of the new State. This decree of supreme importance gave legal form to a union which had existed since July, 1936, and left the door open to a near and absolute union. "We desire a State," he said, "where the pure tradition and the substance of that past Spanish ideal may be embodied in new vigorous and heroic forms, supplied by the youth of to-day and to-morrow, in this imperial dawn of our people."

The next texts of this period which must be quoted are those dating from the anniversary celebrations of the National movement; there are two of these. The first is another speech to the Spanish nation in which the following words occur: "This is the Spain of the future, which is being built up by the youth, which is learning in the trenches and the front line the brotherhood of man in the hour of truth, of valour and of discipline; this is the economic solidarity, which is creating; this is the guarantee of the new Spain." The other comes from an interview given by General Franco to Senor Luca de Tena, the director of the daily "A.B.C." There are two items which stand out in this conversation, besides the repetition, once more of the affirmation that this is not a military insurrection, but "a national movement which has never been an insurrection." One of these two is the mention of the possibility of the restoration in Spain of "the regime which forged the greatness of Spain and its unity." "This possibility," said General Franco, "must necessarily be subject to circumstances of time and atmosphere. But at this moment we must think only of bringing the War to an end, then it must be liquidated and finally the State must be built up on new foundations. The other statement of supreme interest concerns the foreign aid: "National Spain rejected at the beginning of the War all offers of foreign volunteers. But when at the beginning of November the Reds brought up to the Madrid Front 30,000 foreigners, recruited in France and other

Somiedo in Asturias was taken and in August, in the short space of twelve days, the whole of the province of Santander. In September our forces advanced along the coast in Asturias and with the fall of Gijon on the 21st October the whole of the Asturian Front disappeared. Our forces were now unified on one line stretching from the Aragonese Pyrenees to the Mediterranean coast between Granada and Almeria.

Almost at the end of this period an event of great importance took place. On October 12th the annual Festival of the Hispanic Race, celebrated all over Latin America, 20,000 students of the "Sindicato Espanol Universitario" met in Burgos. Franco, dressed in the Blue Shirt of the Phalangists, addressed them. Knowing that he represented the seeds of the new State he expressed himself in a tone full of clarity and emotion required for the occasion. "To-day, on the Festival of the Race, the Festival of Spain, we can offer to the world and to our sister nations in the Americas the fruits of a year's toil of a nation," he said. "But we must save the treasure of youth, this glorious youth, this exemplary youth, for the service of the Nation." And because he is speaking before young people, who are the standard bearers of the Empire, he affirms the independence and the eternal unity of Spain. "The Chancelleries need not worry, Spain alone will suffice to defend her territory, Spain demands the last inch of her national territory. Spain admits of no speculation with her sovereignty." It is certain that to-day the Youth of Spain keeps guard over its arms or is ready if need be to take them up. But Franco knows that camp life, that military comradeship, which was the motto of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, still makes its mark on the physical of this youth. For it was just in the Imperial moments of our history that Arms and Letters co-operated best.

#### Towards A National Government.

This last stage of the Spanish National Movement retains like the previous ones the double device of political and military activity. The liquidation of the northern fronts and the recovery of highly industrial areas brings us face to face with a double problem—that of reorganising these industries with a view to immediate yields, and that of moving to other sectors of the front the military effectives which have been released. In the first months of this period great territorial advances were not made. At the end of the year an enemy offensive against Teruel, whose purely spectacular characteristics were pointed out by so serious a journal as the "Times," and a severe snowstorm allowed the enemy to enter the town. But within a few hours it was once again under fire from our guns, thus diminishing the value of a success, which was excessively trumpeted abroad by those whose conspicuous lack of them makes success so important. Finally, in the early part of February our forces once again advanced on the Teruel front, and in three days liberated almost a thousand square kilometres of territory, carrying their lines 25 miles further east towards the Mediterranean. On the other front the positions were improved slightly, and in the South new activities began which will assuredly lead to new advances. At sea the movement is continual. Freed from the watch and blockade of the North Coast, our fleet is concentrated in the Mediterranean, and is hindering the enemy supplies. The "Government" of Valencia has moved to Barcelona, and has called together at nearby Montserrat a rump of the Cortes in order to maintain the fiction of a parliamentary regime. The waters of the Mediterranean are disturbed once more by the sinking of foreign vessels and the resulting swell reaches the chancelleries and puts their nerves on edge. Some recent declarations of General Franco to a corres-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX.)





Shell fragments from Government guns. Russian characters denote its origin.

# The New Spain



Homeless Refugees in the Streets.

## THE WAR: Providence and Satanism

### Destruction of Religious Objects and Profanation of Churches

#### THE IRISH BRIGADE.

The "Clare-Irlandais" Regiment.

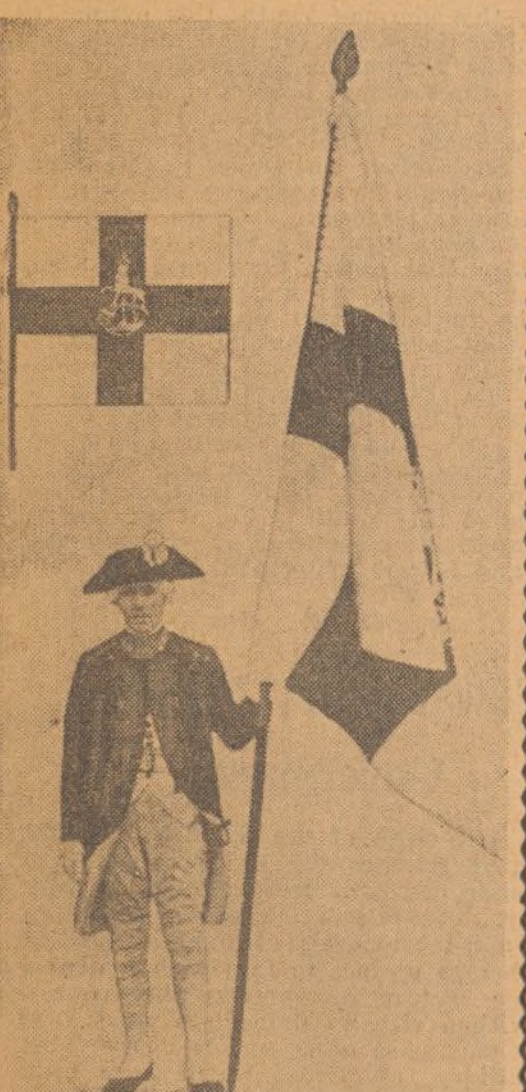


An Irish Regiment, raised in 1690, by the Viscount de Clare, who was Colonel of the regiment and put into service in France; lost its Colonel, who was killed in 1706 at Ramillies; made itself famous at Fontenoy by securing two cannons and fifteen banners. By its glorious and unsuccessful defence of Cherbourg in 1758, this regiment drew attention to the importance of this port; sailed for the Ile de France and the Ile de Bourbon in 1771; returned to France by Brest in 1772. Combined in 1774, with the Berwick Regiment, whose name and colours it adopted; was formed into the 88th Infantry Regiment.

Uniform (in 1762)—Coat, red, collar, revers and cuffs, jonquill, white buttons, pale grey waistcoat and breeches.

Flag—Quartered, in red and yellow; red cross in centre, with motto: "In hoc signo vinces," and Harp and Crown in white. There is a Royal Crown in each quarter.

The "Walsh" Regiment.



Raised in 1661 under the name of the Royal-Infantry; passed into the service of France in 1680, and went aboard the squadron of de Chateaufort; particularly distinguished itself at Arikun, 1711, and at Denain, 1712, Fontenoy 1745. In 1764 this regiment sailed for Scotland from Dunkirk, and took part in the battle of Culloden. Went abroad in 1773 the ships of Comte d'Estaing; captured the 16th Regiment of English Infantry; then a detachment went to the island of St. Eustache, thence to Martinique until 1784, when it returned to France. Sent to the Ile de France in 1788, furnished a detachment for an expedition to Cochinchine; returned to France, 1790, and were garrisoned in the West; in 1791 a battalion sailed for St. Domingue; took part in the attack of Genon, 1793; returned to France 1794; acted as seaborde defence; was then formed into the 92nd Regiment Infantry.

Uniform (in 1780)—red coat, royal blue collar, cuffs and revers, gold buttons and sword, white waistcoat and breeches.

Flag—White, with red cross, in the centre of which was a lion standing on a Royal Crown; all in silver.

WHEN talking to a friend about the war, I remarked that one can scarcely find an explanation for the abominations that the so-called "Reds" have committed on persons and sacred things, unless one allows that there has been a diabolic influence at work.

"Drop the 'scarcely,'" he replied, "and be sure that neither the form nor the extent of the sacrilege perpetrated by the mob in Spain can be explained by ordinary human psychology."

In these profound disturbances of a social order, and especially in the terrific outburst of human passions that every war entails, is there a Malign Spirit which intervenes, just as there undoubtedly is a providential intervention on the side of God.

There naturally arises the question that tormented the old Russian Senator when speaking to the Comte de Maistre during the seventh of the "Eves of St. Petersburg." Is war Divine or diabolic? There are reasons for saying it is both.

St. Augustine said: "The evils of war are so great, so cruel, so horrible ('tam magna, tam saeva, tam horrenda') that only the spirit of evil seems to be able and malicious enough to produce them." "Horrible butchery," "frightful scourge," "raging hurricane," "useless killing," "suicide of civilised Europe," Benedict XV called the Great War several times. When secret intrigues nearly provoked a European conflict, Pius XI uttered his lofty imprecation: "Destroy the nations that seek for war (dissipantes gentes bella volunt)."

War is so persistent a phenomenon in the history of the human race, that if the Spirit of Evil were its author, one would have to admit its triumph over the God of Peace, Who came to bring peace to men of good-will. If the Spirit of Evil were the instigator, would the warlike virtues of men and nations be worthy of praise? Would the need for war to restore decadent countries have become a recognised philosophic principle in history? Would writers on theology and law have filled volumes discussing the conditions for a just war, which though being a war, fits into the moral order in which God wishes the nations to live, and has nothing to do with the work of the Evil One, which is unjust as it demands the corruption of nature through sin?

War is as inexplicable as the unchanging dualism of the human free-will, which "without wanting to, does what it ought not to" (volens nolens, says St. Augustine); or like that mysterious age-long stream of humanity which, torn by the "Vae nobis, quia peccavimus" (Woe to us, for we have sinned), and continues sinning, without improving, down the centuries; or like the very origin of good and evil which tormented the Manichaeans; it is inexplicable to those who do not recognise the part played of the Spirit of Evil in the moral life of the first man and in the unhappy story of his children. War, though the thought seems out-of-date, is the offspring of sin and a condition for its expiation which God has demanded in the social order of all human generations.

This semi-philosophic introduction serves to embark upon the subject we wish to discuss. I have been asked for an article on the Spanish war illustrated with photographs, and I could not use these merely to illustrate a philosophy. I do not want to use photographic proofs—never more aptly described as when they are as faithful as the accompanying ones—merely as proving the charge against the unhappy militiamen who perpetrated the sacrilege, but as illustrated proofs of a subject.

They knew not what they did. If they had known, one could say with the Apostle, they would not again have crucified the Lord of Glory by maltreating Him in the words that represent Him.

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#### Russian Influence.

Nearly a century ago it was written that "if it were possible to bury a desire of Russia's in the bosom of the earth would burst into atoms." No mere desire, but a really internal spirit from Russia has taken possession of modern society, causing the outbreaks we have all witnessed in Mexico and Spain, and which will cause further outbreaks in other countries to-morrow, if God does not give back common sense to man. This doctrine from the East could not be more graphically described than by using the words of the Apostle—"A devil's doctrine." It is the doctrine of those who have no God; and of those in opposition to God—Satan's irreconcilable foe.

In the course of this Spanish war, which in a way is providential, this doctrine has shown what might be termed its satanic aspect. Perhaps two more contrary ideas have never before taken shape and met face to face on a battle-field. Setting aside all individual and human factors in the conflict, one might say that in the spiritual plane one has witnessed a struggle of Belial against Christ. When the world learns the depth and extent of the systematic sacrilege committed in Spain during the first months of the war, it will be astounded.

The accompanying photographs are exceptionally reliable witnesses—for the atrocities they depict took place in my own city of Toledo and I give my word as a Bishop that the photographs which illustrate them are authentic. We make them public to prove the satanism that led the malefactors to perpetrate their horrid crimes.

Look at this series: Photo No. 1—Image of a saint in the Conception Convent; the face and hands are mutilated; bayonet-thrusts in the breast, with one deep gash

and the inscription "F.A.I." (Iberian Anarchist Federation). Quite a masterpiece of satanism.

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#### Destruction Of Crucifixes.

Photo No. 2—The magnificently venerated "Adoration of the Wise Men" in the Santa Cruz Hospital (which had been converted into an Art Museum) has been riddled with bullets. There are signs that it has been used as a machine-gun target. Scrawled all over the cloth with the point of a dagger are the initials "F.A.I." and "C.N.T." (National Confederations of Workers).

Photos 3, 4, 5, 6—Images of Christ were the chief object of the soulless mobs. All the crucifixes in the Archbishop's Palace were horribly destroyed, as also were those in nearly all the churches. Photo No. 3 is a fragment of fifteenth century Christ, sculpted in wood, from the Church of St. Peter the Martyr, which was completely pillaged and its statues mutilated. No. 4 shows the shapeless remains of a fine fourteenth century papier-mache statue of Christ belonging to the Convent of St. Isabel of the Kings, where all the statues were also terribly mutilated. No. 5 is the once-beautiful figure of the Risen Christ, hacked with axes. No. 6 The Crucifix in the College of the Nobles, was broken and the figure stabled in the face and breast. Whilst the images of Christ, Redeemer of the World, were treated thus, large portraits of the Communist leaders were displayed for public admiration in Madrid and Barcelona—a new "mysticism" in opposition to the eternal mysticism of the God "Whose kindness and love for men will to appear among men, His Son," to redeem them from all sin, temporal and eternal.

Another series. The saints are like a continuation of Christ on earth—His picture; or like their spiritual gifts we obtain a vivid reminder of Christ's most holy human life and history. Like the representations of Christ, these, too, were

By CARDINAL GOMA,  
Primate of Spain -  
Archbishop of Toledo

horribly mutilated. No. 7 is a wooden painted carving of that most Spanish Saint Theresa, an example of the holiness and nobility of Spain. When they had cut the face and arms with axes, the blasphemous iconoclasts still had the audacity to blot out the medal of the Immaculate which the Virgin of Avila bore on her breast.

Like the foregoing, No. 8 is an image from the Conception Convent showing St. John the Baptist in painted wood, mutilated with more than Herodian fury. Photo 9 is a lovely cloth in the Santa Cruz Hospital, which is opposite the Alcázar, where the militia were posted to assail the famous fortress with machine-guns and mortars. They killed time by slashing tapestries and destroying artistic things. Photos 10—the Conception Convent; and 11—St. Michael's Church; and 12—St.

troved or profaned in Spain. Photo 13 shows the remains of the Church of St. Lawrence, a national monument of the thirteenth century which contained many fourteenth century mural paintings. Photo 14 depicts the remains of the celebrated Convent of St. John of Repentance—also a national monument; whilst in photo 15, we see the burnt and charred remains of the parish church of La Magdalena.

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#### Desecration And Profanation.

Series 16, 17, 18, 19, 20—Toledo has always been considered the "Treasured City" containing the richest, most complete and most varied of representative artistic



The numbered pictures on opposite page illustrate the references to "anti-God" Red atrocities, referred to by the Cardinal Primate.

Isabel's Convent—show various groups of images, some of great artistic merit and historic value, all treated as shown in these photographic proofs. Many here, as elsewhere, have their eyes scooped out—a kind of martyrdom to which the militiamen subjected the venerated images.

Photos 19, 14, and 15.—The House of God must excite the holiest fury of His eyes. More than 20,000 churches have been des-

examples of several civilisations. The famous Treasury of the Cathedral has disappeared. Sixty-two unique pieces were by order of the Government, wrenched from the places where the centuries had enshrined and guarded them for the glory of the City and its Church. Amongst these was the famous tray "Rape of the Sabine," with 4,800 miniatures. The incomparable Custodia of Ario, reckoned the richest piece of precious metal work in the world was shattered—left behind by the thieves, in their precipitate flight when the Nationalist troops arrived, after they had removed the best part of it.

The destruction—the result of infernal hatred—done to the religious works of art in the city is unimaginable. Here are a few examples of it. Photo 16.—One of the famous tapestries in the Santa Cruz Hospital, slashed. No. 17, Heads of the founders of the Conception Convent, fourteenth century painted wood carvings; No. 18, some of the Cathedral's fourteenth century windows with broken panes, damaged when the mines were exploded under the Alcázar. No. 19, Profaned tomb of the founders of the Repentance Convent. No. 20, is a monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—Hispano-Moorish design—destroyed only three years after its erection. The image, defaced with hammers lies on the ground. Such is the work of the revolution in Toledo seen in part. It is as great or greater in every part of Spain which is under the heel of the Communist hordes. Let foreigners know of it—they who obstinately close their eyes to the awful truth of things in Spain. I have no doubt that happenings in Spain in the second half of 1936 will make an unique page in the history of the civilised world. Do not forget that in Toledo City alone 100 priests and religious were murdered—nearly all there were—and that the priests and faithful of Christ sacrificed to hate of Christ and His Holy

religion make a total of hundreds of thousands.

And now in the face of the awful sight of so much destruction, we ask once more "is war divine or diabolic?"

St. Paul speaks of the "Princes that rule the world of darkness." Every day, when Mass is ended, we priests beseech God to "thrust down to hell Satan and all wicked spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls." We can allow, as good Catholic teaching, as we admit possession of devils, that the enemy of God, "a homicide from the beginning," can by means of suggestion arouse in the human breast tempest of mass-passion with its perverse intentions, and can goad men on and pull the strings of their deeds in an anti-divine sense. Christ and Belial, who were irreconcilable foes in the Gospel, will be so as long as the work of Christ through His Gospel endures.

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#### "Providential And Diabolic."

The war in Spain is therefore both infernal and divine, providential and diabolic. It is divine because the hand of God has raised from the depths of the National and Christian spirit, a protest against the destructive work of His enemy, and diverted this feeling into the epic struggle in which faith coupled with patriotism is having the better of the fight; and because of the general course of the terrific struggle Divine Providence appears guiding, clearly and surely the trend of events; and because only God could so awaken the soul of Spain that it appears before the world haloed in the glory of the lofty virtues which have flourished on the field of battle; and finally because in the ordinary sequence of Providence, God will raise out of all this ruin, with our co-operation, a new Spain, which shall be once again the Herald of Christ and His Gospel in the world.

On the other hand this is also a Satanic war, because it has been a war of darkness, confused thought and unheard-of crimes; because during it, anything associated with God has been the object of destruction; because only the going of the Spirit of Hell can turn men into wild beasts and make them hurdle themselves against Heaven; because to gain the day, it has called together all the known and unknown powers of the world and united them in a terrible plot against truth, justice and religion, and used them as a weapon against a country, which if it has not conducted all her internal affairs faultlessly, has done nothing more in the whole course of her history that exert all her influence and power for the benefit of the universe.

As far as the enemy is concerned, the present war has been a most violent attack against all to do with the Church—men, things, rights. The Church has been swept like poison out of a large part of the country. The Church, pacific and pacifying by the law of her nature and history, has felt, in an unguarded moment, the might of Hell fall on her like lightning and bomb, in order to destroy her forever. That is the ecclesiastic meaning of our war as regards our enemy—the wiping-out of the Church—refusing us the earth, the sun, the stars so that we cannot live—to kill us as though we were noxious animals.

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#### Spiritual Reaction

For those of us who survived the hecatomb, the reaction must be rigorously spiritual one, a complete reversion to the Christian way of living. When Jesus Christ, adjured the evil spirit to abandon the body of one possessed, the devil replied furiously: "What have we to do with Thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art Thou come to destroy us?" Yes. That was Christ's mission—to destroy the Devil and his works. This must be the Church's work—to destroy evil and heap up good; rebuild the edifice of truth and shape our brethren in virtue. For all, even our enemies, are brethren. Contrary to them for we are children of Jesus, we may neither hate, nor slay, nor destroy, as they have done to us. Our works must be those of Charity and Truth—the truth that enlightens and sets spirits free; the charity that loves all and makes them turn towards God, the sole centre of the spiritual world.

We still have an immense strength. Besides the strength of the Gospel and Jesus Christ—the strength of God—we have our ancient tradition, and that national soul, which we might call "naturally Christian," and which is the source of half our strength. Therefore our war, which exhibits a typical case of satanism in the social shape, may be definitely divine if the root of the foe on the field of battle brings in its train the ruin of the evil spirit which dragged us into this cruel situation; and the restoration of that other and Christian spirit, which was the reason for our past greatness, and which must be so for its coming greatness. There is no other way.

Providence and Satanism. When the spate of barbarians from the North submerged the old Roman Empire, the world was scandalised that God's providence had permitted the ruin of that imposing civilisation. St. Augustine wrote his "City of God" to justify the work and ends of Providence and to console that generation. We, by the help of the God of Battles, shall not have to undergo the danger of humiliation through the triumph of the enemy. Though victory be won at the price of immense ruins and the dust and clashing of a most cruel war, we look forward, as a result of a not distant triumph, to the breakdown of the machine that Hell raised among us to ruin the work of God and the building up again of the City of God in our beloved country.

(Signed)

J. CARDINAL GOMA TOMAS,  
Archbishop of Toledo.  
February, 1938.

#### THE IRISH BRIGADE.

The Berwick Regiment.



Formed in 1776 from the remnants of the Clare-Irlandais Regiment; returned from the Ile de France and the Ile de Bourbon, decimated; were garrisoned on the borders of Brittany and Vendee. In 1791, a battalion was sent to St. Domingue, from which it never returned, having disappeared in the course of the revolutionary troubles of the island. Later this regiment became the 88th Infantry Regiment.

Uniform (in 1780)—Red coat, black revers and cuffs, jonquill collar, gold braid on the sleeves, black buttons, black "Fleur-de-Lys" on the flaps.

Flag—Four green divisions, barred with red; red cross edged with white, in the centre of which was the motto: "In hoc signo vinces."

The "Lally" Regiment.



Raised on the 1st October, 1774, by the Marquis de Lally-Tollendat; were at Plassey, Fontenoy, 1747; Berg op Zoom, 1747. Sailed for India 1747; took part in the capture of Pondicherry 2nd May, 1758; were present at the siege of Fort David, took 700 English and 1,700 merran prisoners, and secured 180 cannon guns; in the attack on Madras, and fought at Arcote; defended Pondicherry in 1761; recalled to France in 1762; combined with the Dillon Regiment.

Uniform (in 1756)—Red coat, cuffs and waistcoat, green buttons, sword and lace on hat, gold, white breeches.

Flags—Two quarters red, two quarters sky blue, with doyal crowns in white in each quarter, red cross edged with white, Harp and Royal Crown in white in the centre, with the motto: "In hoc signo vinces."

Rest ward for homeless children in Seville.

Ayuntamiento de Madrid

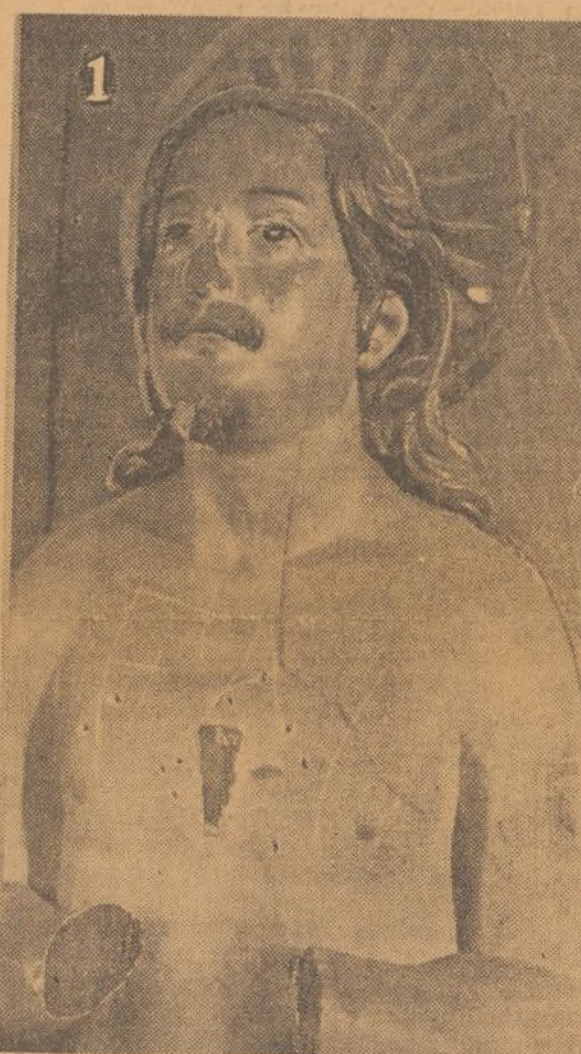
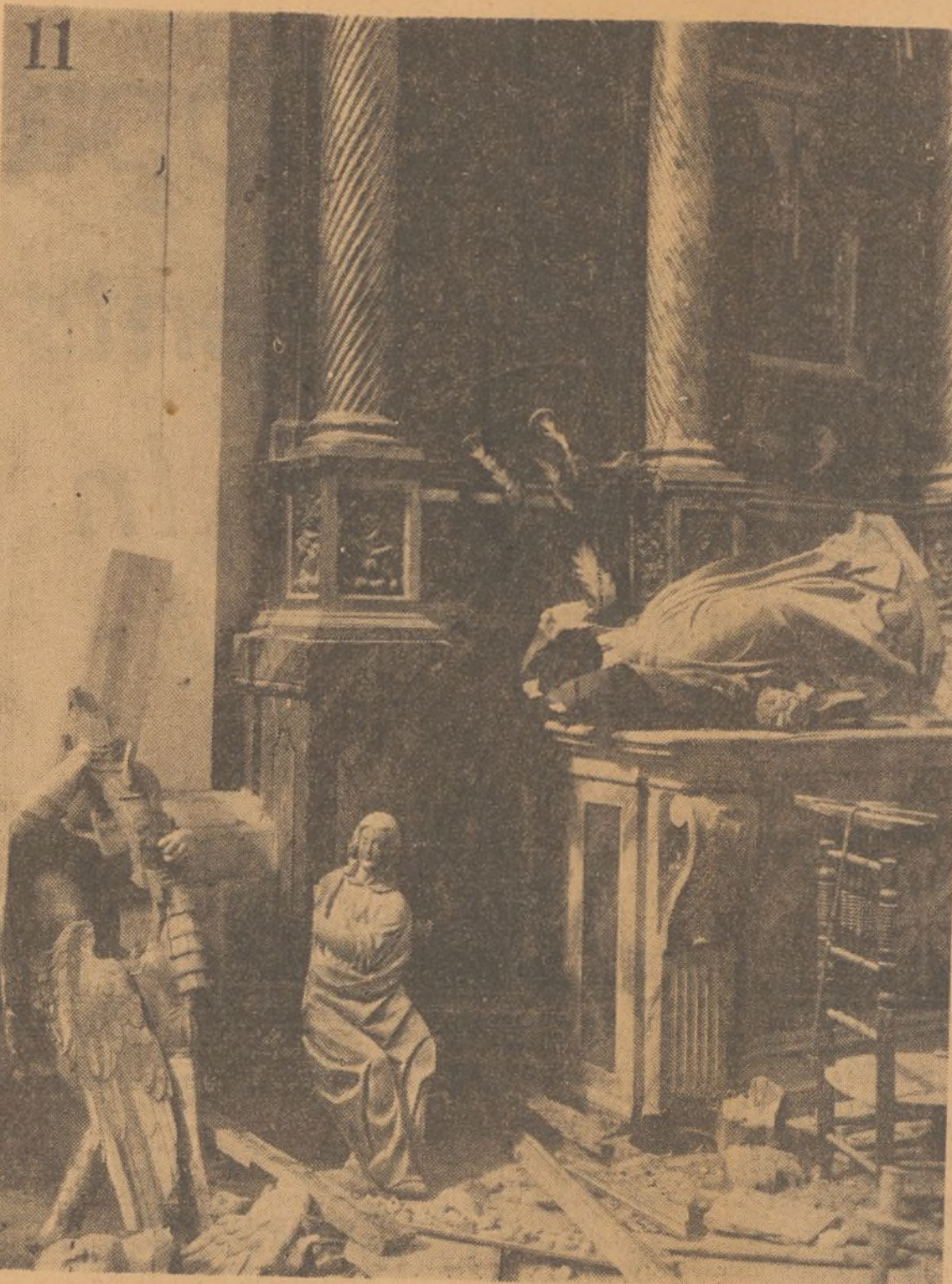


# SPAIN'S "LAWFUL" GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCHES

ANTI-GOD ACTIVITIES

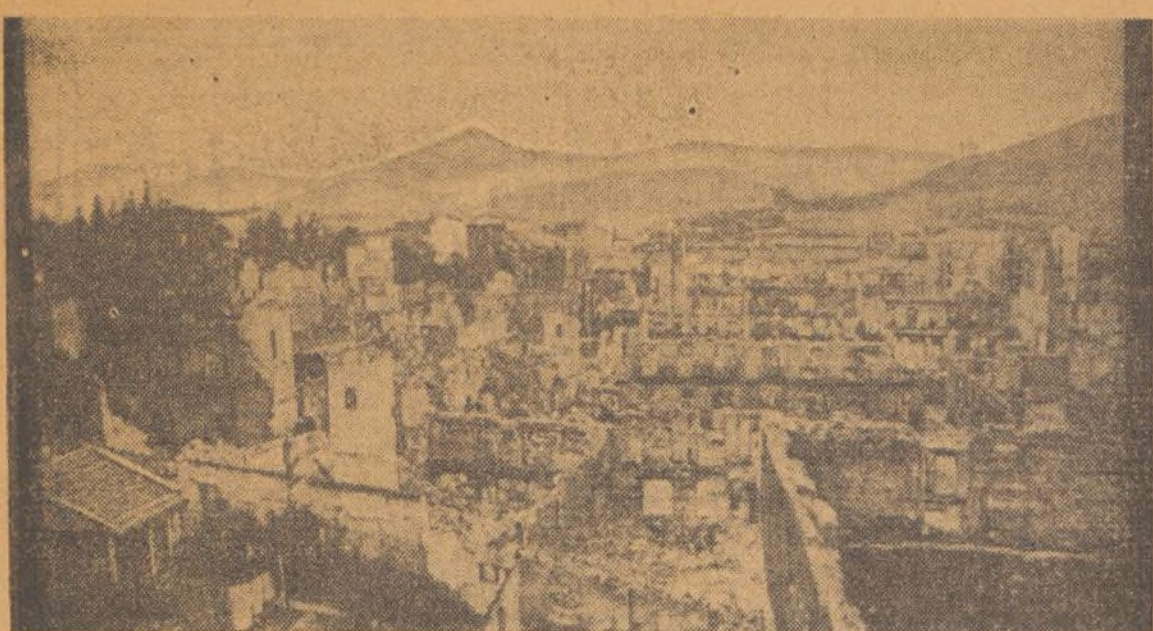
# The NEW SPAIN

This is what the Spanish Reds think of Organised Religion



Ayuntamiento de Madrid





Guernica as the Reds left it.

# The New Spain



New social club in La Coruña.

## The Religious Aspect of the Spanish Tragedy

### Examination Of Events Which Culminated In The War



Church altar destroyed by the "Reds" on August 15th, 1937.

TO anyone who has watched the Spanish tragedy gradually unfold, there has for long been manifest among the Spaniards of the National zone a sense of wonder, mingled with vexation, at the attitude of other countries towards their cause.

No matter what their religious and political beliefs may be, say the Spaniards, how does it come about that, in the present luckless plight of our land, those responsible citizens of the other nations who retain within them even a spark of repugnance against barbarism, continue to withhold their sympathy and deny us their support? Why is it, above all, that we cannot count upon the unreserved devotion of the Catholics, who must be well aware that the triumph of our enemies would sound the death knell of all religious life in Spain?

There can, of course, be little doubt that the inevitable barrier that in all wars springs up between the belligerents and the so-called neutrals, is in itself enough to create an atmosphere of mutual misunderstanding. And it is probably herein that the key to the problem is to be found. For it is not difficult to trace one source of misconception to the ingenuity with which, ever since the war began, certain words and phrases, pregnant with suggestiveness and bombast, have been exploited.

Who, for example, could resist the seductive appeal of "the cause of a republican liberty," the sponsor of "liberty," and "democracy," the "guarantor of peace at home and abroad" in a country whose very existence is imperilled by "the tyranny of an international fascism," a "factious" movement, fostered by a gang of military "rebels" and "traitors"?

And when, amid the confusion, it is insinuated that Spanish Catholicism, yes, the Church itself, faithful to its time-honoured precepts, has sided with the reactionaries, sympathy with the indignant "loyalists," mixed with a feeling of indignation towards the excesses they may have committed in retaliation, begins to grow imperceptibly in the minds of the peoples. Peoples who, although honest enough in other respects, have failed to grasp the true significance of the events that have led Spain into the dire struggle that now goes recklessly on, before the startled eyes of a Europe which, though not readily disposed to comprehend the meaning of it all, is nevertheless, also, very closely concerned.

#### EARLIER PHASES.—

#### I, Under The Constitutional Monarchy.

Article 11 of the Constitution of 1876, without prejudice to the proclamation that Catholicism was the state religion, recognised toleration in religious matters; that is to say, the exercise of any cult in private and even the free profession of religious opinions, "save the respect due to the Christian code." Further, Article 13, in admitting without limitation the typical liberties of a liberal legislation, left the door open to doctrinal propaganda of every description.

The result was that revolutionaries of all kinds took full advantage of their freedom to sow the seeds of their respective theories on the fertile soil of every stratum of society, through the media of the public platform, meetings, books, and especially

(Art. 44) as well as for certain benefices (Art. 18).

As regards the regular clergy, the number of religious orders and congregations in the country did give rise to considerable contention, and from time to time, on the grounds that only three in the whole of Spain were explicitly recognised by the Concordat, efforts were made to have the number confined to that limit. As it happened, however, none of these efforts bore fruit, and under the Constitutional Monarchy the religious institutes were given a free hand to dedicate themselves to their cultural, missionary, charitable, or educational activities and even to industry, which is more or less related to them. As for the alleged riches that were such a drain on the national resources, let what has already been said suffice to dispel the myth of "the great affluence of the Spanish Church."

In the cultural field, due credit for their meritorious work must admittedly be given to the many private schools, as well as to those maintained by the religious associations, congregations, and orders, and categorised as free and public, as examples of which it may be sufficient for our purpose to mention the "Brothers of the Christian Schools," the "Salesians of Don Bosco," and the Spanish institutions of D. Andres Manjon. Still, the Spanish Catholics themselves, in all probability deceived by the officially "catholic" nature of public education, made no attempt to emulate their brothers in Belgium and France by covering the country with a network of free schools, which would have proved veritable nurseries for the propagation of the Christian faith.

Again, the number of large schools for secondary education was exceedingly limited, and those that did exist were for the most part insufficiently equipped to meet the requirements of students bent on taking degrees.

Technical training was at a still lower ebb, although the excellence of such institutions as the Catholic Institute of Arts and Industries, of Madrid, and the Commercial University of Deusto—both of which, incidentally, were under the management of the Jesuit Fathers—cannot be gainsaid.

To make matters still worse, the control of all free education, whether in the way of new schemes, curricula, textbooks, or examinations, was vested in an educational authority whose report could by no means be classified as high.

Advanced learning was much in similar case. Here again, if we leave out of account the Colleges of Deusto and the Ezeorial for the study of law, Spain was behindhand in establishing either an entirely independent Catholic university, or centres of learning such as the Catholic Institutes that had contributed to so large an extent in raising the standard of religious and secular culture in France and many of the other countries.

The situation, no doubt, would have assumed a different complexion, if the Spanish Catholics had but chosen to assert their rights and bring the pressure of their influence to bear upon the educational authorities.

As it was, the defence of Catholic interests in the Councils of the Ministry and the appointment to Chairs was left to men who were not always worthy of that trust. By neglecting to give the necessary training and support to the young candidates for Chairs they drove them to seek such support elsewhere; and they went so far in their indifference to official requirements as to have men at the head of schools and colleges who lacked the academic degrees that were definitely required by the Government.

In the solution of the social problems, if we leave pontifical guidance in all

such matters out of the question, there was too often displayed a vacillation or confusion of thought.

#### II, Under The Republic Of 1931.

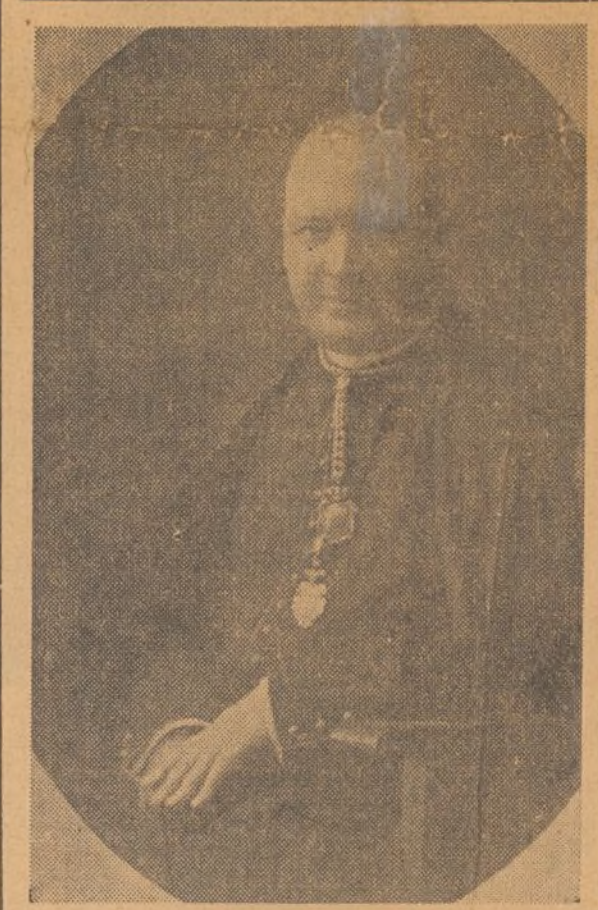
It was on the 12th of April, 1931, that the Spanish Monarchy fell, the victim of elections which were merely municipal, and which, in the cities, returned a majority in favour of the Republican candidates.

The wild enthusiasm, however, was short-lived. One month later, on May 11, under the flimsy pretext of some incidents that had occurred the day before in one or other of the Monarchic centres, the torch of incendiarism, brandished by the mob with impunity before the eyes of the impassive authorities, began its work of destruction. First in Madrid and afterwards in the provinces, many churches, convents, colleges, and religious institutions of every kind, with all their

to what extent these principles were upheld in these laws in so far as the legal standing of religion and its devotional, educational, and economic rights were concerned.

The constitutional law, in conformity with its Article 39, which authorises Spaniards to "consecrate and syndicate freely for any purpose at all that is consonant with the laws of the state," recognises in its sixth article the legal capacity and competence in their internal affairs, of the members and bodies that constitute the hierarchy of religious confessions. But later (Art. 7), in referring to clerical appointments, it imposes the condition that only Spaniards are eligible for these posts and "reserves the right of not recognising the position of those appointed . . . when the appointment devolves upon anyone who may be regarded as a danger to the order and security of the state." As for the religious orders and congregations, the Constitution decrees in its Article 26 that any of these, which "by their activities constitute themselves a menace to the security of the state," will be suppressed. Among the groups specially mentioned in that article was the Society of Jesus; and, as a matter of fact, this

By JUAN ZARAGUETA



MONS. JUAN ZARAGUETA

valuable collections of works of art and treasures of learning, accumulated after years of patient labour on the part of the inhabitants, were reduced to ashes.

The attitude of the Republican legislation to religion, with which we are primarily concerned, is shown at once in the Constitution and in Article 26, dealing with "Religious Confessions and Congregations," of the special law of June 2, 1933, promulgated by the Constituent Cortes by mandate of the Constitution itself. In short, the spirit of the new Constitution was entirely laical, a fact that is borne out by Article 3, which ordains that "the Spanish State has no official religion," as also by Article 2 of the said law, which established that no legal concession or restriction shall be based upon religious status or belief.

How else could this be interpreted but that all Spanish citizens, irrespective of their religious status or belief, were equal in the eyes of the law and entitled to the same privileges? We shall see presently

Society was eventually suppressed and all its property nationalised.

The Constitution, while according to all citizens without reservation, "the right to assemble peacefully and providing for a law to regularise 'the right of holding open-air meetings and demonstrations' (Art. 38), restricts the confessions to the exercise of their forms of worship, 'in private' ('within their temples,' as Article 3 of the Law puts it) and requires 'in every case' a permit from the Government to hold 'public religious demonstrations'."

The Law, in its turn, stipulates that, "no matter where they are held," religious meetings and demonstrations "must not be of a political nature," such "nature," to need hardly be said, being determined by the Government in power.

A similar ban is placed on "political activity of every kind" on the part of the religious orders and congregations (Art. 26). And preaching, which plays so eminent a part in religious worship, would appear to be likewise restricted. As a branch of religious education, it receives attention in Article 20 of the Law of Confessions, which subjects it to the control of the state, as a guarantee that within ecclesiastical institutions "there shall be taught no doctrines that may be injurious to the security of the republic."

The question of education is of particular importance for the purpose of judging the constitutional criterion in religious matters. That, however, is by no means easy. For one thing, we are told in the Constitution (Art. 48) that "education shall be laic," which seems to signify that, not only shall no course of religious instruction be given but philosophic, moral, historical or historic-religious questions, though belonging to the sphere of profane learning, also form part of a doctrine such as the Christian and Catholic, shall not be dealt with in a spirit favourable or unfavourable to either.

As for the religious Orders and Congregations, not excepting those with long scholastic traditions, they are very definitely prohibited from teaching by the Constitution (Art. 26) and, by its complementary law, from "establishing or maintaining colleges for private teaching, either directly or through the medium of laymen." Further, article 31 peremptorily ordains exactly when the Congregations must cease their educa-

tional activities and submit to the supervision of their staffs by an official personnel. It is a sad commentary on this ordinance that the said personnel was invariably as inadequate as it was incompetent.

Here it must be noted that the closing of educational centres as a result of this decree affected many which, although generally Catholic, had not been founded by either the Church or the religious Congregations. This was due to the fact that in no part of the Constitution is there given a guarantee of freedom for the organisation of secular centres of learning that include religion in their curricula; by either the Church or the religious Congregations. This was due to the fact that in no part of the Constitution is there given a guarantee of freedom for the organisation of secular centres of learning that include religion in their curricula; by either the Church or the religious Congregations. This was due to the fact that in no part of the Constitution is there given a guarantee of freedom for the organisation of secular centres of learning that include religion in their curricula; by either the Church or the religious Congregations.

With regard to economic matters, the Law of Confessions (Art. 11) begins by establishing the capital principle that "churches of every kind, as well as their annexes and all their personal estate, belong to the Nation." The Law, in its turn, stipulates that, "no matter where they are held," religious meetings and demonstrations "must not be of a political nature," such "nature," to need hardly be said, being determined by the Government in power.

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The Law, too, recognises the right of the Church to acquire estate, both personal and real, "sufficient to meet religious requirements," and that of the State to set a limit to these requirements and convert any surplus into Spanish Government bonds (Art. 19).

Finally, the Constitution, in its article 26, disposes that the religious Confessions shall receive no financial assistance from any official body; and, in this connection, it allows a maximum period of two years for the total abolition of the State grant to the clergy, in spite of the fact that this grant was in reality an indemnity to the Church for the dismantling of its former estate.

So far as the religious Orders and Congregations are concerned, their possessions were not only limited to those necessary "for the fulfilment of their private ends," but were "liable to be nationalised," as, in fact, were those of the suppressed Society of Jesus. In addition, all these groups were forbidden to engage in industry or commerce of any description.

The contrast between all these restrictions and the basic principles of the Constitution was so flagrant and the unequal treatment meted out to the religious orders, when compared with that of all other civil institutions, so obvious—especially when the free-voiced licence accorded to the anti-religious propagandists, not matter how subversive of the political and social orders their professions might be, is taken into account—that one can scarcely marvel at the feeling of disgust that sprang among all those republicans who were liberals at heart.

Thus, at any rate, seemed to be the opinion of the then President of the provisional Government, Don Niceto Alcalá Zamora, who, considering it impossible for him, as a leading Catholic, democrat and liberal, to subscribe to so repressive and biased a course of action,

promptly resigned. And yet, but a few days later, under the pledge of exacting observance of its fundamental code, he accepted the Presidency of the Republic from those selfsame colleagues who had forced him to resign from the Cabinet, just as later, in 1936, they forced him to resign from the Presidency to which they had exalted him. (V. the history of and reasons for that resignation, as set forth by Zamora himself in his book "The Defects of the Constitution of 1931," Madrid, 1936, pp. 87 to 91).

In the meantime, what was the attitude of the Church? This can best be defined in the words used by the Spanish Episcopate in its recent Collective Letter to the Bishops of the world. "Since the year 1931," runs the Letter, "the Spanish Episcopate has set a sublime example of apostolic and civil prudence. Maintaining the traditions of the Church and conforming to the standards set by the Holy See, it placed itself alongside the recognised constitutional powers and exerted every effort to collaborate with them for the common good. And, in spite of one insult after another to the members of the Episcopate, and the rights of the Church, it never once wavered in its determination to pursue its long-established policy of concord. To this abuse we humbly and loyally submitted, whenever it was possible for us to do so. When we were driven to answer it, our protests were dignified, moderate and apostolic. Never once did we desist from exhorting, with all our heart, the Catholic people to obedience to the law, to prayer, to patience, and to peace. And so loyally did our people respond that, on more than one occasion of profound social and political unrest, our intervention proved an invaluable factor in preserving peace within these shores."

Eventually, if we leave out of account the half-hearted rebellion of August, 1932—which the Government soon suppressed by the indiscriminate use of the most repressive measures—by far the greater bulk of Spanish opinion, bristled as it was by the wholesale usurpation of civil, as well as religious, rights, chose to ameliorate the situation, through the essentially legitimate medium of the polling booth, the result being the stupendous electoral triumph of 1933.

This triumph, however, although it served to avert further abuses and to temper the application of the sectarian, constitutional decrees in force, did not bring about the abolition of these decrees. Its chief effect, indeed, was to split the Catholics into two parties, the one for and the other against the acceptance of a republican form of government. The former, adopting the titles of "Agrarian Party" and "Popular Action," decided provisionally to support the radical Republican Government then in power, with the result that, one year later, in October, 1934, they succeeded in being represented in the Government by four of three Ministers, a number that was out of all proportion to their parliamentary preponderance.

Their action was fraught with disaster. The Socialist party at once seized the opportunity to launch the terrible revolution for which they had so long been preparing and which, from the point of view of assassination and destruction, might be regarded as a rehearsal of the cataclysm of to-day.

When this rebellion was quelled, there followed a period of oppression during which the activities of the mixed Cabinets that succeeded one another up to the end of 1935, were open to grave criticism.

It was in this year that the leader of Popular Action, Senor Gil Robles, demanded the reins of government, to which, by all the rules of parliament, he was entitled, with the express view of revising the constitution. Rather than yield to the pressure of the predominant party, however, the President of the Republic chose to entrust the power to an chief effect, indeed, was to split the Catholics into two parties, the one for and the other against the acceptance of a republican form of government. The former, adopting the titles of "Agrarian Party" and "Popular Action," decided provisionally to support the radical Republican Government then in power, with the result that, one year later, in October, 1934, they succeeded in being represented in the Government by four of three Ministers, a number that was out of all proportion to their parliamentary preponderance.



Reading class in one of General Queipo de Llano's schools in Seville.











# SPANISH Survey



Executed By The Reds.



A Corner of the Shambles in El Arahah Gao.

## Architectural Reconstruction and Restoration PUBLIC WORKS IN NATIONALIST SPAIN

### PROBLEM OF THE NEW SPAIN REBUILDING AFTER WANTON DESTRUCTION

THE Spanish National Movement, in its political and military spheres, has roots, developments, underlying feelings and results which will be more generally appreciated with the passage of time. This will come about in spite of the Red propaganda, which with its increasing intensity, has the appearance of the man who feels the pursuer at his heels and hastens his steps. Fictitious charges are added to false tales of deeds never accomplished, with the sole object of producing a deterioration in the international atmosphere at our expense.

The outside world needs to be shown the positive side of the work of National Reconstruction. The course of our Movement, the roots from which our actions spring, the intensity of our reactions and the volume of achievements already attained—these we

Government is doing all it can to restore them. Ruins such as the Alcazar of Toledo, which is a monument eloquent of the bravery of those who defended it are being cared for so that the ruins do not spread. Some of the destruction has had its compensations. Thus one of the Red bombardments destroyed one of the walls of a walk in Toledo—the Miradero opposite the Puente de Alcantara. A careful investigation was made, and a part of the old walls, prior even to the Moorish occupation, and which appears in a picture of Toledo in the 17th century by El Greco, was discovered. Visits to the hitherto enclosed convents bring to light unsuspected artistic treasures—frescoes by the Italian Primitives, panels by Flemish Primitives, pre-Christian altar-tombs, Renaissance retables and panelled ceilings; Mudéjar plasterwork, tiled tracery carvings, etc. The hidden parts of Toledo were perhaps more interesting than what was known—to mention only one town. If, as is to be hoped, the clergy open their doors in order that the public may admire the treasures, then many will be compensated

adapts itself to the local and Spanish system of life. Regional differences are so great that they do not permit even a semblance of uniformity. The architects have been asking for ideas in our national architectural traditions, in order to blend these with modern ideas of comfort. These National Syndicalist organisations, exclusively Spanish in form and principles, had their origin in Valladolid and now have branches all over Spain, especially in the North. In the South the system of cheap housing already prevails. A system of building working class homes through a Syndicalist organisation, from which all types of intermediary will disappear, is under consideration. Such an organisation has not yet taken shape, though different types of Syndicalist organisations are being inaugurated with a certain liberty and autonomy. The types and methods used vary locally and no formula is used which might be considered as final and definite. A nucleus of participants in the work of construction is being formed, where landowner and manufacturer, industrialist and tradesman are enabled to pool their work for the common good. Above all, our

material ones: It is to be filled with a spiritual expansion, it is the framework for the very essence of the family and that which makes possible its existence. Many slums and hovels must be destroyed and we must build towns and villages, not of mere buildings but of homes.

#### Benevolent Organisations

The War in Spain has left thousands of children fatherless. The Reds sought to solve the problem which these children created by deporting these innocent waifs to Mexico, Russia and France—a few have been fortunate enough to be sent to Great Britain. Franco's Spain receives all these children who are taken care of by the organisation called "Social Aid Bureau," which began with soup kitchens in the winter and extends winter help to both who are in need, but especially to the children whom it also educates. In all parts of Spain nuclei organisations are being formed where these children receive a proper upbringing

ALTHOUGH the Red revolution and the war have caused incalculable damage to the civil engineering works in the country, the restoration of these works is merely one—and by no means the most important—of the many tasks that will confront the governmental departments of the new Spain.

In short, the aims of the civil engineers of National Spain may be summed up as follows:—1. The urgent reparation of the damage done by the revolution and the war. 2. The extension and improvement of roads, railways, ports and hydraulic works, in anticipation of the rebirth that will follow the victory now in sight. 3.—The provision of a stimulus to trade, through the medium of public schemes, which will relieve the social question. To attain these ends, the country has at its disposal a brilliant staff of experts. The Corps of Civil Engineers has always been one of the most distinguished

By **FEDERICO DE REPORZ**  
Professor of the School of Civil Engineers.

branches, whether its members have been servants of the State or of industry. And nearly all of these members have grouped themselves together under the banner of Franco. At their head, ever since the new Government was formed, has been Professor Don Alfonso Pena. It need scarcely be added that Professor Don Alfonso Pena has for long enjoyed an international reputation for his scientific and technical work in reinforced concrete,

fell only at one end, the other end remaining supported by its pier. This being the sole railway line of communication between National Spain and Franco. At their head, ever since the new Government was formed, has been Professor Don Alfonso Pena. It need scarcely be added that Professor Don Alfonso Pena has for long enjoyed an international reputation for his scientific and technical work in reinforced concrete,

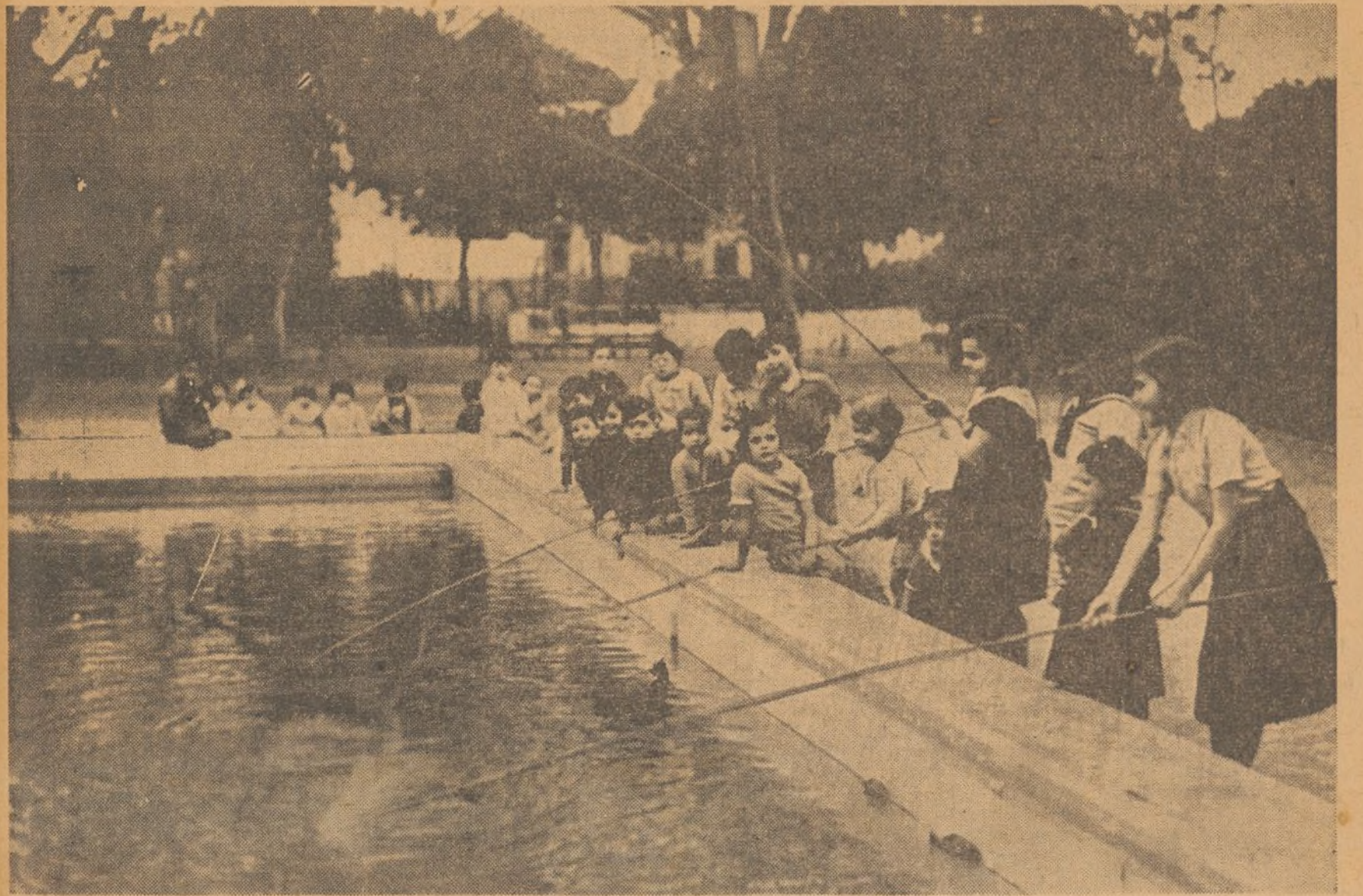
By **Pedro Muguruza Otano**  
HEAD OF THE ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION SERVICES.

must show the world. The reason why there has been no parading of our achievements before the world, is to be found in our desire to better them. Therefore we are always on an ascending path and cannot regard as final the positive and satisfactory results already achieved. Our national traditions indicate the path we must follow. The history of Spain serves as our instructor, and each step we make is a small attempt at perfecting or correcting this. In order to understand our scheme of development aright, it will be best to draw a "road-map" of Spain. Our land has suffered in this struggle, and must bear the shock of the conflict of Western traditions with the Bolshevik fruit of the Post-War era. It is the resistance of nature to a deadly poison. Spain possessed the only one of the great European cultures which was not affected by the Great War. Russia is the quintessence of the chaos which the war produced. There needs must be a aid of battle and it has come into being in our country, in order to resolve a conflict which has been brewing twenty years; a struggle, the outcome of the problems and conflicts which are the legacy of the Great War for the nations who are affected by it. Spain may be divided into three zones:—

1. The zone where the National Movement was immediately successful or which was



STACION DE AVTORISES - BLOQUES DE VIVIENDAS



Top left: Seville Municipal Motor Bus Station. Top right: Flats for the war disabled. Bottom left: Children's recreation grounds. Bottom right: Flats in Seville, built at the cost of 21,000,000 pesetas.

and are taught to be true Christians and true Spaniards. This service is extending and the education and formation of the women of the future is being pursued. In all towns hostels for girls of town and country are being built; here they are imbued with the desire to create a better home and to improve the general atmosphere of the house; to make the most ugly corner of the home attractive. This organisation is in harmony with the campaign for the complete reconstruction of Spain.

#### Communications And Transport

As the Reds lose ground so they destroy the means of catching them up. Dynamite and explosives serve to blow up roads, bridges, viaducts and railways. Bilbao for instance, was cut in two by the river Nervion when its bridges were blown up; it was deprived of its water supply when the dam of the Ordunte was exploded. To-day, only a few months after the liberation of the city, engineers and architects have almost re-established the means of communication in permanent form, even with improvements on the earlier ones. Bilbao is but an example of many other parts of Spain. All over the territory conquered from the Reds and everywhere communications are being re-established with equal speed. As a consequence whoever travels on the roads of National Spain often enters without knowing it to be a zone within range of the Red guns; or else he is stopped on his pleasure trip by a pair of Civil Guards or a picket of infantry who warn him that he must continue, since he would now come under fire from Russian machine-guns.

In the ports the problem is different. The Reds only sank a few ships in their hurried flight, and they had no time to use dynamite. Here the problem of reconstruction was comparatively simple, and the question of organisation could be immediately attacked. Until recently, the life of the northern ports centered round their fishing fleets. Here Marxist influences were directed towards concentration in a few places, while others lost life and importance. Thus Pasajes absorbed all the fishing life of the province of Guipuzcoa, Gijon and Santander and that of the remainder of the coast. Now however, the fishing has been distributed, and the fishing villages are becoming permanent centres of life, while the industrial and commercial ports are being freed of congestion.

#### Industrial Services

To-day all our energies must be concentrated on the War. A visit to Derio in Vizcaya would convince the reader how the war material which we are using is purely Spanish. It is being produced by a feverish concentration of all our industries on the service of War. As a result, to-day, our industrial production can only make plans for the future. On the other hand works which will permit immense increases in our industrial production and will modify very largely our national life are making great strides. The harnessing of the Falls of the Duero is progressing very rapidly and this alone will suffice to supply electric power for all the requirements of every type of Spanish consumer. The electrification of the railways, which at the present moment of course are being run primarily for the military,



(Continued from Preceding Column)

is being studied. The line from Victoria to Bilbao has already been electrified. The engineers are studying the modification of the lighting, heating and power system to provide it, for even the most modest homes. Thus in our experience in all the towns and villages of the North from Irún to Gijon, through Eibar, Durango, Amorebieta, Castro, Canguas, Indeste, Villamann and so on, many others, which suffered like Guernica at the hands of the Red dynamites. There is yet another problem, which is less frequent, but more important; that of historic cities like Oviedo and Toledo where our chief preoccupation lies in deriving from the destruction the advantage of being able to make plans which will set off to their true value the monuments which still remain. In all these works the Architectural Section of Traditionalist Phalanx is preparing a general plan, wherein each activity has its framework and wherein each single case must adjust itself to the most exact and precise planning technique. Here as in all our other activities we have studied and sought to apply the fruits of foreign experience, which are of value for our purposes. Thus in our town planning we can say that taking as examples the magnificent British "Civic Surveys" with other similar things from other countries we are blending their perfect technique with the conditions of our National Reconstruction.

#### Engineering Difficulties

The viaduct, which bridged the Ormaiztegui valley, had been constructed of five consecutive steel panels, the outer two having an inside span of 52.8 metres and the three in the centre of 60.2 metres. These panels were carried on two supports and three piers built of small ashlar, the height from ground level to grade line at the three central panels being about 34 metres. When, in September, 1936, the Reds retreated before the National troops, they demolished the two southernmost panels of the bridge by severing the rails, girders, and lattice work with blow-pipes. The first panel collapsed entirely; the second

which accounts for his being the dynamic leader of the new public works policy in Spain to-day. As a matter of fact, Senor Pena is the originator of the plan which, after months of careful study, has now been submitted to the consideration of the Government. So far as the reparation of damage done through the civil war is concerned, notable results have already been achieved in the part of Spain that has been reconquered by Franco. It is notorious that, in their retreat from Andalusia, from Bilbao and Santander, from Asturias and Aragon, the Reds destroyed a great number of railway bridges all of which have been systematically repaired by both military and civil engineers. Of the more important works to be restored, after complete destruction, special mention must be made of the Ormaiztegui viaduct, near San Sebastian, on the line from the French frontier to Madrid. This was wrecked in September, 1936, and its reconstruction, when the conditions under which the work was done are borne in mind, presented features of exceptional technical interest.

#### Engineering Difficulties

The first illustration represents the new form given to the historic bridge of San Antonio, which appears on the city's coat of arms. The new bridge is a more ambitious model of the original, the piers having cutwaters of the same mediaeval type, which now bear the new emblems of Spain. The second illustration shows the new arrangement of the classic Isabel II. or Arenal Bridge, the busiest centre of Bilbao. The new bridge, which will be called the Victory Bridge, has an inner span of 63 metres, divided into three panels, composed of stanchions of reinforced concrete, rising from steel rollers set on piers and supports, as shown in the third illustration.

As this article is being written, the rapid

As this article is being written, the rapid

#### National Monuments And Works Of Art

Although we do little to display our National Architecture, it holds great attraction for people all over the world. In the first zone the architectural treasures have been preserved almost intact. Only here and there has a church been sacked or some work of art despoiled in the first hours before the Bolsheviks were overcome. It has only been necessary to make small repairs to the buildings damaged and to take measures to protect our most precious treasures against Red air attacks on peaceful towns and non-combatants behind the lines. In the second, although much destruction has been wrought, many of the buildings are not beyond repair, and the Nationalist

#### The Problem Of Better Housing

The Housing Problem in Spain is a vital one. In the areas under Nationalist control many schemes are being carried out with a view to improving the housing conditions. In Seville, for instance, where General Queipo de Llano has received presents of ground from landowners like the Duke of Alba, a Government subsidised scheme for the provision of dwellings at low rentals is being carried out. The General has speeded up the construction of working-class dwellings for more than 30,000 families. Destroyed towns which were well laid-out must be rebuilt in a similar fashion; well situated, but badly planned towns, must be improved; unsuitable towns must be abolished.

Regional differences, due to medical, sanitary, social, economic and technical conditions have to be taken into consideration, and entail endless and painstaking study. We are faced by the urgency of providing accommodation for those who have lost their homes. This has been momentarily solved by an influx into existing towns. Burgos, for example, had more than three times its normal population before the present Ministry of Reconstruction was created. Such solutions are contrary to the new spirit of reviving our agricultural wealth and stimulating industry. In order to solve this problem areas have been fixed where building activity is being carried out with great intensity. The "Obra del Hogar Nacional Sindicalista" (National Syndicalist Work for the Home) has been formed to deal with this problem, and having studied it has decided that the problem has three distinct aspects which entail the provision of:—

1. Houses for Workmen.
2. Houses for Black-coated Workers.
3. Cottages for Peasants, towns, and

for what has been lost or destroyed, by a Spanish national traditions are being kept in sight—as a goal which we are determined to reach. At the termination of our National Congress, Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, the leader of the Spanish Traditionalist Phalanx, said:—

"In Architectural Unity, the dominant idea of our Movement acquires immense reverberation and consequence and that unity which shows itself in style disappears from architecture when a fragmentary and variable view of life imposes its way instead of one which is comprehensive, permanent and complete in itself. We plan to re-establish that unity and to make it complete in order that by this means all manifestations of activity may be permeated with it and bearing its indelible traces reflect it faithfully. This style cannot be other than that of our National Revolution which must give us a new outlook on life, different from that which used to prevail. The war has destroyed many towns and villages of Spain, but it has taught some, and brought to the notice of the remainder that thousands of fellow-countrymen—and perhaps they are the very ones who are fighting with most tenacity and courage to prevent Spain from becoming a mere colony of Moscow—have extremely deplorable living conditions which might have justified in them all manner of hostility in order to break the bonds which subjected them to a condition of life of manifest inferiority. Far from that, these very men who had nothing material to defend, have felt in their blood the call of Spain. In a clear, spiritual and disinterested fashion they have answered the call, offering their lives as peasants and workmen. We must show them that they are not being deceived, that they did well to believe our promises, that we are going to redress errors and abuses. In this matter a great task falls to the lot of our architects, to give them decent homes, so that they may turn them into something warm, vital and homelike. Let us show them that if in the Marxist view a house is merely a part of the machinery of life, a shelter from the elements and a place for enjoying the material necessities of life, in the Nationalist Syndicalist view it fulfills other functions besides these purely

Naturally each system is separate and



# THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF SPAIN

Conditions in Red and Nationalist Territory.  
Self-Sufficiency for Ever Increasing Population.

THE economic situation in Spain is subject at the present moment to one essential to win the war. This is an aim common both to Nationalist Spain and the Red area. In spite of the similarity of aim in the two Spains there is a vast difference in the results obtained.

On July 18, 1936, when the war broke out, the Nationalists had the means of administration and governing the greater part of the country in their hands. For a long time they held the areas with the greater mineral output (Asturian coal, Almaden mercury, iron from the north, Catalan potash, Penarroya lead), greater industrial strength and greater export facilities. They have enjoyed the gold of the Bank of Spain which, when the war began, amounted 2,565 million pesetas in gold (including the credits overseas but exclusive of the 650 million pesetas in silver in the balances). At present rate of exchange (quoting this amount would be worth £163,000,000 sterling). They have expropriated business and employed for their own ends the securities, bonds, stocks, cash and jewels taken from private persons living in the Red area at Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valencia—the cities where the greater portion of the wealth of Spain was concentrated. Despite this fact, to-day they lack the most indispensable things, the population of the Red area is suffering from hunger, its industries and economic activities are paralysed and the Barcelona vessels was quoted at Paris on February 7th at 0.28 francs.

The Nationalists, on the other hand, had neither gold nor industries—nor navy either. To-day, after twenty months of war, they have not only managed to attain the prime necessity of ensuring their army's efficiency and obtaining all the factors required for victory, but life in their area is still cheap and one of plenty. There is no unemployment problem. Wages are paid in money that remains at its purchasing power. The index of industry output and exportation has considerably increased and the Nationalist peseta is quoted at frs. 1.66 in Paris, that is to say at a rate about six times greater than that of the Red peseta.

## Marxist Irresponsibility.

This is the most formidable evidence in favour of the National movement. Marxist spirit and methods have destroyed the reserves, which the labour of many generations had accumulated, in the part of Spain under their domination. The spirit and methods of National Spain have not merely preserved wealth but have increased it, and in proportion as territory has been reconquered, order and business activity has recommenced.

In the first place it must be made clear that Spain is certainly the most economically complete country in Europe. Many European countries have an incomparably greater industrial or financial potentiality, but none has so many means of being self-sufficient. No great struggles or heroic efforts need be made in Spain to provide the food-stuffs required for feeding the population and the raw material indispensable to the development of industry—from cotton to minerals, and from fuel to water-power. If there is a country in Europe capable of achieving the ideal of self-support that country is certainly Spain.

Add to this that it is not liable to the crises of over-populated lands and that she still can count on great natural resources only partly exploited. In this connection I would remind you that before the conflict I had heard business men of the highest repute, who thoroughly know the position of the different countries in the world, express the conviction that Spain was without doubt the country that offered the greatest chances of economic development in Europe. To understand this show me the map of Spain and you will see the upward progress of Spain in the twentieth century.

The population of Spain has increased with accelerated speed. In 1917 it was 19,396,000; in 1920 it was 21,390,000, an increase of 6.97 per cent. In 1930 it rose to 25,564,000, a further increase of 10.16 per cent. This growth is all the more significant in view of the fact that the population which, in 1913, was 16,100,000 against 92,000 in 1923 and 44,000 in 1927. From 1927 to 1935, both years inclusive, there was a further increase of 10.16 per cent. This is palpable proof that the development of Spanish resources has enabled the country to support an ever-increasing population.

Various other factors lead us to the same conclusion.

## Gold Reserves.

The Bank of Spain's gold reserve in 1913 was 479 million gold pesetas and, adding foreign credits, it totalled 673 million. In 1935, as I have already said, it was 2,565 million gold pesetas which, at 238.52 per cent exchange, was equivalent to 5,974 million pesetas and was the value of the notes in circulation which, at that date, amounted to 5,371 million pesetas. The total assets of the commercial banks has risen from 6,814 million pesetas in 1925 (to which the earliest statistics go back) to 12,394 million pesetas in 1935.

The electricity industry—one of the most elegant signs of economic activity—has risen from 389,000kw in 1913 to 1,389,000kw installed in 1935. The invested capital was 834,000,000 pesetas in 1913 which has risen to 2,840,000,000 pesetas in 1935. The State Budget, which was 1,342,000,000 pesetas in 1913 reached 4,800,000,000 pesetas in 1935. This increase is not excessive compared to the increase in wealth, the national wealth in 1937 being, according to a report by the German professor Von Berkearth more than 20,000 million pesetas, annual income was 25,000 to 30,000 million pesetas and the national savings capitalised at 3,000 million pesetas yearly against 700 millions in the previous war period.

Spain on economic lines, from 1913 till the outbreak of the Civil War might be quoted

to demonstrate the vast vitality of Spain which, despite social and political upheavals, economic crisis and the political defects of Government, invariably went on expanding.

I think the data given will suffice to illustrate this thesis. But to form a complete opinion and derive the consequent conclusions, I must mention that in July 1936, Spain's public debt was 22,136 million pesetas of which only 80 millions were external debt payable in currencies other than the peseta. That is to say, Spain had practically no external debt, being in this respect in an exceptionally favoured position as compared with other countries. Obviously the war means a destruction of individuals who should have been the guardians of financial security. Its disappearance, partial or complete, will result in claims being made by Nationalist Spain which I cannot but ignore. But even supposing the loss caused by the disappearance of the gold reserve were irreparable, one could not form a pessimistic opinion of Spain's economic future. And this for several reasons—

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## Raw Materials.

On account of Spain's wealth in the raw materials essential for the economy of the world, which comprise a first-class foundation for the recovery of her national wealth and of her credit.

On account of her sound financial position which makes the weight of the new debts caused by the war bearable ones.

On account of the economic evolution that during the twentieth century has increased Spain's wealth in a large proportion and which responds to a deep movement, which is already well advanced, and will continue through all social and political upheavals. If we consider the corrosive action which the Marxist Governments, and even the hybrid Governments of the Popular Front, have exercised in every country in which they have gained the upper hand we come to the conclusion that the moral destruction which the Marxist microbe inevitably produces is more evil than the material damage done.

The foregoing is supported not merely by theoretical considerations but by the strong argument of fact; by the impressive contrast between the way of life and the economic development of Nationalist Spain and that of the Red area during the war. It is a contrast which throws a brilliant light on the future. That is the verdict of the war in Spain, in which the fate of the world is being decided with our blood. The dominance of the Reds would bring destruction to the world. The triumph of the Nationalist movement, which is the triumph of the principles by which our civilisation is guided, will insure for Spain not only the maintenance of her personality as a nation, and the elevation of her spirit and of faith in her own destiny, but also her prosperity and full economic expansion.—(Signed),

—J. VENTOSA

# Public Works in Nationalist Spain

(Continued from Page Seven)

advance of the National armies to the Mediterranean is daily setting new problems. The Reds are doing their utmost to stem the advance by destroying bridges and other public works, none of which, perhaps so important as those referred to above, but constituting by their number alone a series of formidable tasks for Franco's engineers. The work of reparation is already well advanced, and the conditions are being restored in the country behind the National lines is a matter for no little wonder to the dispassionate observer.

After the final victory, quite apart from the work of reconstruction, the policy to be adopted in regard to public works must embrace the re-organisation and co-ordination of public works, which has been launched in former times with more enthusiasm than method. These, when rounded off by complementary works, would provide the equipment necessary to cope with the reconstruction which will arise at the birth of the nation.

As for hydraulic schemes, whose main object is irrigation, the works that are already far advanced will allow of irrigation of some 250,000 acres of land that is now dry-farmed and improvable. The irrigation of another 200,000 acres. The cost of these works is estimated at 86,000,000 pesetas, and the time to complete them at four years.

Plans have been also drawn up for the irrigation of a further 400,000 acres, and the improvement of 50,000 acres at a cost of 370,000,000 pesetas.

In view of the geographical, economic, and social features of Spain, it is needless to stress the enormous importance of irrigation, which is, indeed, the only key to the social problem of the Spanish countryside.

After these first two stages have been covered, which should not take more than six years, there remain still more ambitious schemes, some of which will call for a greater financial outlay on the part of the country. Others, again, present difficulties of a technical nature or would be attended by a complete transformation in the social life of the districts involved. Such works, which would affect 1,800,000 acres, cannot be hurried forward, but they are already being studied from both a technical and a financial point of view.

To optimise, we might say that economic considerations underlie all these schemes, the aim of which are twofold: first, to raise the standard of living of the peasants by increasing production, whether for their own consumption or for the markets; second, to explain cultivation by means of irrigation, of produce such as cotton and tobacco, thereby rendering Spain economically independent with regard to certain raw materials which at present are obliged to import.

So far as ports are concerned, our new public works policy is directed above all

The Republic was established in Spain without a Republican electorate. Tyranny and poverty are rarely the result of revolutions. Since the Restoration in 1874 our Monarchy had been constitutional and parliamentary, with the exception of a short interlude of dictatorship, necessitated by the demagogic anarchy which menaced the social condition of Spain. The basic cause of the Revolution of 1931 must not be sought in abuse of power, in a policy of privilege, economic injustice or in the difficulties of life. The Red wave of Bolshevism began to inundate our country in 1931.

The immense majority of Spaniards took no interest in the political life of their country. To them it was something entirely alien to their own destinies. The demands of the working classes served as a mask of protest to camouflage the foundations of the established order.

The Republican Party was a fiction and the same applied to the Socialists. Both were dominated by the Union General de Trabajadores and the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, whose Anarchist, Syndicalist, Communist and Anarchist demagogic leaders incited the passions of the proletarian masses as a means to the achievement of their own ends.

Desire for political power led the enemies of the regime—Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists—to stoop to fraud. Lacking any real support in the country, they accepted without qualms the support which proletarian leaders, the only organised political force, offered them in order to overthrow the Monarchy. Having first threatened to abstain when the general election was fixed for February 1931, they finally succeeded in bringing their supporting masses to the poll under the pretext of reforming the municipalities.

These proletarian masses—previously divided—carried out this task, first by cheering for and then by voting for the Republic. They were aided in this by an unorganised mass of persons of no definite Republican or Marxist views, willing to support any programme which promised immediate victory.

Indeed, these so-called Republicans, obtained, by fair means or foul, majorities in the principal cities of Spain. Despite the fact that the Republicans only obtained a minority of the votes and Councilorships in the country as a whole, they demanded a change of Government amid an atmosphere of astonishment at his results and weighed heavily on the mind of our King and his advisers. The lack of discipline of the Army (a military revolt having only recently been suppressed) and the lack of discipline of the Government, and his counsellors, determined His Majesty to depart in order to avoid the shedding of Spanish blood, as he nobly declared in a public document.

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## Republican Excesses.

The methods of a government of this Republic bear witness to its lack of popular support. It could hardly have been the certainty of popular support which prompted the Government when, after the elections to the Constituent Cortes, had carried out amid a manner of violence and gerrymandering, they felt the need to promulgate in October 1931 the notorious "Law for the Defence of the Republic," whose very title is the best comment on it. It was in truth a law for the defence of the negation of every principle of Democracy, of Liberty, and of Justice. Without giving any reason, without legal procedure, without a competent judge, without a fair guarantee of any kind, the Home Office (Ministry of "Gobernación," i.e., Government) and its delegates were empowered by purely arbitrary government to detain, banish, imprison or fine Spanish citizens who in their opinion

might go inciting a rebellion, spreading disagreeable news, speaking in disrespectful terms of the regime, defending the Monarchy or its representatives. The same treatment might be meted out for the use of Monarchist emblems or badges, for industrial strikes and lock-outs, for alterations of process. Civil servants were liable to it for lack of Republican zeal or industry. In addition, the Minister and his delegates were empowered to prohibit meetings, to shut up clubs and societies and to confiscate their funds.

The promulgation of the Constitution of the Spanish Republic in December 1931, with its formal guarantees of individual rights and its veto on the suspension of Constitutional guarantees for a period of more than thirty days was unavailing. For in the second of its "Transitory Dispositions" the Government had the irony to declare that in spite of all this, the law for the Defence of the Republic would remain in force as long as the Constituent Cortes sat, with the same validity as the Constitution itself. Further, on July 28th, 1933, the "Law of Public Order" was introduced under which all the Constitutional guarantees were suspended, and was to be enforced in exceptional circumstances during states of "Prevention, of Alarm, and of War."

This was not all, however. The Constitution proclaimed the equality of all citizens before the law; complete religious liberty; freedom of opinion, independence of the judiciary; indemnity for forcible expropriation and a host of similar high principles. Yet sometimes by special acts and other times without even this formality those who were not persona grata were placed outside the law and a veritable persecution of the Catholic Church was carried out. The Republic had no more Catholics in Spain. The judicial benches were purged of all who did not meet with the approval of the Government. Properties and estates were confiscated under the pretext of agrarian reforms which only served to impoverish landowners and farmers.

When the Government of the Republic passed into the hands of some of its founders, such as Senor Lerroux, realised at last the extremist measures which had been carried out, he decided to return to the Republic and imposed on the country an unbridled Jacobin dictatorship. During the celebrations of the anniversary of the Republic the Red Militia paraded, armed and in uniform, with the Army, which was subjected to jeering and mockery. In order to arouse still further the passions of the mob the most diabolical methods were resorted to, such as the lie which was propagated that nuns had given poisoned sweets to children in the schools. This led to riots and burning of churches and convents. Similar events happened in the Provinces and a full account of the outrages would be tedious. The Republican

The Government of Senor Lerroux wasted that opportunity which might have been so propitious to him, and compromised the Republic by his inaction. He was a party in the hope of finding a better occasion in the future for giving battle to the Red menace, which was already overpowered by the Dictator.

But the dictators of policy in Moscow appreciated that the safest method of

achieving their ends was through the services of their faithful Republican and Socialist allies—and, therefore, they fought the elections of February 1936 under the banner of the Popular Front. Utter folly led then the President of the Republic to create, on the eve of the elections, a Centre Party at the expense of the Republicans of Lerroux and the Populists of Gil Robles. Thus disunited, the Conservative forces in the Republic went into battle.

These elections were the greatest scandal and outrage which a people conscious of its rights could suffer. Undisciplined mobs took possession of the streets and polling booths and imposed their will on the voters. Where they were unable to achieve their ends by such means they destroyed the legal certificates of election and replaced them by falsified returns being in many cases supported by the Civil Governors. Despite all this the Provinces, which were almost all of Conservative opinion and which represented a majority of the country elected eight candidates. It is only fair to remark that this result was due to the propaganda and patriotic zeal of the followers of Senor Gil Robles and Senor Calvo Sotelo, both men of extraordinary ability. The Spanish phalanx, then in its early days, also fought intrepidly, bringing victory to its leader, Senor Primo de Rivera, and to a few of his followers.

But all was useless. The number of Deputies elected in these circumstances was only an indication of the views of those thinking Spaniards, whose voice was not suffocated by violence. The Left majority in the Cortes annulled many of the mandates of the Government. Here the Left extremists displayed the same revolutionary fury as they had shown in the street and here again they made themselves masters of the Government. Here the Left extremists became the docile instrument of their plans.

In control of the situation, the Left Party deposed the incumbent President of the Republic and imposed on the country an unbridled Jacobin dictatorship. During the celebrations of the anniversary of the Republic the Red Militia paraded, armed and in uniform, with the Army, which was subjected to jeering and mockery. In order to arouse still further the passions of the mob the most diabolical methods were resorted to, such as the lie which was propagated that nuns had given poisoned sweets to children in the schools. This led to riots and burning of churches and convents. Similar events happened in the Provinces and a full account of the outrages would be tedious. The Republican

# JAMES, X DUKE OF BERWICK and XVII OF ALBA

An Appreciation.

By JOCELYN FITZGERALD RUTHVEN, F.R.G.S.

RECENTLY when General Franco was asked by a Press representative to define his principles and aims, he replied with classic brevity, "In politics—Truth. In war—Victory."

It is therefore appropriate that he selected as his Agent General for Britain, the Duke of Berwick and Alba, descendant of two of the most victorious Generals in history, and himself a notable advocate of the cause of the Nationalist Spain.

Lenin's system, continued since his death, being based on mendacity and murder, there has been no international source such a flood of falsehood about the Duke of Alba, that the editor of the Cork Examiner considers it would be a waste of space to repeat some of the main points of the Duke's career. Succeeding in 1901 to his twenty-four ancient titles (originating mostly as rewards for ancestral active services), he possessed the Dukedom of Berwick and the Dukedom of Alba, and a collection of letters, title deeds, and unique manuscripts as no other nobleman (so far as I am aware) has inherited in the same degree. From A.D. 1026 to the year 1898, when he died, he collected letters, title deeds, and unique manuscripts as no other nobleman (so far as I am aware) has inherited in the same degree. From A.D. 1026 to the year 1898, when he died, he collected letters, title deeds, and unique manuscripts as no other nobleman (so far as I am aware) has inherited in the same degree.

His earliest memories being of his mother's arrangement and classification of these treasures, James Charles Manuel FitzGerald Stuart, a lover of history and the fine arts almost before he had come to the age to go to school. Educated at Beaumont College, and in virtue both of ancestry and personal sympathy always a friend of the British Isles, he is (as Monsieur Leon Daudet recently observed in "L'Action Française") the Spaniard of all others best qualified to act as Agent-General to Britain during these crucial times.

It was so far back as 1891 that his mother first published some of the documents of Christopher Columbus from the Archives of the Duke of Alba. He collected over having seen of any private collection. Few, if any, of the treasures of the Palacio de Liria are recent acquisitions; and if I rightly remember, the most modern of the title deeds is that embodying the Dukedom of Liria and Xerica, conferred on the 1st Duke of Berwick by the King of Spain in reward for his victory at Amuniza (A.D. 1707).

James, 1st Duke of Berwick, son of James II and Arabella Churchill, was early distinguished for his martial genius. Before he had turned twenty his reputation was made as a volunteer in the Hungarian wars; and but for the revolution against his father in 1688, his subsequent services would have been to England and not France or Spain. But William III put a price on his head (he was at Portsmouth when the revolution began), and he had no choice but to compound with the supplanter of his father, or to follow his father abroad. Taking part in the ill-starred campaign in Ireland, and subsequently in over thirty military engagements elsewhere, he was only twice wounded; slightly in Ireland, and at the

members of the Government looked on undaunted at these events and, perhaps, still hoped to dominate the raging tides which were drowning them. It is certain that not only were they helpless to prevent what happened, but they even had a hand in some of the excesses: this was the case with the murder of Senor Calvo Sotelo by uniformed police, who entered his home in the early hours of the morning and, taking him away under the pretext of arrest, shot him through the back in the police van in which he was being driven away. This crime, though only one out of the many which were daily taking place, aroused the public conscience owing to the high esteem in which the victim was held. By way of reaction his funeral was the occasion of a magnificent demonstration, though some of those present paid for it with their lives. The forces of Public Order placed their machine guns at the exit of the cemetery. That was the drop of blood that caused the cup to overflow and served to herald the rivers of blood which were to flow in the cause of Spain.

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## National Movement

The reader who is unacquainted with Spanish life will be astounded to find the majority of the people should have tolerated for more than five years this Republican tyranny disguised as a democracy for the purposes of foreign consumption. He will wonder that the defence forces of the country should have associated themselves with such a regime. The answer is that in this case of political stability Spain had submitted completely to the control of the authorities of the public order, as always happens when the public believes itself to be under the rule of a responsible government. It took time for the nation to realise that the men who had established the Republic and the leaders of the Popular Front, were persons devoid of all conscience of their responsibilities and capable of sacrificing Spain or purposes of momentary political gain. In order to be a statesman it does not suffice to see national problems clearly, it is also necessary to handle the means of resolving them with real ability. Otherwise the rulers of a nation are merely sterile idealists at the best or futile agitators at the worst. The latter was the case with the Spanish Republican leaders. Lacking all real support in the country they were unable to

win any; and they surrendered to the influence of the directors of Social Revolution who worked in co-operation with the Russian Bolsheviks, in order to achieve a semblance of popular support. This state of affairs was not, last, and when the nation eventually became conscious of the deception, an urgent defensive reaction set in. This resulted in a national movement for the liberation of Spain, which, fortunately produced leaders who were capable of achieving their ends.

It would be false to regard the national movement as a mere military revolt. Had it been no more the Government would not have lacked the means to overcome it with the greatest of ease. The first step taken by the Government to counteract the national movement was the arming of the mob to whom the Union General de Trabajadores and the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo gave orders. The promises which had been made to the mob could now be realised. They had been told that they were to be like the rich—power was to be theirs and they were themselves to destroy the economic, social, political and religious institutions which were supposed to be oppressing them. "Here are arms with which to achieve your desires," they were now told.

What now took place was only the logical outcome of their own wishes. The masses in order to be like the rich, appropriated their houses and their goods, installing themselves in their place. In order to destroy the existing social organisation they killed and massacred with impunity the persons whom they supposed to be most representative of it. They burned churches, convents and mansions. They attacked banks and took over the management and sequestered the deposits. They confiscated lands, factories and all sources of production. They sunned up the zone which they considered was sunk in anarchy, poverty and misery.

Meanwhile the "Democratic Farce" continued to be staged for the benefit of the rest of Europe. Almost all the foreign diplomatic representatives quitted Spain in disgust, leaving in their places subordinate officials. Foreign governments, while experiencing a certain sympathy for the cause, the conduct of the war remained impassive over the anarchic conditions which raged in the Red area. They even recognise as legitimate the Government of the Nationalist Spain in Barcelona, as near as possible to the frontiers of France.

Perhaps the "Government" of Barcelona understands that the worst that could happen to it, would be to win the war, because it would immediately be overwhelmed by Communism. To lose it has no attraction either, hence it has no other aim than to prolong its agony in the words of the poet the "nightmare of the man who seeks to avoid the inevitable."

—JULIO WAIS.

Ex-Minister For Finance

The Duke of Alba last year at Geneva was Franco's delegate to meet and answer the series of falsehoods by which the "democratic" Government in the Red area was endeavouring to mislead the nations endowed with goodwill ("todeo los hombres de buena voluntad"). An Hon. Degree of Trinity, Dublin, was conferred upon the Duke of Alba some years ago. The Duke of Alba is a member of the British Academy, and of the Society for Nautical Research in England. To what extent (if at all) he will be able to assist the Nationalist cause, remains to be seen. His term of Office was brief, and the Cabinet, of which he was the most illustrious member, fell in February, 1935, and he was immediately after providing against Russian humphing.

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