

197

CATHOLICS AND THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

A37825



INTRODUCTION

THE following facts and speeches have been taken from a vast amount of material published since the outbreak of the civil war in Spain. But this is not a selection of texts, for we have not at our disposal all that Spanish Catholics of note have declared publicly in favour of the legitimate Government of the Republic, nor could we introduce so much in the space which we propose to devote to this theme. We only wish to offer the English reader some examples of how a very important section of conservative and Catholic Spain thinks and acts in face of the tragic events which have befallen that country.

A. RAMOS OLIVEIRA.

November, 1936.

NOTE

A GOOD deal of material has appeared in the press and elsewhere tending to create the impression that what might be called "Catholic Opinion" in Spain is wholeheartedly on the side of the Rebels in their efforts to destroy the legitimate Government and to establish a Fascist regime. The Labour Movement in Great Britain has always stood for religious freedom and tolerance, and it deprecates attempts to play upon religious sentiments from motives of political partisanship. It is clear that many influential and representative Catholic personalities, as well as masses of Catholic workers, are giving active moral and other support to the democratic forces. It is only just that Catholic declarations in support of the Spanish Government in its struggle to defend democratic rights and institutions should be made available in this country, which is the sole purpose of this pamphlet which has been prepared by Señor Oliveira.

Published by
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR
TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.1

A37825

CATHOLICS

and

THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

DON ENRIQUE MORENO, SPANISH CATHOLIC AND
LECTURER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

The *Daily Telegraph* (September 22 and September 29, 1936) published the following letters from Don Enrique Moreno, a lecturer in Oxford University and a Catholic:—

"May I express the painful impression produced on many Spanish Catholics by the words with which the Pope has recently blessed the rebels? We Spanish Catholics who have been scandalised by seeing the greater part of the Spanish clergy joining the initiators of a rebellion against the legitimate Government of the nation; we who have witnessed how the soldiers of the Republic were fired on from the church towers in Madrid; and, above all, we, who have been foreseeing for many years the disastrous end of a policy of constant identification of the spiritual interests of the Church with the economic ones of the rich, cannot but lament that the knowledge of certain facts apparently has not reached the Vatican.

"One must also not forget the attitude of the Basque priests, fighting against the rebels in complete unity with the people: nor the adhesion to the Government of the Republic of a minority of Catholics, poets and thinkers, who are trying to save by means of the spirit that which cannot be saved by the sword, namely, the spiritual prestige of Catholicism.

"Even in the event of a rebel victory, what influence on the masses will the priest have whose hands might appear stained with blood? The memories of the peasants murdered by the legionaries and of the women violated by the Moors would always be an insurmountable barrier between religion and the people.

"I believe sincerely that the silent and persevering work of a minority of Catholics working within the Republican regime will redound more to the glory of God and to the benefit of His Church than the immediate and purely political triumph of a clergy condemned to live among the hatred and the animadversion of the majority of the country. And this especially if the highest authorities of the Catholic Church make every effort not to render incompatible the practice of Catholicism with

PV16264

the fulfilment of the obligations which all citizens, Catholics and non-Catholics, are in duty bound to carry out in support of the legitimately constituted Government. In the present case this legitimacy can only be denied through ignorance or malice."

* * *

"May I hope you will be kind enough to let me answer the letters published in reply to mine on Catholicism and Spain? Naturally, I have not been understood.

"I am not surprised, because for that it would be necessary to have a deep knowledge of the real conditions of Spanish religious life, even more, to have felt in one's own soul the spiritual tragedy of modern Spain. This knowledge cannot be obtained by reading books or by listening to the tales of Spanish refugees.

"First of all, I had not the slightest intention of criticising the Pope, but of lamenting that the knowledge of 'certain facts' had not reached the Holy Father. This would have contributed, no doubt, to make him form quite a different opinion of the insurgents. That His Holiness's blessing 'to all those who have assumed the difficult and dangerous task of defending and restoring God's rights and honour' is addressed to the rebels is something that nobody will be able to deny.

"Secondly, with regard to the military activities of the priests, I will not say anything of what I have seen with my own eyes, but I will limit myself to quoting the words of the correspondent of the Catholic weekly, the *Tablet*, in its issue of September 19: 'Priests in short soutanes, rifle on shoulder, were taking their flock to battle.' Of course, when these priests return to their parishes they will do so with blood-stained hands.

"Thirdly, I do not claim to speak in the name of the majority of Spanish Catholics, but of many of them, especially of the writers who collaborate in the review *Cruz y Raya*. Whether we are right or not in our purely spiritual appreciation of these problems is something that only history will be able to decide.

"Fourthly, as to the abuses committed against nuns, I must declare that, having lately worked in the service of the Committee for the Protection of National Artistic Treasures, work which enabled me to visit many nunneries, I do not know in Madrid of a single case in which nuns have been outraged by the loyalists.

"Fifthly, I am not a Bolshevik disguised as a Catholic, but a Catholic who is fulfilling his duty of supporting the legitimate Government of his country against those who—I do not know if in God's name—have introduced the Moors into Spain and are trying to turn my country into a kind of German or Italian protectorate. I do not know what English Catholics would do under the same conditions."

BASQUE CATHOLICS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

On October 13, in Madrid, Señor Irujo, Minister of the Republic and a well-known Basque-Catholic, spoke of

"... the notorious fact of the sum of cruelties, crimes and sins against humanity committed by our enemies, by the enemies of the Republic of democracy and peace: in their cruel bombardment of open and defenceless cities, in their bloody persecution of our men and organisations, and in the unspeakable murders, base and inhuman, of which they have boasted, turning their machine-guns on hundreds of wounded who lay suffering in the Red Cross hospitals, and were made a bloody and a cruel sport for mercenary troops, not of our race and traitors to our rule. Against this shameful conduct which no words can describe, and over this foul and savage spectacle, we must lift up our minds, lighten our hearts, and put strength into our arms.

"As a Basque I tell you that we Basques co-operate enthusiastically in the triumph of social democracy which is our traditional cause, and our future aspiration. While there is one man, one party or one people within the Republic fighting for democracy, there will be the force of our arms, which can never unite with those who kill the wounded and defenceless: we will accept with love, with profound emotion, all the travail which revolution brings to make our land a better place for humanity. But if the other peoples of the peninsula weaken in the defence of their historic destiny, we, raising the flag of our independence by the flag of social democracy, shall proclaim to the world the unshakeable decision of our race to free from the shame of slavery, dictatorship and Fascism the oldest people in Europe, who could never resign themselves to the opprobrium of its contempt."

THE BISHOPS OF VITTORIA AND PAMPLONA ARRESTED.

Señor Irujo declared on October 13 in Madrid, that:

"The Bishops of Vittoria and Pamplona are virtually prisoners, because they would not say masses for the troops nor go into their cathedrals. They have been forbidden to issue ecclesiastical bulletins. The Bishop of Pamplona is an old friend of mine, Marcelino Olaechea, son of a miner of Baracaldo: he supports from his standpoint as a Christian the social advances which give dignity to the workers. Always, even when he had no thought of becoming a bishop, he used to say to me that a man could not be considered as a wheel in a machine, which breaks and is replaced by another. At the last elections, the Right, *i.e.*, the Traditionalists who were opposed to us, the Nationalists, visited the Bishop to obtain his blessing on their candidature: but the

Bishop declared : ' No, I cannot do that : for I am not a bishop of the Right or of the Left. I am the bishop of you all.'

" The first consequence of the formation of the new Basque Government has been an advance on all fronts. Basque unity, order, the sense of victory. This is the greatest triumph of the Basque Government. I will not say that a feeling of comprehensiveness and tolerance has been born, for the truth is that it was never lacking in the Basques. There the lives of the prisoners, the old people and the children, have been respected. In Vizcaya, with its nationalist and Cantabrian sympathies, the murders can be counted on the fingers of one hand. But in Navarre which is traditionalist and Mediterranean, the figure already reaches one thousand eight hundred "

* * *

FATHER JUAN GARCIA MORALES' APPEAL.

On September 14, 1936, Father Juan Garcia Morales broadcast from Madrid to the people of Spain. In the course of his speech he said :

" Comrades of the world, and my brothers ! You must know that many Spanish priests are on the side of the people and with the people's cause, that they wear the honoured uniforms of the popular Militia, and that they stand opposed to their brothers in the priesthood who have left the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus on the altars, have taken up rifles, and have trampled underfoot the commandments of God's law, to hurl themselves like tigers on the working people of Spain.

" All we Spanish Catholics are anxiously waiting for the words of our Holy Father in Rome. In these moments of our country's agony the voice of the Representative of Christ on earth will be like the voice of the angels at the birth of the Messiah : ' Peace on earth to men of good-will.'

" All we Spanish Catholics are anxious to hear that voice, which will speak justice and blame harshly, as did the Saviour of the World, those hypocrites, pretenders and Pharisees who live in the shadow of religion and bring about the ruin of Spain.

" The Holy Father in Rome must be well informed of the rebellion. There are plenty of people in Rome who will advise His Holiness on whatever occurs in Spain. Nuncios who have dealt only with Dukes and Marquises, and know nothing of the people. Directors of Catholic Social Action in Spain, who have drawn blood out of stones to assure the triumph of Capitalism. Most Holy Father, we do not want diplomacy. We are sick of diplomacy. All these things lead nowhere : useless actions and scraps of paper. Diplomacy serves no purpose : Your Holiness is the Representative of God Who was a carpenter and a poor man—and in the Name of this God Who died

on the Cross for just men and sinners, you must condemn those military chiefs and clergy who have taken up arms against a legally constituted Government.

" On my knees, making my profession of Catholic faith, I wait for the voice of Your Holiness, hoping that to-morrow it will prove itself a light to lighten the understanding of the rebels, so that they may be convinced of their crimes, and laying down those arms which they have taken up against the people, they may smite their breasts and say a solemn ' Miserere.' "

* * *

" SPANISH DEMOCRACY IS FIGHTING FASCISM," DECLARES THE LEADER OF THE BASQUE CATHOLIC- NATIONALIST PARTY.

On October 1, 1936, in the Parliament of the Republic, Don José Antonio Aguirre, leader of the Basque Catholic-Nationalist Party, and President of the Government of the Basque Provinces, defined the attitude of his party in these terms :

" Spanish democracy is fighting Fascism, and Basque nationalism must always stand by democracy. For that reason we are with you. The Republic opens paths of liberty to all the people, whatever their ideas and leanings may be. It gives liberty, it gives life, and Basque nationalism will always be with it. You are here and we are here to perform an act of transcendental importance : you will be shown, and I hope you will approve, the Statute of the Basque Provinces. This is a progressive Parliament, and we confide our aspirations to you, knowing that you will give them the treatment which they deserve. But in this moment I must again stress that our country, that we as well as you, are face to face with Imperialism and Fascism, and that we take this stand chiefly because of our principles which are strictly Christian and Catholic. If ever this spirit should force us to take the side against you, be sure we should do it as loyal adversaries : but today this very sentiment brings us to your side. Christ could not desire the criminal use of bomb and bayonet to conquer the world. But in your proletarian movement, though differences exist, there is nothing to shock us. We recognise all that is true in your movement. Are the multitudes who follow you moved by a mere Utopia? No. You have listened to the outcry of the multitudes who demand a rebuilding of society in place of a society which has become rotten. A Christian movement like yours justifies a social advance. Why else did Christ come into the world, if not for that? We come from the people, we are of the people as Christ was, and we stand with the people. We are at your side to conquer and root out Fascism.

“ Although we regret the burning of churches and the deaths of certain persons connected with these, when we look into the conduct of the powerful hierarchies we are forced to recall that example from Ireland in which the people were wealthy and the church was poor. We stand by the poor, the humble church. Be sure that until we have overthrown Fascism, Basque nationalism will remain firm at your side.”

* * *

CARLISTS IMPRISON THE BISHOP OF VITTORIA, SENOR MUGICA.

Information has been received in Madrid from an inhabitant of Vittoria who succeeded in escaping from the Fascist lines, that in Navarre and Alava terrible persecutions are being directed against republicans, workers and even nationalists.

The rebels at first tried to temporize with those Catholic members of the Right who were not affiliated to the Carlists, and with the Basque Nationalists, in the hope of encountering fewer obstacles in the invaded districts. But they soon saw that the Catholics of Navarre and Alava, many priests among them, opposed the monstrous methods which they used on the people. And as this opposition grew, the rebels shot various priests who refused to participate in the murders which they carried out. The sincerity of these priests led them to accept this execution rather than abjure their nationalism.

As the rebels saw that the Bishop, Mateo Mugica, also sympathised with the nationalists, they imprisoned him in his palace, and mounted a strict guard over him. The Carlists categorically forbade the Bishop to communicate with the priests of Alava, for fear that he might carry on nationalist propaganda.

* * *

FATHER LEOCADIO LOBO DEFENDS THE SPANISH WORKERS.

On September 20, 1936, Father Leocadio Lobo broadcast the following declaration to the people of Spain :

“ I am a Catholic and a Spaniard. I maintain relations with the Holy See, and with my Bishop, who is now absent from Madrid.

“ My gospel is good news for the shepherds, for the fishermen, for the publicans and the tax-gatherers, for the adulterous woman and the woman of Samaria : the miracles of my gospel are the loaves multiplied by Christ Jesus for those who are hungry, health for those who suffer, light and life for the blind and the dead.

“ Will you tell me that the people do not believe, that they have turned pagan, that—I have heard it with my own ears—they are riff-raff, and rabble, and a Marxist mob ? I do not curse, for the Gospel restrains my tongue from cursing : but I say they are not a mob, not riff-raff, not a rabble. You, Catholics of Spain, officers who have taken arms against the people, Conservative classes who have raised a wall and dug an abyss between the people and yourselves : you are not right. The Spanish people has been and always will be a GOOD people.

“ They do not believe, you say ? They have become pagan ? They are Marxist ? Ah, then your duty and my duty is to love them more than ever, to go out and seek them in the highways and byeways of life, to tell them that their legitimate and just aspirations are Christian, though they do not know it : to remind them that the world, as Chesterton said, is full of Christian ideas run mad, and to be found everywhere : we must tell them this, and more : but above all, we must give them bread to appease their hunger, and love to fill their hearts.

“ They are against an absurd and brutal economic system ? Then I am with them, for the Church has long been with them in this.

“ They demand social justice, the lessening or the total disappearance of the infinite gulfs between those who have all and those who have nothing ? Then they are right, and because they are right they must demand, and claim, and insist, and prevent the continuance of this wrong state.

“ And when the people were roused to demand their rights ; when they asked for the universally claimed transformation of the land-owning system, when they asked for access to the great heartless machine of industry to humanise labour there—then we stopped our ears ; we gave them a few crumbs in the name of charity, and refused to envisage the solutions which reason and justice forced on every Christian conscience. And there appeared immediately in the midst of the conflict a word lacking all meaning and reason for those who were to use it as a terrible weapon of attack. In the midst of Spain's struggle appeared the word ‘ Order.’ There were people who stood for ‘ Order,’ and classes who stood for ‘ Order,’ and political parties ‘ of Order,’ and a Press ‘ of Order ’ : they talked of the ‘ established Order,’ and fortifying and defending themselves against the workers they called them with infinite scorn ‘ enemies of Order’ ‘ Let everything go on as it was,’ was the supreme aspiration of those who were comfortably placed in life, who were little if at all perturbed by the existence of the *disinherited*, yes, ‘ disinherited,’ a term and a conception which fill the mind with horror, so clearly do they speak of fratricidal and anti-Christian cruelty.

"This biased vision of the world which was characteristic of the conservative classes in Spain was profoundly shocked by an event both natural and logical, namely that those *disinherited* classes should become revolutionary, and manfully oppose the perennial existence of the 'established order.'

"'Why change' they said, 'since we are so well off and satisfied?' They wished to keep their wealth, their privileges, their power over things and people. Instead of trying to create a Catholic, Christian order in which Spain might recover her racial historic feelings of essentially democratic liberties and rights, they tried (with partial success) to unite the Catholics in an organisation of conservative outlook and bourgeois origins.

"But they have done worse. Official favour has partly succeeded in corrupting the Catholics, so that they may be persuaded to hand over the Church to the State on the plea of obtaining for her support, protection and defence.

"The final move, the last word of madness in this state of things, was the rising of the army leaders and the Fascists against the people of Spain. I cannot hide the truth, and the truth is this. The attack was begun by the military and the Fascists: revolutionary or not, the Spanish proletariat maintained an attitude within the law, and was content to shape little by little the so-called Pact of the Popular Front, which in those circumstances and at that time should, as I understand it, have been upheld almost completely by the Catholics of Spain.

"Therefore, the responsibility, the tremendous moral and material responsibility for this struggle without precedent in history, rests with those who provoked it, who in public and private obstinately maintained that the Spanish problem could only be solved by force of arms, exploiting the discontent of the military leaders: it rests with those who exasperated the combative attitude of our youth, those who insanely applauded inhuman and brutal repressions, those who provoked crises because the death-penalty was not exacted, those who forgot the whole history of Spanish thought and loosed this tide of frenzy and violence.

"The Spanish people cries out that they, the rebels, shall not pass. And they shall not pass, for neither reason nor justice is with them, for they have confounded together things that are utterly opposed, Christ and Mahomet, violence and religion, Fascism and Spain!

"I ask you to think. Fascism, disguised or not disguised, is essentially Anti-Christian."

DON JOSE BERGAMIN, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS IN SPAIN.

Don José Bergamin, director of the great Catholic review, *Crus y Raya*, broadcast to the Spanish people (September 20, 1936). Part of his speech is reproduced here.

"With greater authority than mine a true Catholic priest has spoken to you from this microphone. In his words, vibrant with the noblest of human emotions, which is that of truth, the pure truth of a Spaniard and of a believer, many of us have heard, for the first time since this war of fire and blood overwhelmed us, the authorised voice of the Church. A voice which supports and upholds our deepest conviction as Spaniards and believers, that conviction which brings us to-day so close to the people of Spain that we cannot and will not separate ourselves from them: we feel ourselves one flesh and one spirit. It is thus that I understand my independence as a writer and my liberty as a Christian Catholic believer: united inseparably with the people, who have suffered for justice throughout the centuries and are now fighting gloriously, giving their lives for their truth—their liberty, their independence—which is also *our* truth and *our* life. Let all men understand this: the voice of the people is the voice of God.

"The clearest of all truths here in Spain, clearer than ever before, even in the blood and the fire which envelop us, is this: that on one side is the Spanish people, all the people of every part of our land, knowing themselves, with their tradition and their history, their past and their future clear and bright as never before in the truth of their life and their hopes: while on the other side a handful, a mob of desperate traitors who have had to call in outside help, foreign, barbarous, anti-Spanish, to fight against us, provoking this war which is suicide for them but which they hoped might be suicide for Spain. Cast your eyes for one moment on that tragic pyramid of grotesques: generals, bishops, Moors, Carlists in red berets—they are like some fantastic mumming-show of Death.

"They entrust the defence of their Spain to Moors and soldiers of the Foreign Legion, for they have no Spanish hands and bodies to defend themselves. This is the truth of Spain in these bloody hours. *We* are the Spaniards: they are a handful of traitors with some thousands of barbarian mercenaries at their command, with some weapons of war bought on credit out of the spoils to which they would reduce our land. And in these they put their trust, or rather their desperation.

"By such barbarians some of the dignitaries of our Church seek to defend their impostures—dignitaries of the Church which they have taken from the people, which they have corrupted, prostituted, shamed

with avarice and spotted with our blood, the blood of the Spanish people. Listen to this, if you are listening to me, unfaithful shepherds, traitors to Christ ! You have placed in the barbarous hands of Legionaries and Moors the sacred vessels, the riches and treasure which you never offered to your people, the poor, the disinherited, the hungry. And you either give these things as sacrilegious booty, or to convert them into weapons dealing death to your people and your flock. I know you well, bishops who dabble in politics, who chatter of politics. Listen well, for this is an accusation which I make. You, the dignitaries of the Spanish Church, have betrayed that Church, and have robbed the people ! ”

* * *

“ FASCISM IS THE NEGATION OF FREEDOM ”

APPEAL BY A DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF SPANISH CATHOLIC AND CONSERVATIVE OPINION

Don Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, the most distinguished representative of Conservative Catholic opinion, made an impressive appeal from the Madrid Broadcasting Station on August 24.

Don Angel Ossorio y Gallardo is a sincerely and deeply religious man, and one who has contributed to the development of the Christian Social Movement in Spain. He is a practising Catholic of deep convictions. In the sphere of politics he has grown up alongside the last great figure in Conservative politics, Don Antonio Maura, with whom he has closely collaborated in the Government and in Opposition. As far as his intellectual status is concerned, M. Ossorio y Gallardo is a lawyer of the highest standing. He is one of the most distinguished advocates at the Madrid Bar, and, by his writings, as well as by the exercise of his profession, he has won undisputed authority in Spain as a jurist and defender of legality.

In the noble words which follow, this man, who synthesises Conservative, Catholic and Juridical thought in Spain, explains his position in face of the grave events at present taking place in his country :

“Eloquent voices from the Popular Front have already condemned the Fascist rebellion. *Perhaps it may be useful to explain why Christians and Conservatives have also placed themselves wholeheartedly on the side of the Popular Front and are doing their utmost to secure its decisive triumph.*”

“A Christian cannot be Fascist, because Christianity stands for the liberation of the human spirit and respect for human personality, whilst Fascism is the negation of freedom, the setting up of oppression and the regime of force—and that not even in the service of the poor, but to safeguard the privileged classes. A Christian cannot accept a doctrine in the name of which its supporters claim the superiority of one particular race and the right to exterminate Jews, Freemasons, Communists, and Liberals; because the essence of the doctrine of Christ and the revolution in thought brought about by His teachings, as compared with the old world, is just the obligation to love our enemy as our brother; and even if Jews, Freemasons, Communists, and Liberals were detestable, a Christian could not have the right to exterminate them, for it is written that God has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he should turn from his way and live.

“A Christian ought not to tolerate that the name of God should be exploited to attack a legally constituted State, for in doing so, he would be forgetting that God commanded that he should ‘give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s.’

“A Catholic owes respect and obedience to the Church. But the Church, the immortal guardian of the most lofty, the purest and the most generous doctrine which the centuries have ever known, must not be confounded with the ecclesiastical degeneracy of bishops, laden with jewels, who drag God into political conflicts and ask his intervention in order to assure the electoral defeat of the Left, thus degrading Him to the status of a belligerent, subjecting Him to the law of defeat, and blaspheming His divinity. Nor must the Church be confounded with the Religious Orders which amass riches, from which their individual members derive no benefit, nor with individuals, priests or laymen, who fire from church towers and thus rob the temples of their sacred character, which explains the subsequent destruction of the churches; nor with the priests who, rifle or machine gun in hand, fling themselves into the fray, thus disgracing their sacred calling which imposes upon them the duty of praying for the peace of all.

“A Conservative should know that Conservatism does not consist in maintaining, immobile and rigid, institutions which are no longer in accord with modern times, but in creating day by day institutions which are more just, thus avoiding their imposition by the people in a violent, improvised and disorderly fashion. The good Conservative, in consequence, at the present period through which Spain is passing, is not he who obstinately persists in defending standards which are outworn because they are unjust, inadequate or inefficient, but he who collaborates in the creation of a new order, with the minimum

of dislocation and the greatest possible guarantee of stability. A Conservative should not think that nations preserve themselves from deterioration and decay by imprisoning the majority in poverty and obedience while the minority enjoys riches and power. On the contrary, he should know that the people themselves are the essentially conservative element. Spanish Conservatives will not be able to reject the testimony of Don Antonio Maura when he says: 'In Spain, any regime whatsoever, no matter what may be the form of government on the "plateau," must rest on the people and must direct the multitudes.'

"A Conservative may defend private property as a complement of personality; but he should know that in the economy of the future, on which we are already bordering, private property will have to co-exist in harmony with other forms of property; he should desire the abolition of property in the form of monopolies, the chief cause of war and the misfortunes of peoples, and, instead of becoming incensed against the collectivist parties, a Conservative should bear in mind the fact that it is Pius XI himself who has proclaimed the necessity for reserving the ownership of certain properties to the State, when such property entails a degree of economic power so great that it would be impossible to accord it to individuals without danger to the State itself. A Conservative should respect the fascist thesis, like every other, in so far as it seeks to triumph by means of propaganda and persuasion; but he must detest with all his might the action of a political party in seeking to triumph by provoking the revolt of the armed forces of the State against the State itself. For it is impossible to conceive of anything more demagogic, more negative and more destructive; the most frenzied revolutionary movement pales beside this example.

"A Conservative cannot but be moved by the useless crimes committed by the rebels, on account of the crimes themselves and also because they undermine the moral authority necessary for the condemnation of reprisals which are taken, as an inevitable reaction, by the party which is the victim of the aggression.

"Here are, in short, some of the motives which have induced a man, such as myself, without modifying anything of the doctrine which he has professed during a quarter of a century, to declare himself on the side of the Government of Spain and the Popular Front. For the Republic? Certainly! Long Live the Republic! For Spain? Of course! Long live Spain! But also for other principles which extend far beyond the borders of Spain and its Republic; for the immortal values of the human spirit for Christian civilisation, for the economic and political emancipation of the workers, for the self-determination of peoples and the liberty of mankind."

"THERE HAVE BEEN ENOUGH CRIMES!"—THE ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO TO THE REBELS.

In Santiago, the spiritual centre of the province, in the midst of a ceremony, one of the rebel leaders asked for sterner measures and the extermination of the Asturian miners: the Archbishop burst into sobs, unable to restrain himself, and cried out: "There have been crimes enough! I do not want my children to be murdered!" These words caused the deepest emotion throughout the province.

* * *

AN ENGLISH CATHOLIC OPINION

Extracts from article by 'Viator' in the *Catholic Herald* (London) August 21, 1936:—

"The Church had in fact, in many parts of Spain, become dissociated in the popular mind from the interests of the poor: and had given reason for the view that it was the Church of the rich class, like the Anglican Church in England.

"Far from developing the true spirit of Catholicism, it ought to be said that many Catholics in Spain—as elsewhere in Europe—used the Church as an excuse for preserving an inadequate social order, and an intellectual indolence which left them far behind the needs of modern Spain.

"There were signs that certain groups of Catholics were awakening to this tragic situation, but, of course, they awoke too late, when Catholicism had lost its grip over the destiny of the Spanish people as a whole. In some parts of Spain the foreigner was given the impression that Christianity had degenerated into an arid formalism, without even the élan which the communists have been able to summon up.

"It was here and there in those last legalistic stages of spiritual decay when the Sermon on the Mount collapses into something like Pharisaism, and religion degenerates into discussions on the length of a woman's sleeve. . . .

"... The danger of an army victory lies in the possibility of a military dictatorship which will only re-establish the old evil system with which both Church and Army were bound up in the past, and do nothing to supply Spain's need which is a constructive social order. *The Church, it is certain, will gain nothing if it creeps back to power under General Franco's bayonets: only a thorough spiritual cleansing and revival can save Catholicism in Spain.*"

PRICES POST FREE

1 copy	1½d.
12 copies	9d.
100 copies	6s.

From

THE LABOUR PUBLICATIONS
DEPARTMENT

Transport House
Smith Square, London, S.W.1

November, 1936