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PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN

IN

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY

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A THESIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION	ix
A. The Subject	x
1. The Subject Stated and Explained	x
2. The Subject Justified	xi
3. The Subject Delimited	xii
B. The Method of Study	xii
C. The Sources of Study	xiii
I. A SURVEY OF SPANISH HISTORY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY . .	1
A. The Introduction	1
B. The Political Developments in Spain from 1901 to 1951	2
1. The Reign of Alfonso XIII	2
2. The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera	4
3. Emergency Cabinets Before the Republic of 1931.	6
4. The Republic of 1931	7
a. The "Left" Rule: Democracy Born	7
1) Determining issues in the Destiny of the Republic	7
2) The Ancient Struggle Between Tradition and Progress	8
3) Initial Failures of the Republic of 1931	9
4) Gil Robles: The Fact; Salvador de Madariaga: The Opinion	10
b. The "Right" Rule: Enemy of the Republic.	12
1) First Acts of the Right Party	12
2) The Uprising in October	13
3) Demagoguery and Fall of the Right Party.	14
c. The People's Front: The Will of the People	15
1) Democracy Leads to Communism: The Accusation	15
2) Dismissal of Alcalá-Zamora	16
3) Fascist Actions Against the Republic.	16
4) The Civil War: Democracy Slain	18
5. The Fascist State and General Franco	19
C. The Economic and Social Distress of Spain from 1901 to 1951	20
1. An Eloquent Description	20
2. Conditions Under the Monarch Alfonso XIII and the Dictatorship	21

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May 22, 1952

Chapter	Page
3. Conditions Under the Republic	22
4. Conditions During the Civil War	24
5. Conditions Under General Franco	24
D. The Roman Catholic Church in Spain	26
1. A Rich Church Amid National Poverty	26
2. A Money-Making Church	26
3. The Church's Dominance Over Education	27
4. The Spanish State: Tool of the Church	29
5. The Republic, the Civil War, and the Church	30
6. Philosophic Reflections on the Results of Roman Catholicism	31
E. The Summary	32
II. THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN SPAIN	33
A. The Introduction	33
B. The Roman Catholic Attitude Toward Religious Freedom	34
1. The Historic Position of Spain on Religious Liberty	34
2. Religious Liberty in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Spain	35
a. Religious Liberty in the Reign of Alfonso XIII	36
b. The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera	41
c. The Republic of 1931	42
d. The Advent of Franco Spain from 1939-1951.	42
3. Religious Liberty as Viewed by Selected Spanish Prelates	44
a. From Mgr. Rigoberto Domenech y Valls, Archbishop of Saragossa	45
b. From S.E.R. Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Seville	45
c. From Father F. Cavalli	46
d. Serious Roman Catholic Contradictions	47
C. The Republic of 1931 and Religious Freedom	48
1. Two Questions Regarding Religious Liberty	48
2. Hostility Between the Republic and the Roman Catholic Church	49
3. The Religious Concept of the Republic	49
a. The Law of Confessions and Religious Congregations	50
b. The Constitution of 1931 and Religious Liberty	51
c. The Effects Upon the Roman Catholic Church	51
4. The Roman Catholic Charge Against the Republic.	52
5. Franco's Bloody Sword: the Pope's Peace	53

Chapter	Page
D. The Spanish Intellectuals; Champions of Freedom. . .	54
1. Origins of the Spanish Intellectuals: The Radicals of 1868	54
a. The Work of Regeneration	54
b. Julian Sanz del Río	55
1) The Philosophic Circle	55
2) The Father of the Generation of 1898.	56
3) The Influence of Krause on Sanz del Río	57
c. The Effect of Krausism in Spain	58
2. A Brief Sketch of the Work of the Generation of 1898	59
a. A Host of Intellectuals	59
b. Joaquín Costa	60
c. Nicolás Salmerón	61
d. Manuel Gossio	62
3. Giner de los Ríos	62
4. Don Miguel de Unamuno	66
E. The Protestants in Spain and Religious Liberty . . .	70
1. The Message of 1910	70
2. The Manifesto of the Spanish Protestant Students	71
3. The Leaven of Protestant Godliness	72
4. The Spanish Protestant Appeal of 1946	73
5. President Truman on Religious Liberty in Spain. . .	73
F. The Summary	74
III. THE PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN SPAIN	78
A. The Introduction	78
B. Immediate Motives for the Persecution of Protestants . .	79
C. The Overt Persecution of Protestants	81
1. Persecution Under Alfonso XIII	81
a. The Early Period as Witnessed by Manuel Andujar	81
b. The Period of 1912-1916 as Witnessed by Alexander Steward	89
c. The Later Period Under Alfonso XIII	92
2. Persecution Under Dictator Primo de Rivera	93
3. Roman Catholic Threats Under a Free Republic.	96
4. The New Inquisition Under General Franco	99
a. Franco's False Pretenses	101
b. The Situation as Witnessed by Björn Hallström	103
c. The Observations of John A. Mackay, 1951.	108
d. The Observation of Dr. Zacarías Carles and Other Evidence	110

Chapter	Page
D. The Literary Attack Upon the Protestants	115
1. The Book of Remigio de Papiol in Spain, 1923 . .	115
2. The Book of Richard Patten in the United States, 1951	118
E. The Summary	132
IV. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SELECTED PROTESTANT HEROES IN SPAIN	135
A. The Introduction	135
B. Foreign Protestant Heroes in Spain	136
1. The Reverend Percy Bufford	136
2. Pastor Albert Cadier	139
3. Lydia Wirtz	140
C. Native Protestant Heroes in Spain	143
1. Bishop Juan Bautista Cabrera	143
2. Pastor Francisco Albricias	146
3. Pastor Salvador Ramirez	150
4. Dr. Zacarias P. Carles	152
D. The Summary	155
V. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT IN SPAIN . . .	158
A. The Introduction	158
B. A Survey of the Concerted Action of Protestant Bodies in Spain	159
1. The Entrance of Foreign Protestant Faiths into Spain	159
a. The Second Reform Movement in Spain: 19th and 20th Centuries	159
b. Foreign Committees, Missions, and Societies in Spain	160
c. The Evangelical Alliance	165
d. The Entrance of Foreign Church Groups . . .	165
1) The Methodist Church	165
2) The Baptist Church	166
3) The Brethren	170
2. The Rise and Growth of the Indigenous Protestant Church in Spain	173
a. The Spanish Protestant Ideal: Unity	173
1) The First Ecumenical Reunion of Spanish Protestantism in 1868	173
2) The Second Ecumenical Reunion of Spanish Protestantism in 1869	174
3) The Third Ecumenical Assembly in 1872.	175
4) The Unwanted Schism of 1884	177
5) Regrouping of the Iglesia Cristiana de Espana in 1886	178
6) The Fourth Ecumenical Meeting of 1923.	179
7) Evaluation of the Spirit of Spanish Protestantism	180

Chapter	Page
b. A Brief Description of the Spanish Evangelical Church	180
c. Spanish Evangelical Organizations	181
1) The Conference of Evangelical Workers.	181
2) The Youth Christian Union	183
3) The Societies of Christian Effort	183
C. The Role of the Protestant Press	184
D. Protestant Education in Spain	187
1. The Sunday School	187
2. Education Centers	188
a. The "Religious Center"	188
b. Union Theological Seminary	188
c. The Baptist Theological Institute	189
d. Spanish Gospel Mission	189
E. The Physical Ministry in Spain	189
1. The Role of Medicine	189
a. The First Evangelical Hospital in Madrid, 1876	189
b. The Catalan Evangelical Infirmary	190
c. The Need for Medical Centers	191
2. The Agricultural Problem in Spain	192
F. Protestant Advancement and Spain's Provincialism: A Formula for Action	194
1. How Can Protestantism Best Advance in Spain?	194
2. Spanish Provincialism and the Protestant Church.	195
3. A Formula for Protestantism in Spain	200
G. Summary	201
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	203
A. Restatement of Purpose	203
B. The Summary	203
C. Evaluation	207
LIST OF TABLES	209
Summary of Main Facts	209
List of Churches and Societies in Spain	210
Evangelical Occupation by Regions	211
Evangelical Occupation by Provinces	212
Evangelical Occupation - Detailed Statement	213
The Evangelical Church by Groups	217
The Evangelical Church by Groups and Regions	218
The Evangelical Church by Groups and Provinces	218
Evangelical Education by Groups	219
Evangelical Missions by Regions	219
The Spanish Evangelical Church Classified Under Cooperating Groups	219

Chapter	Page
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND CHARTS	220
A Scene in Castile	221
Soldier Indalecio Sánchez	222
Destruction of a Protestant Church in Madrid	223
Destruction Inside Chapel at Ripoll Street, Barcelona.	224
Defacing of the Facade of the Chapel of Figueras	225
A Spanish Road with a typical Bullock-cart	226
A Map Showing the Evangelical Churches	227
A Map Showing Distribution of Population	228
A Map Showing Distribution of Missions	229
A Chart Showing Proportion of Foreign and Native Workers	230
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 231
 APPENDIX	 234
Appendix A. Letter to Remigio de Papiol	235
Appendix B. Letter from the Spanish Refugee Appeal	236
Appendix C. Letter from Dr. Zacarías P. Carles	237

INTRODUCTION

PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject

1. The Subject Stated and Explained.

If this study shall succeed in presenting the naked facts of the Protestant movement in modern Spain today without constraining the reader to feel the impact of the Iberian soul, it shall have truly failed. For in reality the purpose is not merely plunging into a cold observation of events, indicating thereby that Protestantism exists in a strata removed from the movements of Iberian life, but rather, it must be seen that the Protestant movement is a singularly Iberian problem, at least for the Spaniard. To know Jeremiah one must become a Jeremiah, to know Christ one must become a Christian, and to know the Protestant movement in Spain one must become a Spaniard. Dr. John Mackay says:

Were we to name a figure of history who has incarnated more perfectly than any other all the greatness and weakness of the Iberian race during its greatest age, we would say Ignatius Loyola. Loyola the Basque, son of the most primitive stock on the Peninsula, who imbibed after his conversion the religious spirit of Old Castile, has been well described as "a soul Iberian by nature"... Two things in Loyola are prophetic of Spain's future, both as a political and religious power. One was said about him, "He had the delirium of greatness." The other was said by him, as a reference to the kind of reformation which he felt was needed, "Let us be like a dead body, which of itself is incapable of movement, or like a blind man's staff."

A delirious thirst for power and blind unstudied loyalty: these are the keynotes of Spanish history, especially of Spanish religious history, both in the old world and in the new. ¹

The purpose is therefore, twofold: on the one hand to observe the Protestant movement in twentieth century Spain within the orbit of the life and culture of the Iberian Peninsula, and on the other, as the consequence of the first, to impel the reader to move within the atmosphere of the Castilian spirit as the only true means of understanding the evangelical mission.

2. The Subject Justified.

The justification for producing this work is to champion a cause, a Christian cause: the belief that only the Christ of Bethlehem is the true hope and remedy for Spain that has bled for generations. Part of a statement issued by Protestant Spanish students indicates this truth:

Throughout Spain there is a spirit of hatred and revenge. Innocent people who have been imprisoned for two or three years have been temporarily freed then imprisoned again. Executions have been resumed; it is exactly like the first few months after the Civil War. ²

Yet, in the word of one of America's most prodigious thinkers on Spain, it must be said that "their situation at the moment recalls the early vision of the Prophet of Anathoth, when he saw in the Judean wilderness an almond spray in bloom and in the immediate neighbourhood a seething cauldron." ³ This spray comes forth from "the

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1. John Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1933, pp. 21-22.
2. Björn Hallström, Secret Journey Through Spain, Lutterworth Press, London, 1948, p. 96.
3. John Mackay, op. cit., p. x.

grain of evangelistic Protestantism" which "has ever been the most powerful factor in bringing about freedom." ¹

3. The Subject Delimited.

The main object of this work is to deal with Protestantism in twentieth century Spain. Therefore, the historical limits of this study treats primarily within the above mentioned period. However, it will not be wise for obvious reasons to disconnect the work of this paper entirely from past historical periods. Excursions into the nineteenth century will be taken if it will further the purpose of this study.

B. The Method of Study

There is an observable pattern in the history of Spain. This fact is somewhat illustrated in both an Anglo-Saxon and a Spanish writer: Joseph Brandt and Salvador de Madariaga respectively. ¹ Because of the nature of the subject it would be fruitless to proceed along purely chronological lines as one would in an ordinary history book. The purpose here is to cull the most useful information pertinent to this thesis. This will be best attained by following the composite procedure of a historical-survey method. It is readily seen that by following this procedure the liberty of the method will provide a quick and sure way of setting down only the most relevant material on the subject, Protestantism in Spain in the Twentieth Century.

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1.Cf., Joseph Brandt, Toward the New Spain, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933 and Salvador de Madariaga, Spain, Creative Age Press, New York, 1943.

C. The Sources of Study

The reader will be interested in knowing that much of the material used in the writing of this thesis will be translated from the Spanish tongue into the English language for the first time by the writer himself. Surprisingly enough, there is quite an abundance of material in the Spanish language relevant to the problem of religious freedom, and therefore of the problem of the Protestant spirit. The most valuable Spanish writing in the production of this thesis, which the writer himself has rendered in the English language, was Historia de la Reforma en España, by Claudio Gutierrez Marín. Excerpts from the Spanish tome, translated into English by the writer, entitled El Protestantismo ante la Biblia, by Remigio de Papiol have been used in this thesis. Also, short excerpts were translated by the writer from the evangelical periodical printed in Madrid, Spain called Revista Cristiana. The writer has also translated, into English from the Spanish, portions of the book entitled Cosecha Española, by Wirtz-Pearce. This book is printed in England in the English tongue, under the title of Spanish Harvest, which the writer was not able to obtain. The writer used both an English and Spanish copy of Björn Hallström's book, Secret Journey Through Spain. Where the writer himself has made translations into English the footnote references appear always with the Spanish title, Viaje Secreto por España.

The most useful books in the English language have been that of Joseph Brandt, Toward the New Spain; Harry Gannes, Spain in Revolt;

Salvador de Madariaga, Spain; J.B. Trend, The Origins of Modern Spain;
García and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain; Manuel Andújar,
Spain of Today from Within; Alexander Steward, In Darkest Spain;
Ernest Trenchard, Sketches from Missionary Life in Spain.

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I
A SURVEY OF SPANISH HISTORY
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A. The Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be to give a summary view of certain aspects of the history of Spain in the twentieth century as a means of setting the stage for the discussion of the Protestant movement.

In treating the political aspect, special attention will be given to the Republic of 1931. However, the purpose of the presentation as a whole will be to convey the fact of the tremendous political turmoil which has swept over modern Spain. The dominant forces in the political arena were the reactionary Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the increasing mass of Spaniards who gave their allegiance to the republican sentiment on the other. The opposition of these forces will be traced from the beginning of Alfonso's reign in 1901 up to the triumph of General Franco in 1939.

Consequent to the political scene will be treated the economic and social distress of Spain from 1901 to 1951. This treatment will follow chronological order from the time of Alfonso XIII in 1901 to General Franco's regime to this date.

Finally, the position of the Roman Catholic Church in view of the political and social-economic scene will be considered.

How secure was the Church of Rome in Spain? With what political ideals did she align herself? Was the care and cultivation of the Spanish 'genius' her main interest, or her own position? These questions will be considered in this chapter.

B. The Political Developments in Spain from 1901 to 1951.

1. The Reign of Alfonso XIII.

There is a well known story which circulates in Spain, which serves to prove a point. It says that when Ferdinand III died having many virtues he escaped purgatory and was granted the special privilege of talking with Saint Mary. Eleanor Elsner writes:

Our Lady permitted him to ask any request for his beloved country and assured him that whatever he asked for Spain should be granted.

The King asked for corn, wine, and oil, and all were given; then for brave men, beautiful women, sunny skies; again all were bestowed. Emboldened by success, he appealed for saintly relics, wine, garlic, and bulls; and once more his requests were granted. Last of all, the monarch begged for a good Government. But here the Virgin protested. "Nay, nay, she said, "that can never be granted, for if it were, not an angel would remain a day longer in heaven. 1

There is one word to describe Alfonso's rule, as well as most of the Spanish governments: corruption. Better would it have been for Ferdinand III to ask for good government first, and all the other things would have been added to it. Gannes writes:

Don Leopoldo Romeo, editor of *Correspondencia de España*, a personal and political friend of King Alfonso and a fervent monarchist, in an open letter to the monarch, wrote on October 28, 1917:

"The army lacks everything that characterizes a modern army; the navy is another faction anchored to the ports; justice is

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1. Eleanor Elsner, Spanish Sunshine, Century Co., New York, 1925, p. 263.

nothing more than groups of favourites assembled in halls by the will of the proctor; the clergy is a corporation governed by those who are anointed with the favour of some personage capable of making canons out of curates, and bishops out of canons; the bureaucracy is a nursery for the abuse of power; the estimates have become transformed into a horn of plenty which is drained in whatever direction it may please the cacique (local boss); parliament is a meeting-place where time is wasted. Spain is nothing but the fief of a monarchist caucus which begins its actions by tolerating bread light in weight and ends with the deification of the idiots." ¹

As violent a charge as this was against the government, and indirectly against the King, it was calm compared with the inditement of the people of Spain. King Alfonso XIII was sensitive to the criticism that was being heaped upon him. He "played for the high stakes of the affection of the Spanish people with admirable courage and the greatest shrewdness and tenacity, in the face of almost certain defeat." ² But the nation would not have him. Brandt writes:

Your Majesty ever deceives, is an invertebrate perjurer, and by living deceiving all will end by being deceived yourself. Your mental faculties being few and base, large and extensive are your audacities. You have made the throne an agency of commerce, using your high magistracy to accumulate millions." Thus wrote the trenchant Gonzalo de Reparaz. "Alfonso XIII is a worthy descendant of Ferdinand VII. Nothing he touches escapes contamination. He is like the proverbial pitch that clings and defiles," was the bitter judgment of Blasco Ibañez. "The monarchy of Sagunto has not known how to convert itself into a nationalizing institution.... but has been an association of particular groups who live, parasitically, upon the Spanish organism, using the public power to defend the partial interests they represent," declared the intellectuals Dr. Gregorio Marañón, Pérez de Ayala, and José Ortega Gasset in a manifesto to the nation. ³

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1. Gannes, Spain In Revolt, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1936, p. 21.
2. Brandt, op. cit., p. 370.
3. Ibid., p. 370-371.

2. The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera from 1923 to 1930.

The Spanish Monarchy faced fierce national indignation as a result of the military tragedy at Anual, in which the lives of over ten thousand soldiers were lost. As a result "a dictatorship was set up as a buffer between popular indignation and King Alfonso's responsibility." ¹ But the Dictatorship "merely postponed the evil day of reckoning. The strength of that pent-up feeling was seen quickly when the censorship of the press was lifted. So violent was the outburst that censorship was restored." ² There is no doubt that King Alfonso was involved with the usurpation of Rivera's Military Directorate. It is for this reason that the Spanish people blamed the King, and not the Dictator, when the latter had to capitulate. Therefore, both the constitutional monarchy and the Dictatorship may be responsible for the characteristic corruption they perpetrated. The classic definition of corruption given by a Spaniard is found in the following words: "The Old Regime was politically corrupt, i.e. State power was used by parties for political party aims." ³ It may be well to consider and to examine what was the root cause for the fall of the Military Directorate, and to see that in essence the characteristics that led to its failure was in effect the characteristics of the Monarchy under Alfonso XIII. It is not untimely either to suggest that the knowledge produced in this consideration is a key by which to unlock the door of mystery to Spanish politics. (It is in essence prophetic, and does not need to be

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 23.
2. Brandt, op. cit., p. 371.
3. Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 267-278.

fatal.) Here is the opinion of a celebrated Iberian writer:

It is evident, therefore, that, far from being a new factor in the life of Spain, the dictatorship represented the enthronement of the very forces which prevented a better progress under the regime which it came to displace. Though inefficient, corrupt, slow, and weak, the old political system was the only constructive, statesmanlike, liberal and objective factor in the country struggling against the two forces - militarism and clericalism - which, with it, took complete possession of the field. The besetting sin of the dictatorship was that it glorified all that stands in the way of a better civilization for Spain. What is the essence of the Spanish trouble? It is the fanatical love of the Spaniard for liberty. But what is the method which the dictatorship brought to bear on this evil of the body politic? Dictatorship, i.e. the unrestricted use of liberty on the part of the Government. There is a story that one day, at the Cabinet Council, the youthful finance minister, Señor Calvo Sotelo, drew the dictator's attention to the fact that a certain appointment which he wanted to make was contrary to the provincial and municipal statute which he, the finance minister, had drawn up a few months earlier and published in two imposing volumes. The prime minister turned to him and said: 'Now, young man, do you think that I have tossed the Constitution in the air in order to bother about your two nice little pamphlets?' ¹

If it is true that twenty-two million Spaniards were receiving a lesson on how to be an anarchist, it certainly was not the first one. Already in the days of the Cid a Spanish Count had said to the Queen, "I wish there were many kings, because then I should be one of them." ²

It is not strange then that with the rise of the Republican element in Spain in 1931 that historians speak of the downfall of the Monarchy of Alfonso XIII and not of the Dictatorship. On January 28th, 1930, Alfonso dismissed General Rivera, and gave the premiership to General Berenguer with a civilian Cabinet. "King Alfonso

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 270-271.
2. Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition in Spain, The Macmillan Co., London, 1906, vol. I, p. 8.

remained unscreened and exposed to public opinion as the responsible leader of political events over which the nation as a whole was critical and even resentful." ¹

3. Emergency Cabinets Before the Republic of 1931.

General Berenguer sought to protect the King from devastating criticism. His tactic of playing for time was soon frustrated, for not only did the anti-monarchical party withstand him, but the royalist party indicated their resentment of the King's choice too. General Berenguer resigned. Meanwhile, a group of Liberal leaders, which had formed the Central Committee, were resting in prison as a result of Berenguer's Cabinet. They were in a sense expressly anti-monarchical. Yet, the world was to see the strange spectacle of a Monarch seeking a Cabinet which was in prison. The Central Revolutionary Committee refused the King's ship of state. The ship was sinking, so in desperation the king chose an admiral: Admiral Aznar. But this admiral went down with the King's ship. A spirit of revolution swept the country. The Liberal parties which had been gagged by the King became bold, for they knew that public opinion was with them, and three intellectual leaders, Don José Ortega y Gasset, Don Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and Don Gregorio Marañón formed the "Group in the Service of the Republic." This body forced the issue of election which was proposed by Admiral Aznar's Cabinet, and the consequence was that on April 14, 1931, the principal cities of Spain proclaimed allegiance to the Republican regime. "On hearing this

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., p. 290.

news, the King abdicated and left by road for Cartegena, where at dawn he sailed away from the country he was never to see again." ¹

4. The Republic of 1931.

a. The "Left" Rule: Democracy Born.

1) Determining Issues in the Destiny of the Republic.

If it was corruption that had characterized the first thirty years of Spanish politics under the Monarchy in the twentieth century, what was to characterize the Republic of Spain? The general term is chaos, but for purposes of clarity modification is necessary. The Republic of Spain, as the expression of the sentiments of the proletariat, lacked incisiveness. As a consequence, internal enemies of the Republic used intrigue, and betrayed the government in order to bring about its collapse. Who were these enemies?

The life of the Republic of Spain from 1931 to 1936 may be viewed in terms of its three distinct phases: 1) under the control of the Left; 2) under the control of the Right, from December 1933 to February 1936; 3) under the control of the Left, from February 1936 to July 1936. The terrible Civil War began in July 1936 and lasted until March 1939.

The terms, Left, Center, and Right are used of political parties to distinguish the political ideal for which they stood. Unfortunately each of these political categories included a whole variety of deviations. This will be seen later on. For now it is enough

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., p. 292.

to point out that the Left represented all the liberal and democratic parties. They believed in a complete break with the Monarchy and the Church and in radical social reforms. The Center had a democratic leaning, but for the most part was reactionary in spirit, although it wished to abolish the Monarchy without abolishing the Church. The Right faction was fascist. Its sentiments were those of the Monarchy and of the Church, although it came in the form of a dictatorship. It was completely reactionary in spirit. It did not sympathize with the democratic desires of the people.

It is necessary to understand, when speaking of 'radical social reform', that it must be viewed in terms of the social conditions of the Castilian nation. The enlightened Anglo-Saxon recoils at the terms with fantastic visions of Communistic hordes turning the world up-side-down. This was never the Iberian reaction. For him it represents the release from feudalism, from the iron grasp of the grandee landlord, the State, and the Church. What has been stated in the past about the social conditions of Spain is enough enlightenment for the present consideration.

2) The Ancient Struggle Between Tradition and Progress.

In actuality, the struggle of the Republic of Spain was an ancient struggle. It symbolizes the two dominant factors of Iberian life: the progressive and the reactionary. In Spain it has always been true that these two dominant forces met each other in mortal struggle only when the hope of a Republican form of government appeared on the horizon. In reality the progressive force was always alive

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in the aspirations of the peasants and the intellectuals, whereas the reactionary forces have been supported vehemently by the ecclesiasticals and the aristocracy. Gannes says:

When the Republic was proclaimed, the vested interests found themselves in a sad state of disorganization and disrepute. The monarchy had become so rotten that it almost fell off its own weight, without violence. La Voz boasted at the time: "The new regime came into the world immaculate, without a drop of blood." The army was shaken. Primo de Rivera and Berenguer, both top-notch generals, had demonstrated their inability to hold off the inevitable. The Church, the landowners, and the big capitalists found themselves at a loss. ¹

3) Initial Failures of the Republic of 1931.

Unfortunately, the Republic of Spain with its wonderful constitution and plans of social reform failed to take advantage of its unique beginning. "The republican government in power was more afraid of really crushing reaction than was the reaction of the Republic." ² Gannes writes:

Freedom of speech under the new Constitution meant freedom for the monarchists and the grandes and the high churchmen to be-foul the Republic with all kinds of abuse. The old powers were given more freedom of expression and assembly than the Communists and anarchists. There were monarchist, clerical, and grandee representatives in the Cortes itself. ³

Actually the proposed reforms only enraged the reactionaries, and spurred them on to regroup their strength. An excellent example is the case of the army. A tremendous number of officers were retired from their position, but on full pay. Yet on their lips were vows of vengeance. Immediately those that remained formed a tighter circle of cooperation within the traditional officer's junta.

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 36.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 36-37.

The reactionary forces had two methods of coping with the Republic: one was through the military junta, which ultimately resolved in open conflict, and the other was by political maneuvers. The latter represented by two parties, the allegedly non-political Acción Católica (Catholic Action), and by far the chief weapon against the Republic, the C.E.D.A. (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right Parties). The former party was pledged to defend the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

4) Gil Robles: The Fact; Salvador de Madariaga: The Opinion.

The man who formed the C.E.D.A. was Gil Robles. Gannes writes:

Through training and inclination, he was an ideal spokesman and defender of the Church. Through a fortunate marriage with one of the daughters of the Count de Revillagido, one of the three greatest landowners in the country, he was united with the grandes. He was an ideal man to give fascism a Spanish habitat.

His program was anti-republican from end to end. He opposed separation of Church and State, the rupture with the Vatican, the confiscation of the property of the Church orders, lay education, divorce, land reform, and autonomy for Catalonia. El Debate, (a newspaper) was his personal organ. Later, through José Calvo Sotelo, he obtained a link with the monarchists; when he became Minister of War in 1935, he brought General Francisco Franco in as chief of staff and so made connections with the Spanish Military Union, which had taken the place of the old officers' junta. ¹

It would indeed be unfair to state that all Spaniards felt that the left faction was seeking the good of Spain, or even that all Spaniards felt that Gil Robles was a sinister fascist. One of these men is Salvador de Madariaga, an evidently enlightened and talented Iberian. He proposes that the true Spain was stabbed on two sides, the left and the right, and left to bleed to death. He maintains that if the Center had been given a free hand Spain, would

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1. Gannes, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

have steered out of her troubles without Civil War. However, Salvador de Madariaga, with his wonderful ability to philosophize and to generalize, aptly overlooks significant details. He fails to mention that Lerroux, the Center representative was in reality a cohort of Gil Robles. He fails to mention that Gil Robles was intimately devoted both to the interests of the Church and of the aristocracy. He merely reduces the entire travail of the Republic of Spain to the subjective struggle of the Iberian who is trying to realize himself between the flux of the universal and the self:

The Spaniard, through wealth of self and poverty of social self, tends to a desartic, sandy nihilism which may be passive, and then it manifests itself in destruction. The recurrent civil wars of Spain may turn out to be politically rationalized outbursts of a pristine Spanish spirit of destruction, the volcanic protest of the self against the social self and all its creations. ¹

Yes, Don Salvador, but who made the Spaniard that way? Is that all that is to be said, Don Salvador? What about the cries for bread, for justice, for freedom?

The undeniable truth that shines as the sun is that the Right and the Center, represented by Robles and Lerroux respectively, were representatives of the Church, of the army, and of the landed aristocracy. They had but one aim in mind in relation to the democratic Republic, to sabotage it. Gannes writes:

Gil Robles and Lerroux at first worked together on a strictly oppositional basis. Their joint strategy was to delay and sabotage the work of the Cortes to the utmost. Gil Robles's aim was to embarrass and ultimately to overthrow the Republic; Lerroux's game was to keep the Republic safely conservative, to protect the landlords and the prerogatives of the Church. Together they acted, by intricate parliamentary manoeuvres to prevent bills from coming up on the floor of the Cortes. Once on the floor, progressive

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 452-453.

measures would be endlessly delayed. In some cases parliamentary sabotage was enough to kill bills or delay them for months. Bills passed were hindered in their execution. All of this was predicated upon the hope and expectation - well founded- as it turned out, that the next national election, scheduled for the end of 1933 would throw power to the Rightists. ¹

As a result of this well planned campaign by the reactionaries, and the failure of the Republican government to enforce its constitutional enactments, popular feeling against the administration of the Left under Azaña's Cabinet became widespread. In the elections of November 1933, a telling blow was given to the Left faction and an overwhelming victory given to the Rightists. Lerroux, a Spaniard of remote French ancestry, replaced Azaña in the office of Premier. Gil Robles refused to enter the Cabinet, but he pledged his support. Gannes writes:

Both the results of the November elections and the choice of Lerroux as Prime Minister pleased the Vatican. El Debate, Gil Robles's own organ, had already declared: "The great victory of our candidates exceeds even our expectation," and it was able to add, echoing L'Observatore Romano, mouthpiece of the Vatican, that the Church now had the opportunity to live in the Spanish Republic with dignity, respected in its rights and the exercise of its divine mission." ²

b. The "Right" Rule: Enemy of the Republic.

1) First Acts of the Right Party.

The new government sought to negate all of the earlier enactments of the Liberal Left. However, in the process of reverting to reactionary policies, the Lerroux-Robles coalition began to disagree as to how far their retrogressive acts should go. Alcalá-Zamora, first President under the Azaña Cabinet and now under the Lerroux Cabinet, refused to sign a bill pardoning extreme reactionary foes of

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 48.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

the Republic in prison. The Lerroux Cabinet resigned. Ricardo Samper was then called to form a Cabinet, which at first was supported by Robles, but Samper did not prove pliable. As a result Gil Robles made a pronouncement against the Samper Cabinet. The act was done also in the face of popular sentiment swinging back toward the Left. Gil Robles wanted to move faster toward fascism. He did it "with the full realization that it would lead to civil war."¹ The people of Spain accepted the challenge on the streets.

2) The Uprising in October

Gil Robles's pronouncement resulted in what is called the "Uprising in October". It was "the workers' heroic answer to the initial attempt to inaugurate a fascist dictatorship."² The C.E.D.A. headed this fascist attempt. The peasants tried to counter both by armed revolt, and by trying to establish a progressive government. Gannes writes:

Long after the event Gil Robles, in reply to accusations that he had purposefully provoked the October uprising, retorted: "True, I knew that if the representatives of my party joined the government, it would lead to civil war. But let us not be naive. To wait two or three months would have meant suicide. Spain would have become one vast Asturias and we should have had soviets in Spain today."³

The main fighting took place in the province of Asturias, the locality of a people long renowned for their bravery. The new Lerroux-Robles government was even forced to call the Spanish Foreign Legion and Riff troops. "They carried out their tasks with amazing efficiency and without the slightest regard for their own lives,"⁴

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 54.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
4. Ibid., p. 61.

Gannes says of the Asturians. The peasants came running to the hospital begging to be patched up quickly, only to go back to the fighting immediately. Many of the cases should have been in bed. Unfortunately, the Asturian proletariat was defeated. "Hundreds were massed against walls, men, women, and children, and mowed down with machine guns. The bodies of the dead and wounded were piled up and burned together." ¹ The main city of the Asturians, Oviedo was bombed to the ground. In spite of the utter defeat of the peasants, the striking phenomena was that there was no spirit of defeat among them.

Since the resistance had come so strongly from the Asturias, the Lerroux-Robles government practically instituted a form of inquisition. The cruelties to which they were subjected are almost too horrible to describe. There were 60,000 to 80,000 prisoners, 5,000 dead, and 10,000 wounded. It was not too long before the fascist and the reactionary groups began to argue about how far they should go in their terror. The C.E.D.A. insisted on intensifying the horror. The Radicals or reactionary faction feared the people.

3) Demagogy and Fall of the Right Party.

Meanwhile, the Right-Center government had been quite busy in the Cortes. "Agrarian laws favouring the wealthy landlords, railroaded through the Cortes." ² Gannes writes:

(The agrarian law) was demagogically held up as a boon to the peasants. They were to get the land, and the bereft landlords a guarantee of adequate compensation. The injured landlords were to be paid out of a sinking fund with assurance to four per cent interest

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¹ Gannes, op. cit., p. 62.

² Ibid., p. 76.

until final settlement was made. So favourable was this scheme for the landlords that one member of the Cortes remarked: "Land-owners will now line up in long queues to have their estates expropriated." ¹

The result of this betrayal of the Spanish people on the part of the government was that the "national economy was virtually ruined by the parties of the Right." ²

The downfall of the second phase of the Republic under the control of the Right was issued in by sharp differences that arose between Gil Robles, who thought the time had come for the full transformation into a fascist dictatorship, and the President Alcalá-Zamora, who disagreed with him. The result was that the Cortes were dissolved, and a date for a new election was set for February 1936. One issue was at stake for the entire country: the Republic vs. a fascist state.

c. The People's Front: The Will of the Spanish People.

1) Democracy Leads to Communism: The Accusation.

It was the impact of this issue that caused all the important parties, which represented stringent social reform, to unite in one large alliance. It was called the People's Front. Left parties of diverse views relinquished their outstanding disagreements in order to form a formidable body against the threat of fascism. The fascist parties and fellow-travelers were well organized now for a long struggle. The result was that on February 16, 1936 every hope of the fascists was destroyed. An enormous victory went to the Peo-

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 76.

2. Ibid., p. 76.

ple's Front, the new representative of the Republic of Spain. Although this election was indeed the will of the Spanish people, the fascists protested bitterly. Gil Robles's paper cried out: "The issue was one of revolution against law and order, respect for religion, property, the family, and national unity, with socialism the real enemy." ¹ General José Calvo Sotelo, an extreme reactionary and monarchist put the issue more bluntly: "Democracy in Spain will always lead inevitably to Communism." ² He worked, with Gil Robles, toward one end, to destroy democracy.

2) Dismissal of President Alcalá-Zamora.

The People's Front immediately restated the intentions of the first premiership under Azaña in 1931. Aside from this it faced another serious question: what to do with Alcalá-Zamora, who had been President through the two phases of the Republic. He had clearly collaborated with the Right faction, and had done nothing concrete to stop the atrocities in Asturias in 1934. The new Cortes looked upon him, in fact, as the chief accomplice of the assassins of the Asturian workers. The vote of the Cortes was 238 ayes, and 5 noes. Alcalá-Zamora was dismissed from the Presidency. Diego Martínez Barrios automatically became the next President only to be replaced by Manuel Azaña, the choice of the people.

3) Fascist Actions Against the Republic.

Meanwhile the fascists were planning sabotage. In April

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 90.
2. Ibid., p. 90.

Gil Robles and Calvo Sotelo warned Azaña that the country must be saved from Bolshevism. They warned that no law and order would now exist in Spain. Azaña's answer to the Right shows how clearly he understood the situation. Gannes writes:

There is no danger of waking up one morning and finding Communism ruling our country. There is a great need for social justice in Spain, and my purpose is to prevent the accumulation of great wealth by a few individuals while many suffer from hunger and poverty. ¹

What truly disturbed the fascists was that the Spanish workers "were forcing rapid improvements of their living conditions, and the peasants were directly striving to settle the land question." ²

Gannes writes:

Despite so overwhelming a victory of the people, despite the toilers' determination to win economically what they had ensured politically, the fascists showed a surprising provocative boldness... The wealthy classes resorted to probably the most concerted economic sabotage that any country ever witnessed. Capital was exported by the hundred of millions of pesetas. To force the peseta down on the world exchange, heavy withdrawals were made from banks, gold was shipped out of the country, and other usual methods of manipulating the currency were used. Business was deliberately slowed up. Even big landowners threatened sabotage by refusing to cultivate huge tracts. They declared that it would not be profitable to plant with farm wages rising and peasants agitation for land-distribution threatening their ownership of the crop. ³

It was not long before rumours of a military coup began to circulate with increasing frequency. The President and the Prime Minister did not act in accord with the threat. Instead, Spanish officers were exiled to Morocco, a fascist recruiting center, at higher pay. Gil Robles, in the meantime, was making visits to France to see Juan March, the financier of the fascists and also Alfonso XIII.

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 98.
3. Ibid., p. 97.

Not long before his death, Calvo Sotelo declared that "fascism would be the midwife of the monarchy in Spain."¹ Gannes writes:

José Díaz, Communist Party secretary, in a speech at Cartagena on April 9, declared: "Now you see why the C.E.D.A. makes the gesture of retiring from Parliament. Do you know why? Because it is to facilitate its conspiracy with the barracks, where you will find many enemies of the Republic; because it conspires with the officials of the Civil Guard; because it conspires in the casinos and in the boudoirs of the señoritas. In all of those places you will find many weapons. It will be necessary to eliminate them and to act before it is too late!"²

Azaña warned the Rightists that their provocations were too extreme, and that in the future the Republic would be guided by the instinct of self-preservation. However, the fascists and the reactionaries had planned too well, and were very prepared to begin the Civil War even by April 1936. On July 12 two assassinations occurred that precipitated the Civil War. Lieutenant Castillo, a militant anti-fascist, and Sotelo, a staunch fascist were both murdered on the very same day. The Republic did not grasp that the hour of danger had struck and on July 17 the Civil War started in earnest with the uprisings in Morocco.

4) The Civil War: Democracy Slain.

The Civil War represents the limits to which the reactionary forces were willing to go in order to achieve their designs on Spain. While they were able to get help from the Church, from the rich landowners, and the two fascist nations, Italy and Germany, the Republic of Spain had to struggle on not only with little material at their disposal, but with the fatal indifference of England, France

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 100.
2. Ibid., p. 100.

and the United States. Their policy of neutrality was in actuality the condoning of the murder of the democratic will of the people of Spain. It is surprising that the Republic was able to fight so long. It is no surprise that the Spanish fascists won.

5. The Fascist State and General Franco.

But now that Franco is in power, has Spain indeed been saved? In an interview with Jay Allen of the Chicago Daily Tribune, published July 27, 1936, Franco was asked, "What is your program?" The General replied, "All possible reforms within the capacity of the nation's economy. We balk at nothing that the country's economy can stand." ¹ Franco went on to assure Mr. Allen that within twenty-five years there would be in Spain a break-up of land with "the creation of a bourgeois peasantry." ²

Franco not only made promises to rectify the agrarian problem, but also many other problems. Hitler and Mussolini never realized on the offers Franco made to them for their support! For that matter, neither was the British ministry to see the so-called religious toleration that Franco had promised to be a part of his policy. Here is the news that comes from Franco Spain! "There has been much talk about the iron curtain in the east, but little about the iron curtain in the south." ³ Today along the extreme ranges of the Pyrenees Franco guards Spain not so much from smuggling but to keep his

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 129.
3. Björn Hallström, op. cit., p. 7.

nation isolated from free speech and enlightenment. There is not so much worry about contraband, which help food rations, as about "dangerous" writings! "These include the Bible and other literature which might teach the people to think for themselves."¹ This same author states that while the Bible is forbidden in Spain, the sale and the reading of the Koran is encouraged in Spanish Morocco.

The Spanish Protestant students have well summed up the character of the Fascist Regime in Spain as it is represented in Franco: "Franco is the symbol of the arbitrary, the unjust and the dishonest."²

C. The Economic and Social Distress of Spain from 1901 to 1951

1. An Eloquent Description.

There is one word to describe the economic conditions of Spain in the twentieth century, and in a sense also, the social conditions: misery. Spain, never coming out of the realm of misery in the twentieth century, experienced it in varying degrees as time went on; the tragedy being that the national distress has become more intense in present times.

No one has more eloquently delineated the national condition of Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century than the illustrious Spanish writer Eusibio Blasco, as found in the "El Liberal" of Sevilla. Gutierrez Marín writes:

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1. Björn Hallström, op. cit., p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 96.

Never before have we been so well prepared to celebrate this day (the author is referring to the traditional "Ash Wednesday"). All is reduced to ashes, authority, patriotism, culture, art, in a word, all that represents the strength of a national community. We remember that we have come out of the dust, and that to dust we shall return. We know this very well. There are eleven million Spaniards that do not know how to read nor to write, 1,790 convents, 300 bull rings, 300,000 cabarets, a national monomania of battles and combatants, a fistful in every pocket-book, multitudes of hungering souls crying for bread --- ashes, ashes on every side, each thing is reduced to ashes. ¹

This picture, somber and turbulent, seems to be torn from Goya's paintings. It is adjusted to the truth and yet does not begin to tell the whole story of the enormous misery which at the beginning of the century was being spread throughout Spain. ² The misfortune of the Spaniards was further aggravated by a tragic pattern all its own: champions of social reform seemed to be systematically put out of the way by assassination. ³ This fate seemed to be the special lot of Roman anticlericals. ⁴

2. Conditions Under the Monarch, Alfonso XIII, and the Dictatorship.

The Constitutional Monarchy under the reign of Alfonso XIII labored constantly under the weight of social dissatisfaction and bursts of indignation over the economic conditions. "By 1909 the working class had begun to take a leading -- even the leading -- role in the struggle against the monarchy." ⁵ Although the government was even ruthless at times in suppressing the unrest of the people, "Strikes nevertheless, continued to increase. In March 1916 the General Worker's

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1. Claudio Gutierrez Marín, Historia de la Reforma en España, Casa Unida de Publicaciones, Mexico City, 1942, pp. 377-378.
2. Ibid., p. 378.
3. Ibid., p. 378.
4. Salvador de Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 224-225, 229.
5. Harry Gannes, op. cit., p. 21.

Union--- demanded that the government reduce the cost of living." 1

The coming of Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship type of government, which for all practical purposes may be placed under the reign of the King since he ultimately took the responsibility for its successes and failures, gave the mobility, the large landowners, and the Church dignitaries a sense of relief. They were soon to be disappointed. 2

Gannes says:

Financial difficulties, continuation of corruption, the accentuated backwardness of Spanish economy, lack of confidence, rising republican sentiment, made Spain an easier prey to the rising economic storm. Spain felt the devastating effect of the crisis of 1929 sooner than the United States, for example. The first political casualty was the fall of the dictatorship in January 1929. 3

In the fact of the calamitous fate of the Military Directorate, "King Alfonso XIII did everything possible to save his toppling crown, tried every political combination that could be used to maintain the monarchy." 4 The King was impotent. Gannes says:

The cost of living mounted. Primo de Rivera's efforts to satisfy the clergy and the military had increased expenditures, raised taxes and made deficits in the budget. The peseta continued to fall. 5

3. Conditions Under The Republic.

The economic problem of the Republic was no less grave because of popular republican sentiment. In fact, the Republican government came into power with apprehension realizing that Spain's economic distress was fraught with potential evil consequences.

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1. Harry Gannes, op. cit., p. 21.
2. Ibid., pp. 21-24.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. Ibid., p. 26.
5. Ibid., p. 26.

Brandt writes:

It was the intense feeling of the social obligations of the Republic, of the reality of conditions, which actuated the Cortes and the provisional government. The constitutional project "is in reality founded on Spanish life", Ossorio, chairman of the preliminary commission explained. ¹

Every governmental agency which affected and determined the budget of Spain was scrutinized by the Republican government of 1931.

Brandt says:

Thousands of schools were established by the provisional government. The army was reorganized, the office of captain general, that useful agent of suppression of the Bourbons, was suppressed. The number of officers was reduced from 21,000 to 8,000, regimental strength was increased from 80 men to 1,200, the number of divisions and staffs was halved and the strength of the army was reduced two-thirds. Premier Azaña told the Cortes December 3. Able attention was directed to the agrarian problem. Orense had called the attention of the Cortes of the first Republic to this great weakness of Spain. Almost three-fifths of the land of Spain is either uncultivated or cultivated only in part. Much of the land was held by a few proprietors. Some attempt had been made in previous years to remedy the situation through colonization.... The Republic revised a new law, designed to repopulate the land, to create small farms to aid the new farmers. ²

In spite of the fact that the Republic of Spain came into office with an enthusiasm for social reform little was actually accomplished. The unfortunate fact is that too many wolves had entered the sheep-fold of the Republic. One of these men was the very clever Gil Robles. It is well said that "The Republic fell into enemy hands." ³ However, the problem of social reform was more complicated than just merely blaming 'clever men'. "Every nation needs a number

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 388.
2. Ibid., pp. 388-389.
3. Gannes, op. cit., pp. 40-50.

of thousands of men - it may be ten thousand or it may be a thousand thousand - to lead its public life." ¹ Gannes says:

The year 1933 saw the cleavage between the classes becoming sharper under the Republic. The wage-workers expressed discontent with the gains from the Republic not only in the matter of democratic liberties, but in the failure to win sufficiently improved living standards and working conditions. The strike wave, which had steadily been growing since the founding of the Republic, by 1933 had involved more than two million workers in six thousand separate walkouts.

Least was accomplished, however, on the basic agrarian question. Up to the end of 1933, only 80,800 acres of the big estates had been taken over benefiting the ridiculously small number of 5,000 peasants. There were still two and one half million unsatisfied landless farm labourers and half a million of the poorest peasants. ²

4. Conditions During the Civil War.

It was under these conditions of economic and social unrest that Spain found itself in the travail of Civil War. Suffering, hunger and hatred increased. But with the end of the Civil War and the ascendancy of General Franco to power, Spain trodden, ravaged, and betrayed looked askance in his direction. Madariaga says:

This was the Spain which at the beginning of April 1939 looked to General Franco as the man who would forge a united nation in the crucible of grief. He was all powerful. He was the undisputed leader of the victorious side and had the Army behind him. A great and noble voice leading the country to union and unity would have called out a deep echo in every heart. The hates and counter-hates would have withered in the new climate, and, though poor and bled white, at least Spain might have been reborn.

God knows how long Spain will still have to suffer because General Franco failed in this his highest task. ³

5. Conditions Under General Franco.

General Franco, in a decree issued to the Spanish nation, was Spain's Nehemiah. In him, Spain had "acquired the possibility of

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., p. 303.
2. Gannes, op. cit., p. 45.
3. Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 421-422.

realizing her destiny." He was the one who would "establish an economic regime overriding the interests of individual group or class.. .. to multiply wealth in the service of the State, of social justice and of the Christian liberty of the individual." ¹ But what is the word that comes out of Franco Spain today? Hallström writes:

The bulk of the people are starving. Economic distress is ruthlessly exploited as a weapon against any opposition. There is much unemployment and anyone who takes part in hostile actions toward Franco takes the risk of being thrown out on the street. Starving masses can possibly produce hunger rising, but not any organized revolt. The great strike which recently occurred in Bilbao was scarcely capable of more than the passive resistance which a strike involves. ²

But authorities need not be limited to publications by experts. Even such a paper as The New York Times prints in obscured columns little words which thunder out solemn dictums against the Franco regime.

The Madrid press in recent weeks openly objected to projects to adorn this capital with new gardens while thousands of Madrilenos live in unhealthy quarters in the outskirts. It has suggested that if the funds were available, they should be used to take care of the needs of the lower classes.

The press has also protested against the high salaries received by top municipal administrators on the ground that they were out of proportion with those earned by members of the white collar classes.

The latest example of what Spaniards call the trend in the Spanish press, was applied by yesterday's issue of the Signo, the official Catholic Action newspaper, which censured editorially A.B.C., a Monarchist daily, for having sponsored a national subscription to erect a monument to Isabella of Bourbon. According to Signo, the subscription has netted so far the equivalent of \$23,000.

What Spain lacks, Signo said, is a national campaign to convert the funds scattered for a "useless statue" into social projects that are badly needed. ³

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1. Madariaga, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
2. Björn Hallström, op. cit., p. 69.
3. "Spaniards Ballot for Town Councils," The New York Times, November 26, 1951, p. 6, col. 3.

D. The Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

1. A Rich Church Amid National Poverty.

At the coronation of the new king in 1902 poor Spain was filled with misery. The taxes, increasingly exorbitant, staggered the populace. Commerce was at a low ebb, and the only source of hope for material improvement was the world outside of Spain.

In the face of all this impoverishment, from the pantry shelves of the Escorial to the provincial dwellings, only one fountain of strength was triumphing: The Roman Catholic Church. Marín writes:

The Church of Rome, clothed as never before in tinsel, enjoying a warehouse of altars and images, in her custody and in her religious shelters, exploited all the treasures of the nation. The Church haughty as never before, likened to the times of Philip II was disposed to dominate over thrones and consciences, and not precisely because of a divine influence wrought forth out of an honorable example and a charitable Christianity. ¹

2. A Money-Making Church.

In matters of money-making enterprises the Church has been most adept. In Spain it has been the greatest landlord. It owns industries and banks. "Its wealth has been estimated at one third of the national wealth." ² During the mediaeval period and long after, religiously-minded people often willed large sums of money or tracts of land to the Church in payment for absolution. Gannes writes:

The old feudal doctrine of mortmain, according to which the Church could only gain new lands, but could never surrender or lose what once she had, continued to be enforced right into the twentieth century. ³

The Church operated the use of the land on a strictly business basis, for the most part more efficiently than the aristocrats.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 374.
2. Gannes, op. cit., p. 182.
3. Ibid., p. 184.

It employed thousands of farm laborers. It extorted huge sums in rent from the tenants. The Jesuits especially were very enterprising with the profits accumulated from the land. They invested in industry, shipping and banking. In the Banco Urquijo in Madrid, which was owned by them they had a store of capital amounting to 126,000,000 pesetas (about five pesetas to the dollar). In four other smaller banks they had a total of 85,000,000 pesetas. "The northern railway, orange groves in Andalusia, mines in the Basque Provinces and the Riff, factories in Barcelona were reported in their avowed or concealed control." ¹ One of the main reasons then why the Church was the great enemy of the Republic was its tremendous economic and social power.

Gannes says:

As the greatest landowner, the Church was naturally the foremost enemy of agrarian reform. To expropriate and divide the land meant, in the first place, to expropriate and divide the land of the Church. The Church could not avoid siding with those who wanted to preserve the old order of things if it wished to maintain its dominant position. ²

3. The Church's Dominance Over Education.

In the field of education the Spanish State Church enjoys similar privileges. What schools there are in Spain have almost all been under the direct influence or control of the Church. Until 1857 education was by law the exclusive right of the Church. In that year the Spanish Cortes tried to pass a bill for state education. It was killed owing to the opposition of the clergy. The Republic of 1931 which succeeded in opening state schools was able to attract half of

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 184.

2. Ibid., p. 185.

the students in Spain. However, considering that education has been so long in the hands of the Church, statistics on the subject tell a woeful tale. In 1930 45% to 46% of the population could neither read nor write. Deakin says:

The Debate of 12th March, 1922, reported: Illiteracy is a sign that society is committing a crime; if the best part of man is his understanding, it is a crime against God to leave him in a state which makes it impossible for him to have intercourse with his fellowmen. ¹

In January 1921, a Madrid newspaper published the following amazing statement: According to the latest official statistics there are lacking in Spain no fewer than 10,148 schools, of which total 571 are required in Barcelona, 430 in Madrid, and 561 in Murcia; in the province of Galicia alone there is a deficiency of 2,280. ²

In the capital of Spain, Madrid, in 1921, twenty-five per cent of the people were illiterates. The newspaper La Libertad of February 17, 1922, points out what may be rightly regarded an outrage which occurred in connection with the Official Bulletin of Navarre: "For the mayor who does not know how, (signed) Manuel Navarro. A mayor unable to sign his name." ³ One of the educational inspectors declared at an official meeting without any denial that "Spain is today worse off relatively than she was in 1857." ⁴ One of the answers to all the illiteracy which is found in Spain is reflected in the following statement by Ambassador Frank Deakin:

Like so many other Spaniards who belong to the most conservative parties in Spain, Señor Salaverria suffers from that xenophobia, which has its roots in religious creeds and has been one of the main causes of Spain's backwardness. ⁵

Although the Republic was able to do some good, it was

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1. Frank B. Deakin, Spain Today, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1924, p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 22.
4. Ibid., p. 23.
5. Ibid., p. 26.

finally to be negated by both the Civil War and the Franco regime. The Vatican won its fight in maintaining "the celebrated Syllabus of 1864."¹

4. The Spanish State: Tool of the Church.

The one dominant passion of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain is to achieve and maintain unity of faith. She has conceived, through the oracles the Vatican produces, that the best way to realize this goal is to attach itself to the state, and act as an official organ. Pius IX in his Syllabus of 1864 made dogma that "the Catholic religion was the only true religion," and that separation of state and Church could not be tolerated. As a consequence, the formulation of the Constitution in Spain was always given primary attention by the Roman Catholic Church. At the time of the reign of King Alfonso XIII the Constitution of 1876 was in effect. Within it was expressly stated that the established faith of the nation was Roman Catholic. This constitution contained an article guarantying religious toleration, but it was so ambiguously worded, that when actual problems of religious freedom arose, many interpretations could be furnished. It was Castelar who said, "Is there the right today to impose religion by force? Omar (a bishop) says yes; Christ says no!"² Nevertheless, under the reign of Alfonso XIII, for all practical purposes the Church was all-powerful.

With the coming of the Dictatorship in 1923, Primo de Rivera used the slogan: "Country, Monarchy, Religion". Under Primo,

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1. Brandt, op. cit., p. 127.

2. Ibid., p. 130.

religious adherence to Romanism became more stringent than under the Monarchy.

5. The Republic, the Civil War, and the Church.

When the Constitution of the Republic of Spain of 1931 was written, the Church and State were cut asunder. "Divorces were permitted in civil courts, cemeteries were secularized, and the Church was no longer tax-exempt." ¹ By November 1933 it was planned that the Church would have no part of the national budget. All the property of the Jesuits was confiscated. Further, the religious orders were prohibited from buying property except for the purpose of practicing religion. Ultimately, they were to cease from participation in industry, commerce and education. Gannes writes:

The Vatican, accustomed to centuries of domination in Spanish affairs -- quickly struck back. The bishops of Spain issued a pastoral strictly forbidding attendance of children in the State schools. In June 1933 Pope Pius XI issued a special encyclical protesting against the separation of Church and State. Members of the government were declared excommunicated. ²

Actually none of the radical reforms were followed through to the letter until the victory of the People's Front in 1936. Then it was too late.

From the very start of the Civil War the Spanish people let loose their resentment against the Church. Since the Church had always intervened in political questions with its press and political spokesmen, the people felt that the Church had much to do with the fate and conditions of the nation. No constitution now could save them from the wrath of the people. "This accounts for the statement of Margarita

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 188.

2. Ibid., p. 188.

Nelken.....'in other countries the crowd, in a moment of national up-
rising, attacks banks and palaces, while here it burns convents and
churches.'¹ Madariaga ably sums up the causes of the Civil War:

The Church had sadly neglected its chief duty in Spain. No insti-
tution in any country had at its disposal assets as splendid as
those the Catholic Church had in Spain to keep its hold on the
people..... What use had the Church made of this spiritual trea-
sure? None whatever.... This was the worst crime of the Spanish
Church, for it has let the spirit of the Spanish people lie fal-
low, ready for other seeds. This is the crime for which it had to
pay in 1936-1939.²

6. Philosophic Reflections on the Results of Roman Catholicism.

A man of fame, Jaime Torrubiano Ripoll writes in El Sol:

Although we may look at her (in reference to the Church of Rome)
with the eyes of a philosopher, and of a patriot, without having
in the back of our minds opinions concerning the Christian faith,
the present aspect of the Spanish Church cannot be more discomfort-
ing. Without vigor are the fundamental virtues of the Christian
faith; the faith, almost extinguished, is substituted by the cold
devise of ritual; the intransigent haughtiness of the creed follow-
ers, and the characteristic intolerance by the absence of all il-
lustrated religion, the charity without orientation and warmth,
transplanted by ostentatious vanity which is the enemy of all sac-
rifice.

The contemplation of the official troop, of the religious
communities, is truly terrifying. Now, alone in Spain, the offici-
al statistics tell us of 213 distinct religious orders, with 4,490
communities, in the majority illegal ones, and 150,000 ecclesiasti-
cals. Madrid alone has 230 religious communities. In 20 years spiri-
tual decadence has quintupled the number of clericals.

Paralled with these official statistics we have studied the
terribly growing statistics of criminal cases, of moral infirmity,
of matrimonial diminution, and we have asked ourselves if, perad-
venture, the religious communities have been converted, in greater
part, of their lives (in relation to) idleness, and mundane frivol-
ity, in great companies industrializers of enlightenment and cul-
ture, -- (in effect) civilized.

There is no national community in all the world whichi is more
professedly religious, and more outwardly Catholic than Spain, and
in spite of it, there is no national community in the world where
religious instruction has reached a more awful depth.³

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1. Gannes, op. cit., p. 183.
2. Madariaga, op. cit., p. 377.
3. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 379-380.

E. The Summary.

The political history of Spain in the twentieth century has had for the most part a corrupt character. King Alfonso XIII, instead of adopting radical measures to help the people and thereby saving the Monarchy from ruin, was content to let matters go. Popular discontent forced him to set up a Dictatorship which briefly relieved the economic and political situation, but the nation indicated a desire for a Republican government. A consideration of the three phases of the Republic showed how reactionary forces attempted at every turn the overthrow of the liberal movement. This finally culminated in the Spanish Civil War, from which the reactionary, fascist forces emerged victorious. The net result was that the democratic will of the people was suppressed as it has been in former times.

For the most part, the general conditions of Spain during the twentieth century was one of economic and social calamity. The conditions were so drastic that not even the Republic of 1931-1936 was able to cope with them. The Civil War aggravated conditions. With the coming of the Franco regime, conditions continued to be bad, and have remained so to this present day.

The Roman Catholic Church, in spite of all the misery in Spain, managed to emerge victorious and rich. It has succeeded in maintaining a monopoly upon all religious and political life. In spite of its advantage in Spanish affairs, the Spanish people resent and hate the institution. In short, the Church has failed to produce in Spain what is well known among Protestant communities: the existence of the true Christian, democratic, creative, enterprising spirit.

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN SPAIN

A. The Introduction.

Whereas the first chapter served the purpose of setting the stage for the ensuing chapters of this thesis by reviewing the last fifty years of Spain's history, this chapter will attempt to trace the problem of religious liberty in Spain in relation to the Roman Catholic Church, to the State and to the Iberian character.

The procedure will be first to consider the problem of religious liberty in Spain in relation to the most dominant religious influence on the peninsula, the Roman Catholic Church, and to see in what way that institution has moulded the course of events. The next consideration will center upon the reaction of selected Spanish intellectuals to the purposes of the Roman Catholic Church, and to investigate whether or not the Iberian spirit is inimical to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. A special examination of the relationship between the Republic of Spain of 1931-36 and the church will be made since that was the only force in twentieth century Spain which had the strength to defy Roman Catholic domination with any degree of success. Finally, within this setting there will be a word about the Protestants in Spain which will be preparatory to the chapters which follow.

B. The Roman Catholic Attitude Toward
Religious Freedom.

1. The Historic Position of Spain on Religious Liberty.

To judge the religious character of Spain in the past centuries in the light of the religious character of Spain today without relating that judgment to a long line of historical developments would lead on into false conclusions. This is particularly true about Spain in relation to the development of ideas on religious liberty. Yet, the very basis for understanding the problem of religious liberty in Spain today is rooted in the history of the past. Joseph Brandt has discovered this truth and sets it forth in the following lines:

It is often forgotten that the Spanish peninsula is composed of a number of peoples who once formed independent kingdoms..... The first attempt at organization of these kingdoms into a unified whole was by Sancho the Great of Navarre in the eleventh century. Sancho called himself "King of the Spains" and regarded his position as being imperial in nature. Alfonso VII took the title of Emperor in 1135. It was not until the fifteenth century that the Christian Kingdoms were united under the Catholic sovereigns of Aragon and Castile.

The quality of union lay first in the fact that the kingdoms faced a common and hated Mohammedan foe, and second in the Catholic religion. Catholicism was the slender thread which bound the kingdoms of Spain together. Spanish political history until the time of the Republic of 1873 is essentially the history of the Catholic church in Spain.

Spanish unity, therefore, has been essentially a unity of faith.¹

It is not strange then, that the religious institution which was able to unify Spain both politically and spiritually

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 5.

should win the loyalty and the national acclaim of the Spanish people. As a consequence, the development of political ideas became synonymous with the development of religious ideas. Any type of thought then that threatened this religio-political character of the Spanish government was automatically considered suspect.

It is, therefore, not difficult to understand that religious liberty should receive a very narrow interpretation in Spain, for in the final analysis it could only mean liberty to develop ideas and practices which were beneficial to both the State and the Church. To say that the national sentiment on the whole favored this interpretation (though not the horrible practices that resulted from it) until the coming of the Reformation is on the whole true. But the question which emerges is, "Did the Castilian people gradually rebel against traditional interpretations of religious liberty?" This question, this chapter and the consequent chapters will endeavor to answer. It is sufficient to say here, that as long as the Roman Catholic Church remained unchallenged there was basically no problem of religious liberty in Spain. It was the Reformation with its ideas of religious liberty which a multitude of Spaniards adopted that made the problem of religious liberty in Spain a critical issue.

2. Religious Liberty in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Spain.

The problem of religious liberty in twentieth century Spain becomes more intelligible in the light of these past observa-

tions. Much cannot be said due to the scope of the thesis to fill in the gap between the days of the Reformation and the beginning of the twentieth century. The purpose to be undertaken now is to set forth the Roman Catholic attitude on religious liberty as formulated under the various Spanish governments during the years of 1901 to 1951.

a. Religious Liberty un the Reign of Alfonso XIII:

The basis of religious liberty under the reign of Alfonso XIII was inherited from the nineteenth century. The greatest threat to the intransigent aim of Roman Catholicism to be the sole mistress of Spain's religious development had been made by the republicans of 1869. At no time in the history of Spain had Roman Catholicism been challenged in official circles before 1869. Even the Constitution of 1812, which had been formed by Spanish idealists, had not in any way questioned the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The Constitution stated:

...the religion of the Spanish nation is and shall be perpetually the Apostolic Roman Catholic, the only true one. The nation protects it with wise and just laws and prohibits the exercise of any other. ¹

Thus, until the battle of 1869 in the political arena between Roman Catholicism and its most hated foe, the Republican party, the Church had reigned supremely. The Concordat of 1851, representing Spain's subjection to the Holy See, was the most treasured document of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain. It affirmed, as stated

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 18.

by Joseph Brandt, that:

the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, to the exclusion of every other cult, continues to be the sole religion of the Spanish nation and will be conserved always in the dominions of His Catholic Majesty with all the rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy according to the law of God and that ordained by the sacred canons. ¹

The Constitution of 1869 actually abrogated the privileges which Roman Catholicism had enjoyed under the Concordat of 1851. But while it sought to free the State from the Church, it maintained loyalty to Roman Catholicism. This provision in the Constitution of 1869 is stated in Article Twenty One. Joseph Brandt writes:

The Nation is obligated to maintain the faith and the ministers of the Catholic religion;

The public and private exercise of whatever other faith remains guaranteed to all foreigners residing in Spain, without other restrictions than the universal rules of morality and of right;

If other Spaniards profess a religion other than the Catholic they shall be accorded the same treatment as provided in the foregoing (paragraph). ²

The major part of the triumph of the Constitution of 1869 was due to Don Emilio Castelar y Ripoll. Brandt says that "Castelar was one of the greatest political figures in modern Spain, as well as one of the greatest of Spaniards." ³ Further describing this great figure Brandt writes:

... almost all contemporaries who heard him speak considered him the greatest orator of the world. Vasali, who heard him in 1866, called him the Spanish Cicero 'whom I do not hesitate to qualify personally as the first orator of the world'. ⁴

It was due to the Roman Catholic attitude toward religious liberty, so well expressed by the Canon of Vitoria, that Castelar

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 132.
3. Ibid., p. 50.
4. Ibid., p. 51.

delivered one of the most fervid and eloquent speeches ever heard in any congressional hall. Expressing the Roman view on toleration the Canon of Vitoria wrote, as found in Brandt's book:

Liberalism consists in the rebellion of society against God. Liberalism in political society is tantamount to Protestantism in individuals..... To the puzzled Canon, Spain, with its impious demands for toleration and democratic government, was a 'great den of maniacs'.¹

Castelar's reply to the Canon of Vitoria, on April 12th, 1869, has become one of the greatest orations ever given in the defense of democracy. Brandt quotes from this speech the following passage:

Great is the God on Sinai; the thunderbolt precedes Him, lightning accompanies Him, fire envelopes Him, the earth trembles, the mountains crumble. But there is a God far greater, far greater still, who is not the majestic God of Sinai but the humble God of Calvary, nailed on a cross, wounded, bruised, crowned with thorns, with gall pressed to his lips, saying despite this: Father, pardon them, forgive them that torture me, forgive them that persecute me, for they know not what they do!

Great is the religion of power but greater by far is the religion of love; great is the religion of implacable justice but even greater is the religion of merciful forgiveness; and in the name of the Evangel, I come here to ask that you write in your fundamental code religious freedom, which is liberty, fraternity, equality among all men.²

However, the reign of Alfonso XIII was not destined to inherit the spirit of Castelar, for it was not the Constitution of 1869 which formed the basis of his government, but the Constitution of 1876. Indeed Pius IX had foreseen the consequences of the liberal movement in Spain. Having had a bitter experience himself in experimenting with liberal ideas he reverted to an extreme position of reaction. The Constitution of 1876 merely reflects the tremendous

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 133.
2. Ibid., p. 134.

influence this Pope had upon the history of Spain, for it was his famous Syllabus of 1864 that had condemned the separation of State and Church. As Brandt well says, "Pius IX was the mitred ruler of Spain." 1

Actually the Constitution of 1876 was based on the Estatuto of 1834 which represented a conservative and reactionary spirit that favored the Roman Catholic Church. This Constitution had one article, though ambiguously stated, that permitted some degree of religious liberty. It would be more correct to say that Article Eleven of the Constitution of 1876 permitted toleration of cults rather than religious liberty. The article states:

The Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Faith is that of the State. The nation will maintain it in their worship and with regard to priests. No one shall be molested on Spanish soil for his religious opinions, and for the exercise of his particular form of worship, except that he shall respect christian morals. Nevertheless, only Catholic services and manifestations shall be permitted in public. 2

One significant feature emerges between the time of the Constitution of 1812 and the Constitution of 1876 namely, that the interpretation of religious liberty on the part of the Roman Catholic Church gradually lost national acclaim in Spain. For Spain under the reign of Alfonso XIII was not under the obligation expressed by the Concordat of 1851. The sentiment of the Spanish people for religious toleration had become sufficiently strong to make the Roman Catholic Church relent in its demands for national religious unity. The 'God of Toleration' had melted the hearts of the Iberian people, while the

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 127

2. J. Delpech, "Spanish Protestantism", Religious Liberty in Peril, Pro Hispania, France, 1948, p. 33.

Romanists stood afar off mocking.

It is perceived at once that while the formulations of constitutions in Spain reflect the Roman Catholic attitude on religious liberty they reflect it only partially. For the official view of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain is that of the Vatican as expressed in the Syllabus of 1864, and the Concordat of 1851. In fact, as Brandt has well expressed it, "it was not the constitution the church wanted, for the church wanted no constitution. It sought only the status quo." ¹ But since the will of the people was able to assert itself against the will of the Roman Catholic Church, the latter therefore sought to exert itself through the very expression of the peoples' sentiment, namely, the formulation of a constitution. Thus the reign of Alfonso XIII may well be described as the resultant of two extreme forces: the force of republican sentiment pulling in the direction of religious liberty, and the force of official Roman Catholicism pulling to the opposite extreme to retain national unity of the faith. The effect of the outcome of this struggle was to produce in Spain a state of spiritual sterility which was quite marked during the reign of Alfonso XIII. The devout Roman Catholic Iberian, Mendizábal, in his book, The Martyrdom of Spain well described the situation under Alfonso's rule. He writes:

For a long time the Catholics of Spain had lulled themselves with enchanting hymns about "religious unity"; rocked to sleep by the official character of their religion, enthusiastic for the magnificence of its ceremonies by the presence of public authority in person of its representatives, and by certain exterior signs of devotions, they did not pay much attention as a whole, to the pro-

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 18

gressive and lamentable decadence of the religious convictions of the nation.

It seems that it was considered more satisfactory to declare with all the solemnity of the law, that the State was Catholic, rather than to try to instill Catholicism into the lives and customs of Spaniards. ¹

b. The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera:

Under the Military Directorate of Primo de Rivera, which as pointed out in the past chapter was part of the Constitutional-Monarchical reign, religious liberty was severely limited. It must be remembered that the Dictatorship was imposed in order to cope with the rise of republican sentiment throughout the nation. That this event reflects the desires of the Roman Catholic Church to steer Spain on its traditional course is obvious in view of the fact that complete surrender was made in the field of education to clerical demands. Press censorship came under rigid control. "Madariaga says 'In general the record of dictatorship is good in material reforms and bad in all that concerns the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation.'" ²

Although the Dictatorship did not bring any new Constitutional changes and was for all practical purposes under the Constitution of 1876, Roman Catholicism asserted itself more strongly in the life of the nation. However, the fundamental purpose of the Constitution of 1876 was violated. Brandt Says:

Don Alfonso, acutely conscious of Spanish temperament, was disturbed. Without doubt he accepted the Dictatorship, utterly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution of 1876, because he felt that in that manner alone could Spain be saved. ³.

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1. M. S. Bates, Religious Liberty, International Missionary Council, New York, 1945, p. 317
2. C. Arujo Garcia and Kenneth Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, World Dominion Press, London, 1933, p. 38.
3. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 369.

To further illustrate that Roman Catholicism was striving desperately to maintain the unity of the faith, and to keep in abeyance any democratic ideas on religious liberty, Brandt write, "our Parliament was occupied with wretched questions of the parish or of satisfying its rancors." 1

c. The Republic of 1931:

The emergence of the Republic of 1931 signifies the triumph of the republican sentiments of the people, and of their desire for religious toleration. Since in this chapter the Republic is given special consideration, it is sufficient now to say that Roman Catholic domination of the State ceased.

d. The Advent of Franco Spain from 1939-1951:

Whereas the Republican Revolution of 1931-1939 sought to bring about a democratic way of life according to the Protestant view of the dignity of man, the victory of General Francisco Franco is symbolic of a return to the traditions of Spain as envisioned by the Roman Catholic Church. That the Vatican supported Franco morally and materially is not denied even by high Catholic officials. Not only is all Spain aware of the fact that Spanish Fascism has become synonymous with Roman Catholicism, but the whole world. It has been well expressed that "the victory of the Church was bought at the price of serious involvement with the Falange (Spanish Fascism) regime of Franco." 2 The result of this union of Spanish Fascism with Catholicism has revived again the special ancient privileges of

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 367.

2. M. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 19.

the Spanish Catholic Church. Bates writes:

The Franco regime and the Holy See have revived the Concordat of 1851. The four major articles of importance are: 1) "Catholicism continues to be the sole religion of the Spanish nation, to the exclusion of any other, and is always to be maintained with all the rights and privileges which it should have in accordance with God's law and the prescriptions of the sacred canons. 2) Instruction in all schools shall conform in all respects to the doctrines of the Catholic religion and therefore, bishops and their aids shall have full and free supervision over the purity of the faith and the customs and the religious education of youth, even in public schools. 3) All authorities shall be charged with showing and causing others to show the bishops and clergy the respect and consideration due them according to divine precepts, and the government shall grant effective protection and support to the bishops whenever they request it, particularly when they combat "the iniquity of men who attempt to pervert the souls of the faithful and to corrupt customs," or whenever it is necessary to prevent the publication or circulation of evil or harmful books. 4) In all other matters relative to the exercise of ecclesiastical authority and to the ministry of holy orders, the bishops and the clergy shall enjoy full liberty according to the sacred canons. ¹

However, with the collapse of the Axis Powers, and the victory of the Allies in World War II, Franco began to change his attitude. This is reflected in a Police Order issued in 1940: Bates writes,

Through a generous tolerance of religious opinions of foreigners who reside in our country, in so far as they are not opposed to Christian morality, or infringe upon police and health regulation, foreigners may continue to gather in "chapels in which rites and ceremonies dissident from the Catholic religion are celebrated." ²

One will note immediately that the privileges accorded in the Police Order are restricted solely to foreigners. In no possible way could it be interpreted as giving any measure of religious freedom. No sign of recognition of the freedom of conscience appears until the declaration of the "Fuero de los Españoles" in 1945. But even here, the domination of Roman Catholicism over souls

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1. M. S. Bates, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

is strongly felt. Delpech writes:

Official protection will be given to all who belong to the Catholic faith and who practice this religion, since this is the official religion of the State. No one shall be molested for his religious convictions, or in the exercise of private worship. Any other exterior services, or ceremonies, other than those of the Catholic Church, are forbidden. ¹

That Franco Spain represented the official of the Vatican, as well as of the Spanish Prelates is historically proven. Abel Plenn relates this truth graphically:

Nor had the Vatican done anything to discourage the Spanish Church from granting religious honors to Franco.....The Caudillo had received the high honor of the Cross of Pope Pius XI in recognition of his special service to the Lord and to the Church. ²

But it remained for the Pope himself to sanction Franco. On December 25, 1944, in a Christmas Message Franco was the object of the Vatican's praise and gratitude. "El Caudillo had finally won the Pope's blessing." ³ Thus one sees that it was not the God of Calvary that had triumphed, not the Christ of Love, but the religion of implacable justice. Indeed Spain could say with Unamuno, "Venceréis pero no convenceréis," ("ye will conquer but ye will not convince").

3. Religious Liberty As Viewed by Selected Spanish Prelates:

It is fitting to engrave the truth of Rome's attitude toward religious liberty more deeply into the reader's mind by referring to specific documents. These consist mostly of pastoral letters which will be quoted verbatim. They represent the mind of

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1. J. Delpech, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Abel Plenn, Wind in the Olive Trees, Book Find Club, New York, 1946, pp. 94-95.
3. Ibid., p. 95.

Spanish prelates, and in effect the mind of the Vatican.

a. From Mgr. Rigoberto Domenech y Valls, Archbishop of Saragossa:

We have ascertained that in our town of Saragossa, Protestant sects have resumed their activities, distributing books, leaflets, and Bibles. They took advantage of the 23rd November, a day consecrated by us to revealing and making known to our faithful the Holy Scriptures, by intensifying their propaganda, openly, and showing no discretion. The fact is all the more serious, since the law in Spain does not permit either public worship for other religions, nor the spreading of their doctrines; they can therefore only make conversions fraudulently, and by eluding the authorities. Unhappily, in their efforts to increase the number of adherents to the Reformed Church amongst us, a Church so discredited and full of decadence, the Protestants choose only the incredulous and bad Spaniards, and the internal enemies of the nation.

Saragossa, 22d. dec. 1947

Signed: Rigoberto, Archbishop of Saragossa,
Extract from Ya, of 11th January, 1948. 1.

b. From S. E. R. Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Seville:

The following will not include the whole pastoral written by Cardinal Segura, but only those parts of major significance:

There are many ways of destroying "that which is committed to thy trust", and these are the fruits of diabolical ungodliness. We will confine ourselves to mentioning one which is at the moment gravely endangering the faith of our diocesans.....

We would not have called your attention to these matters so insistently, dear brothers and sons, if we had not in our possession documents which prove in all truth that the words of this pastor, who finds the time so favourable for the spreading of Protestantism in Spain, contain a certain element of truth. On the one hand we have the ceaseless growth of Protestant propaganda in our city. But we do not wish to pain you by relating the heresies which they have spread among the humble people by means of their tracts, published in rather elaborate way, and in which they preach the falsest doctrines.

We could demonstrate to you how they undermine the foundations of faith, and how they try to persuade people that salvation cannot be found in the Catholic Faith. In their tracts they protest against our devotion to the Holy Virgin, and especially against her powers of mediation which can be established with very little knowledge of dogma.....

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1. "Pastoral Letters," Religious Liberty in Peril, p. 4.

What is most serious is, that with regard to the law, these official authorisations are based on Article VI of the Fuero de los Espanoles. We have not the slightest doubt, however, that we need only call to mind the witness of all those hundreds of martyrs who gave their blood for the defense of their faith, in order that these centres of false religion may not be authorised in Spain. All these sacrifices, which we admit, recall to us the words of the Apostle, so full of gravity; "Keep that which is committed to thy trust".....

Official Bulletin of the Archbishop of Seville,
10th Sept. 1947 1

c. From Father F. Cavalli:

The following is an extract from the Italian Jesuit review,

La Civiltà Cattolica, of April 3, 1948. The title of the article was, The Condition of Protestants in Spain.

The Catholic Church, being convinced, by reason of her divine prerogatives, that she is the one true Church, claims for herself alone the right to freedom, for this right may only be possessed by truth, and never by error. Where the other religions are concerned, she will not take up the sword against them, but she will ask that, by lawful means worthy of the human creature, they shall not be allowed to propagate false doctrines. Consequently, in a State where the majority of the people are Catholic, the Church asks that error shall not be accorded a legal existence, and that if religious minorities exist they shall have a de facto existence only, not the opportunity of spreading their beliefs. Where material circumstances -- whether the hostility of a Government or the numerical strength of the dissenting factions -- do not allow of this principle being applied in its entirety, the Church requires that she shall have all possible concessions confining herself to accepting as the least of all evils the de jure toleration of other forms of worship. In other countries, the Catholics are obliged themselves to ask for full liberty for all, resigning themselves to living together where they alone had the right to live. The Church does not in this way give up her thesis, which remains the most imperative of all laws, but adapts herself to the hypothesis, which must be taken into account on the material plane. Hence extreme horror on the part of the Protestants, who hold it up against the Catholics that they withhold freedom, indeed de facto toleration, from others when they are in the majority, and on the other hand demand it as a right when they are in the minority.....

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1. "Pastoral Letters", op. cit., pp. 2-3/

The Catholic Church would be betraying her mission if she were to proclaim, whether in theory or in practice, that error can have the same rights as truth, especially when the highest duties and interests of man are at stake. The Church can feel no shame at her intransigence as she asserts it in principle and carries it out in practice, though the areopagus of the nations of today may smile pityingly or rage against it as tyrannical.¹

d. Serious Roman Catholic Contradictions:

In May, 1948, Pius XII issued his encyclical *Quaedam auspicia*, in which he maintained that religious liberty should be maintained. But could it be so narrow as to mean only religious liberty for Roman Catholicism? Allowing legitimately that the Pope probably had in mind the persecution of Roman Catholics in Communist dominated lands, would he go so far as to say that Communism should grant religious freedom only to Roman Catholicism, and continue to persecute Christians of another denomination? Is it conceivable that the Vatican would make a Concordat with Communism, and not be concerned in the least with the fate of a number of Christians outside the pale of Catholicism? These questions only serve to point the seriousness of the problem of religious liberty. However, the issue confined herein is that granting a broad interpretation to the encyclical *Quaedam auspicia* it comes into direct contradiction to the *Syllabus* of 1864, which expressly states that only Roman Catholicism has the right to freedom. But if here, by some quirk peculiar to the Roman Catholic mind, there is no serious contradiction, then indeed Pope Pius XI presents a grave issue. Bates writes:

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1. "Pastoral Letters," op. cit. pp. 5,6.

Even a contemporary Pope held favorable judgement upon separation soundly carried out. Says the accepted Catholic biography of Pius XI: "He has been speaking of the separation of Church and State in Chile, which, though he cannot but condemn the principles which have produced it, has yet been carried out in so friendly a spirit that it has produced a friendly union rather than separation." 1

The fact remains that the Church has been forced to accept the Protestant principle of religious freedom almost universally, the most prominent places being the United States, Chile, and Uruguay, as well as on mission fields. Besides, where Roman Catholicism has been forced to struggle for existence, it has influenced the lives of its believers to a more significant degree than where it enjoyed complete monopoly. The fact of this truth should be enough to indicate that its principle of the religious rights of truth and error rest on false premises.

C. The Republic of 1931 and Religious Freedom:

1. Two Questions Regarding Religious Liberty.

There are many issues involved in the rise of the Republic of Spain of 1931 which have not been well understood. But there are some issues which bear the stamp of truth not only because of confirmation from many sources, but because they have been explained by Iberian writers. Of these issues two emerge as most significant in relation to the question of religious liberty: 1) the political character of the Spanish Republic, and 2) its religious concept. To the reader not well acquainted with the history of the Republic, calling attention to these two issues may seem trite. The fact is

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1. Bates, op. cit., p. 318.

that the integrity of the former must be clearly understood in order to establish the dignity of the latter.

2. Hostility Between the Republic and the Roman Catholic Church.

That the Roman Catholic Church considered the rise of the Republican government as hostile to its welfare is a well established fact. Indeed open hostility was declared by its prelates.

Alvarez del Vayo writes:

"It is sinful to vote for the Popular Front. A vote for the conservative candidate is a vote for Christ", publicly declared the Bishop of Barcelona; and from their pulpits the clergy, both high and low, consigned to eternal damnation all those who did not do everything humanly and divinely possible to bring about a victory at the polls for the forces of reaction. ¹

Yet, in the dark days of the Civil War, in 1938, the Loyalist Government convened to consider a thirteen point program that would clarify to the world the aims of the Republic, The degree of integrity which characterized the Loyalist government is to be seen in its consideration for the Roman Church. Alvarez del Vayo writes:

Even the point which held small attraction for the C. N. T. (a labor union with anarchistic leanings) representatives -- that ensuring Catholics a position for which, in view of the participation of the Church leaders in the rebellion and the hatred shown by the Spanish episcopate to the Republic during the course of the war, they could scarcely have dared to hope -- was approved without much difficulty. It was a Cabinet meeting which did credit to the Government and to the country, and which in itself gave the lie directly to all those who tried to represent loyalist Spain as a country dominated by foreign influence, demagogues, and revolutionaries. ²

3. The Religious Concept of the Republic.

If indeed the political purposes of the Republic were

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1. Alvarez del Vayo, Freedom's Battle, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1940, p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 231.

vindicated by this magnanimous act, it was vindicated over and over again a number of times. But most striking is the fact that many of the leaders of the Republic were devout Catholics, and thus were in no way proposing an anti-Catholic policy! Bates writes:

The government envisaged not an anti-religious but simply a lay policy..... That the leaders of the revolution, including many Catholics among them, did not plan to decatholicize or dechristianize Spain has been confirmed over and over again by historians of prominence. The leaders had but one religious-political objective: to free the state from Church influence. ¹

a. The Law of Confessions and Religious Congregations.

It is therefore no surprise that many liberal Spaniards and people of other faiths than Catholicism looked upon the advent of the Republic of 1931 with joy. It represented for the first time in the history of Spain the greatest swing toward a democratic way of life. Its Constitution, of which its most important articles on the concept of religious liberty are set forth here, compares favorably with any democratic formulation. Of the outstanding legislative achievements of the Spanish Republic, the passing of the Law of Confessions and Religious Congregations is considered significant. It was read in the Cortes on October 15, 1932 and on March 1933 it was passed by a vote of 278 to 50. The new law contained thirty-one articles, but the following are the most significant for this survey. Garcia writes:

Article 3

The State has no official religion. All confessions can perform their services freely within their churches. To perform them outside the same will require previous authorization in

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1. Bates, op. cit., pp. 15,16.

each case.

Article 7

The religious confessions will be free to designate all their ministers, administrators, and holders of office, and ecclesiastical functionaries, who must be Spaniards.

Article 9

Other Confessions (besides the Roman Catholic) will be under obligation to communicate to the Government the (territorial) demarcations which they propose to establish, or may have established in Spain.....¹

b. The Constitution of 1931 and Religious Liberty.

Besides the Law of Confessions, the Constitution of 1931 guaranteed religious freedom in articles 26 and 27. Garcia writes:

Article 26

All religious confessions will be considered as Association under a special law;

A special law will determine the complete extinction of the subsidy of the clergy within a maximum period of two years.

Those religious orders which by their statutes allow, in addition to the three canonical vows, another special vow of obedience to any authority other than the legitimate authority of the State, are hereby dissolved. Their possessions will be nationalized and devoted to charitable and educational ends.

Article 27

Liberty of conscience and the right to profess and practice freely any religion on Spanish soil, but with due respect to the requirements of public morality.

Cemeteries will be submitted exclusively to civil jurisdiction.....

All confessions can celebrate their services in private. Public religious demonstration must be authorized by the Government in each case.

No one can be compelled to declare his religious belief officially.²

c. The Effects Upon The Roman Catholic Church.

In regard to the new official position toward the Roman Catholic Church, under the Law of Confessions, and Religious Congre-
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1. Garcia & Grubb, op. cit., p. 49.
2. Ibid., p. 41.

gations, Article Eleven dispossessed the church from all property not directly used by the Church for religious purposes. Article Twelve further limited the use of all objects within the Church to their original purposes. Article Sixteen limited the Church's custodianship to those artistic objects and buildings which she was actually using. Close scrutiny of Article Twenty-Six reveals that direct support of the Church through government funds ceased. Also the Jesuit Order had to be abolished, since they pledged formal allegiance to the Pope over and above the state. Perhaps in this latter respect the Republic could have shown more discretion, since the Jesuits were the leading scholars of the nation and a high percentage of important institutions were in their hands. The result was that many of them preferred to leave the country, or suffer humiliation within the Republic rather than obey the new government.

4. Roman Catholic Charge Against The Republic.

Under these conditions the Roman Catholic Church in Spain felt fettered, compared to her former privileges. Garcia and Grubb write:

The Catholic position was set forth by El Debate. This paper contended that it violated common law and individual rights, and ignored the bilateral obligations of the Concordat with Rome, ratified by previous Parliaments..... Moreover, the Church has the right to establish her own hierarchy and govern herself; but such an institution at the same time despoiled of her property is anomalous. ¹

At the same time, the Vatican did not lose any time in coming to the defense of the Spanish Catholic Church. Bates writes:

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1. Garcia and Grubb, op. cit., p. 51

The Pope made an appeal to Catholic Action to oppose outright the laws "which attack the most sacred rights of the Catholic Church and destroys in the hearts of youth the seed of the Christian doctrine." In his encyclical, *Delectissime nobis* (1933) the Pope declared "a spiritual war between Spain and the Holy See." He denied that the Church attempted to hinder political reforms, saying that "the Church accommodates herself to all forms of government and civil institutions provided the rights of God and the Christian conscience are left in tact." The Pope listed eight charges against the Republic. The separation of State and Church was termed "a most serious error." ¹

5. Franco's Bloody Sword: The Pope's Peace.

After the Civil War ended with the victory of fascist General Franco, although the Pope broadcast over the air, on April 16, 1939, that "Peace and victory have been willed by God to Spain", ² a Republican Spaniard, Alvarez del Vayo, viewing the entire issue summed it up in the following words:

While Franco remains in power..... the Catholic Church in Spain will enjoy a privileged position which it would never have held under the Republic. But it is to be feared that when the Spanish people rise up once more, the Catholic Church, which is now looked upon as the chief ally of Spanish Fascism, will suffer the consequences of a strong national reaction against all that the Franco regime represents. On the other hand, the Republican Government, while it would not have celebrated victory surrounded by archbishops and foreign divisions and Moroccan troops, as did Franco's Government in the Madrid parade, would certainly have accorded the Catholic Church a position of respect and tolerance much more secure, and freer from future complications, than Fascist Spain offers her. ³

Thus it was, that the Republic of 1931 had "lost its battle with the Catholic Church in the political field." ⁴ Further

Ramos Oliveira writes:

Of all that Liberalism had won in a century of bitter struggle there only remained what society had been able to digest -- nothing more..... And however much toleration was written into the

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1. M. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 16.
2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
4. A. Ramos Oliveira, Politics, Economics and Men of Modern Spain, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1946, p. 426.

Constitution, it would never penetrate into the inert, depopulated and rural provinces, or -- which was the same thing -- into the viscera of the nation. In 1931 the Cardinal-Primate of Spain was a typical mediaeval archbishop. ¹

Indeed, the Republic of Spain of 1931, with all its democratic ideals for religious liberty and political progressivism lay in ashes in 1939. The Church had conquered even if it had not convinced.

D. The Spanish Intellectuals: Champions of Freedom.

1. Origins of the Spanish Intellectuals: The Radicals of 1868:

a. The Work of Regeneration.

The Spanish Intellectuals of the generation of 1898 might very rightly be called the Abraham Lincolns of Spain. For like Abraham Lincoln of the United States, the Spanish intellectuals had diagnosed the spiritual and social maladies of their nation and had set out, many of them with deep religious convictions, to regenerate the country they loved. ²

The phrase, 'generation of 1898', has its origin in the Spanish-American War of 1898, which resulted in a calamity for Spain. The Spanish Colonial Empire came to an end. However, many Spanish writers consider the empire to have ceased before the war with the United States. And still the point that needs to be made is, that the generation of 1898 did not begin ipso facto with this historical event. In a sense the phrase is merely a convenient way of labeling a group of Spanish intellectuals who lived before the disaster of the

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1. A. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., p. 427

2. J. B. Trend's book, The Origins of Modern Spain, offers an excellent exposition of this theme.

Cuban War of 1898, and who, in fact, predicted the disaster. This truth is stated by Trend:

In the Spain of 1868 there was something beyond the madhouse of political and clerical intrigue, something beside the "sober citizens", the pawns in the game, who, however much and however excitedly they might discuss current events, considered those events merely as they might happen in the narrowest sense to affect themselves. That "something" was the group of philosophic radicals -- the only men in Spain with whom a stranger from the north would have felt at home, or would feel at home now, if he could step into the Spanish past and listen to the talk of people in Madrid in 1868, for these men were to be the makers of modern Spain. ¹

b. Julian Sanz del Río.

1) The Philosophic Circle.

The beginnings of the philosophic radicals of 1868 belong pre-eminently to the work of Julian Sanz del Río. It was through his efforts that a philosophic circle was formed. "The circle included the best Spanish brains of the time, both in learning and politics." ² It was at this circle, and through the lectures of Del Rio at the University of Madrid that the generation of 1898 was born for the most part. Giner de los Ríos who is considered in a strict sense as belonging to the generation of 1898 was Sanz del Río's best pupil. Trend writes:

Sanz del Río seems to have been..... the first of a long line of Spanish students, (who went abroad to study). The remarkable thing is that they have been nearly all of them either his pupils, or pupils of his pupils. ³

Thus, the 'generation of 1898' was born not after the Spanish-American War, but under the influence of Sanz del Río, son

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1. J. B. Trend, The Origins of Modern Spain, Cambridge University Press, London, 1934, p.30.
2. Ibid., p.46.
3. Ibid., p.33.

of the Revolution of 1868. Often the men of 1868 are identified with the generation of 1898, as Trend well illustrates in the following lines: "like Fernando de Castro, Francisco Giner, Nicolás Salmerón and other reformers -- makers of modern Spain....." 1

2) The Father of the Generation of 1898.

Sanz del Rio might rightly be called the father of the generation of 1898 and of modern Spain. In this latter respect he dedicated himself to the spiritual redemption of Spain. As to the realization of this aspiration, Trend writes: "Sanz del Río contributed more than any other thinker to the transformation of the Spanish mind." 2 And as to the method in which he accomplished this Trend says:

Sanz del Río's importance does not rest only on his philosophical writings, numerous as they are both in print and in manuscript. His greatest work was accomplished as a teacher; and his teaching renewed the whole philosophical, moral and intellectual outlook of Spain. 3

As to the effect of Sanz del Río's work on Spain as a whole the following lines by Trend are apropos:

The work of Sanz del Río had enormous importance for Spain, and constituted, either directly by his disciples or indirectly by arousing discussion, a renaissance of philosophic studies and of scientific activity, which in their turn were translated into a definite raising of the moral and cultural level. Sanz del Río attracted all the better minds to philosophy, and opened the eyes of Spain to the intellectual life of Europe. For the first time Spanish interest was turned to German philosophy, and Sanz del Río was the first Spanish thinker whose knowledge of the German language enabled him to get directly in touch with Germans. 4

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 46.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 48.

3) The Influence of Krause on Sanz del Río.

The question naturally arises: What influenced this "son of a farm labourer" so as to make him the father of modern Spain? Initially it was the study of that language which is so difficult for Spaniards: German. This led to an interest in the philosophy of law as expounded by Krause. The lines set forth by Trend are both humorous and descriptive:

"Krause?" a young German asked in surprise, a man whose father and grandfather had both been connected with the University of Heidelberg, once supposed to be the stronghold of the Krausist philosophy. "Krause? That's no philosopher! That's a barber or a waiter! It's impossible that there should be a philosopher called Krause!" Yet Krause the philosopher did definitely exist, and he was neither a barber nor a waiter. ¹

The Krausist philosophy in kernel was as follows:

Law (it is claimed) should not be limited merely to the external conditions of the use of liberty, but should order the sole life of humanity in such a way that each of its members may approach with out let or hindrance the ultimate goal of his moral perfection. ²

This philosophy breathed the dignity of man on a high moral plain. It was opposed to the traditional philosophy of Spanish life, but Sanz del Río accepted it. It was "roughly the Kantian position, as expounded by Sanz del Río, and more particularly by his pupil Giner de los Ríos." ³

It now becomes evident why the Spanish intellectuals may very rightly be called the champions of freedom, for Trend says:

In Spain, Krausism represents more than merely a philosophical system, with its principles, its problems and its solutions. It

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 39.
3. Ibid., p. 41.

was a combination of the different forms of rationalist thought in politics, religion and philosophy, and stood in opposition to the scholastic tradition..... Sanz del Río offended the more orthodox minds. ¹

c. The Effect of Krausism in Spain.

What was the effect of the Philosophy of Sanz del Río upon those that defended the traditional ideas of Spain? A typical reaction is illustrated by Trend when he says:

A certain Manuel Ortí y Lara heard one lecture, and considered throne and altar to be in such danger that he spent the rest of his life in attacking Sanz del Río and the theories of Krause. He even learned German for the purpose. ²

Soon the members of the philosophic Circle, such as Fernando de Castro and Emilio Castelar were considered by the clericals and the conservatives as a center of heretical propaganda. The brutal fact is that they were right, and they lost no time in persecuting these "dangerous men who read German and studied German philosophy." ³ In 1865 Sanz was accused of pantheism and of corrupting healthy ideas. In 1867 the Marques of Orovie with government approval required all professors in Spain to sign an outrageous declaration of faith. Trend writes:

Sanz del Río refused to sign, justifying himself by the laws then in force; and like Fernando de Castro, Francisco Giner, Nicolás Salmerón and other reformers -- makers of modern Spain -- was deprived of his professorial chair. ⁴

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 40
2. Ibid., p. 41
3. Ibid., p. 44.
4. Ibid., p. 46.

But in spite of the persecution, of accusations and of unjust social ostracism, the Spanish intellectuals, the champions of freedom, made sure that their voices were heard through-out the land of Spain. Trend's eulogy is fitting:

To-day the Krausist philosophy has disappeared. There is probably not a single Krausist in Germany; while in Spain, the present generation regard Krausism as something monstrous; contemporary philosophy (they say) has got far away from those placid waters. Yet the Spanish Krausists were important, not because they were Krausists, but because they were philosophers, and was a correct attitude for the philosophical spirit to take up. The instrument, the Krausian system, was of less importance. What was valuable in it was the intellectual integrity with which the instrument was used. Intellectual integrity means knowledge, it means the absence of blindness and of mists, both in speaking and writing; and today the higher culture of Spain, and the organisms, institutions and persons which represent it, descend by easily identified paths from that group which was once a non-conforming minority. 1

2. A Brief Sketch of the Work of the "Generation of 1898."

a. A Host of Intellectuals.

The movement toward the dignity and the liberty of man was taken up by a considerable number of Spaniards. In order to provide a good idea of how deeply the liberal movement had taken root in Spain, it is worthwhile to list some of the most outstanding men who exerted considerable effort in bringing about the new Spain. This list is by no means exhaustive, and there are a considerable number of less important intellectuals who are not included. Aside from those already mentioned, these are noted: Pí y Margall, Nicolás Salmerón, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Joaquin Costa, Ortega Y Gasset, Hernando de los Ríos, Altamira, Patricio de Azcarate, Manuel Cossio, Azorín, Luís de Zuleta, Unamuno, Salvador de Madariaga, and former president of the last Spanish Republic Azeña.

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 49

These men, and many others, are by no means a homogeneous group in the strict sense of the word. As Oliveira puts it, "This enlightened section of the middle class had its own kind of religion---pantheistic humanism, or Erasmianism, or its offspring Krausism, or a Volterian deism,"¹ Yet, many of the intellectuals were Roman Catholics who wanted to see the Church reformed. These would include the Erasmians. But inspite of the fact that the details of their philosophy divided them, they were in complete agreement in respect to Spain's need for spiritual and social regeneration. These students of German philosophy, of French politics, and of English culture were fighting a wave of moral and spiritual pessimism and apathy which swept over Spain: "the call to the national spirit which had been made by such men as Costa, Cajal, Unamuno, Azorín -- the protest against discouragement made by the 'Generation of 1898.'"²

Although the Spanish intellectuals envisaged Spain's trouble as being predominantly social, the avenues of their work were mainly from two points of view: direct social reform on the one hand, and on the other an educative process.

b. Joaquin Costa.

More than any other man of the generation of 1898, Joaquin Costa was recognized as the spearhead of this movement, particularly in the field of social reform. "Costa is the symbol of the grief of Spain at the losses of 1898."³ This man who suffered from a malignant progressive atrophy had a wonderful courageous spirit. He

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1. A. Ramos Oliveira, op. cit., p. 428-429.

2. Trend., op. cit., p. 192

3. Ibid., p. 158

demand~~ed~~ an inquiry into the social conditions of Spain. His famous phrase, "put a double lock on the tomb of the Cid", is expressive of his spirit.¹ Costa Said:

Spain (he said in 1899, just after the American defeat) did not need the blood of heroes and martyrs so much as sang-froid, brains, self-control, and good-will of all men.²

c. Nicolás Salmerón.

The voice of Nicolás Salmerón was the voice of one who cried for "the sacred and inviolable liberty of conscience".³ Salmerón was constantly at odds with the Roman Catholic Church.

Trend writes:

He considered it an outrage, a violation of the child's conscience, to give him a sectarian education with the imposition of religious beliefs. The problem seemed at the moment to have been forgotten, but it would arise again; and they might be sure that it would arise in such conditions that in the name of liberty people would be found to defend the privileges of the religious orders, in the name of liberty they would ask for teaching to be placed once more in their hands, to the exclusion of science and all kinds of modern knowledge.⁴

His lectures at the University of Madrid startled the clergy. "What was he lecturing on? The philosophy of Kant..."⁵

Trend writes, quoting Giner on Salmerón's lecture:

"You must begin by freeing yourselves (he would say at the beginning of a course) from any sort of mental servitude. Lay aside all prejudice, acquired by the dogmatic imposition of someone whom you perhaps consider a master, or by the intromission of a minister of religion. We must work out our ideas without attending to any other demands than our own....."⁶

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1. Trend. op. cit., p. 161
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 144.
4. Ibid., p. 144.
5. Ibid., p. 149.
6. Ibid., p. 149.

d. Manuel Cossio.

Cossio, who followed along the same lines, makes this remark as to the problem of regenerating Spain. Trend writes:

The urgent problem confronting us to-day (Cossio) wrote in 1879 is to avoid the melancholy spectacle of young men who reach the universities without knowing how to listen, or think, or say what they think. 1

These brief sketches of some of the greatest thinkers in Spain give an idea of what they were all trying to do. They were champions for the freedom and dignity of man. Their worst enemy was the Roman Catholic Church.

But of all the men of the generation of 1898, who were the makers of the new Spain, the outstanding figures are Unamuno and Giner de los Ríos. The former is the spiritual prophet of Spain, and the latter the social and intellectual. A more elaborate treatment is forthcoming.

3. Giner de los Ríos.

Don Francisco was an Andalusian from the romantic and Moorish town of Rhonda. He came to Madrid in the 1860's to fill the post of professor of law in the University of Madrid. Later on he became the founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, (Free Institution of Learning), a co-educational school independent of the State and Church.

Giner "introduced a new spirit into Spanish life and education, or perhaps we should say he resuscitated, after it had been dead for many generation, that spirit of hallowed comradeship in the pursuit of knowledge..." 2 The Spanish writer, Azorín, describes well

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 195.
2. John Mackay, op. cit., p. 142.

the way Giner got along with his pupils at a meeting in his home which contained a wonderful library. Mackay writes:

Don Francisco guides them in their reading. He points out to them the beauties of the Latin and Greek classics and reads along with them the great poets of Spain. He educates them, in a word, not with the severely knit brow of a preceptor, but with the sweetness and gentleness of a sincere and passionate friend. After that they walk out together, they go on long excursions, they steep themselves in the landscape and in the odours and colours of the country side. ¹

At the Institution the aim was not merely educational, but moral and spiritual. "Giner and his colleagues were profoundly convinced that the only hope for the regeneration of Spain lay in the spread of education in the broadest sense." ² If education was to restore the vigour of mind and body which was lost by three centuries of inertia, it must produce transformed men. In effect, the institution attacked the very foundations of Spanish traditions. Giner sought to "combine the completeness of the German education programme with the broad and humanizing spirit of the English." ³

Trend writes:

The Institution was at that time the only school in Europe which openly sought to follow the spirit and general lines of English education, and which aspired to introduce open-air games, and the personal liberty which accustomed a boy to self-government. On the other hand, in their resolute avoidance of cramming, they were content that the quantity of work done should be smaller than in most schools on the continent, though they contended that its quality was higher. ⁴

Don Francisco set out to do what the Spanish traditional form of education had failed to do. It was in fact the failure of

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1. John Mackay, op. cit., p. 142.
2. Trend, op. cit., p. 68.
3. Ibid., p. 69.
4. Ibid., p. 69.

clericalism: "One thing, however, clerical education had not been able to achieve -- formation of character." ¹ Giner de los Ríos hoped for a transformation of the Spanish character by influencing individual consciences. It was for him to "reform customs rather than laws, and to conquer social life rather than a political party." ²

Don Francisco solved the problem of liberty and individual conscience by the saying of St. Augustine, "Love and do what you like." ³ It was his belief that action so inspired would result in supreme unity.

"Giner's personal life was that of a saint." ⁴ God was very real to him, but religiously he was a very lonely man, Mackay writes:

He yearned for a spiritual home but he found none. He would fain have continued within a reformed Catholic church, but when the hope of reform vanished he sorrowfully abandoned the Church of his fathers. ⁵

Luis de Zulueta describes the religious suffering of Giner de los Ríos in the following lines. Mackay writes:

How much he must have suffered on having to abandon the Church tearing himself away from the community of his people and its tradition. He did all he could to avoid it. The young disciple of Krause used to hear mass on Sundays, and like his friend, Don Fernando de Castro, he cherished the hope of a renovated Spanish Church. Don Francisco considered that he could not legitimately, without hypocrisy, continue to ally himself a Catholic. Outside the official Church, his religiousity became still intenser and purer. ⁶

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1. Trend, op. cit., p. 75.
2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Mackay, op. cit., p. 143.
4. Ibid., p. 144.
5. Ibid., p. 144.
6. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

Giner's spirit of religion was full of ethical content. For him religion was "lived rather than worked out philosophically." ¹ But in Spain he was considered godless. It is the Church's custom there to apply that term "to those whose religious beliefs, -- coincide not -- with an established dogma." ² He translated the word "charity" in I Corinthians 13 to sympathy, and he further describes the significance of it by saying, "sympathy, not only for things around us, but above all, veneration and love for the Source from which all this springs." ³

Don Francisco laid tremendous emphasis upon the development of one's own religious experience. As he put it, "every man in the intimacy of his soul.... every man has his religion." ⁴ It is immediately seen that this spirit is so contrary to the demands of the Roman Catholic Church upon the individual soul. Giner sought for the liberty of the Gospel, not slavery to the Church. Yet, Giner always spoke respectfully of the Church. Mackay's words are significant:

The vision of Don Francisco furtively entering a forgotten chapel and the anguished interrogatory parenthesis of Zulueta ("Why, my God, why? -- to fill with the new wine.") brings us to the heart of the religious tragedy of Spain.... Within the Church, aroma of empty wine-skins; without, an increasing number of religious spirits, followers of the other Spanish Christ, who live in perpetual quest of a spiritual home by the wayside of life. ⁵

Giner de los Ríos, like Christ, was buried outside the walls of traditional religion. "Yet with him went to the grave a piece of our national soul", writes Luis de Zulueta. ⁶

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1. Trend. op. cit., p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 131.
3. Ibid., p. 131.
4. Ibid., p. 131.
5. Mackey, op. cit., p. 145.
6. Ibid., p. 146.

Salvador de Madariaga, speaking in the University of Mexico on the New Spain said this about Giner, "What has just taken place in Spain is to a very large extent the fruit of the labors of that one man -- Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos." 1

4. Don Miguel de Unamuno:

Miguel de Unamuno was born in the Basque town of Bilbao. He is a countryman of Loyola and belongs to the most primitive stock on the peninsula. While attending a Jesuit school when he was a boy, he used to dream of becoming a saint. He did! But he became a rebel Christian saint, "and the greatest of Spain's mystic heretics." 2 Mackay writes:

In Giner we see and hear the Christ who taught his disciples on the hill slopes beside the placid sea; in Unamuno him who drove the merchants from the temple, who anathematized hypocritical religious leaders, who bitterly wept over Jerusalem and anguished later in the olive garden and on the Cross, the Christ who rose later from the dead to renew the redemptive struggle in the lives of His followers. 3

Waldo Frank evaluating Unamuno says, "Unamuno is the strongest moralist of our day. Wells and Shaw have thin voices beside his well-aimed uproar." 4 It is this Basque professor of Greek in the old University of Luis de León, who knows fifteen different languages, and learned Danish in order to read Kierkegaard in the original, who is intimate with the culture of Europe, and is deeply rooted in the Scriptures and the Spanish mystics that is one of the greatest living men today. Keyserling who is considered an expert of Karl Barth did not so much as know him until he met Unamuno.

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1. Mackay, pp. cit., p. 146.
2. Ibid., p. 147.
3. Ibid., p. 147.
4. Ibid., p. 147.

At the University of Salamanca in 1891, this Greek professor breathed fresh air through its ancient cloisters. The Thames, the Rhine, the Tiber, and the waters of Galilee, "began to flood the smooth flowing Tormes." 1

For more than thirty years this Basque prophet proclaimed his message in the classroom, the public hall, and on the written page. Essays, poems, novels, and philosophical works flowed from his pen unmercifully assailing the ills which plagued the nation. "There was no corrupting cancer which he did not uncover, no popular idol which he did not smash, no living problem which he did not deal with." 2

His emphasis on individuality, passion and action is almost unsurpassed. In the prologue to his work, Life of Don Quixote, he sounds the clarion trumpet; a challenge to heroic, mystic action. This is perhaps the most "Incandescent piece of prose-writing in contemporary literature." 3 Mackay asserts that "not even Karl Barth has set in higher relief the basic Christian realities of incarnation, redemption and resurrection than has Unamuno." 4

Because of his uncompromising opposition to the Church, Monarchy, and Dictatorship, Unamuno was exiled from Spain in 1925. Some English friends rescued him from the isle of Fuerte Ventura, sailing in a yacht to France.

The religious significance of Unamuno centers around two

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1. Mackay, op. cit., p. 148.
2. Ibid., p. 148.
3. Ibid., p. 148.
4. Ibid., p. 148.

main ideas: the sense of mission, and the sense of agonizing struggle. For Unamuno, the great problem of civilization is not the distribution of wealth, but coming to the reality of one's vocation in life. "A man begins to live when he can say with Don Quixote: 'I know who I am'".¹ Others may say he is a madman, but for him life has meaning. But behind this, Unamuno says that one must abandon and sacrifice all things to fulfill his mission in life. "Sow yourself" is Unamuno's declaration, "in the furrows of life."²

Unamuno combines Carlyle's gospel of work, and Giner's sense of the meaningfulness of life. Unamuno resuscitated Santa Teresa's saying: "entre los pucheros anda el Señor."³ No work was mean when a sense of God transformed it. Thus Unamuno wanted his countrymen to think on the deep things of life and of destiny.

Mackay writes of Unamuno:

They must abandon the "Coalman's Faith", and the graveyard peace in which their lives have been spent must be broken. It is necessary that they awake to spiritual unrest.⁴

Christ's greeting and Christ's peace is only attainable as one engages in spiritual war. The struggle for heaven is the means of knowing peace. This leads to Unamuno's sense of tragic agonizing struggle. His Psalms, which are said to vie with those of the great Spanish poet, Fray Luis de León, reflect Unamuno's spiritual struggle.

"My religion", says Unamuno, "is to wrestle with God from the break of day till the setting sun."⁵ He further emphasizes

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1. Mackay, op. cit., p/ 149.
2. Ibid., p. 149.
3. Ibid., p. 150.
4. Ibid., p. 150 .
5. Ibid., p. 151.

ethical motivation to a point which he calls "transcendental pessimism." In effect, it is the prophetic sense of courage; "though He slay me yet will I trust Him." ¹ To Unamuno, the essence of life is not so much victory as it is struggle. But Unamuno is a man of paradoxes. For while he says that the Cross is the "symbol of what true human life should be, 'agony'", in the same breath he says, the Cross is "the symbol and cipher of the eternal.....it is the instrument and pledge of victory." ² Unamuno's concept of 'agony' is taken from the original Greek sense of 'wrestling'. But while the sense of tragedy may be strong in Unamuno, so also is his sense of victory. Mackay writes:

"Never", he says in his last published book, "did God feel Himself to be more of a Creator and Father than when He died in Christ, whom in Him, in His Son, He tasted death." ³

Unamuno identifies the agony of Christ with the lives of Christ's followers. Unamuno's idea is that of Paul, whom he calls the "mystic discoverer of Jesus." ⁴ Paul strove for the fellowship of His sufferings. Thus Unamuno says, "Jesus will be in agony till the end of the world." ⁵ Consequently for Unamuno, the supreme objective of the Church's agony is the redemption of souls, precisely of individuals. Thus, he says, "The Kingdom of the Redeemer is not of this world." ⁶ The term Christian civilization, he says, is a misnomer. It cannot be identified with politics, economy, or patriotism, "Its specific mission is to make new men, living centres

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1. Mackay, op. cit., p. 152.
2. Ibid., p. 153.
3. Ibid., p. 153.
4. Ibid., p. 154.
5. Ibid., p. 154.
6. Ibid., p. 154.

of creative agony." 1 And this it must fashion out of every sort of human being.

Unamuno's challenge is to put the Cross where it belongs, at the center of life and thought. It is to make the Cross the power of God unto the salvation of individuals in the process of 'creative agony'. He invites Roman Catholicism to re-study the meaning of the Cross.

Unamuno is the prophet of spiritual and Christian liberty.

E. The Protestants in Spain and Religious Liberty.

1. The Message of 1910

While religious persecution went on during the twentieth century in Spain, and Roman Catholicism was having a tremendous influence upon the attitude of the government, the Spanish Protestants did not in any way sit passively awaiting better times. They worked unceasingly for religious freedom. But for historical record, there are only two major herculian efforts on the part of the Spanish Protestants to secure religious liberty and equality. Claudio Marín writes:

In the year 1910, Spanish Protestantism sent to the Cortes, a beautiful and well redacted message asking the legislative chambers liberty of conscience and cults. But before this message was sent, a strong company, in consequence of many existing ideals, was found to reside in many parts of Spain, especially in Madrid and Barcelona. It was possible to secure more than 150,000 signatures, not only of the Spanish Protestant element, but from a multitude of dissidents who desired also for themselves, a clear and difinitive establishment of religious liberty. 2

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1. Mackay, op. cit., p. 154.
2. Marín, op. cit., p. 390.

The letter itself was drafted by a well known native of Spain, and a man of letters, Mariano Valbuena. It was indeed a work of art. It reflected every evidence of respect, and a sense of patriotism only transcended by a higher loyalty to Christ. In spite of its brevity, it made a passionate plea in terms of historical, philosophical, Christian, and contemporaneous truths. Of the most notable sentences in the document this following is outstanding. Marín quotes:

The religious ideal has a sanctuary where no human hands ought to reach, and historical evidence proclaims that the violation of the religious conscience has resulted in, unfailingly, the glorification of a martyr, or in the moral decapitation of a nation. ¹

The letter further mentioned that 100,600 signatures for religious freedom had been acknowledged by the government, and ended with the plea that the representatives of the nation would not disappoint the hopes of the minority. Yet, actual developments after this letter was directed to the Spanish courts yielded only startling indifference to a just complaint nobly written, except it may be said that a more liberal interpretation of toleration was formulated. However, the most potent influence for religious liberty during the early part of the twentieth century in Spain was the "steady evangelical influence of the German Committees." ²

2. The Manifesto of the Spanish Protestant Students.

Shortly after the Civil War in Spain the Spanish Protestant Students issued a manifesto to the world which has been referred to earlier. It represents, however, the continued fight for religious

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1. Marín, op. cit., p. 391.

2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 66.

liberty in Spain. An extract from the proclamation demonstrates this truth. Hallström quotes:

People are seeking all sorts of human solutions to the Spanish problem - political and diplomatic solutions, Monarchical and Republican, Falangist and Communist. All these solutions are false. Spain is passing through a deep spiritual and moral crisis, which Franco and the Falangists have brought to a head, a more deep-seated crisis than exists in any other country even in Germany.

Only Christian love, justice and freedom can change the present spiritual and moral climate of Spain and lay the foundation for future unity and peace among Spaniards... ¹

3. The Leaven of Protestant Godliness.

But besides the proclamations there has been another element of Protestant activity in Spain which is more effectively sowing the seeds of religious liberty in the hearts of the common people, even amazing official representatives of Roman Catholicism. It is their exemplary Christian living. Hallström writes:

The little group of Protestants strive to apply Christian principles in their every-day lives. Their neighbors note this. By their work the Protestants can bear the witness which they are not allowed to bear by their words. This produces a great impression on the general public, and Protestants are generally revered and respected. That is how so many sincere Christians come to the Protestant churches despite the attentions of the police and despite the fact that the churches are not able to issue propaganda. ²

In another place the author cites a similar incident:

In Northern Spain I have heard time after time how Catholic priests have cited Protestants as examples of individual Christian integrity. Many Catholics who are not satisfied with the widespread religious indifference in their own Church would go over to Protestantism if they would not have to suffer persecution from the fanatical Jesuits and Falangists. ³

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1. Hallström, op. cit., p. 96.
2. Ibid., p. 52.
3. Ibid., p. 54.

Björn Hallström is an eye-witness reporter of what was going on in Spain in 1947-48. Such reports keep flowing in, and the Protestant spirit is taking hold of Spain slowly but surely.

4. The Spanish Protestant Appeal of 1946.

In September, 1946, a number of distinguished Spanish Protestants sent an appeal to the churches through the agency of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. They asked for the following concessions:

1. Exemption for Protestant children from Roman Catholic teaching in the public schools, and freedom to conduct Protestant schools.
2. The right to print Protestant literature.
3. The right to be married by civil ceremony and not by a priest.
4. The right to be eligible for government posts. Respect for their faith in the army, hospitals, and asylums, and the right to hold Protestant services at burials.
5. Freedom to do missionary work. ¹

5. President Truman on Religious Liberty in Spain.

The fight for religious freedom in Spain is having international repercussions. One recent and notable one is the case of Rev. Paul E. Freed, an American, who is doing considerable evangelistic work in Spain under the close scrutiny of Franco's police. The Rev. Freed, who is associated with the National Association of Evangelicals received an invitation from the White House for an interview with President Truman. After the interview, the Rev. Freed was given permission by the President to make a press release on their discussion. News service men took photographs, and received the release, but very few papers printed the story. Here is the unused press

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1. K. Grubb, World Christian Handbook, World Dominion Press, London, 1949, p. 43.

release. Mr. Freed said:

Referring to my recent visit to Spain, the President stated that he too was very much interested in obtaining religious liberty for Protestants and other minorities in that country. I feel that this attitude on the part of our chief executive is very important and that much can be done. The present Ambassador to Spain, the Honorable Stanton Griffis, is of the same mind and had expressed his interest in my return to carry on the work of securing a greater degree of religious liberty for non-Catholics. It is my purpose to return in a few weeks to work unofficially with Spanish and American groups in an endeavor to improve the freedom of religion and the press. ¹

The natural sequel to all these efforts involves not so much what the official Spanish government feels, but how the general public of Spain feels. This perhaps is the true way by which to measure the most probable consequences of Protestant agitation for religious liberty. The distinguished John Mackay sets forth the situation as follows:

The prevalent opinion among ordinary Spaniards is this: If full religious liberty were proclaimed in Spain tomorrow and no one were discriminated against because of his religion or his lack of religion, seventy-five per cent of the Spanish people would abandon all connection with the church. ²

F. The Summary.

Traditionally, though not true from its earliest history, the position of Spain on religious liberty has been a narrow one. This is only true within that period during which the Roman Catholic Church has been able to dominate Spain. This has been especially true from the time of the Mohammedan invasion. However, as time passes, and the Iberian people come increasingly in contact with the Protestant

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1. "Religious Freedom for Spain Urged", Youth on the March, vol. 2, No. 3, Issue 10, February 14th, 1952, p. 22.
2. John A. Mackay, "Protestant Pilgrimage", Presbyterian Life, vol. 4, No. 23, November 24th, 1951, p. 11.

concept of religious liberty and political democracy, the old religious concepts of religious unity lose significance for them. This truth becomes apparent in the latter half of the nineteenth century and with the passing of the twentieth century. In the former appeared the great Castelar, who in as wonderful a speech as will ever be heard in any parliament won partial religious liberty for all.

Although the reign of Alfonso XIII did not inherit the wonderful spirit of Castelar, there was at least some measure of religious toleration, as formulated under the Constitution of 1876.

Under the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera a more stringent restriction on religious liberty was put into effect. Under this dictator almost every wish of the Roman Catholic Church was granted.

It was not until the coming of the Republic of 1931 that any measure of real religious liberty came into existence. Roman Catholicism was put on the same status as any other religious organization and she chafed under that reign of religious equality. The main restriction imposed upon the Catholic Church was merely to take away its special privileges and to put her under the same restrictions as other religious beliefs. These were outlined in the Constitution of 1931 and the Law of Confessions and Congregations. The ideal of the Republic in doing this was not anti-Catholic, since many republicans were Catholic, but to free the state from the Church and the Church from the State. All government subsidies to the Church ended.

The Roman Church and the Pope wasted no time in condemning the Republic. Most significant was the Pope's encyclical Delectissime nobis, which listed eight charges against the Republic and declared "a spiritual war."

The Civil War came in 1936 and with it the death of the Republic and religious liberty. Also came General Franco, who won the people's praise, and who revived the Concordat of 1851 between Spain and the Holy See. He wiped out all of the religious privileges that had existed in Spain for other religious organizations other than the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church was in every way restored to her medieval glory only to bear the stigma of becoming synonymous with Fascism. Religious liberty disappeared from Franco-Spain.

Within these historical-political movements was an intellectual movement. In fact, for Spain, it was a new movement, which was initiated by the Radicals of 1868. This movement came to be fused with the Generation of 1898. Of the Radicals of 1868, Sanz del Río might rightly be called the "father" of this intellectual school. Greatly influenced by Krause and Kant, he declared that Spain needed to be regenerated. Castelar belonged to the Radicals of 1868. From these beginnings emerge a host of intellectuals all seeking to regenerate Spain, and to give it moral and political vitality. Joaquin Costa worked chiefly in the social field, Giner de los Ríos in the educational, and Don Miguel de Unamuno, in the spiritual. It was not to the communists that the Republic owed its existence but to the Generation

of 1898, and especially to Giner de los Rios.

Meanwhile, the Protestants were not sitting back passively. In 1910 they delivered a profound message to the government of Spain, invoking them to show grace to religious minorities. During the Civil War, the Spanish Protestant Students issued a manifesto to the world, and to all in Spain. The cry was for religious justice for all. In 1946 a Spanish Protestant Appeal was sent to the Franco government, asking for Spanish Protestants at least the common privileges of decent citizens, which they are beyond measure.

Down to this present year and day, the Spanish people as a whole want not only religious freedom but a democratic form of government.

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

THE PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN SPAIN

A. The Introduction

The fitting sequel to the last chapter on the problem of religious freedom in Spain is a discussion of the results of the suppression of religious liberty. Therefore, this chapter will concern itself with the persecution of Protestants in twentieth century Spain.

Apart from the fact that the persecution of Protestantism in Spain is an outcome of the suppression of religious liberty, it may be asked, what were the real motives for the persecution? Seeing that, so far as any court record is obtainable, accused Protestants were pious and upright citizens, why were they persecuted both overtly and implicitly? The reason for the persecution of Protestants will be discovered by studies of actual cases reported by eyewitnesses. These reports will be considered according to historical order from the reign of Alfonso XIII until the regime of General Franco to this present time.

Necessary to a proper treatment of this subject is a consideration of the literary attack against Protestantism in Spain. Not only "What do they do to Protestants in twentieth century Spain?" must be answered, but also, "What do they say about Protestants in twentieth century Spain?"

It must be clear at the very start of this chapter that a defensive presentation is not intended at all. What is intended is a presentation of facts without any comments of rebuttal. Therefore there will be the absence of remarks in the defense of Protestantism on the part of the writer. The hot coals of wrath will naturally burn themselves out. Jesus Christ needs no human defense, only a witness.

B. Immediate Motives for the Persecution of Protestants.

It is obvious at the start to realize that Protestants in Spain would not be persecuted by a mere desire to maintain religious unity in Spain either by the general public or even by many Roman clergymen. The previous chapter served to prove that the general sentiment of the nation was for the establishment of religious liberty for all. For in order to provide an incentive both to the laity and the clergy of Roman Catholicism, something more tangible and more immediately reasonable would be necessary to bring persecution on the heads of Protestants in Spain. In reference to these concrete motives for persecution Claudio Marín writes the following:

At the end of the 19th century, Protestantism in Spain came to be considered as public enemy number one. Throughout the nation voices of condemnation were lifted against it. It was blamed for all kinds of calamities and misfortunes. The cold, the draught, the bad harvests, the loss of men and of beasts on account of epidemics, all of these were, according to the Roman Catholic Church, and its satellites, caused by the presence of Spanish Protestantism. The savage irony of the fanatics, and the nefarious daring of the ignorant, put in grave danger the life of the Reform Movement. ¹

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 374-375.

The Cuban War of 1898 resulted in the presentation of an ultimatum by the United States to Spain for the independence of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Phillipine Islands. Spain lost not only the last visible vestiges of a great empire in a vast American continent, but a host of valiant soldiers buried forever in foreign soil and great material resources. The United States desiring its share of the victor's spoils obtained all of the former possessions of Spain except the island of Cuba. In Spain, it must be remembered, the United States was equated with Protestantism. As those who resented the loss of the last colonial holdings, transferred that resentment to the United States, Protestantism was included in that resentment. Gutierrez Marín writes:

The intervention of the United States in the war against Spain gave an impelling motive for a general persecution on the part of the Roman Catholic Church against Protestantism. The poor col-porteurs, above all, could not realize their work without exposing themselves to hissing, incarceration, banishment, ordered almost always by the civil authorities, who hardly dared to raise their heads against the domineering Church. ¹

Throughout the city street and the country roads could be heard the cry, "Go sell your books to the Yankees." ² Further Gutierrez Marín writes:

The nuns of Loreto, yelled without tiring that, "the Protestants ought to be exterminated." And in this tenor, in all regions, the persecutions were let loose without truce nor victor's mercy against the Reform Movement. ³

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 375-376.
2. Ibid., p. 376.
3. Ibid., p. 376.

C. The Overt Persecution of Protestants.

A truly complete collection of data on the persecution of Protestants in Spain during the twentieth century would fill volumes. Therefore the presentation here of the persecution of Protestants in Spain will primarily serve the purpose of describing the extent and kind of persecution which took place under the different Spanish Governments during the twentieth century.

1. Persecution under Alfonso XIII.

a. The Early Period as Witnessed by Manuel Andújar:

At the very beginning of the twentieth century a former Roman Catholic and Spaniard made a trip through Spain. This man was Manuel Andújar. He began his travels from the Rock of Gibraltar northward towards the Bay of Biscay. During his travels he made it a point to visit Protestant pastors and Protestant chapels, obtaining pertinent eye-witness accounts of the vicissitudes of those in the Protestant faith. Herewith will be given an account of some of his reports, typical of the time of the early reign of Alfonso XIII.

Andújar writes:

Spain today in matters of religious toleration has taken a turn for the worst since 1906. The liberals, from whom the best Spanish element expected a wider scope of freedom, had two or three cabinets in a few months, only to drop the reins of government again in the lap of the conservative Maura. Since then, the power of the Vatican, strengthened by the great influx of friars from the Philippines and from France, has been tightening the screws upon religious toleration. The nation is groaning under an iron rule, sustained by the clergy and the nobility against the will of the majority of the people and the King, whose liberal inclination is well known. ¹

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1. Manuel Andújar, Spain of Today from Within, Fleming H. Revell Co., New York and London, 1909, p. 46.

Stopping at Cadiz, Manuel Andújar reports the following:

The evangelical chapel in Cadiz is in a central place, but they are not allowed to put any sign on their door. There is a sign, "Capilla Evangélica" on the screen on the inside of the door that people on the street can read when the door is open. This is permitted, as it is not an external sign. However in Corunna, even this is not allowed, the authorities claiming that it is an external sign, as it is seen on the street when the door is open. The church in Cadiz, as well as those of its kind in Andalusia and southern Spain, is called the Spanish Evangelical Church. ¹

On arriving at Seville, Sr. Andújar met the Protestant pastor of an evangelical Presbyterian Church by the name of Pastor Carreño. This was in 1906. Before Sr. Andújar left, Pastor Carreño made these remarks as reported by Andújar:

He closed his remarks by asking the evangelical brethren of Puerto Rico to pray to God for their brethren on the Peninsula, that they may soon also enjoy the same liberty and freedom of worship, so that they may be able to work for the advancement of the Gospel, without being hindered by persecution or by the tyranny of the State and the Jesuitism of Rome. ²

At Madrid, Sr. Andújar met Bishop Cabrera, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer. This Church was the only one which had been built in Madrid. Andújar writes:

A complete account of the persecutions which the Bishop endured in the construction of this church would fill volumes... Every time permission was asked from the government for its final opening some technical red tape, pharisaical, hypocritical requirement was demanded. They always pretended to find some requisite that had not been filled according to the technicalities of the law, and each of these would take five or six months to pass and resolve in the offices of the government. Of course no cross or symbol or sign whatever of religion was allowed on the exterior of the church. When at last in 1893 permission was given to hold services in the church, it was on condition that the people should enter the sanctuary by a side door. O Satanic intolerance and

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., p. 63.
2. Ibid., p. 91.

perfidy characteristic only of a priest ridden nation, or of the times of Torquemada! How long do our readers think this door remained closed? Thirteen years! It had only been opened six months in June of last year when we visited there. ¹

In reference to how the door was finally opened, Bishop Cabrera related this following story to Sr. Andújar, who writes:

At the time a chapel in Barcelona was being built, opposition to its opening was strongly made by Cardinal Casana, and he asked the cooperation of King Alfonso. The answer to Casana resembled that of a Philip II; it was not from the King however, but was forged by his private secretary, Merry del Val, brother to the retrograde secretary of the Pope. This letter appeared in the papers on the same day that Alfonso XIII landed in London to visit the Protestant King Edward, and he considered it an insult causing of course the consequent blush of Alfonso. The papers both of Madrid and of other towns of Spain strongly criticized such intolerance in Barcelona. The foreign representatives insisted on their rights, and the Protestant Episcopal Chapel of Barcelona was opened and dedicated to the service of God. It was then that Bishop Cabrera went to the Governor of Madrid asking him what reason or excuse there was to keep the front door of his church closed when the Chapel in Barcelona had its doors wide open, to which His excellency answered, "Go ahead and open it"; the door was opened and may God grant that it may never be closed again. ²

At the northern seaport of Corunna, in the province of Galicia, Sr. Andújar met with the Brethren. Having observed their work, he makes this remark concerning them:

These Brethren must be fired with the Gospel, otherwise they would not be there, for the persecutions many of them endure in order to earn their living are most trying. These persecutions do not come from neighbors and friends, but from the bigoted priests who compel every one they can to boycott the Protestants. ³

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., pp. 138-139.
2. Ibid., p. 140.
3. Ibid., p. 162.

While Sr. Andújar, who was traveling in Spain with his wife, was remaining at Corunna, they met a colporteur by the name of Sr. Bouza. The evangelical was a man of long experience and a member of the Brethren congregation. Andújar writes:

He had just arrived from Santiago where he was arrested and had his Bibles taken from him and was put in jail by order of the mayor. Mr. Chesterman (Sr. Bouza's pastor) telegraphed to Sr. Bouza, and at the same time to the mayor, telling them that if they would not set Bouza at liberty and return his books, he would immediately report the case to the English Consul, and they would have to deal directly with him. Señor Bouza was released and his Bibles returned. ¹

In relation to this particular case, Sr. Andújar makes the following remark:

The priests are the secret police, who watch and order the mayors and judges to put all possible impediments in the way of spreading the Gospel. These officers are at the priest's mercy; if they do not obey, they lose their jobs. On account of this, many times the mayors and judges are glad when the Protestants who have been arrested or abused know how to defend their rights or gain freedom, for then they can give a plausible excuse to the priests for setting them free. ²

At Corunna, Sr. Andújar learned that the Protestant Church there had to build a brick wall just inside the main entrance, so that no one passing in the street might see the interior of the church. The priests were able to impose this upon the Protestants through the civil authorities. The wall in fact had to be built high enough to hide the words of our Lord, "I am the way, the truth and the life." "Not only evangelical hymns, but the words of our Lord and Savior are offensive to those benighted priests." ³

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., p. 162
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 164.

In the town of Corunna, Sr. Andújar learned that there was an English Protestant Cemetery. A civil one had also been built since the Governor of the Province was a republican, and was not domineered by the priests. Under the law in Spain, every town was allowed to have a civil cemetery at least one third as large as the Roman Catholic, but very few towns had them. "The threatenings of the clericals keep the municipal authorities from fulfilling this duty."¹ Thus because of the absence of civil cemeteries, the Protestants have built their own, although under great difficulties and persecution. However, "the cemetery is the one place where nobody will molest Protestants. There they have the right to sing and preach in the open air all they want."² Mr. Chesterman told Sr. Andújar, that the people of the town knowing this fact come out in great numbers to a funeral service where the Protestants turn it into an occasion of victory. They invite other pastors to come, and hold a preaching service for about three or four hours. "There have been as many as four hundred people at these funeral services. "It is strange that the priests have not yet invented something to deprive our brethren of this blessed opportunity."³

Sr. Andújar learned also that in the village of Villar, in the province of Galicia, in the year 1902, a group of farmers who refused to pay the priests a special tithe took it upon themselves to break away from the Catholic Church completely, even

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., p. 164.

2. Ibid., p. 164.

3. Ibid., p. 164

upon threat of excommunication. One of the men in the village, already at the age of 64, heard that there were missionaries to the north about 60 miles away, and took it upon himself to go there on foot and ask them for help. The Protestants could hardly be persuaded by the tired, old and ragged man to make the trip back with him, but gave him encouragement and literature. After he returned, the farmers becoming deperate, he decided to make the trip again. This time the Protestant missionaries consented. Andújar writes:

The Archbishop of Santiago, hearing of the movement, sent missionary friars to Villar, in order to counteract the evangelical work. They held processions, cried nearly every day, "Down with the Protestants," and planted large iron crosses in the neighborhood of the Church.¹

An illustration showing the extreme to which the Catholic clericals went to molest and persecute the Protestants is described for us by Sr. Andújar in the following lines:

A short time ago a little child died and was buried by the Protestants. The priest accused the physician who attended and the father of the infant of having wilfully or negligently caused his death and demanded an investigation and exhumation of the corpse. The object of the inquisitorial curate was to frighten the Christians and confine in jail the only physician who dared to give medical attendance to the Protestants, Dr. Eduardo Vázquez. But he was absolved before the court, and a few months afterwards this doctor was assaulted in the public road by a brother of the priest with the intention of killing him. What kind of religion is that which tries to destroy those who think differently?²

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1. Manuel Andujar, p. 193.
2. Ibid., p. 195.

Speaking of the life of a Protestant in the Spanish Army

Manuel Andújar says:

The Spanish Protestant soldier who purposes to practice the Gospel and refuses to participate in the customs of idolatry and Roman superstition is more than an ordinary character; he is a hero. Not all are punished, for some have come under liberal and reasonable officials, so have protected them from confinement and dungeon. ¹

A clear case of persecution was the case of the Protestant soldier Indalecio Sánchez of the town of Villar, who joined the army in 1905. Andújar says:

He had repeatedly informed his superior that he was a Protestant, and that he could not take part in certain religious acts of Romanism. However, when the occasion arrived, they compelled him to go to mass on parade with the others. Of course, he knew he could not refuse to form and march on parade, so he went into the church, stood up like the rest, but when the little bell rang and the host was raised and the soldiers presenting arms, knelted down, our brother remained like a statue on his feet in the midst of the cathedral and almost in the center of his regiment. He never bent his knee, never bowed to a piece of dough, which the superstitious Church pretends to make God.

Brother Sánchez was arrested and placed in a dungeon; his trial lasted six months. The court recognized his right according to the Constitution. He could not be compelled to participate in a religion that was not his; this was ably shown by the officers who defended him. But in order to satisfy the demands of the ecclesiastical authorities, who like hungry inquisitorial wolves were unwilling to allow their prey to go free, he was condemned to six months and one day in jail. ²

Another incident showing the rage of the clericals against Protestantism and on the other hand the patient behavior of the Protestants, took place in the city of Marín. The incident occurred in consequence of the fact that a Roman and Protestant burial took

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., p. 198.

2. Ibid., pp. 199-200.

place at the same time. Sr. Andújar writes:

The Priest and about a dozen persons went to the Catholic funeral. The Protestants arrived soon after with their 200 following the corpse began their services in the cemetery. After the priest had finished his work he passed along before the Protestants, and enraged at seeing such a number of the people and hearing the preaching of the Gospel he walked in and railed against the people, saying that they should not listen, they should go out. They did not pay any attention to him, especially as they thought he might be intoxicated. As he insisted on disturbing the meeting they took him by the hand and led him away. This enraged him the more, and he lodged a complaint against the missionary before the court.

When the judge learned the circumstances he said to the priest, "You ought to be very thankful if they do not have you arrested for disturbing their meeting. That was their place, and you had no business to enter; they were perfectly right to put you out." The priest left the court and never molested the Protestants again. ¹

Sr. Andújar's reports may be verified by a reference to reports which were recorded in Spain itself. The writer was able to obtain a number of copies of Revista Cristiana, which were printed in Madrid. In spite of wide persecution of the time, it is interesting to observe that very little space is given to details of persecution, but just enough to keep the reading public informed. The paper itself was dedicated to positive Christian teaching. Under the title of "La Libertad Religiosa en España", (Religious Liberty in Spain), the Revista Cristiana reports:

El Liberal, (a newspaper), already many times has cited because of its valiant campaign in favor of religious liberty, not giving itself to censoring the abuses which are committed. On the 23rd of May, 1905, the newspaper published the following acts:

"Although the political leaders do not deny it, not a day passes in the which new Dukes bray (rebuznan) at the idea (of religious freedom), with the intention, of doing away completely with the little religious liberty which is left.

"That is how it came to pass, that certain evangelicals, where chained in the town of Molina, Murcia, where they were in the process of charitable practices without molesting anyone, and how the entire community felt it had the legal right to run these down.

" To this moment there is no further information by which

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1. Manuel Andújar, op. cit., pp. 210-221.

we can make a complete report; unless the manly generosity of the Governor of Murcia will provide it. This authority, in view of what has occurred in Molina, has ordered the center of operation closed, in the which the evangelicals have carried out their work very peaceably, on the pretext that their solicitations had not been carried out at a wise time." 1

b. The Period of 1912-1916 As Witnessed by Alexander Steward:

These reports thusfar cover only the very early period of the reign of Alfonso XIII. It must be emphasized again that these are authentic reports. The question now is, do conditions improve for the Protestants under the reign of Alfonso XIII as time goes on? This question may be answered by referring to another eye-witness account of the British preacher Alexander Steward who did evangelical work in Spain from 1912 to 1916. What did Alexander Steward experience?

Not long after being in Spain this evangelist tells about an incident which occurred to him while distributing tracts. Steward writes:

On another occasion, during those days, I was distributing tracts among the villagers in a small village not far from Benadolid, when the village secretary, who was on horseback came to me. Addressing me in a tone of authority, he said, "Who gave you permission to distribute those?"

"No one! I don't need permission," I replied, knowing that I had legal right for my action.

"Don't distribute any more," he said in a commanding tone.

"But you have no right to stop me."

"I say don't distribute any more," he said in a threatening way.

At the suggestion of Pedro and Antonio who were with me, and both of whom at the time were in difficulties with the cacique agents, and wished to avoid complications with the village authorities, I desisted from the tract distribution.

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1. "La Libertad Religiosa en España," Revista Cristiana, No. 611, June 15, 1905, p. 155.

The secretary, an unprincipled tyrant acting in the interest of his church, was violating the constitutional civic laws which he was paid to uphold. ¹

Alexander Steward was using the town of Algeciras as the center of his evangelical work. During one of his return visits he met some colporteurs who told him about the many difficulties, trials, and persecutions they had to endure. Steward writes:

I listened with interest to the stories they told, of the many occasions in which they had been attacked by Roman Catholic priests. I learned also how, priests had instigated the people to oppose all Protestant propaganda. Incited by the clergy, fanatical mobs armed with sticks and stones, had on many occasions chased the colporteurs from towns, villages and hamlets. By threats, denunciations and curses, clergymen did their worst to prevent their followers from buying, receiving, or reading any Protestant literature. The colporteurs were condemned as heretics and their books as poison. ²

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1. Alexander Steward, In Darkest Spain, Marshall Brothers, London, 1927, pp. 40-41.
2. Ibid., p. 44. A modern parallel to this incident occurred in Colombia recently reported by the New York Times, March 23, 1952, cols. 5 and 6, p. 32. The article is entitled, "Protestants Accuse Priests in Colombia."

A Protestant organization here charged tonight that three Roman Catholic Priests had led a mob of stone-throwing children in an attack on a Presbyterian church in the city of Ibague yesterday.

The Colombian Evangelical Federation said in a press release that the pastor's office had been "destroyed" and a number of windows broken in the raid, which, it charged, was the climax of a propaganda "war" against the Protestants by the priests.

The day before the attack, the federation added, a priest said in a public speech that Protestantism was heresy, that it was a public shame to permit Protestant propaganda and that, consequently, Catholics must make war on Protestants.

According to the federation, the priest then declared: "You know there are Protestants near by, and we do not need them. They must go! We do not want the false doctrines they profess in the city of Ibague."

The following day, the statement related, priests marshaled thousands of children in Ibague's central square and incited them to attack the Presbyterian church. Three priests led the attack, the federation charged.

The extent to which the persecution extended, which was supported very obviously by the civic officials, who were supposed to carry out the constitutional laws regarding religious liberty, is reflected in this sign which Alexander Steward saw in the town of Termino de Santiago de Espada. Steward writes:

If persons who have taken Protestant books or Bibles do not hand these over to the authorities within eight days, they will be denounced and excommunicated by the pope. 1

However, the persecution of Protestants often took on a more insidious form. This is well described by the evangelist Steward who reports the following article which he read in El Cristiano, in 1912:

For several years the Protestants of the village of Mozoncillo de Juarros had suffered much persecution and boycott from private individuals, and were so harassed and boycotted by the village officials as to make life almost unbearable. The cultivation of common land granted to others was forbidden them. They only were prohibited the use of the mill and smithy. They alone were not notified when a public auction of firewood, manures, and other materials necessary for agricultural life took place, while upon them rates and taxes were more rigorously enforced than upon the others. Finding it useless to appeal to the village authorities for redress of their grievances, they had appealed to the governor of Burgos, as the higher authority, who gave them unsatisfactory and evasive replies. 2

After being in Spain for some time as a Protestant evangelist, Steward sums up his reaction relating to persecution of Protestants in Spain in the following words:

To keep her people in ignorance, the Church of Rome condemns the right of private judgement in matters pertaining to faith. To maintain her clammy grip upon the will and darkened mind of her followers, she is opposed to Protestant agencies for disseminating a knowledge of scripture and truth. She proscribes their books and prohibits the reading of them as sacrilege. To keep her

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1. Alexander Steward, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
2. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

subjects in submission to her dictates, she has made it obligatory under penalty of penance and purgatory to avoid Protestant churches and meetings. To retain clerical control she creates and fosters in her adherents a spirit of bigotry and fanaticism against all who differ from her in thought and teaching. By scandal and calumny she stirs her deceived followers to violence against promoters of progress in liberty and thought, and freedom of will. An instance of this took place in Bilboa during the time I was resident in La Linea.

In the Gaceta del Norte, a Jesuit periodical, inflammatory articles appeared in condemnation of the Bible Society book-stall erected in the local fair. In these articles, with titles such as "Catholics be on the Watch," "Insulting Propaganda," "Hateful Protestants," readers were incited to oppose with violence the colporteurs and their literature. Demands also were made upon the local authorities to close the book-stalls. To prevent the sale of books, other articles were published, "False Bible," "Damaged Goods," "Illicit Propaganda," "Books Opposed to the Religion of the State."

By preaching from their pulpits rancorous sermons in condemnation of Luther, the Bible Society, and all Protestants, priests infuriated their hearers to resentment of the book-stall. The result of this was that the deluded people made appeals to the civic authorities to close the stall; tumultuous mobs of fanatics gathered, ordering the colporteurs to discontinue the sale. Armed police, specially commissioned by the governor from the first day of the fair to safeguard the colporteurs and their stall, prevented the storming and violence which took place at the fairs of San Sebastián, Pomplona, Salamanca, and Zamora. ¹

c. The Later Period Under Alfonso XIII

Toward the end of Alfonso's reign, on the 10th of January, 1921, pastor and ex-priest Francisco Navarro, with nineteen other persons of the Protestant faith, were jailed. They had come to the city of Ciudad Real to celebrate a reunion. The sole reason given for the incarceration was that more than twenty people had taken part in the affair.

Another incident of far graver character was reported by The Morning Courier, a newspaper of Badajoz. Under the title of "Achievement of Valiant Ones", the paper reported the following:

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1. Alexander Steward, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

Yesterday we were visited by a poor, sick man, flogged. They had taken him out of the lodging house where he was to sleep, at midnight; they had exposed him and conducted him to jail; they had taken him to the country where they had slapped and clubbed him cruelly.

We can add to this story that, besides this, they cut his hair off his head, also, his beard and mustache, and his eyebrows. ¹

What was the crime that colporteur Félix Vacas had committed? He was caught selling Bibles and Protestant tracts in Badajoz. This happened in 1921.

In September of 1921, the Ferrocarriles del Norte de España (Railway Lines of the North of Spain) an enterprise that was always in the hands of the Jesuits, received an order that all evangelicals with books should be forbidden passage in order that travelers might not obtain Protestant literature. ²

These reports, all authenticated by record, give a distinct portrayal of Protestant life under the reign of Alfonso XIII, better said, the persecution of Protestants under the reign of Alfonso XIII! The question now is, did persecution continue under the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera: Did persecution slacken, or did it become more intense?

2. Persecution Under Dictator Primo de Rivera.

Pastor Alexander Steward, who had been in Spain only under the reign of Alfonso XIII and who had a thorough understanding of the motives and sources of the persecution against Protestants, makes the following remarks concerning conditions under the Dictator-

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

2. Ibid., p. 393.

ship of Primo de Rivera:

The persecution of Protestants by Romanists is as keen in Spain today as it was when I lived in the country. Instances of opposition and inquisition are continuous.

In 1925, two Protestants in Ambrona were arrested and fined because, while singing hymns at home, they did not close the house door.

The following was taken from an article entitled "Protestantism, the Greatest Danger in Spain", which appeared in a recent issue of Sal Terrae, a Jesuit periodical:

"Let us rise up against the Protestant pastors who come to destroy our people. Let us use every means in our power to hinder them directly or indirectly. Whenever possible, let us take them before the public tribunals. Let us oppose them with the greatest stubbornness and energy in order that not only no more should enter, but those Protestants who are in Spain should get out." 1

It should be remembered that the Dictatorship lasted from 1923 to 1930. In view of that, the following reports of persecution are relevant:

In the year 1926, a certain Governor refused the permission of an evangelical periodical, The Testimony, on the pretext that such a publication was contrary to the religion of the State.

The schools of Laguarres, in Huesca, have been closed by the authorities for having as their text-books works contrary to the teaching of Roman Catholicism.....

In Grove (Pontevedra) a case is held against the pastor of the Church for having spoken in public, in the open air, at a funeral service, done openly in the countryside, since in the locality no civil cemetery exists.....

Pastor Miguel Abelló, from the little town of Turis, Valencia, has been banished from that locality because certain of the members of his church, located at Larga street, No. 47, had insulted the Catholic priest.

In Grove (Pontevedra) a case was opened against Carmen Padin, an evangelical Christian, for having said the following among other things, "the mother of Jesus had had other sons," a thing one reads in the Gospels. She was condemned to two years of prison in Segovia. 2

Beside this, in the town of Piedralaves, Avila, catechetical maidens "burned in the Plaza of the Constitution a good num-

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1. Alexander Steward, op. cit., p. 285.
2. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 393-394.

ber of Bibles, Gospels, and leaflets." ¹

Fortunately, as in the case of the reign of Alfonso XIII, there is available in printed form, an eye-witness account of the persecution of Protestants under the Dictator Primo de Rivera. The accounts were written by a missionary by the name of Ernest Trenchard. Intimating the repression and abusive treatment of Protestants in Spain, Trenchard writes:

We arrived at Cepeda, and were proceeding slowly through the place without suspecting any difficulty; but on passing the station of the Civil Guards, one of them came out and stopped us, and, to our surprise, made us understand that we were to get down, as he had orders to detain us, should we pass there, until his superior should return....

It was getting dark before the officer in charge of the post returned, and he rather roughly examined our papers, and threatened us with worse things should we continue with meetings or propaganda in that district. After that he let us go, and then there was nothing for it but to return to Soto. In Spain the Civil Guards can detain any one on suspicion for twenty-four hours without handing them over to the authorities, or incurring any responsibility. In our case the priest of Soto, one of the worst of his type, had stirred up the Guards to act as they did. It was all extra-judicial, and to a certain point illegal; but under the Directory one was thankful if nothing worse happened. ²

Speaking about the extreme limitation under which he had to work and the dangers of it, Trenchard writes:

These meetings finally had their centre in our own home, but still with the character of "cottage meetings", public meetings being impossible, as we had no hall licensed by the authorities. Numbers increased to such a point that the enmity, always present, but sometimes dormant, of the priest and his satellites was aroused. The fact that two youths were seen listening at the closely-shut window during an orderly meeting in our house was made an excuse for a denunciation; we were promoters of public disorder, and the sound of the singing would be likely to injure the religious susceptibilities of the eminently Catholic village. For this offence

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 395.
2. Ernest H. Trenchard, Sketches from Missionary Life in Spain, Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd., London, pp. 85-86.

a small fine was imposed in the local court, and I was given to understand that the intention of the authorities was to stop meetings altogether. This being confirmed, and the fine greatly increased by a higher court, we had the sorrow of having deliberately to discourage large numbers from coming to meetings and classes, so that the work might not be stopped entirely. Singing was suppressed in the gospel meetings, which were held at the hour when the enemy was most vigilant, and the place of meeting was transferred to our kitchen, a very retired room, where we arranged the forms in a circle to preserve, as far as possible, the appearance of a familiar gathering. ¹

When one of the members of his congregation passed away, Trenchard displayed the real courage of a Christian, defying the law, the priests and the civil authorities, and gave Juan Blasquez a Christian burial. As it was, the evangelist was watched, As the author puts it, "In the meantime, however, the priest and Alcalde of Sotillo were at work, trying to stir up mischief." ² As it turned out, he was jailed, after getting no reply to a petition addressed to the provincial Governor.

Ernest Trenchard, servant for Christ, sums up his opinion of the Dictatorship with the following words: "the only ultimate law in the country was the Dictator's wish, and the only rule in the provinces the whim of the Provincial Governor, who was another dictator in little." ³

3. Roman Catholic Threats: Under a Free Republic.

Under the Constitution of the Republic of 1931 religious liberty was guaranteed to all. Yet, in spite of the seeming radical proposals of the Republic in turning away from the wholly Catholic tradition of Spain, the latter manages to exert tremendous influence.

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1. Ernest Trenchard, op. cit., pp. 6-7.
2. Ibid., p. 32.
3. Ibid., p. 32.

Few Protestants outside of Spain would hardly believe that persecution continued under the Republic! Yet, this is the case. This information is not gathered from history books, but from the lives of those Protestants who lived there. It is not being said here that the Republic was not able to prevent a great deal of it. What is being said is that the Roman Catholic Church did not respect the laws of religious freedom laid down by the Republic, and did all within her power to continue the persecution of Protestants. How is this known? For this information a great debt is owed to Dr. and Mrs. Wirts who labored for Christ in Spain during this period. However, the greater part of the evangelical work belongs to Lydia Wirtz, who gives the following insight into the power of the Roman Church during the days of the Republic. Doña Lidia (Spanish name) and her son Luis came upon the remote town of Allariz, and decided to put on an evangelization campaign. The night before the appointed day, which had been extensively advertised, a friend of theirs insisted upon seeing them. "He had come to inform them that the Jesuits were planning to frustrate the campaign on the following day, by what means he did not know."¹ He insisted that they call off the campaign. But as they were within the law, they could not be dissuaded.

On the following day, the meeting started with the presence of about fifty men, and their women folk came later, Then all of a sudden it was noticed, "that bands of young women were reaching

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1. Wirtz-Pearce, Cosecha Española, Casa Unida de Publicaciones, Mexico City, 1949, p. 148.

the plaza from all directions. A moment later, with rapid movement, they surrounded the ladies^m (ie., evangelists). Sensing the danger, they took to the road, which had been fortunately been swept recently, so that there were no loose stones on the road. "Pursuing them closely, they forced them to run unmercifully, until Doña Lidia, almost exhausted, threw herself on a bench along side the road."¹ Finally they came to the place where they had boarded, and the proprietor, seeing the multitude, lifted a heavy stick and threatened them off. With this bit of help, they hurriedly made ready their luggage and made off to the garage. Here they had the relief of finding Luis ready with the automobile. But the young women had ascertained the escape. "The women lunged at the automobile throwing a hail of stones. Doña Lidia lifted up her valise, and three times they made it fall from her hands."² Luis was hit, but recovering himself, he managed to get the car going, until finally they were out of danger. Luis taking a road he thought safe, only discovered that the escape route had been anticipated. All along the road at certain passes, fires were waiting for them, for the intent purpose of setting the automobile afire. Luis had to get out of the car to put out the fires, and groups of hostile people could be heard saying, "Que-madles el auto!" (Burn their car).³

Sometime later, Luis returned to the same town, and the people received him very amicably. They told him that the mayor of

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1. Wirtz-Pearce, op. cit., p. 148.
2. Ibid., p. 150.
3. Ibid., p. 150.

the town, who had sympathized with them, had been attacked on the road. A group of fanatics had gathered around his house and stoned it. They called to Madrid for protection. "President Azaña sent an armed force to expel the Jesuits from the Monastery, and again the forces of evil were defeated when it seemed sure they had won a victory."¹

4. The New Inquisition under General Franco.

For all practical purposes the discussion of persecution in Spain under the rule of General Franco must be confined to what relates to Protestants. However, the reader is reminded that there was and still is spiritual persecution in Spain directed against other than Protestants. One of these sources, which must not be consigned to the "fallacy of the excluded little", is found in a few words uttered by General Franco to the Honorable Carlton J. Hayes when the latter presented his papers for the office of Ambassador to Spain on June 9th, 1942. After a flowery speech by the American, General Franco replied, as recorded by the Honorable Carlton J. Hayes himself:

I very gratefully reply to the kind words by which Your Excellency conveys to me the greeting and personal esteem of the First Magistrate of the American people. To these I cordially respond, joining to his my reciprocal good wishes for him personally and for the nation over which he presides.....

I believe also in the good of the economic interchange to which Your Excellency refers in the words you have just spoken, thanks to which the friendly spiritual relationship of interests between the two countries, based on the principle that no people on earth can live normally by its own economy and that all need one another for the attainment of human needs.²

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1. Wirtz-Pearce, op. cit., p. 151.
2. Carlton J. Hayes, Wartime Mission in Spain, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1946, pp. 28-29.

It is noteworthy indeed that Franco said in effect that all need one another for the attainment of human needs. No doubt he was thinking about the financial distress of the Spanish nation, but the statement has logical implications of a profound nature.

Abel Plenn, an American journalist, who has been in Spain during Franco's reign writes:

Protestantism was another matter. Although there were only about 30,000 Protestants in all Spain, representing less than one-eighth of one percent of the country's predominantly Catholic population of 25 million, the Spanish Church persisted in viewing them as a serious threat...? Protestants were identified with Masonry and anti-clericalism and were persecuted relentlessly. ¹

As to the extent and intensity of this persecution Abel Plenn says:

Few exceptions were permitted in the Church's crusade to wipe out Protestantism and Masonry in Spain, and these consisted mostly of such high-placed military men as General Aranda and General Berbón, who were said to be Masons.....

Severe penalties were imposed on officers or soldiers found to be Protestants or Masons. At least one of Franco's generals, Pita, who had held an important post in Galicia, was said to have been shot for being a Protestant and Mason. ²

Further the author writes:

Everywhere I went, I encountered cases of fanatical persecution of Spanish Protestants. In Barcelona, a manicurist, who was a Catholic, told me how an entire Protestant family to which she was related had had to agree to be rebaptized as Catholics, to go to Confession and to study Catholic dogma over a period of weeks, in order to obtain the release of one of the sons who had been jailed for being a Protestant.

From other Spanish acquaintances and friends, who were Protestants -- mostly Methodists -- I heard of numerous instances of brutal intolerance, discrimination and persecution practiced against Protestant ministers and congregations by police and other officials at the behest of Catholic authorities. Raids were carried out constantly on houses where Protestant services were held. Thousands of pesetas in fines had been wrung from these congregations.

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1. Abel Plenn, op. cit., p. 90.

2. Ibid., p. 91.

The houses had been closed down and signs placed outside, reading:

"Closed for Holding Protestant Services." ¹

a. Franco's False Pretenses:

In view of these opening remarks, it is fitting to review some facts concerning Franco's religious ideas and intentions. To do this effectively it is necessary to refer to the beginning of Franco's career. Björn Hallström writes:

When Franco, immediately after he landed in southern Spain, allowed Moorish soldiers to imprison Protestant ministers, the Baptist World Alliance made an official inquiry about the future of religious freedom if he were victorious. Franco replied to the effect that he personally desired to maintain it, but that he needed to reckon on getting the same question from Hitler and Mussolini, who expected the opposite answer. ²

During those early days of the Civil War, the English government had been looking wistfully at Franco in respect to the contemplated religious policy, as well as to political and economic policies. It is not generally recognized that the English were watching the Spanish scene with tremendous interest. The British therefore, wishing to obtain some matter of satisfaction in relation to the religious question, sent Sir Walter Maxwell Scott to inquire. Hallstrom writes:

In reply to a question from the Englishman, Sir Walter Maxwell Scott, in 1937, Franco categorically promised that under his regime the Protestants would enjoy complete religious freedom. And He gave his Minister in London, the Duke of Alva, authority to promise Lord Phillimore that there would be "far-reaching toleration" for all Christian Societies. In reply to a further question

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1. Abel Plenn, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
2. Björn Hallström, op. cit., p. 25.

from Lord Phillimore, he guaranteed that religious freedom should be established in accordance with the principles formulated at the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford in 1937. (The Duke of Alba declared later that he had been strongly criticised by Franco for making this declaration in which he had promised a little too much.)¹

The English people were pacified and therefore gave Franco passive help² in order to bring back peace in the world.³ But was Franco a man of his word? What do the facts show? Björn Hallström writes:

But as soon as Franco found himself in power he showed that he had not the slightest intention of fulfilling his promise about religious freedom. Immediately after his march into Madrid he closed all the Protestant schools all over Spain. Also he closed the Protestant churches every where, except in Madrid and Seville, where they were allowed to remain open out of consideration for the foreign embassies and consulates. The outbreak of the Second World War then diverted the world's attention from these proceedings. The Protestant churches were handed over, with or without compensation -- to the Catholics.²

What other deeds did Franco do or permit, to demonstrate that his promises were false? Having finished slaying democracy in 1939, one year later these are the practices his Catholic-Fascist State was promoting as recorded by Hallström:

A year later the premises of the Bible Society in Madrid were closed and a stock of 100,000 Bibles was confiscated by Franco's police. Protestant baptism, marriage and burial were forbidden. In prisons, hospitals, and the army, everyone was required to profess the Catholic State religion and to take part in Catholic services. The Protestant clergy were either imprisoned or else driven into exile. It was not long before Franco left Hitler and Mussolini in the lurch despite the fact that they had helped him to come to power. The Jesuits distributed in the prisons a leaflet in which they clearly declared: We have got foreign help for fighting the Protestants and the Freemasons. Beyond this we have not committed ourselves to anything.³

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1. Björn Hallström, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Franco still went much further to violate his promises.

Björn Hallström writes:

In the year 1941 Franco made a treaty with the Vatican exactly ninety years after the Concordat between Isabella and Pope Pius IX. Both treaties were in almost the same words, and Franco thus turned the hands of the clock back ninety years. Franco promised to recognize the Catholic Church as the only legitimate church in Spain, and also to put all schools and freedom of the press under the control of the Catholic Church. The regulations of 1869, 1875, and 1931 were repealed. The Jesuits got complete censorship rights over everything printed. No teacher could teach unless he was recommended by his parish priest.

The Protestant congregations which had been deprived of their churches assembled in private houses for their services, but all such private meetings were forbidden in principle in Spain. The police appeared at these services even when only three or four persons were present and made arrests. Fines and prison sentences were imposed. Spain was back in the age of the Inquisition.¹

b. The Situation As Witnessed by Björn Hallström After 1945:

The validity of these remarks may be verified by anyone who wishes to take the trouble to look up documentary material, but the reader is emphatically pointed to the fact that Björn Hallström was an eyewitness of these facts in Spain. However, the author was not allowed legal entrance into Spain after much petitioning. He began to ask the question "What is there to hide?",² He then says, "As a consequence of my disappointment, from then on my curiosity and interest to see what was behind the Spanish Iron Curtain grew in intensity."³ Mr. Hallström continues:

I determined to cross the frontier without the permission of the Madrid officials. My purpose found egress and I traveled freely throughout all Spain... It is to be understood that I could not take any notes in my travelings, but when I regressed to the tolerant and calm atmosphere of London, I put down all the impressions of my journeys.

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1. Björn Hallström, op. cit., p. 27.
2. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, Casa Unida de Publicaciones, Mexico City, 1951, p. 8.
3. Ibid., p. 8.

For various reasons, and obvious, I cannot describe my route, nor can I mention the names of people I met. But one thing I can say, and that is that I had the glad privilege of knowing some members of the underground movement, which I would not have met had I traveled with official permission. ¹

What did Mr. Hallström discover behind the Spanish Iron Curtain? How did Franco fulfill his promises of religious liberty? What was the nature of the Fuero de Los Españoles as it was practiced in Spain? Björn Hallström says:

Now that I have returned from Spain I am in a position to say that religious liberty does not exist, and that Franco's Fuero de los Españoles was simply a gesture for the benefit of the outside world. Spain is the only country in Europe where the Bible is considered as prohibited literature. The Protestant schools are closed, and that right in the nation where the educational level is probably the lowest in Europe. Frequently evangelical periodicals are prohibited because of their "proselyting" content. Since Franco's victory, the Protestant clergymen have been in and out of the prisons, and constantly under the vigil of the police. All the sermons are noted by Franco's police, and all people who assist in the services of the Protestant churches are registered. ²

The fact to be noted thus far is that reports of the persecution of Protestant were pouring out of Spain in spite of Franco's promise to high officials that there would be "far-reaching religious toleration in Spain." It is necessary now to refer to actual cases of persecution. Björn Hallström writes:

I visited in the south of Spain a Methodist minister who had been in jail for ten years on an account of his Protestant faith. He was a pastor in one of the first cities which Franco occupied with his Mohammedan soldiers from Morocco, and was one of the first (pastors) to be jailed. He was sentenced to thirty years of jail, but was released conditionally after the tenth.

Mr. Hallström continues:

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., p. 8.
2. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
3. Ibid., p. 9.

In the summer of 1940 the official Falangist party arranged a demonstration outside of the Bible Society's premises in the Calle de la Alta Flor in Madrid. Copies of the Bible were in front of the show-window and this made the Falangists indignant. "Is this what we fought the Civil War for?" they shouted. This incident gave the Franco police and the Jesuit censorship a welcome excuse for making an attack. One day the police appeared and raided the place. A stock of 100,000 Bibles which they found on the premises was confiscated. The blinds were drawn down and sealed. They have remained down ever since; "in the interest of public security", all doors were sealed. Only the fact that the secretary of the society, Senor Mucha, had his private flat behind the office and shop premises and needed to use the same doorway made it possible for anyone to get in. In his home he has one little room as an office in which he sits for two hours each day managing his affairs. When we visited him there we go past a whole row of doors, sealed with the police seal, before we arrive at the little office. Outside the house, Franco's secret police are on patrol. Calle de la Flor Alta is rather a short street where there is little traffic. So one easily notices that representatives of the secret police are always walking about. ¹

Speaking about the Protestant school in Madrid, El Provenir

Björn Hallström says:

The inscription on the door and over the entrance were eliminated. The inscription said: "The fear of God is the beginning of knowledge." The Franquists considered it to be a "Protestant expression" which could not be tolerated. ²

Mr. Hallström relates that the problem of obtaining Protestant ministers is very grave. He says that the Seminary in Madrid affords a good illustration of this:

With the help of the English a Seminary was founded in Madrid which could be maintained. However, it had to close down during the Civil War because it was difficult to get new professors to come to Madrid. Since then it has been impossible to re-establish its work. However, help has been promised to the institution, but the Franquist authorities have done everything possible to prevent its opening.

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1. Bjorn Hallstrom, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Bjorn Hallstrom, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., p. 48.

Meanwhile, a great number of congregations have lost their pastors, those who have not been assassinated have been exiled. There are a great number of young men who have the call to be ministers, and who are now ready to receive their seminary training. But the Seminary (in Madrid) continues to be closed as it has been now for ten years. (The author makes a footnote, declaring that shortly after his book was printed the Seminary was opened with ten students attending.)¹

Not even the Bible escapes persecution in Spain. The author in referring to a translation of the Bible by the Spanish Protestant Reina, makes the following observation:

Thou shalt not make any images, not any similitudes thereof.... Thou shalt not bow before them, nor do them honor. This translation was produced in Spanish in the times of Luther, and now it is outlawed in Spain.²

While Björn Hallström was in Seville, he witnessed the Catholic procession during Holy Week. He also became acquainted with the Protestant Church there. He writes:

The procession of the "Holy Week" passed by very close to the (Protestant Church). But it remained shut from the time that it had been the object of a violent attack. The windows were covered with planks of wood, and it is not possible to obtain the material necessary to repair it, although the churches of the Jesuits have obtained material for their own buildings.³

Speaking of the manifest slow progress of the Protestant Churches in Madrid, Hallström makes the following observation:

..... it must be kept in mind that no Protestant church can make propaganda in accordance with the law. They cannot even make use of outdoor bulletin boards announcing their church, nor are they allowed to be registered in the telephone directory.⁴

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., p. 64.
2. Ibid., p. 57.
3. Ibid., p. 62.
4. Ibid., p. 64.

While Björn was travelling incognito in the northern province of Spain, he discovered a most interesting fact about the Basque Catholics. He writes the following:

..... the Catholic Basques of the north, who are more religiously devout, have demonstrated tolerance toward the Protestants, and in some cases have cooperated with them. For this reason, these Catholics have also been persecuted. ¹

While travelling in the south of Spain, the eye-witness who has been quoted learned what the typical Roman Catholic feeling was toward Protestants as compared with that toward atheists who at least consider themselves nominal Catholics. Björn Hallström writes:

A Protestant minister who worked as an itinerant preacher in order to visit all his congregations, told me the following incident which is typical: This minister travelling by railroad had as his fellow-travellers two members in high Catholic office and one atheistic student. They travelled together all night, during the course of which there was a very heated discussion from three different points of view. Finally, the Catholic clergymen were informed that the student was baptized in the Catholic Church, and they said to him: "If you are an atheist, my son, this does not matter; because you are a Catholic atheist, and you accept the dogmas of Rome." And in that way they accepted him as an ally against the Protestant (traveller). ²

This attitude is confirmed in the words of a clerical newspaper printed in Barcelona, Diariode Barcelona. The Catholic editorial said:

The heresy (referring to Protestantism) is worse than all the immoralities and vices, a concept that does not surprise those who understand the rudiments of Theology. ³

Björn Hallström tells about the terrible conditions under which the Protestants in rural places must live:

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., p. 65.
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. "Comentarios a la Carta del Rey," Revista Cristiana, No. 611, June 15th, 1905, p. 168.

In the rural districts it is still dangerous to be even a passive Protestant. I came to know a member of the Baptist Church who remained standing while a procession passed by. All those standing about him bowed, and he tried to leave hurriedly in order not to offend Catholic adherents. But the people fell upon him and abused him seriously. Afterwards, the Civil Guard came, and they took him to the police station. He was beaten with the butt of a rifle. At evening he was notified that he was free, and that he had been dismissed from his place of work. He was punished further by a fine of 5,000 pesetas (his daily pay was only 4 peseta). Seeing that he had been dismissed from his employment, and having to pay so high a fine, he made a petition on the strength of the Law of the Poor (*Ley de los Pobres*). But the benefits of this law are denied to Protestants. Today, he and his family must depend on the help which can be apportioned to him by those of the Protestant faith. ¹

While in Estramadura, a province near Portugal, Hallström learned about a Baptist congregation which was seeking a minister. Finally they had a response from an ex-Catholic and minister in Madrid who agreed to take on their work. The reaction to these activities by both the Catholic Church and the civil authorities is most revealing. He says:

Nothing has been able to stop the work of this minister in Estramadura. The authorities of Franco have tried everything. They tried to bribe him, offering him a considerable amount of money if he would only return to the Catholic Church. But neither threats nor promises, nor cunning, nor violence have forced him to give up. This minister belongs to one of the most ancient and noble families of Spain..... His work is a typical example of the abyss which exists between the official decree called *Fuero de los Espanoles* and the vigorous purposes of the Catholic Church and the Falangists who seek to sneer at religious liberty. ²

c. The Observations of John A. Mackay 1951:

The distinguished American intellectual, John A. Mackay, who is an authority on Spanish culture, and who actually has a deep affection for the people of Spain, made a pilgrimage to Latin Europe

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., p. 76.
2. Ibid., p. 78.

during the summer of 1951. Any report from his lips certainly could not be doubted. He is a man of integrity and truth. As an eye-witness of the treatment of Protestants in Spain, his report is the same as Björn Hallström's. He writes:

Happily the violent and spectacular attacks on Protestants and Protestant places of worship, which marked the early years of the Franco regime, no longer take place. In the present international situation with the re-establishment of relations between Spain and the United States, it would not be in the interests of Franco that they should. On the other hand, overt persecution has been transformed into a subtle, sadistic, inexorable policy of making the social and cultural life of Protestants as intolerable as possible. In the expression of their religious life, Protestants are surrounded by the grim, confining barriers of the ghetto. They may worship in buildings which they possessed before "the glorious movement", as the present regime calls the new order in Spain. But no external sign can mark a Protestant place of worship. No publicity can be given to the services; no literature can be published by the congregation. No religious gatherings, however small, can take place in private homes. I met people who had been fined because in their homes small informal religious gatherings had been held. No authorization can be obtained for the organization of new congregations or the establishment of new places of worship. Protestants can have no recreational clubs for youth. They can conduct no parochial schools for their own children. They cannot become officers in the army, because every officer is obliged to accept the Catholic faith. For like reasons they cannot become teachers or lawyers, because advancement in all the professions is contingent upon courses in Roman Catholic dogma and the abandonment of every Protestant connection. One profession, that of public notary, is now reserved exclusively, so far as new members are concerned, for those who belong to a secret Catholic order known as Opus Dei. This is a new order organized by the Church for the purpose of controlling the intellectual life of the country.

Most revolting of all is the fact that when any person, man or woman, who was baptized a Catholic becomes a Protestant, he or she finds it practically impossible to be married civilly by a judge. In the great city of Madrid there are only two judges who have the conviction and the courage to perform civil marriages for couples one member of whom had broken with the Roman Catholic faith. In every part of the country I learned of many instances in which young people had to wait for months and even years before they were able to get married. There are persons in Spain today who even find it impossible to enter honorable wedlock, because

the civil authorities fear the power of the clergy.

The supremely powerful figure in the smaller communities is the parish priest. For that reason there are regions in the country where it is impossible for Protestant families to have any religious service in the home or at the grave when they bury their dead. In most communities not a religious word may be spoken nor any ritual act performed in the cemetery. There have been cases in which only the immediate members of the bereaved family could accompany the corpse to the place of burial. And yet, withal, there is a vigorous community of twenty thousand Protestants in Spain whose number is increasing and whose youthful members are aglow with enthusiasms, ¹

d. The Observation of Dr. Zacharias Carles and Other Evidence

The "Spanish Christian Mission" with headquarters in Toronto, Canada, founded by Dr. Zacharias Carles, issues interesting reports from Spain, all of which are eye-witness reports. Dr.

Carles writes:

Brother José Morado, who, as far as we know, was the last one to lose his life for Christ two years ago in Spain. He died as a result of being beaten by the Roman Catholic Authorities. ²

Roman Catholic propaganda in the United States has given the impression that it is the mortal enemy of Communism. Even the late controversy initiated by President Truman over sending an ambassador to the pope has been founded on the belief that such a political act would be beneficial in combating communism. At least this is the reason given by President Truman of the United States. In this light, the following words are then to be contemplated with utter seriousness. Dr. Carles writes:

As to many Romanists, he who is not a Roman Catholic is a Communist, most of our Evangelical brethren suffer, and some have been officially killed, branded as Communists. The fact of the matter

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1. John A. Mackay, "Protestant Pilgrimage", Presbyterian Life, vol. 4, No. 23, November 24th, 1951, pp. 10-11.
2. Dr. Zacharias P. Carles, "Power of Rome in Spain", Spaingrams, vol. 4, No. 27-28, January-February, 1951, p. 4.

is that in Spain Romanism is more afraid of the Evangelicals than of the Communists. In the leading daily paper, "El Corree Catalan", of Barcelona -- a paper with ecclesiastical censure -- an article appeared stating that they -- would prefer a million Communists to one Protestant. Romanism knows the calibre and the strength of the Evangelicals in Spain. Our brethren are rooted in the Gospel. 1

As monotonous as it has seemed to read in so many words the same story of persecution in Spain, there is still a tremendous amount of material left untouched. Yet, it is necessary to confirm the truth of these facts with every available source, sources which are historic facts. Of the most significant sources is a copy of documentary material which has reached the writer's hands, Three actual letters, and one article extract from a Catholic magazine in Spain will be reproduced here. The Director General of Madrid writes:

Spanish State
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
Director General of Registers,
and Notary.
(Section 4)

Miss E. M.
Afuera Puerta Nueva,
Aragón.

Following your request addressed to His Excellence the Minister of Justice, concerning a civil marriage before the Justice of the Peace:

The Director General informs you that, in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of Justice of the 10th, March, 1941, no civil marriage in Spain can take place if either of the parties has been baptized in the Roman Catholic Religion. The fact of belonging to another religion, or of practicing no religion at all, does not exempt the party, who has received Catholic Baptism, since this Sacrament of Baptism cannot be effaced.

May God protect you always,

Madrid
The Director General, 2
signed: (Illegible)

.....

1. Dr. Zacharias P. Carles, Spaingrams, op. cit., p. 4.
2. "Words Pass Into Deeds", Religious Liberty In Peril, op. cit., p. 23.

The following is a note that was addressed to a woman whose mother had recently died. The Mayor of N. writes:

State of Spain.
TOWN HALL OF X.
Province of N.

By order of His Excellency the Governor of this Province, I beg to inform you that with regard to the burial of Sinferiano Fernandez, which is to take place to-day, the funeral procession must not be accompanied by an Anglican pastor while proceeding to the cemetery, and must show no outward signs of any confession other than the Catholic. At the gates of the cemetery the pastor may take the body under his care, and according to his rites. You are warned that any disobedience to this order will be subject to law.

Please sign the copy of this communication.

X..... 16th November 1947.
The Mayor. 1

The following is a letter that was sent to the Protestant pastor around the area of Figueras. Twelve Catholics write:

Figueras, 8th, March, 1948.

To the Protestant pastor of the Church which is not evangelical.

Disgusted by the passiveness and indifference of the local authorities who once again seem to permit heretical practices in the Church which is not evangelical --- (because it is separated from Christ, or the Pope, His representative on earth), --- a matter which is an outrage to our town; and basing ourselves on the laws of the Spanish Catholic State, which allows liberty of conscience, but forbids the public practice of any religions other than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, we have decided to demand our just dues, before being forced to exterminate this heresy completely in our town.

This breed of heretics, who by guile abolished the Inquisition in order to sow bad seeds of discord and schism among the Spaniards, has not been able, and will not be able to extinguish or even diminish the sacred flame of the Catholic Faith of the Apostle James kindled in the hearts of our ancestors.

.....

1. "words Pass Into Deeds", op. cit., p. 24.

For this reason, and in order to ensure that our brothers in Christ are not led astray, we forbid you in future to dirty the soil of our town, and to continue poisoning the consciences of our fellow-citizens.

Do not force us to soil our hands....

For if the Holy Inquisition has been officially abolished, it still exists at least in the national spirit.

The glory of God, and the good of our brothers force us thus to declare war on you.

Your person will be continuously watched.

Signed: Twelve Catholics. 1

A distressing article is the following one which is printed by an official Catholic magazine. It is included by the editors under the caption of "Religious Liberty In Peril."

In Spain the "Requetes" have always been partisans of solid Tradition. In the Magazine "Requete" No. 2, of September 1947, they published an article in which they boasted of the pillaging of a Church. We give these extracts as an admission on their part. The editor forget to say that the pastor was beaten and molested.

On Sunday 27th, September, a group of "Requetes" attacked the local Protestant Chapel at Granollers (Barcelona). Although this was not in the least premeditated on their part, they noticed that an "evangelical meeting" was taking place in that chapel.

They informed the pastor (who was in the act of reading the book called by him "the Bible"), that they were not disposed to tolerate the least infringement of Catholic unity, especially, since the Crusade of 1936, -- the aim of which had been to sweep away and drive out of Spain certain plagues caused by the Republic and liberal Monarchy. One of these plagues had been to allow Protestantism, which spelled ruin to our unity, to penetrate into Spain. The Protestants were again renewing their efforts, and the Requetes of the Crusade would not tolerate it.

The "Chapel" was entirely pillaged by our Requetes, and the heretical library completely destroyed. As for those who were present at the service through their own ignorance by mistake or through their curiosity, no harm was done to them. These people were not foreigners, and the pastor of Tarrasa is also no foreigner. This was pure Protestant propaganda, proselytism undertaken by Spaniards for Spaniards. 2

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1. "Threats", op. cit., p. 20.
21. "Words Pass Into Deeds", op. cit., pp. 21-22.

As one Protestant pastor put it, who experienced persecution in Spain, "one would think one was in the Middle Ages rather than in the Twentieth century." So it is very difficult to realize that these conditions exist in Spain today.. But when a paper like The New York Times carries an article about the very things which have been described here, one's doubts are completely removed.

Right in this year of 1952, the correspondent, Camille M. Cianfarra, writes:

A group of Roman Catholic youngsters forced their way into a Protestant chapel in Seville last Monday night, beat up the pastor and attempted to set fire to copies of the Bible and hymn books.

At the time of the attack, Dr. Santos Molina, the pastor, was conducting choir practice with some boys and girls who were members of his congregations. The chapel, called the "Church of San Basilio", is situated in Calle Relator 39. It is in the interior of a building that looks to a casual pedestrian like an unpretentious house.

The Roman Catholic boys-- about fifteen of them-- some of whom displayed the insignia of a Catholic organization on the lapels of their coats, broke down the door of the house, crossed a small patio and burst into the chapel shouting "Down With Protestantism!"

Some of them carried small cans of gasoline which they poured on the pews and books. They then ignited them and fled.

When the pastor attempted to interfere he was knocked down and bruised. Members of the congregation succeeded in putting out the fire before it spread to the furniture. They immediately notified the authorities who sent the police to guard not only the San Basilio chapel but the two other Protestant centers in Seville -- the Holy Trinity and the Baptist Church. ¹

The words of John Mackay are most fitting for an ending of what has been brought to light here. Dr. Mackay says:

..... Today the true Spain is either not at home or inarticulate. But Spain has not spoken her last word to the world. Tomorrow...

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1. Camille M. Cianfarra, "Protestant Cleric is Beaten in Spain", The New York Times, March 6, 1952, col. 5, p. 8.

... she will speak. The great voice of the Reformer Juan Valdes of the sixteenth century, and the great voice of Miguel de Unamuno, the prophetic spirit of the twentieth century, will again be heard in the land -- and in the world. ¹

D. The Literary Attack Upon Protestants

The literary attack against the Protestants in Spain have been voluminous. A study of this subject alone would fill volumes. However, all of the attacks contain a stereotype attitude. With this in mind two works published in text-book form will be presented. The first work is that of a Roman Catholic curate who lives in Spain, the other the work of an American Roman Catholic. The latter is associated with the Catholic University of Mexico and the Catholic University of Haiti, as a professor and visiting lecturer.

1. The Book of Remigio de Papiol in Spain, 1923.

The literary attack against Protestantism in Spain by this Roman Catholic curate is found in his book entitled, *El Protestantismo Ante La Biblia* (Protestantism Against the Bible). This work by Remigio de Papiol is really a theological treatise attempting to show that Protestantism is in reality against the teachings of the Bible, if not contrary to them. It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter into theological discussions, but merely to present the purpose of the book and to indicate definite references.

The book originally had another title, namely, Falsedad del Protestantismo (The Fallacy of Protestantism). This fact is attested to by a photostat which the reader may refer to in the

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1. John Mackay, "Protestant Pilgrimage", op. cit., p. 11.

Appendix. It is in the form of a letter written to the above author by the internuncio, Juan Marenco of San José, Costa Rica.

Fortunately, the author begins with a prologue which reveals the purpose of the book. Papiol writes:

For some time now Protestantism has been coming sowing spurious wheat among the sons of the Catholic Church in Spain, and in the Hispano-American Republics, with the purpose of destroying the faith that our fathers have given us for an inheritance as the richest and most precious inheritance.

It is a fact which has been frequently repeated that some recently born Protestants have the nerve to molest the Catholics, provoking them to disputes in respect to certain teachings and practices of our Holy Religion.

In order that our brothers in the faith may not be seduced by the siren voice of heresy and may find themselves always ready to defend their beliefs against the contradictions of their adversaries, as the Apostle advises in Titus 1:9, ye are offered this book, where ye will find the doctrines most necessary to understand the fundamentals which forms the basis of the truths which our mother, The Church, teaches us, and which the Protestant sects cast aside in the name of the Bible.

Before going into the material, we want to say some words concerning the point of view in which we find ourselves, in order to demonstrate the fallacy of Protestantism. The strongest armor, the most convincing argument, which are primarily valued by the Protestant sects (Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, etc) to combat the Roman, Apostolic Church, which is the Church founded by Jesus Christ, consists namely in affirming that many of its (Roman Catholic) doctrines are not found in the Bible.

This affirmation rests, evidently, on an error, which is called in Logic, petición de principio, (petition of principle). In effect, the Protestants give by supposition what they ought to prove and cannot prove to know: that all the truths revealed as such are consigned entirely within the Bible.

Very well then: WHERE AND WHEN DID JESUS CHRIST EVER SAY THAT ALL OF HIS TEACHINGS OUGHT TO BE WRITTEN IN THE BIBLE? IN WHAT PART OF THE BIBLE DOES ONE READ THAT ALL THE REVEALED TRUTHS OF GOD ARE FOUND IN THE BIBLE?

Dear reader, take the Bible in your hands, go through all its pages studiously, and not on one page will you find such a doctrine. Since the Protestants admit no other proof of faith but the Bible, the result is that they cannot even prove their first fundamental principle.

With what right then do they dare to contradict many of the truths taught by the Catholic Church, by the mere fact that they are not found in the Bible?

By this simple process of reasoning it would be more than sufficient to demonstrate the fallacy of Protestantism.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to combat the error to its very last trench. Every time that the Protestants admit the authority of the Bible, we propose to demonstrate in this book that THE PROTESTANT DOCTRINES ARE INEVIDENT CONTRADICTION WITH THE TEACHINGS OF THE BIBLE in connection with certain principles and dogmas of the Christian Faith. In this manner the fallacy of Protestantism will be proved by the Bible itself. ¹

These words speak for themselves. But a word is needed concerning the technique of the book. Primarily, it takes a so-called Protestant teaching, and then finding the Scripture passage which the Protestant believers use to support that teaching, it analyses the Scripture to see if it measures up to the teaching. It is another question whether this is done successfully or not. Anyway this is the technique of the book. An illustration is appropriate:

Protestant Teaching	The Bible
Mary had other sons besides Jesus	Some Scripture references. (My note: they left out Math. 1:25.)
	Catholic comment..... ²

In brief, the attack by Remigio de Papiol in his book El Protestantismo Ante la Biblia against Protestantism in Spain is a Catholic apologetic, in defense of the traditions of the Catholic faith, and an attempt to expose Protestantism not only as a pure

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1. P. Remigio de Papiol, El Protestantismo Ante da Biblia, Eugenio Subirana, editor Pontificio, Barcelona, 1923, pp. v-vi.
2. Ibid., p. 1.

heresy, but as even being in direct contradiction to the Bible which it uses to defend its teachings.

2. The Book of Richard Pattee in the United States, 1951:

The work of Richard Pattee is a perfect example of the Fascist-Catholic propaganda that has been circulating around the world these days, and particularly in the United States. The thesis of the book is that anything that is not Roman Catholic through and through is devoid of any spiritual value, and in respect to Spain harmful to the culture of that great people. The folder of the book contains an interesting viewpoint:

Fact and evidence to the ultimate degree characterize this calm but piercing study of the Spain of today in terms of its complete history, from the earliest beginnings to the present. The author's conscientious accuracy treats all the facts of history with the perfect measure of justice. Whether praise or blame is due, the facts are handled with honesty and without prejudice. ¹

If the above is true, one wonders how after a thorough understanding of that great Spanish soul, Giner de los Ríos, who loved his country so deeply and understood its tremendous cultural potentialities, the author finds no restraint in writing the following lines:

Giner de los Ríos, however, was dominated by the secularist idea and made no attempt to take advantage of the deep-rooted Catholic tradition of the country. His work gives the impression of either complete unawareness of this spiritual past or the deliberate effort to break with it and cast it into oblivion. ²

Of Miguel de Unamuno, Pattee says:

Unamuno was tormented and torn with doubt. His magnificent paradoxes and sometimes cruel thrusts reveal a spirit that cannot find

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1. Richard Pattee, This Is Spain, The Bruce Publishing Co. Milwaukee, 1951, front flap of folder.
2. Ibid., l. 54.

certainty; that is lost in savage criticism of the existing order with all its defects and the inability to point the way to a more balanced society. His *El Sentimiento trágico de la vida* is the eloquent and moving confession of this impotency. ¹

Nowhere in the whole book is to be found any mention of the tremendous spiritual depths of both Giner de los Rios or Miguel de Unamuno. One cannot help but feel that the whole slant of the author's words indicate that when these men lost Catholicism they lost everything. In the case of the former, certainly great men like Salvador de Madariaga would disagree completely with Mr. Pattee. As to the case of the latter, he is both a heretic and an anti-fascist. A comparison of what Richard Pattee is trying to do for Franco and what Franco did to Miguel de Unamuno would be most fitting here. The back leaf of the folder says:

This Is Spain thoroughly orients the reader to the necessary background for understanding modern Spain.... The Second Republic through the end of the Civil War becomes a horrifying expose of Soviet interference in Spanish affairs.

Pattee demonstrates that the communist propagandists' continuing efforts to discredit the Franco regime in the eyes of the world have been intended to strangle Spain's economy by creating confusion.

The paradoxical situation which found Spain the only nation to have survived the devastating physical pressure of communism, has only recently been changed. Reluctantly Spain is being admitted to the circle of Western nations girding themselves against the threat of conquest from the East. ²

What these remarks affirm about Richard Pattee's work is entirely true. But under close scrutiny grave issues are raised, for one, that the Republic of 1931 was not only communistic

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 53.
2. Ibid., rear flap of folder.

through and through, but not even Spanish! That Franco-Spain is a complete friend of the Western democracies! That they are unjustly strangling Spain economically! Are there valid answers from another point of view to these issues? In the first case, Pattee writes indicating his concept, a Roman Catholic Concept, of the character of the Republic of 1931: "...the great uprising of 1934, the first chapter in the bloody tragedy of Red Spain." 1 As to its affinity with the Spanish people he writes: "In this un-Spanish Republic the fault did not lie with the conservative classes who presumedly had refused their support to it." 2

As to whether or not Franco-Spain is the friend of the Western nations this following story of what happened to Miguel de Unamuno told by Abel Plenn will answer the question. Mr. Plenn writes:

To cap the optimistic outlook for Franco, a meeting in the venerable old capital of Salamanca.....had been called to establish the fact that....the hope of Spanish culture depended on the success of Nationalist arms.....

Even the celebrated Miguel de Unamuno.....had agreed to attend.....

His decision to be present had pleased Franco greatly..... He had asked his wife to act as Unamuno's hostess.....But the mere presence of Spain's most brilliant, outstanding philosopher, Franco had been quick to realize, would constitute a powerful argument with which to refute the repeated Republican charges that the Nationalist movement was reactionary and anti-cultural.

.....Unamuno.....sensing his own death approaching, had seen in the meeting a long awaited opportunity to clarify his own position toward the Nationalists whom he had supported passively in the hope that they might correct some of the mistakes committed during the Republic but who had since shown that their victory would signify terror and enslavement for the Spanish people.

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 170.
2. Ibid., p. 142.

.....the grand old man of modern Spanish philosophy, wrinkled and hardy as the great oak at Guernica.....sat at the meeting quietly, listening to the speakers, most of them leaders of the new, invigorated Falange.

Then...one of the speakers launched into a tactless condemnation of the regionalist movements of Spain.....

"The Basques are anything but Spaniards", the Falangist speaker shouted, "They don't even know our language!"

The celebrated polemist had risen to his feet at once.....

"As you all know, I am a Basque. But I have also had the pleasure of teaching some of the most distinguished inhabitants of Madrid the Spanish language."

Unamuno had not yet resumed his seat, when a man nearby, wearing the uniform of the Spanish Foreign Legion, had sprung up, his face dark with fury. It was General Millan Astray himself, "The Madman",.....Waving an Army pistol in his lone hand, the notorious adventurer and bully who had once made Franco his favorite and had since received many favors from the all-powerful Caudillo in return, had bellowed:

"Down with intelligence!"

Unamuno, still on his feet, had then uttered the prophetic warning that the Nationalists' victory would be bloody and meaningless:

"Venceréis pere no convenceréis -- ye will conquer but not convince!"

Unable to contain his own frenzy any longer, shouting above the growing uproar in the auditorium, Franco's bosom friend, Millan Astray, pointed his gun at the aged man and shrieked the piercing cry.....

"Viva la muerte -- long live death!" 1

Not long after, the great man Unamuno died, a heart-broken man, and full of agony over the future of Spain. Is Franco friend of democracies?

As for Communism in the Republic, John A. Mackay writes:

This visit to Spain confirmed me in the conviction that the darkest blot on the escutcheon of the great democracies who won the Second World War against Fascism was that they betrayed Republican Spain to its Fascist enemies.....The Spanish Republic was not a communistically inclined regime.

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1. Abel Plenn, op. cit., pp. 160-163.

The democratic Republican regime which fell in 1936 because the democracies betrayed it, would have been able to handle Communists..... 1

As regards an evaluation of the Franco regime in terms of the Communistic threat, Mackay says:

The present Fascist regime with its doctrine of a pure unified nationality, undisturbed by political dissent and untainted by religious heresy, constitutes a sadistic theocracy. It is also Europe's chief breeder of Communism. 2

As to the economic strangulation of Spain by the outer world, the following story of a Spanish person, whose name must be withheld for safety's sake, reveals somewhat a contrary view point than that presented by Richard Pattee. Only in the United States now, for one year, this person said to me:

In Spain there is an abundance of everything, only we cannot obtain a sufficient amount. The government controls all produce, strictly, and only until recently, the very bread was rationed. Spain truly is a paradise, but were it not for the present government, I would not be in the United States now. 3

What is Franco doing with Spain's abundance?

Thus far attention has only been given to the political aspect of Richard Pattee's tome, This Is Spain. In view of his thorough Roman Catholic mind, one questions his claim that he has handled "the facts.....with honesty and without prejudice." Everything points to a very definite Roman Catholic bias.

The question is, what does all this have to do with the persecution of Protestants in Spain? It is merely a prelude to his attitude concerning Protestants and their rights as Spanish citizens. Pattee writes:

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1. John Mackay, "Protestant Pilgrimage", op. cit., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. A personal talk with a recent Spanish refugee.

The Spaniard who may discover this book will undoubtedly be surprised that attention is devoted to a problem which to him scarcely exists: Protestantism in Spain.....There is reason to believe that this problem has been whipped up in part because it strikes a sensitive chord in the Anglo-American conscience and serves as a very useful instrument for the promotion of the consistent campaign against Spain. ¹

The author then goes on to say that, in fact, the problem is a machination of the Republicans of 1931, who use it as a means to get sympathy, but that now, with the "Spanish Communist Party" in exile, the point of the problem has been shifted. In effect, Pattee says, "There is no real Protestant problem in Spain and there never has been." ² Further, he says that Protestantism is completely alien to the Spanish culture. (This is certainly not true of early Spanish history, when before Rome got its grips on Spain, the Protestant spirit of the vernacular Bible and religious liberty was observed throughout the nation.)

"If one eliminates the Protestants of foreign origin ,. the number of Spanish Protestants who work at their religion is a mere handful." ³ He says therefore, "It is not strange that the Spanish State and the dominant Catholic Church have failed to operate in terms of the problem posed by the existence of this infinitesimal minority." ⁴ The following is a curious argument for the neglect of the Protestant minority:

No one insists that the United States government take special cognizance of the Moslem minority in the country, or make

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 372.
2. Ibid., p. 372.
3. Ibid., p. 373.
4. Ibid., p. 373.

special concessions to the end that Islam may not be hampered in its free expression, for the retort of anyone to such a proposal would be that the number of Moslems does not warrant any such attention. ¹

Close scrutiny of this passage reveals serious implications. For one, Mr. Pattee's argument is completely hypothetical. The case of the Moslems in the United States is such that they are already enjoying complete freedom under the Constitution of the United States. All the legislature needed to guarantee the God-given freedom of the Moslem and the Roman Catholic in the United States was written into the American Constitution from the beginning. This is not true of the Spanish Constitution. In Spain, the God-given rights of the Protestants, Jews, Moslems and other cults is forbidden. The spirit of the Roman Catholic Spanish Constitution is diametrically opposed to the spirit of the American Constitution, which recognizes that all men are free under God.

Further, Richard Pattee is not interested in the rights of others, as God has given that right. The passage above shows that according to Mr. Pattee one only has rights when one is strong in numbers. In other words, in the United States if the Moslems were not guaranteed freedom under the Constitution of the United States they still would deserve none, because they are infinitesimal. Mr. Pattee is not interested in guaranteeing freedom to worship God to infinitesimal groups, either under God, or by human legislation. The consequence of this is that Mr. Richard Pattee displays that

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 373.

most conspicuous and traditional Roman Catholic attitude that error must be stamped out. In effect, it is the inquisitorial attitude of the use of human force. -- American Protestants are ready to fight for the right of Moslems to worship God as they have the light. On the other hand, Richard Pattee does not seem to be informed of the fact that the Moslems are getting wonderful privileges from the Franco government in comparison with the Protestants. Björn Hallström writes:

It would be an error to suppose that the intolerance of Franco and of the Jesuits is the result of the religious zeal inspired by the Catholic Church. For Franco, Catholicism is a cape with which to veil his totalitarian regime, and to make it more savory. Beside, simultaneously he is making an effort to propagate Islamism in Spanish Morocco purposely to flatter himself in the eyes of the Arabs. From Spanish Morocco he has obtained his body guards, and from the union of the Arab states he seeks to obtain the sympathy which he has lost in Europe. In spite of the fact that in Spain Protestant churches are closed, and that the Falange party organizes attacks against Protestantism, in Morocco, mosques are being built with the use of money from the treasury of Spain. The brutal fact is that the circulation of the Bible is prohibited in Spain, while at the same time the use of the Koran has the deliberate impulse of a spearhead in Morocco. ¹

Says Mr. Pattee, "One finds disconcerting the literal army of American observers, who visit Spain and discover that the Protestants are forced to live as second-rate citizens." ² He then refers to Homar Bigart who reported to the United States the condition of Protestants in Spain. Pattee describes correspondent Bigart's language as "lurid". Homar Bigart gave a description of the many sufferings which have been reported in the preceding pages, particularly

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

2. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 373.

as to social position. Then says the Roman Catholic Pattee, "To this litany of misery is added the statement that the Protestant clergy suffer much the same type of persecution that the Catholic clergy undergoes in communist Hungary." ¹ He continues:

Not only that, but Bigart assures us that "the same fear motivated both oppressions. As in Hungary, where the Catholic Church is regarded as the most dangerous enemy of the Red dictatorship, so in Spain Protestants are looked upon as an evil force bent on disrupting the existing order, the Spanish way of life." ²

In reply to these facts stated by Homar Bigart, Richard Pattee writes:

It is inconceivable indeed, that a penetrating and conscientious observer should discover an exact analogy between the situation of Protestants in Spain and the massive, ruthless persecution to which the Catholic hierarchy, clergy, and faithful in Hungary have been submitted. We have yet to learn of fake treason trials of Protestant leaders in Spain nor does one find evidence that Protestant clergy are imprisoned for alleged sedition. The fact that there have been a number of popular manifestations of anti-Protestant feeling in Spain is very far from evidence that there is a concerted, conscious, intentional persecution with the full weight of the State behind it. ³

Whatever persecution the Protestants are undergoing, Pattee gives the impression that they themselves are responsible for it, thus relieving both the Church of Rome and the Franco regime of maliciousness:

Let it be remembered too, that Protestants are not entirely without responsibility on this score. The attitude expressed in almost every piece of evangelical writing on the subject is that of hostility and loathing of the government in Spain and of the Catholic Church. So-called Protestant missionary activity is carried on with hatred of Spanish institutions and of the faith that has been that of the Spanish people for centuries. It is a repetition of the same thing that Catholics in Hispanic America

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 373.
2. Ibid., p. 373.
3. Ibid., p. 374.

have found so tiresome: blatant charges of idolatry and superstition; aspersions on the devotion to our Blessed Lady; attacks on the clergy and the "reactionary" hierarchy. With an estimated 15 per cent of the British people church-goers and perhaps 50 per cent of the Americans with no religious affiliation at all, it seems strange indeed that Protestant money, energy, and time should be spent to bring so-called enlightenment to Spain. ¹

It is not necessary at this point to make any refutations.

The implications of these thoughts will be most apparent to the reader. However, one of these implications might well be taken up, namely that the trustworthy report of the World Dominion Press regarding actual adherents to the Roman Catholic Church in Spain is 15,000,000 out of a population of about 29,000,000.

Pattee, very distraught over Protestant feeling in regard to Protestants in Spain, makes the following tirade:

The whole issue is cluttered up with wild accusations and assumptions which show the crassest ignorance of the facts of Catholic life. In Stuber's article, from which I have quoted, it is contended that "The Roman Catholic position in Spain (as it is everywhere else, when Catholics are in the majority) is that this Church is the only true church and is therefore, the only one entitled to liberty. Freedom of religion is a necessary evil which must be tolerated for the time being only when it prevents greater evils." This extraordinary contention errs on several counts. In the first place, it is high time that Spain as the absolute synonym of Catholicism be discarded. This writer as well as others who devote so much time and hysteria to beating the drums in the so-called Church-State issue, might examine the situation of countries like French Canada, Eire, or the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, where Catholic majorities are so absolute that if they willed -- in a perfectly democratic fashion -- they could rule absolutely. Protestants are undisturbed in each instance..... ²

Unfortunately there is no space here to go on with inclusions of long quotations from Richard Pattee's book. All of them

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 374.
2. Ibid., pp. 374-375.

show a most hardened Catholic view-point. But some points can here be summarized.

He attacks the idea that Americans have: that Protestants in Spain are second-class citizens. He feels such reasoning unsound on the basis that right in the United States there are "flagrant cases of second-class citizenry."¹ He points out the case of the American Negro. Pattee says, "Negroes certainly cannot aspire to any number of places in our society.... in violation of the constitution..... And a Catholic -- had best not seek the presidency."² He then concludes by saying, "The talk of second-class citizens' and the like becomes in this as in so many cases, sheer hypocrisy and the shoddiest of reasoning."³

As to the nature of the present State-Church in Spain Mr. Pattee says: "The present Spanish regime, as well as many of those that preceded it, construes religion as one of the unifying forces of the nation."⁴ He then says that even at the risk of repetition the economy, the regionalism, and the violent temperament of the Iberian people are all "curbed and softened by the influence of a common faith reaching far back to the beginnings of Spanish history."⁵ (Certainly that common faith could not be equated with Roman Catholicism, for anyone that knows the religious history of early Spain would sadly smile at such a concept.) Anti-
thetical to these ideas, Pattee brings in his estimate of the Re-

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., p. 375.
2. Ibid., p. 375.
3. Ibid., p. 375.
4. Ibid., p. 375.
5. Ibid., p. 375.

public!

The Horrible experience of the Second Republic with its grotesque secularism and violent anticlericalism demonstrated that if wide religious differences became prevalent, one new element of clash and of conflict would be added to the caldron of vitriolic peninsular life. Moreover, if Spain possesses today a relative unity on the religious issue, what possible advantage is there to introduce doctrinal confusion and denominational squabbling? If the evangelicals who are so bent on converting Spain do not believe that Catholicism is necessarily wrong, then they have no justification for messing about in the religious life of the Spanish people. ¹

He then contends that if Protestantism is really challenging Catholicism for the body of Spain, then the Catholic Church has the full right to go ahead and fight Protestantism to the last ditch. For he says, "Protestant churches in Spain have always been largely the handiwork of foreigners." ² (A statement that could hardly account for the Spanish heterodoxes of the sixteenth century, or the search for the spiritual Christ by many Iberian intellectuals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.)

In conclusion, it is fitting to describe Richard Pattee's comparison between the culture of Spain and the United States, in a defense that the religious unity of Spain be unmolested by Protestant agitation. Pattee writes:

The modern mind, and very singularly the American mind, finds it impossible to grasp the desirability even of religious unity. Political conformism has become so ingrained in the thinking of our people that anything else appears as subsidiary and inconsequential Democracy becomes then, a form of unity and rallying cry for the nation What precisely constitutes this un-American activity? (referring to un-American investigations) It means a deviation of proportions from the standard of political conduct we have set up as a nation. I am not arguing here,

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., pp. 375-376.
2. Ibid., p. 376.

obviously, whether this is good or bad, I merely suggest that a nation -- any nation -- has to have some criteria for its national unity.... It happens that the unifying force in Spain, more than politics, economics, or social institutions, is religion, and in this case it means specifically the Holy, Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Is this insistence that religion does have a place in national life something bizarre and queer? ¹

This lullaby about religious unity in Spain, as it has been seen in other sections of this work, is quite ancient, and erroneous. The only force of unity in Spain is the use of force. Nevertheless, what do both John Mackay and Björn Hallström have to say about this "Iberian love for religious unity"? John Mackay says:

So far as the rank and file of Spanish people are concerned, they admire Protestants. They regard them as the only people who have maintained their unity and integrity under a regime which is the most hated in Spanish history. I have said that, officially, Spanish nationality is equated with the Catholic faith. But that is not the actual situation.... The prevalent opinion among ordinary Spaniards is this: if full religious liberty were proclaimed in Spain tomorrow and no one were discriminated against because of religion, seventy-five percent of the Spanish people would abandon all connection with the church. The lower and middle classes would practically do so en masse. ²

This opinion is also held by Cardinal Spellman himself, who is well acquainted with the Iberian people. The information supplied by Björn Hallström, eye-witness in Spain, was Dr. Mackay, confirms the latter's testimony. Hallström writes:

When finally, the regime was established, the Falangists announced that with difficulty would it be able to find a Protestant within the nation. They said that they had either been killed or had gone into exile during the Civil War. One year

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1. Richard Pattee, op. cit., pp. 376-377.
2. John Mackay, "Protestant Pilgrimage", op. cit., p. 11.

after the victory of Franco, the authorities admitted that there 7,000 Protestants. The following year the number went up to 15,000, and in the next year after that the number went up to 30,000. The day that religious liberty is re-established, when all the refugees are able to come back, and the churches are able to have services at liberty and without the inspection of the police, the number will probably go up to 100,000; the chapels and the places of gathering, which are actually in use now will be insufficient (to take care of visitors), because in actuality they are insufficient now. ¹

To bring the issue up to date, reference will now be made to a "Pastoral Letter" issued by Cardinal Segura of Seville, Spain.

The pastoral was published on March 9th, 1952. Camille M. Cianfarra writes:

Pedro Cardinal Segura y Saenz, Archbishop of Seville, issued today a strong denunciation of Protestantism, urged the Spanish people to beware of that "heresy" threatening the Roman Catholic faith and sharply criticized President Truman for his dislike of the Spanish people."

Cardinal Segura also voiced his uneasiness, which well informed Spaniards here said was shared by many members of the Catholic hierarchy, over the possibility that a policy of close collaboration advocated by both United States and Spanish officials might further the advance of Protestantism in Spain....

According to Cardinal Segura, a campaign of "benevolence" toward Protestantism began in Spain with expressions of sympathy for Protestant Britain over the death of George VI on Feb. 6 and had now reached "extremely grave" proportions.....

Cardinal Segura also quoted official Catholic publications, which the agency said, had expressed fear that "for political reasons concessions harmful to our religion" might be granted to Protestants by the Spanish Government to propitiate the United States.

"Ever since 1945 when the Spanish Government authorized the opening of certain Protestant churches in this country Protestant propaganda has considerably increased and it has been tolerated to a far greater extent than is permissible in keeping with the letter and spirit of the charter of the Spanish people."

He said that he had in his possession "full documentary evidence that Protestant propaganda is increasing" in Spain because it enjoys greater freedom than before.... ²

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
2. Camille M. Cianfarra, "Spanish Cardinal Denounces Benevolence to Protestants", The New York Times, March 10, 1952, cols. 2&3, p. 1, and cols. 4&5, p. 4.

E. The Summary

The motives for the persecution of the Protestants in Spain was primarily due to the notion that they were the harbinger of all of Spain's misfortunes. They were blamed for epidemics, political calamities, and all kinds of economic misery. They were looked upon as being carriers of false doctrines. These ideas being sown by the Roman Catholic Church among their followers caused bitter persecutions of all sorts to come upon the heads of the Protestants.

Under the reign of Alfonso XIII, a number of persecutions broke out against Protestants who distributed tracts, or who as soldiers in the army, refused to do homage to the host at mass. The prominent case of Indolecio Sánchez was cited.

Under Primo de Rivera, the evangelical movements were more seriously hampered than under the former King. Whereas in the reign of the latter it was at least possible to have public meetings, under de Rivera even meetings in homes of a private nature were maliciously restricted.

Even though under the Republic of 1931, Protestantism was completely free to preach publicly, except for the restriction that leaders should be natives, persecution still continued through the tremendous influence of the Jesuits. The case of the stoning of Lydia Wirtz in the town of Allariz is typical. However, in those days the Roman Catholic Church did not get special privileges and as a result President Azana sent a military force to eject the

Jesuits from the monastery of Allariz.

Under General Franco the Spanish form of inquisition became very much alive. It is particularly true of the early reign of Franco-Spain, that persecution against Protestants reached an intense pitch, while at the same time the Roman Catholic Church was re-instated into its former, traditional glory. In 1945, the Fuero de los Españoles was issued, which resulted in a mock gesture for the benefit of the world. Many Spanish refugees that returned after this decree were killed, imprisoned and abused. Björn Hallström, who travelled incognito through Spain after this decree was issued, established these facts. Also, he noticed that persecution against Protestants continued in violation to the decree. John Mackay, who made a trip to Spain in the summer of 1951, reports the same facts, particularly referring to the sadistic, social ostracism to which Protestants are submitted. Only very recently does it seem as if the Protestants may have any degree of religious equality, but the Roman Catholic Church is trying to hamper all such intentions..

In conclusion, there is a violent literary attack being waged against the Protestants in Spain. These attacks are by no means all within Spain. In the United States particularly it is asserted by the Church of Rome that Protestants have no right to meddle with the religious unity of Spain. This contention is most strongly made by Richard Pattee, professor of the Catholic Universities of Mexico and Haiti. His work is This is Spain, and it is

feared that its wide circulation will do much harm to give a distorted picture of Spain, the Republic, and the work of Protestants there.

One of the books in Spain which is probably not having as significant effect as Patee's work, is written by a Spanish Roman Catholic curate whose name is P. Remigio de Papiol. The title of his tome is El Protestantismo Ante la Biblia, (Protestantism Against the Bible). The work is a theological analysis and tries to show that the very things that Protestantism claims in the name of the Bible is very much against them. Thus, Protestantism is shown to be erroneous and the Catholic Church the ever true.

Of final interest is the pastoral letter which was issued by Cardinal Segura of Seville on March 9, 1952. The letter is one of warning for Catholics against the Protestant heresy, and further expresses the fear of its expansion in Spain as a result of attempted collaboration between the United States and Spain. In effect it is the voice of the Roman Catholic Church trying to keep its status quo in Spain at all costs.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER IV
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SELECTED PROTESTANT
HEROES IN SPAIN

A. The Introduction

It is appropriate now, having viewed the many sufferings of the Protestants in Spain from a broad perspective, to give consideration to the life and work of several selected Protestant leaders in Spain.

It must be clear that the brief life-sketches of these Protestants in Spain are only intended to be representative of a whole number of others who cannot be treated here for lack of space. And even if the life-sketches would be comprehensive, there would still be a host of Protestants who labored for Christ in Spain who are only known to God.

The first phase of this chapter will deal with Protestants who came from foreign lands to work in Spain. As far as the writer knows, their lives are outstanding, though not too well known, not only in America, but very possibly in Spain as a whole. Those treated here will be Mr. Percy Bufford, an Englishman, Pastor Albert Cadier, a Frenchman, and Lydia Wirtz, an Englishwoman. This is indeed a very limited choice, but unfortunately it is impossible to get life sketches of many Scotsman, Germans, Swiss, Dutch and Swedish missionaries who labored in Spain except by doing extensive research work which the nature of this thesis will not permit.

About the same conditions exist in connection with the lives of native Spanish Protestants. However, the Protestant Spaniards presented here are probably better known, generally speaking, than the foreign Protestant heroes just referred to. Probably the most outstanding ones are Juan Bautista Cabrera and Dr. Zacarías Carles. The latter figure is most prominent in the work of Spain's evangelization during the mid-period of the twentieth century.

It is only appropriate to say that the writer has had the distinct honor of talking with Dr. Carles over a long distant telephone call, when the distinguished founder of the Spanish Christian Mission was gracious enough to call this student about a request made for his life-sketch. Dr. Carles responded by sending in his own words the story of his conversion from Roman Catholicism to the Protestant fold. This is probably the most original bit of information in this thesis. The student feels deeply grateful to Dr. Zacarías Carles for his kindness.

In conclusion, it remains for someone under the direction of God to devote years of research in gathering complete information on the Protestants of Spain in the twentieth century.

B. Foreign Protestant Heroes in Spain

1. The Reverend Percy Bufford.

A new arrival of great value on the scene of the Reform Movement in Spain was the beginning of the work of the Misión

Evangélica Española (Spanish Evangelical Mission). Marín writes:

This mission began in the year 1907 due to the work and indefatigable zeal of the missionary Mr. Percy J. Bufford, who desiring from the beginning to sustain the work of the Reform Movement dedicated himself for some time to giving classes in English realizing at the same time the circulation of Christian propaganda.¹

The English classes Mr. Bufford offered were hardly able to provide enough means to live properly. He saw that if he gave himself completely to work of evangelization it would prove a most fruitful undertaking. He matriculated at Regent's Park College where he took a course in evangelization. Upon termination of the course, he called on several Mission Societies trying to interest them in the work of evangelization in Spain. His ambitions for Spain's evangelization were looked upon with great sympathy, but no one undertook to give him financial support. Mr. Bufford was not discouraged by the response of the missions, and refused several offers to be a missionary elsewhere. He sensed that he was called of God to do work in Spain, and not paying any attention to much advise to the contrary, he set forth toward the Peninsula. There was in his soul a deep hope, and this hope became a reality very quickly.

When he began his work in Spain, Mr. Bufford, with twenty-eight Protestant Spaniards, undertook full-time evangelical work. Added to these were others, who without leaving their regular residences, devoted part-time work to evangelizing the community.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 387.

With the help of the Rev. Smith, pastor of the People's Church, enough money was given to the Mission Evangélica Española which enabled the establishment of the Escuela Bíblica (Biblical School) This school became very instrumental in providing many native evangelicals.

As such the purpose of the Mission Evangélica Española was according to Gutierrez Marín:

the solid establishment of new churches, which will be able to support themselves economically, and which will mutually form the union of the "Federation of Autonomous Evangelical Churches, the which will be directed entirely by Spaniards." ¹

In 1916 there were already established by the Misión Evangélica Española sixteen churches that were able to pay all their financial obligations. A total of thirty-three churches existed which had their doors open to the public, both in the cities and in the rural communities, many of which had been built by the native Spanish Protestants themselves. This is amazing in the face of the fact that many Protestant believers were undergoing many privations in their daily lives because of their Protestant faith.

The work of the colporteurs also began to expand the work being done almost entirely by Spanish evangelicals. It was Mr. Bufford's insight that led him to realize that the best way to win Spain to Protestantism was to utilize native evangelists, who as colporteurs and as pastors would reduce the work of foreign Protestants to a minimum.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 388.

The work of this mission has been very rapidly spread throughout the Peninsula and in view of its short time of existence is extraordinary. The methods employed by this mission are also, without doubt, the best suited to the character of Spain, since each region is different with its own peculiarities.

The work of the missionary, Percy Bufford, has been one of great value to the evangelization of Spain. The work he has done is worthy of imitation.

2. Pastor Albert Cadier.

France made a notable contribution to the spread of the living Christ in Spain. One of the fine Christians of France was Pastor Albert Cadier, who coming to the northern part of Spain began calling on Spanish homes in the year 1905.

The work this great man of faith undertook was difficult, slow, and dangerous, as he worked in the great mountainous regions of Upper Aragón. The work in Aragón was very discouraging, but Cadier, a man of ardent faith and indomitable courage, pressed forward upon the battle of the evangelical front.

Cadier's Christian spirit brought forth fruit and Gutierrez Marín writes:

Pastor Cadier triumphed and by the year 1920 there was opened successively four large centers of evangelization: in Jaca, Monzón, Laguarda and Barbastro, forming in this manner a little branch of well organized Spanish Protestant Churches, with their respective colleges and youth organizations. ¹

Today all of these churches are incorporated in the Span-

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 383.

ish Evangelical Church, united and determined in the work of Spain's evangelization.

At the passing of Cadier the work was by no means extinguished but continued growing in intensity of its purpose. Thus his work passed into the hands of the Comité frances (French Committee). To this date it is the only French evangelical mission operative in Spain, but it is intensely interested in the salvation of souls, and in the established Protestant missions of Spain. Marín writes:

A thing truly beautiful it would be, if France took under her tutelage the Christianizing of all of the north of Spain and not only of the region of Aragón, because in the north of Spain and in the south of France above all there exists a real communion of tradition, secular and of racial vestiges, and of language, which makes possible a brotherhood without any serious difficulties.

There is no room for doubt that France is destined to fulfill perhaps better than any other nation a decisive triumph in the battle for Christ in the land of Spain. 1

3. Lydia Wirtz.

The work of this remarkable Christian woman is not too well known nor her extraordinary Christian character except among a few. A brief sketch of her life and of her work in Spain deserves attention.

In 1854 on the famous Fleet street of London Lydia Brooks was born of Christian parents. She was the eldest of a family of eight children. She was from the beginning a spiritually sensitive soul, and at the age of six professed in all seriousness that Christ was her Saviour. When she became nineteen, an experience came to her that changed the whole course of her life. A vein near her heart opened, and from a number of doctors in consultation she learned that

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., p. 384.

she could not live longer than a half hour. In face of the shadow of death she reflected upon her past life and felt intense sadness that she had not won more souls to Christ. Calling upon God she beseeched Him to give her a few more years of life that she might dedicate them to the saving of souls to Christ.

Something mysterious and wonderful happened. The doctors were amazed that their prediction did not materialize. Lydia continued to get better and better with the passing of the days. God had heard and God had answered with His Almighty Power to bring back Lydia to health.

Lydia never forgot her promise to God, and as soon as her physical condition permitted her, she set out to evangelize the little girls in her own community. Soon the Lord blessed her with a class of seventy little girls, the majority of whom were saved by the Saviour.

It was during the time that she was doing this work that she felt called to do work in a foreign field. After much prayer and waiting, Lydia decided that the Master had called her to work in Spain. Initially she made a trip to Spain with the purpose of staying there only three months, but this extended into one year. After a brief return to London, she journeyed back to Spain, the land of her adoption.

Most of her work in Spain was in the province of Galicia, which is the most northwestern part of Spain facing both on the Atlantic Ocean and the Bay of Biscay. In this province, as in the other provinces of Spain, there is a distinct Iberian dialect, more like Portuguese than the Castillian of the nation. It was her task to learn this language besides Castillian.

During her stay in Spain she married Dr. Wirtz, a famous engineer. However, he became more interested in spreading the gospel than in engineering. Together they became influential in bringing people to Christ while they lived in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. God blessed them with five children, one of which was to take a great part beside his mother in the evangelization of Spain; Luis de Wirtz.

With her son, Lydia worked as an itinerant preacher going from town to hamlet and to city in their automobile. Although most of Doña Lydia's work (as the Spaniards called her) was in and about the village of Marín, she worked also in Vigo, Santiago, (traditional resting place of the Patron Saint of Spain, St. James); also outside of Galicia about Madrid, in Cuenca, and in San Tomé, besides many other places.

The work of a colporteur or of an itinerant preacher is probably the most difficult and dangerous of all evangelical work in Spain. Lydia, her son Luis, and many of her associates were often stoned, ostracized, and refused the necessities of life, abused in all such ways as Roman curates could invent. As a result it is difficult to measure the work that Lydia did for Christ in Spain, and it is just as well. But today there are people in Spain who still remember Doña Lydia and an estimate of her work is expressed in the following lines by Jonatán Medinilla:

We give thanks to God for the great work accomplished by his dear servant in her great terrestrial career in our Spain; and there is no doubt that her work will continue. We shall never forget the valor, and valiant decision of that woman, Mrs. Lydia Wirtz, who was face to face with the forces which fought against her for many years in clerical Spain. In the day of Christ, the Just

Judge, He will give her a crown of life. ¹

In 1936 when the Civil War was already going on, Lydia Wirtz found herself exhausted and weak. She returned to England, and after being restrengthened undertook in a courageous manner to explore the evangelical field in Brazil. By 1945 already a woman of many years, she became bed-ridden for many prolonged periods. Finally she realized that the Lord was calling her to His side, and before she went she had the joyous privilege of seeing the invisible world around her in which she would cry out "Angels....husband.... father.....mother...I see Jesus with children, multitudes of them. ² With these visions of glory she was taken away from earth, and her last word was "Victory."

C. Native Protestant Heroes in Spain.

1. Bishop Juan Bautista Cabrera.

Pastor Juan Carera belongs to both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but his influence was so great in the Protestant movement of the twentieth century that he deserves to come to the readers's attention.

In the year 1874 Juan Cabrera came from Seville to Madrid to occupy an empty church left by Pastor Carrasco. The Church Juan Cabrera had left at Seville had been under the auspices of the Edinburgh Committee (Comité de Edinburgh). This committee had given complete financial support to the congregation at Seville, but when Pastor Cabrera left, this help ended. The temple which belonged to

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1. Wirtz-Pearce, op. cit., p. 8.

2. Ibid., p. 10.

this congregation at Seville was of much value, but with outside financial help gone, they were forced to sell it. It fell unfortunately into the hands of the Jesuits. In spite of these unfavorable conditions, the Sevillian congregation did not lose heart, and under the direction of a young pastor, Emilie Carreño, a convert of Cabrera, Protestantism in Seville was kept alive.

The congregation which Pastor Cabrera was shepherding at Madrid became dissatisfied with their place of meetings, and decided under the leadership of their pastor to raise a noble edifice for worship to God. In the year 1881 under the direction of Pastor Cabrera the first stone of the new temple was placed, and it was to become, outside of the work of Pastor Fliedner of the German committee, the most notable Protestant work in Madrid, as well as the life work of Juan Cabrera.

In order to build the temple great sacrifices had to be made by the Protestants of Madrid, even with the help of foreigners. Much of the difficulty lay in the restrictive measures of the Roman Catholic authorities. It was for this reason that not until 1893 could this wonderful edifice, named originally the Church of the Redeemer, be dedicated. Now it is widely known as the Temple of Beneficence. The design of this church has but one motive in mind to attract new converts. The vestibule itself is a veritable mission station.

One year after the inauguration of the church just cited, its Pastor, Juan Cabrera, was ordained Bishop. This ordination came after a wait of ten years from the schism caused mutually by Juan

Cabrera and the Irish Episcopal Church. This schism which will be treated in detail later was fundamentally a disagreement over the rite to be used in the united Protestant Spanish churches, which formed a federation under the name of "The Christian Church of Spain." The latter union, in which the Episcopal Spanish churches willingly joined initially, agreed to use the Presbyterian rite. Afterwards they insisted upon the Episcopal rite, thus causing a schism. Nevertheless, the Episcopal churches felt a need for authoritative leadership, and after considerable deliberation, the Irish Episcopal Church delegated three of her clergymen to ordain Juan Cabrera as Bishop of the Spanish Episcopal churches. These under Bishop Cabrera formed another union called "Reformed Church of Spain." However, the Spanish Episcopal churches remain until this day under the authority of the Irish Episcopal Church, and since the passing of Bishop Cabrera, the office of bishopric in Spain has been vacant. Estimating the work and person of Bishop Cabrera, who went to his reward in 1916, Gutierrez Marín writes:

Cabrera was one of the most intelligent leaders and preservers of the Reformed Church in Spain; he was one of the most fluent and eloquent of preachers. As a writer, he had an elegant and fluid style, leaving many important works, among which are: "El Celibate Forzoso del Clero" (The Forced Celibacy of the Clergy), a "Catecismo de Doctrina y Vida Cristiana" (A Catechism of Doctrine and Christian Life), a book of "Poesías Religiosas y Morales" (Religious and Moral Poetry), a "Manual de Controversia" (Manual of Controversy), and a "Historia Sobre la Iglesia Española" (History About the Spanish Church), covering the time of the Apostolic era until the Saracen invasion.¹

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 340.

His best work from a point of view of ecclesiastics was the production of the Liturgy for use in the Episcopal churches in Spain. Strangely enough, he developed his Liturgy out of Muzarabian sources. As a journalist he showed his ability by the publication of a newspaper, "La Luz" (The Light). In summing up the influence of Bishop Cabrera, Gutierrez Marín writes:

The influence of Cabrera within all evangelical circles was very notable. The good memory of him will last, and will be perpetuated for many generations of evangelicals, who will see in him the figure of a mystic and apostle. ¹

2. Pastor Francisco Albricias.

Among the most important evangelical achievements in Spain in the province of Valencia was the work of Pastor Francisco Albricias in the city of Alicante, a work which had to be done under the most trying difficulties.

Born in the province of Catalonia, he came under the influence of the evangelist, Empaytaz, who hired him as an evangelist to work in the city of Monistrol de Monserrat, and the city of Rubí y Sabadell to establish well-organized churches. Pastor Albricias was successful.

After this work he went to Switzerland where he took special courses which would enable him to do work among young people, having in mind the Uniones Cristianas (Christian Unions). When he returned to Spain, he went under the auspices of the Bible Society of London, and he began a series of journeys through the Levant regions

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 341.

with colporteurs, and was inspector over them.

In the course of this work Albricias became gravely ill, and he was advised by the doctors to go to the city of Alicante where they could treat his illness properly. It was in this city that he began a series of evangelical gatherings in his own home, situated in the district called Penalúa. The results of this work were so satisfying, that he was moved to open an Evangelical school on the 10th of January, 1897 facing the street, Labradores.

Having no economic concern for himself, he contented himself in living in a house that was in a most miserable condition, almost uninhabitable, in order that he might give the better part to the school he was organizing, Escuela Dominical (Dominical School).

The entire enrollment in the beginning was only seven students, a significant number in view of the fact that ~~ina~~ short time the enrollment increased to such proportions that there was not enough room to accomodate them all. Pastor Albricias then became convinced that the only thing to do was to launch out on the task of building a special edifice for the work of evangelization. A friend of Pastor Albricias, who was not an evangelical, loaned the evangelist 10,000 pesetas. Whereupon Pastor Albricias bought a parcel of earth on a street that was still in the making, which was to become later on one of the main arteries of the city.

Pastor Albricias began to receive a number of Swiss believers into his school, and he then proposed to go ahead with the edifice he had dreamed about. He no sooner had begun the construction of the building when he discovered that the ground he had bought

was not suitable for an edifice having a high degree of water. In fact it was impossible to go ahead with the proposed building. As a consequence artificial foundations had to be incorporated at tremendous cost, consuming all the money that was originally intended for the entire edifice. Pastor Albricias was not discouraged. Some sheds were roughly put upon the foundation made of trunks of trees and covered with branches and roof tile. In these rough constructions for a number of years were conducted the evangelical services and the classes of the school. Finally a great hall could be constructed in place of the very inadequate sheds. In 1917 thanks to the great increase in the value of the land and a moderate mortgage on Pastor Albricias' property, a marvelous building was constructed of three stories with a complete basement. In 1920, thanks to the generosity of the North American Methodist-Episcopal Committee, adjoining property was bought, a great pavillion being constructed for the school, and dedicated to the Escuela Dominical and its chapel.

Speaking about the enterprising Pastor Albricias, Gutierrez Marín writes:

Pastor Albricias was very original in his methods of work. Every week-end at evening the students of the school would form a line of two by two with their professors, raising in front of the columns a standard, behind which formed a group of boys that played the fife and tamborines. At the end of the two columns was another standard on which was the figure of a tremendous open Bible. Undoubtedly this propaganda produced a great deal of attention and added to the number of students. 1

The work of Pastor Albricias contributed to the Evangelical

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 367.

movement in Spain. In fact the Escuela Modelo de Alicante, which name it bears because the authorities will not permit the more evangelical name of Escuela Evangélica, has been the most important enterprise in Spain with the exception of the work of Pastor Fliedner in Madrid.

So the work of Albricias for the evangelization of Spain rests in these two schools which he established; Escuela Modelo and Escuela Dominical. At the former institution there was an enrollment of 700 students of primary learning and of 200 enrolled in what is equivalent to high school and junior college. In the latter school there was an enrollment of 600 students. The church had an enrollment of 100 students who were active members as well as another 100 former students who were also members of the church.

Regarding the achievements of Pastor Albricias Gutierrez Marín writes:

There is here then the result of 40 years of labor, constant, difficult, but blessed. When Pastor Albricias, who dedicated all of his life and energies to do the Work of God, gave up his work in 1930, leaving as his successors two of his sons, he could do it with great inner satisfaction, seeing confirmed the words of the apostle as prophetic: "God gives the increase." ¹

In the city of Alicante the name of Pastor Albricias is well remembered and known. He is loved because he was one of the most humble and intense believers of the Reform Movement in Spain. For this reason the seed of God he sowed had divine and per-

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 348.

petual effects. Pastor Albricias passed to his reward in Barcelona in 1934.

3 Pastor Salvador Ramírez.

Salvador Ramirez de Castilla was born in Málaga in the little village of Cortijada de Chilches, just 17 miles from the capital of the Andalusian province, on May 4th, 1873.

His mother was the devout evangelical, Doña Carmen Martínez de Castilla, one of the first believers under the leadership of that great Spanish Protestant leader Matamoros. Being born in a pious family, and at the same time coming under the influence of the evangelical school, Colegio Internacional (International College) directed by the Protestant missionary Gulick, Salvador Ramírez sensed the call from God and the moral obligation of dedicating his life to the Reform Movement in Spain. The Dutch lady, Constance van Loon, helped him to realize his religious hopes by helping him with his schooling expenses, which continued at the International College.

His studies followed afterwards while still quite young at the Theological Institute located at Puerto de Sta. María under the direction of Mr. Moore. Here he finished his studies with high honors and he decided definitely to enter the work of evangelization.

In 1895 he was ordained at the age of twenty-two, and the hands were laid upon him by the pastors Moore, Douglas, Carreño, Barroso, and Juan Martín. Immediately he went to work with Carreño as an auxiliary pastor in the town of San Fernando. Then through the influence of his uncle, Pastor Carrasco, he was installed as a pastor in Málaga.

At this time Pastor Cadier, who had a church in Olorón in the lower Pyrenees, was very ill and called upon Ramírez. Pastor Ramírez looked upon the call as an opportunity to do work in France with the idea of leaving Spain behind. However, after his arrival Pastor Cadier recovered from his illness very quickly, and knowing the desire of Ramírez to work in his own country of France, he called to his attention the territory next to the province of Aragón, Spain, as a most fitting work for him. As a consequence, Francisco Ramírez left France and came to the city of Jaca in 1919. In this town in the most northern part of Aragón Pastor Cadier desired to open a church, since the work of evangelization had penetrated thoroughly in this city.

When Pastor Ramírez settled in Jaca, he set out to establish a small college of primary learning. But he found opposition, Gutierrez Marín writes:

Clericalism let loose an attack, because the Protestant work, laboring under tremendous pressure of abnegation and constant caution by the French Pastor Mr. Cadier, was ready to crystalize seriously (into a definite form).¹

But Salvador Ramírez was a man of infinite patience and experience. He let the tempest pass by without paying much attention to it and continued his pedagogical labors, Gutierrez Marín writes:

The result was disastrous for Rome, for the college was incapable to receive the number of boys that desired to obtain a Christian education in it. The propaganda, meanwhile, permitted finally the inauguration of a church on September 13, 1933 in quite an expansive edifice, which was property of the French Committee,

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 386

which sustained the work which was going on. ¹

Ramírez de Castilla rested in God in the year 1937 while the Civil War was going on. The memory of his life is an honor, as he devoted all of his time to serving His Master, Jesus Christ.

Paster Ramírez was a great theologian and a brave soldier of God, having an upright spirit and utter devotion to the Gospel of Salvation. His labors for forty years as a pastor were full of anguish but also of hope, and will occupy a brilliant place of honor in the story of the Reform Movement of Spain.

4. Dr. Zacarías P. Carles.

The following story of the conversion of Dr. Zacarías Carles was sent to this writer with a personal note attached. A photostatic copy of this letter will be found in the Appendix section, and will verify the truth of the following story printed here. Dr. Carles writes:

My father was a Professor in Marcelon, Spain. He was the youngest of a family of twenty-four children. One day he read the Bible, and after that he no longer was a good Roman Catholic. As a result, he was put in prison and condemned to be shot, but before he was supposed to be executed, he was released and sent home where he died -- poisoned by a Roman Catholic priest -- his own cousin.

My mother had twelve children. Being a widow and not a very good Roman Catholic because she had also read the Word of God, her situation was very hard. So one day she approached me and said, "Little son, you will have to go to work." I was about seven and a half years old, and forced by circumstances I had to work in a factory from half-past five in the morning until eight o'clock at night, and of course on Sundays we had to work. On Sunday evening my boss paid me my salary -- five cents for the week after having worked more than one hundred hours as a real slave!

Because of the many hours away from home and the many bad companions that I had in those days, my life was lost -- lost in

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1. Gutierrez Marin, op. cit., p. 386.

many ways. When about thirteen years old my friends appointed me captain of the gang. As a result of my sinful life, I became very sick, and the physician told my mother that I would die. My mother was, of course, grief stricken. One day a colporteur of the Bible Society came to my home, and my mother told him the story of my life -- not very nice indeed. Among other things, she told the colporteur that I was dying. Then that man of God told my mother, "Lady, I bring a remedy for your son". "Are you a doctor?" my mother asked him, and he replied, "More than a doctor. I am a servant of the living God, and the medicine that I bring for your son is this book - the New Testament. If your son reads it and believes its message, he will have spiritual life and also good health."

My good mother brought the Book to my bed while I was asleep. When I awoke, I found the Book. Happy was I indeed to have a book in my own hands as books were rare at home. In fact I had little need for them, being scarcely able to read. Over seventy per cent in Spain were unable to write or read. The Roman Church who had been controlling the education in Spain from time immemorial had always said, "Make people donkeys, and we will ride on their backs." Unfortunately they had succeeded in Spain. So although I was very happy with my Book, the New Testament, I could not decipher all in it. Yet, being in bed many days, I had time to wander from one page to another until finally I reached Saint Luke's Gospel. There I found my name Zacarias (Zachariah). I was so happy to see that somebody else had my own name that I wanted to know his history. Little by little I read the first chapters of Luke, and also little by little I discovered more than my own name. I found the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

For the first time in my life I realized my sinful condition and that I was condemned to go to hell. Then I wanted to pray, to Whom? Through Whom? We had been taught in the Roman churches that we should pray through saints, Virgins, and Mothers of God whose idols were infinite in number. I wanted to know if God was able to hear my prayers without the intervention of all of those idols, so I went back to Saint Luke's Gospel to find the answer to my urgent problem, and there I read in the first chapter of Luke, verse thirteen, the person answer: "Fear not, Zacarias, for thy prayer is heard." I claimed this verse for myself, realizing I no longer needed the intercession of idols, but that I could pray through the Lord Jesus Christ who from that moment I accepted as my own personal Saviour. Idols were gone for me, and I consecrated my life for the service of my Lord that others might know the way of salvation so simple, yet so effective.

Many years have passed since then, My effort in different parts of the world, nevertheless, has always been to bring His Gospel to the multitudes who live without Christ and without salvation. This is why, relinquishing my position as Professor in the University, I have organized the Spanish Christian Mission

that over 29,000,000 people in Spain, lost in darkness, far away from my Saviour, may have an opportunity to know the Lord Jesus as their personal Saviour as I accepted Him many years ago through reading the Word of God.

Dr. Zacarías P. Carles ¹

Added to this story of the conversion of Dr. Carles was attached the following information, which evidently was not written out in his own hand. It reads:

Dr. Carles, in his world-wide trips, has been speaking in the most outstanding churches of this continent, presenting the great and urgent need for the evangelization of his people who are suffering so much under the yoke of the Roman Catholic system in Spain.

In 1950 Dr. Carles spent four months in Europe visiting the growing mission stations of the Spanish Christian Mission. His visit gave impetus to the work, the saints of God were edified, souls were saved, and new plans for the development of the missionary work laid out. He took hundred of colored slides and made a colored film of Spain which he shows upon request.

Between full-time and part-time, there are thirty four missionaries, almost all natives, bringing the Gospel to the Spaniards under the Spanish Christian Mission. The best method to bring the Spaniards to our Lord is to use the Spaniards who have been born again and are trained for missionary and evangelistic work.

The opportunities in Spain are now greater than ever before for people are asking for the Gospel with increased yearning. The need of New Testaments and Bibles in Spain is beyond comprehension... ²

The Spanish Christian Mission was founded eight years ago in 1943 by Dr. Carles. It maintains a headquarters in Toronto, Canada, where most of the administrative work is done. Under the editorship of Dr. Carles, the Spanish Christian Mission prints two informative periodicals: "Spaingrams", and "Spain's Intercessor".

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1. A personal draft to the student from Dr. Carles, March, 1952.
2. An accompanying page of information with the autobiography.

D. The Summary and Conclusion.

The work of Percy Bufford in Spain was mainly the establishing of the Spanish Evangelical Mission. Mr. Bufford was probably the first foreign missionary in Spain to practice effectively the concept that the best way to evangelize Spain was through the native Protestants themselves. This was and is the purpose of the Spanish Evangelical Mission.

Mr. Bufford took up the work in Spain almost singlehanded under the conviction that God had called him, contrary to the advice of other Christians. He began his mission in 1907. By 1916 there were already established 16 churches that were able to pay all of their financial obligations, but in all a total of 33 churches existed under its supervision.

Mr. Cadier was France's contribution to the evangelization of Spain. He labored in Upper Aragón, just across from France. After much difficulty and hardship, he was able to establish at least four Protestant Churches.

The work of Lydia Wirtz was mainly of an itinerary character. As far as a record is concerned, she co-operated with established churches and confined her work mostly to preaching from village plaza to village plaza. Her labors were mostly in the province of Galicia.

The native Protestant Spaniards were confined to Juan Cabrera, Pastor Albricia, Salvador Ramírez, and Dr. Zacarías Carles.

Juan Cabrera worked as a pastor. His main work was at the

cities of Seville and Madrid. His achievement is the unification of the Spanish Episcopal Churches, though at the same time he caused a split in the Protestant Church.

While at Madrid he and the congregation undertook to build a church, which is now one of the best Protestant Churches in Spain. It was built under much persecution and all kinds of hardships. The Church is called the Temple of Beneficence.

In 1916 Juan Cabrera became the first Spaniard to be ordained to the office of Bishop under the authority of the Irish Episcopal Church.

The work of Pastor Albricias centers in the city of Alicante where he established two schools, a huge Sunday School program (Escuela Dominical) and the Escuela Modelo. Pastor Albricias bought a piece of ground in an out-of-the-way road. The ground proved to be useless for the construction of any sizable building. But Albricias, not discouraged, built rough sheds where he carried on his evangelistic work until at great expense and effort the Escuela Modelo building was constructed, taking care of both the students enrolled in this school and those enrolled in the Sunday School.

The work of Salvador of Ramírez follows the work, in a real sense, of the French missionary, Pastor Cadier.

Finishing his training at a young age, he went to a pastorate in southern Spain. There he received word from Pastor Cadier to come to France to help him because he was taken ill. Pastor Ramírez then thought that possibly God was calling him to do evangelistic work in France, but upon his arrival Pastor Cadier recovered

and advised Ramírez to work in Upper Aragón, where he himself had worked.

Ramírez took Pastor Cadier's advice and went to the town of Jaca. Here Ramírez did most of his work, and in the face of much opposition from Roman Catholic officials he was able to establish a church and a small college. The opposition only served to advertise the work and the school could not contain all who desired entrance.

Dr. Zacarías Carles is one of the outstanding Protestant Spaniards of the twentieth century. Converted from Roman Catholicism at a young age while he was at the point of death by a Gospel presented to him by a visiting colporteur. In the year 1943 Dr. Carles, having left a professorship at a university, established the Spanish Christian Mission. The mission has thirty-four missionaries, almost all of them natives. The work of the mission is wide-spread throughout Spain, and Dr. Carles reports that Spaniards are yearning for the Gospel.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER V
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT
IN SPAIN

A. The Introduction

The purpose of this chapter will be to examine the characteristics of Protestantism in Spain mainly from two angles: in terms of help coming from the outside of the nation, and in terms of the growth of the indigenous Protestant Church. Distinct organizations will be considered in connection with the Evangelical Movement in Spain.

The foreign Protestant help to Spain consists of two parallel movements, that represented by church groups and that of various committees and societies. Out of this help, which all told comes to quite a number of organizations, arises the Spanish Protestant Church.

In the latter case a consideration will be given to the rise of Evangelical Unions in Spain and to both the agrarian and medical problems. Along with this will be considered the role of the Protestant press in Spain and the program of religious education.

Finally, an attempt at an analysis of Protestantism in Spain will be undertaken in light of Spanish Protestant history and of its promise for the future in relation to the distinct provincial character of Spain.

B. A Survey of the Concerted Action of
Protestant Bodies in Spain.

I. The Entrance of Foreign Protestant Faiths into Spain.

a. The Second Reform Movement in Spain: 19th and 20th Centuries.

Before going into a consideration of the actual Protestant work in Spain, it should be known that the twentieth century in Spanish Protestant circles falls under the category of what they commonly call, La Segunda Reforma, or literally, the Second Reform. Under this Second Reform Movement comes also the nineteenth century. Speaking broadly of the Second Reform Movement in Spain, Marín writes:

The second Reform seems to be initiated by the foreign element, which spontaneously decides to do evangelistic work. This foreign initiative is in the beginning purely personal and individual.

To this first foreign impetus appears a succession of Committees and Missions of foreign element....¹

The progress from foreign initiative and control to the growth of the native Protestant Church is revealed in the following lines: "At the terminus of this epoch the Reform in Spain is Spanish, eminently Spanish."²

Thus Spanish Protestantism of the twentieth century has its roots solidly in the nineteenth century, and in fact owes its strength in Spain today to the work that was carried on during the nineteenth century.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 442.
2. Ibid., p. 443.

Therefore in considering what is now being carried on in Spain by Protestantism, it will be natural to refer occasionally to the nineteenth century.

b. Foreign Committees, Missions, and Societies in Spain.

If a complete record of all of the foreign committees, societies, and missions could be obtained it would compose quite a large size volume. Only the most outstanding and best known of these will be presented here.

The work of the Bible Societies in Spain occupies an important place in the evangelization of Spain. Apart from the very first foreign missionaries to establish work on the Iberian Peninsula, Dr. Rule and before him Mr. William Barber, the very first foreign society to begin work in Spain was the London Bible Society in the person of Dr. Thompson. Dr. Thompson succeeded Dr. Rule. Parallel with the work of Dr. Thompson, who labored mostly in the relatively free fortress area of Gibraltar, was the work of the truly first colporteur in Spain, George Borrow. Marín writes:

During the four years of service rendered by Borrow under the auspices of the London Bible Society, there was distributed throughout Spain close to 14,000 copies of the Sacred Scriptures. ¹

The organization that followed the London Bible Society was the Edinburgh Committee. This Committee came into existence because

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 185.

of the labors of Dr. Thompson in Spain. Arujo and Grubb write:

Shortly after his death (Dr. Thompson) a committee among his friends in Edinburgh was formed and in the following year, 1855, the Spanish Evangelization Society was constituted. Four years later it reported an annual income of 700 pounds, the maintenance of five agents in Spain, and a tract and book circulation of over 60,000. It is possible that the Society reaped the benefit of the opportunities afforded by the movement which centered around Matamoras, sometimes known as the Second Reformation. It was dissolved in 1910, and its interests passed into other hands. ¹

Following the work of both the London Bible Society and the Edinburgh Committee, a number of other Biblical organizations located for the most part on the British Isles took interest in the evangelization of Spain. A brief summary is appropriate. Some of

the societies mentioned here will receive more attention later on. Arujo García and Grubb write:

Both the British and Scottish Societies have for many decades worked in (Spain), and their labours have been the ultimate basis of evangelical activity throughout the land....The British and Foreign Bible Society circulated Testaments among the Spanish prisoners of war in England as early as 1805, the year of Trafalgar. Subsequently many copies were introduced into Spain, but no agency was established until George Borrow went to Madrid in 1835. The National Bible Society of Scotland began direct relations with Spain in 1862. In 1893, with the appointment of Mr. R. P. Simpson as agent, the principle centre of the society was established at Aguilas, (Murcia).

The circulation of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the years 1930-32 has been: 243,258,275,656,258,813 copies. That of the National Bible Society of Scotland in 1930 and 1931 was: 33,841,34,404,. The greater part of this circulation is in Spanish (Castilian). The popularization of the Catalan language increased the desirability of a translation in modern Catalan. This has been undertaken by a translation commission of Catalonians. The four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles have been published. The circulation of the Gospels in 1932 by the

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1. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 58.

British Society was 18,310. The Gospel of St. Luke and St. John were published in the basque of Guipuzcoa in 1838, and Luke in Gitano, Spanish Romany, in the previous year, but the latter is no longer in circulation...¹

The United States was not far behind the British in recognizing Spain as an evangelical field, and in 1872 Rev. W. H. Gulick under the auspices of the American Board of Missions settled in the northern seaport of Santander. This evangelist was a most able organizer and by 1882 a number of Congregational Churches had sprung up and became united under the title of Ibero-Evangelical Union.

Just before American interest in Spain had materialized, the German Committee in 1871 commissioned Fritz Fliedner to do evangelical work in Spain. Beside the name of George Borrow, Fritz Fliedner of all foreign missionaries is on the lips of many Protestant Spaniards. Actually the German Committee came into existence in the year 1869. Later on the work of this great German Protestant will be told, but it is interesting to note the terms of the commission given to Federico Fliedner, as the Spaniards call him.

Gutierrez Marín writes:

Avail yourself effectively, in word and in deed, of the work of the Spanish Evangelical Church. Such support will consist in the awakening and encouragement of the evangelical spirit, mediated through the Word of God. In the implantation and care of a sane theology and church organization. Such help will be extended to the entire Spanish movement. In as much as the formation of evangelical churches are concerned, it must be clear that these will not be dominated by German formulas, but on the contrary will be orientated according to the pure spirit of the country. The principal mission of Fliedner is to be the education of young people, evangelized, for the service of the Church. He will develop also literary enterprises of diverse interests, in

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1. García and Grubb, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

order that Spaniards may come to possess not only edifying German work but also the writings of the classic Reform Spaniards. Fliedner will support all the aspirations of a United Church, or at the least a Federation of Churches. ¹

The little country of Switzerland also gave support to the Protestant movement in Spain in the person of L. Empaytaz, who "supported by the Lausanne Committee, worked mostly in Catalonia." ² He arrived in Barcelona in the year 1870. Gutierrez Marín writes:

His object was not (in spite of the fact that he spoke French, and was a Swiss) the seeking of Swiss and of the French population in Barcelona, but the Spanish community. In desiring to come into spiritual contact with it, he decided to open a school in Coll. ³

Speaking of the help received from Switzerland to advance the Protestant movement in Spain, Gutierrez Marín writes:

Empaytaz remained at the head of the great work that was realized with the sustainance and help, both material and moral, given by Switzerland for a period of 39 years. The extension of the work under his direction was quite considerable. ⁴

Sweden also contributed to the cause of Protestantism in Spain in the form of the Swedish Baptist Missionary Society and the Swedish Committee, but these come under the work of the Baptist Church in Spain and will be treated later.

Of the work of the Spanish Evangelical Mission, whose accomplishments were effected by the Englishman Percy Bufford, proper acknowledgement has been made in the previous chapter.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 268.
2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 65.
3. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 272.
4. Ibid., p. 274.

The work contributed by France to the Reform Movement in Spain under the auspices of the French Committee culminated in the work of Cadier, and received impetus from that great Christian's work. France's interest in Spain's evangelization was established definitely in the nineteenth century, when it seemed certain that the great Protestant Spaniard Matamores would be put to death; Protestants in France "collected 300,000 signatures of very significant believers." 1

Another Committee of great importance is the Holland Committee. This work did not begin in Spain until a noble Dutch woman, Constance van Loon, had made tremendous sacrifices on her own part to advance the work of the Protestant Reformation in Spain. Gutierrez Marín writes:

.....the death of Constance van Loon was the cause of the formation of the Holland Committee, which since then has assumed the work of Reformation in Spain, with a maximum of respect to the free action of the Spaniards, as much for the methods of work as for the administration of the same. 2

This committee which came into existence in 1868 has continued to aid four Protestant centers in Spain to this present day.

One other society of importance should be mentioned, The Tract Society of London, which name was changed later to Society of Religious Publications. Gutierrez Marín writes:

Its labor in Spain has been of extreme benefit. All persons have been able to put themselves in contact with true Christianity, thanks to the generosity of this society, which always put forth

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 382.
2. Ibid., p. 358.

the expense, if in doing it, a ray of divine light might reach at least one soul. ¹

c. The Evangelical Alliance.

This most important international organization is held in very high esteem in Spain. It is looked upon as "the guardian angel of evangelical rights." ² Gutierrez Marín writes:

The acts of the Evangelical Alliance all contain a series of numerous cases in the which are clearly patent the sufferings of Spanish believers persecuted for their faith. ³

Besides being recognized as a defensive organization, it has launched forth on the offensive on denominational programs. These have been workers' conferences and evangelical conferences, all of them dedicated to secure religious liberty and "to make heard the voice of the Reformation." ⁴ The Evangelical Alliance "has merited the sincere applause, and not the least sincere gratitude of Iberian Protestantism." ⁵

d. The Entrance of Foreign Church Groups.

1) The Methodist Church.

The work of the Methodist Church extended over the province of Catalonia with unusual rapidity during the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, Methodist efforts were reaching toward Madrid and the Balearic Islands. The first Methodist workers of the nineteenth century were Rev. Simpson and the

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 409-410.
2. Ibid., p. 419.
3. Ibid., p. 419.
4. Ibid., p. 420.
5. Ibid., p. 420.

Rev. Joseph Brown, They collaborated with Pastor Franklin Smith, and this produced a considerable advance for Methodism in Spain.

One of the Spaniards which came to the Methodist ranks was Estéban Cirera Roca, who after laboring for a while for the Reform Movement in Barcelona, went on to extend the work of Methodism in the isle of Menorca.

Another man of considerable importance whom Methodism won to Christ was the Spaniard and ex-priest, Miguel Longás. He not only was instrumental in winning souls in the Romanist camp but also in the Evangelical field.

The Methodists in Barcelona alone opened five chapels, In the Balearic Islands they established churches in Palma de Mallorca, Capdepera, Mahón, Villa Carlos, and Colcurí. Gutierrez Marín writes:

Actually the Methodist branch of Spanish Protestantism has been incorporated in the Spanish Evangelical Church since the year 1928 and it is directed and administered entirely by Spaniards. ¹

2) The Baptist Church.

The Baptist sect initiated their work in Spain in 1868, when an American Baptist, Dr. Knapp, arrived in Madrid under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Union of Boston. Although García and Grubb claim that Dr. Knapp began his work along Presbyterian lines, the very authentic work of the Spaniard, Gutierrez Marín makes no such statement, but distinctly says Dr. Knapp came to open a church "of Baptist rite." ² Marín writes:

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 333.
2. Ibid., p. 266.

The Dr. Knapp rented a place on the street Carrera de San Francisco, and began his propaganda, organizing without great difficulty the first Spanish Baptist Church. ¹

Because Dr. Knapp had not mastered the Castilian, he solicited the help of Pastor Ruet who helped him until the church was well established. When Pastor Ruet left, Dr. Knapp then called upon one of his Spanish members, Manuel Canencia, who preached faithfully for the rest of his life. In his labors Dr. Knapp also "established a regional field for Baptists by founding four or more churches in the neighborhood of Alicante." ² Dr. Knapp terminated his work in Spain in 1876.

Dr. Knapp, who established the Baptist work in Spain, was succeeded in 1877 by the Swedish Baptist, Henry Lund. It was under his direction that the Baptist work in Spain received its greatest impetus. Dr. Lund came under the auspices of the American Baptist Committee through meeting William Ciffre, who was sent to Spain by the said committee. William Ciffre was sent to Catalonia by the American Baptist Committee, where he worked with Spanish Protestants in the towns of Hospitalet and Cornellà. He then went to the town of Figueras (Gerona), where the Swedish Baptist, Henry Lund, was doing evangelical work. Here it was arranged that under the American Baptist Committee Dr. Lund should take charge of all the Baptist work in Catalonia. Ciffre's work became subordinate.

Dr. Lund was instrumental in establishing a church in

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 266.
2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 64.

Figueras and in the publication of an evangelistic periodical, "El Evangelista". "The major portion of the task realized by Dr. Lund is within the years 1890 to 1898."¹ In 1890 he also founded the paper, "El Eco de la Verdad" ("The Echo of Truth").

A Spaniard who had been wonderfully brought to Christ by Dr. Knapp became Dr. Lund's right-hand man. He was Manuel C. Marín. This man, while he was still a boy, was trying to make a living selling boxes of matches. He was hungry and humble and one day while going down the street of Villa y Corte, which was his accustomed route, he offered his merchandise to a stranger: Dr. Knapp. Dr. Knapp looked at the boy with compassionate eyes, and saw in him somehow valuable material for the Protestant cause in Spain. Gutierrez Marín writes:

Young Marín resulted in a true convert and without any reserve for the Protestant cause. Dr. Knapp sent him to Newton University, and there Marín obtained the title of Doctor of Theology, and more the title of Doctor of Philosophy and Letters.²

Marín labored fervently for Dr. Lund directing the paper "El Eco de la Verdad" and at the same time leading a church in Sabadell and also at Barcelona. His work terminated in 1904, when he passed away to receive his eternal reward.

Simultaneous with Dr. Lund's work was that of John Hår in the city of Barcelona. He also was a Swedish Baptist sent to Spain to work under the auspices of the Swedish Baptist Missionary Society. His work consisted of the establishment of churches in Sabadell, Tarrasa, Badalona, Manresa, and Villafrenca. He labored for thirty years

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 324.

2. Ibid., pp. 324-325.

in Spain under the agreeable direction of Dr. Lund, though with complete freedom. He also published a paper intitled, "Hoja Dominicales" ("Dominical Leaves" or "Sunday School Leaves"). Like Dr. Knapp and Dr. Lund, he had the good fortune of finding faithful Spanish workers, the most important being Vicente Mateu who established several churches. John Hur's work began in Spain in 1881.

One other Baptist of much importance is the Swedish Baptist Carl Haglund. While Hur was doing his work in Barcelona, the Swedish Society had sent Mr. Haglund to the city of Valencia. Because of language difficulties, Haglund decided to work among his own compatriots and he obtained permission from the authorities to visit the ships that came into port from Sweden and Norway. He then conceived the plan of opening and maintaining a church exclusively for Swedes and Norwegians. This was realized in the town of Pueblo Nuevo del Mar (New Town of the Sea). However, it resulted that at his preaching services a number of Spaniards were anxious to hear the word of God preached, and after a while they proposed to him to organize a small Spanish Protestant congregation. The congregation grew rapidly and soon Mr. Haglund had to find a larger place to contain the congregation. In fact, Haglund had to move several times, until finally the church settled permanently at Portal de Valldigna. Marín writes:

Until the year 1895, when Señor Haglund slept in Christ, he had the privilege of seeing how that work grew initiated by the Hand of Providence. A strong Sunday School developed in the Church from

its extensive propaganda.

The work of the missionary Haglund, passed into the hands of another Swedish Missionary, Henry Lund, who worked in Barcelona.¹

After these early Swedish Baptist pioneers had completed their work in Spain, in 1914 a Swedish Committee was formed in America to carry on the work, "but at the meeting of the Baptist World Association in 1920, the Southern Baptist Convention undertook the responsibility."² To this day the work in Spain remains under the Southern Baptist Board, and many of the churches established by Har, Haglund and Knapp continue to exist to this present year of 1952.

3) The Brethren.

"R.C. Chapman, a well-known leader among English Brethren, visited Spain in 1838."³ The result of this trip was that he introduced W. Gould and George Lawrence into Spain to do evangelistic work in 1863. However, it was not until 1868 that Lawrence came to the Peninsula definitely dedicating himself to the task of distributing the Sacred Scriptures. Of the early Brethren that came to Spain George Lawrence is the most important of them all. This missionary went to the city of Barcelona, where besides distributing the Scriptures, he founded a local for the preaching of the Word. Next to the places of preaching, he opened colleges which were put under the direction of Mr. Muller. Gutierrez Marín writes:

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 369-370.
2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 64.
3. Ibid., p. 65.

He was about all this work already in 1870. Lawrence did not limit himself to preaching, but when the occasion had arrived, he installed a printing press, where he began the publication of the papers entitled: "La Aurora de Gracia", and "La Estrella de Gracia".¹

Of unique merit was the establishment of a Protestant hospital by the energetic Lawrence. The work had grown to such proportions, that Mr. Lawrence could not do the work by himself. Thereupon he called on Mr. Payne and Mr. Albert Fenn, both of whom resided in Madrid.

About this time a terrible plague of "yellow fever" spread through Spain. The Brethren meeting the emergency opened a canteen for the public in Barcelona, on the street of Ferlandina. Marín writes:

The population, consumed with pain and hunger, did not forget for a long time to come this magnificent gesture on the part of the Catalan Protestants.²

Lawrence, this great English battler for Christ, was destined to do one more piece of great work before retiring from Spain: "He ordered the construction of a car purposely designed for the sale and diffusion of the Bible."³ The project was an enormous success with tremendous sales of Bibles. This "car" was the predecessor of the "Biblical Automobiles" of the Bible and Britannic Bible Societies which run through all the streets and villages of Spain.

The work of the Brethren was also established in the city of Madrid under the direction of Carl Faithful. He and his family began work in this city in the year 1868. Faithful also tried to spread

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 269.
2. Ibid., p. 270.
3. Ibid., p. 271.

the Gospel in Vitoria, where he was threatened with death by clerical antagonism and also in Valladolid and in Marsella. He finally returned to Madrid, where he was succeeded by Feen, whose main work was preaching.

The present Brethren church today is located on the street Trafalgar in Madrid. It is one of the best attended churches in Madrid.

The outstanding work of the Brethren today in Spain is not in Catalonia nor in Madrid, but in the rather remote section of Galicia. The work in Galicia has some disadvantages which has limited the influence of the Brethren in Spain as a whole. One of these factors is the constant current of immigration between Galicia and the United States. This is eminently true. However, García and Grubb affirm that in the Gallego or Galician there is the absence of a positive note of character "which renders the emergence of national leadership difficult."¹ This may be questioned. General Franco is a Gallego. But the Gallego is predominantly a fisherman and a farmer, and the difficulty is one of environment rather than a characteristic. Another factor perhaps more telling than that just cited is the fact that the Brethren work "has taken on the nature of a foreign missionary effort."² This characteristic would explain the lack of native workers in Galicia. García and Grubb attest to this fact by saying, "It is obvious that the work of the

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1. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 65.

Brethren is largely dominated by the foreign element."¹ However, the most recent indications from the Brethren show that there is a desire for revision of past methods. The reader is urged to refer to a comparative chart in the Appendix showing the relative proportions of foreign and native workers in the different Protestant Churches of Spain.

2. The Rise and Growth of the Indigenous Protestant Church in Spain.

a. The Spanish Protestant Ideal: Unity.

1) The First Ecumenical Reunion of Spanish Protestantism in 1868.

On April 25, 1868, Juan Cabrera called a meeting of pastors and evangelists, many of which were exiled from Spain at Gibraltar. The express purpose of the convocation, representing Spanish Protestantism, was to formulate a "Reform Confession of Faith."² Although a great number did not attend this meeting, those present proposed another meeting in the near future which would be truly a "Great Assembly or Synod" within the borders of Spain.

The proposed idea had no sooner been considered, when "the wind of liberty began to blow violently on the foreheads and hearts of Spaniards."³ It was then imperative that a common program of action and the formulation of dogmatics and traditions should be undertaken by Spanish Protestantism. The motive was that the Gospel should be extended over the Iberian Peninsula as rapidly as possible,

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1. Garcia and Grubb, op. cit., p. 73.
2. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 238.
3. Ibid., p. 239.

so that a strong Reform Church could emerge.

It is necessary to understand that although liberty during this period was short lived, it was of great importance to Spanish Protestantism. Gutierrez Marín writes:

Without it (ie., the period of liberty) it would be difficult today, perhaps, to speak of the achievements accomplished by the Second Reform Movement. ¹

2) The Second Ecumenical Reunion of Spanish Protestantism in 1869.

On July 15, 1869, in the city of Seville, the Spanish Evangelical Church met in conference. It must be made clear that in these early days of Spanish Protestantism there were no distinctions between the titles given to Spanish Protestantism. Gutierrez Marín writes:

The Spanish Protestant Church did not "know" denominations, and was as such "one", being publicly as well as privately known as the "Reformed Church". ²

This Second Ecumenical Assembly was also initiated by Cabrera. It met for three days in the course of which among other resolutions the following was declared, as stated by Gutierrez Marín:

Adopt the Biblical Version of Cipriano Valera for all the churches. Approve the Reformed Confession of Faith. Present a brief Catechism. Elaborate a brief Ecclesiastical Law or Code of Discipline. Install colleges for the public, and organize Dominical Schools (Sunday School) under the direction and care of the Churches. ³

The Confession of Faith was a magnificent product of evangelical intelligence, which received the applause of eminent persons.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 239/
2. Ibid., p. 262.
3. Ibid., pp. 262-263.

The estimate of the Rev. Wyllie, pastor in Edinburgh, is recorded by Gutierrez Marín:

I have in my hands a copy of the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church of Spain, which has just come off the press. As to that part which I have already examined, I can say that it is logically formed, admirably expressed in conformity with the Word of God and the creeds of the Protestant Church. ¹

The Confession of Faith is too long to record here as it contained 35 articles and was 125 pages long. A copy of the Confession of Faith was sent to the Spanish government, which acknowledged the declaration and recognized the Spanish Protestant Church; for once and for all time officially Protestantism emerged from its clandestine position.

3) The Third Ecumenical Assembly in 1872.

This Spanish Protestant reunion is generally referred to as the Great Assembly of Madrid. This assembly which met in the year 1872 was by far more important than the two previous gatherings, as this time from all corners of the Peninsula, both small and great churches, regardless of sect, with the exception of the Baptists and Brethren, were represented at this ecumenical gathering. It is also important because of the unanimity of agreement in casting votes.

It is noteworthy here to list the number of men and churches by city or village, that were present or represented at this Third Ecumenical Assembly of Madrid. The preponderance of

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 263.

Spanish names shows that the growth of the native church was well on its way. Gutierrez Marín writes:

Moore, Ruet, Jameson, Carrasco (Antonio), González, Vizcarrondo, Cabrera, Exímene, Astray, Castro, Sánchez López, Sánchez Ruiz, Alhama, Vargas, Hernández, Trigo, Empaytaz, y Tudury; in representation of churches: Sevilla, Zaragoza, Comuñas, Valladolid, Córdoba, Huelva, Granada, Málaga, Cádiz, Cartagena, Barcelona, and Mahón; and assisting also as visitors were Fliedner, Armstrong, Gladstone, Rebolledo and Flores....¹

The first consideration when the session opened "was the primary question of the Constitution in regard to an organic body, united under one common denomination, and disposed to work in complete mutual communion of ideals and purposes."² As a result of this most serious spirit that permeated that great meeting of Protestant ecclesiastics, two fundamental decisions were mutually recognized: The adoption of "The Presbyterian ritual" to be observed by all churches, and the common title "Iglesia Cristiana Española" (Spanish Christian Church) for all. Gutierrez Marín writes:

The ultimate desire was, above all, to present before the entire country, and to the believers, not only the unity of character, but also unity of form.³

The importance of these resolutions and decisions were significant for it facilitated on the one hand the proper discipline and development of all the Protestant work undertaken in the Iberian Peninsula, and on the other hand it gave Protestant communities the opportunity to demonstrate that the Protestant Churches could present the same unity which the Church of Rome claimed, since the people were well accustomed to such unity.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 290.

2. Ibid., p. 290.

3. Ibid., p. 290.

One of the finest results of this Third Ecumenical Assembly was that, as Gutierrez writes:

.....the Spanish Protestant communities never again were interested in questions of sects, nor did anything else become important except the preaching of Christianity in all its purity. ¹

Moreover, on many occasions Spanish Protestants have been hostile toward denominations. They have demonstrated this **by** assisting vigorously in conventions and assemblies, "in the which everyone could feel they were brothers and united by only precious link of Faith in Christ, without any more additions of discussions of sects"²

4) The Unwanted Schism of 1884.

"A schism appeared when no one expected it, and above all, when the majority of the Protestant pastorate of Spain did not desire it." ³

Juan Baptista Cabrera embarked on the idea that the Spanish Protestant churches should revive "the pure essence of ancient tradition." ⁴ What Cabrera wanted was to revert "for inspiration and example, in order and method, to the ancient Spanish Church before she came under the influence of Rome." ⁵ Specifically, this meant that the old Mozarabic or Visigothic liturgy would be used. In any event, Juan Cabrera put himself in contact with the Irish Episcopal Church, with the specific idea that Spanish Protestantism should conform to Episcopal rite, a ritual quite distinct from the Presbyterian.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 290-291.
2. Ibid., p. 291.
3. Ibid., p. 415.
4. García and Gubb, op. cit., p. 63.
5. Ibid., p. 63.

Juan Cabrera carried out his plans, and broke the "religious unity" which had been so unanimously accepted. He adopted the episcopal ritual for his own church as well as for those which desired to follow him. These churches formed what is now known as "Iglesia Española Reformada", which should not be confused with "Iglesia Reformada Española", the latter title being the appellation of all the Spanish Protestant churches in Spain, regardless of sect or denomination. In English, the schismatic churches are referred to as the Spanish Reformed Church..

The churches which grouped under the leadership of Cabrera were: Sevilla, Málaga, Salamanca, Valladolid, Valencia, Linares, and Sabadell. In all 24 churches remained under the original union of Iglesia Cristiana de España.

5) Regrouping of The Iglesia Cristiana de España in 1886.

In view of the schism the Iglesia Cristiana de España called a meeting. With unanimous accord the representatives decided to change the name to Iglesia Evangélica Española (Spanish Evangelical Church). At this meeting were present representatives from the Unión Ibero-Evangélica a group of churches in northern Spain which had organized from the labors of the Rev. W. Gulick, who came to Santander under the auspices of the American Board of Missions. This Unión Ibero-Evangélica decided definitively to give up its identity and unite with the Spanish Evangelical Church. To this day the Spanish Evangelical Church exists. It is to be noted that both the Baptist and the Brethren were not within these movements.

6) The Fourth Ecumenical Meeting of 1923.

In 1922 the Alliance for Peace met in Madrid. At this meeting the possibility of unifying all of the churches in Spain was considered and this resulted in a Fourth Ecumenical Assembly or Meeting in the year 1923. The union of the churches was desired even if the distinct denominations retained their identification. Representatives from the then three great Protestant branches of Spain came together: Iglesia Evangélica Española (Spanish Evangelical Church), Iglesia Episcopal (The Episcopal Church), and Iglesia Metodista (The Methodist Church, which later joined the Spanish Evangelical Church in 1928). These three churches joined in a union called Federacion de Iglesias Evangélicas de España (Federation of Evangelical Churches of Spain).

Basic regulations were studied and approved in order to put the Federation into action. Gutierrez Marín writes:

A Directory was named, which examined all questions in reference to publications, education, evangelization, etc., which worked toward a common plan of effort and of mutual interest. ¹

One of the results of this Federation was the incorporation of the Methodist Church into the Spanish Evangelical Church.

The Federation itself has been most successful in Spain, and has resulted in an intimate communion between the different denominations, reducing to a minimum all superficial distinctions.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 417.

7) Evaluation of the Spirit of Spanish Protestantism.

It is not infrequent that the Latin race has been dubbed "anarchic" by nature. A study of the Spanish Protestant Church confirms most emphatically the fallacy of this notion. This kind of false belief is the kind of propaganda upon which the Church of Rome thrives to control all Latin races, claiming that it alone is able to unify this "vitriolic clan". Rome is not only thoroughly wrong, but has been able to deceive the entire Anglo-Saxon race with very few exceptions. In this respect the words of Björn Hallström are of much weight:

Much before there was ecumenical unity in the North of Europe, ecumenicity had been achieved by the Protestants in Spain. In Spain Lutherans fought side by side with Congregationalists and Presbyterians against the Church of Rome. It could not say, as did the Synod of Missouri during the first World War, that the Calvinists were more dangerous than the Roman Catholics. ¹

In line with this, Gutierrez Marín writes:

The spirit which has always dominated in Spanish Protestantism has been that of unity and mutual collaboration between all the Protestant sects and good-will between each other has been a beautiful reality. ²

b. A Brief Description of the Spanish Evangelical Church.

Although the Spanish Evangelical Church is constituted along the lines of a federation, it is federated more so from a financial point of view than from an organic. "The work of the church is subsidized by a number of foreign committees." ³ The

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1. Björn Hallström, Viaje Secreto por España, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
2. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 418.
3. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 71.

communicants of the Spanish Evangelical Church are divided according to the supporting groups in the following figures. García and Grubb write:

German Committees -----	24%
Wesleyan Methodist -----	21%
American Board of Comminssioners -----	17%
Presbyterian -----	10%
Methodist Episcopal -----	8 %
Holland Committee -----	6%
French Mission -----	2%
Others -----	12% 1

It must be made clear that this analysis only describes the number of Spanish Protestant membership in the Spanish Evangelical Church which receive support from various foreign sources. The analysis does not say that there is a French Mission identified as such in individual churches, which has joined the Spanish Evangelical Church. What is clear is that a number of distinct, thoroughly Spanish churches of the Spanish Evangelical Church receive so much help from such and such foreign committees, and these taken separately represent so much membership supported by them.

The Spanish Evangelical Church is represented in most parts of the Peninsula with the exception of most of the province of Galicia. It is divided into four regional synods. Up until the Civil War it has made slow progress, but times are again most propitious for the growth of Protestantism in Spain.

c. Spanish Evangelical Organizations.

1) The Conference of Evangelical Workers.

Whereas in America, of specifically in the United States,

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1. García and Grubb, op. cit., p.71..

Protestants speak proudly of inter-denominationalism, in Spain they like to say "without denomination." This is the spirit that permeates the conferences held by the Conference of Evangelical Workers (Conferencia de Obreros Evangélicos).

This organization has been assisted not only by religious leaders of the Spanish Protestant churches, but also by a number of people representing a wide range of ideas and beliefs. To these conferences professors, evangelists, and colporteurs are invited. Gutierrez Marín writes:

The importance of these conferences had been most significant, because the number of problems treated has greatly surpassed those which could have been possibly considered by each particular denomination. ¹

These conferences have been of great help to Spanish Protestantism, since many problems are discussed with the specific purpose of finding a solution. All the sects have acclaimed these conferences as having contributed effectively to the Protestant cause in Spain. So far there have been meetings in Seville (most recently), Valencia, and Madrid.

There is no doubt that the incorporation of the laical element, many of whom are not members of Protestant churches, "has given to these Christian gatherings a truly democratic flavor." ² These meetings have spear-headed a drive for a quick union of Protestantism in Spain, and at the same time have served to reduce the evil of clericalism, to which Protestantism is exposed as well as

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 418.
2. Ibid., p. 418.

Roman Catholicism.

2) The Youth Christian Union.

The object of this organization is to unite all of the evangelical youths of Spain in one great body. Its Spanish name is La Unión Cristiana de Jóvenes. Its basic requirements are very broad in order to attract Roman Catholic young people. However, anyone who joins must not have any difficulty in subscribing to the basic Christian faith. In fact, it is reported that some of these unions are composed almost entirely of Roman Catholic youths in spite of the fact that these organizations must be under the complete direction of the Evangelical churches. Naturally the hope is that each separate union should be strongly evangelical. This fact, however, points to the great amount of sympathy that Spanish youth has for the Protestant movement.

At the present these unions are to be found only in the larger cities of Spain, but continued growth is encouraged. The cities in which there is representation are Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, and Valencia.

3) The Societies of Christian Effort.

Las Sociedades de Esfuerzo Cristiano is in contrast to the Youth Christian Union exclusively for evangelical youths. Its primary object is the education of all evangelical youth in the Gospels. Although the horizons of this organization are not as wide as the organization just cited, they are of far more benefit to the Protestant churches. This organization in turn has a greater influence on the congregation than the Youth Christian Union.

There are a great number of churches whose youth belong to this organization: Alicante, Barcelona, Bilbao, Capdepera, Cartagena, Chiclana de Segura, Jaca, Linares, Logroño, Mahón, Palma de Mallorca, Pradejón, Rubí, Sabadell, Salamanca, San Sebastián, Santa Cruz de Mudela, Santander, Sevilla, Tarrasa, Ubeda, Valdespeñas, Valencia, Villacarlos, Villaescusa, and Zaragoza. ¹ Gutierrez Marín writes:

These (societies) were imported by Mr. and Mrs. Gulick, and their acceptance by all the churches was unanimous. They have celebrated various great conventions, where spiritual problems have been of concern to the youth of sane spirit, and always loyal to their pledge: For Christ and His Church. ²

There are other organizations, which without space for discussion maybe named: Grupos Infantiles (Youth Groups), and Juntas de Señoras (Married Women's Councils).

C. The Role of the Protestant Press.

Speaking of the great number of evangelical papers which have appeared in Spain, Gutierrez Marín writes:

If we were to speak of all and each of the papers and "reviews" which Spanish Protestantism has launched before the public, during the period of the Second Reform Movement, it would be almost to repeat all that has been related in these pages (referring to his history of Protestantism). The work of Protestantism and the press of the same ideology belong intimately together and complement each other. ³

Using Gutierrez Marín as a source, all the Protestant papers that have appeared in Spain since 1849 will be enumerated, putting the editor if any, and the year the paper first appeared up to the year 1942 when Gutierrez Marín's book was published.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 423.
2. Ibid., p. 423.
3. Ibid., p. 411.

The very first of them all was "El Catolicismo Neto", published in England in 1849. This paper changed its name to "El Libre Examen".

El Alba (1854).

La Luz, founded by Antonio Carrasco, (November 6, 1869).

El Eco del Evangelio, by Nicolás Alonso Marcelau, (January 30, 1869).

El Cristianismo, by Juan Bautista Cabrera, (May 15, 1869).

El Eco Protestante, by Antonio Vallespinosa, (June 10, 1869).

La Fe, edited in Madrid.

La Reforma, in Córdoba.

El Obrero, in Barcelona (1870).

El Evangelista Español, Madrid, (1871).

La Aurora de Gracia, Barcelona.

La Estrella de Gracia, a youth paper, Barcelona, (1875).

La Bandera de la Reforma, by Pedro Sala, Madrid, (1871).

El Amigo de la Infancia, by Fritz Fliédner, Madrid, (1874).

La Revista Cristiana, by Fliédner, Madrid, (1880).

El Mensajero de la Salvación, by Dederico Jones, Barcelona.

El Evangelista, by Enrique Lund, Barcelona.

El Eco de la Verdad, by Manuel C. Marín, Barcelona.

El Herald Cristiano, by López Rodríguez, Figueras.

El Atalaya, Manuel Carrasco, Málaga, (1892).

El Esfuerzo Cristiano, Zaragoza, (1898).

El Lazo Fraternal, by Juan Hur, Valencia, (1901).

Hojas Dominicales, by the above.

El Mensajero de la Verdad, by J. Jones, Madrid.

La Revista Homilética, Valencia.

La Biblia en Figueras, Figueras.

El Unionista, Madrid.

La Aurora de Galicia, by Turrall, Vigo.

El Faro de Vigo, Vigo.

La Reforma, by Augustín Arenales, Cordoba.

El Visitador Bíblico.

El Labaro.

La Hoja del Esforzador. 1

etc., etc..... 1

The effect of many of these evangelical papers was very limited, and in some cases they could not be continued in publication for long periods of time. Many of them only had an influence around a particular church or locality, or remained within a certain

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., pp. 412-413.

denomination. Even so, the number of them is quite impressive, showing clearly that the Protestant Movement in Spain was not without strength.

Spanish Protestantism felt the need for an evangelical paper that would represent all of Spanish Protestantism, and do away with a great number of papers. In 1919 in the first great Spanish Evangelical Congress, the pastor of Jaca, Salvador Ramírez, proposed the creation of one paper for all Spanish Protestantism. The idea was sympathetically received, and on January 29, 1920, there appeared before the public the *Semanario Evangélico* (Weekly Evangelical). It was well formed and without any denomination, and in its pages were found the work of the best Christian 'pens'.¹

A new title was given to the Weekly Evangelical "La España Evangélica" (Evangelical Spain). This move was seriously taken, and five papers that were widely circulated suspended their publications: "La Luz", "El Cristianismo", "La Revista Cristiana", "El Atalaya", and "El Cristiano".

Two Committees were formed to direct the new paper, and "Editorial Committee" and a "Redacting Committee". The move toward this "one" Spanish Protestant paper was supported financially both by the foreign committees and by the Spanish public. The first director of the paper was the Pastor José Caraballo, who though a Protestant claimed no denomination.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 413.

D. Protestant Education In Spain.

1. The Sunday School.

"We can with surity affirm that there is no Church, no matter how small, that does not maintain a Sunday School." ¹ Spanish Protestantism has always given due recognition to the children. The interest in children has not only been in regard to a basic education for them, but with a profound concern for their evangelization. In the beginning each pastor did what he thought was most beneficial for the children of his particular church. But as time went on, a growing concern became evident to unify the efforts of the Sunday School movement in Spain. As a consequence, three meetings of the Spanish pastors resulted during the twentieth century. In 1913 a Federation of Sunday Schools was formed. Then in 1922, a Sunday School Union was formed. Finally in Madrid on May 17, 1936, a convocation of evangelical pastors and leaders was held forming the Federation of Sunday Schools (La Federación de Escuelas Dominicales). The respective committees of this federation sat down to work out weekly lessons, as well as a pedagogical plan.

These actions of Spanish Protestantism soon gained the recognition of the Protestant world. "In the World Convention of Sunday Schools, Spain had two places reserved." ² The precise conference was the Conference at Oslo in 1936, "where for the first time Spain was found nobly represented by two Spaniards." ³ The Sunday School enrollment which was reported by García and Grubb, in Religion

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 420.
2. Ibid., p. 422.
3. Ibid., p. 422.

in the Republic of Spain, published in 1933, was 6,695. With the oppressive Fascist-Franco regime in power for so many years it is very difficult to say what the Sunday School enrollment is now.

2. Education Centers.

a. The Religious "Center".

The first religious center was conceived by Spanish exiled Protestants in France, who wanted to have ministerial preparation. This was in the year 1868. They resolved upon opening a "Center" in the city of Pau, France. At its inauguration it received the title of "Camino de España" (Road of Spain).

This theological college was sustained by Mme. M. A. Mac Euen, but the enterprise did not last. The students then went to Switzerland, where they entered theological schools. They remained there until they finished their course and could return to Spain.

b. Union Theological Seminary.

In 1883 the Irish Presbyterian Church, represented by Mr. W. Moore, opened a theological college in Puerto de Sta. María, near Cádiz. The work of this institution prospered, and it remained at the said city until 1919, when it decided to move to Madrid. In 1927 it became known as the Union Theological College, or Seminary.

At first it was supported solely by the Irish Committee, but in 1884 the Scotch Committee joined with the former in co-operative financial support. The support of the Union Theological Seminary finally passed into the hands of the International Committee on Spain in 1919. The Seminary continues its work to this day, located

at the street Noviciado No. 3, Madrid.

c. The Baptist Theological Institute.

In Barcelona in 1922 the Baptist Church opened a Theological Institute located in the street San Carlos. Its first director was the American, Leroy V. David. Baptist youth were given a splendid opportunity to take religious courses, and in fact, a number of them took advantage of the institution. This institution is denominational, whereas the Union Theological Seminary is non-denominational.

d. Spanish Gospel Mission.

Reference has already been made to the Rev. Percy Bufford and the establishment of the Spanish Evangelical Mission. It deserves mention here because of the special character of its educational scheme.

The Spanish Evangelical Mission gives short courses during the day-time to "comparatively uneducated workers who are not necessarily free for full-time evangelical employment." ¹ This school opened in 1930, and in 1932 it had twelve students. "It is subsidized by a certain group in North America, and though it is early to judge, the experiment bids fair to be a success." ²

E. The Physical Ministry in Spain.

1. The Role of Medicine.

a. The First Evangelical Hospital in Madrid, 1876.

At tremendous cost and sacrifice the Protestants of Madrid

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1. Garcia and Grubb, op. cit., p. 79

2. Ibid., p. 79.

were able to open a medical center in the year 1876. The Medical center opened under the name of Evangelical Infirmary (*Enfermería Evangélica*), located on a road called Hortaleza.

Here for the first time Protestants who were sick came under the care of fellow-believers. Unfortunately the hospital had to close down, a hospital that was run entirely by Spaniards. "The believers had of necessity to frequent again the cold halls of the State Hospitals." ¹

In the twentieth century the Protestants of Madrid again dreamed of having an infirmary, but again, shortly after its opening this hospital had to be closed due to the scarcity of financial help. "Since then, and to this day, the Protestants of Madrid have not had any other." ²

b. The Catalan Evangelical Infirmary.

In the year 1879 the pastors of Barcelona in mutual accord decided to establish a "good hospital". In order to avoid the pit-falls of the Protestants of Madrid, the Catalan Protestants consulted with foreign Protestants of financial experience. The latter responded with sympathy to the plan, and as a result the project materialized successfully.

The regulations of the hospital which were formulated allowed admission of both foreign patients and others who did not profess the evangelical faith.

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 428.
2. Ibid., p. 429.

The hospital began in very humble circumstances, but its work grew and became known to many people of position. As a result, many wonderful donations were made to the work. The Hospital so prospered, that in 1893 an excellent edifice with property was obtained. Adequate departments were set up with a spacious garden. The hospital is located on the street Camelias No. 21.

c. The Need for Medical Centers.

No argument is needed to demonstrate how necessary it is for Protestantism in Spain to have medical centers. Particularly in the light of conditions in the State Hospitals. Many believers unfortunately have had to resort to them. Gutierrez Marín writes:

.....how many (believers) have had the misfortune to go through the cold and dirty corridors of the Spanish hospitals, the majority of them without light, without heat, and without hygiene.. ... gloomy buildings, with the odor of a cemetery. ¹

In these State Hospitals are found by legislative order an order of nuns called "Hermanas de la Caridad" (Sisters of Charity). There is no doubt that many of them are truly pious and charitable, but it is also known that many of them have not been either kind or charitable, but that rather religiously fanatical, fighting against the poor and sick who refused to submit to the exigencies of the Church of Rome. Gutierrez Marín writes:

A Protestant in bed in a State Hospital, runs the grave risk of dying, if not for lack of assistance, certainly in consequence of disagreement between his faith and the orders who are in charge

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 431.

of his custody. How many dissidents have found bitterness without end in these public establishments! How many shameful things from a point of view not religious but humanitarian would come to light if the walls of the Spanish hospitals could speak. ¹

Need any more be said why Protestants in Spain should have their own hospitals?

2. The Agricultural Problem in Spain.

"Land agitation is an old complaint in Spain. Needed reforms have constantly been put off." ² The Republic of 1931 tried to solve the difficult problem by proposing a land bill which was passed by a 318 votes to 19, on September 1932. Those who revolted against the Republic who owned large lands forfeited their holdings, and the Republican government apportioned the land to small land holders. García and Grubb write:

Land holding of over 50 hectares account for over 70 percent of the total surveyed area of the provinces of Seville and Huelva. This proportion diminishes towards the north, and in Galicia, Catalonia, and in fact in all the north of Spain, it is under 10 per cent. In the province of Seville some 730,000 hectares are in the hands of about 900 landowners. In the 14 provinces principally affected by the land Reform Bill, there are some 1,500,000 families. Of these about 14,000 hold more than 250 hectares, while 670,000 own less than 10 hectares per family. ³

Even if the problem of land distribution were solved, it is of utmost importance to know that in Spain to this very day, the ox and the donkey and even the old wooden cartare still extensively used. This points to the fact that land production in Spain is at a very low rate, in fact, parallel to that in medieval times. Pro-

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p.p. 431-432.
2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 43.
3. Ibid., p. 43.

testantism, either within the country or coming from abroad, has not seized the tremendous evangelical opportunity available in the field of agriculture. This is probably, in all humility, the first time, as far as the author knows, that the suggestion is put forth that Protestantism should think seriously about starting agricultural missions in Spain. A tractor to many remote Spanish farmers would look like an angel of mercy. It is indeed to be regretted that no such missions have been started in Spain. The missionary, Ernest Trenchard, throws the following light on the subject:

Except in comparatively few districts of Spain, where agricultural processes have been somewhat modernized, harvesting is carried out with a reaping hook, the corn being caught in the left hand and cut high up the stalk with the hook. Harvesting operations begin in June, and gangs of reapers make their way to the corn-growing districts, to earn a poor wage by bending for the length of a long summer's day over the short corn, with the fierce rays of a Spanish sun beating down upon their heads and backs.

When the sheaves are bound, they are conveyed in bullock-carts to the threshing-floor.....¹

In another place he says:

One of the things which strikes a visitor to a Spanish village is the haunting poverty on every hand. There is so little ready money that it is a tremendous problem for the poorer villagers to clothe their families at all decently. Woolen wear is unknown, and the same thin cotton garments have to serve during the crude Castilian winter as in the scorching summer..... As regards food, however, though scarcity and absolute hunger are all too frequent, the situation is alleviated somewhat by the following facts.

Most villagers, however poor, have some plots of land which are their own, and in these are able to cultivate potatoes, haricot beans (their staple and most economical dish) and other crops, which enables them to eat, for at least a part of the year.

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1. Ernest Trenchard, op. cit., p. 103.

Those who have no ground are often able to sow in another person's field, on the condition that the crop is shared between the sower and the owner of the land. ¹

It is this writer's contention that just as the agricultural missions in southern India under the direction of the Protestants have done more to win souls to Christ than preaching to their hungry bodies, so also in Spain will there be a veritable harvest for Protestantism the day Protestantism undertakes agricultural missions in Spain. A photograph showing a bullock-cart is attached.

F. Protestant Advancement and Spain's Provincialism:

A Formula For Action.

1. How Can Protestantism Best Advance in Spain?

The question of "How can Protestantism best advance in Spain?" poses two important general factors: an understanding of the total national culture in every sense of the word, and a thorough understanding of the Spanish concept of Protestantism in the light of its development to the present day. The significance of the first factor may be seen in the light of a declaration made by a Spanish intellectual. García and Grubb write:

You Protestants cannot afford to live in isolation as if sequestered; you should cultivate personal relationships with outstanding men in politics, in all the liberal parties, become familiar with the cultured public in academies and colleges, come out into the collective life in open and frank intercourse with all social circles. Spain does not know you, and steps must be taken that the traditional prejudices that you Protestants are plague-stricken (may disappear) ²

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1. Ernest Trenchard, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
2. García and Grubb, op. cit., p. 84.

As for the Spanish concept of "Protestantism", the following statement from Gutierrez Marin is most significant: "It is almost certain that sects would not exist in Spain had it not been for (various) Committees" ¹ The presentation of the facts given in this chapter showing how the Spanish Protestants have ever sought for a unified church, is proof enough of the truth which Gutierrez Marín states.

2. Spanish Provincialism and the Protestant Church.

In the commission given to Fritz Fliedner, the observation was made that the purpose of the German missionary was not to "Anglo-Saxonize" Spanish Protestantism, but to the contrary to encourage the growth of Spanish Protestantism along its own native genius. This is indeed the Biblical method. It is the method of adapting to cultural realities, while yet at the same time keeping true to the message. This method is seen ideally carried out in the prophets of the Old Testament; always they sought to speak in terms of the people's understanding and culture. The prophetic figures of speech illustrate this principle. Spain likewise has been fortunate for the most part in having foreign missionaries who have realized this method. Other nations have not been so fortunate. The missionary to Spain cannot have too deep an understanding of Spain's ethnic, geographical, and cultural structure. This structure may be called "provincialism". A brief sketch is forthcoming. Brandt writes:

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1. Gutierrez Marín, op. cit., p. 442.

There flows through Spain no common wave of nationalism. It is all provincialism, ageless, suspicious, jealous, destructive. Mountain ranges divide where plains should join; dry rivers lock intercourse within their seared beds. One bond only is common, the strongest bond in man's social life, religion. ¹

He continues:

Prodigal Nature, having erected perfect boundaries for the peninsula, placed within it barricades to unity. Mountain ranges, great plateaus, deep valleys -- all are in conspiracy to keep each province to itself. Bigoted men has not been alone in writing the troubled history of Spain; that history lies written also in eternal rock.

And thus there is in reality no Spanish nation. There are the Galicians in whose corner of the peninsula the independence of the Spains was preserved by fierce resistance to the Moors; they have their dialect - almost their own language - and their customs that serve more to divide than join them to their neighboring Castilians. Up the Atlantic coast beyond Castile lies the Basque country with its own language and customs. Down the Pyrenees toward the Mediterranean Sea are the Catalons whose memory of independence nurtures the desire for freedom even today. From Catalonia, whose citizens are as distinct in language and habits from the Castilians as the Castilians are from the French, one finds on his way toward Cádiz dialects and customs distinct from those of Castile, so different as to mark the languages and customs of other nations. Political history recorded the physical union of these nations; but custom and language have preserved their independence. ²

The mountain barriers of Spain, which break up the Peninsula into four distinct regions: Galicia-Old Castile, Aragón, New Castile-Valencia, and Andalusia, not only served to promulgate provincialism, but also a strong sense of individuality. Brandt writes:

Though intensely loyal to the church, the Spaniard nevertheless preserved a character that was unusual among the peoples of Europe. In no other nation is there such individual independence as that which characterizes the residents of the provinces of Spain. ³

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1. Joseph Brandt, op. cit., p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 15.

He continues:

Perhaps the Spaniard is *un poco loco* (a little crazy), as a brilliant young university student phrased it. He was much of a Don Quijote. He knew that as an individual he was one of God's chosen creatures. Like Don Quijote there could be no question of precedence to injure a false pride; wherever he was, there was the place of honor! ¹

Dr. John A. Mackay makes the same observation:

So strong is the individuality of a genuine Spaniard that he feels himself to be the born equal of any and every man. The ancient form of government in Spain was a kind of "democratic Caesarism." A number of classic phrases descended from the remote past admirably express that overweening pride and that innate sense of equality which are so genuinely characteristic of the Iberian race. "Each one of us is worth as much as you, and together we are worth more than you", said a group of early Spanish nobles to their monarch. ²

Dr. Mackay asserts that "in the bottom of his soul each true son of Iberia feels himself to be a monarch, a man apart, a being divinely chosen for some task." ³

Although such individualism has certain good points, viz., a tendency for the democratic way of life, for the Spaniards it has resulted in calamity, not because it is inherent, but due to a chain of historical events. That calamity has been the Spaniards sense of pride. Mackay writes:

The country, as George Borrow remarks, is not naturally fanatical. She is, however, terribly and fatally proud, and has ever been more concerned about her honour than her life....."Let me die, but let my honour live," is a significant Spanish motto. ⁴

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1. Joseph Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
2. John A. Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, pp. 4-5.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

However, in spite of provincialism, and in spite of a strong individual sense, which "has mitigated against the success of corporate enterprises carried on by Spaniards", there are two underlying, unifying elements in the Iberian: one is ethnological, the other is psychological. ¹

There is a tremendous amount of truth in the dictum voiced by a French scholar that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees." The Spaniards have never challenged this. "There are distinguished living Spaniards who even exult in its implications." ² Mackay writes:

The people...of...Spain, belong ethnically and spiritually to the African rather than to the European continent, in much the same way as Russia belongs to Asia. According to many anthropologists the Spaniard is "the first-born of the ancient North African, now widely regarded as the parent of the chief and largest element in the population of Europe." In the texture of his soul, the most perfect expression in history of the humanly primitive and unsophisticated, the basic strands are not Celtic or Phoenician, Roman or Goth, but Iberian, and therefore African. That most Spanish of Spaniards, Don Miguel De Unamuno, glories in the kinship of his Basque forbears with the Berbers or the Khabyles of Mount Atlas. ³

Therefore in spite of the fact that reference has been made to the "Spains", within them is found this ethnological common strand: the peoples are Iberian!

The question of utmost significance that emerges for Protestants is: What is the most unifying force in the Iberian character? If any plan is to be launched by Protestantism, how may it guarantee itself at least some hope that it will succeed? Everything

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1. John A. Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, op. cit., p. 8.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 3.

thus far about the Iberian character has pointed to disunity, except for one factor, the ethnological strain. But history makes evident that provincialism has overwhelmed this element of unity. Therefore, what is left?

There is one bit of hope left, and it happens to be the most potent force in the Iberian soul: passion. Mackay writes:

No rational principle of self-interest has ever succeeded in transcending the innate individualism of the Spanish nature. Only a great passion has been able to do that, a passion for the State or a passion for the Church. Madariaga makes the following acute observation: "The Spaniard feels patriotism as he feels love, in the form of a passion where he absorbs the object of his love and assimilates it, that is to say, makes it his own. He does not belong to his country so much as his country belongs to him." The passion of the Spaniard for the Roman Church reveals the same characteristic..... the Church belonged to Spain much more than Spain belonged to the Church. ¹

The history of the Spanish Protestant Church has evinced the fact that the dominating passion of the Spanish Protestants has been unification. This fact is of tremendous significance. It promises much both for Spanish Protestantism and for Spain. It augurs that for the first time in the history of Spain, the "Spains" will become Spain. It augurs that under the banner of "Unamuno's Christ", the Protestant Living Christ, there shall no longer be the Gallego, or the Aragones, or the Castilian, or the Basque, but once and forever all Spaniards, all Iberians. In Christ there is no Greek, or Jew or Roman.

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1. John A. Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, op. cit., pp. 8-9

3. A Formula for Protestantism in Spain.

The formula for Protestantism in Spain has already been well intimated, but a few remarks should be made in regard to contemplated Protestant efforts in Spain.

Protestantism for one thing should be intimately acquainted with the national factors that make up the whole of Spain's life. The missionaries should know as thoroughly as possible Spain's history, its peninsula geography, the temperament of the people which is as varied as the climate, its roads, its cities, and above all its material as well as spiritual needs.

Secondly, Protestantism as such and all Protestant missionaries, both foreign and native, should be thoroughly acquainted with the history of Protestantism in Spain. They must gear in with historic realities, and work on projects which emphasizes all of the finest points Protestantism in Spain has fostered. Above all Protestantism in Spain must rekindle the "vitality of spirit which has long been suppressed and dormant through historical and religious causes." 1

In conclusion, the following lines by Unamuno, the seeker of the Other Spanish Christ, the Living Christ, give meaning to this entire thesis. Mackay quotes:

This Spanish Christ who has never lived, black as the mantle of the earth, lies horizontal and stretched out like a plain, without soul and without hope, with closed eyes facing heaven...And the poor Franciscan nuns of the Convent in which the Virgin Mother served -- the Virgin all heaven and life, gone back to heaven without having passed through death -- cradle the death of the

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1. Garcia and Grubb, op. cit., p. 90.

terrible Christ who will not awake upon the earth. For he, the Christ of my land (tierra) is only earth (tierra), earth, earth, earth,.....flesh, which does not palpitate, earth, earth, earth, earth,.....clots of blood which does not flow, earth, earth, earth, earth.....

And thou, Christ of Heaven, redeem us from the Christ of earth.

G. Summary

Protestantism in Spain started initially through the interest of foreign Protestants. The most prominent country in the expansion of Protestantism in Spain was England. Other countries followed: America, Germany, Scotland, Switzerland, Sweden and France, etc. Out of these were represented many committees and societies. The most prominent Church groups to prosper in Spain were the Methodists, Baptists and Brethern.

Out of all of these initial beginnings emerged the indigenuous Protestant Church with one tremendous passion: to realize a national Protestant Church. This was accomplished in reality by 1872. However, a schism arose, splitting the original church union, forming both the Spanish Evangelical Church and the Spanish Reformed Church. The split was caused principally by Juan Cabrera. Since then, however, there have been moves to bring all the Protestant Spanish churches under one head again.

The Spanish Protestants have also produced significant complementary organizations to the church. These consist primarily in national youth organizations. The Sunday School has also developed in every evangelical church, and today there is a Federation of

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1. John A. Mackay, op. cit., pp.97-98.

Sunday Schools in Spain.

The work of the physical ministry undertaken by the Spanish Protestant Church has not been very significant. Only one hospital exists in Barcelona today. The agricultural field is untouched and offers tremendous promises for evangelization. There are two main centers of religious education, one located at Madrid, the other at Barcelona. The former is non-denominational, the latter is Baptist.

The Protestant press in Spain has played a major part in evangelization, and today, as is the case with church organization, plans are being laid for "une" Protestant paper.

Finally, Protestantism must view its plans in regard to the provincial character of Spain. Each province is different, but Protestantism is for the first time in the history of the nation blotting out, in a real sense, provincial distinctions under the banner of the Living Christ. The prospective missionary must do all in his power to align himself with the characteristics of the Spanish people, and particularly with the aspirations of the historical Protestant Church in Spain.

CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. Restatement of Purpose.

The purpose of this thesis has been to survey the history of Spain in the twentieth century, and to locate within that history, in summary fashion, the Protestant Movement in Spain. The main reasons for this were to discover if Spanish people are by volition truly Roman Catholic and antagonistic to the democratic ideal, as well as to Protestantism. A consideration of the growth and character of Protestantism in Spain showed, contrary to Roman Catholic propaganda, that it could unify the Iberian people.

B. The Summary.

The reign of Alfonso XIII which began in 1901 was corrupt. Republican sentiment developed but it was harshly suppressed by the coup de etat of Primo de Rivera, who made the move under Alfonso's approval. Republican sentiment grew, until a general election was forced, and the people voted wholeheartedly for a democratic form of government. The Republican government of 1931 was attacked by the Roman Catholic Church as being anti-Catholic. The Republic fell for lack of incisive acts. General Franco rose to power with the full sanction of the Church.

Meanwhile, throughout the twentieth century, while the people of Spain suffered hunger and misery, the Church of Rome remained the only fountain of material strength.

Beside this battle of a secular nature a spiritual battle was being waged: a battle for religious liberty. The strongest element on the side of democratic sentiments were the Spanish intellectuals, of both the Radicals of 1868 and the Generation of 1898, whose leavening influence had been at work during the reign of Alfonso XIII until the triumph of the Republic of 1931. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church did all in its power to prevent the advent of the Republican government, consigning those who voted "republican" to damnation. The Republic won out initially and removed all the special privileges of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope openly declared a "holy war" against the Republic. Thus it was, that under the Republic the greatest measure of religious freedom Spain had seen in ages became actual. Meanwhile the Protestants were not idle, but did all in their power to influence the policy of the government, petitioning for religious freedom throughout the twentieth century.

Under the guise that Protestants were the harbingers of all of Spain's calamities, Roman Catholic orders, clerical and laical, incited the Spanish people to persecute the Protestants. Missionaries who experienced persecution in Spain and who recorded them, have been quoted: true life eye-witnesses. Persecution, though severe under Alfonso XIII and the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, has reached a peak under the reign of General Franco. Persecution of Protestants under General Franco continues to this year of 1952, and examples have been cited.

Beside an overt attack upon Protestantism, there has been a significant literary attack: one by Remigio de Papiol in his book, El Protestantismo Ante La Biblia (Protestantism Against the Bible), and another by Richard Pattee in his book This is Spain. The former literary work attempts to show Protestantism even to contradict the Bible. The latter literary production, which is much more significant, ridicules the idea that Protestantism is being persecuted in Spain.

Within this broad scope, showing the general attitude and treatment of Protestants in Spain, a short series of biographical sketches of selected foreign and native Protestants in Spain was presented. On the whole, Protestants showed remarkable, blameless lives, all dedicated to the regeneration of people in spiritual destitution. Mr. Bufford started the Spanish Evangelical Mission; Cadier from France worked in Upper Aragón. Lydia Wirtz was an itinerary evangelist mostly in the province of Galicia.

The native Spaniards presented were Juan Cabrera, Albricias, Salvador Ramírez, and probably the most significant Protestant Spaniard of our times, Dr. Zacarías Carles. Both Juan Cabrera and Pastor Ramírez were pastors, the latter in Málaga and Upper Aragón, and the former in Seville and Madrid; Albricias founded a school in Alicante. Dr. Zacarías Carles founded the Spanish Christian Mission in 1943, and spends a great deal of time traveling from church to church, institution to institution, and from meeting to meeting pleading the cause of 29,000,000 souls in Spain who need Christ.

Finally, a focused survey of the characteristics of the Protestant Movement in Spain was considered. First, the foreign Protestant element was most instrumental in initiating the Protestant Movement in Spain, represented by many foreign committees and certain church groups. As a result, the indigenous church appears, with a distinct passion for a united Protestant Church in Spain. Unfortunately, a schism appeared in the unified church initiated by Cabrera, primarily over the issue of liturgy in the church. Cabrera wanted to restore the ancient Spanish tradition, before Rome influenced Spain. Originally all agreed to use the Presbyterian ritual. In the latter part of the twentieth century moves are afoot to again unify all of Protestantism in Spain.

The Spanish Protestant press has had a profuse production of periodicals and papers. But here, as in the case of the Church itself, Spanish Protestants desire "one" Protestant paper. This came to partial reality in 1923 when the paper "La España Evangélica" appeared.

Protestant education in Spain has been vested principally in the Sunday School, which is part of every church, and in three institutions for ministerial preparation: the Union Theological Seminary in Madrid, which gives a B. D. Degree, the Baptist Institution of Barcelona, and the Spanish Evangelical Mission whose main concern is giving religious instruction to either full-time workers, or uneducated natives who want to learn the Gospel.

The physical ministry of the Protestant Church in Spain has been most inadequate, with just one though very good, hospital in

Barcelona. There are no agricultural missions as yet and they are very necessary in Spain.

The particular problem that Protestantism must face in Spain is its provincial character naturally created by tremendous mountain ranges. But while the geography of Spain has fostered provincialism, two strong factors emerge in the Spanish people of tremendous significance to Protestantism: the basic ethnological Iberianism in all the Spaniards, and the psychological factor of a strong passion. The most potent unifying force in the Iberian character is his passion for life, not his rational nature. In view of this Protestantism can disclaim the Roman Catholic accusation that it is not able to unify the people of Spain. In fact, Protestantism seems to emerge as the only truly nationalizing power on the Iberian Peninsula.

C. Evaluation.

Whereas once the Spanish people were willing to follow the lead of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, and accept its narrow interpretations of religious liberty as well as of even secular liberty, the basic Iberian characteristic love of freedom is today emerging stronger and stronger, and it is being fired by the ideals of the Spanish intellectuals and by the concepts of religious freedom and democracy of Protestantism. Above all, there is a conscious and unconscious craving for spiritual redemption.

Even though the Spaniard is very provincially minded, he is able to transcend all his difficulties of individualism by

his strong passion for life. Thus the most promising note in the Reform Movement in Spain is the fact that the Spanish evangelicals are being driven by a Christian passion which leads to unity itself among all Spanish Protestants. This is a unique event in the history of Spain.

One thing of supreme importance to be hoped for is the development of agricultural missions in Spain. The methods used to this day are most backward, and such a mission promises much for the advancement of Protestantism in Spain.

Spanish Protestantism which symbolizes the Other Spanish Christ is arising for a new conquest under the banner of Evangelical Protestantism -- and the world shall see a new Cortez, a Spiritual Cortez -- conquering the Satanic forces.

Gloria Deo et Cristo eius Filio Unsororem Salvatori.

APPENDICES

SUMMARY OF MAIN FACTS

Area (square miles)	191,993
Population	22,994,802*
Density	120
No. of Churches and Societies	25
No. of Foreign Workers	123
No. of National Workers	142
No. of Organized Local Churches	166
No. of Evangelical Communicants	6,259
Total Evangelical Community	21,900
Sunday School Enrolment	6,695
Enrolment in Evangelical Schools	7,459
Value of Evangelical Properties	5,519,247 pesetas

*Estimate for 1929. By the census taken 31st December, 1930, the population was 23,563,867.

APPENDICES

93

LIST OF CHURCHES AND SOCIETIES ENGAGED IN, OR ASSISTING, EVANGELICAL WORK IN SPAIN

1. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions A.B.C.F.M.
2. Assemblies of God of the United States of America A.G.U.
3. Baptist Church of Spain B.C.S.
4. British and Foreign Bible Society B.F.B.S.
5. Brethren Br.
6. English Mission E.M.
7. Figueras Mission F.M.
8. French Mission in the Upper Aragon F.M.U.A.
9. German Committees G.C.
10. Holland Committee H.C.
11. Independent Ind.
12. Methodist Episcopal Church (U.S.A.) Board of Foreign Missions M.E.B.
13. Methodist Missionary Society M.M.S.
14. National Bible Society of Scotland N.B.S.S.
15. Pioneer Mission P.M.
16. Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Continental Mission I.P.
17. Reformed Church of Spain R.C.S.
18. Religious Tract Society R.T.S.
19. Seventh-Day Adventists, General Conference S.D.A.
20. Southern Baptist Convention S.B.C.
21. Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society S.P.C.A.
22. Spanish Evangelical Church S.E.C.
23. Spanish Evangelical Groups S.E.G.
24. Spanish Gospel Mission S.G.M.
25. Swedish Pentecostal Mission S.P.M.

APPENDICES

Appendix I. EVANGELICAL OCCUPATION BY REGIONS.

Region.	REGION.		MISSION.				CHURCH.							SCHOOLS.				Value of Properties in pesetas.				
	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Density per sq. mile.	Date of Commencement.	No. of Missions.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.	No. of Groups.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Communicant Members.	One Communicant to every	Evangelical Community.	Sunday School Enrollment.		Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.	National Teachers.
New Castle ...	27,535	2,746,386	98	1835	11	19	10	13	42	7	5	61	15	971	2,830	3,400	1,288	1,420	300	5	42	1,990,647
Old Castle ...	25,372	2,027,119	80	1873	5	3	3	2	8	3	4	2	10	220	9,210	770	333	380	10	10	2	130,000
León ...	14,862	1,083,448	73	1881	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	7	147	7,300	510	181	144	1	1	3	126,306
Extremadura ...	16,118	1,154,567	72	1896	3	1	1	1	3	2	2	3	3	144	8,020	500	180	80	1	1	3	14,000
Galicia ...	11,254	2,277,077	202	1875	4	12	9	1	22	3	2	6	19	989	2,300	3,460	601	230	1	1	4	410,000
Asturias ...	4,205	793,196	189	1880	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	55	14,450	190	155	80	1	1	2	50,000
Basque Provinces ...	2,738	892,393	326	1879	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	113	7,880	400	88	1	1	1	2	245,000
Navarra ...	4,085	353,263	87	1879	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	222	5,030	720	222	369	1	1	11	62,000
Aragon ...	18,284	1,045,178	57	1883	4	7	5	4	16	3	3	2	8	206	5,030	6,040	1,398	369	1	1	29	62,000
Catalonia ...	12,427	2,648,151	213	1865	7	7	4	4	33	7	13	4	33	1,726	1,540	390	32	1,395	10	10	1	1,214,000
Balearic Islands ...	1,935	359,361	186	1869	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	6	111	3,240	390	32	10	1	1	1	8,300
Valencia ...	8,830	1,915,224	217	1868	5	1	1	1	2	5	6	2	12	533	3,590	1,870	768	960	40	16	16	415,000
Murcia ...	10,190	1,035,161	102	1883	6	3	3	1	7	5	2	7	12	259	3,990	910	235	327	1	2	8	10,000
Andalusia ...	33,777	4,664,178	138	1868	11	7	5	4	16	6	11	4	37	785	5,930	2,740	1,234	1,724	1	1	36	844,000
	191,993	22,964,802	120	1835		56	40	27	123	48	94	166	6,259	3,670	21,900	6,695	7,119	340	7	164		5,519,247

APPENDICES

Appendix II. EVANGELICAL OCCUPATION BY PROVINCES.

Province.	REGION.			Date of Commencement.	MISSION.					CHURCH.					SCHOOLS.				Value of Properties in pesetas.	
	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Density per sq. mile.		No. of Missions.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.	No. of Groups.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.	Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.		National Teachers.
NEW CASTLE																				
Ciudad Real	7,620	487,182	64	1916	1	3	2	6	11	1	—	6	178	590	170	—	—	—	2	103,500
Madrid	3,084	1,241,107	403	1835	10	15	8	7	30	6	3	50†	789	648	1,200	300	5	38	1,879,647	
Toledo	5,919	491,892	83	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	50	50	—	—	—	2	7,500
Guadalajara	4,678	210,366	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cuenca	6,636	315,839	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
OLD CASTILE																				
Avila	3,042	226,884	75	1908	1	1	1	1	3	1	—	1	47	65	—	—	—	—	—	15,000
Logroño	1,946	207,168	106	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	—	2	67	53	50	—	—	3	3,000	
Santander	2,108	369,044	175	1873	2	1	1	—	2	2	1	1	43	90	100	—	—	2	100,000	
Valladolid	2,922	314,875	107	1885	4	1	1	1	3	4	1	3	63	125	230	—	—	5	12,000	
Burgos	5,480	364,317	66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Soria	3,983	157,432	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Segovia	2,635	177,117	67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Palencia	3,256	210,232	65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LEÓN																				
Zamora	4,097	285,023	71	1881	2	1	1	—	2	2	—	1	80	86	—	—	—	—	—	6,300
León	5,936	450,341	76	1895	1	1	1	—	2	1	—	3	50	15	—	—	—	—	—	20,000
Salamanca	4,829	348,084	72	1881	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	17	80	144	—	—	2	100,000	
EXTREMADURA																				
Badajoz	8,451	702,250	83	1924	3	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	81	145	25	—	—	1	6,000	
Caceres	7,667	452,317	59	1906	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	63	15	55	—	—	2	8,000	
GALICIA																				
La Coruña	3,051	783,112	256	1875	3	4	3	1	8	2	—	3	268	271	—	—	—	—	—	75,000
Lugo	3,814	478,866	125	1885	1	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	66	15	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orense	2,694	444,023	165	1929	1	2	1	—	3	1	—	1	63	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pontevedra	1,695	571,076	337	1878	3	5	4	—	9	2	—	2	592	315	230	—	—	4	335,000	
ASTURIAS																				
Oviedo	4,205	793,196	189	1880	2	1	1	1	3	2	—	2	55	155	80	—	—	2	50,000	
BASQUE PROVINCES																				
Guipuzcoa	728	297,472	409	1880	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	66	25	—	—	—	—	—	115,000
Vizcaya	836	489,445	585	1879	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	47	63	—	—	—	—	—	130,000
Alava	1,175	105,478	90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NAVARRA																				
Navarra	4,055	353,363	87	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ARAGON																				
Huesca	5,848	248,599	43	1920	2	—	—	—	2	1	2	6	95	104	220	—	—	6	62,000	
Zaragoza	6,726	537,732	80	1883	2	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	111	118	149	—	—	5	—	
Teruel	5,720	258,847	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CATALONIA																				
Barcelona	2,968	1,636,710	551	1865	6	6	5	3	14	6	8	3	20	1,349	1,057	1,305	—	27	944,000	
Gerona	2,264	335,890	148	1877	3	—	—	1	1	3	3	1	5	221	265	—	—	—	—	150,000
Lerida	4,690	313,569	67	1926	2	1	—	—	1	2	1	—	7	122	26	—	—	—	—	—
Tarragona	2,505	361,982	144	1876	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	34	50	90	—	2	120,000	
BALEARIC ISLANDS																				
Majorca	1,935	359,361	180	1879	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	4	81	12	10	—	—	1	8,900
Minorca				1869	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	30	20	—	—	—	—
ALENCIA																				
Alicante	2,185	559,163	255	1897	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	3	192	525	960	40	—	16	250,000
Castellon	2,495	313,368	126	1908	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	28	34	—	—	—	—	—
Valencia	4,150	1,042,693	252	1888	4	1	1	—	2	4	4	1	8	313	209	—	—	—	—	165,000
MURCIA																				
Aibacete	5,737	331,311	58	1923	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	1	3	49	60	—	—	1	1	—
Murcia	4,453	703,850	158	1893	6	3	3	—	6	5	2	6	9	210	175	267	—	1	7	10,000
ANDALUSIA																				
Cadiz	2,834	551,878	195	1869	3	2	1	1	4	3	4	—	8	147	279	228	—	—	7	322,000
Cordoba	5,299	655,576	124	1869	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	23	90	118	—	—	3	40,000
Granada	4,928	639,465	130	1868	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	31	23	106	—	—	3	71,000
Jaen	5,203	662,718	127	1885	5	—	—	2	2	5	1	3	14	293	383	450	—	—	5	66,000
Malaga	2,812	612,456	218	1868	4	4	3	1	8	4	2	—	6	151	249	285	—	—	9	260,000
Sevilla	5,428	810,135	149	1868	5	1	1	—	2	4	2	—	4	120	210	537	—	—	9	85,000
Huelva	3,913	351,544	90	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
Almeria	3,360	360,406	103	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	191,993	22,994,802	120	1835	56	40	27	123	48	94	166	6,259	6,695	7,119	340	7	164	5,519,247		

* Including 6 colporteurs.

† Including 45 colporteurs in the country, and 2 Bible Women.

EVANGELICAL OCCUPATION—continued.

Province	REGION.			Place	Date of Commencement.	MISSION.				CHURCH.					SCHOOLS.				Value of Properties in pesetas.						
	Area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.			Mission.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.	Group or Denomination.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.	Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.		Foreign Teachers.	National Teachers.				
RAGON—cont.																									
Huesca—cont.																									
"				Jaca ...	1920	F.M.U.A.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	1	—	1	10	60	160	—	—	—	4	42,000			
"				Laguarres ...	1925	F.M.U.A.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	1	1	15	30	90	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Monzon ...	1921	F.M.U.A.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	1	1	20	14	30	—	—	—	1	20,000			
"				Veilla ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Zaragoza	6,726	537,732	80	Tauste ...	—	A.B.C.F.M.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	—	—	—	60	—	—	—	2	—			
"				Zaragoza ...	1883	A.B.C.F.M.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	96	100	89	—	—	—	3	—			
"				"	1918	S.D.A.	—	—	—	—	S.D.A.	1	—	1	15	18	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Teruel	5,720	258,847	45	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
CATALONIA																									
Barcelona	2,968	1,636,710	551	Badalona ...	1930.	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	—	—	1	26	25	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Barcelona ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1869	M.M.S.	1	1	1	3	S.E.C.	2	—	3	248	217	622	—	—	—	15	408,000			
"				"	1903	S.D.A.	1	1	—	2	S.D.A.	—	—	1	92	111	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1868	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	1	—	1	129	45	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1917	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	50	30	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1883	S.B.C.	1	1	—	2	B.C.S.	1	—	1	127	70	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1865	Br.	2	1	2	5	Br.	—	1	2	155	175	350	—	—	—	4	40,000			
"				Caldas de Mombuy ...	—	Br.	1	1	—	2	Br.	—	—	1	20	25	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Monistrol ...	1871	S.P.C.A.	—	—	—	—	R.C.S.	—	—	1	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Rubi ...	1881	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	72	96	150	—	—	—	2	128,000			
"				Sabadell ...	1902	S.P.C.A.	—	—	—	—	R.C.S.	1	—	1	100	60	150	—	—	—	4	150,000			
"				"	1890	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	1	—	1	95	110	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Tarrasa ...	1922	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	1	—	1	133	30	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1903	S.D.A.	—	—	—	—	S.D.A.	—	—	1	10	12	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1909	S.P.C.A.	—	—	—	—	R.C.S.	—	—	1	35	66	33	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Villafranca ...	1930	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	1	—	1	15	45	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Gerona	2,264	335,890	148	Figueras ...	1877	F.M.	—	—	1	1	F.M.	1	1	1	30	35	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	1881	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	1	—	1	15	30	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Palafrugell ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Palamós ...	1890	S.B.C.	—	—	—	—	B.C.S.	1	—	1	116	120	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Lerida	4,690	313,569	67	Villabeltran ...	1877	F.M.	—	—	—	—	F.M.	—	—	1	40	80	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Alcarraz ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Almacellas ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Corbins ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Lerida ...	1926	S.D.A.	—	—	—	—	S.D.A.	1	—	1	22	26	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				"	—	Ind.	1	—	—	1	S.E.G.	—	—	1	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Termens ...	—	Ind.	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Torrefarrera ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.G.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Tarragona	2,505	361,982	144	Reus ...	1876	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	1	—	1	34	50	90	—	—	—	2	120,000			
BALLEARIC ISLANDS																									
Majorca	1,935	359,361	180	Capdepera ...	1879	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	1	1	26	12	10	—	—	—	1	8,300			
"				Coli Curi ...	1920	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
"				Palma ...	—	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ind.	—	—	1	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minorca				Mahon ...	1869	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	1	1	17	20	—	—	—	—	—	—			
"				Villa Carlos ...	1869	M.M.S.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			

EVANGELICAL OCCUPATION—continued.

REGION.				MISSION.					CHURCH.					SCHOOLS.				Value of Properties in pesetas.				
Province	Area in square miles.	Population	Density per square mile.	Place	Date of Commencement.	Mission.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.	Group or Denomination.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.	Primary Enrollment.		Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.	National Teachers	
ANDALUSIA—cont.																						
Malaga—cont.				Los Rubios	—	H.C.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	35	38	60	—	—	—	2	10,000
"				Malaga	1886	H.C.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	1	—	1	53	131	178	—	—	—	6	250,000
"				"	1890	Br.	2	1	—	3	Br.	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				"	1868	S.P.C.A.	—	—	—	—	R.C.S.	1	—	1	25	40	47	—	—	—	1	—
Sevilla	5,428	810,135	149	Ronda	1932	A.G.U.	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				Camas	1929	S.G.M.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				Puebla de Cazalla	—	Br.	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	1	20	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
"				Seville	1868	M.E.B.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	1	—	1	49	100	267	—	—	—	4	—
"				"	1871	S.P.C.A.	—	—	—	—	R.C.S.	1	—	1	44	—	70	—	—	—	2	80,000
"				Utrera	—	H.C.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	—	—	90	200	—	—	—	3	25,000
Huelva	3,913	351,544	90	Riotinto	—	M.E.B.	—	—	—	—	S.E.C.	—	—	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Almeria	3,360	380,406	103	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	191,993	22,994,802	120		1835		21	56	40	123		9	48	94	166	6,259	6,695	7,119	340	7	164	5,518,247

Appendix IV. THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH—BY GROUPS.

Group.	MISSION.							CHURCH.					SCHOOLS.				Value of property in pesetas.	
	Date of Commencement.	No. of Co-operating Missions.	No. of Stations.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Christian Community.	Sunday School Enrollment.	Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.		National Teachers.
S.E.C.	1868	7	3	10	3	3	16	24	6	41	1,874	6,560	2,376	4,600	340	5	118	3,421,447
R.C.S.	1868	1	—	—	—	—	—	7	2	12	489	1,710	352	544	—	—	13	772,000
Br.	1865	—	27	31	26	9	66	—	8	46	1,681	5,880	1,575	1,725	—	1	29	851,300
B.C.S.	1881	2	3	3	3	—	6	12	3	18	1,037	3,630	849	—	—	—	—	175,000
S.G.M.	1907	1	3	3	2	6	11	—	11	14	333	1,160	830	170	—	—	2	119,500
S.D.A.	1903	—	2	4	4	—	8	2	36	10	281	980	338	—	—	—	—	—
S.E.G.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	200	700	—	—	—	—	—	—
F.M.	1877	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	2	70	250	115	—	—	—	—	150,000
S.P.M.	1928	—	1	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	10	40	—	—	—	—	—	—
A.G.U.	1932	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ind.	1895	1	6	3	1	7	11	—	3	11	284	990	260	80	—	1	2	30,000
B.F.B.S.	1835	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
N.B.S.S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R.T.S.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1835	13	47	56	40	27	123	48	94	166	6,259	21,900	6,695	7,119	340	7	164	5,519,247

APPENDICES

IOI

Appendix VI.
THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH—BY GROUPS
AND PROVINCES.

Appendix V.
THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH—BY GROUPS
AND REGIONS.

Group.	REGION.	Date of Commencement.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.
S.E.C. ...	New Castle ...	1869	1	—	2	386	255
" ...	Old Castle ...	1873	3	—	3	110	143
" ...	Extremadura ...	1806	2	—	2	123	70
" ...	Asturias ...	1880	—	—	1	20	70
" ...	Basque Provinces ...	1879	2	—	2	113	88
" ...	Aragon ...	1883	2	2	4	141	204
" ...	Catalonia ...	1869	4	1	7	533	378
" ...	Balearic Islands ...	1869	—	—	2	81	32
" ...	Valencia ...	1897	1	—	1	75	450
" ...	Murcia ...	1870	1	—	1	22	65
" ...	Andalusia ...	1868	8	1	13	270	621
R.C.S. ...	New Castle ...	1875	1	—	1	133	100
" ...	Old Castle ...	1885	1	—	2	43	—
" ...	León ...	1891	—	2	2	57	86
" ...	Catalonia ...	1871	1	—	3	147	126
" ...	Valencia ...	1902	1	—	1	20	—
" ...	Andalusia ...	1868	3	—	3	89	40
Br. ...	New Castle ...	1873	—	2	1	90	100
" ...	Old Castle ...	1896	—	1	5	67	190
" ...	León ...	1895	—	—	5	90	95
" ...	Galicia ...	1875	—	3	17	909	365
" ...	Asturias ...	1921	—	—	1	35	85
" ...	Catalonia ...	1865	—	1	3	175	200
" ...	Murcia ...	1893	—	—	5	135	70
" ...	Andalusia ...	1880	—	1	9	180	270
B.C.S. ...	New Castle ...	1915	1	—	1	70	55
" ...	Extremadura ...	1924	—	2	1	21	90
" ...	Catalonia ...	1891	6	—	7	527	430
" ...	Valencia ...	1893	4	—	7	358	244
" ...	Murcia ...	1922	1	1	2	61	30
S.G.M. ...	New Castle ...	1916	—	11	6	178	590
" ...	Andalusia ...	1907	—	—	8	155	240
S.D.A. ...	New Castle ...	1922	—	30	1	39	48
" ...	Galicia ...	1927	—	1	1	30	36
" ...	Aragon ...	1918	1	—	1	15	18
" ...	Catalonia ...	1903	1	1	3	124	149
" ...	Valencia ...	1904	—	2	2	45	54
" ...	Murcia ...	1910	—	1	1	17	20
" ...	Andalusia ...	1922	—	1	1	11	13
B.F.B.S. ...	New Castle ...	1835	1	15	—	—	—
N.B.S.S. ...	Old Castle ...	—	—	1	—	—	—
" ...	Galicia ...	—	—	2	—	—	—
" ...	Murcia ...	—	—	5	—	—	—
R.T.S. ...	New Castle ...	—	1	—	—	—	—
Others ...	New Castle ...	—	—	3	3	75	140
" ...	Galicia ...	—	—	—	1	50	—
" ...	Aragon ...	—	—	—	3	50	—
" ...	Catalonia ...	1877	1	1	10	220	115
" ...	Balearic Islands ...	—	—	—	1	30	—
" ...	Valencia ...	1924	—	—	1	35	20
" ...	Murcia ...	1917	—	—	3	24	50
" ...	Andalusia ...	—	—	1	3	80	50
		1835	48	94	166	6,259	6,695

Group.	PROVINCE.	Date of Commencement.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.
S.E.C. ...	Madrid ...	1869	1	—	2	382	205
" ...	Toledo ...	—	—	—	4	50	—
" ...	Logroño ...	—	2	—	2	67	53
" ...	Santander ...	1873	1	—	1	43	90
" ...	Valladolid ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
" ...	Badajoz ...	—	1	—	1	40	25
" ...	Caceres ...	1906	1	—	1	83	45
" ...	Oviedo ...	1890	—	—	1	20	70
" ...	Guipuzcoa ...	1880	1	—	1	66	25
" ...	Vizcaya ...	1879	1	—	1	47	63
" ...	Huesca ...	1920	1	2	3	45	104
" ...	Zaragoza ...	1883	1	—	1	96	100
" ...	Barcelona ...	1869	3	1	6	499	328
" ...	Tarragona ...	1876	1	—	1	34	50
" ...	(Majorca) ...	1879	—	1	1	51	12
" ...	(Minorca) ...	1869	—	1	2	30	20
" ...	Alicante ...	1897	1	—	1	75	450
" ...	Murcia ...	1870	1	—	1	22	65
" ...	Cadiz ...	1869	4	—	5	59	149
" ...	Cordoba ...	1869	1	—	2	23	90
" ...	Granada ...	1868	1	1	2	31	23
" ...	Malaga ...	—	1	—	2	88	169
" ...	Sevilla ...	1868	1	—	1	49	190
" ...	Huelva ...	—	—	—	1	20	—
R.C.S. ...	Madrid ...	1875	1	—	1	133	100
" ...	Valladolid ...	1885	1	—	2	43	—
" ...	Zamora ...	1881	—	1	1	40	6
" ...	Salamanca ...	1881	—	1	1	17	80
" ...	Barcelona ...	1871	1	—	3	147	126
" ...	Valencia ...	1902	1	—	1	20	—
" ...	Jaen ...	—	1	—	1	20	—
" ...	Malaga ...	1868	1	—	1	25	40
" ...	Sevilla ...	1871	1	—	1	44	—
Br. ...	Madrid ...	1873	—	2	1	90	100
" ...	Avila ...	1908	—	1	4	47	65
" ...	Santander ...	1931	—	—	—	—	—
" ...	Valladolid ...	1896	—	—	1	20	125
" ...	Zamora ...	1912	—	—	2	40	80
" ...	León ...	1895	—	—	3	50	15
" ...	La Coruña ...	1875	—	1	5	238	235
" ...	Lugo ...	1885	—	1	4	66	15
" ...	Orense ...	1929	—	—	1	63	—
" ...	Pontevedra ...	1878	—	1	7	542	315
" ...	Oviedo ...	1921	—	—	1	35	85
" ...	Barcelona ...	1865	—	1	3	175	200
" ...	Murcia ...	1893	—	—	5	135	70
" ...	Cadiz ...	1880	—	—	2	28	80
" ...	Jaen ...	—	—	1	3	94	130
" ...	Malaga ...	1890	—	—	3	38	40
" ...	Sevilla ...	—	—	—	1	20	20
B.C.S. ...	Madrid ...	1915	1	—	1	70	55
" ...	Badajoz ...	1924	—	2	1	21	90
" ...	Barcelona ...	1883	4	—	5	366	280
" ...	Gerona ...	1881	2	—	2	131	150
" ...	Alicante ...	1916	1	—	2	117	75
" ...	Valencia ...	1889	3	—	5	241	169
" ...	Albacete ...	1923	—	1	1	35	10
" ...	Murcia ...	1922	1	—	1	26	20
S.G.M. ...	Ciudad Real ...	1916	—	11	6	178	590
" ...	Jaen ...	1907	—	—	7	148	240
" ...	Sevilla ...	1929	—	—	1	7	—
S.D.A. ...	Madrid ...	1922	—	30	1	39	48
" ...	La Coruña ...	1927	—	1	1	30	36
" ...	Zaragoza ...	1918	1	—	1	15	18
" ...	Barcelona ...	1903	—	1	2	102	123
" ...	Lerida ...	1926	1	—	1	22	26
" ...	Castellon ...	1908	—	1	1	28	34
" ...	Valencia ...	1904	—	1	1	17	20
" ...	Murcia ...	1910	—	1	1	17	20
" ...	Jaen ...	1922	—	1	1	11	13
B.F.B.S. ...	Madrid ...	1835	1	15	—	—	—
N.B.S.S. ...	Valladolid ...	—	—	1	—	—	—
" ...	La Coruña ...	—	—	1	—	—	—
" ...	Pontevedra ...	—	—	1	—	—	—
" ...	Murcia ...	—	—	5	—	—	—
R.T.S. ...	Madrid ...	—	1	—	3	75	140
Others ...	Madrid ...	—	—	3	3	50	—
" ...	Pontevedra ...	—	—	—	1	50	—
" ...	Huesca ...	—	—	—	3	50	—
" ...	Barcelona ...	—	—	—	1	30	—
" ...	Gerona ...	1877	1	1	3	90	115
" ...	Lerida ...	—	—	—	6	100	—
" ...	(Majorca) ...	—	—	—	1	30	—
" ...	(Minorca) ...	—	—	—	1	35	20
" ...	Albacete ...	1923	—	—	2	14	50
" ...	Murcia ...	1917	—	—	1	10	—
" ...	Cadiz ...	—	—	—	1	60	50
" ...	Jaen ...	—	—	1	2	20	—
		1835	48	94	166	6,259	6,695

Appendix VIII.

EVANGELICAL MISSIONS—BY REGIONS.

Appendix VII.
EVANGELICAL EDUCATION—BY GROUPS

Group.	REGION.	Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.	National Teachers.
S.E.C. ...	New Castile ...	780	300	5	29
" ...	Old Castile ...	200	—	—	3
" ...	Extremadura ...	80	—	—	3
" ...	Asturias ...	50	—	—	1
" ...	Aragon ...	369	—	—	11
" ...	Catalonia ...	862	—	—	19
" ...	Balearic Islands ...	10	—	—	1
" ...	Valencia ...	960	40	—	16
" ...	Murcia ...	132	—	—	4
" ...	Andalusia ...	1,157	—	—	28
R.C.S. ...	Old Castile ...	100	—	—	2
" ...	León ...	144	—	—	2
" ...	Catalonia ...	183	—	—	6
" ...	Andalusia ...	117	—	—	3
Br. ...	New Castile ...	450	—	—	10
" ...	Old Castile ...	80	—	—	2
" ...	Galicia ...	230	—	—	4
" ...	Asturias ...	30	—	—	1
" ...	Catalonia ...	350	—	—	4
" ...	Murcia ...	135	—	1	3
" ...	Andalusia ...	450	—	—	5
S.G.M. ...	New Castile ...	170	—	—	2
Others ...	New Castile ...	20	—	—	1
" ...	Murcia ...	60	—	1	1
		7,119	340	7	164

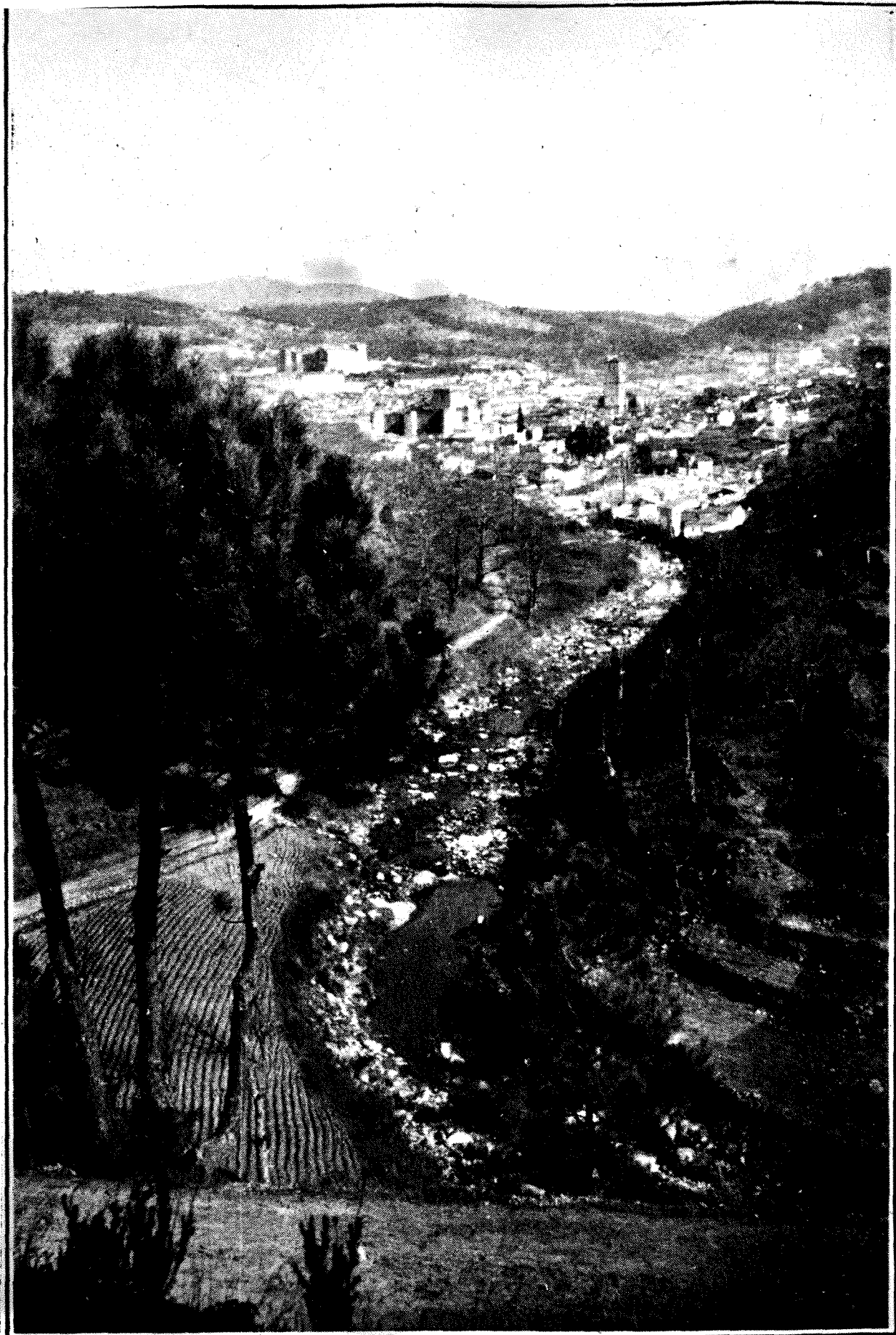
Mission	REGION.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women.	Total.
G.C. ...	New Castile ...	9	2	2	13
M.M.S. ...	Catalonia ...	1	1	1	3
Br. ...	New Castile ...	2	2	—	4
" ...	Old Castile ...	2	2	2	6
" ...	León ...	—	—	—	4
" ...	Galicia ...	11	3	1	20
" ...	Asturias ...	1	1	1	3
" ...	Catalonia ...	3	2	2	7
" ...	Murcia ...	3	3	—	6
" ...	Andalusia ...	6	5	3	14
S.B.C. ...	Catalonia ...	1	1	—	2
" ...	Valencia ...	1	1	—	2
P.M. ...	Extremadura ...	1	1	—	2
S.G.M. ...	New Castile ...	3	2	6	11
E.M. ...	New Castile ...	—	—	5	5
F.M. ...	Catalonia ...	—	—	1	1
S.D.A. ...	New Castile ...	3	3	—	6
" ...	Catalonia ...	1	1	—	2
S.P.M. ...	New Castile ...	2	1	—	3
Ind. ...	Extremadura ...	—	—	1	1
" ...	Galicia ...	1	1	—	2
" ...	Catalonia ...	1	—	—	1
" ...	Murcia ...	—	—	1	1
" ...	Andalusia ...	1	—	—	1
A.G.U. ...	Andalusia ...	—	—	1	1
		56	40	27	123

Appendix IX.

THE SPANISH EVANGELICAL CHURCH—CLASSIFIED UNDER
CO-OPERATING GROUPS.

Mission	MISSION.						CHURCH.					SCHOOLS.					Value of Property in pesetas.
	Date of Commencement	No. of Stations.	Men.	Wives.	Other Women	Total.	Ordained Ministers.	Evangelists, etc.	No. of Churches.	Members.	Sunday School Enrollment.	Primary Enrollment.	Secondary Enrollment.	Foreign Teachers.	National Teachers.		
G.C. ...	1870	2	9	2	2	13	3	1	6	440	303	936	300	5	34	822,147	
I.P. ...	1869	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	7	187	354	476	—	—	13	787,000	
H.C. ...	1870	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3	110	324	570	—	—	15	285,000	
A.B.C.F.M.	1873	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	6	319	331	299	—	—	10	348,000	
M.M.S. ...	1869	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	9	401	285	782	—	—	18	542,300	
M.E.B. ...	1868	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3	144	550	1,227	40	—	20	250,000	
F.M.U.A.	1920	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3	45	104	220	—	—	6	62,000	
—	1868	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	4	228	125	90	—	—	2	325,000	
	1868	3	10	3	3	16	24	6	41	1,874	2,376	4,600	340	5	118	3,421,447	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND CHARTS.

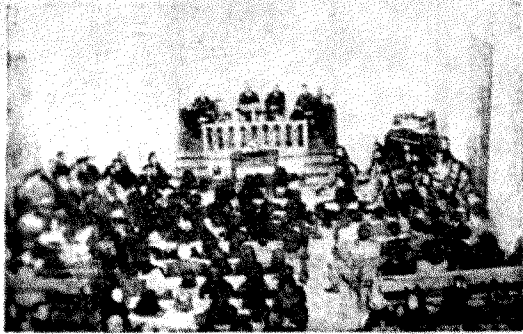


A SCENE IN CASTILE



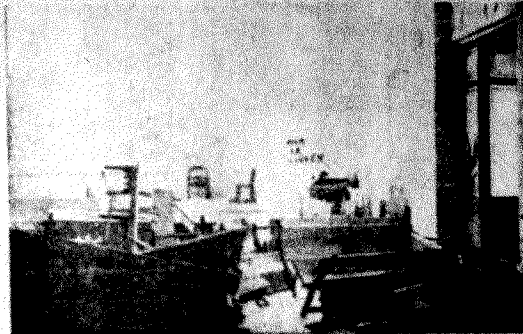
SOLDIER INDALECIO SANCHEZ

EXHIBICION DE FOTOGRAFIAS
OBRA DE DIOS
17 DE OCTUBRE 1937



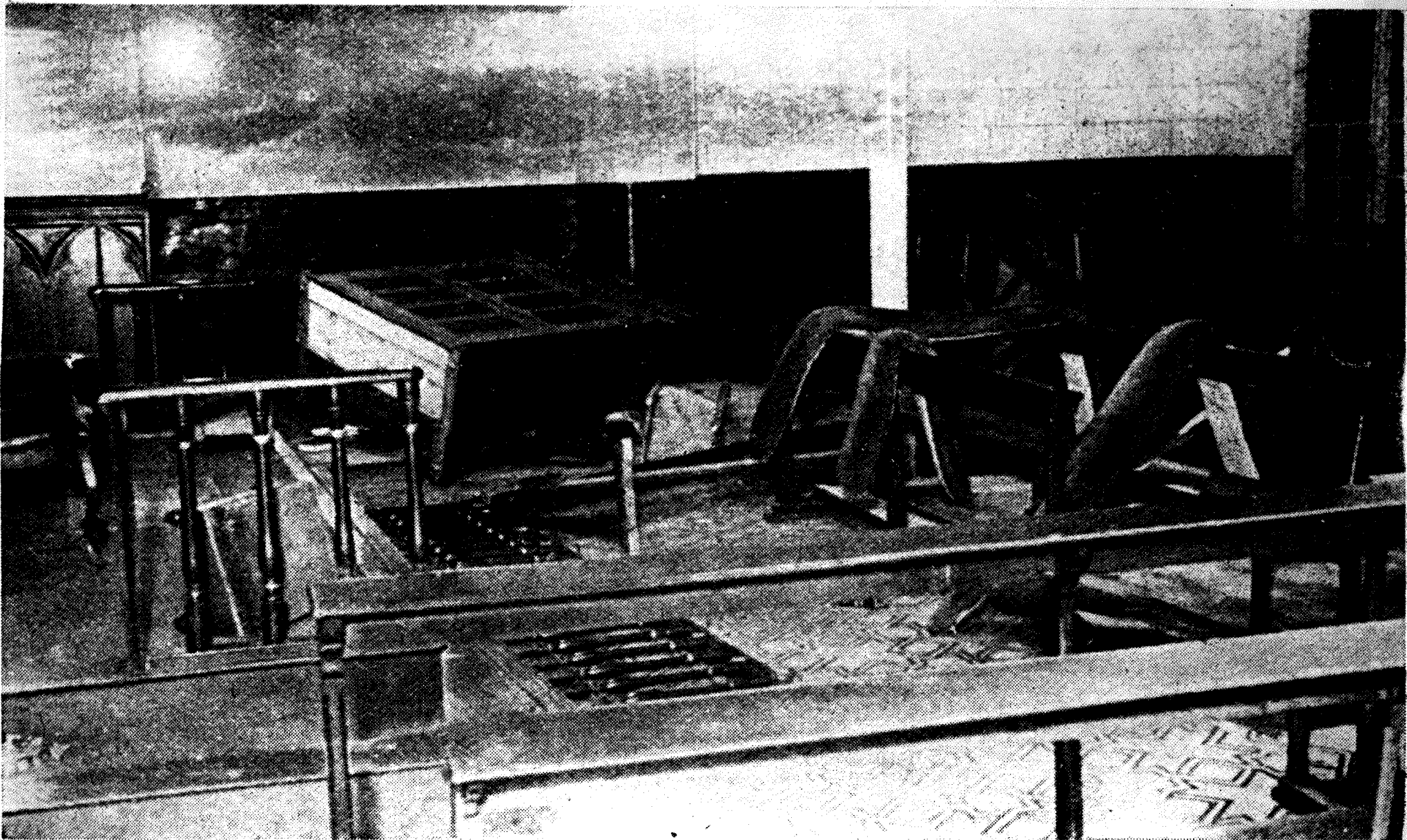
Opening Day.

EXHIBICION DE FOTOGRAFIAS
OBRA DEL ENEMIGO
31 OCTUBRE 1937



Some Days After.

A group of young men attacked a Protestant Chapel in Madrid which had been opened a few days before and destroyed the inside of it. They scribbled on the wall these words : « Long Live the Virgin » and left leaflets recalling the speech of Cardinal Segura demanding the interdiction of Protestant Churches.

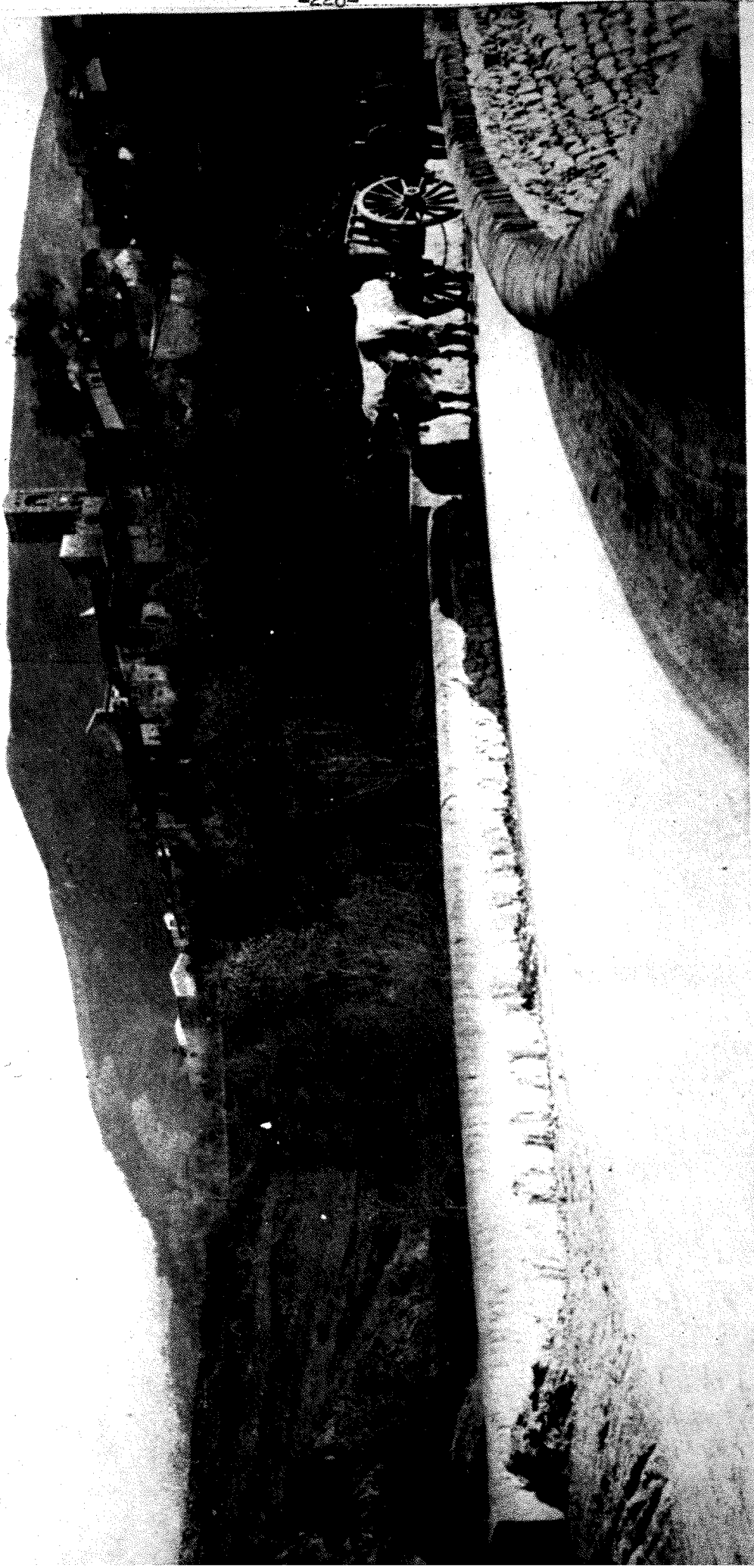


-224-

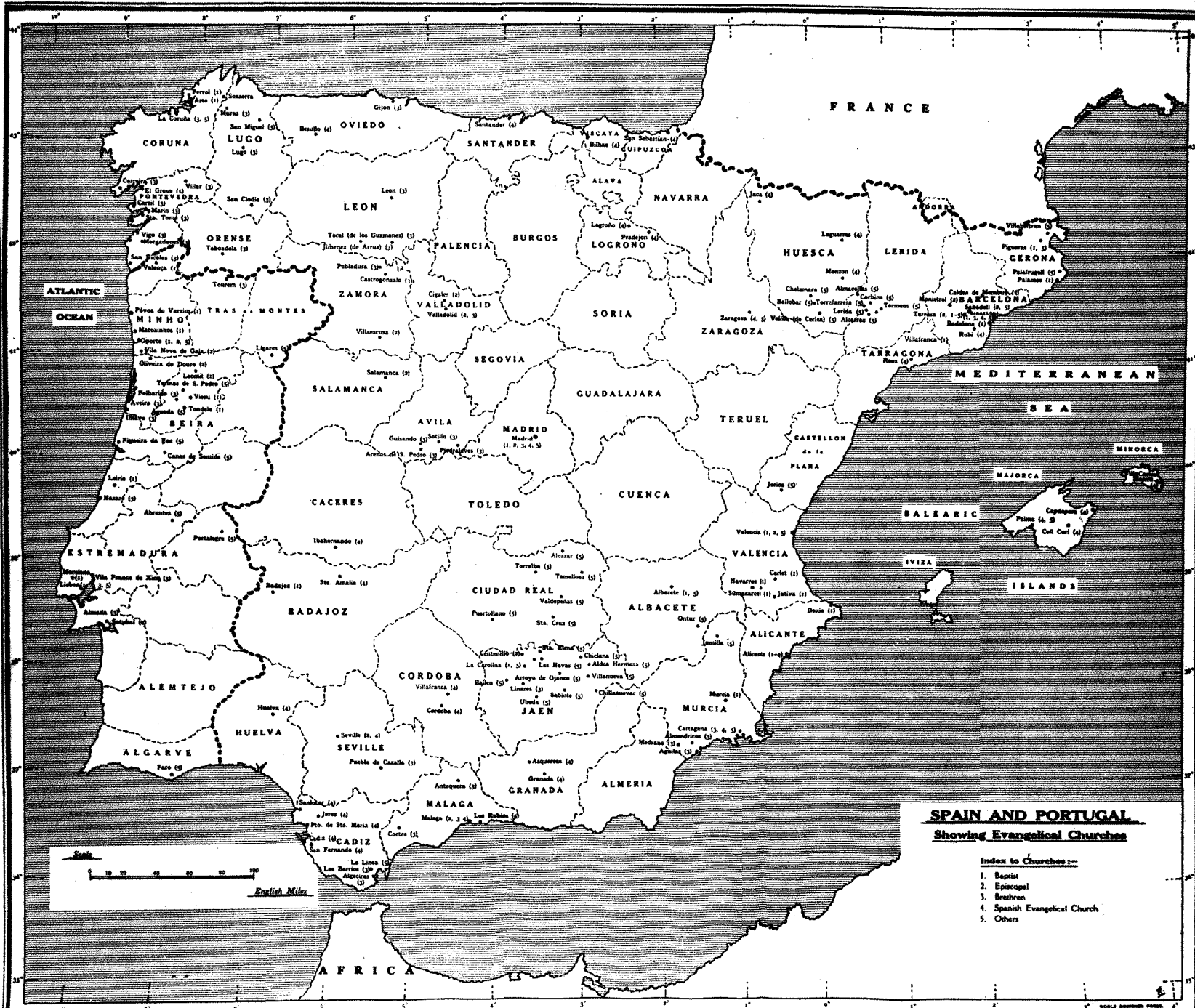
Inside of the Chapel at Ripoll St., Barcelona, ransacked on October 11 th, 1947.



Chapel of Figueras (see note page 20).



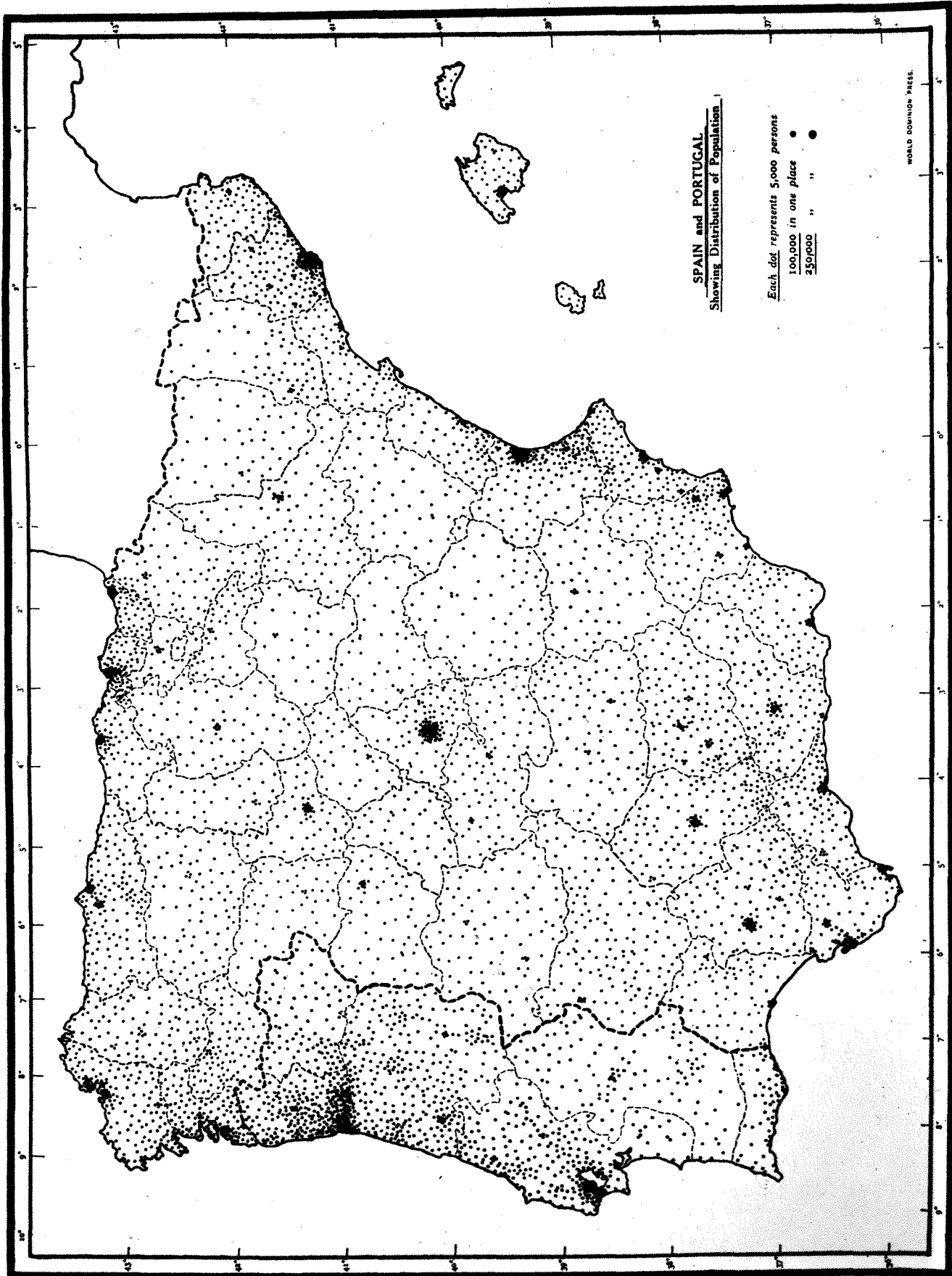
A TYPICAL SPANISH ROAD

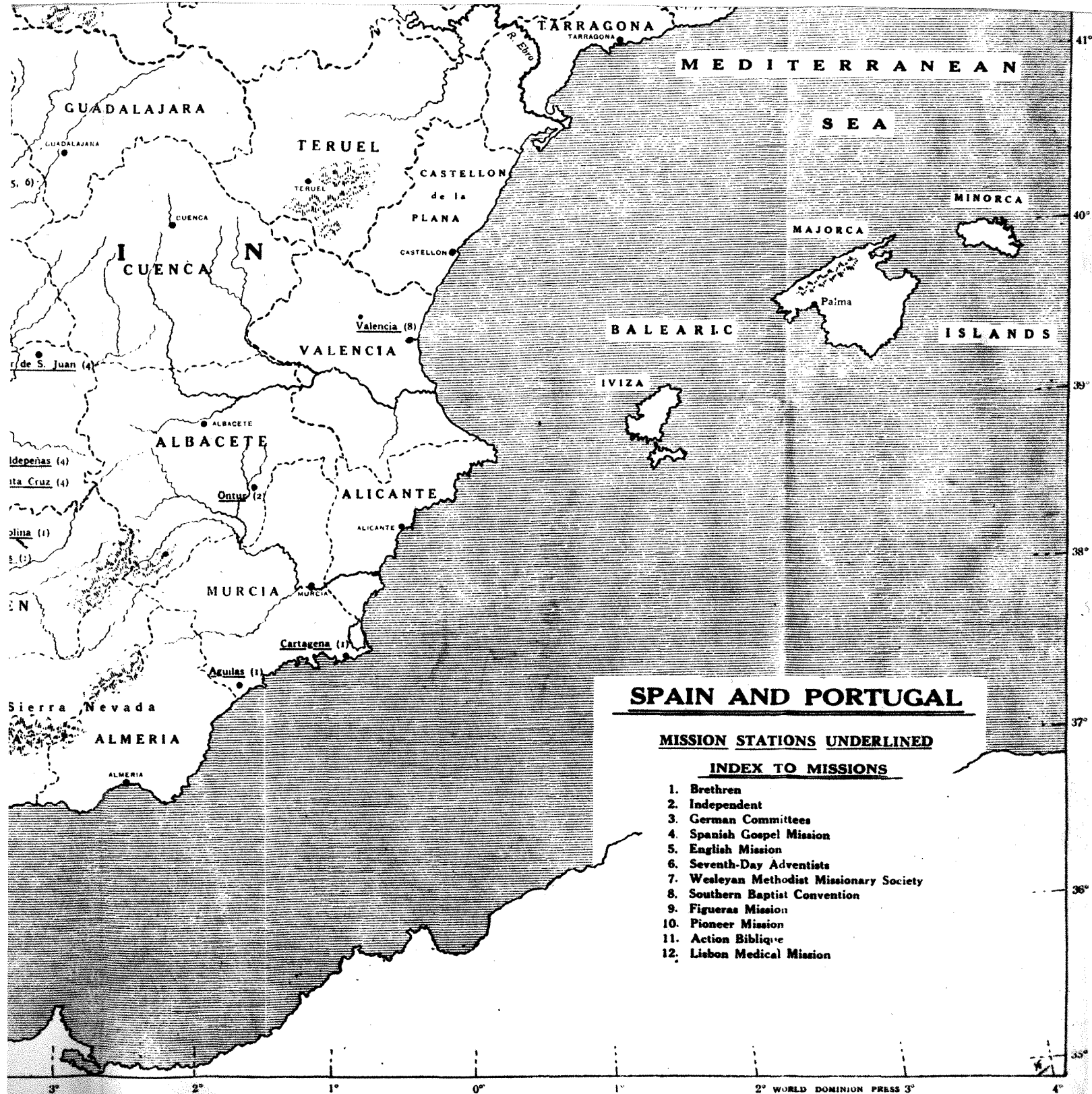


SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
Showing Evangelical Churches

Index to Churches:—

- 1. Baptist
- 2. Episcopal
- 3. Brethren
- 4. Spanish Evangelical Church
- 5. Others





GUADALAJARA

TERUEL

CASTELLON
de la
PLANA

TARRAGONA

MEDITERRANEAN
SEA

CUENCA

Valencia (8)

VALENCIA

BALEARIC

MINORCA

MAJORCA

ISLANDS

IVIZA

ALBACETE

ALICANTE

MURCIA

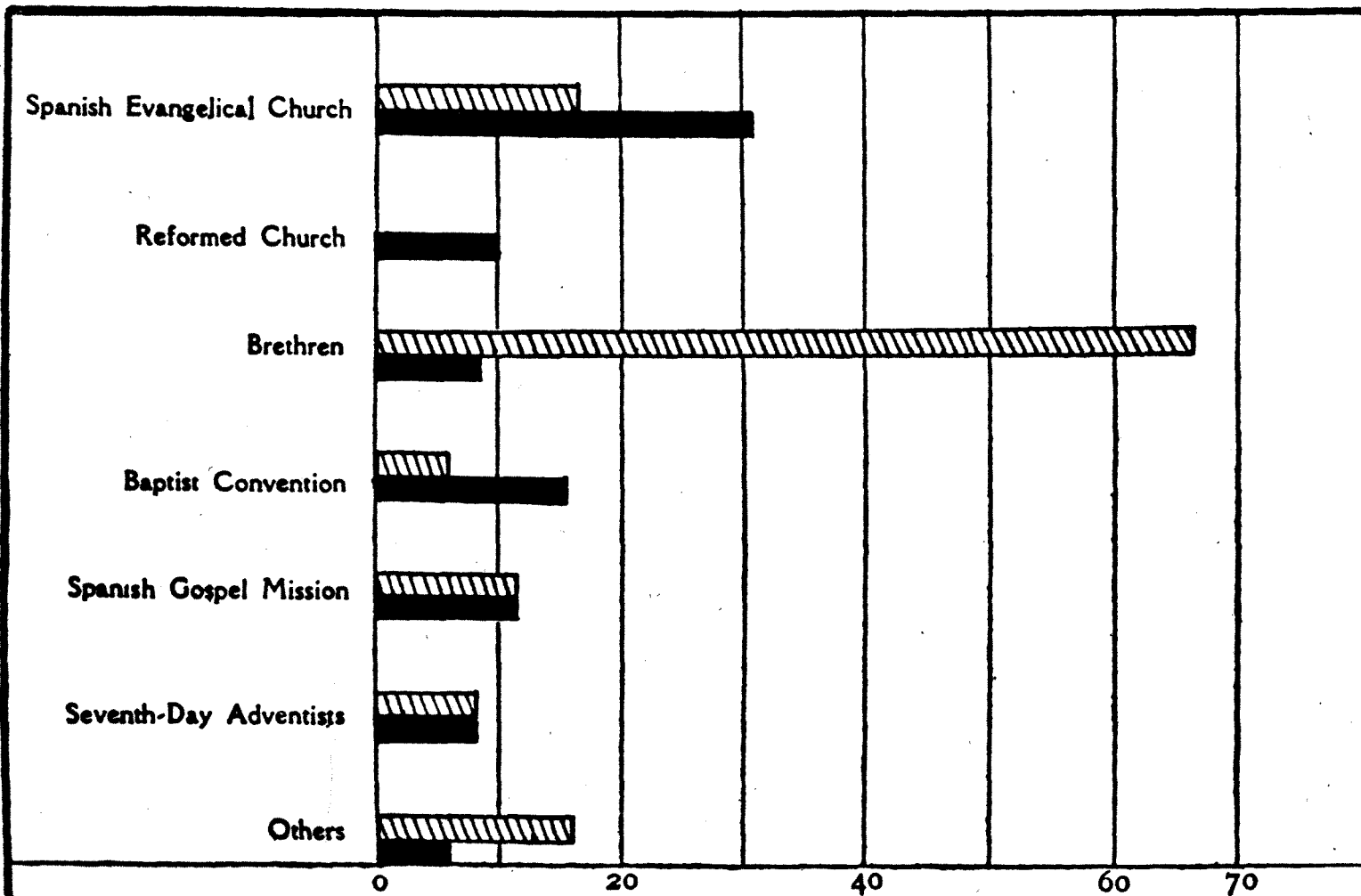
ALMERIA

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

MISSION STATIONS UNDERLINED

INDEX TO MISSIONS

1. Brethren
2. Independent
3. German Committees
4. Spanish Gospel Mission
5. English Mission
6. Seventh-Day Adventists
7. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
8. Southern Baptist Convention
9. Figueras Mission
10. Pioneer Mission
11. Action Biblique
12. Lisbon Medical Mission



Evangelical Workers in Spain

Spanish [Solid Black Bar]

Foreign [Hatched Bar]

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APPENDIX

INTERNUNZIATURA
DELL'AMERICA CENTRALE

San José de Costa Rica,
mayo 7 de 1918.

4207B

Muy Reverendo

P. Remigio de Papiol

No debe faltar una palabra de
congratulación de esta Internuncia-
tura Apostólica por el oportuno y
excelente opúsculo de *Vuestra Re-
verencia FALSEDAD DEL PROTES-
TANTISMO (1)*, augurándole mucha
difusión para salud de las almas
insidiadas por la herejía.

Como prenda de la especial be-
nevolencia de la Santa Sede y del
premio divino, a nombre del Pa-
dre Santo envíele la Bendición
Apostólica.

De Vuestra Reverencia

Afmo. en Dios N. S.,

† JUAN MARENCO
Intern. Apco.

(1) Este era el título de la presente obrita en sus tres primeras ediciones.

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL

of the
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Dear Brother:

On March 3, in Seville, Spain, a group of hoodlums invaded the Protestant Church of San Basilio, assaulted the pastor, and set fire to copies of the Bible and hymn books. Five days later, the archbishop of that diocese, Pedro Cardinal Segura, published an exhortation to greater acts of intolerance against Protestants.

This is one more shocking reminder of the kind of regime the United States government is preparing to make a full ally in its world-wide quest for "situations of strength." Just last week, Secretary of State Dean Acheson told his news conference of plans to speed a newly authorized \$100,000,000 to the Franco government.

The developing U.S.-Franco pact is enabling the fascist regime to pursue policies completely abhorrent to Americans and destructive of all the freedoms we cherish -- the freedom to worship, to speak, to vote and to organize into free trade unions.

In an effort to test public sentiment, the State Department has persuaded the U.S. Conference of Mayors to invite Madrid's mayor as its "special guest" when it meets here in May. This mayor, a Falangist ex-army officer who helped smash Republican Madrid, was appointed by Franco; the people of Madrid are not permitted to elect their mayor.

A group of Protestant clergymen has publicly assailed the "bigotry and intolerance" of the Seville cardinal. It said the violence against Protestants in Spain can be understood "when a Cardinal virtually declares war on them."

Won't you add your voice? Won't you speak out against an alliance which helps Franco war against the religious and human freedoms of the Spanish people? And won't you inform the State Department of your views?

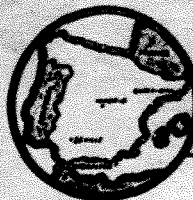
I am confident you agree there is neither moral nor social justification for our sending military and dollar aid to a regime that is openly and violently trampling upon the right to worship.

I would value your comments, and a copy of any statement you may issue.

Sincerely,

Charles Breck Ackley, D.D.

cba:fc



SPANISH CHRISTIAN MISSION

A PRAYING FELLOWSHIP OF BELIEVERS FOR THE MINISTRY IN SPAIN

Dr. ZACARIAS P. CARLES, F.R.G.S.
Founder and General Director

North American Headquarters
3 Hillsboro Avenue
Telephone Midway 6383
TORONTO 5 CANADA

"Not by might . . . but by
my Spirit saith the LORD
of hosts." — Zech. 4: 6.

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Through Montreal March 19th, 1952.

Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. Joseph M. Cruz,
534 West 179th Street,
N W YORK 33, N.Y.

My Dear Brother in Christ:

"Pray one for another"
(James 5:16)

From Montreal where I am having a Missionary Campaign, I am sending you a copy of my article about my conversion. I wish I had time to tell you a little more about my life and my work in order that you may use it for your thesis.

If there is any specific thing you would like to know, write to my office in Toronto and I will do my best to answer you right away.

Forgive me my dear brother for the delay in writing you, but as you know I am more than busy and I cannot do everything that I want to do.

Wishing you many blessings from the Lord,

Believe me,

Yours for God so loved this Spaniard,

Z. Carles

ZPC/al
Encl.

- MINISTRY OF THE WORD: BY MISSIONARIES AND EVANGELISTS.
- MINISTRY OF RELIEF: BY DISTRIBUTING USED CLOTHING AND FOOD.
- MINISTRY OF THE PRINTED PAGE: BY PRINTING EVANGELICAL TRACTS AND BOOKS