



**Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic:
Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930-1936**

**Mary Vincent
St Antony's College**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.
University of Oxford**

Hilary Term, 1991

Short Abstract

M.M.T. Vincent
St. Antony's College

D.Phil.
Hilary Term 1991

Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca 1930-1936

The research for this thesis has been confined in space and time in order to facilitate an investigation of the Church at several levels: the study is as concerned with the faith and the faithful as with the official presence of the hierarchy. It examines questions of religious identity in an area of high Catholic practice, conservative politics and, eventually, genuine popular support for the Nationalist rising.

The province of Salamanca, in the north west of Spain, is a particularly appropriate focus for such a study. Part of the Castilian heartland of traditional Spain, it was the home province of José María Gil Robles and a major area of strength for the parliamentary Catholic right, which mobilised here before anywhere else in Spain. This has led to Salamanca receiving some attention from historians. Scholars such as Paul Preston and Juan José Castillo use it to provide examples of the Catholic right's techniques and rhetoric, arguing that the innate conservatism of the Castilian smallholders was manipulated by the great landlords.

However, perhaps the most interesting feature of the history of the province in the 1930s is how its story *differed* from that laid out in Madrid. The historiography of the Second Republic has concentrated — perhaps inevitably — on political and parliamentary struggles. While issues such as disestablishment and the fate of the religious orders were of crucial importance at institutional and governmental level, the impact they had outside the professional circles of church and state is far less certain.

This study has moved outside the administrative world of the capital to investigate the impact of the Republic on ordinary Catholic citizens. The *minutiae* of church/state relations and the undoubted injustice of the treatment of the religious orders may have outraged the Catholic deputies representing Salamanca in the Cortes, but their Catholic constituents had different concerns. By examining these concerns, this thesis throws new light on the process of breakdown of the Second Republic.

Contents

Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
Chapter 1: Province and Parish: The Pastoral Task in Salamanca	9
Chapter 2: Religious Communities: Education and Welfare in Salamanca	46
Chapter 3: Traditional Piety: The Hallowing of Time and Place	78
Chapter 4: The Shaping of Piety: Devotional Life in the Twentieth Century	105
Chapter 5: Catholic Action and the Creation of a Lay Apostolate	140
Chapter 6: The Coming of the Republic	176
Chapter 7: Squeezing Out the Centre: Catholic Party Politics in the New Republic	201
Chapter 8: Against the Constitution: Political Opposition in the <i>bienio rojo</i>	230
Chapter 9: Dismantling the Republic: Political Power in the <i>bienio negro</i>	277
Chapter 10: 1936: Political Defeat and the Coming of War	324
Conclusion	354
Bibliography	358

Acknowledgements

I began work on this thesis in October 1983 and, inevitably in a piece of work stretched over a long period of time, the debts I have accumulated are considerable. The first of these is to Mr J. Jakubowski, Mr R. Laign and the staff of the neuro-surgical unit, Royal Hallamshire Hospital, Sheffield, without whose skill and kindness this thesis would have taken even longer than it has done to complete.

Conducting the research at all would have been impossible without financial awards from the British Academy and the Vicente Cañada Blanch Fellowship Committee of the University of London. I would also like to thank Flora Pedler and family, the Doran Edmunds family and Andy Watson who indirectly provided financial assistance with their generous and much-appreciated hospitality. John, Margaret, Clare and Peter Vincent encouraged me from the beginning and supported me throughout.

Many other people — in Oxford, Madrid and Salamanca — gave me help at every stage of the project. Sir Raymond Carr and Don Oligario González de Cardenal provided essential introductions during the first stages of the research. I would also like to thank the diocesan archivists of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, together with Padre Benigno Hernández SJ, archivist of the Jesuit house in Salamanca, whose assistance was invaluable. Equally, I am indebted to the staff of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, the Biblioteca, Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca and the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid.

In Salamanca, Elisabeth McInnis made my stay in the city a far pleasanter experience than it would otherwise have been. I would also like to thank the members of the Departamento de Economía y Hacienda Pública, Universidad de Salamanca who offered me both friendship and office-space. My research in the province benefitted from conversations with Josefina Cuesta and Nicole Bariller while María Teresa Aubach, of the Universidad Pontificia, gave more information, advice and encouragement than any trespassing foreign researcher could have hoped to receive.

In England, colleagues at the Department of History, University of Sheffield have proved infinitely understanding. Mary Edmunds, Steve Vertovec, Dave Cleary and Charlie Davison oriented me in the world of social anthropology. Chris Heywood kindly produced the map in Chapter 5.

This thesis has, at various stages, been read by Tom Buchanan, Tim Rees, Nigel Townson and, especially, Paul Heywood, whose skills as critic, copy-editor and computer consultant I have shamelessly exploited. Living with a thesis is never easy, living with an invalid even less so but, without him, I doubt either thesis or invalid would have recovered.

Finally, my thanks go to Frances Lannon whose patient supervision and expert guidance have meant that researching and writing this thesis has ultimately proved to be as much a pleasure as a challenge.

Abstract

This study centres upon the province of Salamanca in the north west of Spain during the Second Republic (1931-1936). In order to construct a picture of Catholicism rather than just the institutional church, the research has been confined in space and time. This has facilitated an investigation of the Church at several levels: the thesis is as concerned with the faith and the faithful as with the official presence of the hierarchy. It examines questions of religious identity in an area of high Catholic practice, conservative politics and, eventually, genuine popular support for the Nationalist rising.

Salamanca is a particularly appropriate focus for such a study. Although in a land as regionally diverse as Spain it is difficult to class any one province as "typical", Salamanca belongs to the heartland of traditional Spain. In contrast to those areas in which socialism and anarchism had become leading ideological influences — Madrid, the industrial conurbations of Barcelona and Bilbao and the *latifundia* provinces of the south — Catholicism provided the dominant culture in this region of peasant proprietors and tenant farmers. A study of religion in Salamanca is thus a study of Catholicism rather than of anti-clericalism.

Furthermore, Salamanca was of some significance in the political sphere. Not only was it the home province of José María Gil Robles, leader of the principal confessional party under the Republic, but it was also a major area of strength for the parliamentary Catholic right. The local monarchist grouping Acción Castellana in many ways prefigured Acción Popular, the main Catholic political organisation of the Republic. The right mobilised in Salamanca earlier than anywhere else in Spain: the first Derecha Autónoma — precursor of the CEDA — was established in the province, as was the first women's branch of Acción Popular. Several local activists, including the women's leader Abilia Arroyo, had roles to play in the national CEDA organisation while the local deputy José María Lamamié de Clairac was a leading figure in the Traditionalist Communion.

The predominance of Salamancan deputies in right-wing politics under the

Republic has led to the province receiving some attention from historians, notably Paul Preston in The Coming of the Spanish Civil War (1978). However, Preston essentially uses the story of Salamanca as a local example, evidence of the Catholic right's techniques and rhetoric on a smaller stage. Such an approach also characterises the works of Robinson, The Origins of Franco's Spain (1970) and Montero, La CEDA (1977), both of whom also refer to the example of Salamanca — Robinson in passing, Montero as part of a selection of provincial evidence — in order to substantiate their arguments as to the nature of the parliamentary right under the Second Spanish Republic.

Salamanca has also featured largely in the works of those authors concerned with social Catholicism, particularly the agrarian federations established in the early years of the century. Juan José Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres (1979) and, particularly, Josefina Cuesta, El sindicalismo católico agrario en la crisis de la restauración (1978) both investigate the role of Catholic agrarian organisations in the Castilian countryside. Cuesta's is the more detailed study of the Catholic agrarian infra-structure in the region but focuses on an earlier period than that covered in this thesis. Castillo's chronology is much broader but again tells a national story illustrated with local examples. The political significance of the agrarian federations is taken to be that of providing support for the Catholic right. The peasant proprietors, trusting the rhetoric of the Catholic agrarian orators, naively put their faith in those who claimed to represent their interests, regardless of all the evidence to the contrary. Such an interpretation is very similar to that put forward by Preston, who emphasises the oratory of the CEDA and, particularly, the ease with which it enveloped explicitly reactionary monarchist groupings like Salamanca's *Acción Castellana*.

However, despite Salamanca's importance on a wider stage, perhaps the most interesting feature of the history of the province in the 1930s is not the way in which national events were mirrored at local level, but how its story differed from that laid out in Madrid. The historiography of the Second Republic has concentrated — perhaps inevitably — on political struggles and parliamentary confrontations. The story of the

Church under the Republic has essentially been written from the perspective of Madrid, emphasising constitutional issues, disestablishment and the fate of the religious orders. Hence the considerable number of works — including those by Lannon, Arbeloa and Carcél Ortí — which emphasise the parliamentary debates on the religious clauses of the Constitution. While these issues were undoubtedly of crucial importance at institutional and governmental level, the impact they had outside the professional circles of church and state is far less certain.

It has been a major part of the purpose of this study to move outside the administrative world of the capital and investigate the impact of the Republic on ordinary Catholic citizens. In Salamanca, church-going men and women resented the Republic because of the effect its legislation had on ordinary devotional life. The *minutiae* of church/state relations and the undoubted injustice of the treatment of the religious orders may have outraged the Catholic deputies representing the province in the Cortes, but their Catholic constituents had different concerns. By examining these concerns, this thesis throws new light on the process of breakdown of the Second Republic.

Any investigation of Catholicism in twentieth-century Spain is hampered by the sensitivity of the subject matter in the eyes of the Church. The archives of Cardinals Segura, Gomá and Plá y Deniel remain closed, and access to any episcopal papers in either Salamanca or Ciudad Rodrigo proved impossible. Much archive material is thus inaccessible, either embargoed or uncatalogued in local diocesan archives which are rarely professionally run. However, there is a wealth of printed material available to the researcher. The local press is particularly important; every provincial capital in Spain had its own Catholic paper which, as in the case of Salamanca, provided not only an invaluable forum for debate, but also essential administrative and co-ordinating services for the local right. Although it has received less attention from historians than the well-combed pages of El Sol, El Debate and El Socialista, the regional press played a crucial political role in a country where local loyalties are strong.

There is also a rich vein of material in the many Catholic publications of the time. Pious magazines, associational bulletins, polemical tracts, together with hagiographical and commemorative works, combine to give a rich and varied picture of contemporary Catholic culture. Extensive use is made of such material in the first chapters of the thesis which present a nuanced study of the Catholic world of Salamanca in the 1930s.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide a survey of the province, examining both the challenges facing the Church and the response to such challenges. It looks at the incidence of Catholicism in the province, emphasising both ecclesiastical structures and the extent of Catholic affiliation. The first chapter focuses upon the parish, the second on the work of the religious orders and congregations whose activities, above all in the fields of education and welfare, were an essential part of the pastoral strategy of the local Church.

Building on this picture of the pastoral task, chapters 3 and 4 move away from the institutional presence of the Church in the province to examine questions of religious belief and identity in this overwhelmingly agrarian area. As emphasised in chapter 3, traditional devotional practices were of immense importance in Salamanca; the very landscape is stamped with the presence of the holy. The chapter identifies and discusses this popular level of piety which centred upon shrines, pilgrimages and *fiestas*. Chapter 4 — though still concerned with liturgical practice — introduces a shift in emphasis by looking at changes in devotional and sacramental life, how such changes were promulgated in the universal Church and the impact they had at local level. By the 1930s, these new devotional forms — particularly the cults of Mary Immaculate and the Sacred Heart of Jesus — dominated Catholic practice in the province. They were to prove a rich source of imagery and rhetoric for the anti-secular political campaigns of the Second Republic.

Chapter 5 complements the preceding investigation of Catholic culture with an investigation of the associational life of the Church. Lay mobilisation was an immensely important aspect of contemporary Catholicism and one which was easily transferred to the political sphere. The attempt to create a discrete Catholic subculture entailed the creation of a defensive network of trade unions, agrarian federations and elite organisations. Such

an infra-structure provided an invaluable framework for party political organisation in the province once the Catholic right had gone on the offensive against the Republic.

The remaining chapters examine the political process of the Republic, laying particular emphasis on the closing down of political options in the conservative province of Salamanca. Chapter 6 begins with the coming of the Republic, the republican triumph in the municipal elections of April 1931 and the surprise and incomprehension with which this victory was greeted by supporters of the right. Chapter 7 then looks at the period leading up to the July general elections, arguing that, although the leaders of the self-styled Catholic right were entrenched in their opposition to the Republic from the moment it came into existence, such a choice was by no means so apparent among those they aspired to lead. This was reflected in the July results when moderate republicanism proved to be the most popular option among Salamancan voters.

Chapter 8 looks at the elimination of this centrist option over the following two years. The chapter examines the Bloque Agrario's vehement opposition to pluralist democracy, emphasising the way in which its leaders targetted Catholic republicans in an attempt to squeeze out the centre ground. Effective mobilisation — not least among the women of the province — was an important part of this tactic but, the chapter argues, it was the impact of the anti-clerical and agrarian legislation on traditional ways of life in the province which gave the Bloque credibility among the electorate. Bolstered by a wave of popular support, in the autumn of 1933 the newly-formed CEDA launched the most comprehensive electoral campaign Spain had ever seen. The unhappiness of many

salmantinos' experience of life under the Republic — accentuated by the great anticipation generated by its birth — led to an overwhelming local victory for the right in the November 1933 elections which are discussed in Chapter 9. The right's success made its leaders still more impatient of parliamentary government. The party youth began to mobilise in the JAP and, with the wholehearted adoption of corporative ideology, the style of the CEDA became increasingly extreme. Opposition to the Republic could not,

however, heal the internal divisions which were appearing among the Catholic right at both national and local level.

These divisions partly account for the right's defeat in the general elections of February 1936. The victorious Popular Front, however, also marked an attempt by the left to win back the centre ground which the confessional right had so deliberately abandoned. For supporters of the right, no centre ground remained; though the right was defeated nationally, in Salamanca it won a resounding triumph. Nor would the defenders of the Church be content with anything less than outright victory. Once the preparations for the

coup began in earnest, there was no doubt that erstwhile *cedistas* would line up with the insurgents. This automatic affiliation — unsurprising given the intense political polarisation of the preceding five years — can be demonstrated most effectively at local level. By October 1936 the Salamancan Church had become one of General Franco's most important supporters.

Chapter 1: **Province and Parish: the Pastoral Task in Salamanca**

The province of Salamanca, today part of the region of Castilla-León, has long been thought of as one of the most Catholic and conservative areas of Spain.¹ Predominantly rural, it is often depicted as one of the last bastions of traditional society, its customs lovingly preserved by the peasant farmers who live there, a population which has escaped the political developments of the last two centuries and remained true to its conservative, even seigneurial, roots and staunch in the defence of its religion.

Unsurprisingly, such a description is made more by myth than by history. It is not even geographically accurate. Although overwhelmingly agrarian, the province of Salamanca cannot accurately be regarded as an homogenous whole. Often thought of as being dominated by the cultivation of wheat and the small landholding patterns of Old Castile, it is, in fact, a diverse area, ranging from the cornfields of the north to the mountains of the Sierra de Francia in the south while the border with Portugal runs a long way along the fertile river valley of the Duero. In the 1930s, many communities in the province were not reliant upon grain, living instead from the breeding of livestock, market gardening and, in the mountains, bee-keeping and forestry. The Duero valley, with its remarkable micro-climate, even allowed the cultivation of olives, citrus fruits and vines.²

This agricultural diversity was reflected in the landholding patterns of the province. In the cereal-growing lands of the *meseta* to the north east of the province, the districts of

-
1. Historically, Salamanca is part of the region of León, which comprises the modern provinces León, Zamora and Salamanca.
 2. For a geographical and agricultural profile of the province see Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Mapa de Cultivos y Aprovechamientos de la Provincia de Salamanca (Madrid, 1984)

Peñaranda de Bracamonte, Alba de Tormes and Salamanca itself, the classic Castilian pattern of small landowners and tenant farmers predominated. Landholdings were also small in the fertile river valleys in Vitigudino and the mountain areas to the south. Indeed, here they were so small that parts of the *sierra* had a *minifundia* problem. At the opposite end of the scale, the central area of the province was dominated by *latifundia*, great swathes of land often given over to the raising of fighting bulls. Those large proprietors who lived in the province, rather than the noble absentee landlords like the Duke of Alba, wielded great influence. Villages such as La Sierpe in the mountains, Serradilla del Llano in the *comarca* of Ciudad Rodrigo, Negrilla de Palencia in Salamanca and La Vidola in Vitigudino were all cases where the entire municipal acreage fell within the boundaries of a single estate.³ Geographically, the *latifundia* area is the largest one in the province including most of the agricultural districts of Fuente de San Esteban and Ciudad Rodrigo as well as considerable parts of Ledesma and Vitigudino. This has led to Salamanca being included with Extremadura rather than Old Castile by some agrarian historians although to do so is to ignore the very different social and political circumstances prevailing in Extremadura.⁴

Regardless of the area or the type of agriculture predominating locally, before the Civil War the great majority of the inhabitants of Salamanca lived in the *pueblos* of the

3. Pascual Carrión, Los latifundios en España (Madrid, 1932), 129-131 gives the fullest proprietorial survey of the province, although complete catastral information was available only for Alba de Tormes, Ledesma and Peñaranda. See map for provincial division into *comarcas* or agricultural districts.

4. This is the view taken by Carrión and, after him, by Edward Malefakis, Reforma agraria y revolución campesina en la España del siglo XX (revised ed.; Barcelona, 1982).

province. These communities, structured along municipal lines, had their own mayors, town halls, doctors and priests. However, unlike the towns of the southern provinces of Andalucía or Extremadura, the vast majority of them were extremely small. Salamanca had 386 *pueblos*, more than any other Spanish province. Each had its own local jurisdiction, known as the *término municipal*, which here covered an average area of 31.92 km².⁵ Only 73 Salamanican *pueblos* had more than 1,000 inhabitants in 1930, while the smallest settlement — the hamlet of Villasdardo in the sparsely-populated *comarca* of Ledesma — had a mere 102 inhabitants.

Excluding the provincial capital, none of Salamanca's towns surpassed 10,000 inhabitants and only Béjar and Ciudad Rodrigo had over 5,000 in 1930 (8,866 and 9,484 respectively). Indeed, only twelve municipalities had more than 2,000 head of population. In contrast, the city of Salamanca had a population of 46,867 and had nearly doubled in size since the turn of the century. The only other sizable town to show a population increase was Ciudad Rodrigo although this was on nothing like the same scale, with a net increase of less than 1,000 since 1900. Elsewhere populations were either stable or, more frequently, declining as people moved away from village agriculture to the greater attractions of the provincial capital or even further afield.⁶

Discounting the provincial capital, the population of all districts fell between 1900 and 1920. This fall was most marked in the Salamanca area itself where the number of inhabitants outside the city fell by over 8,000 between 1900 and 1920, although the city's population rose by over 6,000. During the 1920s the situation improved slightly and the

5. This was somewhat smaller than the national average of 54.36km², Anuario estadístico de España (1929), 13.

6. Population figures given in Ministerio de Agricultura, Mapa de Cultivos y Provechamientos de la Provincia de Salamanca.

Table 1.1

Population of the province of Salamanca 1900-1930

Comarca	1900	1920	1930
Vitigudino	48,436	46,526	46,254
Ledesma	16,038	15,587	15,222
Salamanca (without city)	38,463	29,736	30,626
Peñaranda de Bracamonte	29,510	28,277	29,237
Fuente de San Esteban	23,736	22,931	22,566
Alba de Tormes	30,793	29,592	30,361
Ciudad Rodrigo	46,190	44,397	44,881
La Sierra	61,568	59,350	59,535
Total (without capital)	294,734	276,396	278,682
Salamanca (provincial capital)	25,690	32,414	46,867
Total (with capital)	320,424	308,810	325,549

(Source: Mapa de cultivos y aprovechamientos de la provincia de Salamanca)

population figures for the decade are more stable. Although the total population of the province was 5,125 more in 1930 than it had been in 1900, this was due to the increase in the population of the city of Salamanca which rose by a further 14,453 during the 1920s; the number of people living outside the provincial capital had fallen by 16,052 since the turn of the century.

The provincial capital, with its layers of government and administration, its university, the small metallurgy industry and considerable construction works, provided a sharp contrast to the other municipal communities. With the exception of Béjar — a textile town in the mountains separating the provinces of Salamanca and Cáceres and the only industrial zone in the region — the other major towns were all agricultural, market centres for the buying and selling of produce and goods. Peñaranda de Bracamonte was slightly different, having been the first place in the province to have a railway connection with Avila. Ciudad Rodrigo's attraction came from the considerable construction works

undertaken there during the 1920s when many buildings in this very beautiful old city were restored in the hope of attracting more summer visitors from Salamanca and Madrid. The same decade also saw the city's connection by rail to the provincial capital and the Portuguese border. But communications, though improving, remained rudimentary. By the beginning of the 1930s, the city of Salamanca was still connected by rail only to the Castilian cities of Avila and Medina del Campo and the Portuguese border. Only three railway lines ran through the province and a meagre 2,423 kilometres of highway had been constructed by 1929. Ownership of private cars was increasing, however, and 2,365 vehicles were registered in the province in 1930 as opposed to 721 in 1924.⁷

From the turn of the century, it was apparent that the local demographic structure was changing. The drain away from the land, along with the mushrooming development of the provincial capital, raised particular problems for the local authorities, both civic and ecclesiastical. The need for new social and pastoral structures became increasingly acute. The dramatic influx of people to the city of Salamanca led to the development of outer suburbs, working-class *barrios*, with a notable lack of provision for either the spiritual or the material well-being of the people who lived there. Outside the old city walls, the sprawling, insanitary suburbs lacked schools, hospitals and churches. The workers who lived there often had little contact with the institutional church. They associated through trade unions or the Socialist *casa del pueblo* rather than the parish; their utopian visions of a life to come were more likely to be informed by socialism or anarcho-syndicalism than by Christianity. The bitter anti-clericalism of left-wing politics in Spain also served to heighten the divide between suburb and centre, proletarian and bourgeois, which was becoming so apparent in the city of Salamanca during the early years of the twentieth

7. Anuario estadístico de España (1929), 437, 442, 464.

century. Urban workers were not only largely indifferent to the Church, they were often hostile to it.

Such problems also existed on a national scale and were at their most acute in the great conurbations of Barcelona and Madrid. In these two rapidly expanding urban centres, figures for the numbers of souls included in the cities' enormous and unwieldy parishes averaged 4,831 and 4,078 respectively. Individual parishes could reach much greater sizes; according to an article in Salamanca's local Catholic paper, the parish of Our Lady of Anguish in Madrid catered for 30,000 souls although its only place of worship was a tiny chapel. On a national scale, so the author claimed, Spain's population had increased by 66% between 1866 and 1931 while the number of parishes had risen by only 6%.⁸ While the figures cited by the author are undoubtedly exaggerated, the publication of articles such as this bore witness to the increasing realisation that ecclesiastical structures were not keeping pace with demographic change.

Despite attempts such as these to explore the scale of the problem at national level, little had been done to reconvert the alienated workers of the city of Salamanca. The city was dominated by ecclesiastical buildings, including eleven parish churches, the strikingly beautiful cathedral, the Romanesque basilica church of San Julián, eight non-parish churches, twelve institutional chapels, six churches run by religious orders and eighteen chapels attached to religious houses; yet, virtually all these places of worship were within the old city walls.⁹ In particular, all but two of the parishes were to be found in the city

8. Anuario estadístico de España (1929), 604-605; La Gaceta Regional (henceforth GR), 3, 5 March 1931.

9. The institutional chapels included three Catholic schools and the Jesuit novitiate. Nine of the convent chapels were attached to contemplative female houses. The church/chapel distinction is fundamentally a male/female one. The male orders ran churches because their ranks included ordained priests.



Plate 1.1: View of Salamanca from the river Tormes.

centre. The social pinnacle among them was San Martín with its fine twelfth-century church off the colonnaded Plaza Mayor. This was the church which José María Gil Robles, the Catholic parliamentary leader during the Second Republic, attended as a boy. He remembered it as being the "most aristocratic" church in the city.¹⁰

In marked contrast to the elegance of San Martín or active church life of the centre, the outer suburbs were virtually devoid of parish structures. Only one new parish was established in the city between 1900 and the Civil War, the church of the Sacred Heart in the Pizarrales *barrio*, founded in 1927. The former villages of Arrabal del Puente and Tejares, now swallowed up by urban expansion, retained their old parishes, but the considerable areas to the north west of the city, including the rapidly-expanding

10. José María Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida (Madrid, 1975), 24.

suburb of Garrido, had neither churches nor priests. Ecclesiastical provision made for the unskilled labourers arriving from the countryside was very limited and parochial organisation remained woefully inadequate, despite some non-diocesan initiatives to make good the shortfall. The Society of Jesus, for instance, opened a public chapel at their novitiate in 1928, with the express intention that it should serve as "a quasi-parochial centre" for local residents. The Jesuits also ran a chapel in the suburb of Prosperidad, the only place of worship in the area. A parish school was opened there in 1931 and, even though the Jesuit fathers were forced to live and work clandestinely after the dissolution of their order by the Second Republic, the spiritual care of the *barrio* remained in the hands of a Jesuit father, Fermín Villaverde, who said mass there daily, gave communion every Saturday and explained the gospel each Sunday.¹¹

The Church's failure to accommodate the expanding urban districts was partly the result of static administrative structures. The civil province of Salamanca is divided between two historic dioceses, Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. The Salamancan see, which today comprises roughly two thirds of the province, is an ancient one; though its exact origins are obscure, the signatures of its bishops are to be found in the Councils of Toledo, first held in 396. The smaller diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo was of later foundation, confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1175.¹² From the late eighteenth century, as

11. 'Colegio Noviciado de San Estanislao, Salamanca', 12 and 'Memoria de la Reidencia de Salamanca durante estos 25 años 1918-1943', 18 in Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León 1918-1943 (private publication for the Society of Jesus, León 1943?); Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ xxxiv (1934). The Prosperidad chapel escaped expropriation under the Second Republic as it was nominally the property of its benefactress, Rosa Sánchez Sevillano.

12. The Catholic Encyclopedia (15 vols.; New York, 1913-1922), III, 793-794; XIII, 391-392.

the process of modern state building began, such ecclesiastical structures became increasingly archaic. In particular, the division of Spain into civil provinces in 1833 meant that geographical areas were redrawn; the province of Salamanca now had different boundaries to the diocese of the same name. Some of the villages included on the northern and eastern borders of the province belonged to the neighbouring dioceses of Zamora, Valladolid and Avila. To the south, the important Béjar region came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Plasencia while other areas of the Sierra de Francia were governed by the Bishop of Coria. Both Coria and Plasencia came within the Archdiocese of Toledo, while Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo were in the ecclesiastical province of Valladolid which covered most of the region of Old Castile-León.¹³

In 1930, the bishops of both Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo were rather obscure figures, important locally but with no role to play on a wider stage. Francisco Frutos Valiente (1883-1933) had been appointed to the Salamancan see in 1925, having previously spent five years as Bishop of Jaca in the Aragonese Pyrenees. A native of Murcia in the south-east of Spain, he had trained at his local seminary, taking doctorates in theology and canon law before becoming a canon of Toledo cathedral in 1908. He also had some journalistic experience and the only non-diocesan position he held was as president of the National Catholic Press Committee. Frutos Valiente, a conscientious but not extraordinarily active prelate, was very different to the ambitious and able churchman who succeeded him. Enrique Plá y Deniel (1876-1968) was appointed to the diocese in 1935,

13. This study has included all that falls within the provincial boundaries although only the dioceses of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo have been the subject of specific investigation.

having already spent seventeen years as bishop of Avila. A Catalan by birth, Plá came from a rich Barcelona family and had trained at the local seminary and the Gregorian University in Rome before an early career in journalism and seminary teaching. He spent seven years in Salamanca before being elevated to the primatial see of Toledo in 1942, winning a cardinal's hat in 1946.¹⁴

The contrasting careers of Frutos and Plá showed how the profile of a diocese varied according to the character of its incumbent. Within the confines of his diocese, the bishop's authority was absolute. Though ultimately accountable to the Vatican, the bishop supervised the seminary, directed the training and placement of priests, adjudicated on spiritual and moral affairs and distributed diocesan finances. Episcopal enthusiasm — or the lack of it — affected the lives of all Catholics, clerical and lay, living under his jurisdiction; once Plá y Deniel had taken possession of Salamanca, the diocese entered upon a period of activity which would have been unthinkable under his predecessor.¹⁵

The chances of such an illustrious cleric occupying the Ciudad Rodrigo see were, however, remote. Although an earlier incumbent, Bishop Ramón Barberá Boada, had won some fame in Catholic agrarian circles before his translation to the diocese of Palencia in 1914, this was an obscure diocese which attracted little national attention. Manuel López de Arana (1884-1941) became bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo after his consecration in 1929. As with his predecessor, Silverio Velasco Pérez (1881-1927), it was the only see he ever occupied. Following Velasco Pérez's early death in 1927, López Arana became

14. Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Salamanca (henceforth BEOS), (1926), 87-107; (1935), 117-120.

15. For a study of episcopal authority, see Frances Lannon, 'An Elite of Grace: Spanish Bishops in the Twentieth Century' in Frances Lannon & Paul Preston (eds.), Elites and Power in Twentieth Century Spain (Oxford, 1990), 11-31.

vicar of the diocese before his elevation in 1929. A native of Medina de Pomar in the province of Burgos, he had previously taught at the seminary in Santander, where he had taken orders before going on to study at the Gregorian University in Rome. Once his teaching days were over, however, López Arana never left Ciudad Rodrigo; his incumbency was ended only by his death in 1941.¹⁶

Both dioceses were characterised by a large number of fairly small parishes, Salamanca having 306 and Ciudad Rodrigo 111. The great majority of these parishes were rural; most antedated the administrative reforms of the 1830s and, therefore, many did not correspond to the 386 *términos municipales* established in the province. Such parishes survived, but often served only a hamlet. Inevitably, some fell into disuse, particularly once people started to move away from the land. Most parishes, like most *pueblos*, were small. Indeed, the two usually coincided: villages without both a church and a priest were rare.

Except in the expanding suburbs of the provincial capital, the province did not suffer from the huge and poorly manned parishes so characteristic of southern Spain. In 1929, Salamanca had an average of 713 inhabitants to a parish, although this figure palls slightly when compared to Burgos's 295 parishioners and León's 308. Ciudad Rodrigo, however, was noticeably worse off with an average parish size of 1,086. Yet, this was far from being extreme. In the same year the scattered, rural parishes of Badajoz ministered to, on average, 4,050 people while in Cádiz the size of parish rose to an enormous 8,611 souls.¹⁷ These figures, high as some of them are, were only averages;

16. José Manuel Cuenca Toribio, Sociología del episcopado español e hispanoamericano (1789-1985) (Madrid, 1986), 544-557.

17. Anuario Estadístico de España (1929), 604-605.

some individual parishes were, of course, very much larger.

Figures such as these show that the parish structures of the province were very different from those found further south. In Salamanca, the parish was, in a very real sense, a focus for the local community. Churches and shrines provided physical centres in every village and hamlet, sacramental and spiritual life revolved around the church, and parishes were increasingly developing an associational life to complement their religious existence.

In an effort to revitalise parish life, exhortatory articles appearing in the local Catholic press at the end of 1932 recounted how the parish had an educational and charitable mission, as well as a spiritual one. One writer described how a child entered the "parochial home" at baptism, later receiving "advice and rules of life" from its spiritual mentors. All families were urged to become involved in their local parish, attending religious services as well as various recreational and philanthropic activities. Many churches had their own charitable and catechetical groups, run under the auspices of the parochial branch of Catholic Action. In the city of Salamanca, San Martín and Nuestra Señora de Carmen were both active parishes, running several organisations, including sewing circles for the needy of the parish. Youth groups, which showed young people how "to distinguish truth from error" were also an important feature of parish life and were established in all the parish churches of the provincial capital.¹⁸

Organised under the direction of the parish priest, all active Catholic Youth groups had their own clubhouse or regular meeting place where members were encouraged to meet and "immerse" themselves in the "ambience of the society". The parish provided a refuge from the perils and struggles of the world; members of the Catholic Youth group in

18. GR, 19, 20 December 1932; 1 January 1935; 5 January 1936.

the Ciudad Rodrigo parish of Villamiel, for example, were told that they now had "a centre where they may take shelter against the invasion of the tempestuous sea of passion".¹⁹ The catechism used by Salamancan children told them their enemies were "the devil, the world and the flesh"; Catholic children were to make the sign of the cross before leaving their houses, because "our enemies fight and follow us at all times and in all places". The provision of "true centres of Catholic youth", however, gave young people a refuge during their most vulnerable years.²⁰

On a practical level, parish youth groups provided some opportunity for young people to meet and spend time with friends away from the strictures of their parental homes, though always under clerical supervision. The group established in the parish of San Juan de Sahagún in the provincial capital in April 1929 issued all its members with passes for the club house which opened every day for boys to use the library and games room. Members were encouraged to take part in collective activities; there was a football team and an art group, dramatic and musical evenings were held regularly while those of a more literary bent could contribute to the association's monthly bulletin. There was also a regular study circle — an important feature of all Catholic Youth groups — which looked to further the "religious, intellectual and moral education" of the participants.²¹

Religion provided the guiding spirit of the associations; those joining San Juan de Sahagún, for example, began their associational life by consecrating themselves to the

19. GR, 30 September, 22 November 1930; 14 August 1931. Catholic Youth groups were established in every parish on episcopal orders, but many of these putative organisations seem to have existed only on paper.

20. Luis Resines, Catecismos de Astete y Ripalda (Madrid, 1987), 103-200.

21. Information on the Catholic Youth of San Juan is taken from Boletín de la Juventud Católica de San Juan de Sahagún (henceforth, BJCSJ), reprinted in La Gaceta Regional as it appeared.

eponymous patron saint. Devotion was a duty for all members of the Catholic Youth, who were expected to receive communion together once a month. The pews reserved in the parish church, however, remained empty. Only 18 boys attended the communion held in October 1932, out of a total membership of over 80. After a threat to ban non-attenders from the clubhouse for a week, February 1933 saw the best attendance ever, but the number of boys at mass was still only 35.²² Members of this youth group would appear to have wanted opportunities to meet their friends rather than to attend church, although the number of active members in the society remained small compared to the length of its register. It was always the same few boys who organised the entertainment evenings and study circles.²³

According to diocesan direction, the study circles were to examine the Gospels, papal encyclicals or "a good text of Christian sociology". The parish priest — who usually gave the talks himself — intervened whenever necessary "to avert possible errors".²⁴ Study sessions generally addressed pious topics although historic and patriotic themes were also popular. During times of intense political activity, more secular themes might also be included in the programme. In January 1936, shortly before the elections which brought the Popular Front to power, one city youth group found its regular homiletic discourse on a

22. GR, 1 April, 21 November 1930; BJCSJ (November, 1932), reprinted GR, 2 November 1932; BJCSJ (February 1933) reprinted GR, 8 February 1933. The group recorded 60 members in January 1932; after a recruitment drive numbers then rose to 78 in February, 97 in April and over 100 in May, before stabilising at around 80 in the autumn, BJCSJ (June, 1932), reprinted GR, 4 June 1932.

23. BJCSJ (January, March, April 1932), reprinted GR, 21 January, 4 March, 9 April 1932.

24. GR, 22 November 1930.

New Testament parable followed by an address on the dangers of socialism. The topicality of the subject matter ensured a record attendance; the talk was heard by nearly fifty people as opposed to the more usual thirteen.²⁵

Nor was politics the only addition to the study circles' rather indigestible intellectual diet of apologetics and tendentious Spanish history. Perhaps surprisingly, scientific topics were regularly addressed; lectures on the circulation of the blood, psychology and pulmonary tuberculosis were given in the parishes of the provincial capital, while the boys of San Juan de Sahagún also visited the telephone exchange to see technology in practice. In the small provincial town of Vitigudino, the parish priest always followed his talks on apologetics with ones on physics: atmospheric pressure came after the refutation of false religions and Archimedes' principle followed the concept of revelation, offering the boys of this poorly-communicated market town an insight into a whole new, experimental and quantifiable world.²⁶

Such an engagement with the practical world of science necessarily depended upon the intellectual taste and training of the priest leading the group. The priests who ran these parishes were, by and large, native to the area. The rural villages of Old Castile had long been recognised as an extremely fertile breeding ground for new vocations. The priesthood remained an attractive option for boys from smallholding and farming families, in contrast to other social groups.²⁷ In the closed rural world of Salamanca,

25. GR, 19 January, 14 April 1936.

26. GR, 5 November 1930, 5 January 1931; BJCSJ (January 1931) reprinted GR, 23 January 1931; El Adelanto, 1 January, 28 February 1930.

27. Until the mid 1960's over 35% of Spanish seminarists came from families of peasant proprietors. Similarly, a town of 500 inhabitants or under provided 50 seminarists per 1,000 inhabitants compared to 2 per 1,000 in the large conurbations. See Frances Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy. The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975 (Oxford, 1987) 90-92.

admission to the priesthood would eventually confer a social status similar to that enjoyed by other professionals, the local doctor, for example, or even the mayor. Except for the ambitious few, the choice of a clerical life rarely meant leaving the old, familiar world. Of those boys who elected to try for the priesthood, most went to study at the diocesan seminary, were ordained priest at the hands of the bishop and went back to minister to the faithful in a village very similar to the one where they had grown up.

To encourage local boys to study for the priesthood, a whole series of grants and scholarships was available at either diocesan seminary. Some lay organisations tried to foster local religious feeling. The Marias of the Sanctuaries, for instance, founded a full-time scholarship to the Salamanca seminary in 1933. The first recipient of the award, a local boy called Juan Hernández, wrote in his letter of thanks of how he wanted to return to a village like his own as a minister of God. Other grants were financed from trust funds established by individual philanthropists, often giving first preference to the founder's descendants. Should no blood relations come forward, then the circle of potential applicants was widened, for example to boys native to the benefactor's village; a certain Eustaquio Vicente provided scholarships for suitable candidates who bore the name Vicente and came from the *pueblos* of Valdemierque, Navales, Mozárbez or Martinamor. Finally, the offer was opened to the whole diocese.²⁸

Both Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo ran their own institutions for the training of priests, as every Catholic diocese had been obliged to do since the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Both diocesan seminaries were under the control of the bishop, although the Salamancan college enjoyed the title of Pontifical Seminary and was housed in an

28. Crónica de las Marías, November 1933, December 1934; BEOS (1930), 256-57; (1935), 222. Some of the grants had separate, charitable conditions. A common one favoured the sons of widows.

imposing building adjoining the Jesuit church of the Clerecía. Although — as its title indicated — the seminary had been under the jurisdiction of the Holy See, this had passed in 1855 to the Society of Jesus and, in 1911, to the diocese. The institution retained, however, the right to teach and confer higher degrees, a privilege which marked it out from other diocesan seminaries. Since 1911, the academic and spiritual training of the students had been entrusted to the Bishop and discipline to the Josephine fathers, although the Jesuits continued to hold monthly retreats for the seminarians and hear confessions every week.²⁹ The seminary itself, however, had become a diocesan institution.

The patterns of education and training followed by seminarists in both dioceses were broadly similar, as indeed they were throughout much of the Catholic world. Boys first entered the junior or classics "faculty" at the age of ten or eleven where they received a general education based on the study of Latin and the humanities. Entrants to the junior seminary in Ciudad Rodrigo, for instance, were tested on their knowledge of the catechism, and sat papers in biblical history (Old and New Testaments), Spanish grammar, arithmetic and geography (Spain and Europe).³⁰ This part of the course was open to lay as well as ecclesiastical students and many boys in the junior years were there to receive a traditional humanistic education in a pious atmosphere rather than to train for the priesthood. Such a choice was by no means uncommon; indeed, given the shortage of educational provision in Spain and the dearth of secular alternatives, a seminary education

29. 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 4-6, 10-11.

30. Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Ciudad Rodrigo (henceforth BEOCR), (1931), 190.

was by no means unpopular. As Table 1.2 shows, before the political upheavals of the Second Republic, most of the boys passing through the classics faculty chose not to enter the ministry but left to pursue their careers elsewhere.

Those students who did intend to become priests went on to the philosophy faculty around the age of fifteen, moving on to more advanced studies in the theology faculty as their training progressed. Although many ordinands did enter the theological seminary directly from the junior house, others came from outside, usually from Catholic schools. The numbers of theological students were also swelled by novices from the various religious houses in the city, as well as by students from the Irish College.³¹ Some continued with their studies after ordination, returning to follow post-graduate courses in canon law.

Table 1.2.
Pupils matriculated in the Pontifical Seminary of Salamanca: 1928-36

<u>Faculty</u>	1928-29*	1929-30*	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36
Classics	149	154	38	33	28	38
Philosophy	67	77	53	30	28	23
Theology	122	92	59	84	77	73
Canon Law	7	14	8	2	4	-
TOTAL	345	337	158	149	137	134

(Sources: (*) Anuario Estadístico de España 1930-31; Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Salamanca 1933-37)

As can be seen, the Second Republic ushered in a dramatic period of decline in vocations in Salamanca, a pattern which was repeated throughout Spain. Entries to

31. The Irish College in Salamanca was founded in 1592 by a decree of Philip III as a seminary for Irish ordinands who could not train in their own country. The students attended lectures at the university until the suppression of the theology faculty in 1868 when they transferred to the diocesan seminary. In 1912 the students numbered around 30 and the college closed in 1937. The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 159.

seminaries dropped by 40% from 1931 to reach a record low in 1934.³² In Salamanca, although figures for 1931 are missing, the numbers of boys and young men entering the diocesan seminary fell off very sharply between 1930 and 1932; the total number of pupils registered for the academic year 1932-33 was less than 50% of what it had been in 1929-30. The diocesan seminary in Ciudad Rodrigo experienced a similar decline; in the period immediately before the Republic, there were 117 pupils in 1928-29 and 106 in 1929-30. By 1934, the number of seminarists had dropped to 62, 58.5% of the figure for 1929-30.³³ The decline was particularly sharp amongst boys entering the junior years; the attractions of a seminary education for non-ordinands clearly palled rapidly under a secularising political regime.

Ciudad Rodrigo's more favourable figures reflect the difference between the two institutions. Ciudad Rodrigo had a small seminary, the fundamental purpose of which was to train local boys to serve as priests in this outlying diocese. Of the six men ordained to the priesthood or diaconate in the city in 1931, five were native to the area.³⁴ In contrast, Salamanca's seminary was infinitely more prestigious, the ecclesiastical life of the city infinitely more varied. 1931 saw twenty-two men becoming priests in Salamanca as Dominicans, Salesians and Carmelites took orders alongside the diocesan seminarists and students from the Irish College. Political hostility and governmental changes were far more likely to be keenly felt in this sophisticated university city than in the country diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo.

The young men preparing for ordination in Ciudad Rodrigo were overwhelmingly

32. Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 88-89.

33. Severino Aznar, La revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiásticas (Madrid, 1949), 78.

34. BEOCR (1931), 137.

from a rural background; in 1934, 80.65% of diocesan seminarists came from agricultural families.³⁵ They tended to come from humbler homes than their Salamancan neighbours: nearly 65% of the seminarists in the smaller diocese had fathers who were agricultural labourers, a figure which serves as a reminder that this area of the province was dominated by *latifundia*. Students from rural areas entering the Salamancan seminary were far more likely to come from families of peasant landowners, again a reflection of the agrarian structure of the diocese. The urban industrial and professional classes were far better

Table 1.3.
Social origins of diocesan seminarists by fathers' occupations, 1934

	Agricultural Worker	Small Proprietor	Industrialist/ Shopkeeper	Liberal Profession	Wealthy Family*
Ciudad Rodrigo	64.52%	16.13%	6.45%	3.22%	-
Salamanca	13.76%	33.94%	22.94%	11.93%	12.84%

*: with a private income of over 40,000 pesetas per year.

(Source: Aznar, La revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiásticas)

represented in Salamanca, where nearly 50% of students came from non-agricultural backgrounds, a result of the provincial capital's larger size and greater commercial importance. Unsurprisingly, neither diocese attracted members of the nobility as aristocratic boys rarely joined the ranks of the secular clergy, preferring prestigious religious orders like the Jesuits or the Augustinians. Nor were there many representatives of the very rich; significantly, in Ciudad Rodrigo there were none at all.

When the seminarists began their training they entered a distinct and discrete clerical environment. Separation from lay society was encouraged, even enforced; distinctions were made between boarding and day pupils and visits from the outside were

35. Aznar, La revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiásticas, 140.

carefully controlled. The fear of contamination by an impure world was clearly shown by the exhortation to preserve "clerical modesty" given to priests and seminarians by Plá y Deniel on his appointment to the Salamancan diocese. He emphasised the need to avoid occasions and places where such modesty might be compromised: cafés, casinos, theatres, cinemas and bullfights were all out of bounds.³⁶

This sense of separation from civil society was reinforced by the seminary curriculum. In Salamanca, natural science received no attention, social science very little, and even many humanities subjects failed to find their way onto the syllabus.³⁷ Typically, study courses were dominated by dogmatic theology and Thomist philosophy.³⁸ Scholastic argument, at times conducted in Latin, was the seminarians' staple diet. The primary aim was to defend the faith, albeit in an arcane and esoteric way. At the beginning of each academic year the seminary teachers made a profession of faith, swearing to uphold Catholic doctrine and combat errors and this emphasis on dogmatic orthodoxy was reflected throughout the course.³⁹

The Jesuit "college-novitiate" of St Stanislaw, also situated in the city

-
- 36. 'Apóstol de Jesucristo', BEOS (1935) 137-90 especially 153-57. The casinos referred to were men's clubs rather than gambling places.
 - 37. This was despite the emphasis placed on Catholic sociology in the encyclicals Rerum Novarum (Leo XIII 1891) and Quadragesimo Anno (Pius XI 1931). The Popes saw this new discipline as an essential tool for analysing and understanding the problems of society.
 - 38. The teaching of Thomist thought was much encouraged by Leo XII's encyclical Aeterni Patris (1879) which led to the virtual identification of Catholic theology with scholasticism. See Hubert Jedin (ed.), History of the Church (10 vols.; London, 1981), Vol. IX, The Church in the Industrial Age, 307-311.
 - 39. GR, 1 October 1930. On the intellectual training of the clergy in general see Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 94-96 as well as her article, 'A Basque challenge to the pre-civil war Spanish Church', European Studies Review, ix (1979).

of Salamanca, offers an interesting contrast to the diocesan seminary.⁴⁰ Concern over the curriculum at St Stanislaw's led to the revision of humanities teaching in 1931 under the direction of an Oxford-trained classicist, Enrique Basabé. Father Basabé believed a classical education to be not only good mental discipline and an invaluable introduction to the European cultural heritage, but also essential to the formation of a strong national character. As proof of the last of these advantages he pointed to the British Empire, built and run by men who learnt their Latin at Eton and Winchester.⁴¹ The revised curriculum included an intellectually demanding course of classical studies, involving the translation and criticism of Homer and Virgil, the study of Cicero and Demosthenes, Greek drama and a course in ancient history and classical civilisation. There was, however, a very nineteenth-century feel to the course — almost as if Dr Arnold of Rugby had converted to the true faith and joined the Jesuits, those traditional purveyors of "muscular Christianity" — and after a mere three years, the time available for classical studies was sharply eroded by the introduction of more natural science. Biology, chemistry and physics were added to the study of algebra as humanities gave way to the "new sciences".⁴²

This greater emphasis on natural science was clearly a fundamental step in

-
- 40. The novitiate opened in 1926 to serve the Jesuit province of León. By May 1930, there were 81 pupils, 25 of whom had entered since December 1929. 56 of the seminarists were "scholar novices", future ordained priests, while 25 were "coadjutor novices" who would become the humbler non-ordained brothers. 50 of the novices — 39 scholars and 11 coadjutors — went into exile in Belgium with the college after the dissolution of the order. In May 1934 the figures stood at 41 scholars and 13 coadjutors with 67 junior brothers. Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxx (1930), xxxii (1932), xxxiii (1933), xxxv (1934).
 - 41. Articles by Father Basabé in Atenas, (Revista de información y orientación pedagógica) (January, April 1930)
 - 42. 'Colegio-Noviciado de San Estanislao, Salamanca', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 26-28.

the modernisation of the Jesuit syllabus. However, even before this change, the contrast between St Stanislaw's and the diocesan seminary was acute. The Jesuit novices studied a greater range and variety of subjects than their diocesan counterparts. Nor was the Society afraid of academic innovation as the introduction of two major syllabus reforms in the space of four years indicates. However, higher intellectual standards did not lead to a greater engagement with the outside world. Although the Jesuit novices were encouraged to study classical writers and Catholic thinkers, the French preacher Lacordaire (1802-1861) was the most contemporary writer studied while the integrist Vázquez de Mella was the only modern political thinker to receive attention.⁴³

Ecclesiastical students, whether diocesan seminarists or religious novices, spent much of their free time in private prayer and meditation, habits which were expected to continue after ordination. Even after the physical separation of the seminary had ended, the priesthood remained, in Plá y Deniel's words, "a caste apart".⁴⁴ As a means of preserving this hermetic clerical world, Plá recommended that priests join a clerical association, such as the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests. Such a move was, he said, particularly beneficial to those priests living "isolated" in the villages of the province who, by belonging to such an association, were able "to regain the community life of the Seminary".⁴⁵ This clerical, masculine and closed environment was seen as the ideal. Although priests lived and worked among the community of the *pueblo*, they did not see themselves as belonging to the village but to the community of their fellow priests.

43. Information from Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ and Noticias de León SJ, xxx (1930), xxxiii (1933).

44. 'Sentíos miembros vivos de la Iglesia' BEQS, (1936) 14.

45. 'Apóstol de Jesucristo', BEQS (1935), 156-57

Distinguished by both dress and demeanour, the black-soutaned figure of the priest was instantly marked out from those around him. Unlike their parishioners, priests lived on their own or, occasionally, with a curate, tended by a housekeeper over forty years of age who looked after their material needs.⁴⁶ Their spiritual needs were met largely through their own faith but were also catered for by sacerdotal brotherhoods. Some of these offered prayers and masses for the release of souls from Purgatory, others such as the Missionary Union of Spanish Clergy provided regular bulletins, reporting on missionary activities like the "brilliantly successful" Missionary Week organised in the Ciudad Rodrigo seminary in April 1931.⁴⁷

Several of these sacerdotal associations were founded only in the early years of the present century although they quickly grew in size. Locally, the Apostolic Union was first established in Ciudad Rodrigo in 1911 with just eighteen founder members. However, it soon numbered half the diocesan clergy among its ranks and, by 1931, this figure had risen to seventy-three. The Missionary Union of the Clergy was established later, in 1923, and had forty-six members in 1931. Such figures suggest that contact and communication between the clergy had been increasing since the first years of the century. This must undoubtedly have made for a better-informed, more cohesive and more professional priesthood. What it had not done, however, was to create a more open clergy, one aware of the pastoral problems posed by demographic change and willing to listen to new ideas as to how best to meet these challenges. The old suspicion of the outside and fear of the unknown was not diminished by the new organisations. If anything, it was reinforced.

46. 40 was the stipulated age in the Archdiocese of Valladolid

47. Iluminare, (Boletín Oficial de la Unión Misional del Clero Español) (March, 1931), 42-46.

Magazines such as that put out by the Missionary Union may have fostered the idea of a priestly community, but, with their reliance on articles on the communist virus and the dangers posed by Protestant missions, they also helped perpetuate the picture of the outside world as corrupt and threatening.⁴⁸

It is hardly surprising that this mistrust was sometimes returned. The separateness of the Spanish clergy could be seen as a sign of sanctity or, indeed, of social prestige but it could also be viewed with apprehension and doubt. In some parts of Castile, local people were wary of priests as being solitary men leading a peculiar, even an unnatural existence.⁴⁹ The popularity — or lack of it — of individual priests could also have a significant effect on local attitudes. The man who was for many years parish priest of Cipérez was widely believed to be an exceptionally good man. Often regarded as a saint,

48. Illuminare 1931-33 *passim*. See especially the article by José Artero, a canon of Salamanca cathedral, which accused Protestant missions of abandoning morality and denying the centrality of Christ Illuminare (November, 1933), 157-67. Another article referred to missionaries from the Salamanacan house of the Daughters of Jesus as "missionaries of the truth" following "the missionaries of error, the Protestant missionaries... short-haired and short-skirted" Illuminare (Jan 1933), 9- 11. Missionary literature provides some of the clearest examples of the vision of a world cleanly divided between good and evil, truth and error. This was partly because its primary concern was with converting the heathen but also because of its preoccupation with defending the Hispanic world from the onslaughts of Protestantism.

49. This popular mistrust of celibacy and attitudes towards the priests is discussed more extensively in Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 98; Susan Tax Freeman, 'Faith and fashion in Spanish religion: notes in the observation of observance', Peasant Studies, vii (1978) and Tax Freeman 'Religious aspects of the social organisation of a Castilian village', American Anthropologist lxx (1968). Michael Kenny, A Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Castile (London, 1961), 45-48, commented on how the priest in the village where he lived only entered his parishioners' houses to give the last rites or say prayers over a corpse.

his example strengthened the Church's presence in the village and attracted mass-goers from the surrounding area.⁵⁰

Hostility towards the Church manifested itself unmistakeably during the Second Republic in *pueblos* like Babilafuente, Miranda del Castañar and Fresno Alhandiga as working class and socialist movements gained ground in all three *pueblos*.⁵¹ The experience of these communities showed how the Church's opponents were working to win converts in those places where Catholicism was faltering. The success of these secular creeds also demonstrated how levels of religious practice and belief differed widely within the province. The imbalance between women and men, rich and poor, generally to be seen in the Spanish Church, was commented on by Plá y Deniel when he took possession of the Salamanca diocese in 1935. The bishop added, however, that the impression he had was that this disproportion was not as great in Salamanca as in other parts of Spain.⁵²

Assessing the number of practising Catholics in Salamanca in the 1930s is no easy task. Detailed sociological evidence for mass attendance in the pre-Civil War period is lacking, but surveys conducted in 1951 in the dioceses of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo record a regular Sunday attendance of around 50%. The figures for Ciudad Rodrigo are far more complete than those for Salamanca. In the pioneering study of 1951, a census was carried out in every parish on orders from the Bishop. The results showed that between 42% and 45% of the rural population went to mass every Sunday. In the city of Ciudad

50. Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas (ISPA), Sociología Religiosa y Pastoral de Conjunto de la Diócesis de Salamanca (Barcelona, 1968); the survey also commented on the pronounced hostility towards the Church and its representatives found in several *pueblos*.

51. ISPA, Sociología Religiosa y Pastoral de Conjunto de la Diócesis de Salamanca. The survey mentioned the pronounced influence of communism in Fresno; when a branch of the socialist landworkers' union was established there in 1932, it registered 81 members out of a population of under 400, 'Censo electoral social', Boletín del Ministerio del Trabajo y Previsión Social, (1933), 36-39.

52. 'Apóstol de Jesucristo', BEQS (1935), 175

Rodrigo this proportion rose to 49%. In the same year, surveys were conducted by Catholic Action in eight rural Salamanican parishes, revealing mass attendance levels of between 51% and 67%. However, 97% of the parishioners went to both confession and communion at Eastertide so making their Easter Duty.⁵³ Clearly, these statistics may only be taken as suggestive of the levels of religious practice which prevailed in the province of Salamanca in the 1930s. Although they are some of the earliest figures available, they are still taken from a very different society, that of confessional, Francoist, post-Civil War Spain. A full study of the diocese of Salamanca carried out in the mid 1960s found considerably higher levels of religious practice than those reported in 1950. This put regular church-going at 72.5%, with 65% of men and 80% of women attending mass every week. As memories of the war-time repression receded, and Catholicism remained an overwhelming cultural force, so Salamancans came into the churches in extremely large numbers. The Easter Duty was made by 87.2% of men and 91% of women although only 18.4% of male mass-goers and 39.5% of female ones took communion frequently at other times in the year.⁵⁴

In 1930s Salamanca, considerable efforts were made to attract as many

-
53. Two of the commandments of the Church, to take communion during the paschal season and to confess annually, are often combined in the Easter Duty. The figures quoted are taken from Rogelio Duocastella, 'Geografía de la práctica religiosa española' in R. Duocastella, J. Marcos, J. M. Díaz Mózaz (eds.), Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español (Barcelona, 1967), 44-45. Working in the tradition of Gabriel Le Bras's sociology of religion, Father Duocastella produced the first map of Catholic practice in Spain which, although based on incomplete data, has remained unchanged by subsequent studies. Map reproduced and discussed in Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 10-12.
54. ISPA, Sociología religiosa y pastoral de conjunto de la diócesis de Salamanca (Barcelona, 1968), II, chapter 9, sections 9.1, 9.2, 9.27. The survey found that, where anti-clericalism was pronounced, it had invariably been worsened by the Francoist repression; for the repression see below, chapter 10.

people as possible to the altar rails at Eastertide. Catholic associations, including trade unions, often held their annual *fiestas* in Easter week so as to ensure that all their members complied with their religious obligations.⁵⁵ In some villages the *fiesta* of the local shrine was celebrated at Easter; the feast days of both Our Lady of the Incarnation at Orbada near Cantalapiedra and the Virgin of Mensegal in the mountain village of Endrinal de la Sierra fell on Easter Monday. In Linares de Río Frío, the *fiesta* to Our Lady of Good Fortune, patroness of the village, took place on Easter Sunday itself, so combining the traditional religiosity of the *pueblo* with the edicts of the Church.⁵⁶

The Bishop of Salamanca also made his annual pastoral visit to the parishes of his diocese at this time of year, specifically to coincide with the Easter Duty. Since 1917 he had been accompanied by priests from the Jesuit residence, acting extra confessors. Such visits brought some people into the confessional for the first time in years. They were an important part of the pastoral strategy, providing opportunities for those in various stages of religious disaffection to reconcile themselves to the Church. The Jesuits also took their own missions out into the countryside at this time of year; in Fuentes de Béjar in 1930 three days of Masses, rosaries and processions culminated with the entire *pueblo* receiving communion.⁵⁷

In Ciudad Rodrigo a similar policy was adopted by the Claretine Fathers who held

-
- 55. The Juventud Católica in Aldeaseca de la Frontera held their annual *fiesta* on Easter Sunday while the Sociedad Obrera de Socorros Mutuos in Fuente de San Esteban held theirs on Easter Monday, *GR*, 1 April 1932; 2 April 1932.
 - 56. Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Martín Martínez & José Vives Gatell (eds.), *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España* (henceforth *DHEE*), (Madrid, 1972-1975), IV, 2258, 2293, 2229.
 - 57. 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', *Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ*, 8; *GR*, 23 April 1930.

regular missions around the diocese, increasing their activities at Easter. In April 1931, the Diocesan Bulletin reported ten such missions, all of which had ended with a celebration of the eucharist. In some *pueblos* the civil authorities gave their full backing to the mission, using social and civic means to encourage people into the churches. Two of the highest incidents of compliance with the Easter Duty were recorded in Agallas, where 600 of the 794 inhabitants took communion, and in Aldea del Obispo, where 719 out of 832 did so. In both villages the civic officers attended the mission every day and in Agallas the shops were forbidden to open on threat of a five peseta fine. Shops were also closed in Olmedo de Camaces, where the mayor, secretary and other officials received communion before ordinary villagers were allowed to do so. In contrast, the fathers lamented the poor attendance in El Maillo on the edge of the Sierra de Francia. Here, of the 500 or so who had made their first communion and were, therefore, obliged by the Church to receive communion at Easter, only 100 took the sacrament.⁵⁸

The considerable efforts which were made to bring people into the churches at Easter suggest that, for many people, receiving the sacraments was not a regular occurrence. Even in the city of Salamanca, frequent communion for lay people was far from being normal practice. Some very devout, well-educated people seldom went to communion more than once a month, as José María Gil Robles remembered when writing about his parents and the faith of his childhood.⁵⁹ Receiving communion was still a mysterious process. The hosts were kept in the tabernacle, touched only by the priest, and

58. BEOCR (1931), 138-141. The population figures refer to the total number of inhabitants in 1930 and are taken from Ministerio de Agricultura, Mapa de Cultivos y Aprovechamientos de la Provincia de Salamanca. The Easter Duty was, however, only made by the *población obligada*, roughly speaking, those between 7 and 70 years of age.

59. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 21.

received only by those in a state of grace. One had to be worthy of receiving communion: the pre-eucharist fast began at midnight and only water could pass the lips from then until after taking the sacrament. Communion was, therefore, distributed early in the morning and "misas de comunión" were always specified in the lists of mass times put up in church porches and published in the Gaceta Regional.

In the countryside mass attendance was often a normal and inevitable part of Sunday, a community gathering as well as a religious service. However, as the Easter Duty data indicated, taking communion seems to have been far less common. In the light of contemporary liturgical practice, this is scarcely surprising. The priest conducted the mass, in Latin, on the high altar, with his back to the congregation for much of the service. Many of the congregation would occupy themselves by praying privately, telling their beads or lighting candles. Catholicism's central ritual thus meant very different things to priest and people. Indeed, an anthropological study of religious practice in a *pueblo* in another part of Castile showed how, although nearly all the villagers attended Sunday mass, the celebrant did not stop the service for communion, knowing that most of his parishioners only went at Easter.⁶⁰ To the Church, the eucharist was the central sacrifice of the mass, the focus of the ritual. It did not, however, hold the same meaning for largely illiterate peasant congregations, although both the tabernacle and the consecrated host were objects of great reverence and devotion. When the church in the mountain *pueblo* of Ledrada caught fire in August 1931, villagers entered the burning building to rescue the Blessed Sacrament from the flames. While respect for the divine presence did not prevent the

60. Susan Tax Freeman, 'Religious aspects of the social organisation of a Castilian village', American Anthropologist, lxx (1968). Tax Freeman carried out her research in 1963 in a village she calls Valdemora in the province of Soria.

chalice being stolen from the church in Cabrerizos, a village just outside the city of Salamanca, the hosts in the chalice were not profaned but left neatly in the sanctuary. Popular outrage at the robbery was considerable. Over 400 people attended the service of reparation held in the church on the following Sunday and a new chalice was quickly provided by a devout woman from the village.⁶¹

Veneration of the Blessed Sacrament notwithstanding, there was concern among the hierarchy that the eucharistic teachings of the Church were not understood by all parishioners. Some children never made their first communion, others made it late. In 1936, a Sunday School which opened in Salamanca for girls coming to the city to go into service found twelve-year-olds who had yet to take the sacrament.⁶²

Concern over unacceptably high levels of religious ignorance was a recurring theme of episcopal pronouncements, at both local and national level. In 1930, the Spanish Church organised a conference on catechesis in Zaragoza, inviting representatives from every diocese in the country. The conference was intended to strengthen the faith against lassitude, to counteract the shamelessness of immorality, to preserve Christian customs"; in short to remedy the "disorders" which, in the eyes of Bishop Frutos Valiente, stemmed from ignorance "of Christ, of his Doctrine, and of his Holy Church". Reorganising the central diocesan committee with responsibility for catechesis in January of the following year, Frutos presented its work as a fundamental Christian task, the "essence and final aim" of the divine mission received from Jesus. The education of Christian doctrine was,

61. GR, 5, 8, 12, 18 February, 21 August 1931.

62. GR, 19 January 1931.

henceforth, to intensify in every parish in the diocese.⁶³

This identification of catechesis as a parochial task was common to every Spanish diocese. Although essentially a clerical task — the diocesan committee for Salamanca was made up entirely of priests — the actual instruction was carried out by lay people, often unmarried women.⁶⁴ Religious instruction for both children and adults was based around the catechism, where prayers, matters of faith and moral instructions were laid out in simple question and answer form. These were then memorised and repeated, either individually or as a chorus. The use of catechisms was pioneered during the Counter-Reformation and, indeed, the volume authorised for use in the archdiocese of Valladolid was that compiled by Father Gaspar Astete, a Jesuit priest born in Salamanca in 1537.⁶⁵ Many parishes had active catechetical groups by the 1930s, although provision could vary dramatically between churches. Although adult catechesis was firmly established in the city of Salamanca by 1930, the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was concerned that some of his parishes were failing to provide religious instruction for adults during Lent.⁶⁶

The unsystematic nature of diocesan catechetical provision before the coming of the Second Republic meant that, in some areas, the shortfall in religious instruction was only made good by the regular clergy, particularly the Jesuits. In the provincial capital, the Society of Jesus ran catechetical centres in the *barrios* of Prosperidad and Pizarrales,

63. BEOS (1930), 186; (1931), 5-6.

64. References to "señoritas catequistas" are common; e.g. religious instruction in the mountain village of Candelario was carried out by the young women of the parish while, in Ciudad Rodrigo, the all-female Círculo Catequístico de Santa Teresita del Niño Jesús did much work among the children of the city, GR, 9 January 1932; 2 January 1933.

65. Resines, Catecismos de Astete y Ripalda, 45-52.

66. BEOCR (1931), 71-72; Lenten catechesis was a canonical requirement.

which catered for around 350 children and 180 adults.⁶⁷ The Jesuits then took over religious instruction in the parishes of Arrabal del Puente and Tejares, at the request of their priests, worried by the transformation of their village churches into suburban chapels. The Society was more than willing to oblige. Indeed, there are indications that the Jesuits were rather prone to interfere in the affairs of the diocese. The community memoir records how its priests "several times" tried to take charge of the diocesan workers' circles. Such a move was resisted by the canons who headed these circles, although Jesuits continued to have considerable influence in the Workers' Centre run by the religious congregation of the Ladies of the Catechism.⁶⁸

The "Ladies' Centre for the Material and Moral Betterment of the Working Class" opened in January 1930 and aimed to give workers a "healthy" education and an introduction to Christian culture. Opening every Sunday, the Centre gave classes in reading, writing, arithmetic and drawing, as well as catechesis for both adults and children. A "most praiseworthy apostolate" was thus carried out, benefitting the working class "which is so needful of help, protection and tutelage". The work was accomplished by "noble Salamancan ladies", voluntary helpers working under the direction of the sisters belonging to the congregation, who were themselves under the spiritual counsel of the Jesuits.⁶⁹

67. The Prosperidad centre opened in 1926, Pizarrales shortly afterwards.

68. 'Memoria de la Residencia', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 10. The Damas Catequistas were founded in Toledo in 1901 by Dolores Rodríguez Sopeña y Ortega and, extraordinarily, were given Papal approval directly in 1907. Members of the congregation wore no habit and were dedicated to the 'promotion of workers', DHEE, Tomo II, 679.

69. El Adelanto, 7 January, 1 March 1930; GR, 14 October 1930. The Gaceta reported the number of workers attending the Centre as 500 while the Jesuit memoir gives an average attendance figure of 700, 'Memoria de la Residencia', 10, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

The Society of Jesus was also involved in diocesan catechesis in Ciudad Rodrigo. Here, the bishop employed a Jesuit father to visit parishes, advising priests on catechesis and founding Congregations of Christian Doctrine. When the Portuguese priest who had carried out this task for twenty years retired in 1933, he was replaced by Father Arturo Aparicio from the Salamanca residence. Between November 1933 and January 1934 Father Aparicio visited 40 villages, staying approximately two and a half days in each one. He began his visits with a public lecture and slide show on the evils of religious ignorance. On the second day he directed his attentions to the young women of the parish, encouraging them to volunteer as teachers of Catholic doctrine and then instructing them in catechetical methods. Finally, Aparicio gave a lesson to the children of the parish, heard confessions and said mass.⁷⁰ For such work still to have been necessary after twenty years in a diocese as small as Ciudad Rodrigo suggests, however, that its effects were not long-lived, petering out as Father Aparicio's memory faded, to be revived only by his next visit.

It was only in 1931, with the introduction of the Republican Constitution, that the inadequacy of this patchwork provision of catechetical initiatives was fully realised. Under the monarchy, religious instruction had been compulsory for all schoolchildren; under the Republic, in contrast, education was secularised and religious personnel were banned from teaching in schools. An urgent response was called for and, in February 1932, Schools of Christian Doctrine were created in all Salamancan parishes by decree of the bishop. A month later, although catechetical schools were functioning in a majority of parishes, many were still without them or had ones which existed only on

70. Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxxiv (1934).

paper.⁷¹ By the autumn the situation had still not improved, and Frutos Valiente had cause to refer to the "thousands" of children who had received no religious instruction since the removal of catechesis from the school curriculum.

Similar concerns were voiced by Bishop López Arana in Ciudad Rodrigo. In a pastoral letter specifically concerned with the urgent task of catechesis, he talked of the failure of some parents to see the importance of religious instruction. They sent their children out to work too early, saying that catechesis would not buy bread. Yet, education gave children the means to earn bread, while a proper religious training would avoid the "monstrous spectacle" of children rejecting their elderly parents. Like his brother prelates throughout Spain, López Arana condemned the uncompromising secularism of the Second Republic. An article reprinted in the diocesan bulletin proclaimed the need to for all Catholics to redouble their efforts to prevent "the enemies of Christ ... tearing faith and virtue from the souls of children" while the bishop himself categorised lay education as a "violent and pernicious" attack on the Church.⁷² Catechesis had to be maintained and standards improved, if the Church was to survive the sudden withdrawal of state support which it experienced in 1931.

Catechesis was not the only challenge facing the ecclesiastical establishment after 1931. A laicising Republic was not prepared to continue to offer financial support to the Church, as the Spanish state had done since the Concordat of 1851.⁷³ On 1 January 1932,

71. BEOS (1932), 42-45, 68.

72. BEOCR (1931), 193-200, 345-361; (1932), 46.

73. On the 1851 Concordat, see William Callahan, Church, Politics and Society in Spain 1750-1874 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984), 190-194.

the state ended its financial commitments to the Church; responsibility for the upkeep of church buildings and the (already inadequate) stipends paid to diocesan clergy devolved back upon the Church. Devoid of economic support, the Spanish Church had very little time in which to consider alternative sources of finance. Unsurprisingly, monetary matters weighed heavy on the episcopacy throughout the years of the Republic. A collective pastoral letter produced by the Spanish hierarchy in November 1931 emphasised the duty of all Catholics to give to the Church and introduced monthly collections for the support of "cult and clergy".⁷⁴

At local level, the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo called for economic statements from every parish, announced special collections and reminded the faithful of their obligation to sustain the Church, according to both natural and canon law. In Salamanca, Bishop Frutos Valiente called upon his flock to give "Alms, for the love of God!" Although he announced special collections for this purpose, Frutos urged Catholics to take out monthly subscriptions in favour of both parish and diocese. Parish committees were established for this purpose, organising subscriptions, monthly collections and other fund-raising activities. The parish priests who headed these committees were to submit details of all subscribers to the diocesan administration.⁷⁵

Despite these early measures, when Bishop Plá y Deniel came to Salamanca in 1935, he found the diocese in a parlous financial state. Although some state moneys had been granted to the Church in 1934, these only amounted to a quarter of the pre-Republican figure and contributions from individual Catholics were still urgently needed. Yet, not a third of the 900,000 pesetas the diocese had previously received from the state

74. Text given in Jesús Iribarren (ed.), Documentos colectivos del episcopado español 1870-1974 (Madrid, 1974), 155-159.

75. BEOCR (1931), 375-385; (1932), 1-4. BEOS (1931), 331-341.

had been made up by the faithful. Indeed, contributions appeared to have fallen off from the 1932 level when just over a quarter of the old subsidy was raised in the diocese. Some parishes had failed to attract any subscriptions at all, while in others no parochial fund-raising committee had been formed. The need for funds was thus extremely urgent: in his first eight months in office, Plá had had to authorise urgent repairs to eight churches to prevent them falling down.⁷⁶

Recognition of the plight of the Salamancan Church came later in the year when the diocese received a redistribution grant from the cardinal primate. This was intended for the 277 needy parishes which had been identified in the diocese, 234 of which had under 1,000 inhabitants. With this, and the money which had been raised locally, the diocese could now afford to give its clergy a stipend of 1,200 pesetas for the year. It was still, however, reliant upon collections, subscriptions and charity, although Plá had taken the practical step of raising the fees charged for baptisms, marriages and funerals.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, such measures were essentially palliative. Despite its privileged position compared to some of the vast dioceses of the south or the deprived parishes of the great industrial conurbations, the financial and pastoral problems facing the local church were very great. Few were to be solved during the lifetime of the Republic.

76. BEOQ (1936), 3-37.

77. BEOQ (1936), 51-55, 141-143.

Chapter 2: Religious Communities: Education and Welfare in Salamanca

Religious orders and congregations, those physically enclosed ecclesiastical groups, were well-represented in Salamanca in the 1930s. The religious houses in the province were many and varied; some were medieval foundations, others dated from the Counter-Reformation, most were active female congregations with nineteenth-century origins. All were dedicated to the pursuit of a higher spiritual existence. In the older orders a separate community life was the rule, symbolised among the contemplative female orders by complete physical enclosure. Later male orders like the Society of Jesus, which had an active apostolate and lived in the world rather than in the cloister, withdrew from society individually and psychologically, a process known as "inner detachment". The active women's congregations — most of which were nineteenth-century foundations — combined participation in society with physical withdrawal from it in a system known as the "mixed life". Members of the congregation would teach or nurse like lay-women during the day, yet return to enclosure every night. Their working lives took them out into Salamanca's schools, hospitals and slums, but prayer brought them back into the cloister.¹

Both male and female religious were essential to the pastoral task in the province. Among the male orders, the regular clergy supplemented the work of diocesan priests and

1. See E K Francis, 'Towards a typology of religious orders', American Journal of Sociology (1949-50); H P M Goddijn, 'The sociology of religious orders and congregations', Social Compass, vii (1960); Michael Hill, 'Typologie sociologique de l'ordre religieux', Social Compass, xviii (1971). For studies of active female congregations in Spain see Frances Lannon, 'The socio-political role of the Spanish Church — a case study', Journal of Contemporary History, xiv (1979) and Mary Edmunds, 'But the greatest of these is chastity', (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1986).

were involved in both chaplaincy and parish work. The Augustinian, Capuchin, Dominican, Carmelite, Jesuit and Salesian communities in the provincial capital often provided chaplains for the female houses as well as running churches in the city. The great Dominican church of San Esteban attracted huge congregations, many of whom came to hear the preachers staying or studying at the Dominican University also found in San Esteban. The Jesuit church in the Clerecía — another national monument — could hold thousands of worshippers and frequently did so.² San Benito, run by the Salesians, also ministered to a large congregation, partly made up of pupils and old boys of the Salesian schools in the city.

The male orders were also an important source of catechists and missionary priests. The Society of Jesus trained all its members as missionaries and, while some were destined for work amongst the heathen Chinese, others went forth to reconvert the lapsed Catholics of León.³ The Claretines, or Missionary Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary — who took their name from their founder, St Antonio María Claret — also held many missions locally, going out from their community house in Ciudad Rodrigo to win back souls for the Catholic Church and spread devotion to the Heart of Mary. Other orders also visited Salamanca: a six-day mission given by the Fathers of the Precious Blood in the *pueblo* of Sotoserrano in 1936 attracted over 700 "faithful Christians", and the mission's popularity

2. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 32; attendance at the Jesuit church was stimulated by the Society's very active apostolate among the laity.

3. The number of missions given by Jesuit priests in their ecclesiastical province of León were: 1930, 43; 1931, 38; 1932, 11; 1933, 14; 1934, 23; 1935, 54; 1936, 22; 1937, 21, 'La prefectura de las misiones populares de la provincia de León SJ, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 38.

was such that eight young people from the village even followed the fathers to their next mission in Cáceres.⁴

Missions were usually extremely well-attended, incorporating as they did such popular religious practices as novenas, dawn rosaries, processions and the blessing of religious artefacts. An estimated 20,000 people took part in the great eight-day mission held in the city of Salamanca in 1930 with 1,500 young people leading the stations of the cross through the streets and 6,000 schoolchildren participating in a "gran procesión infantil".⁵ The popularity and intensity of missions meant that they formed an important part of pastoral strategy in 1930s Salamanca, providing a welcome *fiesta* for the faithful as well as encouraging the faithless to return to the fold.

Although the female orders and congregations could not provide priests to work in the local dioceses, their co-operation was also vital. Nuns and sisters were employed in staffing hospitals, asylums and orphanages and running schools. The Church laid great stress on the importance of Catholic schooling. Pius XI's 1928 encyclical, Divini Illius Magistri, had made it clear that, in the great battle for the Christianisation of society, education was the Church's most treasured weapon. Bishop Frutos Valiente, addressing a retreat for Catholic teachers held in 1930, told his audience that the Church considered them to be *semisacerdotes* ("almost priests").⁶ However, despite these stirring words, diocesan initiatives in education were conspicuously lacking. The suburb of Arrabal del Puente in the provincial capital housed the Escuela de la Merced, a confessional girls' school heavily reliant on pupil-teachers. Similarly, Women's Catholic Action ran a school in the working-class *barrio* of Prosperidad. Staffed by volunteers, the school educated 300

4. GR, 11 April 1936.

5. BEOS (1930), 147-150.

6. BEOS (1930), 204.

boys and girls free of charge and expanded in December 1930 to offer religion, the "three Rs" and sewing to a further 200 children. Two years later, Women's Catholic Action opened another school on the banks of the river Tormes which, unlike the Prosperidad schools, had a proper school building and paid staff and gave full-time elementary education to children who would otherwise be without "scientific and moral instruction".⁷

Apart from these voluntary schemes, there was also a small school attached to the church of San Juan Bautista and run by the parish priest, Fidel Ledesma.⁸ This three grade school was founded in 1912 by a previous incumbent, Father Luis Sevillano, who, realising the complete inadequacy of state provision for education, devoted his life to teaching his parishioners' children. The teaching method used was that of Padre Manjón, summed up by Father Ledesma as "practical education and fresh air".⁹ The poor children of the parish received this "practical education" free while others paid a "voluntary quota" according to means. The school was popular, with 200 pupils in 1931-1932 and 150 the following year. It was also academically successful: although most of those who left in 1932 went directly into employment, twenty continued with their studies, sixteen at the state *instituto*, two at the technical school and two at the diocesan seminary.

7. GR, 24 June, 5 December 1931; 3 February 1932.

8. GR, 2 November 1932.

9. Andrés Manjón, a canon of Granada cathedral, established his Ave Maria schools in 1888. Believing that education should be enjoyable, Manjón stressed the importance of learning through doing, encouraging exercise and play activities as well as training in manual skills. Boys at San Juan Bautista began their education by learning to read as if it were a game. For Padre Manjón see Ricardo García Villoslada (ed), Historia de la Iglesia en España. V. La iglesia en la España contemporánea (Madrid, 1974), 530; José Andrés Gallego, Pensamiento y acción social de la Iglesia en España (Madrid, 1984), 49.

Despite its not inconsiderable success, St John the Baptist's remained a single instance of personal initiative and dedication. The educational projects undertaken by the diocese were dominated by parochial catechesis although, before 1931, diocesan clergy were responsible for religious instruction in some schools.¹⁰ The provision by law of Catholic religious education for all Spanish schoolchildren until the coming of the Republic also meant that, in theory, there had never been a need for the diocesan churches to construct an education system parallel to the state's. This state system was, however, painfully inadequate. At the beginning of the Republic, Salamanca, a city of 47,000 inhabitants, contained a mere 2,055 elementary school places.¹¹ Outside this over-stretched and under-funded state system, the religious congregations did most to make good the shortfall in terms of both schools and teaching staff. The inadequacy of state educational provision was illustrated when the Jesuits opened a school in the poor Prosperidad area of the city in 1931. Opening their doors to 160 children, they still had to turn others away through lack of room. The working-class suburb of Garrido was similarly served. Although there were two schools here they only had rented accommodation and were described by the local paper as inadequate "both in academic and sanitary terms". The only other educational provision in Garrido was a Sunday centre run by the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart where the nuns, assisted by some of their former pupils, taught catechesis to local girls under the direction of two Jesuit fathers.¹²

10. For example, Tomás Redondo, a canon of the cathedral, gave three hours of religious instruction a week in the city's *instituto nacional* which prepared state students for the baccalaureate and university entrance.

11. GR, 24 July 1931.

12. 'Colegio Noviciado de San Estanislao', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 12; GR, 9 January, 16 July 1931.

Although confessional schools never succeeded in providing education for every child unprovided for by the state, most of Salamanca's children who received any schooling at all were taught by members of religious communities. In the city of Salamanca in the 1930s, two male orders and six female congregations involved in the education of youth ran nine schools for girls and four for boys, ranging from the expensive and exclusive to the charitable and lowly. Most of the educational work undertaken by the religious communities was, in fact, to benefit the children of the privileged rather than the children of the poor. Both the Augustinians and the Salesians ran schools for the sons of the city's professional and commercial middle classes, although the Society of St Francis de Sales had been founded in 1859 by St John Bosco specifically for the Christian education of poor boys. He had stressed the development of the will, the only human faculty he believed to be capable of true and pure love. In the brothers' own words, their task was to train "hearts to do good at the same time as opening minds to the light of science". Although the Salesian philosophy stressed the ability of the individual to make reasoned moral decisions, in practice the brothers tried hard to shield their charges from the dangers of secular life. Indeed, the school's most famous old boy, the Catholic parliamentary leader José María Gil Robles, remembered his schooling as being "solid and pragmatic" rather than intellectually stimulating.¹³

The scale of the Salesians' educational work in Spain was immense. It was generally carried out in provincial towns and industrial suburbs, offering practical schooling and technical training to working class boys. Indeed, the Salamanca college of Our Lady Help of Christians was one of only two Salesian schools in Spain which prepared

13. Speech to leavers, GR, 29 May 1930; José María Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 32.

boys for the baccalaureate and university entrance.¹⁴ Between 1908 and 1932 the college educated "several hundred middle-class boys" most of whom later entered the professions. In spite of the Salesians' humble origins, by the 1930s Our Lady Help of Christians had become the most select boys' school in the city and, in 1932, the college had 500 pupils, both boarders and day boys, and offered three elementary classes and six baccalaureate ones.¹⁵ Old identities, however, died hard. Gil Robles, who had entered the school at the age of five in 1903, maintained in later life that being sent to the Salesians taught him "the lesson of true Christian democracy". When his father explained to him that his attendance took a place away from a poorer boy, the young José María immediately realised that, as the less fortunate had given something up for him, so he would have to make sacrifices for them later in life.¹⁶ In fact, though, very few of the working class children educated by the Salesians in Salamanca went to Our Lady Help of Christians. Most were taught at the poor school down the road.

The Salesian Schools of St Benedict, which opened in 1900, taught religion and the "three Rs" to boys who would probably otherwise have had no schooling at all. In 1932, the school had 250 full-time pupils, its highest ever enrollment, while a further 370 boys could attend only on Sundays when catechesis was available. In the school's thirty-two years of existence an estimated 12,000 youths had passed through its doors and the number of pupils was still rising; at the beginning of 1936, the Salesians were educating 700

14. On the Salesians in Spain, see DHEE, IV, 2148-49; Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 66-68, 76. Angel Martín González, Los Salesianos de Utrera en España (Sevilla, 1981) gives an account of the other Salesian college teaching the baccalaureate.

15. Article and interview with the headmaster, GR, 20 October 1932.

16. José María Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz (Barcelona, 1968), 21.

boys at St Benedict's. This was entirely distinct from Our Lady Help of Christians, with different teachers and a separate curriculum. Clearly, this did nothing to diminish the distance between the two classes of pupil. The gulf between the poor school and the college was not designed to be bridged, although a few scholarship places at Our Lady Help of Christians were available to boys aged between eleven and thirteen whose poverty and morality was vouched for by their parish priest.¹⁷

This pattern of elite fee-paying college and separate poor school was mirrored in the exclusive girls' schools also established in the provincial capital. Although the Salesians were entrusted with the education of the sons of the city's social elite, the school run by their sister congregation — the Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians — did not share the Salesian college's high social standing.¹⁸ The most prestigious girls' schools in the city were run by the Daughters of Jesus and the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart who taught the daughters of Salamanca's landed and professional classes, the sisters of boys who were either at the Salesian college or away at a Jesuit boarding school.¹⁹ Fully conscious of their charges' position in society, the nuns ensured that their pupils were

17. GR, 5 January 1936. At least 30 scholarship places existed, ostensibly providing a scarce opportunity for working-class boys to escape manual trades and obtain professional qualifications. However, scholarships were only available for baccalaureate course, thus excluding disadvantaged candidates who had not received elementary education, GR, 5 November 1930.

18. The Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, or Salesian sisters, were founded by St John Bosco and St Maria Mazzarello in 1872 as an exact counterpart to the Society of St Francis de Sales. DHEE, IV, 2146-47; Giselda Capetti, El camino del instituto a lo largo de un siglo. Hijas de Maria Auxiliadora (Rome, 1972), 22-25.

19. While the female children of the Traditionalist deputy José María Lamamié de Clairac were educated by the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart, their five brothers went to the Jesuits in Madrid. María Teresa Camarero Nuñez ACJ, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat". María del Pilar Lamamié de Clairac y Alonso ACJ 1915-1954 (Madrid, 1960), 58-76.

adequately and suitably prepared to fulfill the duties appropriate to their station. Unless they chose a life in religion, these girls were the future wives and mothers of the Catholic elite, moral guardians of their menfolk. The Daughters of Jesus saw their work with these girls as an indirect form of evangelisation: "to win the soul of a woman is to win the whole family. To train a woman is to train a man".²⁰

The Daughters of Jesus had been founded in Salamanca in 1871 by Juana Josefa de Cipitria y Barriola, Madre Cándida María de Jesús, as a teaching congregation, the first institution in the city to be dedicated to female education. Madre Cándida intended her community to be a female equivalent of the Society of Jesus, devoted to education and missionary work. Although contemporary ideas of the "mixed life" as the only one suitable for female religious meant that Madre Cándida's nuns could not live in the world, the example of St Ignatius was followed as far as possible. The congregation's confessors and spiritual directors were always Jesuits and it was so closely associated with the Society that the nuns were commonly known as "Jesuitinas".²¹

The Handmaids of the Sacred Heart shared these close links with the Jesuits. The congregation opened a school in Salamanca in 1900 and, like the Jesuitinas, the Handmaids obtained spiritual direction and guidance from the city's Jesuit community.²² Both congregations also paralleled the Jesuit distinction between fathers — ordained priests — and brothers by dividing their members into choir nuns and lay sisters. These

20. GR, 16 June 1931.

21. Ecos de mi Colegio (Hijas de Jesús, Salamanca) xl, (October 1931), 189; GR, 14 January 1932; Un camino entre dos fechas. Hijas de Jesús, 1871- 1971, (Salamanca, 1976), 217-9.

22. The Handmaids of the Sacred Heart were founded in Madrid in 1877 by Rafaela Porras y Ayllón. DHEE, II, 807; Camarero Nuñez, Mi nombre nuevo 'Magnificat'.

two distinct types of religious differed in education, social class and employment. While the choir nuns taught in the school, the lay sisters were occupied with domestic and menial chores. Both groups came into the congregation along completely different paths. Choir nuns tended to enter from one of the select urban schools run by the orders, electing to remain in the same sheltered religious environment in which they had grown up. In contrast, lay sisters and brothers tended to come from the same rural villages which produced high numbers of diocesan seminarists. The choice made by potential postulants as to which congregation to enter seems to have been strongly influenced by the preferences of the parish priest. One village in Salamanca, Santa María del Sando, had ten "sons of the *pueblo*" in the Society of Jesus at the time of its dissolution. Most members of active religious congregations thus came from either the urban bourgeoisie or small agricultural communities. Very few indeed came from among the urban poor.²³

Despite this lack of connection between Salamanca's religious communities and the poverty-stricken sectors of society, the congregations worked extensively among the urban

23. GR, 30 January 1932. Severino Aznar, in a nationwide survey conducted in 1947, compared the origins of diocesan seminarists to those entering the Augustine, Capuchin, Jesuit, Dominican and Salesian orders in 1947 with the following results:

Social Origins	Diocesan Seminarists	Novices in Religious Orders
Agricultural	52.59%	34.66%
Industrial/Commercial	25.75%	24.80%
Professional middle class	19.60%	32.77%
Rich	2.00%	7.37%
Noble	0.06%	0.40%

(Aznar, La revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiásticas, 234).

poor. The Jesuitinas ran a Sunday school for female workers and domestic servants which taught catechesis, handicrafts and the "three Rs" to around 300 women. The nuns who ran it were assisted by old girls from the fee-paying school and the annual prize-giving became quite a social occasion as Salamanca's female elite gathered to watch the students receive items of underwear handstitched by their aristocratic young teachers.²⁴

Such rigid observance of the social hierarchy was far from uncommon. The Handmaids of the Sacred Heart also ran a charity school alongside their exclusive academy. The two rarely met and one of the few activities open to both sets of pupils was the school sodality which clearly reflected the accepted social ordering. Members "of elevated class" were to shelter those from social classes which were "humbler and more in need of assistance and protection". The membership hierarchy showed groups organised in descending order of rank, ranging from "noble and distinguished ladies" and past pupils of the school through boarders and fee-paying girls to, at the very bottom, poor school pupils who merited the "distinction" of belonging to the congregation. The rules emphasised the importance of Christian charity and compassion but the only actual demand made on members was that, at least once a year, congregants "of elevated position" should serve a meal to the poor girls belonging to the sodality.²⁵

These rigid demarcations of class and wealth were in force in all of the city's most exclusive schools: the Salesian college and poor school, the Jesuitinas and the Handmaids

24. Ecos de mi Colegio, lii-liii (July-August 1932), 154.

25. Reglamento de la Congregación Mariana de Esclavas de María Inmaculada establecida exclusivamente en las casas del Instituto de las Esclavas del Sacratísimo Corazón de Jesús (Madrid, 1927).

of the Sacred Heart. Their training of the local upper classes did little to remedy, or even to question, prevailing social injustices. In the seventy years of their existence the Jesuitinas claimed to have educated no fewer than 24,000 girls at the fee-paying College of the Immaculate Conception which had 250 pupils in 1932. Despite the nuns' unimaginative approach to charity work, academic standards were relatively high. Unusually for an upper-class convent school of the day, some pupils went on to further study and the Jesuitinas ran the city's only Catholic residence for young ladies, used primarily as a student hostel for those training to be teachers or reading for degrees. Although the hostel was essentially a continuation of boarding school where carefully nurtured girls could continue their education in a proper environment, its existence meant that wider opportunities were available for the Jesuitinas' pupils, whether fee-paying or not. The congregation's academy for pupil teachers, founded in 1898, provided unusual opportunities for poorer girls to study for the baccalaureate. Even university entrance was a possibility as the *normalistas* could live in the Jesuitina residence while undertaking further education, usually a teacher training course. In return the girls would help out in the congregation's schools while they were still students, often returning to them as teachers once they had qualified.

There were religious congregations in the city which avoided such a meticulous observation of the status quo. The Servants of St Joseph, another Salamancan foundation, gave free education to poor girls but there was no separate school: all the pupils were taught together. None of the girls taught by the "Josefinas" was wealthy but those whose families could afford to contribute to the cost of their education did so. In its forty-eight years of existence the house in Salamanca had educated over 500 children and, by 1932, the school had 70 pupils, 40 of whom came from the children's home also run by the

sisters.²⁶ In 1936 the Josefinas also opened a Sunday school for domestic servants, most of whose 115 pupils were from villages in the province. Some of these girls were as young as twelve and very few had ever been to school. Now, however, as well as being given religious instruction they were taught to read and to sew. In marked contrast to the rigid social hierarchy enforced in the city's more prestigious educational establishments the Sunday pupils were also encouraged to participate in normal school life, being invited to attend all the dramatic and musical productions organised in the day-school.²⁷

This reliance on church institutions and personnel to make up the shortfall in a patchy state education system became even more obvious outside the provincial capital. The lack of educational provision in rural areas was particularly acute, as the arrival of unlettered girls from the villages at the Josefinas' Sunday school showed all too clearly. In 1930 the province had an illiteracy rate of between 30% and 35% while those children who did learn to read and write often had a rather sketchy idea of other subjects.²⁸ One former pupil of a village school in Salamanca recalled an education inspector asking the class whether there was more sea or more land on the earth. Unhesitatingly the pupils chorused "land" as the school had no maps and the only water they had ever seen was the river Tormes, four kilometres away.²⁹

It cannot be said, however, that the Church did much to remedy this situation. Although the lack of educational provision in rural areas was acute, Salamanca's many

26. The Servants of St Joseph were founded in Salamanca in 1874 by Bonifacia Rodríguez Castro with the assistance of Padre Butiña SJ, *DHEE* IV, 2461; *GR*, 27 October 1932.

27. *GR*, 19 January 1936.

28. Aurora Sánchez Muñoz, *Historia de la educación en Zamora. 3: Primera enseñanza y analfabetismo en la provincia de Zamora 1900-1930* (Zamora, 1987), 145-146. The highest illiteracy rate in Spain was 60% in Jaén, the lowest, 20-25%, in the provinces of Barcelona and Alava.

29. Manuel Sánchez, *Maurín, gran enigma de la guerra y otros recuerdos* (Madrid, 1976), 19-20, 27. In order to receive any kind of education Sánchez had to walk for over an hour to a school where the

teaching congregations concentrated their efforts in the city and the towns. Most confessional schools in the province were found within the city of Salamanca; outside the provincial capital, the distribution of confessional schools became distinctly patchy. This mirrored the pattern of state provision, which was also concentrated in the city. Peñaranda de Bracamonte, for example, had no state *instituto* until October 1933 although the Jesuitinas had opened a school there in 1875.³⁰ Similarly, Béjar was not granted a full *instituto nacional de segunda enseñanza* until October 1932 and, even then, was still heavily reliant on schools run by the Salesians and the Josefinas. At the time of the opening of the *instituto*, the Salesian brothers had 150 boys in their school, divided between four elementary classes, and they claimed to have taught 7,500 boys since 1893. Ciudad Rodrigo, despite its episcopal status, was not favoured by teaching congregations. The Claretines were the only male order represented there, in a community dedicated to missionary rather than educational work. The only confessional school in the town was for girls, offering secretarial training and languages as well as the baccalaureate.³¹

Although the only town — outside Salamanca itself — which had adequate provision of Catholic education was Béjar, the teaching orders made up a formidable

village secretary doubled as schoolmaster.

30. Mariano Pérez Galán, *La Enseñanza en la Segunda República Española* (Madrid, 1977), 135. Under the Republic the *institutos* were graded according to size, number of teachers and range of subjects offered. The Peñaranda one, created as a direct consequence of the legislation banning the religious orders from teaching, was an *instituto elemental*, larger than a *colegio subvencionado* but smaller than an *instituto nacional*. Pérez Galán, 133-34.

31. *Anuario de educación y enseñanza católica, 1935-1936* (Madrid, 1936); GR, 20 October 1932.

presence in the province. At the end of 1932 religious congregations in the province were running seven secondary and twenty-seven elementary schools.³² By this time all state support for these schools had been cut off, but grants from the local authorities to religious involved in education had been quite common. Until 1931, for instance, the Franciscans who tended the shrine of Our Lady of the Chestnut Grove were paid 350 pesetas per annum by the Béjar Town Hall for the schooling of children living in the vicinity of the sanctuary, a measure which was suppressed by the first Republican-Socialist council.³³

Even contemplative communities were concentrated in the provincial capital. Although contemplative Carmelite convents — some founded by St Teresa herself — were to be found in Ciudad Rodrigo, Alba de Tormes, Ledesma, Peñaranda, Mancera de Abajo and Las Veguillas, there were very few other religious houses outside the main market towns. There were female Franciscan convents in Zarzoso (Third Order) and Cantalapiedra (Second Order or Poor Clares) and the house of Canonesses Regular of St Augustine in San Felices de los Gallegos, but the male presence was confined to the second Carmelite house in Alba de Tormes and the Carmelite, Franciscan and Dominican friars who kept the shrines at Cabrera and on the mountains of the Castañar and the Peña de Francia. In contrast, the city of Salamanca was packed with convents, and even the ten enclosed female communities had a role to play in the religious life of the city. Some convent churches — such as the elegant Augustinian church to Maria Purissima which

32. Pérez Galán, La enseñanza en la Segunda República, 172-75. Elementary education (to the age of 14) was compulsory in law if not in practice.

33. GR, 13 June 1931.

served as a parish — were open to ordinary church-goers. The chapels of the Convent of the Annunciation and the Third Order Regular of St Francis (Isabels) were centres for the cult of their orders' saints, Ursula and Elizabeth of Hungary. Even though, by the nature of their enclosure, the nuns had no contact with the ordinary faithful, their convents entered the Catholic folklore of the city. Despite the remoteness of those behind its walls — only seen through the grille, only contacted through the *tourière* — girls still take eggs to the convent of the Poor Clares on their wedding-days so that the nuns will pray for fine weather. The petitions of the nuns, who were professionals dedicated to a life of prayer, were believed to be more efficacious than the girls' own. The nuns' efforts to gain greater knowledge of God brought them closer to Him and, for this reason, the prayers offered by the walled communities of Carmelites, Benedictines, Bernardines, Franciscans and Dominicans were heard sooner and received more favourably by God than the requests of less holy people.

The clear urban preference demonstrated by Salamanca's religious communities replicated the national experience. Throughout Spain, monastic and congregational houses were found predominantly inside city boundaries, regardless of the fact that most of Spain's Catholics lived in rural areas.³⁴ Such a pattern was partly explained by the opportunities made available to religious in the late nineteenth-century when new foundations were often facilitated by endowments from wealthy benefactors. The Salesian schools in Salamanca were endowed financially by Gonzala Santana, while the

34. The pioneering sociologist of Spanish religion, Rogelio Duocastella, commented on the preference for city over countryside shown by many religious congregations in Spain, saying that they had 'urbanised' long before the diocesan Church. Rogelio Duocastella, 'Geografía de la práctica religiosa española' in Duocastella (ed.), Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español (Barcelona, 1967), 37-38

one in Béjar was opened following the donation of the building by Felisa Estévez Rodríguez. The only Salamancan congregation to be established away from the provincial capital was the Lovers of Jesus and Daughters of Mary Immaculate, founded in Béjar in 1875 by a local lady, Matilde Tellez de Meneses. Indeed, the textile town of Béjar had the greatest concentration of working religious communities outside the city of Salamanca, reflecting the presence there both of industrial wealth and of industrial poverty. Not only did the salaried workers and factory labourers benefit from the schools, hospitals and orphanages run by the orders, but there was also a sufficient concentration of wealthy patrons to fund or, in the case of Matilde Tellez, to found the new charitable establishments.³⁵

This association of religious orders and urban prosperity meant that, while 54 religious houses were to be found in the diocese of Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo had only 8. The province as a whole contained 68 religious communities, 12 male and 56 female. The numbers of religious showed a similar discrepancy; 413 male religious were living in the province in 1930, as opposed to 1,460 female ones.³⁶ This impression of the religious life as largely a female occupation again reflects the broader national picture. As in other European countries, the number of women religious had risen dramatically since the mid-nineteenth century. In 1850, there were over 11,000 nuns, sisters and novices in Spain; by 1904 this figure had risen to over 40,000 and, in 1930, there were over 60,000 female religious in the country as against 20,000 men.³⁷

35. GR, 20 October 1932; José María Hernández Díaz, Educación y Sociedad en Béjar durante el siglo XIX (Salamanca, 1983), 43.

36. Anuario Estadístico de España (1929), 602-605; Anuario Estadístico de España (1930), 672-673. The discrepancy in the figures simply reflects the fact that provincial and diocesan boundaries were not co-terminous.

37. Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 59-62. France experienced a similar, though earlier,

The great majority of these women, both nationally and provincially, were engaged in an active apostolate rather than leading a life of contemplation. This was undoubtedly partly a function of the lack of career opportunities for women in other areas of life. Nor is it surprising that, given the patterns of female socialisation predominant in early twentieth-century Europe, charity and welfare provision should have been seen overwhelmingly as women's work. What is, perhaps, more unexpected, is the importance that was clearly given to women's educational work, both by the sisters themselves and the Church at large. The only religious congregations founded in the province — the Jesuitinas, Josefinas and Lovers of Jesus — were all dedicated to the education of girls. Although the Jesuitinas worked primarily with the daughters of the elite while the Josefinas and the Lovers of Jesus were mainly concerned with teaching female orphans, all were involved in the project of Christian education.

All female teaching communities carried out their educational mission within a carefully delineated religious world, ever-watchful of infringements of its boundaries. The ideological constructs of the contemporary church meant that even those religious who worked within the world continued to see it as fallen and unredeemed. Both the physical enclosure of the nuns and contemporary views of women as being frail and weak meant that the secular world aroused even more suspicion and fear among these female congregations than in other ecclesiastical quarters. Girls were not only more delicate than boys, they were also less able to resist the blandishments of the devil. In

rise in the numbers of female religious which increased from 30,000 in 1830 to 66,000 in 1850 and 135,000 in 1875, Ralph Gibson, A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914 (London, 1989), 105. In Italy the number of nuns and sisters rose from 28,000 in 1880 to over 40,000 in 1900, 71,000 in 1921 and 129,000 in 1936, Martin Clark, Modern Italy 1871-1982 (London, 1984), 83, 256.

an almost entirely non-secularised tradition the mantle of Eve the temptress was difficult to lay aside. The correct — and correcting — education of Catholic girls was thus a particularly sensitive task.

The work done by the Daughters of Jesus in Salamanca shows the separate and self-contained nature of the convent's world.³⁸ As the congregation was founded in Salamanca, their mother house was in the city, their noviciate in the province. Although the great majority of their pupils would become brides of men rather than brides of Christ, the religious life was consistently held up as the ideal feminine state; those not fortunate enough to have a vocation were encouraged to emulate those who did. Standards of purity and piety more appropriate to postulants than schoolgirls were normal practice. These were not even relaxed during the summer holidays. Girls going away for August were warned to "flee all immodesty in fashion and entertainment". Their summer fashions were to be scapulars and rosaries, their entertainments daily communion and works of charity.³⁹

This relentless insistence on not allowing standards to slip reflected the expectation that the girls educated by the Daughters of Jesus would teach by example, providing a model of Catholic femininity for both their peers and their inferiors. The academy for young ladies, which the Jesuitinas opened in 1877, deliberately aimed at the education and Christianisation of the higher social classes. Indeed, these were the terms in which the nuns saw their general pedagogic mission. When a group of them left Salamanca to join the Jesuit mission in Anking, they described their task in the following words:

we are going to educate young women, elevate them,

38. Anuario de educación y enseñanza católica, 1935-36; Ecos de mi Colegio, xliii (1931); GR, 14 January 1931.

39. Ecos de mi Colegio, lxxvi-lxxvii (1934), 136.

dignify them, safeguard them, Christianise them ...
By winning the souls of upper class women we win
all the Chinese upper classes, those with the greatest
influence for the future.⁴⁰

It was a well-tested principle. The Daughters of Jesus had been winning the souls of the wives and daughters of the Salamancan social elite for fifty years.

The Jesuitinas maintained contact with their pupils even after the girls had left school through their flourishing old girls' Association.⁴¹ Over 400 women belonged to the association in 1931 and membership often ran in families, sometimes encompassing several generations. For example, the president of the association, Josefa Sánchez de Vargas had her sister, the Dowager Marchioness of Llén, as her vice-president while two of her neices were also members. News of the school, the convent and the old girls themselves was given regularly in the association's bulletin, *Ecos de mi colegio*, which also printed notices of the monthly retreats, lectures, communions and other religious functions held regularly for the benefit of the Jesuitinas' pupils, past and present. Pious articles and poems — often highly sentimental — abounded in the magazine, which also presented past convent schooldays as a lost joy, "the memory of our happiest hours, and of our purest emotions". Although exiled from this privileged world by their nature as social and sexual beings, old girls were exhorted to emulate the Jesuitinas as far as possible. Motherhood enabled them to share in the sisters' educational mission; it was the duty of these women to follow their

40. *GR*, 16 June 1931.

41. Former pupils' associations were also run by the Josefina and Salesian sisters, as well as by the charity school of La Merced. The only old boys' organisation of any importance was that run by the Salesians, which had branches in Salamanca and Béjar, both of which were affiliated to the National Association (established in 1899). This association had its own magazine, *La Revista Nacional*, 100 copies of which were distributed in Salamanca in 1920, as opposed to 10 in Béjar. The Salesian old boys in the provincial capital held monthly religious services for their members, as did the Josefina and Jesuitina old girls.

maternal "career" as

Great recompense is prepared for the Christian mothers who know how to teach and educate their children for God.

Only the "well-formed" Christian woman was capable of ensuring the "order, morality and well-being" of the home. A mother's task was, however, beset with difficulties; too many young people passed their time with frivolities or reading novels which "poison the heart". Fashion, frivolity and unhealthy reading matter were the greatest enemies of the Catholic home.⁴²

This picture of the secular world as both corrupt and corrupting was a direct legacy of the convent. The closest contacts the Jesuitinas had with any one outside their own communities were with the Jesuit priests who acted as their chaplains and confessors as well as catechists for their pupils.⁴³ The Society acted not so much as a bridge between the nuns and the outside world but as a barrier, a further layer of enclosure sheltering the community from the outside. The only other adults with whom the nuns came into regular contact were their own relations, their pupils' families and diocesan churchmen. Women joining these religious communities thus spent the greater part of their lives within the confines of a hermetic Catholic culture, immune from its secular counterpart. If, as was often the case, the postulants had also spent their schooldays with the congregation, then they were unlikely to have known anything other than the protection and purity of convent life.⁴⁴

42. Ecos de mi colegio, xliii (1931), 189, 196; liv (1932), 172-173; lxxxvi (1935), 133; lxxxviii (1935), 113; lxxxvii (1936), 70.

43. Both to fee-paying girls in the college and the charity pupils taught separately in the novitiate, Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxxiv (1934).

44. These lines of communication are discussed in Lannon, 'Catholic Bilbao from Restoration to Republic: a selective study of educational institutions 1876-1931', (Unpublished D.Phil thesis,

This conventual system was institutionalised in the concept of the 'mixed life' which insisted that, unlike their brothers in religion, all working sisters returned to the seclusion of the cloister when they had finished in the classroom. This not only protected the women inside from both the secular world and their own sexual natures, but also ensured the perpetuation of the cultural values of the convent and its confessors. Religious values were paramount: whether teachers or welfare workers, the religious of Salamanca were primarily concerned with their charges' souls, rather than their minds or their bodies. For example, the Handmaids of the Most Holy Sacrament — commonly known as "Adoratrices" — aimed to teach their charges "the respect for liberty and self-determination, the valoration of human dignity and the development of a sense of responsibility". They emphasised the need for girls to earn their own livings, providing training in marketable skills as well as the education "corresponding to the girls' sex and class". Yet, this common-sense approach to the girls' future quite deliberately went alongside pedagogic methods based upon the mysteries of revealed religion and the rewards promised to the righteous. Their aims were to be achieved by "putting their [pupils'] souls in contact with the Eucharist". This, together with solid religious instruction, was the first aim of the Congregation. Professional training was only the third.⁴⁵

University of Oxford, 1975), 275-77 and represented diagrammatically in Edmunds, 'But the greatest of these is chastity'. The Society of the Sacred Heart, the subject of both Lannon's and Edmunds's investigation, was also a teaching order running exclusive girls' schools under the spiritual direction of the Jesuits. The pattern of vocations to the Society shows former pupils supplying the novitiate; those postulants did not join the Society were most likely to enter the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart, Lannon, 'Catholic Bilbao', 251-52. News of ex-pupils of the Daughters of Jesus in Salamanca entering the order was given regularly in Ecos de mi Colegio.

45. The Adoratrices were founded in Madrid in 1856 by the vizcondesa de Jorbalán, later St Maria Michaela of the Blessed Sacrament, DHEE, I, 11-12; quotations are taken from the congregation's constitutions.

It was this conviction that the problems afflicting society were essentially religious ones which explained much of the educational and charitable work done by the religious orders and congregations. As the pedagogic principles of the Adoratrices indicate, there was a firm, underlying belief that the mass conversion of the disaffected would immediately cure all ills, allay all fears. To the deeply devout men and women who staffed the teaching and nursing orders, turning aside from God's love, or refusing to believe in it, was simply incomprehensible. Hence the Adoratrices' emphasis on knowledge of the eucharist, that most powerful symbol of God's sacrifice: Jesus giving up his body for his love of men.

This insistence on the primacy of Catholic values also characterised the welfare work undertaken by the religious congregations. In essence, this meant that virtually all welfare in the province of Salamanca was provided within the context of Catholic piety and Christian morals. Charity was, in the words of Pius XI, that "fraternal collaboration" between classes which, nevertheless, did not "perturb the order established by Divine Providence".⁴⁶ In practice such fraternal collaboration was little more than individual philanthropy, the exercise of charity by the rich towards the poor. For example, those publicising a triduum to be held in the city's basilica church of San Julián in February 1936 made much of the fact that twelve *pobres* were to be "succoured" by the faithful coming to the three days of prayer.⁴⁷ Catholic welfare work was governed by the language of charity rather than justice. Charity taught that the rich had a duty towards the poor but justice

46. Papal address, 24 December 1930, reprinted BEOS (1931), 29-36.

47. GR, 5 February 1936.

proclaimed that the poor had a right to what was owned by the rich. The first was Christian, the second, socialist.

Ironically, the recipients of Catholic charity came from those social groups most likely to vote socialist and least likely to attend church. The new urban working class was, generally speaking, a social group which had turned its back on religion and it is by no means surprising that Catholic beneficence — pious, self-conscious and conspicuous — should have been resented by many. While the case of Salamanca was far from being as extreme as the great industrial conurbations of Barcelona or Bilbao, the city's expanding suburbs were socialist strongholds, housing the only groups prone to anti-clerical demonstration. The lack of diocesan parish structures in such areas meant that virtually the only representatives of the Church frequently to be seen there were the teachers, nurses and home visitors of the religious orders.

Most of the religious providing Salamanca's welfare services were women, and their most usual occupation was nursing. The hospitals in Vitigudino, Alba de Tormes and Santiago de la Puebla were all run by the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul while in the towns of Béjar and Ciudad Rodrigo all health and nursing care was provided by the religious congregations. The Servants of Mary ran the hospital in Ciudad Rodrigo, the Little Sisters of the Poor the one in Béjar while both towns had homes for the elderly run by the Little Sisters of the Old in Need.⁴⁸ Béjar also housed two children's homes, one run by the Little Sisters of the Poor, the other by the Lovers of Jesus. In the

48. The Hermanitas de los Ancianos Desamparados, a Valencian congregation founded by St Teresa de Jesús Jornet e Ibas opened its homes in Béjar in 1881 and in Ciudad Rodrigo in 1896, Emilio María Aparicio Olmos OSB, *Así nacieron las Hermanitas* (Valencia, 1984). The Servants of Mary were another Spanish foundation, a nursing congregation established in Madrid in 1851 by Soledad Torres Acosta, *DHEE*, IV, 2461. The French congregation of the Little Sisters of the Poor came to the province in 1881.

provincial capital, the Little Sisters of the Poor ran a home for the elderly, while the Servants of Mary provided nursing care for the sick in their own homes.

In general, welfare provision in the provincial capital was a tangle of diocesan, civic and congregational initiatives, remarkable only for the haphazard nature of its provision. It was heavily reliant on religious personnel, especially the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, who ran all the nursing institutions in the city, including those that were state-owned.⁴⁹ In Salamanca, the *cornettes* were brought in as late as 1930 to staff the newly-completed provincial hospital, a project which had been jointly financed by the regional administration and the university's medical faculty. The 187 bed hospital, which treated 1,227 people in its first nine months of existence, was staffed by a mere 16 sisters who were responsible not only for the nursing care of the patients but also for making and mending clothes and bed linen, cleaning the wards and preparing the patients' food. Again under government contract, the Daughters of Charity ran both the orphanage and the provincial mental asylum. Both of these institutions suffered from cramped conditions, lack of facilities and poor funding. The mental hospital was unsuitably housed in a sixteenth century building complete with an open upper cloister. As the number of inmates rose from 140 in 1922 to 190 ten years later, the need for rehousing became urgent. Despite the publicity given to the issue, however, the nuns had to continue working in overcrowded conditions with little support from the state.⁵⁰

49. Local authority staffing contracts with the Daughters of Charity had been a feature of Spanish welfare provision since the 19th century, Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 60; García Villoslada, La iglesia en la España contemporánea, 451.

50. GR, 13, 14 July 1931; 9 November 1932. The local Catholic politician Miguel Iscar Peyra called the asylum "a disgrace to a civilised country", GR, 14 March 1933.

The only other major source of medical provision in the city was the Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity, a private foundation which had its origins in a conglomerate of charity hospitals dating from the end of the sixteenth century. A confessional establishment, its board of governors consisted of seven diocesan priests and seven laymen "of recognised religious beliefs" and, once again, it was staffed by the Daughters of Charity. Until 1930 it had been the only hospital in the city — used for training the university medical students as well as treating the sick. To the disgust of the hospital authorities this charitable record failed to protect it from the secularising policies of the Republic and the hospital was served with an expropriation order at the beginning of 1933. In a bitter public outburst, Casto Prieto Carrasco, the Republican mayor responsible for the confiscation and a professor of radiology in the medical faculty, accused the hospital of impeding the construction of a state infirmary while only catering to the needs of a privileged minority. Its buildings, he said, were inhospitable for the patients but "sumptuous" for the nuns. The hospital had magnificent chapels but no operating theatre and was

provided with golden ornaments, coloured images and silver sanctuary lamps but empty of medical instruments; religious festivals for the solace of the nuns and their lady patrons multiplied while [the infirmary] lacked heating and the most elementary hospital services.⁵¹

As with the charitable education work undertaken by the religious congregations, material needs came second to spiritual ones. For the sisters staffing the hospital, welfare was a response to a religious rather than a social problem. Chapels, statues and prayers were seen by the Church as a fundamental part of relief work, offering spiritual solace

51. Series of articles, GR, 9, 10, 11, 14 March 1933 and ensuing correspondence, 15, 17, 20 March 1933.

as well as the greatest of all gifts, salvation. To men like Prieto Carrasco, on the other hand, they were diverting sorely-needed funds away from the care of the poor. The city was well-provided with churches; what it needed were hospital beds.

Prieto's onslaught drew outraged denials from the hospital governors, the local Church and Catholic politicians. But, although the wording of his attack was generally agreed to be intemperate, it did not lack support. Nor was the Hospital of Most Holy Trinity the only focus of complaint. Some critics of provincial welfare institutions, like Prieto Carrasco, resented the nuns who ran them. For example, complaints about the standard of care from some residents at the provincial Hospice — which functioned as an orphanage and old people's home — led to the sister superior of the community being replaced.⁵² Others were more concerned at the total absence of adequate state provision which gave the needy no other choice than charity. Indeed, one Republican Council member, speaking in support of Prieto over the hospital expropriation, summed up many people's feeling when he said that "charity" as it was conventionally practised was a vice; its true name, and its true nature, was justice.⁵³

This reliance on charity as a remedy for poverty and distress was not confined to Catholic welfare schemes. The lack of any co-ordinated or systematic welfare organisation left the needy and the underprivileged dependent on the vagaries of private generosity. In times of crisis, such as the prolonged unemployment suffered in 1931, relief could

52. GR, 21, 24 July 1931.

53. Speech by Pablo Sotés Potenciano, GR, 14 March 1933. The same bitter complaint is echoed in some of the best known memoirs of the Republican period. See, for example, Constanca de la Mora's scathing account of the ritualised charity she practised as a schoolgirl with the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart in Madrid, In Place of Splendour (London, 1940), 44-45.

only be funded by public appeals and subscriptions which were set up throughout the province. The same principle was followed in November 1933 when a fund was opened on the initiative of a local doctor to finance the construction of forty houses for impoverished families in an attempt to alleviate the living conditions of the poor in the provincial capital. Similarly, when, in November 1933, the Ciudad Rodrigo community of the Little Sisters of the Old in Need were presented with a stove, they had to appeal in the local press for firewood, as they had no money to buy it themselves.⁵⁴

The problem of the province's indigent poor — particularly acute in the provincial capital — met with a similarly haphazard response. Some provision was made by religious communities; the Salesian nuns ran an asylum for beggar girls, while the Daughters of Mary Immaculate for Domestic Service and the Protection of Female Youth provided a home for working girls obliged to live away from their families.⁵⁵ However, the only body providing more general care for the city's indigent was the Salamancan Association against Mendicity which ran a night shelter and soup kitchen which, in July 1931, was feeding 202 people every day. By January 1932, 500 people were being fed and 200 of these were fully maintained by the society. The pattern was then repeated; although only 112 people were receiving food from the Association in September 1932, numbers were expected to rise to between 450 and 500 during the winter. Such violent fluctuations reflected the seasonal employment structure of an agricultural economy, but the yearly influx of unemployed

54. GR, 11, 15 November 1933.

55. The Domestic Service nuns were founded by Vicenta María López y Vincuña, DHEE, IV, 2444; Emidio Federici, Un ideal vivido (Madrid, 1959). Reminders were sent from the hostel in Salamanca to parish priests that girls coming into the capital to go into service could lodge with them free of charge, BEQS (1931), 321.

labourers stretched the city's already scanty resources to breaking point. Always hard-pressed financially, in the autumn of 1932 the Association faced the real possibility of bankruptcy. The subscription money raised by its 267 members was hopelessly insufficient to cope with the Association's own work and a single organisation could not begin to remedy a problem on this scale. However, apart from the religious houses which would give alms, often in the form of food or clothing, to those who came to their doors, it was the only recourse available to those who otherwise had to beg or steal to find food.⁵⁶

Non-confessional welfare bodies, like the Association against Mendicity, also drew their benefactors from among the city's affluent, goaded into action by their consciences, be they social or religious. In the Association's membership lists, Casto Prieto Carrasco rubbed shoulders with the Bishop and the Father Superior of the Jesuits.⁵⁷ Similarly, the Rodríguez Fabrés Foundation — a combined children's and old people's home run by the Daughters of Charity — involved both diocesan and civic authorities in its administration. Its titular president was the bishop, while the board of governors included the president of the provincial *Diputación*, the Republican Catholic, Tomás Marcos Escribano, the rector of the university, Miguel de Unamuno, and Aniceto Castro Albarrán, a canon of the cathedral. Financial control was exercised by the *Diputación*, which also participated in some projects, for example the sixty free places being offered on an agricultural education course held on the Foundation's farm in November 1931.⁵⁸

This co-existence of public and private authorities, municipal and

56. GR, 9 July 1931; 22 January, 18 September 1932.

57. GR, 9 July 1931.

58. The foundation was the fruit of an individual endowment, GR, 2 October, 12 November 1931.

ecclesiastical figures indicates the muddled nature of welfare provision in Salamanca in the 1930s. Given the lack of any kind of central or co-ordinating framework and the chronic underprovision for such services at government level, the most pressing problem was simply how to make best use of such resources as were available. Had it not been for charity — whether Christian or humanitarian — the poor, sick and needy would have received nothing at all. Many people in the province were all too aware of this fact.

One of Salamanca's most remarkable philanthropists was the doctor and politician, Filiberto Villalobos, who devoted much of his life to improving Salamanca's medical facilities. In 1923, he became the first director of the Social Security Savings Bank of Salamanca, Avila and Zamora, a position he retained until 1936. The bank's particular areas of interest were education and public health; by 1932, it had financed the construction of schools in at least 30 *pueblos* in the province as well as one in the Arrabal de San Francisco area of Ciudad Rodrigo and six in the poorer suburbs of Salamanca. The bank had also provided loans to other councils for schools built by the state as well as providing monies for bringing running water to some places, including Béjar and Ciudad Rodrigo, and building cemeteries in others, among them La Alberca and Santibañez de Béjar, both in the Sierra de Francia. Faced with the unemployment crisis of the early 1930's, other Town Halls, including Salamanca itself, borrowed money to provide subsistence relief to out-of-work labourers, while the bank itself instituted insurance schemes, providing 149 old age pensions and 240 maternity allowances in April 1932.⁵⁹

Despite the coming of the Republic and a government committed to state

59. Antonio Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, su obra social y política 1900-1936 (Salamanca, 1985), 114-121; GR, 16 July 1931; 6 April 1932.

provision of education and welfare, the bank's work did not diminish and, by April 1936, it had registered debts from 200 local authorities in the province.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding the new government's intentions, it lacked both the finance and the personnel to implement its policies.⁶¹ The Social Security Savings Bank thus continued in its work in the province, overseen by a governing body which included devout Catholic laymen such as the local Acción Popular leader, Miguel Iscar, and the Traditionalist Carlos Romo. The subordination of political allegiances to charitable ends, however, made for some unlikely bedfellows. The Socialist deputy, Primitivo Santa Cecilia, was also amongst the governors, as was with the secretary of the local Socialist party, Rafael de Castro.

The bank also supported another project set up by Dr Villalobos, the Friends of the School and of Children, founded in 1927. This looked to ensure that all children in the province were provided with "happy and hygienic" schoolrooms, with access to a full range of educational and medical services. Both the provincial *Diputación* and the city of Salamanca's Town Hall were represented on the governing committee but, despite this official presence, the organisation's main source of income was public contributions. It was particularly concerned with the care of tubercular children. 1,400 tuberculosis victims had died in the province in 1930 and, in the following year, the local savings bank financed

60. GR, 5 April 1936.

61. Although the Republic immediately embarked on a programme of primary school building to make good the estimated shortfall of 27,000 schools, it was hampered by lack of funds and political opposition. 10,000 schools were provided in these first two years, but large-scale construction ceased towards the end of 1932 and the Republic never realised its ambition of providing schooling for the one and a half million Spanish children believed to be without educational provision in 1931, Gabriel Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War 1931-1939 (Princeton, 1965), 62- 65.

the foundation of a new sanatorium for tubercular children in the mountains near Béjar in 1931.⁶²

With the opening of the new hospital in the city of Salamanca, the new sanatorium in Béjar and the foundation of the Social Security Savings Bank, medical and welfare provision in the province was increasing. Salamancans, particularly those resident in the provincial capital, also benefitted from the university's medical faculty, where Villalobos had originally trained in radiography. While medical facilities were improving, however, no such progress was being made in provision for the poor, the mentally ill or the indigent. Little help was forthcoming from the state. Even under the Republic, much as the new reformers resented the work of Catholic philanthropists and religious welfare workers, they could not replace them. The efforts of enlightened individuals — notwithstanding the remarkable work of Dr Villalobos — could never compensate for the virtual non-existence of properly co-ordinated welfare services. Nor could they compete with the Church in terms of the extent and range of services provided. It was the schools, hospitals, asylums and reformatories run by the religious congregations which did most to make good the shortfall in provision for the young, the needy and the sick. Despite the bitter resentment many felt towards those who saved souls before healing wounds or demanded prayers and good conduct in exchange for Christian charity, the construction of a viable secular alternative was still a long way in the future.

62. GR, 29 May 1931; 20 April 1932. Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 117-118.

Chapter 3: Traditional Piety: The Hallowing of Time and Place

Adherence to the Catholic faith is conventionally understood as acceptance of the transcendental beliefs articulated in the Nicene Creed and of the authority of the Church to interpret them. However, the expression of religious feelings and beliefs was not confined by the walls of parish churches. Although Salamanca was well-provided with churches, monasteries, even cathedrals, these ecclesiastical buildings were far outnumbered by the shrines and chapels which dotted the countryside of the province and contained images as familiar to local people as their other, less heavenly, neighbours. Christianity permeated the very landscape of Salamanca, the church towers and crosses bore witness to that "sustained and ubiquitous" presence of Catholicism in Spanish culture, in an area where religious practice was "something as natural as breathing in a community for centuries Christian."¹

Popular images of Salamanca reinforced this view. José María Gil Robles, for instance, wrote of the "natural and simple faith" which permeated his Salamancan childhood.² Religious belief was commonplace; children were taught how to pray and grew up with the expectation of interaction with the divine. These children "believed in the saints, [their ideas] instilled by their mothers and parish priests." The children learnt of "the miracles that the saints worked" and often had their own divine protector. St Gregory was the favoured saint for Béjar children; every year on his feast day they would process to the shrine of St Anne, where the images of both saints were housed, carrying branches of

1. Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, Belmonte de los Caballeros (Princeton, 1983), 292; cf. also Joan Connolly Ullman, 'The warp and woof of parliamentary politics in Spain: anticlericalism v. neo-Catholicism', European Studies Review, 1983.

2. José María Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 22

flowering chestnut hung with sweets and biscuits. Nor did the children forget St Anne, addressing their prayers to her with the words:

Santa Ana bendita	Blessed St Anne
Tú eres mi abuelita	My little grandmother
Cuida de mí	Look after me
Que soy muy chiquitín	Because I am very little ³

Such prayers for reassurance comforted vulnerable children all over the Christian world.

Religious rituals also served to mark time in a Catholic childhood. As various stages of life were passed, so they were commemorated ceremonially. The birth of a child was marked by baptism, the passage of infancy by first communion. As children progressed towards adolescence, they were confirmed while marriage often marked the transition to adulthood. Finally, as life drew to a close, the last sacrament preceded death while Catholic burial marked the passage from this world into the next. In Salamanca in the 1930s, these *rites de passage* were overwhelmingly entrusted to the Catholic Church.

They were

the life cycle rites, the crucial sacraments of baptism, confirmation, first communion, marriage and extreme unction ... without them, validation as a full and complete human being ... would be inconceivable.⁴

In this society, the sacred and secular worlds overlapped to such an extent that it was often not possible to distinguish between them. Individual and collective religious ceremonies were part of ordinary life. Important events or stages in an individual's life invariably had a Christian significance as well as a cultural or biological one.

3. Ruperto Fraile Alvarez, Recuerdos de una vida (Béjar, 1984), 121-124.

4. Stanley Brandes quoted by Susan Tax Freeman, 'Faith and fashion in Spanish religion: notes in the observation of observance', Peasant Studies, vii (1978).

Baptism, for instance, was the sign of entrance into a community, a village celebration as well as a religious one. Indeed, in 1932 in Saelices El Chico, a *pueblo* of 600 inhabitants near Ciudad Rodrigo, several families of lay beliefs requested that a civil form of baptism be instigated just as secular alternatives had already been introduced for funerals and weddings. One baby in the village was not taken to church to be christened. Instead, her parents asked the midwife to baptise the babe which she did by pouring fresh water over the child, making the sign of the cross on her forehead and putting salt on her lips.⁵ Here, despite the religious symbolism of the makeshift ceremony, the child was entering the community rather than the Church. Significantly, the absence of the priest was sufficient to satisfy the baby's parents that this was a civil rather than a religious rite. The midwife christened the child just as a priest would have done, and just as she had undoubtedly baptised other infants whose chances of survival seemed small.

This "civil baptism" indicates how participation in Catholic ritual could act as a local custom or a demonstration of community or family feeling as well as an expression of religious belief. Then, as now, christenings, weddings and funerals were social occasions as well as religious events. Ceremonies which marked the passing of a certain stage in someone's life were usually celebrated in a traditional way, benefitting from the added solemnity, as well as the pomp and circumstance, of religion. In the small community of the *pueblo* participation in religious rites, at least on great occasions, was also encouraged by the expectations of other villagers and the social sanctions used against non-conformists.⁶

5. GR, 25 April 1932.

6. Tax Freeman, 'Religious aspects of the social organisation of a Castilian village', American Anthropologist (1968); Lisón Tolosana, Belmonte de los Caballeros, 313-348. For a more general

Nevertheless, even in the towns and cities of the province, an overwhelming majority of the people of Salamanca looked to the Church for a welcome into this world. Although Bishop Frutos Valiente wrote with sadness of the "dozens" of unbaptised children living in his diocese, Plá y Deniel later stated that under 1% of parents rejected baptism for their children.⁷ Increasing numbers of parents were, however, choosing to delay the ceremony, as shown below.

Table 2.1
Baptism in the province of Salamanca, 1900-1950

	Days After Birth			
	0-4	5-7	8-14	over 15
1900	32.7%	38.6%	25.0%	3.7%
1920	13.8%	23.8%	42.8%	19.6%
1934	3.7%	11.2%	40.8%	44.3%
1950	3.5%	15.5%	54.9%	26.1%

(Source: ISPA, Sociología religiosa y pastoral de conjunto de la diócesis de Salamanca, Chapter 9, Section 9.31)

Postponing the christening of infants was traditionally seen as contrary to the law of the Church which forbade the postponement of infant baptism after the third day, and compliance with this rule was often taken as a sign of a good Catholic.⁸ However, as the twentieth century progressed, and levels of infant mortality declined, so parents began to show a distinct preference for later christenings. Quite possibly, the Church also became less concerned over the precise date of baptism, once the likelihood of the unbaptised

account of social sanctions in the pueblo see Julian Pitt Rivers, The People of the Sierra (Chicago, 1971), 118-119, 168-169, 175-177

7. BEOS, 1932), 218; (1935), 133.

8. The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 208; Duocastella, ‘Geografía de la práctica religiosa española’, 17 in Duocastella et.al., Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español.

infant's demise was lessened.⁹

The importance and popularity of christenings undoubtedly owed something to the absence of alternative ceremonies for welcoming or naming a new born child. In contemporary Salamanacan culture Catholicism provided the only idiom in which rites of passage could be conducted. Thus, when entire villages turned out to see the children make their first communions, as happened at Castraz de Yeltes in 1932, it was as much an expression of communal and family loyalties as of religious ones.¹⁰ Similarly, when first communicants, often dressed as miniature brides and diminutive admirals, led the June Corpus Christi processions, communities would turn out *en masse* to participate. Indeed, the importance of these processions was such that they continued to be held even after the Republican authorities had banned public religious cults and refused to keep Corpus Christi as a public holiday. In 1932, the *pueblos* of Candelario, just outside Béjar, and Fuente de San Esteban celebrated Corpus Christi in the traditional manner while in Carbajosa de la Sagrada, a few kilometers south of the provincial capital, the entire village turned out to take part in the procession, just as it had always done.¹¹

The sacrament of communion did, of course, have a profound religious significance and the ecclesiastical authorities were concerned to ensure that the implications of this were fully understood. The bishops of both dioceses gave instructions that all children "with the use of reason" were to make their first communion, although Bishop López

9. Although infant mortality remained high in Spain until the second half of the twentieth century, rates were falling sharply. Thus, although in 1929 the largest numbers of deaths still occurred in the 0-5 age group, the level of infant mortality had fallen from a base of 100 in 1900 to 57 in 1929, *Anuario estadístico de España* (1929), 40. See also Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London, 1990), 23-29.

10. *GR*, 10 May 1932.

11. *GR*, 2 April, 26, 31 May, 3, 4, 6 June 1932.

Arana specified that they were to attend catechesis beforehand. Shortly after he came to the diocese, Plá y Deniel increased opportunities for receiving the sacraments by instructing the priests of his diocese to ensure that first confessions and communions were held in all parishes every year. The clergy should then make use of this annual opportunity to disarm the prejudices of those parents refusing to allow their children to receive "the Bread of eternal life".¹²

In contrast to first communion, which was a regular parochial event, the sacrament of confirmation, the coming of age in the Church, could only be administered by the bishop. Rather than an annual communal celebration, confirmation was often an elaborate and rather grand event, administered to large numbers of people when the bishop happened to be in that particular part of the diocese. Even in the provincial capital, where the bishop could hold confirmation ceremonies every year, candidates remained very numerous; over 2,700 children and adults "having the use of reason" were confirmed by Plá y Deniel in the city of Salamanca in June 1936 and a further 1,300 the following year. Elsewhere, the sacrament was usually given during the course of a pastoral visit and, again, numbers were always high. Frutos Valiente's episcopal visit to the parishes of three rural deaneries in March 1931 produced nearly 5,000 confirmations together with favourable comments on the increasing frequency of the sacraments in some *pueblos*. A previous visit in 1930 to Cubo de Don Sancho, a village of 1,083 inhabitants in the Vitigudino district, had seen 242 confirmations, all of them sponsored by the Mayor and his wife.¹³

12. BEOCR, (1931), 360; BEOS (1936), 68-71. The age of reason was canonically defined as 7, see The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 208. Although the age generally recommended for confirmation was 12, some bishops, including Plá y Deniel, confirmed children as soon as they had made their first communion, BEOS (1936), 195.

13. BEOS (1931), 111; (1936), 215-216; (1937), 164. GR, 29 November 1930.

When Bishop Plá y Deniel gave confirmation in the city parishes of San Martín and the Purísima, the same sponsors presented all those receiving the sacrament. The use of general sponsors for confirmation was usual in Spain although it was not normal practice elsewhere. Here though, the bishops recognised their role according to "tradition and custom". The sponsors were chosen by the parish priest and had to be "of noted piety", although the only other stipulated condition was that the women dressed decorously.¹⁴

Theologically, the sacrament of confirmation marked the entry of the Holy Spirit into the individual believer. Faith was thus strengthened, ready for the inevitable battle against temptation. It was, according to one parish priest, as if the bishop said, "soldier of Christ, have neither shame nor fear". The same image was used by Plá y Deniel. Confirming Christians, he said, "consecrates them soldiers of Christ's militia". The reception of the Holy Spirit brought with it fortitude; confirmation had given the early Christians the grace necessary for heroic sufferings and even martyrdom. Today, the same grace was conferred

so that the Christian neither apostatises in the face of cowardly laicism, nor becomes ashamed of his most noble condition as a follower of Christ.

The gifts of the Spirit, always precious, were to be especially valued in these times when "faith and the practice of the Christian life have so many and such powerful enemies".¹⁵

According to Catholic theology, the sacrament of marriage, like confirmation, acted as a channel for divine grace. This teaching was reiterated in 1930, when Pius XI's encyclical on marriage once again insisted that, since the sacrament was of divine origin,

14. GR, 20, 23 May 1936; BEQS (1936), 197-201.

15. GR, 20 May 1936. BEQS (1935), 152-153; (1936), 193-197.

it could not be subject to human laws. Temporal innovations, such as legal divorce and civil weddings, were simply attacks on marriage's sacred character.¹⁶ These arguments were vehemently repeated by the Spanish hierarchy when the Republican government not only legalised civil marriage, but also made it the only legal form. Naturally, the law was strongly condemned by the bishops, who issued a joint pastoral letter on the matter. In Salamanca, Bishop Frutos Valiente gave instructions that, although those getting married were obliged to obey the law and undergo the civil ceremony, they must receive the sacrament of marriage before they did so. Under no circumstances could Catholics contract civil marriage "with the intention of celebrating true and valid marriage".¹⁷

Despite the concerns of the hierarchy, the Republican legislation on marriage does not appear to have altered popular perceptions of the ceremony. Weddings remained religious affairs, and civil ceremonies seem to have been very much the exception. In the city of Salamanca, even a Republican councillor who was wed after the new legislation came into force married in church.¹⁸ Although, particularly in urban areas, some couples dispensed with any form of ceremony and simply set up house together, church weddings were very much the usual custom.¹⁹ There is no evidence that this ceased to be the

16. Casti Connubii (1930).

17. BEQS (1932), 187-196; text of collective pastoral on civil and canonical marriage is given in Iribarren (ed.), Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 181-189.

18. Lisón Tolosana found that, in the Aragonese town he called Belmonte, the institution of marriage was entirely Christianised. Even those who had not entered a church since their first communion married before a priest, and the civil part of the ceremony had no meaning for the members of the pueblo, who recognised no other wedding than the Catholic one, Belmonte de los Caballeros, 265.

19. In 1929, the national illegitimacy rate was 6.2 births in every 100, Anuario Estadístico de España

case in Salamanca during the 1930s.

This reliance on Catholic ceremonial was particularly important with regard to death and funerary rites. The passage between life and death, this world and the next, was the one which people seemed least willing to travel without the Church's guidance. The possibility of salvation was too attractive to be rejected out of hand, the possibility of damnation too terrifying to be risked for the want of a simple ceremony. In Salamanca, the numbers of people choosing to die without the absolution and anointing offered by the Catholic Church was very small indeed.²⁰

As Table 2.2 shows, civil burials accounted for a minute proportion of the total number of interments in Salamanca. Between 1920 and 1931 the province averaged two civil burials for every 1,114 Catholic ones. Funeral customs remained unaffected by the installation of a secular regime: the first year of the Republic, April 1931 to April 1932, saw a mere 2 civil burials in the province as opposed to 1,102 Catholic ones.²¹ The overwhelming majority of Salamancans were sent on their final journey by the priest; many undoubtedly made this choice out of religious belief, however vague or ill-formed, but others would have done so out of custom, or simply because there seemed to be no other way of doing it.

(1929), 23. In his study of an Andalusian hill town, Pitt-Rivers found that many couples had abandoned the rites of the Church under the Republic, but here levels of religious practice were very much lower than in Salamanca, *The People of the Sierra*, 110.

20. Only 11 (2%) of those who died in Ciudad Rodrigo in 1963 did not receive the last sacraments, although under 50% attended Mass every Sunday. Partial figures for Salamanca in the same year show 1% dying without the last rites, Duocastella, 'Geografía de la práctica religiosa española', 59-60.

21. *GR*, 21 June 1932; see below, chapter 8, on the secularisation of cemeteries under the Republic.

Table 2.2
Burials in Salamanca, 1920-1932

	Catholic	Civil	Total
1920	1,126	—	1,126
1921	1,090	2	1,092
1922	1,111	2	1,113
1923	1,162	2	1,164
1924	1,088	2	1,090
1925	1,185	4	1,189
1926	1,063	3	1,066
1927	1,040	2	1,042
1928	1,046	2	1,048
1929	1,141	1	1,142
1930	968	1	969
1931	1,078	2	1,080
1932 (up to 26 May)	471	1	472

(Source: La Gaceta Regional, 21 June 1932)

Although religion may have brought more comfort to the dying than to any other group, the solace of Catholicism was not always willingly sought. Even in Salamanca, there were isolated instances of anti-clerical feeling against the Church's funerary rites. In November 1933, in the mountain village of Peromingo, an elderly man swore and blasphemed at his daughter's deathbed while the parish priest gave her the last sacraments, a poignant example of a family so divided by religious differences that they remained unreconcilable even in the face of death.²²

In Spanish Catholic culture, the Church not only provided the rituals associated with the dying, it also commemorated the dead. Traditionally, at dusk, a woman would walk round the streets of the *pueblo*, ringing a handbell for the Holy Souls in Purgatory, a practice which is carried out to this day in the picturesque mountain village of La Alberca.²³ As elsewhere in the Catholic world, the dead were frequently remembered in the prayers and masses said for their souls. Some pious associations, such as the

22. GR, 7 November, 1933.

23. In the 1930s, the village also had a flourishing confraternity of the Holy Souls.

Congregation of the Good Death, existed specifically for this purpose, while virtually all confraternities offered annual masses for the eternal rest of deceased members.²⁴ Every November the dead were remembered on All Saints' Day when communities went *en masse* to the cemetery, taking flowers and candles with which to decorate the freshly-washed tombstones. All day, people crowded into the graveyards, in the city just as in the *pueblos*.²⁵

The annual commemoration of All Saints' Day was one of the Church's many feast days, liturgical events which marked the passage of time throughout the year. The Catholic year began with Advent, the first ecclesiastical season which led up to the great festival of Christmas, just as its springtime counterpart, the season of Lent, led up to Easter. Both these periods in the Church's year were put aside for preparation and fasting. The priests wore violet vestments, marriages could not be solemnised, and devout persons spent much of their time in meditation and prayer. The family of the Carlist deputy José María Lamamié de Clairac, for example, received no visitors — whomsoever they might be — during either season.²⁶

These times of introspection and abstinence were not without their public drama. Advent led to the excitement of Christmas, when children built models of the town of Bethlehem, and waited for the Three Kings to ride in on their camels, filling small shoes with sweets. Similarly, the solemn emotion of the Lenten liturgy led into the spectacle of Holy Week, perhaps the most important of all popular religious festivals. This ritual

24. e.g., 'Reglamento de la Cofradía del Santísimo y Hinojal Unidas' provided for candles to burn by the corpses well as for annual masses and office for the repose of souls, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, *carpeta* 'Acción Católica y Asociaciones 1935-1944'.

25. Photographs of the city cemetery were published *GR*, 1 November 1932; 3 November 1933.

26. José María Gil Robles, *La fe a través de mi vida*, 70.

reconstruction of Christ's passion, death and resurrection on the streets of Salamanca was participated in by many and observed by many more. In the cathedral cities, images of Our Lady of the Solitude were taken through the streets at midnight on Good Friday. In 1930 in the city of Salamanca, 70 brothers dressed in black tunics and hoods together with five children dressed as Jesus the Nazarene accompanied the float through streets lined with silent onlookers. Many of the faithful who joined the procession went barefoot as an act of penance. In Ciudad Rodrigo in the following year, Our Lady of the Solitude wore a new crown, donated by a local jeweller, and her recently-bought float was illuminated by electricity — the gift of Rosa Sánchez Sevillano, owner of the city's flour mill.²⁷

The image of the Sorrowing Mother, a particular focus of the Holy Week processions, had a special appeal for the women of the province. In Ciudad Rodrigo in 1930, nearly 1,000 women took part in the procession of Our Lady of Sorrows, while a further 1,500 women in the provincial capital received communion from the bishop during the mass held for her feast day. Thousands then took part in her procession. In Béjar the procession of the *Dolorosa* was the great solemnity of the year. The image would stop at every house in which someone was ill or incapacitated, receiving the prayers and petitions of the sick and those who cared for them. Finally, the float halted outside the gaol where the voice of one of the inmates was heard, singing a *saeta* to Mary of Sorrows.²⁸

27. GR, 19 April 1930; 28 March, 4 April 1931. Salamanca's image had had a new float the previous year, bought through a public subscription. The amounts given were generally very small, ranging from 15 centimos to 25 pesetas, *El Adelanto*, 1 February, 19 February 1930; GR, 1 April 1930.

28. GR, 12 April 1930; Fraile Alvarez, *Recuerdos de una vida*, 21. *Saetas*, the pious ejaculatory songs of Seville which are always sung by a single voice, are clearly of Moorish influence and are not common in the north of Spain.

The importance of Holy Week in the local calendar was so great that Republican attempts to confine it to the churches met with bitter opposition. In 1932 the Holy Week processions were cancelled in the city of Salamanca on the order of the Republican-Socialist authorities, and failed to take to the streets in *pueblos* like Aldeadavila and Saelices el Chico. In 1936, however, despite the absence of processions in the provincial capital, thousands of people attended the masses and liturgical acts being held all round the city during Holy Week and more visitors and penitents than ever before were reported at the "holy and miraculous" image of Jesus the Risen Redeemer in the parish church of San Pablo.²⁹

The liturgical calendar, dominated as it was by Easter and Christmas, provided a temporal reckoning for agricultural purposes, as well as ecclesiastical ones. In the *pueblos*, the time of year, both the date and the agricultural season, were traditionally reckoned according to the Church's calendar, a practice which survives down to the present day.³⁰ The sacred and the secular calendars were entirely interchangeable and the time of year could be calculated according to either. Catholicism's deep-rooted presence in Spanish society meant that religious language and imagery coloured and shaped people's everyday lives. Local culture was frequently so tied up with Catholic activity and symbolism that the two could not be distinguished. Thyme flowers, for example, are still known as "Corpus Christi flowers" in the *pueblos* of Salamanca as the streets are strewn

29. GR, 29 February, 29 March, 5 April 1932; 4, 11 April 1936. See also below, chapter 8.

30. For example, in September 1985, I overheard the following exchange in Santiz, towards the Zamora border: "Today is the twenty-second, isn't it?", "Yesterday, St Matthew ... yes, it is."

with them for the Corpus procession.

The *fiesta* is the most dramatic example of this coincidence of the sacred and the profane. Traditionally, the beginning of the summer was marked by the blessing of the fields. In Fuente de San Esteban in 1930 the image of Our Lady of the Rosary was taken around the fields to bless them and in Bañobárez in 1931 the benediction followed a procession to the local shrine of Christ of Good Health. The success of the harvest and, therefore, the good fortune of the community were entrusted to their divine guardians. The human contribution to the success of the harvest was also put under divine protection in ceremonies such as the blessing of new agricultural machinery by the parish priest in Fuente de San Esteban in April 1931.³¹

As in other parts of Spain, many *pueblos* in Salamanca have their main *fiesta* at harvest time when the whole village is assembled both to gather in the crop and to give thanks to the patron who brought it (Plate 3.1). Our Lady of the Assumption is often so favoured as her feast day falls on the fifteenth of August and so coincides with the grain harvest. In previous centuries St. Roch was also popular: not only was his feast day celebrated in mid-August, but he also protected against plague. However, religious cults are just as subject to the fluctuations of fashion as are other areas of life and St. Roch no longer figures in popular devotions.

31. GR, 2 June 1930; 13 April, 12 May 1931.

The all-pervasiveness of Catholic culture inevitably resulted in a profound familiarity with the sphere of the divine. The very landscape of Salamanca is defined in spiritual terms: shrines and sanctuaries, though never found within *pueblos*, are frequently sited near the boundaries between them. Shrines were situated in the realm of nature, often occupying liminal sites, such as caves or mountain tops, which seemed to link the natural and supernatural worlds: caves offered a route to the underworld, mountaintops



Plate 3.1: *Fiesta* of the Virgin of the Assumption, La Alberca.

seemed the closest place on earth to heaven.³² The province's most famous shrine, Our Lady of the Peña de Francia, is found on the highest peak in the Sierra de Francia, a site which also marks the coincidence of the dioceses of Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo and Coria. One of the great Marian shrines of late medieval Spain, the cult of the black Madonna and Child of the Peña de Francia spread all over the Spanish speaking world and to Brazil. However, she had a special significance for the people of Salamanca who would come from all over the province on pilgrimage, something all good *salmantinos* did at least once before they died. People from the same village would often come together; one such expedition was organised from the village of Topas, near the provincial capital, in October 1931. Most pilgrims came for her feast day which was celebrated in September. In 1932, this was particularly well attended, with parties from Ciudad Rodrigo, Vitigudino, Fuente de San Esteban and Salamanca itself, as well as from *pueblos* as far apart as the nearby village of La Alberca and Fregeneda, a village on the Portuguese border. As always, many pilgrims climbed the peak on which the shrine is found, some barefoot, a few on their knees.³³

In Salamanca, as in the rest of Spain, the images which inspired the greatest cult were miraculous in origin. Some, for instance the Virgin of the Peña del Castillo in the village of Encinas de San Silvestre, commemorated apparitions but, in most cases, the

32. The location, origins and function of shrines are discussed in William A. Christian Jr., Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain and Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (both Princeton, 1981).

33. José Augusto Sánchez Pérez, El culto mariano en España (Madrid, 1943), 316; DHEE, IV, 2313-2314; GR, 18 October 1931; 11 May, 12 September 1932.

images themselves had miraculously appeared. Owing to their extraordinary origins, such images were believed to be untouched by human hand. They were sent directly from heaven and were, therefore, miraculous in themselves not just in what they represented. The Byzantine statue of Our Lady of the Valley, patroness of the city of Salamanca, supposedly appeared in the river valley (*vega*) of the Tormes, from where it takes its name. The images of both the Virgin of the Ilex, patroness of the village of Macotera near Peñaranda de Bracamonte, and Our Lady of Valdejimena, whose shrine in Horcajo Medianero drew pilgrims from all over Salamanca, were found in the ilex trees which abound throughout the province. Legend has it that the Valdejimena image was found when a rabid bull circling the tree fell to its knees and was cured and, for many centuries, the shrine was believed to be particularly efficacious in the cure and prevention of rabies.³⁴

The story of Our Lady of the Chestnut Grove, patroness of Béjar, follows the same pattern. As in the legend of the Virgin of the Ilex, the image was found by a shepherd who lived on a mountain outside the town known as the Castañar. The miraculous discovery took place in 1446 when, following the appearance of the Virgin in a dream, the image was found in a chestnut tree which was bearing fruit in the depths of winter and whose leaves cured victims of the plague which had been ravaging the area. Devotion to the Virgin of the Chestnut Grove was maintained into the twentieth century, possibly helped by the royal attention it received in 1929 when Alfonso XIII presented the image with a cloak made from one of his mother's dresses. It was, however, primarily a devotion for *bejaranos*. Every year people from Béjar and the surrounding villages flocked to the

34. DHEE, IV, 2258, 2366-2367; Sánchez Pérez, *El culto mariano*, 429. Images appearing in the ilex trees which abound on the *meseta* were a recurring theme in Castilian shrine-legends, see Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval Spain*, 100-103.

Castañar on the Virgin's feast day while those *bejaranos* in the city of Salamanca who could not make the trip attended the novena held at the altar of Our Lady of the Chestnut Grove in the church of Nuestra Señora de Carmen.³⁵

This strong sense of locality underlay the relationships which the faithful had with these images. Hence, the many appellations of Christ and the Virgin which, like Our Lady of the Peña de Francia, are distinguished solely by geographical names. These were images which belonged to the local community and were benevolent towards it, conferring favours and protecting the inhabitants from danger. In this way, the love people felt for their local Madonna or Christ was reciprocated. During the Napoleonic invasion many of these heaven-sent images, including one of the most famous, Christ of the Tears, reaffirmed their supernatural powers by concealing themselves from the French, revealing their hiding places only when the invaders had been expelled. Such stories reasserted the deep affection felt by the images for the locality; they hid to prevent themselves being taken away from where they belonged.³⁶ The images thus belonged to a certain locality, but the fervency of the cults surrounding them meant that they did more than simply symbolise local identities. The shrines would not have been graced with flowers and votive offerings if local people had not felt that their prayers were being answered. Local saints could not act as true patrons if they were not prepared to work miracles on their

35. Sánchez Pérez, *El culto mariano*, 119-22; *Decíamos Ayer* (Revista Escolar. Colegio de Calatrava, Salamanca), December 1929; *GR*, 19 September 1931; 12, 15 September 1932. Christian has demonstrated the frequency with which Spanish shrine legends originated in times of plague while, because of their rather anomalous position within the *pueblo*, shepherds were frequent finders of miraculous statues, Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval Spain*, 215-223; Victor & Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Oxford, 1978), 72ff.

36. A theme explored further in Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 75-92.

communities' behalf.

In Catholic cosmology not only the figures of God and Christ but also those of the Virgin and the saints were recognised as holy and their help and protection were frequently sought. Believers built up a personal relationship with God, based on prayer and supplication, confident in the belief that their previous petitions had been granted. The shrine to Nuestra Señora de Majadas Viejas or Our Lady of the Old Sheepfolds, in the mountain *pueblo* of La Alberca inspired great individual devotion among the villages. When one pious local lady died in 1931, she was remembered for ensuring that the image was never without flowers and candles. Over a period of thirty years, Cipriana Hernández Sánchez had embroidered cloaks for her Virgin, paid for repairs to the sanctuary and provided the standards used in processions. Although the extent of Cipriana's devotion was unusual, the feelings which inspired it were not. When the feast day to Our Lady of the Old Sheepfolds was celebrated in 1930, the priest gave a traditional eulogistic homily recounting all the good she had done for the community: the protection she had offered, the gifts she had bestowed. After mass, the image was accompanied back to "her home" by many women and young people who recited the rosary as they went.³⁷

The flowers, candles and mass-offerings which decorated the shrines in La Alberca were given in thanksgiving for favours received, for the small miracles which are part of everyday life. Many *salmantinos* believed that divine intervention could, and frequently did, alter the natural order of things. In October 1931, *fiestas* to Our Lady of the Rosary were organised and paid for by a man in Palencia de Negrilla to celebrate his recovery from serious illness. Similarly, the same month saw a mass of thanksgiving in the shrine of

37. GR, 26 March 1930; 7 August 1931; 13 April 1932. The image took its extraordinary name from the place where, according to legend, it had appeared.

Christ of Cabrera offered by the parents of a child who had recovered from serious illness "through the mediation of the miraculous Christ". Many came to the mass, and most touched the thaumaturgical image before leaving.³⁸

A more spectacular incidence of the direct intervention of the divine was reported in the Jesuit bulletin of July 1936. Mercedes González, a tuberculosis sufferer from the village of San Cristóbal de la Cuesta, had been bed-ridden for some months when, accepting that she was close to death, she began to make novenas to the Blessed Padre Hoyos SJ. Soon afterwards, on 22 April 1936, she received extreme unction and immediately began to seem better. By eight o'clock that evening she was smiling and,

being in a kind of trance ... began to speak, loudly and vigorously, to the Lord and the Most Holy Virgin

She continued talking in this way for two hours, and then announced that she had been completely cured by Padre Hoyos. Subsequent medical examinations, so the account claimed, had failed to find any evidence of tuberculosis and Mercedes resumed her old life among her family of *labradores*. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were compiling the medical evidence to send to Rome as evidence of the miraculous powers of Padre Hoyos, whom they hoped to see canonised.³⁹

The Virgin and the saints, whether shrine-images like Christ of Cabrera or clerical figures like Padre Hoyos, acted as divine intermediaries, allowing people on earth to put their case directly to God. The most usual form of making contact with the saints was through a vow, and the offerings of flowers and candles for the shrines, and clothes and ornaments for the statues were often given in recompense for favours carried out by the

38. GR, 8, 15 October 1931.

39. Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xliii (1936).

saint. Such vows were the distinguishing feature of the popular devotion given to Mary, Jesus and the saints. They were a common form of interaction between the human and the holy, a way of making direct contact with the divine free from the need for clerical intermediaries.⁴⁰ As tokens of gratitude, these votive offerings could take spectacular forms. The festivals to the Virgin of Recourse in the village of Buenamadre in April 1931 ended with *novillos*, dedicated to the Virgin, held with young bulls donated by a livestock breeder who belonged to her confraternity.⁴¹

The habit of making vows and offerings was not confined to times of festivity or, conversely, of crisis. For many people, votive offerings were an important means of communicating with God and His saints and visits to shrines were thus simply another form of prayer. Some such visits and prayers were indulgenced, a popular and important feature of Spanish Catholicism in the 1930s. In June 1934, for example, the faithful were invited to gain plenary indulgences by visiting their parish churches twelve times and praying before the tabernacle, the crucifix and the lady altar.⁴² As the benefits of such visits accumulated, they seemed to offer the the promise of absolution and salvation just as offering candles or flowers to the Virgin would avert danger or help a loved one. Indulgenced prayers, medals and scapulars were seen as amulets, charms which dispensed

40. See Luis Maldonado, 'Popular religion: dimensions, levels and types' in Concilium (August, 1986). In the Iberian context see Pierre Sanchis, 'The Portuguese *romarias*' in Stephen Wilson (ed.) Saints and their Cults. Studies in Religion, Sociology, Folklore and History (Cambridge, 1985), 261-291 and, especially, Christian, Person and God in a Spanish Valley (2nd. ed.; Princeton, 1989). Both Christian and Sanchis make the point that vows and votive offerings were seen by the faithful as "routine investments", part of normal life and the way the universe functioned.

41. GR, 9 April 1931.

42. BEQS (1934), 103-104, 182.

with clerical mediation in ensuring an entry into the next world.⁴³

For many people, however, visits to shrines took place within a communal context, during the *romerías* or popular pilgrimages, which were such a feature of Spanish rural life. *Romerías* were regular events in the *pueblos* of Salamanca in the 1930s. In June 1932, for example, the village of Navales, near Alba de Tormes, went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Valdejimena. Although some villages went in fulfilment of a promise made to the Virgin, others went simply to *saludar*, to "say hello" to her. Groups from three other villages, Anaya de Alba, Galisancho and Horcajo Medianero, went to Valdejimena on the same day but, as was customary, each community held its own procession. After mass, the pilgrims relaxed, playing ballgames against the wall of the shrine, or wandering around. The afternoon was taken up with the rosary and a procession while, before the evening's dance, the visitors all bade farewell to the Virgin, most of them promising to return the following year.⁴⁴

This personal touch of saying goodbye to the Virgin suggests that, for some of her *devotés*, their relationship with Our Lady of Valdejimena was an intimate one. Similarly, while the 1932 *romería* to Christ of Cabrera in the parish of Llén was attended by all the local villages, it also attracted a large number of individual pilgrims, as well as families from the city of Salamanca and groups from further-flung *pueblos*. Devotion to the Cabrera figure of the crucified Christ, which measured two metres in height and another

43. For example, the scapular of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was traditionally worn in the belief that those wearing it would be spared from hell. Pious legend has it that both promise and scapular were given by the Virgin to St Simon Stock in Cambridge on 16 July 1251, now the feast day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. A float depicting St Simon's vision was processed round the city of Salamanca on the feast day.

44. GR, 14 June 1932; see also Sanchis 'The Portuguese *romarias*'.

two metres between the tips of its outstretched hands dated from the sixteenth century. A penitential devotion, Christ of Cabrera offered the promise of absolution and salvation: strips of cloth were hung over the huge arms of the crucifix when it was taken out in procession, which the faithful then tried to touch. Many pilgrims were then reconciled to their God in the sacrament of penance; priests attended the 1932 *romería* specifically to hear the confessions of the faithful. The cult of Cabrera, so different to that of the Virgin of Valdejimena, had considerable appeal for the clergy and, of the 511 men who belonged to the confraternity of Cabrera in 1917, eleven were priests. The penitential nature of the devotion also made it particularly suitable for the troubled times of the twentieth century; the number of Masses commissioned at the shrine rose from 255 in 1919 to 349 in 1933.⁴⁵

Devotion to the saints was traditionally stimulated and maintained through the confraternities and brotherhoods which were attached to each shrine and which played an important part in the associational life of the *pueblo*. Some villages, such as La Alberca had a truly remarkable range of confraternities. As well as the sisterhoods of St Agatha and of the Solitude of Mary, there were the brotherhoods of Most Holy Christ of the Sweat, the Child Jesus, the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption of Our Lady, St Joseph, St Sebastian, St Anthony, St John of Sahagún, the Blessed Souls in Purgatory, the Holy Sepulchre and the Most Holy Sacrament.⁴⁶ Certain, and specific, duties were

45. GR, 16, 20 June 1932; DHEE, IV, 2231-2233. See Christian, Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain for a general account of the Christological devotions of the Counter-Reformation.

46. GR, 7 August 1931. St Agatha's Day (5 February) was traditionally known in Castile as the "reign of women": the day when husbands obeyed their wives. The festivities tended to be folkloric rather than religious: in the village of Tamames in 1930, married women left their homes early in the morning not to go to church but rather to sing and dance their way round the village, El Adelanto, 8 February, 9 February 1930. Christ of the Sweat was an image of the crucified Christ in the parish church which, tradition has it, sweated blood on 6 September 1665, GR, 10 June 1930.

required of the members of these confraternities. For example, the ecclesiastical duties of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament and Our Lady of Hinojal, reestablished in the village of Paradines de San Juan in 1935, included the upkeep of the shrine and the organisation of the Corpus Christi and feast day processions as well as providing candles and requiems for members who died.⁴⁷

Although the great majority of confraternities were all-male and almost invariably composed of lay-people, membership could encompass virtually the entire community of the *pueblo*. Nearly all the men living in or near the hamlet of Hervás belonged to the Brotherhood of Most Holy Christ of Good Health whose chapel was rebuilt by public subscription in 1921 as, according to one member of the Brotherhood, He "always heard our prayers and supplications".⁴⁸ All of the La Albercan confraternities listed above were active in 1932 and each had its own *mayordomos* or, as they were occasionally called, *abades*(abbots). These officers, who were usually elected annually, tended to come from among the wealthier members as holding this position often involved considerable financial outlay.⁴⁹

There was considerable social standing to be gained from belonging to one of the more renowned brotherhoods and it was not uncommon for membership to be handed

47. Reglamento de la Cofradía del Santísimo y Nuestra Señora del Hinojal Unidas, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, *carpeta* 'Acción Católica y Asociaciones' 1935-44.

48. GR, 2 November 1933.

49. The Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Hinojal had it written into the rules that *mayordomos* could be offered financial help up to the sum of 50 pesetas.

down from father to son, especially in the prestigious Holy Week confraternities of the cities.⁵⁰ Membership of other brotherhoods was decided by trade: the Maundy Thursday procession in the provincial capital was traditionally organised by the city's merchants and shopkeepers while confraternities of farmers and stockbreeders, dedicated to St Antony Abbot the patron saint of livestock, abounded.⁵¹

Like the local patrons, St Antony had a specific sphere of action but one which was occupational rather than geographic. In 1930 the Ciudad Rodrigo confraternity celebrated St Antony's feast day in the traditional way, attending mass in the morning and holding a dance in the afternoon. As was customary, they brought home-cured hams and other agricultural produce to the church as proof of the saint's benevolence in giving them fat and healthy livestock. After mass the meats were auctioned at the church door and, during the afternoon's dance many kilos of "the saint's bread rolls, blessed" were bought by the farmers to be given to their pigs and cattle. This "pan del santo" would ensure that the pigs thrived and fattened, making good hams and *chorizos* for the following year's *fiestas*.⁵²

The cult of the saints in Salamanca in the 1930s shows how, for many people, God was approached through divine mediators. Religiosity was expressed through individual

50. For a full study of Holy Week confraternities, albeit in Southern Spain, see Henk Driessen, 'Religious brotherhoods: class and politics in an Andalusian town' in Eric Wolf (ed.), Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities (Berlin, 1984).

51. GR, 3 March 1933.

52. El Adelanto, 19 January 1930; GR, 18 January 1932. Charms to ensure the well-being of livestock were common throughout rural Spain. In some places holy water was sprinkled around stables or images of saints were often hung round the necks of cattle. Similarly, the blessing of artefacts was very common during feast day celebrations as it conferred holiness onto ordinary objects, so changing their very nature. Blessed bread was, of course, a particularly potent symbol. See further, Marcos Alonso, 'Hacia una tipología psicosocial de la identificación religiosa', 115.

and collective relationships with these blessed intercessors and miracle-workers, many of whom had clearly delineated spheres of action. This relationship with the saints was the central component of a popular religion "which was conceived of as belonging to the 'people' as against the clergy, or to the locality as against the outside world".⁵³ When the saints were effective, there was little need to bother with the priest, particularly if the required favour was unconventional. St Anthony of Padua, for instance, who was widely believed to be extremely miraculous, received the most surprising requests. In 1935, one Salamancan *devoté* with more faith than theological sophistication made the following bargain with the saint:

Blessed St. Anthony, a hundred pesetas for the poor if the Citroen is sold within thirty days.⁵⁴

If the saint came up to scratch, he was rewarded. If not, then the supplicant took his custom elsewhere. In desperate cases recourse was had to St Rita, "advocate of impossibilities", whose crowded monthly novenas in the basilica church of San Julián in the provincial capital bore witness to the popularity of religious faith *in extremis*.⁵⁵ Other saints protected and cared for certain parts of the body and were approached in cases of illness. St Blaise, for instance, was the patron saint of throats, St Agatha of breasts.⁵⁶ The patroness of pregnancies was St Anne, mother of the Virgin, and her shrine in Béjar was

53. Editor's introduction in Wilson (ed.), Saints and their Cults, 40.

54. Crónica de las Marías (1935).

55. In May 1930, San Julián's was completely full for every night of the novena to St Rita and the confraternity "increases in size each year", GR 17 May 1930.

56. At the masses held on St Blaise's day ribbons known as *gargantillas* were blessed and taken away by the congregation to be tied round the throat in case of illness, El Adelanto, 6 February, 7 February 1930.

frequented by expectant mothers asking for an easy and successful birth.⁵⁷

In June 1936, this shrine, visited by generations of *bejaranos*, was burnt down by arsonists. The images of St Anne and the children's patron St Gregory were deliberately destroyed.⁵⁸ The religious buildings and statues which had brought comfort and solace to so many townspeople were now seen as an unsupportable source of provocation by some of their fellow citizens. Catholicism, rather than providing the idiom of local identity and common experience, was now a divisive force, depicted and construed in political terms. Although there was still a large and important Catholic community in the town, it was defensive and embattled, barricaded against the onslaughts of a secular world and an anti-clerical Republic. The same pattern was repeated throughout the province. Although traditional confraternities continued to flourish, they now existed alongside other associations which, while they adopted the language and pious practice of the old brotherhoods, had different, and often political, aims. Foremost among these were the brotherhoods of St Isidore, patron saint of agricultural workers, which also functioned as local branches of the National Catholic Agrarian Confederation (CNCA). Although these groups did have a devotional life, centred upon St Isidore's feast day, their primary aims were to improve the lot of their members while counteracting the pernicious influence of godless socialism.⁵⁹ This vehement opposition to socialism inevitably drew the Church further into the arms of the political right and, as the church militant went on the offensive under the Second Republic, it was not remarkable that the godless socialists sometimes hit back.

57. Fraile Alvarez, Recuerdos de una vida, 165.

58. GR, 5 June 1936.

59. On the CNCA, see below, chapter 5.

Chapter 4: **The Shaping of Piety: Devotional Life in the Twentieth Century**

In December 1905, Pope Pius X instructed the Catholic faithful to receive communion "frequently and even daily", so fundamentally altering perceptions of the Church's central sacrament. For some years, theological opinion within the Church had been moving towards the belief that the eucharist was the means of achieving virtue, rather than rewarding it. This was the guiding principle of Pius X's pontificate (1903-1914), which introduced a period of great change in the devotional life of ordinary Catholics. Between May 1905 and July 1907, he issued no fewer than twelve rulings on the reception of the sacrament. Observing that, through the eucharist, "Jesus meant to be the daily remedy and the daily food for our daily shortcomings", Pius removed the obligation to confess before communion, dispensed the sick from fasting before taking the sacrament and lowered the eucharistic age to seven.¹

Although the path of the daily communicant was only ever to be followed by a select few, the eucharist was increasingly seen as the focal point of any major liturgical celebration. Large numbers of people would come to the Salamancan altar-rails on major feast days. In 1930, the Capuchin fathers in the provincial capital gave communion to over 1,000 people on the feast of St Anthony; two years later, twice as many took the sacrament in the city's Salesian church to celebrate the feast of Our Lady, Help of Christians and, in

1. Of humble origins, Pius X began his career as a curate in a rural Italian parish, before becoming priest in a small market town. His rise through the ranks — unprecedented in modern times — may help explain the pietistic nature of his pontificate, which was dominated by eucharistic teachings, Roger Aubert, The Church in a Secularised Society (New York, 1978), 16-23, 122-125; Jedin (ed.), The Church in the Industrial Age, 403-407.

the same year in Béjar, an estimated 3,000 faithful received communion during an octave to the Sacred Heart.²

The consecrated host was also the subject of an increasing number of feast days of its own, supplementing the great Medieval festival of Corpus Christi.³ By 1931, "sacramental confraternities" were established in every parish in the city of Salamanca, organising annual eucharistic "solemnities" centred upon the Blessed Sacrament. That held in the city church of San Juan de Sahagún in July 1931 began with a "mass of general communion" at which the *confrères* received the sacrament alongside other parishioners. Many then attended the high mass and sermon which followed. The exposition of the Blessed Sacrament lasted all day and "very many of the faithful" came to join in the "guard of honour" which the confraternity mounted around the tabernacle, changing guards at half hourly intervals.⁴

This eucharistic "guard of honour" was a familiar feature of liturgical festivities. In 1931, for example, the Dominican fathers of the provincial capital commemorated St Catherine's day with a twenty-four hour exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Although the cult of St Catherine had no particular eucharistic significance, a considerable number of people came to the church to accompany the host throughout the day.⁵ This "watching" or "accompanying" of the exposed host had its origins in the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, a modern devotional form which had attained great popularity in the nineteenth century. An unprecedented number of religious congregations and lay confraternities had been established in the second half of the century, many of them with

2. GR, 6 October 1930; 25 May, 8 July 1932.

3. Promulgated to the universal church in 1318.

4. GR, 7 July 1931; see also GR, 21, 28 July 1931.

5. GR, 2 May 1931.

the express purpose of providing continual accompaniment for the consecrated host.⁶

These periods of watching were a modern form of vigil. Often taking place at night, this time of silent contemplation allowed the mind to meditate upon the mysteries of the Almighty, while the spirit sought communion with him and the body knelt before him. Adoration, though often carried out with others, was essentially an individual experience, one which depended upon a particular relationship between person and God. Eucharistic cult fostered this sense of interiority, providing a formalised, devotional expression of personal spiritual experience. The practice of adoration, in particular, offered both a more sophisticated and more pietistic means of communicating with the divine than was to be found in the traditional practices of shrine visits and votive offerings.

Catholic eucharistic devotions rested on the doctrine of the real presence; the belief that, once consecrated, the host became the body of Jesus Christ. Though adherence to the dogma of transubstantiation had long been axiomatic for members of the Roman Church, the language used to describe this central sacramental mystery became both more graphic and more florid as the twentieth century progressed. The Catholics of Salamanca were exhorted to approach the tabernacle, where the "Divine Eucharist" provided the "earthly throne" of the "King of Love". The host was referred to as "Jesus-consecrated" (*Jesús sacramentado*), "Jesus-Host", even the "Heart-Host" or the "Immaculate Host". Sermons given in the province spoke of the sacrament as the axis of Christian life:

6. For the introduction of the concept of perpetual adoration, see Jedin (ed.), The Church in the Industrial Age, 262-263 and The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 152-154. The cult was boosted by the completion of the Sacré Coeur at Montmartre — built by public subscription to atone for the sins of France — in 1891, Ralph Gibson, A Social History of French Catholicism, 148-149, 256-260.

without it, the life of the Catholic would be not life but death, not truth but error, not light but darkness, night instead of clear day. Jesus-Host is the way, the life, the truth and the light ...

The eucharist was the supreme source of divine grace. In a homily, given in Salamanca cathedral on the feast of Corpus Christi 1931, Canon Aniceto Castro Albarrán spoke of how Jesus looked out from the tabernacle "and stamps our souls with the image of God". This image was not to be erased; though many believers concealed their Christianity as "a secret of conscience", to do so was "neither Christian nor virile. Anathema to christian cowards!".⁷

This public affirmation of Christianity — standing up to be counted before a hostile world — became most apparent in the practice of reparation. The desire to make redress for the sins of a secular world by penance and abasement before the Almighty was a recurring feature of modern devotional life.⁸ Reparation to the Blessed Sacrament provided a common idiom with the other great modern cults of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Conception of Mary, so establishing a devotional nexus centred around the eucharist. Each June, for instance, the month consecrated to the Sacred Heart, the churches of Salamanca saw "uninterrupted ... homage and cult to the Heart-Host" which was sacrificed on Calvary and now reigned in the Eucharist.⁹

The Act of Reparation to the Heart of Jesus — depicted as torn and bleeding, surrounded by thorns and surmounted by the cross — was a central part of these

7. GR 12, 16 June, 26 October 1931. Castro Albarrán was later to win notoriety as the author of El derecho a la rebeldía (Madrid, 1934), a theological defence of armed rebellion.

8. Although increasingly offered in recompense for the outrages inflicted by the modern world, the practice had originally focussed on the reparation offered by individual sinners. The change in emphasis was French in origin and, once again, centred upon the great church of Montmartre, Aubert, The Church in a Secularised Society, 122.

9. BEOS, (1931), 161-164.

devotions; in a communal recitation the assembled faithful would proclaim their desire

to expiate such abominable sins, especially the immodesty and the dishonesty of life and of fashions, the innumerable snares laid for innocent souls, the desecration of feast days, the execrable injuries offered to You and Your Saints, the insults given to Your Vicar and the Priestly Order, the negligences and horrible sacrileges with which the very Sacrament of Love is profaned and, finally, the public sins of the nations which resist the rights and ministry of the Church You founded.¹⁰

In 1932, the feast of the Sacred Heart was made a day of reparation and supplication throughout the Catholic Church.¹¹ In Salamanca, Catholics were ordered to absent themselves from public spectacles and entertainments. They were instead to occupy themselves with one of the feast day's many liturgical events: expositions of the Blessed Sacrament, acts of reparation, litanies of the saints and stations of the cross took place in all the parish churches of the diocese. The faithful were exhorted to go to church, receive communion and pray for "those who distance themselves from God" and "struggle against His Holy Church".¹²

One of the reasons for attending mass during the cults to the Sacred Heart was to participate in a "communion of reparation", again made in atonement of the hurts inflicted on the Heart of Jesus. This was a central practice for many *devotés* of the Sacred Heart, such as those women who belonged to the Marias of the Sanctuaries, a pious association whose emblem — an iconographical exhortation to frequent communion — showed the Sacred Heart over a chalice. Its members were expected to be daily communicants,

10. 'Acto de desagavios al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús' (version issued by Holy See 1928), BEOS (1931), 164-166.

11. In the encyclical Caritate Christi Compulsi, ordered to be read from the pulpit in all the churches of Salamanca on the feast day of the Sacred Heart, BEOS (1932), 157.

12. BEOS (1932), 157-160.

making reparation for those who "profaned your Communion" by receiving the sacrament improperly dressed, disobeying the instructions of their confesors, dancing in the arms of members of the opposite sex or attending lascivious spectacles.¹³

The *Obra de las tres Marías de los Sagrarios Calvarios* was founded by Manuel González García, bishop of Málaga, in 1910 and established in Salamanca two years later.¹⁴ A man of great eucharistic zeal — known as "the bishop of the abandoned sanctuary" — Bishop González envisaged the Marias as a group dedicated to accompanying the Blessed Sacrament as it lay "deserted" in the tabernacle. The latterday Marias of Salamanca took as their devotional models the women who stood at the foot of the cross, dedicating themselves to the work of "eucharistic reparation", so that

together with Mary Immaculate and following the example of the Maries of the Gospels [they] accompany and seek company for abandoned, isolated or little-frequented Sanctuaries

This accompanying of the tabernacle was, in part, a purely physical act. Members were expected to make daily visits to the tabernacle in their local church in imitation of the women who remained with Christ even after the disciples had fled. While each of these visits might provide personal solace, they also received a more tangible reward in the form

13. 'En desagravio de las profanaciones de la Comunión diaria y frecuente', *Crónica de las Marías*, 136 (January 1930). Similarly, the Asociación de Adoradoras del Santísimo Sacramento established in 1937 in the girls' school run in the provincial capital by the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart had as its object a "special cult of reparation", undertaken out of love for the Sacred Heart, 'Acción Católica y asociaciones 1935-1944' *carpeta*, Archivo Diocesano de Salamanca.

14. García Villoslada (ed.), *La iglesia en la España contemporánea*, 436; Cuenca Toribio, *Sociología del episcopado español e hispanoamericano 1789-1985*, 548-549. For the Salamanican foundation, see *Crónica de las Marías*, 190 (May 1930); there were parallel organisations for men and children — the Discípulos de San Juan and the Juanitos de la Cruz — but these were nothing like so successful.

of 50 days indulgence granted by the bishop.¹⁵

In 1935 the Marias were flourishing in the diocese of Salamanca. The organisation was established in 225 *pueblos* and, in the twenty-three years of the local association's life, nineteen million communions had been recorded, together with 18 million visits to the Blessed Sacrament.¹⁶ The organisation had also undertaken around 350 visits to various sanctuaries in the diocese. One such visit, to the village of Cabrerizos in June 1930, saw many people spending Saturday night in vigil before the tabernacle. On the Sunday, eleven children made their first communion as a large number of villagers — including, to the association's delight, several men — received the sacrament, promising not only to do so more frequently in future, but also to make daily visits to the sanctuary.¹⁷

Despite the reluctance of the men of Cabrerizos to come to the altar, eucharistic cult was not an exclusively female occupation. The practice of Nocturnal Adoration, established in Rome in 1810 and introduced into the peninsula in 1877, had a firm following in both provincial dioceses, having been established in Salamanca in 1894 and in Ciudad Rodrigo in 1907.¹⁸ The men who joined the Nocturnal Adoration, however, occupied a different social and spiritual world to those male villagers whose lack of

15. Crónica de las Marías 190 (May 1930), 237 (September 1934).

16. Although one suspects a fair degree of approximation in such figures, there is no reason to suppose they were invented, Crónica de las Marías, 242 (February 1935), 244 (April 1935).

17. Crónica de las Marías 190 (May 1930). In her autobiography, Constanca de la Mora claimed that the Marias were a "Jesuit enterprise" designed to ensure political loyalty among the parish clergy by providing ornaments for their churches, In Place of Splendour, 78-81. I have found no evidence for this and find the account unconvincing.

18. For the origins of the devotion, see The Catholic Encyclopedia I, 152-154 and García Villoslada (ed.), La iglesia en la España contemporánea, 235- 236. On the Ciudad Rodrigo section, see GR, 29 October 1932.

enthusiasm for the eucharist had been noted by the Marias of the Sanctuaries. Many Nocturnal Adoration members were priests; indeed, clergymen seem to have been the association's largest single occupational group. Other members were drawn from among the religious *virtuosi* of the provincial capital. These men — with the partial exception of the clergy — belonged almost exclusively to the social and economic elites of the provincial capital. In 1931, the president of the association was Juan Sánchez y Sánchez, a local landowner, while his deputy, Tomás Salas Diestro, was head of one of the city's leading Catholic families and a prominent member of the local Carlist party. Other distinguished laymen served on the Nocturnal Adoration committee including Eduardo Jiménez del Rey, a leading figure in local lay Catholic circles who became editor of the Gaceta Regional under the Republic.¹⁹

A fundamental distinction was made between active and honorary members of Nocturnal Adoration. Active members were obliged to attend fifteen nocturnal vigils during the year and take communion at each one, honorary members merely supported the organisation with prayers and financial contributions. Women were only admitted as honorary adorers, although all members, active and honorary, belonged to one of twelve separate rotas or *turnos*, each of which organised its own monthly vigil.²⁰ Attendance figures for the vigils were published each month in the association's bulletin; partial figures for 1936 suggest that attendance was generally high, but could vary according to current events.

19. 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca' in Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 22; GR, 6 February 1931; Jiménez del Rey was a member of what was perhaps Spain's most influential lay organisation, the Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas, see further below, chapter 5.

20. The last 7 of these *turnos* were established 1925-1930 when the number of children's rotas (*Tarsicios*) also increased from 2 to 4, GR, 2 February 1931; 1 November 1933.

Table 3.1
Attendance at Nocturnal Adoration Vigils 1935-1936

Month	Members	Attendances	Communions
December 1935	257	217	194
February 1936	264	271	245
March 1936	269	254	228
April 1936	251	208	185
May 1936	284	224	211
December 1936	277	163	152

(Source: Adoración Nocturna Española (Sección de Salamanca) 1935-1936)

The abnormally high attendance recorded in February 1936 — which exceeded the registered active membership — reflected the fact that elections were held in that month, resulting in victory for the Popular Front. Similarly, the poor figures recorded for December 1936 are unsurprising given that the country was, by then, five months into the Civil War. Despite the increase in membership 1935-1936, numbers seem to have declined slightly during the Second Republic: in 1930, the association had claimed 287 "active" adorers as well as over 300 honarary members.²¹

Active members who had attended over 150 vigils became known as "veteran adorers", while veterans of over 250 vigils passed to the elite ranks of the "constant veteran adorers". In 1935, 30 of Salamanca's 241 active adorers were veterans and 9 were constant veterans. In the following year, out of an active membership of 268, 32 were veterans and 11 constant veterans. Such a system offered ample opportunities for both personal devotion and the public recognition of individual piety. Salamanca's most zealous adorer, one Constancio Arias, had attended 371 nocturnal eucharistic vigils by the end of

21. 'Relación de Adoradores de esta Sección y numero de Vigilias hechas por cada uno hasta 31 de Diciembre de 1935', Adoración Nocturna Española (Sección de Salamanca; January 1936); similar table given for 1936, ibid (January 1937); GR, 2 February 1931.

1936. He had been present at all fifteen compulsory vigils in both 1935 and 1936 and his position as first among the "constant veteran adorers" was confirmed in both years. The fourth position was held by Teodoro Andrés Marcos, the Jesuit-trained professor of canon law at the civil university who was to be implicated in General Sanjurjo's rising against the Republic in 1932. Another constant adorer of the Blessed Sacrament — like Andrés Marcos of Traditionalist political affiliation — was Tomás Salas Diestro. His eldest son, Daniel Salas Villagómez was also a veteran member of the association, heading the tenth *turno*, while another son, Manuel, was also found among the ranks of the active adorers. Until Daniel was killed in action in 1937, fighting

against the Marxist hordes in defence of our holy religion and beloved Fatherland,

both boys were clearly following in their father's footsteps. All three Salas men had attended every compulsory vigil in 1936 and, by the time he reached the end of his young life, Daniel had attended 190 eucharistic vigils and was ranked 26th in Salamanca's Nocturnal Adoration.²²

Although Nocturnal Adoration paid homage to the Blessed Sacrament on public occasions, its main purpose was to "stand guard over the Immaculate Host" during the "hardest and most distressing" hours of the night.²³ Such vigils consoled the abandoned Christ, and were offered as tokens of fidelity in a faithless world. Similar language governed devotion to the Sacred Heart, with its talk of making reparation to God for the

22. Adoración Nocturna Española (Sección de Salamanca; January 1937). Tomás, with 260 vigils complete, was ranked 9th, Manuel was 123rd with 49. Daniel Salas who was also prominent in the Congregation of St Luis Gonzaga, was well-known as a political activist under the Republic and became a leader of the JAP, see below, chapter 9; for Andrés Marcos and the *Sanjurjada* see below chapter 8.

23. GR, 24 January 1933.

sins of the Godless. Despite the ease with which the figure of the Sacred Heart could be seen simply as another saint — the latest addition to the local pantheon of thaumaturgical statues — the devotion was sacramental in emphasis.²⁴ Eucharistic practices like the holy hour and the nine first Fridays played a major part in the cult of the Heart of Jesus. The holy hour, unlike the vigils organised by Nocturnal Adoration, was undertaken primarily to make reparation to Christ rather than to honour him. Thus, in November 1932, Catholics in the city of Salamanca were instructed to attend the holy hour being held daily in the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel "in reparation for the outrages and offences offered to Jesus Consecrated". Here, the faithful were to prostrate themselves before the eucharist, appeasing God's anger, asking pardon for sinners and consoling the Heart of Jesus.²⁵

The practice of the nine first Fridays was rather different, both in spirit and intention. It was based upon the visions of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647-1690), who began the modern cult of the Sacred Heart after seeing Jesus "bloodstained and covered with wounds, his heart rent with grief". According to the saint, Christ had promised,

in the excessive mercy of my heart that its all powerful love will grant to all those who go to communion on nine first Fridays of the month the final grace of repentance. They shall not die in its disfavour nor without receiving the sacraments.²⁶

-
- 24. See C.C. Martindale's introduction to Louis Verheylezoon, Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1955).
 - 25. GR, 11 November 1932; Verheylezoon, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, 186-193. Daily holy hours were unusual; they were commonly held on Thursday afternoons.
 - 26. Verheylezoon, Devotion to the Sacred Heart; Jean Bainvel, Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, (London, 1924; 1st edn., Paris 1919), 56. The cult intensified dramatically after Pius IX made the feast of the Sacred Heart a general feast of the Church. Margaret Mary was beatified in 1864 and canonised in 1920. Her confessor, Claude de la Colombière SJ, was beatified in 1929. Devotion was

The Catechetical Circle of St. Teresa of the Child Jesus in Ciudad Rodrigo had prayer cards printed to encourage the practice. Embossed with the image of the Sacred Heart, the cards had space to take note of the Fridays on which communion had been received.²⁷

Unlike the old cults of saints and madonnas, the new eucharistic devotions held out the promise of salvation as well as that of intercession and divine patronage. It was this offer of salvation, the key to heaven, which provided the theological key to the change in devotional practice. Importantly, the salvific and sacramental emphasis of the new forms of religious life necessitated some degree of clerical intervention. Only a priest could consecrate the host; only a priest could administer the sacraments, give absolution and cleanse from sin. This sacramental dimension helped to satisfy the spiritual needs of the educated and sophisticated church-goers of Salamanca who inhabited a world far removed from the traditional cults of the *pueblo*.

Despite its sacramental and clerical emphasis, however, the cult of the Sacred Heart also provided continuity with the old spiritual forms. It transferred the religious habits of centuries to a new, urban and industrial setting.²⁸ The cult specialised in creating new shrines in hitherto unlooked for places. Mass-produced figures of the red-robed Christ, heart exposed on his breast, became one of the most familiar sights in the Catholic world. Images proliferated through the practice of consecrations to the Sacred Heart

further stimulated during the pontificate of Pius XI with the encyclicals *Miserentissimus* (1928) and *Caritate Christi Compulsi* (1932).

27. *BEOCR* (1931), 344.

28. See Marcos Alonso, 'Hacia una tipología psicosocial de la identificación religiosa', in Duocastella (ed.), *Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español*, 110-5.

which formed a central part of the cult. Margaret Mary Alacoque, following what she claimed was the express desire of Christ, had instructed believers to dedicate themselves to the Sacred Heart. Individuals consecrated themselves to the Heart of Jesus by making a vow of personal holiness and purity, promising "to do everything for love of Him and to renounce absolutely all that could displease Him."²⁹

The ritual was also adapted for collective use. The Jesuit community in Salamanca produced a pamphlet on the consecration of families to the Sacred Heart and, in 1934, one of the Jesuit priests remaining clandestinely in the city reported "numerous" such dedications taking place in family homes.³⁰ The "rule of life" drawn up for "the families of the Sacred Heart" included the prominent display of an image of the Heart of Jesus in the home as well as frequent family communions, the observation of Christian modesty and the provision of Catholic education for the children. Such an image created a domestic shrine, providing the family with a sacred figure which would protect and care for its members, bringing blessings and rewards for those who honoured it. Indeed, the collected "promises" of the Sacred Heart — available as a prayer-card in 200 languages — included the intention to "bless every dwelling in which an image of my Heart shall be exposed and honoured".³¹

The practice of collective consecrations also lent itself to grand symbolic gestures such as Leo XIII's dedication of the human race to the Heart of Jesus at midnight on 31 December 1899 or the consecration of the Spanish nation to the Sacred Heart by Alfonso

29. Verheylezoon, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, 121-123.

30. The pamphlet was first produced in the 1920s, 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 11; Noticias de León SJ, xxxiv (1934).

31. Bainvel, Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, 49, 330-331.

XIII in 1919 at the Cerro de los Angeles, the geographical centre of Spain.³² Many monuments to the Sacred Heart were erected in the Salamancan countryside, recreating the old spiritual landscapes of village shrines and isolated sanctuaries. Some of these new images were put up on sites already recognised as holy. In 1929 the Bishop of Plasencia enthroned a statue of the Heart of Jesus on the Castañar mountain outside Béjar, site of the apparition and shrine of the town's patroness. Other, less sacred, hilltops were also favoured with statues. The Cerro de San Pedro outside the village of Hinojosa de Duero was crowned with a statue of the Sacred Heart by the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1929 after money for the monument had been raised by public subscription.³³

Statues of the Sacred Heart proliferated in the towns and villages of the province as well as its hills and valleys. The figure of the Heart of Jesus had a prominent place in all religious institutions, schools and hostals as well as churches and convents. The Pontifical Seminary in Salamanca ended every academic year with "solemn cults" for the feast day of the Sacred Heart. Devotion to the Heart of Jesus was so strong among members of the Novitiate that, when the community was exiled to Belgium, the new house in Marquain was said not to feel fully "established" until an image of the Sacred Heart had been enthroned there. This was accomplished in an elaborate ceremony during which "His Divine Majesty was processed in triumph" and the house was consecrated to His Sacred

32. The ceremony was commemorated every year in the churches of Salamanca, *BEOS* (1930), 155; (1935), 92; (1936), 203-204.

33. *GR*, 30 October 1930; 11 November 1933; *Decíamos Ayer*, lx (December, 1929), 29-32. One of the most overt examples of this recreation of the traditional religious landscape is to be seen in the neighbouring province of Cáceres where, as Bishop of Coria, Cardinal Pedro Segura erected a huge statue of the Sacred Heart in front of the shrine to Our Lady of the Mountain, patroness of the provincial capital. Both shrine and statue can be seen from the city itself.

Heart as the community sang the hymn "Jesus is our King". "Since that day", wrote the novices, "the Heart of Jesus has defended the Salamancan exiles."³⁴

The language of kingship dominated the cult of the Sacred Heart and gave rise to a related devotion, that of Christ the King.³⁵ The erection of images of the Heart of Jesus — whether great public monuments or domestic statuettes — was known as "enthroning" and was specifically intended as an acknowledgement of the "royal dominion" of the Sacred Heart. When Salamanca's provincial hospital was opened in 1931, a new "throne of love" was immediately offered to the Divine Heart of Jesus. The girls from the exclusive school run by the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart who provided the image wanted to "raise the throne to our adored King Jesus" and, as the statue was raised onto its throne, the Royal March of the Kings of Spain was played.³⁶

34. GR, 16 June 1930; Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxxi (1931); 'Colegio Noviciado de San Estanislao', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 22-23. Even among the Jesuit novices, devotion to the Sacred Heart got rather out of hand. The Junior brothers had kept a museum and academy of the Sacred Heart which collected paraphernalia connected with the cult and held fortnightly talks on the devotion. The museum/academy reached its zenith between 1933 and 1935 and seems to have caused the community superiors some concern. The community memoir commented that "Its light was perhaps too bright" and the academy was disbanded on the orders of the Father General's representative in 1936, 'Colegio Noviciado de San Estanislao', Bodas de Plata de La Provincia de León SJ, 23-24.

35. The first monument in Spain to be dedicated to Christ the King — erected 25 years before the liturgical feast of this name — was the great cross of Martillán, the estate of the Lamamié de Clairac family to the west of the province. The cross bore the iconographical motifs which came to characterise the cult: the Sacred Heart, the Chalice and the words "Jesus Christ lives and reigns as King and Emperor". The estate was also home to the first tabernacle from the Salamancan community of the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart, presented to Juan Lamamié de Clairac and his wife Celestina de la Colina. By the 1930s both monuments had become the focus of annual processions, presided over by Celestina's son, the Traditionalist deputy José María. Camerero-Núñez, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat", 22.

36. GR, 12 February 1931; Verheylezoon, Devotion to the Sacred Heart, 135- 137.

These enthronements and consecrations were designed to ensure the rechristianisation of society and thus bring about "the social reign of Jesus Christ" — a phrase which often inspired a curiously literal belief among Spanish Catholics. Indeed, the cult had particularly nationalistic overtones, centred around the revelations made to Bernardo de Hoyos SJ in Valladolid in 1733. The seer had claimed that Jesus, heart exposed, had promised to "reign in Spain and with more veneration than in other countries". This "Great Promise" was commonly understood as a call to repentance; the conversion of Spain would lead to the millennial "social reign" of Christ.³⁷ The words "I will reign in Spain" were inscribed on the base of the monument to the Heart of Jesus unveiled by Alfonso XIII on the Cerro de los Angeles, and the conflation between earthly and heavenly kingship was often quite remarkable. The girls who enthroned the Sacred Heart in the hospital saw nothing unusual in honoring the image with the Royal March, even in the dying days of the Spanish monarchy. Unsurprisingly, opponents of the monarchy resented the connection; in May 1930, the town hall in Guijuelo, a small meat-producing town on the road to Béjar, was broken into and both the statue of the Sacred Heart and the portrait of the King were destroyed in an attack on monarchism in both its divine and terrestrial forms. An extraordinary pastoral letter from the Bishop of Salamanca described the incident as being a triumph of Satan "worthy of Soviet Russia". Cults of reparation for the outrage were to take place in all churches and compensatory enthronements were also undertaken, as the Salamancan faithful declared defiantly that:

37. 1933, the second anniversary of the Great Promise, saw an intensification of the cult, BEQS (1933), 49-51; handbill distributed by the Salamancan branch of the Apostolado de la Oración, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca.

The Eternal King will not be cast off His throne, not by socialists, not by communists, not by masons. Long live Christ the King.³⁸

As the practice of enthronements and consecrations spilled over from the private, religious sphere into public, municipal life so the cult of the Sacred Heart became increasingly perceived in political terms. There was a campaign to put a statue or a plaque in every institution, every public building. Fuentes de Béjar was just one of the *pueblos* in the province with a statue of the Sacred Heart in the main square, while Ciudad Rodrigo had an altar to the Heart of Jesus along one of its streets. Such images reasserted the divine presence in everyday life, reclaiming areas of secular life and stamping them with the presence of the holy. A statue of the Sacred Heart containing the names of the 80,000 *mirobrigenses* who contributed to its cost surmounted one of the columns outside Ciudad Rodrigo's Town Hall. The entire civil province of Salamanca was consecrated to the Heart of Jesus in 1928 in a ceremony which also enthroned an image of the Sacred Heart in the *Diputación*.³⁹

When a Socialist administration was voted into the Salamanca Town Hall in 1931 one of its first acts was to remove the statue of the Sacred Heart from the provincial hospital. This was not a violently anti-clerical move; the image was taken to the chapel, crucifixes remained on the ward walls and no attempt was made to interfere with or to restrict personal religious practice. The removal of the Heart of Jesus was rather an attempt to separate the sacred and the secular worlds, undertaken in the face of a determinedly anti-secular devotion. Similarly, the Republican council which took power in Ciudad Rodrigo in 1931 voted to remove the image of the Sacred Heart from the entrance to the Town Hall. Although a Catholic councillor tried to take the matter to a referendum,

38. 'Ante el horrendo sacrilegio de Guijuelo', *BEOS* (extraordinary issue, May 1930); *GR*, 23 January 1931.

39. *GR*, 27 May, 14, 28 June 1932; 20 February 1933.

one of his Republican-Socialist opponents pointed out that the townspeople had never been consulted before the statue was erected and the motion failed.⁴⁰

The Ciudad Rodrigo flour mill however, continued in its consecration to the Heart of Jesus and the image rose "majestically" over the factory. Each June the image was taken down to the church of Santa Marina, where the mill hands joined their mistress, Rosa Sánchez Sevillano, for mass said by the bishop. Several of the workers' children made their first communions on this day, wearing dresses and carrying prayer books presented to them by Doña Rosa. In 1931, after the cathedral canon Joaquín Román had preached a sermon on man's ingratitude to the Sacred Heart, the image was taken in procession back to the factory where Sánchez Sevillano's daughter Rosita read the act of consecration of factory, workers and patrons to the Heart of Jesus. Nor was the dominance of the Sacred Heart restricted to the workplace. When work on the ten houses attached to the mill was finished in 1932 they were blessed by Father Sisinio Nevares SJ who enthroned an image of the Sacred Heart in each one. Working for this "most exemplary mother" entailed accepting her religious demands and personal charity as part of the terms of employment.⁴¹

Such enthusiastic promulgation of the cult by the provincial upper classes, often under the spiritual direction of the Society of Jesus, further accentuated its political implications. The Heart of Jesus had become a symbol of struggle against the secular world and the campaigns for "the social reign of Jesus Christ" epitomised the coincidence

40. GR, 4 July 1931; 14 June 1932. The statue of the Sacred Heart in the hospital was torn off its pedestal and smashed a year later, GR, 14 November 1932.

41. Employees and their families were obliged to receive communion on all solemn feast days. Workers were paid for these enforced holidays as they were for days off due to illness, GR, 17 June, 11 August 1931; 29 October, 31 October 1932.

of Catholicism and conservatism. The image of the Sacred Heart showed the whole, adult Christ, neither child nor victim. It was a fitting symbol for a church in struggle as it presented Jesus as a leader, a king marshalling his forces to do battle with his foes. The Heart of Jesus became the emblem of integrist Catholicism, symbolising the rejection of secular values and cultural pluralism and demanding a simple choice between good and bad, truth and error, sacred and profane.

Processions, banners, badges and holy pictures all played their part in making the Sacred Heart and Christ the King the most visible cults the Church had ever known. Pilgrimages, for example, were now organised nationally, taking advantage of mass communications and transport. The *Junta Nacional Española de Peregrinaciones*, established by the Spanish hierarchy to ensure both the economy and the piety of pilgrimages, organised a journey to the Holy Land, Rome and Lourdes in 1930 on a Mediterranean cruise ship which advertised places for first, second and third class pilgrims.⁴² In this new era of mass pilgrimage, devotional literature and pious magazines took over the centuries-old practice of ex-votos and transferred it to a literary medium. Instead of taking offerings to the local shrine, believers could now record their debt to the divine in print. Schoolgirls with the Daughters of Jesus used the school magazine to thank the congregation's foundress, the Blessed Mother Candida, for favours as diverse as curing liver colic and rescuing a gravely ill novice from the jaws of death. The Marias of the Sanctuaries used their newsletter to record donations made to the poor in the name of St Anthony. Some offerings were made in thanksgiving for services rendered, others in the expectation of favours to come: "So that something works out well, five pesetas." Such lists

42. *BEQS* (1930), 30, 90.

of supplications also featured in the most popular contemporary pious journal, The Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, attesting to the miraculous power of the Sacred Heart and drawing attention to the continuing power of the holy in an increasingly secular age.⁴³

The Messenger was the organisational magazine for the Catholic world's largest confraternity, the Apostleship of Prayer. By 1914, the association was established in over a dozen countries and had several million members while its journal was the most widely-distributed Catholic paper in Europe.⁴⁴ By 1930, the Apostleship had over 200 centres — mainly parishes — in the diocese of Salamanca and was particularly strong in some of the outlying villages. In the mountain parish of La Alberca in 1932, for example, the Apostleship comprised 23 "choirs" of women and 7 of men. Similarly, in the neighbouring village of Candelario, very few families did not have at least one member in the Apostleship of Prayer.⁴⁵

Despite the reluctance of the Republican authorities to countenance displays of Catholic cult, both villages celebrated the feast of the Sacred Heart in 1932, decorating

43. Ecos de mi Colegio. (Hijas de Jesús, Salamanca) (1931-1937), *passim*; Crónica de las Marías (1933-1936), *passim*.

44. Aubert, The Church in a Secularised Society, 120-121. The Messenger was founded by a French Jesuit, Père Ramière, in 1861. The Spanish edition was edited and published by Bilbao Jesuit community. The circulation averaged only 16,000 but it was widely distributed, being taken by parishes, religious houses and pious associations, see further Lannon, 'Catholic Bilbao from Restoration to Republic', chapter 4.

45. GR, 6, 8 June 1932; in the wake of the sacrilege at Guijuelo, Bishop Frutos Valiente had ordered a branch of the Apostleship to be established in every parish in the diocese, BEOS, extraordinary issue, May 1930.

balconies and processing their images through the streets in a public declaration of their allegiance to Christ the King.⁴⁶ The importance of public witness was again brought out in 1934 when, on the feast of Christ the King, the Apostleship of Prayer joined other devotional groups for mass and communion in the church of the Clerecía in the provincial capital. The exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, which lasted all day, was the focal point of the ceremonies, attracting those wishing to make reparation for the sins of the fatherland.⁴⁷

This insistence that all good Catholics should stand up and be counted gave women an increasingly public role in the Church. In Spain, as generally throughout Western Europe, religion had become predominantly a female activity by the early twentieth century.⁴⁸ Throughout the land, more women than men were found in church pews on Sundays. Even among the working-classes, women were less likely to abandon the Church than were their menfolk.⁴⁹ Women were, perhaps, less resentful of clerical interference

46. GR, 6, 8 June 1932.

47. GR, 30 October 1934.

48. The "feminisation" of religion in 19th-century Europe is discussed in Hugh McLeod, Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1945 (Oxford, 1981), 28-35 and Gibson, A Social History of French Catholicism, 180-190. On women and religion in Spain see Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 53-58 and Mary Vincent, 'The Politicisation of Catholic Women in Salamanca 1931-1936' in Lannon & Preston (eds.), Elites and Power in Twentieth-Century Spain, 107-127.

49. The rather scanty figures compiled by Duocastella in his pioneering Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español, 63, suggest a consistent 'gender gap' although this seemed to be greatest in areas of high religious practice:

	Sunday mass attendance	
	female	male
Vitoria (rural areas; 1962):	91.3%	73.7%
Cáceres (1950):	44.1%	27.6%
Madrid (1958):	16.6%	18.4%
Mataró (Barcelona; 1955):	27.8%	15.1%
Alia (Toledo; 1957):	6.3%	4.3%

The only figures available for the diocese of Salamanca show that, in the late 1960s, 80% of women but only 65% of men were regular church-goers. 91% of women and 87.2% of men made the

or priestly direction. After all, they were subservient to men in every area of life: to their fathers before marriage, their husbands in the home and their confessors in church. Even wealthy and powerful Catholic women in the province were reminded that their role was "to support and protect and sing songs of praise", not to lead or to govern.⁵⁰

This numerical predominance of women within the Catholic Church, however, went alongside a corresponding development of female divine symbols. Although advancement in both the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres remained closed to women, dramatic affirmations of feminine power were given in the apparitions of the Virgin Mary which occurred all over Western Europe from the 1840s. The Virgin, who appeared without the Christchild, usually in the form of the Immaculate Conception, revealed herself to female seers, often children. When Our Lady appeared to Catherine Labouré at Paris in 1830, Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes in 1858, Lucia dos Santos at Fatima in 1917, or to the children at Beauraing in 1932 and Mariette Beco at Banneux the following year, she offered an image of female purity and power which was to provide modern Catholicism with its most enduring symbols. Such visions acted as dramatic affirmations of divine power in an increasingly irreligious age. For women, of course, they also offered a vision of female redemption in sharp contrast to the secular values of a fallen world.⁵¹

Easter duty, although only 18.4% of male and 39.5% of female church-goers took communion frequently, ISPA, Sociología religiosa y pastoral de conjunto de la diócesis de Salamanca, secciones 9.1, 9.2, 9.27.

50. 'Memoria de la Residencia', 4, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

51. The 'Marian age' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has received some attention from scholars. See particularly Barbara Corrado Pope, 'Immaculate and Powerful: the Marian revival in the nineteenth century' in Clarissa Atkinson, Constance Buchanan & Margaret Miles

The Immaculate Conception of Mary was declared a dogma of the Church by Pius IX in 1854.⁵² Just as the divine motherhood was unique, so was the mother herself. Mary was thus deemed to have been born free from the original sin, the only human being fit to become mother of God. The image of the Immaculate Conception, which showed Mary as she was perceived in God's eyes at the beginning of time, was the only image of the Virgin where she appeared without the Infant Jesus. In the dogma of the Immaculate Conception she was revered for herself, for her innate holiness, rather than for her relationship to her son.

The image emphasised virginity, purity and youth. When the Virgin appeared to Catherine Labouré, a member of a Parisian community of the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, the seer related how the Virgin, dressed in white with a blue mantle, her foot crushing Satan's snake, reached out her hands towards all her children on earth. She then offered the first revelatory proof of her Immaculate Conception by instructing Catherine to have the image struck on a medal, surrounded with the words "O Mary conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee".⁵³

This "Miraculous Medal" was to enjoy almost unprecedented popularity. It was

(eds.), Immaculate and Powerful. The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality (Boston, 1985), 173-200 as well as Hilda Graef, Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion (London, 1985; first published in 2 vols., 1963 and 1965), II, 83-106; 135-146. Thomas A. Kselman, Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France (New Jersey, 1983), covers the French apparitions. The recent and tendentious study by Nicholas Perry & Loreto Echeverría, Under the Heel of Mary (London, 1988) owes more to polemic than to scholarship.

52. In the bull Ineffabilis Deus. For a history of the dogma, see Graef, Mary, I, 218-220, 250-252, 298-306; II, 79-88.
53. Following the description of the woman in Revelations 12:1, the Immaculate Conception was depicted iconographically with 12 stars about her head, standing on the moon, her heel crushing the head of the serpent.

introduced to the Salamanca by the Daughters of Charity and achieved a very wide currency.⁵⁴ All Daughters of Mary wore the medal. Members dedicated themselves to the Holy Virgin when they joined the congregation and the more devout among them continued to wear their medals every day. Pilar Lamamié de Clairac, for example, who joined the sodality as a fourteen year schoolgirl with the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart, wore her Miraculous Medal until the day of her death, considering it to be "her shield of defence in the daily battle of life".⁵⁵ Similarly, in a sermon given on the feast day of Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal, a canon of Salamanca cathedral, José Artero, explained how the medal "attracts the golden rays of Mary into the soul" and "illuminates and guides the spirit." He bemoaned the "worldly spirit" which was replacing religious emblems on the breast with "signs of luxury and vanity" or worse, "superstitious fetishes, reminiscent of impiety and devil-worship".⁵⁶

Twenty-eight years after Labouré's vision, the Virgin again appeared in France, this time to a Pyrenean shepherd-girl, Bernadette Soubirous, identifying herself with the words, "I am the Immaculate Conception". The cult of Our Lady of Lourdes — stimulated by Bernadette's canonisation on the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1933 — encompassed traditional ideas of Mary as a fountain of infinite mercy, interceding for the world even while sorrowing for its sins. The popularity and renown of the Lourdes shrine depended largely on the miraculous cures reputed to have occurred here: the

54. e.g. in 1932, the number of people attending the feast day celebrations for the Miraculous Medal in Santiago de la Puebla, where the Daughters of Charity ran a hospital, was so great that they would not fit in the church, GR, 1 December 1932.

55. Camerero-Núñez, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat", 48-49.

56. GR, 28 November 1932.

Virgin of Lourdes became the new patron of the sick, the disabled and the dying. She had her own chapel in Salamanca cathedral and the novena held here for her feast day in 1932, the best attended ever, caused comment on how rapidly this "consoling" devotion was spreading in the city.⁵⁷

By the 1930s, devotion to the Immaculate Conception was among the most important cults in the Catholic world. Images were to be found in virtually every church in the province, although the most famous was de Ribera's painting over the high altar in the magnificent church to Maria Purissima attached to the convent of Augustinian nuns in the provincial capital. The picture's tricentenary was celebrated in 1935 and, on this particular feast of the Immaculate Conception, there was never a moment when the church was not full. It took two priests over an hour to distribute the eucharist at the early morning communion mass and, by the evening, the church was so packed that Bishop Plá y Deniel had difficulty making his way from the altar to the pulpit to give the traditional panegyric, extolling the image above the altar as the glorious product of an age when, "in contrast to modern laicisms", art was in thrall to the Kingship of Christ.⁵⁸

Similarly, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception 1931, an estimated 8,000 people took communion in the city of Salamanca while the churches were full from the early morning. The eucharist had become the focal point of every great liturgical celebration, even Marian ones. Thus, during the Ciudad Rodrigo celebrations of the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in 1931, over 600 people took the sacrament while the archconfraternity of the same name organised guards of honour — each of over thirty

57. GR, 12 February 1932.

58. 'Las fiestas del tricentenario de la Purísima de Ribera', BEOS (1935), 292- 294.

people — to accompany the Blessed Sacrament throughout the day.⁵⁹ The Immaculate Heart of Mary — shown with the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the reverse side of the Miraculous Medal — was depicted pierced with a sword.⁶⁰ Missionary Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary propagated the cult from their community house in Ciudad Rodrigo as they later encouraged devotion to the Virgin of Fatima. The cult of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was both iconographically and liturgically derivative of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, encouraging the same eucharistic practices of consecration and reparation.

If the cult of the Sacred Heart presented the world as a threat to sanctity, that of the Immaculate Conception and Heart of Mary saw in secular life a danger to chastity. As a laudatory celebration of Mary, the only human being born free of the stain of original sin, the only woman freed from the legacy of Eve, the Immaculate Conception was the church festival which women were most encouraged to make their own. Just as Eve, the first woman and the first sinner, was responsible for the Fall through disobedience, so Mary atoned for the sin of her sex by submitting to God's will and brought about the redemption of the world. A favourite theme for the sermons and novenas to Maria Purissima on her feast day was the origin of good and evil and the redemption of the world through the "angelic virtue of purity". The beauty of Mary, congregations were told, came only from the purity of her heart.⁶¹

In this battle for the moralisation of contemporary society, Catholic women were the standard bearers. For example, the Daughters of Mary — a Jesuit-directed sodality established in the provincial capital — responded to the apparently unstoppable wave of laicism sweeping over Spain under the Second Republic by establishing a "censor's office"

59. GR, 2 September, 8 December 1931.

60. A reference to Simeon's prophecy to Mary, Luke 2:35.

61. GR, 4, 5, 8 December 1931.

which tried to dictate public morals by preventing attendance at "bad or dangerous film showings". Using information and reviews from the Catholic press, the Daughters drew up an index of films on general release, advising the Salamancan faithful whether the film then showing in the city was one "with ecclesiastical licence" (white) or whether it "must not be seen for the certain danger which exists, at the very least that of illicit and scandalous cooperation" (red). From March 1934, these broadsheets were posted on the doors of the city's churches and were usually taken down as quickly as they were put up.⁶²

The Daughters also ran a "crusade of Christian modesty", dedicated to eradicating improper or revealing feminine dress. The dogma of the pure and unsullied nature of the Mother of God was often reduced to a rather belittling preoccupation with women's hemlines. The feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1935 was marked by an episcopal instruction to parish priests "to remind and encourage, in words appropriate for Christian women, Christian correctness in dress". Similarly, in 1932, a local devotional magazine had reprinted an article portraying the Heart of Mary calling women to penance. Threatening them with the wrath of divine justice, the Virgin blamed their misfortunes, those of their children and the evils besetting Spain on their nudity, provocation and immodesty. If they persisted in ignoring Papal strictures on the behaviour of Christian women they would be met with a punishment greater than any which had gone before.⁶³

62. Estrella del Mar (1931), 115; Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ xxxv (May 1934), xxxvii (June 1935).

63. BEOS (1935), 267. Ecos de mi Colegio, lvii (1932), 204; In the same issue, the magazine described the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, along with the declaration of papal infallibility, as the "two flowers" to emerge from the ashes of the revolutionary secularism of the nineteenth century.

The Daughters of Mary established in the city of Salamanca was the largest and most popular of all provincial confraternities.⁶⁴ As well as the "censor's office" and the "crusade of modesty", the sodality had sections for those dedicated to hearing Saturday mass, traditionally said in the Virgin's honour, those who formed the "guard of honour" for Mary Immaculate on feast days and a group dedicated to visiting the sick.⁶⁵ In addition, all members were also involved in charity work and the Daughters' considerable philanthropic efforts included the establishment of nine "Sewing-circles of the Immaculate Conception" which made and distributed clothes to the poor. They also ran four Sunday schools in the working-class *barrios* of the city, one of which was specifically for working girls and servants who could also join their own, separate section of the sodality.⁶⁶

Although founded as a Jesuit confraternity, the Daughters of Mary and St Teresa also functioned at parochial level. Far more popular than their male counterparts, these congregations were often found in rural parishes, under the direction of the parish priest.⁶⁷ The intentions of these parochial congregations were predominantly devotional. The primary aim of the Daughters of Mary of Los Santos, for example, was

64. The membership — girls and unmarried women — rose from 800 in 1918 and 857 in 1925 to reach an average of 1,200 during the turbulent years of the Republic, 'Memoria de la Residencia', 13, 20, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ. Figures were easily verified as congregants had to bring "attendance papers" to every monthly meeting, GR, 10 November 1931.

65. 'Memoria de la Residencia', 13, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

66. 'Memoria de la Residencia', 20, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ; Noticias de León SJ, xxxv (May 1934). Other female sodalities in the provincial capital dedicated to charity work included the Dominican- directed Association of Rosarists and Imeldas and Women's Catholic Action.

67. 200 existed in the province at the end of 1930, GR, 10 December 1930; Estrella del Mar (1930), 736-737.

to instill in young women the purest filial love for the Blessed Virgin Mary, through the practice of Christian virtues.

Members were to endeavour "before all else" to become "good daughters of such Sublime patronesses", particularly in their saying of the rosary, cult of the eucharist and defence of Christian modesty.

Membership of the congregation also brought with it various duties. The Los Santos Daughters of Mary were obliged to receive communion on the feast days of the Immaculate Conception and St Teresa of Avila as well as on the first Sunday of every month when they were also to attend a special service dedicated to the Virgin. Members also had to make monthly donations to a common fund which went to the church to buy candle wax, oil, holy pictures and other objects of cult. Those who habitually failed to meet these requirements or who were guilty of "immorality" or "grave faults" could be expelled by the directive committee.⁶⁸

The popularity of the Daughters of Mary in the province of Salamanca was undoubtedly partly the result of the way in which the congregation provided young women with occupations and hobbies which took them outside the strict domestic sphere to which contemporary society confined them. Catechesis, choral singing, fund-raising, even church cleaning, all offered new challenges in a world governed by domestic routine. However, the Daughters of Mary also emphasised the religious sensibilities of women and popular devotional practices figured heavily in associational activities. For instance, when the parish priest of Aldeavieja de Tormes inaugurated a congregation of the Daughters of Mary without due episcopal authority in April 1940, he justified his actions primarily as a

68. 'Reglamento de la Congregación de Hijas de María Inmaculada y Teresianas de la parroquia de la Villa de Los Santos', written in priest's hand and dated 24 May 1936, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, 'Acción Católica y asociaciones' *carpeta*.

means of attracting women to parish work; this had proved to be impossible without the added incentive of the devotional activities of the Daughters of Mary. He added that the "solemnity and enthusiasm" of the girls for benediction and the imposition of medals had persuaded him to proceed with this ceremony.⁶⁹

The Daughters of Mary successfully fostered women's emotional and spiritual attachments to the Church. Members were encouraged to promulgate the cult of the Blessed Sacrament, not least through their own appearances at frequent communion. They were also to be regular attenders at Marian devotions, especially rosaries and Saturday masses and frequent pilgrims to Our Lady's shrines around the province. In May 1934, for example, Juan Lamamié de Clairac brought together 2,000 Daughters of Mary from the province in a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Valdejimena.⁷⁰ Indeed, devotion to Mary was such that members would put "H de M", for Hija de María, after their signatures, just as nuns would put the initials of their religious order.⁷¹

In modelling themselves so overtly on the religious orders, members of the Marian Congregations — of which the Daughters of Mary was only one — followed the Jesuit ideal of "inner detachment", observing a psychological withdrawal from worldliness. The male congregations were always directed by a member of the Society of Jesus and were divided into the Congregation of Mary Immaculate and St Stanislaus Kostka (Kostkas) for schoolboys and the Congregation of Mary Immaculate and St Louis Gonzaga (Luisas) for

69. Correspondence from Padre Rodríguez Serrano, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, 'Acción Católica y asociaciones' *carpeta*.

70. GR, 12 August 1931; 'Memoria de la Residencia', 18, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ; Estrella del Mar (1934), 301. Members of the congregation in the provincial capital were expected to be daily communicants.

71. See e.g. Ecos de mi Colegio *passim*.

young men of university age. Women who had sons in either the Luises or the Kostkas could join the Congregants' Mothers' section while their husbands were welcomed into the Knights of the Immaculate Conception and St Ignatius, a separate congregation for adult men.⁷² All congregants were expected to participate regularly in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius, a four-week series of meditations which were deemed particularly appropriate for lay people, as they fostered the idea of "inner detachment", the cultivation of a personal, interior space where the individual could be alone with God.⁷³

Under the direction of Juan Lamamié de Clairac — who had charge of all the Marian Congregations of the city from 1922 to 1934 — membership of the first congregation of the Kostkas was open to boys over the age of seven. The personality of this severe, devout and zealous man left its mark on the children recruited to "the Virgin's cause".⁷⁴ Exacting standards of piety were demanded from them and all members were expected to hear mass and receive communion every day. The younger Kostkas were also encouraged to attend a daily rosary — always followed by a short talk from Father Clairac — as well as weekly catechism classes and study circles. Monthly retreats were obligatory and Kostkas were also encouraged to follow traditional devotional habits, such as attending mass three times on All Souls' Day. In a system reminiscent of that maintained

72. The male sodalities had only an erratic presence in the province; the Luises of San Cristóbal de la Cuesta, for example, had been founded by the parish priest while, in Campillo de Salvatierra, the schoolmaster, already a congregant when he received his posting, was responsible for the Luises. With only 38 congregations in 1930 the supposed provincial membership of 3,000 seems high, El Adelanto, 9 January 1930; GR, 12, 17 May, 10 December 1930; Estrella del Mar (1930), 733-734, 736-737.

73. For the history and development of the Ignatian Exercises, see The Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, 224-229.

74. Estrella del Mar (1930), 34.

by Nocturnal Adoration, the most exemplary congregants were enrolled in a special "Honor Section".⁷⁵

For the Kostkas, even purely recreational activities were punctuated with piety. Communal recitations of the rosary began both the 1938 tennis championship and the weekly puppet shows given by the older boys while congregants were encouraged to make regular visits to the image of Our Lady of the Garden in the grounds of their clubhouse.⁷⁶ As footsoldiers in the Virgin's cause, Kostkas were enjoined to avoid secular entertainments and warned from associating with non-Catholic children. Their allegiance to Mary was to be a public one; when on holiday, they were instructed to wear their blue congregants' ribbons at all times, occupy themselves with "healthy, honest" pastimes and read books which neither "harm your soul nor stain your purity".⁷⁷

This all-encompassing distinction between the forces of God and the forces of the world was carried over into the Luises, an association which carried Marian militancy into adult life and which, in the words of Father Clairac, represented "the cream and the aristocracy of youth".⁷⁸ At national level the congregation included leading Catholic laymen like Manuel Jiménez Fernández, professor of canon law at the university of Seville

75. Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxxiv (1934); Piedad y Patriotismo (Congregación de María Inmaculada y San Estanislao de Kostka. Salamanca) *passim*. Piedad y Patriotismo was produced from January 1936 to November 1939 but the only examples to have survived date from October 1938 to October 1939.

76. Piedad y Patriotismo, xiv (1938), 6; xvi (1939), 7; xvii (1939), 2.

77. Piedad y Patriotismo, xiv (1938), 1; xviii (1939), 8; xxii (1939), 8.

78. GR, 16 May 1932. Although the combined membership of Luises and Kostkas was 600 in 1918, the average attendance recorded for the congregation in 1925 was 61 university students with 120 participating in the annual spiritual exercises, 'Memoria de la Residencia', 20, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

and, later, CEDA minister of agriculture while José María Gil Robles — also a lawyer by training — had been a member of both the Salamancan and the Madrid congregations.⁷⁹

Like the Kostkas, the Luises were divided into sections of "Piety" and "Apostolate". The congregation was involved in charitable activities, but most of the Luises' activities were devotional. They were exhorted to address each other with the words "Ave María Purísima", and all congregants took a vow to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. This was renewed annually on the feast of Maria Purissima; in 1930, it took half an hour to distribute communion as 200 Kostkas and Luises together with 50 Knights of St Ignatius repeated their vows.⁸⁰

The Marian militancy of the Jesuit congregations divided the world into two camps, those who would defend the Virgin and those who would defile her. In the wake of the apparitions at Fatima in Portugal in 1917, such a view of the world appeared to be shared by the Virgin herself. The "secrets of Fatima" — revealed periodically by the seer Lucia from her Spanish Carmel — showed Mary's concern with the apostacy of Soviet Russia and the threat of communist anti-clericalism. Our Lady of Fatima presented a vision of a world divided. Rome, and Mary, was ranged against the Soviet Union in a struggle between the redeemed and the fallen.⁸¹

With the advent of the Second Republic, the Virgin once again appeared on earth, offering vivid, even violent, proof of the power of heaven againsts the onslaughts of secularising government. At Ezquioga in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, the visions of

79. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 41, 56, 71.

80. Estrella del Mar (1930), 737; GR, 6, 9, December 1930.

81. William Christian, 'Religious apparitions and the Cold War in Southern Europe' in Wolf (ed.), Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities, 242-243.

a woman called Ramona Olazábal soon created a mass-following. Just as hundreds of people claimed to have seen the sun spin in the sky at Fatima, so at Ezquioga, members of crowds up to 60,000 strong purported to have seen the Virgin Mary, an experience which invariably resulted in individual conversion. Ramona insisted that Mary had marked the palms of her hand with a sword; another seer reported how Our Lady of Sorrows appeared "surrounded by twenty-five angels ... with swords drawn". Among them was Saint Michael the archangel who held out "a sword dripping with blood" while the Virgin "was wiping the blood away from the sword with a white cloth."⁸²

Such apocalyptic visions constituted a dramatic warning to the forces of secularisation in Spain. They tapped a familiar vein in a popular religion built upon legends of miraculous apparitions and conversions and, as such, received considerable publicity throughout Spain. For example, uncritical accounts of the Ezquioga visions were published in Salamanca's Gaceta Regional.⁸³ The seers gained much credence in integrist and Carlist circles and those same Catholics who remained unreconciled to anything other than a confessional state often also espoused the cause of Ezquioga. Indeed, it was this link between irreconcilable integrism and the Basque apparitions that caused Cardinal Vidal i Barraquer publicly to discount them.

The hierarchy had long been sceptical of the Ezquioga visions and uncritical accounts of the events at Ezquioga were placed on the Index in June 1934.⁸⁴ Despite this forcible intervention by the ecclesiastical authorities, however, the legacy of the visions remained. The powerful images conjured up by accounts of Ezquioga were widely

82. Account of Francisco Goicoechea, "El Chico de Ataún", Walter Starkie Spanish Raggle Taggle (London, 1934), 135.

83. GR, 7 August, 13, 22 October 1931.

84. Decree of the Holy Office published BEOS (1934), 138.

covered in the press, as were the sixteen other visitations of the Virgin to Spain in 1931. There was also the Fatima story, an officially-sactioned apparition, the cult of which, far from being condemned, was actively encouraged by the Church. Such powerful portents attested, not only to the continuing power of the Church of Rome, but also to the fact that, as the forces of the Republic gathered strength in Spain, the Virgin Mary was to be found leading the armies of the faithful ranged against the Godless.

Chapter 5: Catholic Action and the creation of a lay apostolate

The historical and ideological origins of Catholic Action lie in post-unification Italy, where the Vatican, goaded into centralised efficiency by the removal of its temporal power, successfully sought to mobilise the laity in all walks of life, so fostering a discrete Catholic subculture, distinct from the established liberal order.¹ Similar attempts to unite the faithful in a coherent Catholic community were made in Restoration Spain. Collective aspirations to national, Christian regeneration were made by groups such as the Association of Catholics and the Catholic Union even before Catholic Action's first national *junta* was established in 1894.² The reforming pontificate of Pius X (1903-1914) gave new impetus to this tentative mobilisation of laypeople. His own parochial and diocesan experience convinced Pius of the pressing need for the collaboration of "enlightened, virtuous, decisive, and truly apostolic laymen". As pope, he repeatedly advocated lay initiatives and, in 1905, appealed to all Catholics to "pool all their vital forces in order to reinstate Jesus Christ to his position in the family, the school and society".³

-
1. Martin Clark, Modern Italy 1871-1982 (London, 1984), 86-88, 106-108 for a succinct account and further references.
 2. Spanish Catholic Action was officially recognised by the Vatican in 1903; the women's branch of the movement was established in 1919 and the male and female youth groups in 1924. On Catholic action and its precursors, see Vicente Cárcel Ortí, 'La revolución burguesa (1868-1874)' and Baldomero Jiménez Duque, 'Espiritualidad y apostolado' in García- Villoslada (ed.), La Iglesia en la España Contemporánea, 242-247, 442- 444, Domingo Benavides Gómez, Democracia y cristianismo en la España de la Restauración 1875-1931 (Madrid, 1978), 41-110 and Guy Hermet, Los católicos en la España franquista (2 vols.; Madrid, 1985), I, 213-244.
 3. In the encyclical Il fermo proposito; Jedin (ed.), The Church in the Industrial Age, 418-419.

Although in many ways the instigator of Catholic Action, Pius X was always careful to emphasize the laity's subordinate position *vis à vis* the clergy. The mission to restore "true Christian civilisation in Christ" could only be interpreted through the authority of the Roman Church. Building upon such a definition, Pius XI (1922-1929) elaborated the concept of Catholic Action, seeing it as "the participation and collaboration of the laity with the Apostolic Hierarchy".⁴ The aim of the movement was to bring about "the peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ"; like his two previous namesakes, Pius XI strove to remedy "God's displacement from society", exhorting Catholics to work for the primacy of Catholic values under the banner of Christ the King. Through the action of the lay apostolate, God the Son was to be restored to His rightful place on the throne of Christendom.⁵

The call for the assertion of "the Kingship of Christ in society" was inextricably linked to the Church's determination to roll back the tide of secularism. In Spain, this campaign for the regeneration of Spanish society built upon the pronounced tradition of regalism within the national Church; Christ was to regain his throne under the guidance of the restored monarchy and the protection of the Spanish state. Although, after military defeat by the United States of America in 1898, the call for regeneration was echoed throughout Spanish society, the Catholic version was always distinct. In Raymond Carr's words, Spain's intellectuals were wholeheartedly involved in the project of regeneration:

from the cardinal archbishop of Valladolid to Blasco Ibañez the Republican novelist, from professors to poets, from heirs of the sober tradition of

4. Non abbiamo bisogno (1931). Such a definition represented a change in papal thinking — Catholic Action had previously been seen as having an auxiliary rather than a participatory role.

5. The quotation is from Pius's inaugural encyclical, Ubi arcano; Aubert, The Church in a Secularised Society, 548, 576-577.

Jovellanos to political quacks, from Catalan nationalists to Castilian patriots. While Republicans held regenerationist meetings, the Catholic Congress voted on 'the participation of the clergy in the work of patriotic regeneration'. All were regenerationists of a kind.⁶

Their visions of the new Spain were, however, very different. For Catholics, the language of regeneration was that of monarchy. Expressed liturgically in devotion to the Sacred Heart and Christ the King, and politically in unswerving loyalty to the house of Bourbon, the Catholic ideal was that of the confessional state, with the alliance of throne and altar presiding over a totally Catholic society, one in which both social and cultural values were monopolised by the Church.⁷ Although the restoration of Alfonso XII in 1875 had ended the fearful experiment of a liberal, secular and pluralist Republic and reconfirmed the Church's privileged position, it had not succeeded in bringing about the true regeneration of which all churchmen dreamed. As the twentieth century progressed, fears of secularism were enhanced by the dread of popular anti-clericalism. After the 1909 Tragic Week, images of the burning churches of Barcelona or the grotesque picture of a rioter dancing in the streets with a nun's disinterred cadaver were engraved on Spain's Catholic consciousness.⁸

The reconversion of Spanish society was thus the true and urgent task of Catholic Action. The movement looked to mobilise Catholics at every level of society, creating parochial, diocesan and national networks of committed members of the faithful, working unceasingly for the return of Christian values in both the public and the private spheres.

6. Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1975 (2nd. ed.; Oxford, 1982), 473.

7. See further, Frances Lannon, 'Modern Spain: the Project of a National Catholicism', in S. Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity (Oxford, 1982), 567-590.

8. Joan Connolly Ullman, The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912 (Harvard, 1968).

An extraordinary array of discrete organisations was established under the Restoration monarchy; some existed to encourage Catholic women in the remoralisation of contemporary society, others to educate Catholic elites in the duties of leadership or to foster fraternity among Catholic workers, traditional values among Catholic peasants and correct modes of behaviour among Catholic students. In the 1920s, some attempt was made to meld this myriad of separate associations into a coherent movement. In 1922, for example, the national hierarchy launched a "great social campaign"

to stem the gangrene which is eating away the cells of the social organism and apply a suitable treatment which ... will cure all members of society, leading to the return of the reign of harmony, order, justice and peace.⁹

In the following year, the seizure of power by General Miguel Primo de Rivera appeared to offer the Church a unique opportunity for regeneration. The *coup d'état* ended both a corrupt parliamentary regime and a prolonged period of social unrest in Spain and Primo was lauded on all sides as the saviour of his country. For Catholics, this authoritarian image was a particularly potent one. Here, at last, was a leader capable of cutting out the rottenness affecting Spain. This new impetus towards regeneration did not leave Catholic Action unaffected. Diocesan and parochial reorganisation was undertaken in 1926 and, in 1929, the cardinal primate, Pedro Segura, organised the movement's first National Congress in Toledo. Practical success, however, still proved elusive.

Spanish Catholic Action has been described, with some justification, as "little more than a ritual lament that things were as they were, and an institutional aspiration that they

9. 'Sobre peligros de la sociedad y sus remedios: una gran campaña social', in Iribarren (ed.), Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 113-114.

should be different."¹⁰ Certainly, the "great social campaign" soon evaporated into nothingness. The "social university" seen by the bishops as a remedy for the ills affecting Spanish society remained an episcopal pipe-dream, education and welfare were still hopelessly underfunded and those Catholic trade unions that existed continued to be dogged by a deserved reputation for blacklegging.¹¹ Yet, Catholics continued to bewail the loss of traditional religious, patriotic and social values. The calamities of the nineteenth century, which began with the Napoleonic invasion and culminated in the First Republic, caused Spanish Catholics to turn their backs on recent history, and look back to a mythicised Golden Age when Spain, faithful to the way of the cross, was a great nation and her subjects, mindful of their good fortune, were content with their lot and proud of their heritage.

The idealised nostalgia which informed so much of contemporary Catholic culture was clearly in evidence in a short course run for Catholic Action in Ciudad Rodrigo in January 1930. Bishop López Arana opened the course with references to "a social-religious-secular apostolate to bring about the reign of Christ in the world", a theme taken up by the guest speaker, Father Sisinio Nevares SJ, who referred to Catholic Action as the means

to counteract the disastrous effects of modern errors which under the name of liberalism and nationalism have tried to dethrone Christ the King in the consciences, spirits and customs of the people.

The organisation itself was, however, merely defined in vague terms as being religious, non-political and subordinate to the hierarchy.¹²

10. Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 148.

11. On the "yellow" unions of Castile see Juan José Castillo, El sindicalismo amarillo en España. Aportación al estudio del catolicismo social (1912- 1923) (Madrid, 1977), Parte II.

12. 'Cursillo de Acción Católica', GR, 3, 7, January 1930.

One feature that all apologists of Catholic Action agreed upon was its lay nature, counterbalanced by a secondary position of dependence on the episcopacy. By papal decree, the chaplains and presidents of all diocesan Catholic Action committees were nominated by the local incumbent.¹³ The predominance of the priests reflected the structure of the individual youth groups and pious associations which made up the composite Catholic Action movement, all of which remained firmly under clerical control even while being organised and run by lay people. Once again, a sharp distinction was drawn between the clergy, celibate representatives of Christ living apart from the contaminated world, and the laity.

This relationship between people and clergy was commonly referred to as "filial". Envisaged in idealised and patriarchal terms, it reflected the greater relationship between God the Father and His children on earth. Indeed, the clergy were not infrequently seen as more heavenly than human. One Catholic Action circular referred to them as "living representatives of our Divine Saviour" and "the ambassadors of paradise".¹⁴ Although all Christians were apostles, lay people were not to "guide, judge or give orders" but were rather "to be guided and obey". Any other attitude would be against the will of Christ for, although the laity was distinct from the clergy, there was no opposition between them "just as there is no opposition between fathers and children".¹⁵

The unhesitating distinction which was drawn between sacred and secular,

13. Non abbiamo bisogno

14. 'A las juntas de las Uniones Diocesanas', circular letter from the Junta Suprema de la Confederación de Mujeres Católicas de España, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, 'Acción Católica y asociaciones' *carpeta*.

15. Cipriano Montserrat, Enciclopedia del Católico (3 vols., Barcelona, 1951; 1st published Milan, no date), 'Acción Católica' entry, I, 481-484.

clergy and laity, had other implications for the mass mobilisation of the faithful in Catholic Action. In order to maintain their Christ-like status the clergy were confined to the realm of the holy. Participation in secular life was forbidden to them, except in their role as confessors, advisers and spiritual directors. Yet, paradoxically, the hierarchy was dedicated to the regeneration of secular society, looking back to an idealised, unspecified period when public morals were such that even priests could venture into the outside world without jeopardising either their souls or their clerical position. This mission was, therefore, entrusted to the men and women of Catholic Action who were to act as the clergy's *longa manus*, entering into areas where the "true hierarchy" could not act.¹⁶

In aiming for the remoralisation of Spanish society, Catholic Action had set itself a huge and, it claimed, a revolutionary task. However, in reality, the most common local structure of Catholic Action was that of an umbrella diocesan committee making ineffective efforts to coordinate a myriad of confraternities, sodalities, professional bodies, charitable associations and confessional pressure groups. The organisational reality of Catholic Action was revealed by Angel Herrera Oria — national director of Spanish Catholic Action from 1933 — in a talk given to the Jesuit novices from Salamanca in exile at Marquain. When describing the progress of Catholic Action in Spain, he said that, in areas with pre-existing church groups such as the Marian Congregations, Catholic Action

only has to orientate their apostolic activities, looking towards a united campaign, but always leaving their autonomy intact¹⁷

In practice, this directive policy inevitably meant that these independent societies

16. *Ibid.*

17. Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ, xxxvi (1934).

and sodalities carried on as before with occasional rhetorical gestures in the direction of Catholic Action. It was a measure of the weakness of such a structure that Catholic Action never developed an independent male branch. Although the national movement had been divided between male and female branches since 1926, the existence of the adult male branch was never more than nominal.¹⁸ At local level, this male role was taken by the Association of Catholic Fathers of Families which took its place beside the Diocesan Union of Catholic Women and the male and female youth groups in January 1936 at the first diocesan assembly of Catholic Action to be held in Ciudad Rodrigo.¹⁹ In Salamanca, although papal and primatial directives on Catholic Action were all duly published in the episcopal bulletin, the diocesan structure was even more flimsy. There was no Catholic Action committee although Bishop Frutos Valiente appointed the cathedral canon José Artero as episcopal representative in 1930. Although there was a Catholic Fathers' Association, this only became active under the Republic in response to the legislative threats of state secularisation. The only Salamancan representative to attend the 1932 national congress of the Catholic Fathers came not from the provincial capital but from Béjar. Even this active branch could, however, only report a rise in the distribution of the associational bulletin, the annual celebration of the feast of the Holy Family and an intention to promote the practice of spiritual exercises.²⁰

18. The juvenile branches, however, both male and female, were strong. This was recognised in 1931, when Spanish Catholic Action was further divided into adult and juvenile branches, again both separated by gender, Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, I, 213-215.

19. *GR*, 9 January 1936; the diocesan Catholic Action steering committee was, however, all male.

20. *BEOS* (1930), 320; *GR*, 18, 25 November 1931; 4 July, 7 November 1932.

Such autonomous Catholic Action associations as did exist hardly gave the impression of having been forged in a radical mould. In effect, they simply continued with the traditional work of voluntary Church associations, despite the challenging rhetoric in which their works were dressed. By the 1930s, only two parishes in the provincial capital had established Catholic Action groups, and both of these were primarily concerned with parochial catechesis and the inevitable sewing circles for the deserving poor. Similarly, the main preoccupations revealed by the speakers at the Ciudad Rodrigo diocesan assembly were religious instruction and Catholic propaganda. A good indication of the association's priorities in Ciudad Rodrigo was given by the summary of achievements in the previous year. These were raising money for the unemployed, holding Catholic Action day schools, running a week "For Church and Fatherland", celebrating the Pope's feast day, establishing monthly religious retreats and "taking steps to stamp out blasphemy".²¹ There is a strong impression that discussing future programmes and the organisation's role in local society were the main activities of this particular branch of Catholic Action. Certainly, words figured more largely than action.

The same accusation could not be levelled at the provincial capital's Women's Catholic Action, one of the most active of all the church groups established in the city. In marked contrast to the other branches of Catholic Action, Salamanca's women's section was directed by the Society of Jesus and the ladies' chaplain and spiritual adviser was the father superior of the city's Jesuit residence. Unsurprisingly, the association resembled the Jesuit sodalities rather than the diocesan lay groups. A holy hour of meditation before the eucharist was held every month and the spiritual exercises of St Ignatius were given annually. On all occasions, the class segregation so typical of the Society of Jesus was

21. GR, 9, 19 January 1936.

rigorously followed. As was usual, separate spiritual exercises were held for "workers and servants" and for "ladies and young ladies", and the two social groups also heard mass at different times.²²

The reasons underlying this Jesuit take-over of what was usually understood to be a diocesan initiative are to be found in the close links the Society had forged with the city's upper classes. The president and benefactress of Women's Catholic Action was Rosa Sánchez Sevillano, one of the Jesuits' most generous local patrons. In her role as the association's Maecenas, Sánchez Sevillano encouraged the ladies of Catholic Action to concern themselves particularly with the charitable works which complemented their many devotional and pious activities. She instigated a subscription in aid of the unemployed workers of the city in January 1932. The money raised was not to go directly to the needy but was rather to be used as funding for repairs to the partially-ruined city churches of Santiago and San Boal. Sánchez Sevillano financed the first of these projects herself, although the church furnishings were all donated. Building work had finished by April 1932 when Juan Lamamié de Clairac SJ conducted the inaugural rites. A month later, the first group of children were preparing to make their first communions here, again under the direction of Father Clairac.²³

This church refurbishment scheme succeeded in being at once both innovative and conservative. Creating jobs rather than relying on beneficence to relieve the effects of poverty was both imaginative and sensible. However, it was no coincidence that the

22. GR, 1, 4 April 1930; 27 May 1931. The Ignatian Exercises were normally given according to social or occupational group, see Noticias de la provincia de León SJ, *passim*.

23. GR, 21 January, 18 April, 10 May 1932; Acción Católica de la Mujer was also involved in catechetical and educational work in the *barrios* of Prosperidad and Santa María la Blanca, the latter being a joint venture with the Knights of St Ignatius.

employment scheme chosen was that of restoring churches. Despite the fact that the unemployed, unskilled urban labourers who worked on the project were highly unlikely to be church-goers themselves, the scheme was hailed as an inspired step towards the regeneration of Salamanacan society. The need of the poor for food, regular incomes and sanitary housing was secondary to their need for religious instruction. They were, therefore, employed to rebuild churches which were unlikely to be frequented by the cold or the hungry except to beg from the affluent congregations as they came out of mass. Yet, to the ladies of Catholic Action, the creation of new places of worship was fundamental to alleviating the condition of the poor.

This insistence on the religious nature of social problems allowed Catholic Action to present itself as a purely pious movement, completely apart from politics. The idea of Catholic Action as explicitly and essentially non-political featured in all definitions of the organisation. Herrera Oria, in an address given in June 1933, explained that Catholic Action was not "political action" as the Church could not be confined within narrow party limits. God's Church was "the celestial city" and all political parties belonged to "the terrestrial city". Their ends were different; the Church looked towards the glory of God and the welfare of souls while political parties were concerned with the well-being and prosperity of the state. This distinction between the religious and political spheres did not, however, mean that the two were separate. Nor was Herrera suggesting that politics should be divorced from religion. On the contrary, members of Catholic Action were to be "aware of national problems" and "zealous in the defence of the Church". Indeed, the political order was always to be subject to the spiritual realm. Although citizens were enjoined to "give unto Caesar", they were also reminded that even Caesar was ultimately subject to God.²⁴

24. 'Objetivos e instrumentos de la Acción Católica', Angel Herrera Oria, Obras selectas (Madrid, 1963), 482-484.

These theological elaborations belied Herrera's assertion that the creation of Catholic Action had clarified the previous confusion between the political and the religious spheres. Essentially, the non-political nature of Catholic Action simply meant that it did not itself take part in parliamentary politics nor was it allied with any one party. However, it could and did wage political campaigns, such as the petitions against the anti-clerical clauses of the Republican constitution which were organised by Catholic Action in both Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1931.²⁵ This paradoxical position was, in many ways, unsurprising given that Catholic Action was the lay wing of a church which had affirmed freedom of political choice for its adherents in the very encyclical which reiterated the papal condemnation of liberalism, socialism and communism.²⁶ The Church's political ideal remained that of the confessional state where the Church's monopoly of the truth would be confirmed by law. Such a preference was revealed as much in the political praxis of Catholic Action as in the political philosophy of the popes.

In Spain, as in Italy, the Church's aspirations towards a totally Catholic society found concrete expression in the fostering of an alternative Christian culture, offering the faithful different political, literary and social choices to those provided by a liberal state. This programme was largely realised, at least on a national level, through the work of an anomalous and peculiarly Spanish institution, the National Association of Catholic Propagandists (ACNdeP). From its foundation by Father Angel Ayala SJ in Madrid in

25. GR, 26 August 1931; 22 January 1932.

26. Rerum novarum, reiterated Quadragesimo anno.

1908, the ACNdeP quickly became both the most elusive and the most influential of all contemporary Catholic lay groups. Its aims were familiar, although its methods were not. Angel Herrera Oria, president of the Association until 1936, later described it as

a great institution, champion of the rights of the Church, against the attacks of sectarianism.²⁷

It was dedicated to the defence of the Church through the diffusion of Catholic propaganda and teaching in both the social and political spheres. In order to achieve this most effectively, the Association was both small in numbers and discreet in operations.²⁸

The ACNdeP was an uncompromisingly elitist organisation. From the beginning, the Association insisted upon remaining "a very select minority", as befitted its nature as one of the "institutions called upon to lead".²⁹ It had developed out of the Madrid Congregation of St Luis Gonzaga; the Association's seventeen founder members were hand-picked by Father Ayala, the Luises' spiritual director. These young men, who included Angel Herrera and José María Lamamié de Clairac, were chosen for "their

27. Herrera Oria, Obras, 843. Herrera assumed the presidency soon after the ACNdeP's foundation as Ayala was moved away from his *protégés* by his Jesuit superiors on suspicion of unsuitable political involvement (it was feared that the new association was integrist in sympathy and supported the Carlist pretender to the throne), José María García Escudero, Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera (Madrid, 1986), 17.

28. The number of active Propagandists who had ever worked in the Association in the period 1908-1936 totalled a mere 119, José María García Escudero, El pensamiento de Angel Herrera. Antología política y social (Madrid, 1987), 281. There is an official history of the ACNdeP, Isidoro Martín and Nicolás González Ruiz, Seglares en la historia del catolicismo español (Madrid, 1968) which is countebalanced by A. Sáez Alba's highly critical account, La otra "cosa nostra". La Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (Paris, 1974). See also Javier Tusell, Historia de la democracia cristiana en España (2 vols.; Madrid, 1974), I, 53-62; Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 163-165.

29. García Escudero, El pensamiento de Angel Herrera, 282; the ACNdeP as a structural elite is discussed in Hermet, Los católicos en la España franquista, I, 244-261.

oratorical aptitude, for their talent, and for their spirit".³⁰ The same criteria continued to be used in the selection of Propagandists, whose ranks came to include Spain's leading Catholic laymen. Although the integrist and Traditionalist Lamamié de Clairac soon left the Propagandists, accusing them of betraying the Catholic cause, the other founder member from Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo's José Manuel de Aristizábal, remained within the Association, becoming one of its most publicly prominent members.³¹ His fellow Salamancan, José María Gil Robles, despite having been cautioned against the Propagandists by the Lamamié de Clairac family, joined the Association in Madrid in 1922. Gil Robles' decision may have been influenced by Nicolás Rodríguez Aniceto, professor of Political Law at Salamanca university and a leading local member of the ACNdeP.³² Another university professor, Francisco Cantera, was both secretary of the Association's Salamancan branch and a member of the directive of the local Federation of Catholic Students, a body which had been set up by the Propagandists. The 1930 President of the University of Salamanca's Federation of Catholic Students, José Durán y Sanz, went on to become secretary of the Castilian-Leonese region of the ACNdeP. Indeed, apart from a small but resolute Traditionalist minority, Catholic university circles in Salamanca were dominated by the Propagandists, who gave institutional continuity to an otherwise

30. Quoted Tusell, Historia de la democracia cristiana, 54; for Herrera's account of the foundation of the ACNdeP, see 'En el muerte del Padre Ayala', Obras, 842.

31. Clairac followed the Traditionalist line, given full expression in the columns of El Siglo Futuro, in condemning Herrera, the Propagandists and, particularly El Debate for their determinedly apolitical stance, interpreted by the Carlists as "liberal" as they participated in "liberal" society and government, García Escudero, Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera, 19-20; for the future career of Aristizábal, see below.

32. He was one of the tutors to whom Gil Robles recorded a special debt in his memoirs, La fe a través de mi vida, 47.

transient society whose members changed with every new generation of students.³³

This creation of a permanent body giving effective expression to Catholic thought and teaching at both national and provincial level was Ayala's greatest achievement, the pinnacle of a career which had been dedicated to the "education of the select". In his memoirs, José María Gil Robles called Ayala "above all, a founder of new institutions (*obras*) and a forger of men".³⁴ The same words were also used to describe the organisation he founded: the ACNdeP was a "mother of institutions but, above all else, mother of men".³⁵ Similarly, the bishop of Salamanca had told the Propagandists of Castilla-León in April 1931 that the ACNdeP was

the flame, the forge and the school of those who are trained for action and who, strong in the spirit of obedience and discipline, do all that they can for the salvation of Spain.³⁶

Membership of such a select and respected group clearly endowed individual Propagandists with a great sense of personal worth. The Association had come into existence as a carefully trained band of religious *virtuosi*. As in the Luises, links with the Jesuits, both symbolic and practical, remained strong but the sense of involvement which could be obtained as a Propagandist far outstripped anything available to ordinary congregants. Like the warrior-monks of the Society of Jesus, the Propagandists had a clear

33. Boys from both Propagandist and integrist backgrounds mingled in the Luises where e.g. the involvement of the Lamamié de Clairac family remained strong despite their estrangement from the "liberal" Jesuits of the ACNdeP.

34. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 73-74; Ayala himself wrote a book entitled Formación de selectos (Madrid, 1940).

35. García Escudero, Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera, 18.

36. GR, 6 April 1931.

sense of purpose. Despite their lay status, these men believed in their vocation: they had been called by God to do His work on earth, they had been summoned to the salvation of Spain.

The first Propagandists were formally received into the Association on the feast of St Francis Xavier, the most famous of all Jesuit missionaries, in a ceremony which owed much to the inaugural rites of the Marian Congregations. Indeed, the associational activities of the ACNdeP were closely modelled on those of the Luises. Study circles featured regularly in the activities of the Association's branches: the Salamancan group inaugurated a new study programme each academic year, invariably including select, invitation-only public lectures on aspects of papal teaching and Catholic social thought, given to audiences composed mainly of university lecturers, professors, schoolteachers and students.³⁷

The individual pious commitment made by the Propagandists was also considerable.³⁸ The Association was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and members took part in a collective recitation of the rosary on Saturdays, the day traditionally dedicated to Mary, and received communion together once a month. Both devotional practices were repeated before any public event organised by the ACNdeP.³⁹ Once a year all Propagandists participated in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius. The Castilian-Leonese branch of the Association met annually in the Jesuit residence in Salamanca where

37. The inauguration of the 1930 study circle took place in the bishop's palace, GR, 23 October 1930; for details of public meetings given by the ACNdeP in the provincial capital and Béjar, see GR, 16 April 1930; 6, 7, April 1931.

38. This was, not infrequently, the extension of devotional practices already carried out by members as individuals and heads of families. For example, the household in which Gil Robles was brought up said the rosary together every night of the week, as well as the Marian Ejaculations in May, La fe a través de mi vida, 21, 70.

39. Tusell, Historia de la democracia cristiana, 53; Herrera Oria, Obras, 848.

the Exercises were directed either by one of the local fathers or, on separate occasions, Enrique and Luis Herrera Oria, two of Angel's Jesuit brothers.⁴⁰

The ACNdeP's prevailing self-image was that of a Catholic fifth column, dedicated to influencing society from within. It worked unceasingly for this end, both at national and local level. With the financial backing of the Basque banker and religious philanthropist, José María Urquijo, the Association had founded the Catholic Editorial in 1913, establishing itself as a commanding presence in the national press. In the previous year, the ACNdeP had taken over Spain's leading Catholic daily, El Debate, under the editorship of Angel Herrera Oria.⁴¹ Many of the country's numerous provincial papers were also controlled by the Association. In 1932, in a move which paralleled the foundation of El Debate, Salamanca's own Gaceta Regional was bought up by the province's Catholic deputies — Gil Robles, Lamamié de Clairac and Cándido Casanueva — with the financial backing of a consortium of local businessmen.⁴²

-
40. The Exercises were held from 1928 when they were attended by 25 Propagandists including Angel Herrera, 'Colegio Noviciado de San Estanislao', 7, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ; 45 Propagandists from Madrid, Valladolid and Salamanca is the figure recorded for 1930, Noticias de León SJ, xxx (May, 1930), xxxi (February, 1931), while 40 attended the regional assembly in 1931 which, as always, was preceded by Spiritual Exercises held in retreat, GR, 6 April 1931. Despite this strong Jesuit direction, the ACNdeP's chaplains in Salamanca were the cathedral canons, José Artero and Santos Gutiérrez Flores.
41. Herrera was editor of El Debate until 8 February 1933 when he left to become President of Catholic Action; Gil Robles was on the editorial staff from September 1922 and recalled that the study circles held by the Madrid ACNdeP usually took place in the El Debate offices, Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 78-80. For Herrera's account of the foundation of El Debate and the Catholic Editorial by Ayala, Urquijo and himself, see García Escudero, El pensamiento de Angel Herrera, 285-287.
42. The considerable sum of 65,000 *pesetas* was made available, José Ramón Martín Vasallo, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca 1931-1936 (Salamanca, 1982), 80.

A local Propagandist, Eduardo Jiménez del Rey, was then appointed editor, a position he retained until the paper was incorporated into Franco's war effort in November 1936.

The pre-eminence of the position occupied by the Propagandists in lay Catholic activity was confirmed in 1933 when Angel Herrera was appointed to the presidency of Spanish Catholic Action. The ACNdeP collaborated with the hierarchy in the remodelling of Catholic Action and made up three quarters of the new, national directive committee.⁴³ Twelve of the eighteen places on the 1933 Catholic Action *junta* were taken by members of the ACNdeP, including Francisco Cantera from Salamanca. This virtual take-over of the Catholic Action directive by the Propagandists was a vitally important move in achieving their explicit aim of creating a unity of Catholics in Spanish public life. However, the predominance of the ACNdeP within Catholic Action, while undoubtedly increasing the wider movement's organisational effectiveness, also served to highlight its most fundamental weakness. Catholic Action and, indeed, the Spanish Church in general, suffered from no shortage of leaders. It was severely lacking in people to lead.

This concentration on generals rather than foot-soldiers affected every level of lay Catholic activity. The reasoning behind such an emphasis was succinctly expressed in an address given to Catholic Action in Ciudad Rodrigo by Sisinio Nevares SJ, founder of the National Catholic Agrarian Confederation. After appealing to all sons and daughters of the Church to join "a veteran army" marching to "the triumph of the great Catholic ideals",

43. This restructuring of Catholic Action established parochial committees, diocesan federations and a national directive. Diocesan and national committees were episcopally appointed. All Catholic bodies were to be connected to parochial and diocesan Catholic Action while retaining their own autonomy, 'Bases para la reorganización de la Acción Católica Española', *BEOS* (1934), 119-123.

Nevares went on to say that the greatest difficulty facing the Church was the lack of men "prepared for leadership". He claimed that it was useless to form associations, trade unions or agrarian federations if there were no "solid Catholics" available to direct them.⁴⁴ The frequency of such directives successfully disguised the fact that this was a misplaced emphasis, one which reflected class preference rather than organisational need. Despite the protestations of Father Nevares, the exclusivity of groups like the ACNdeP or the women's branch of Salamanca's Catholic Action, gave the lie to this supposed lack of directors. At least in the provincial capital, Catholic Action had no shortage of presidents, patrons and propagandists. Yet, this dedicated and militant leadership never succeeded in bringing its mission to the bulk of the city's workers. The working class of Salamanca remained outside the orbit of organised religion.

It would not be either fair or accurate to suggest that the Catholic Church was unaware that its urban support was concentrated upon the bourgeoisie to the virtual exclusion of the working class. Nor was the rural church as confident as might be supposed. Although in the country areas of Castile the religious practices of centuries continued largely unchanged, they did so against a background of rural depopulation, rapid urban growth and the persistent fear of southern-style anticlericalism. The Church consistently paid tribute to the Christianity of the countryside but it was always concerned to keep the allegiance of its already depleted congregations. Some practical steps were taken by local Catholic Action groups. Although direct involvement in diocesan pastoral affairs was unusual even in the ever popular field of "social Catholicism", the Salamancan Propagandists even offered their help in organising Catholic Youth groups in parish

44. 'Cursillo de Acción Católica', GR, 3 January 1930.

centres around the province.⁴⁵

The over-arching hierarchical concern with "the social question" which characterised so much contemporary Catholic activity was the product of an acute awareness that the body of the faithful was drawn from a relatively narrow class base. Social Catholicism had become one of the prime concerns of the Church in western Europe since Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, Rerum novarum, which looked to find "some remedy" for the "misery and wretchedness of the working class" and, while rejecting the solutions offered by liberalism or socialism, encouraged working class aspirations by endorsing trade unions and reminding employers of their duty to pay a just "family wage". Leonine social thought looked to steer a middle way between communism and capitalism. Rejecting both the atomised individuals of liberal democracy and the antagonistic classes of socialism, it posited the community as the natural unit of society. The key to social reconstruction lay in the ownership of property; a society of small proprietors would allow workers to defend their class interests without sacrificing the greater goal of social harmony.⁴⁶

In Spain, this papal initiative gave rise to considerable social Catholic activity, spanning a diverse series of patronal unions, workers only unions, Catholic workers' circles, mutual insurance schemes, rural savings banks and agrarian federations.⁴⁷ In the province of Salamanca, most social Catholic activity took place in the agricultural sphere,

45. GR, 2 January 1931.

46. Rerum novarum (1891); Leo XIII's ideas were given an added impetus in 1931 with the publication of Pius XI's Quadragesimo anno which gave modern Catholic social thought a distinct, if vague, corporatist slant. See further below, chapter 8.

47. Accounts of the period before the Second Republic are given in Andrés- Gallego, Pensamiento y acción social de la Iglesia and Benavides Gómez, Democracia y cristianismo en la España de la Restauración, 211-323; a condensed account is given by Rafael María Sanz de Diego, 'La Iglesia

although sporadic initiatives were made among the industrial and artisanal workers of the province's two cathedral cities. The provincial capital had a Women's Syndicate of Seamstresses and Servants founded in 1920 by the Jesuits with the help of Women's Catholic Action. With great pride, and no small degree of optimism, the union claimed to have succeeded in "thwarting completely" socialist efforts at unionisation.⁴⁸ A General Women's Union was also established in Ciudad Rodrigo by 1933, bringing to three the number of Catholic unions in the city.⁴⁹ In both cases, these women's syndicates appear to have been the only unionising initiatives to be aimed exclusively at female labour. Although Catholic unions had only a minor part to play in the syndical activity of either town — and even less of a role in industrial Béjar where no Catholic unions at all were recorded on the 1931 census — the lack of interest displayed by the area's major Socialist unions in winning the allegiance of female workers left that particular field open to the Church.

In general, however, Catholic unions were dwarfed by their Socialist counterparts. In 1931, by far the largest provincial union was the National Railway Union, affiliated to the socialist General Workers' Union (UGT), which had 1,597 members in Salamanca. Fourteen other labour movement syndicates were established in the provincial capital with a further thirteen in Béjar. Although Ciudad Rodrigo, a city lacking any industrial base,

Española ante el reto de la industrialización' in García-Villoslada(ed.), La iglesia en la España contemporánea. There is a full, discursive bibliography in Josefina Cuesta Bustillo, 'Estudios sobre el catolicismo español (1915-30). Un estado de la cuestión'. I am grateful to Doctora Cuesta for letting me see her article in manuscript form.

48. The union was refounded as the Workers and Servants' Sydicate in January 1935, 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', 10, 20, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.
49. GR, 6 January 1933. There was also a general union as well as a syndicate for workers in the tailoring trade; the latter had 160 members in 1931, 'Censo social electoral', GR, 27 October 1931.

had only one recorded non-Catholic union, it was the largest syndicate in town with a total of 277 construction workers registered as members.⁵⁰ In the following year, the situation in the provincial capital was largely unchanged. Nine employers' associations and sixteen trade unions were registered in the corporative census published in February 1932. While the patronal groups were all firmly anti-socialist, all but four of the unions gave their address as the UGT's *casa del pueblo* and only one of these four was avowedly confessional.⁵¹ The unpopularity of Church unions in a province conspicuous for its high levels of Catholic practice highlights the extent to which the urban proletariat had become alienated from the Church. It also confirms that Catholic syndicates were widely regarded as employers' stooges, created for the patrons' convenience rather than the defence of workers' interests.

Much that happened in Salamanca lent credence to this belief. The Federation of Professional Syndicates established in the city of Salamanca was led through the 1920s by Lamamié de Clairac. In 1935, a Catholic Patrons Organisation was founded by the Jesuits together with the Knights of St Ignatius. Claiming nearly 200 affiliated members, the organisation aimed to overcome "the indifference of most and the hostility of many" by defending the employers' interests "according to Catholic moral norms".⁵² Less than a year after its foundation, however, the *patronal* was sharply criticised in the columns of the Gaceta Regional. Letters published from 'anti-Marxist workers' and a Christian trade unionist stated that the social work carried out by the Catholic Patrons had been negligible,

50. 'Censo social electoral', GR, 27 October 1931.

51. Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Salamanca, 6 February 1932.

52. 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', 25, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ; BEOS (1935), 299.

and that its members only used workers from the Professional Syndicates when the Socialist unions were out on strike.⁵³

The Church's wooing of the urban proletariat, such as it was, relied heavily on the irrefutability of revealed religion rather than popular identification with the workers' cause. The Salamancan ACNdeP, for instance, instituted two grants for working men to attend a four month course in social Catholic teaching at the Workers' Social Institute established by Herrera in Madrid. After attending the course, the students were to return to their workplaces to sow "the seed of truth".⁵⁴ A similar belief in the power of conversion underpinned Bishop Plá y Deniel's encouragement of social Catholic campaigns after he took possession of the Salamancan see in 1935. Plá wanted to centralise and strengthen such activity in the diocese, providing new opportunities for workers at the same time as reminding employers of their social and charitable duties. To this end, he founded a Social Catholic House in the provincial capital. This was open to all Catholic organisations and, in the belief that greater religious knowledge would pave the way to reconversion, planned to provide catechesis for children and workers and to spread the social teaching of the Church. More practical ambitions were to foster the development of unions and insurance schemes for Christian workers, encourage educational and recreational activities for labourers and their families and finance the building of cheap and sanitary housing.⁵⁵ These ambitious projects for workers were heavily dependent on money provided by the employers. The meeting called by the bishop

53. Open letter from the Sindicatos Profesionales de Oficios Varios y ramo de la madera, GR, 10 March 1936; occasional column by "a Christian syndicalist", GR, 17 February 1936.

54. GR, 3 March 1933.

55. 'Reglamento de la Casa Social Católica de Salamanca', Archivo diocesano de Salamanca, 'Acción Católica y asociaciones 1935-44' *carpeta*.

to launch the campaign to open the Social Catholic House was attended by "those of the greatest social standing in Salamanca", including the vice-president of Salamanca's Catholic Agrarian Federation, Luis Bermúdez de Castro, Viscount of Revilla.⁵⁶ Similarly, the cheap housing scheme, which antedated the Social Catholic House by some years, was reliant upon gifts and private monies, notably those donated by Rosa Sánchez Sevillano.⁵⁷

Despite these considerable shortcomings, the appointment of Plá y Deniel to the Salamancan see gave the diocesan Catholic Action movement a badly needed impetus. Social Catholic initiatives before 1935 had been haphazard and erratic, lacking the coherent episcopal direction which had been a feature of such provision in the Ciudad Rodrigo bishopric since Ramón Barberá Boada took possession of the see in 1908. In the same year, in recognition both of the overwhelmingly agricultural nature of his diocese and its great poverty, Barberá established the first Catholic Agrarian Federation in the peninsular, nine years before such an organisation was founded in the larger, neighbouring diocese of Salamanca.⁵⁸ In the 1930s, the Ciudad Rodrigo clergy still took an active part in establishing agrarian unions. The foundation of all new syndicates was recorded in the diocesan bulletin which was also used to relay news of developments in the federation. In

56. BEOS (1935), 258.

57. Accounts and document, 'Terrenos, cantera, herramientas y materiales que tenemos adquiridos para la construcción de casas baratas para los afiliados de la Federación de Sindicatos de Obreros Profesionales', dated 7 April 1934, Archivo diocesano de Salamanca.

58. For the early history of the Ciudad Rodrigo federation and the influence of Barberá see Josefina Cuesta, Sindicalismo católico agrario en España (1917-1919) (Madrid, 1978), 142-148. Barberá was translated to the diocese of Palencia in 1914 and remained there until his death in 1924, Cuenca Toribio, Sociología del episcopado Español y Hispanoamericano, 544-545.

1931, village priests were reminded that there was an active Catholic agrarian "propaganda commission" available to visit any parishes at the incumbent's request.⁵⁹ In contrast, far from being a diocesan initiative, the foundation of the Salamancan federation owed most to a Jesuit, Father Felipe Rodríguez, who travelled the *pueblos* of the diocese before 1920, spreading Catholic agrarian propaganda and founding syndicates.⁶⁰ Both federations drew upon the credit facilities made available by the Salamancan savings bank founded in favour of agricultural workers by the Counts of Crespo Rascón in 1888. This aristocratic donation began what was to become one of the wealthiest rural savings banks in Spain, whose ample deposits were largely accounted for by the huge sums, not infrequently entire personal fortunes, invested in the bank by the local landowning classes. Such investments made sound commercial sense; by 1904, the Salamancan savings bank had become a commercial rather than a charitable enterprise although, four years later, it still lent money at the genuinely low rate of 2.5% interest. The provision of agricultural credit was both so important to social Catholic projects and so popular amongst the landowning classes that the Popular Bank of Leo XIII was set up in 1904 to provide agrarian credit on a national scale. However, most rural lending and borrowing continued at a local level: the diocese of Salamanca had a second confessional rural savings bank by 1909.⁶¹

The expansion of agricultural credit reflected the spread of Catholic agrarian syndicates through northern Spain. These rural, confessional unions were particularly

59. BEOCR (1931), 29.

60. 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', 10, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

61. Andrés-Gallego, Pensamiento y acción social de la Iglesia, 85, 97, 111, 113.

strong among the small proprietors of wheat-growing Castile and, in April 1917, the National Catholic Agrarian Confederation (CNCA) was born out of the annual assembly of the Catholic Agrarian Confederation of Old Castile and Leon.⁶² The federations of both Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo were represented at this founding assembly, the latter by José María Aristizábal, who was appointed treasurer of the new, national confederation. Aristizábal, president of the local Ciudad Rodrigo federation and a member of one of the area's most influential families, became the CNCA's fifth president in 1928 and remained on the national executive until after the Civil War. José María, who achieved further prominence during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship after he was appointed first to Salamanca's *Diputación Provincial* and then to the mayoralty of Madrid, had first become involved in social Catholic circles as a founding member of the ACNdeP. His fellow Salamancan landowner, the ex-Propagandist José María Lamamié de Clairac, also espoused the cause of Catholic agrarianism. After holding the position of president of the local savings bank in 1919, Lamamié went on to become president of the Salamancan Catholic-Agrarian Federation and the Castilian-Leonese Catholic-Agrarian Union. He also sat on the CNCA directive from 1921.

The social Catholic careers of these two men show the continuing predominance in agrarian circles of the landowning classes in general and the Propagandists in particular. Although the CNCA was not the creation of the ACNdeP, Herrera Oria's Propagandists had always been at the disposal of the agrarian syndicates of Castile and many members travelled the *pueblos* organising public meetings and founding new syndicates. Indeed,

62. On the CNCA see Juan José Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres. Sobre la subordinación política del pequeño campesino (La Confederación Nacional Católico Agraria, 1917-1942) (Madrid, 1979). A comparable case is considered in M.C. Cleary, 'Priest, Squire and Peasant: The Development of Agricultural Syndicates in South-West France 1900-14', European History Quarterly, 17 (1987), 145-163.

Herrera introduced the CNCA's first president, the Palencian landowner Antonio Monedero, into Catholic agrarian organisation and gave him a weekly platform in the columns of El Debate. In 1921, when it was discovered that Monedero had been making free with CNCA funds, the crisis was quietly and irenically resolved. Monedero resigned and Herrera's *protegé*, the young and ambitious José María Gil Robles, was appointed general secretary.⁶³ The CNCA was a triumph for the Propagandists. The ACNdeP had succeeded in providing a new model for lay Catholic intervention in public life which was enthusiastically accepted by Church workers. The tenth rule agreed upon at the CNCA's founding assembly had explicitly stated that the new confederation's propaganda section should be organised along the lines of the ACNdeP, creating a body of professional and pious men who adhered to the familiar rules of piety and sobriety, including attendance at daily communion.⁶⁴

The controlling interest of the landowners in the new confederation was equally clear, if generally denied.⁶⁵ Monedero had originally established an agrarian union solely for workers on his own lands and his first federation was aptly titled the Catholic Patronal Workers' Association.⁶⁶ This patronal influence was still very much in evidence in the 1930s. José María Lamamié de Clairac and Luis Bermúdez de Castro, Viscount of Revilla were, respectively, president and vice-president of the Salamancan federation throughout

63. Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 166-169; Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 93-94.

64. Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 102. 221.

65. For a refutation of the charge of paternalism by a protagonist, see Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 93.

66. Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 88; Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 166.

the Republic.⁶⁷ In March 1932, their companions on the executive committee included Lamamié's fellow Carlist landowners Carlos Romo, also president of the local General Patronal Society, Mariano Arenillas and Fernando Bautista. The list of officers was completed with the names of three more landowning notables, Justo Sánchez Tabernero, Antonio Sánchez y Sánchez and Romauldo Sánchez Velasco. Significantly, all these men, from Lamamié downwards, were later to be active in the Proprietors of Rural Estates, an aristocratic, landowning defence group founded in response to the Republic's plans for agrarian reform.⁶⁸

A similar situation prevailed in Ciudad Rodrigo although here, the common interests of the landowners were, if anything, yet more overt. At the fourteenth national assembly of the CNCA in 1930, the local federation was represented by José Manuel Aristizábal, Clemente Velasco y Sánchez-Arjona, later president of the Proprietors of Rural Estates, and Velasco's nephew, Jesús Sánchez-Arjona y de Velasco, who was also related to the Aristizábal family by marriage. The vicar general of the diocese, chaplain to the federation, was also in attendance but no one of less exalted rank.⁶⁹ This preponderance of the patronal classes did not go unnoticed although criticisms from within Catholic circles were few. However, one such criticism was composed in scathing terms by the Republican canon of Córdoba cathedral, José Manuel Gallegos Rocafull:

But are there really workers in the bosom of the Confederation?: because if they exist they are so well hidden that they are nowhere to be seen. There has never been, that we know of, a worker member on either the permanent

67. They exchanged positions briefly in 1936, see below, chapter 10.

68. GR, 23 March 1932; for the Propietarios de Fincas Rústicas, see below, chapter 8.

69. Revista Social y Agraria (1930; henceforth RSA), 43.

Commission, or the Directive Committee; nothing concerning the well-being of the worker or the defence of his rights is ever found in either the circulars sent out by the Confederation or in the agreements that it publicises; in the general assemblies that we have attended we have never seen a single worker delegate, nor have points related to the working class been touched upon in their prolix discussions. So much may also be said of many Federations: they do not have worker members on their councils nor are they generally concerned with workers' interests. To us it is evident that the catholic-agrarian organisation, at least in its upper levels, is exclusively patronal and has always been so.⁷⁰

Criticisms such as those voiced by Gallegos Rocafull have since been drawn upon by scholars — particularly Juan José Castillo in his history of the CNCA — in an interpretation which depicts the Catholic agrarian movement as essentially a class weapon, used by the landowners as a means of preventing the proletarianisation of the peasantry. Castillo sees the CNCA as manipulative, concerned to alleviate the condition of the rural worker but offering palliatives rather than solutions. He maintains that it established a complex net of dependencies through the interweaving of politics, economics and religion and made convenient use of Catholicism as an "agglutinant that is able to justify a situation of great misery and exploitation".⁷¹ A similar analysis is offered by Paul Preston who draws attention to the false community of interest which was built up by the Castilian landlords through the careful use of rhetoric, for instance in the use of words like *labrador* and *agricultor* to describe all landowners, from grandees to smallholders. In this way, concludes Preston,

the conservative and Catholic smallholder of Castile, already imbued by his parish priest with a deep distrust for democracy, readily felt an identification of interest with the local oligarchy, sharing with it a commitment to the

70. Quoted Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 191; for Gallegos Rocafull see Frances Lannon, 'The Church's crusade against the Republic' in Paul Preston (ed.), Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939 (London, 1984), 42 and Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 211-212.

71. Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 9-18, 239.

monarchy and the Church as the twin pillars of the social order.⁷²

Such an interpretation, while accounting for the CNCA's notorious lack of success among the landless labourers of Andalusia, fails to explain adequately the strength and popularity its federations enjoyed in Navarre or Old Castile. The province of Salamanca lay in the CNCA's Castilian heartland although the geographical distribution of its unions formed a pattern reminiscent of the national situation. Map 5.1 shows the number and extent of Catholic agrarian syndicates active in the 1920s and 1930s, and reveals a concentration of unions in the smallholding, wheat-growing areas of Salamanca, Peñaranda de Bracamonte and Alba de Tormes as well as Ciudad Rodrigo. In contrast,

Table 5.1

Catholic agrarian syndicates in Salamanca by dioceses and province.

	1909	1912	1916	1917	1919	1920	1924	1926	1929	1932	1934
Dioceses											
CIUDAD RODRIGO	24a		36c	33d	51d	40e	33g		36i		
SALAMANCA	17a		40c	40d	70d	90e		83h	84i		
Total	41		76	73	121	130			120		
Province											
SALAMANCA		71b	81*b		146f	161b				83j	86k

*: includes rural savings banks.

(Sources: (a), Andrés-Gallego, Pensamiento y acción social de la Iglesia, 264; (b), Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 122; (c), Castillo, *op cit.*, 124; (d), Cuesta, Sindicalismo católico agrario, 148-149; (e), Castillo, *op. cit.*, 125; (f), 'Estadística oficial de los sindicatos de la provincia de Salamanca del Gobierno Civil', El Adelanto, 11 August 1920; (g), Castillo, *op cit.*, 294; (h), Castillo, *op cit.*, 295; (i), Castillo. *op cit.*, 297-298; (j), GR, 28 March 1932; (k), 'Censo estadístico de sindicatos agrarios y comunidades labradores 1934.)

72. Paul Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War. Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic (London, 1978), 32.

the mountain region around Béjar and the latifundist district of Ledesma were virtually devoid of Catholic agrarian associations.

Despite these parochial disparities, the expansion of the agrarian federations was swift and significant. The growth of the syndicates from the first years of church-directed agrarian unionism is shown below by both province and diocese (Table 5.1). The sharpest rise in the number of unions occurred in 1919-1920, reflecting the propaganda campaigns which took place as a result of the abortive insurrection of 1917 and the agrarian unrest of the three "Bolshevik years" in the southern region of Andalusia.

A further indication of the expansion of Catholic agrarian federations before 1930 — together with their considerable economic strength — is given by the figures in Table 5.2 which show the movement of funds held by the diocesan organisations in four separate years up to 1929.

Table 5.2
Funds held by diocesan federations (in thousands of pesetas)

	1916	1917	1920	1929
CIUDAD RODRIGO	512	800	4,000	1,105a
SALAMANCA	779	1,491	6,440	19,131a

(Sources: Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 125; (a), Castillo, *op cit.*, 297-298)

As the table shows, the financial resources available to the federations increased dramatically over this period and continued to rise into the 1930s. In 1934, the Ciudad Rodrigo federation distributed a total of 228,000 pesetas in loans to its member syndicates as compared to a total of 195,000 pesetas lent out ten years earlier. In 1932, as well as making new loans to a value of 210,000 pesetas, the federation also renewed loans worth a further 618,000 pesetas.⁷³

Some of the loans made by the Ciudad Rodrigo federation were truly

73. RSA (1934), 253-254; (1932), 379.

spectacular. In the most famous case, the vast sum of 1,250,000 pesetas was raised in 1920, partly through the personal intervention of José Manuel Aristizábal, to buy 2,506 hectares of land from the Marquis of Cerralbo in the *pueblo* of the same name directly north of Ciudad Rodrigo. In a move which would have delighted Leo XIII, the land was divided between 117 workers by the local agrarian syndicate to create a new community of smallholders.⁷⁴ Although Cerralbo quickly became a figurehead for the diocesan federation, Castillo has pointed out that such a method of creating new landowners was double edged. The raising of the huge loans needed to finance such transfers of land meant that the new peasant proprietors immediately entered into a cycle of debt from which, in the case of Cerralbo, they have not escaped even today.⁷⁵

However, despite the notoriety of these cases, they were few in number. The great majority of the loans made by the federations of the CNCA were given to individuals rather than syndicates and were used to tide smallholders over lean winters, failed harvests or falling grain prices rather than to acquire land for tenant farmers. Indeed, in providing generous and widely-available rural loan facilities, the CNCA was responding to a clearly-articulated need by the smallholders and tenant farmers of the north. Far from being used purely as a tool of the landowners, agricultural credit was eventually taken up by the Popular Front which promised to extend and intensify the facilities offered by the state in their 1936 election manifesto.⁷⁶ Apart from ready access to credit, membership of the

74. Castillo, *Propietarios muy pobres*, 237-239; lands were also acquired by the syndicates of Boadilla and Santa Olalla and, in the Salamancan federation, Aldealengua and Bergancean, *RSA* (1931), 337; Castillo, *op cit.*, 254.

75. Castillo, *op cit.*, 245.

76. Santos Juliá, *Orígenes del Frente Popular en España (1934-1936)* (Madrid, 1979), 218.

CNCA offered other, practical advantages. Over 800,000 kilos of fertilisers, for example, were bought cheaply in bulk by the Ciudad Rodrigo federation in 1932 and distributed to members at cut rates.⁷⁷ Other supplies were also bought communally: the Salamanca federation had begun to purchase farm machinery as early as 1917.⁷⁸

Indeed, although conservative myths of the Christian harmony of country life fuelled the rhetoric of the Catholic agrarians, it was not oratory which made the CNCA into such a potent force in Castile. This was achieved by the organisation's practicality. In marked contrast to Catholic Action, which continued to rely on rhetoric, albeit with very limited success, the CNCA set out to woo the agricultural workers of the north with technical information and financial rather than spiritual succour. The pages of the CNCA's bulletin, the Revista Social y Agraria, were crammed, not with prayers or holy pictures, but with articles on the cultivation of potatoes, diagrams of pests likely to attack soft fruit and advertisements for fertilisers. In 1931, the Ciudad Rodrigo federation held only one day school on "social Catholic action" but eight on the techniques of levelling land and using farm machinery.⁷⁹ Similarly, when Father Jesús Felipe, inspector of syndicates for the Salamancan federation, spoke in the *pueblos* of the diocese, he emphasised the practical benefits of an agrarian union. At a public meeting in the mountain village of San Martín del Castañar, although he was introduced by the parish priest who enjoined those present to "listen to those who come to talk to you in the name of Christ", Father Felipe

77. RSA (1932), 379.

78. Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 124.

79. RSA (1931), 337.

spoke only of rural savings banks, co-operative buying and selling and insurance schemes.⁸⁰

The appeal of the rural Catholic syndicates was not simply that they offered practical benefits to their members; until the 1930s, the only help available to the often desperately poor smallholders of Castile was that proffered by the CNCA. The lack of interest displayed by the Socialist Party in the countryside during the 1920s was notorious; the UGT Socialist Landworkers' Federation (FNLT) only came into existence in April 1930 and, in the province of Salamanca, Socialist unions were established in only five *pueblos* before 1931.⁸¹ There was even some interplay between socialist ideas and social Catholic ones, despite dire episcopal warnings that

Soon there will be no more than two forces competing for the hegemony of the world: the Christian idea and communism.⁸²

In the *pueblo* of Cabrerizos, just outside the provincial capital, the vice-president of the Workers' Society — affiliated to the Socialist trade union — was also president of the Catholic Youth group. Similarly, to the west of the province the Workers' Society in Villar de Puerco, just inside the Portuguese border, also had practising Catholic members. Indeed, one Catholic syndicate even showed itself to be susceptible to overtures from the enemy. On Easter Monday 1930, the Sociedad Obrera de Socorros Mutuos in Fuente de San Esteban, midway between the cities of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, celebrated its

80. GR, 9 June 1930; see also details of the meeting given in Aldeanueva de la Sierra, GR, 12 June 1930.

81. 'Censo Electoral Social de las Asociaciones patronales y obreras con derecho a tomar parte en las elecciones de Vocales del Consejo de Trabajo avocadas por Ordenes de 3 de mayo y de 31 de agosto de 1932', Boletín del Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión Social (December, 1932). On the Socialists' failure to evangelise the rural workers see Paul Heywood, Marxism and the failure of organised socialism in Spain 1879-1936, (Cambridge, 1990), *passim*. but esp. 121ff.

82. López Arana, 'Asamblea general de la federación mirobrigense', RSA (1930), 375.

annual *fiesta* with the customary mass and communion. After church, however, they went to hear an address by the local Socialist Primitivo Santa Cecilia. Whatever the lures held out to them by the future Socialist deputy, they did not subvert the Catholic workers and the Fuente de San Esteban Society continued to hold its Easter Monday mass throughout the Republic.⁸³

These instances of an intermingling of socialism and Catholicism, though isolated, further the impression that membership of a Catholic agrarian syndicate was often a deliberate decision made according to practical circumstances rather than ideological bias. At popular level, the ideological divide between Catholicism and secular creeds was, perhaps, less clear-cut than it was among the leadership.⁸⁴ Certainly, the facilities and expertise offered by the CNCA were essential to the survival of many of the smallholders of Salamanca. The CNCA did not enrich them nor even appreciably improve their standard of living but it enabled them to continue in their traditional way of life. The availability of seasonal credit meant that, even if the harvest failed, the smallholder would survive without having to sell his land and, with it, his wealth, livelihood and social position in the *pueblo*. The CNCA thus won the loyalty of many in the countryside of Salamanca, an affiliation which was to prove invaluable for the confessional political parties under the Second Republic.

The success of the CNCA could not, however, conceal the failure of the Catholic Action enterprise as a whole. Even under the energetic leadership of a zealous prelate like Enrique Plá y Deniel, the movement never developed into the latter-day social crusade envisaged by its apologists. Yet, some of its constituent bodies played a considerable part

83. GR, 8, 16 February 1932; 24 April 1930.

84. For a further elaboration of this argument, see José Andrés-Gallego in Aproximación a la historia social de la iglesia española contemporánea (Madrid, 1978)

in the life of both Church and province. Some — like unions, mutual benefit schemes and, particularly, agrarian associations — had a practical role to play. Others, more conventionally, looked to create charitable and philanthropic networks. Most were entirely religious in emphasis, encouraging piety, individual devotion and participation in collective acts of worship. All fostered a sense of Catholic community, of participation in a shared enterprise. One effect of this was the creation of a vigorous and defiant Catholic subculture. Another was the conviction that nothing less than the total triumph of the Church's cause would right the wrongs both inflicted and suffered by Spanish society.

Chapter 6: The Coming of the Republic

On 28 January 1930, seven years of military rule ended in Spain with Primo de Rivera's forced resignation. The king handed over the reins of government to General Dámaso Berenguer, a conservative military man charged with the uncomfortable and, ultimately, impossible task of overseeing a return to legal government under the direction of the monarchy. The 1876 Constitution remained abrogated, but, despite this apparent continuity, the new government, both under Berenguer and his successor Admiral Aznar, was commonly known as the *Dictablanda*, the toothless dictatorship, as opposed to the preceding *Dictadura*.¹

The demonstrable contempt felt for the *Dictablanda* gave rise to an unprecedented period of constitutional agitation as the upholders of the monarchy joined battle with their iconoclastic opponents. The supporters of the discredited king soon seemed beleaguered as the rapid rise of republicanism changed the political face of Spain.² The Berenguer government united hitherto disparate groups in its urgent desire for a change of regime and, as old and new republicans closed ranks, they became an increasing threat to those identified with the dynastic forces of the old regime.³

-
1. The name 'dictablanda' is a play on words where 'dura', the Spanish word for 'hard', is replaced by 'blanda' meaning 'soft'.
 2. The definitive account of the fall of Primo and the coming of the Republic is given in Shlomo Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain (Oxford, 1978).
 3. The turning point for the republicans was the San Sebastián pact of 17 August 1930, signed by representatives of all the major republican parties, including the Catholic conservatives Miguel Maura and Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, and committed to negotiating with the Left in order to bring about a democratic republic. For a detailed account see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 80-84.

Prominent amongst these defenders of traditional Spain was the Church, which had long seen its champion in the Spanish monarchy, heir to the mantle of the Catholic Kings. Contemporary Catholic thought held that there were some areas in which the state held only a secondary jurisdiction. Church and state operated within separate, though harmonious, spheres of action. In particular, the Church continued to assert its primacy over matters affecting the morality of Christian people, a principle which inspired the entire Catholic Action project, both in Spain and in Europe. Pius XI's 1929 encyclical on the Christian education of youth, for instance, said that the Church "directly and perpetually" possessed "the whole truth" in the moral sphere. Education was, therefore, "first and super-eminently" the function of the Church. The point was illustrated with a quotation from Leo XIII:

in faith and moral instruction, God Himself has given to the Church a share in the divine teaching office and endowed her with the gift of infallibility.⁴

Although the Spanish Church clearly perceived its moral rights and duties to be divinely ordained, it was acutely aware that they could not be implemented without the protection of the state. Indeed, the hierarchy had welcomed Primo de Rivera as the paladin of Spanish Catholic values and the dictator had responded by offering the Church the protection it felt was its due.⁵ Under the *Dictablanda*, however, such championship was far from secure.

Despite Leo XIII's assurance, decades before, of the compatibility of Catholicism with various forms of government, the preference for authoritarian rule remained deep-seated within the Spanish Church.⁶ Although in theory Catholics should have had no more

4. Divini illius magistri (1929). The quote from Leo XIII is taken from his 1888 encyclical Libertas.

5. For an account of the Church under Primo see Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 170-179.

6. For the origins of Leo XIII's 'accidentalists' doctrine see Immortale Dei (1885) and Sapientiae

difficulty coexisting with a republic than with the monarchy, in practice the prospect of a change in regime was greeted by the Church with trepidation. The cardinal primate, Pedro Segura, published a pastoral letter in February 1930 which instructed the faithful that their active participation in politics was a "primordial duty", given the dire consequences which could follow were Catholics to ignore their responsibilities at a time when "the moral, religious and social order" were imperilled.⁷ Other clerics were more outspoken. Canon Hilario Yaben, for example, published a monarchical polemic which argued that a Republic was the symbol of "chaos" and "national disintegration".⁸ Similar arguments were employed by a canon of Salamanca cathedral, José Artero, who leapt into print in defence of his king in April 1930.

In a series of articles concerned with the impossibility of Spanish Catholics abandoning the monarch, Father Artero claimed an essential difference between Catholic and republican "spirituality".⁹ He cited Cardinal Segura's recent pastoral letter as authority against the admissibility of Catholics joining republican political parties. The primatial directive that Catholics were free to join any party not opposed to the interests of the Church was interpreted as ruling out all opponents of the monarchy as was the injunction only to vote for those electoral candidates "who offer the most solid

christianae (1890) on the duties of Catholic citizens together with Cum Multa (1882) and Au milieu des sollicitudes (1893) which were specifically addressed to intransigent Catholic monarchists in Spain and France.

7. Ramón Garriga, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional-Catolicismo (Barcelona, 1977), 134-136.
8. Quoted in Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 176.
9. See the series of articles published GR, 30 March, 4, 7 April 1930.

guarantees for the good of religion and the Fatherland".

Artero defended this anti-republican position against the protests of a local Radical, José Camón Aznar, who claimed that Catholics "abounded" in Salamanca's Republican party. Aznar argued that democratic pluralism, far from endangering Christianity, would strengthen it as political liberty rested upon respect for individual conscience, personal dignity and spiritual freedom. Republicans were not irreligious but areligious; their insistence on the separation of church and state sprang from real consideration for the best interests of the Church. Artero, however, insisted that the "predominant idea" of a republic among Spaniards was "generally heretical or hostile to the Church", characterised by "timid anti-militarism and decided anti-clericism". The idea of an areligious republic was nothing more than a chimera: moral questions such as education or marriage could only be resolved in terms of religious ideals.

Catholic political interventions in favour of the monarchy were not confined to the ranks of the clergy. Indeed, the republican revival against the Berenguer government provoked a considerable monarchist counter-offensive in which Catholic activists predominated. Both Angel Herrera Oria's El Debate and the ubiquitous Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (ACNdeP) were involved in the Campaña de Orientación Social which was established in 1930 in order to protect the "four basic principles of society", religion, family, order and monarchy.¹⁰ A similar slogan was used in Salamanca by the former Propagandist José María Lamamié de Clairac when he introduced his new agrarian grouping Acción Castellana to an audience of 2,500 in the town of Macotera. The flag of Acción Castellana was that of the fatherland and written on

10. For the Campaña de Orientación Social see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 172.

it were the principles of "Religion, Family, Order, Property and Monarchy".¹¹

Lamamié de Clairac, a lifelong supporter of the Carlist pretender to the throne, launched his new party in the political confusion of 1930 to promote agricultural interests and conservative social values. Although Clairac seemed unperturbed by the paradoxical position of a Carlist defending the Alfonsine incumbent of the throne, he was fiercely resistant to overtures from the 'old' political parties which had dominated Spanish electoral politics before Primo de Rivera's coup. Like numerous other small parties which were emerging in the confused political landscape of 1930, Acción Castellana was a specifically agrarian grouping, which supposedly rejected the *caciquismo* and electioneering of the past and appealed directly to the small landowners of Castile.¹² However, it was, in fact, dominated by Castilian landlords, who clearly displayed the authoritarian preferences so common among the contemporary Catholic right. Acción Castellana's manifesto began with a declaration that there was no society without authority and that authority not of divine origin was not worthy of respect. In Spain, monarchy and fatherland were consubstantial. The idea of a republic was nothing more than an "exotic implant", supported only by a minority of agitators. Similarly, the possibility of a conservative republic was rejected out of hand: such a regime would simply act as a bridge

11. See the account of Acción Castellana meetings held in Macotera and Aldeadávila de la Ribera, GR, 3, 16 November 1930.

12. Other, similar groupings included the Liga Agraria, the Liga Nacional de Campesinos and Valladolid's Partido Nacional Agrario, which was the subject of some interest in Salamanca. See e.g. the report in GR, 28 October 1930. On the agrarian mobilisation in general see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 181. Lamamié de Clairac had himself been sufficiently involved with the 'old' politics to be returned to the Cortes as a deputy for the city of Salamanca just before Primo's coup in May 1923. Clairac was also to collaborate with another 'old' monarchist politician, Cándido Casanueva, who had represented Ledesma in the Cortes and who was to return to parliament as a Bloque Agrario deputy under the Republic. For the proclamation of the Salamancan deputies see El Debate, 4 May 1923.

towards radicalism and atheism. The only true morals were Catholic ones and absolute submission to the doctrines of the Church was essential in both private and public life. Immorality — together with dangerous concepts such as popular sovereignty — would "corrupt the heart and intellect of Spaniards". Indeed, Clairac maintained that the introduction of "false liberties and democratic absurdities" had been the "great sin" of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. The eradication of this "corruption" was the particular mission of Castile, "nucleus of the nationality", "heart of Spain" and, therefore, guardian of true Hispanic values.¹³

Despite Lamamié de Clairac's condemnation of what he saw as Primo's betrayal, he had at first been the general's enthusiastic supporter.¹⁴ In common with many of those who were to emerge as leading figures on the Catholic right during the Second Republic, he had gained considerable political experience under Primo, sitting as a representative for the province of Salamanca in the dictator's National Assembly. Clairac's future fellow Bloque Agrario deputy and leader of the CEDA, José María Gil Robles, also served the military regime. Along with others active in Angel Herrera's circles around the ACNdeP and El Debate, he was instrumental in launching Primo's unwieldy "League of Citizens",

13. Interview with Lamamié de Clairac, GR, 14 May and Acción Castellana manifesto, GR, 23 June 1930.

14. His adhesion to Primo's cause was recorded twice in El Debate, first as leader of Salamanca's local integrist faction and then as national secretary of the CNCA, El Debate, 18 September, 18 October 1923. However, Primo forfeited much conservative and clerical support when, in November 1926, he offered the Socialist union (UGT) a leading position in the reorganisation of labour relations. See Shlomo Ben-Ami, Fascism From Above The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain 1923-1930 (Oxford, 1983), 290-296 and Heywood, Marxism and the Failure of Organised Socialism in Spain, 98ff.

the Unión Patriótica (UP), as was the Ciudad Rodrigo Propagandist, José Manuel Aristizábal.¹⁵ All these men were also well-established in the Catholic agrarian federations: both Clairac and Aristizábal were involved at provincial, regional and national level while Gil Robles' work for the Confederación Nacional Católico-Agraria (CNCA) led to his being appointed as the organisation's first general secretary in 1930.¹⁶

Both the UP and, later, Acción Castellana drew heavily upon these Catholic agrarian connections. Both were explicitly defensive of agriculture and rural life, finding their first and most loyal support among those Castilian villages which had already witnessed the prosyletising attentions of the CNCA. The UP was first launched as Unión Patriótica Castellana in the countryside of Old Castile where, between December 1923 and February 1924, numerous local branches were founded, invariably under the presidency of the leader of either the Catholic agrarian federation or the Catholic syndicate.¹⁷ Indeed, Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was the first political regime in Spain to mobilise the provincial agrarian bourgeoisie which had been effectively excluded from power by the aristocratic manoeuvrings of the Restoration system. The Catholic agrarians were the new men of Primo's Spain and his Unión Patriótica was dominated, at both national and provincial level, by members of the CNCA and the ACNdeP.¹⁸

In Salamanca, those interests which had dominated the UP continued in politics as Acción Castellana and, under the Republic, the Bloque Agrario and its national successor, Acción Popular. Their effective use of the local Catholic infrastructure contributed in no

15. Ben-Ami, Fascism From Above, 127-129.

16. For the Catholic agrarian federations, see above, chapter 5.

17. Gil Robles was a particularly active evangelist: his "persistent propaganda" led to the formation of branches in Avila, Burgos and Palencia between December 1923 and February 1924, Ben-Ami, Fascism From Above, 128.

18. Ben-Ami, Fascism From Above, 127-128, 144-145.

small degree to their success. These Catholic, conservative groups disliked the term "party", redolent of bourgeois liberalism and pluralistic parliaments. Primo de Rivera, for instance, referred to the UP as an "anti-party" while Lamamié de Clairac denied that Acción Castellana was an agrarian party, declaring that "the term 'party' does not sound good to me".¹⁹ What was needed was a broad coalition of all those willing to stand up in defence of eternal Catholic values, not a new contender in the internecine squabbles of party political life. The parish priest of Alba de Tormes, introducing the speakers at an Acción Castellana meeting in October 1930, even began his address with the words "I am not political", going on to speak of Clairac's cause as a "crusade" for the "prosperity of agriculture and the grandeur of the Fatherland".²⁰

However, in spite of this antipathy towards the term, Acción Castellana quickly assumed a party political role. Teams of orators, inevitably including the indefatigable Lamamié de Clairac, travelled the *pueblos* of Salamanca addressing meetings and establishing local branches.²¹ The main purpose of this campaigning appears to have been to drum up support for the tottering monarchy. No local party structure was ever formalised nor were sympathisers given an active political role to play. Their part was rather to demonstrate the support which true Spanish, monarchical and Catholic values still commanded in rural Castile. Acción Castellana speakers declared their loyalty to the

19. GR, 14 May 1930. He defined Acción Castellana as a "political grouping", GR, 27 October 1930.

20. GR, 27 October 1930.

21. See e.g. the reports of meetings in Alba de Tormes, Macotera, La Vellés, Aldeadávila de la Ribera, Ledesma and Vitigudino, GR, 3, 10, 16, 20 November, 3 December 1930.

principles of "religion, family, property and, as a consequence, the Monarchy".²² The rhetoric, rather like the purpose of the campaign, remained somewhat vague.²³ Acción Castellana was not mobilising political support for a particular end: Berenguer remained in power, albeit precariously, until February 1931 and the municipal elections which were to usher in the new republic were only called under his successor, Admiral Aznar.²⁴ Acción Castellana was launched in a time of political uncertainty rather than of crisis. Although there clearly was an underlying fear of a republic, this never became anything more than a general apprehension; it was never seen as a certainty, nor even a probability. The leaders of Acción Castellana were confident that the forces of tradition would rally to their cause. As their spokesman Fernando Bautista had said at a rally in October 1930,

if anyone should hinder our victory, he is not a good Christian nor is he a Spaniard.²⁵

However, despite their insistence on their role as the guardians of true Spanish values, the leaders of Acción Castellana did not have a monopoly of Catholic opinion in Salamanca. The possibility of a democratic solution to Spain's political problems was not dismissed as easily by all Catholics as it was by the founders of Acción Castellana. In February 1930, three months before Clairac's grouping published its manifesto in the Gaceta Regional, an alternative "manifesto of a new party" had appeared in Salamanca's

22. Luis Bermúdez de Castro to a meeting in Alba de Tormes, GR, 27 October 1930.

23. A problem that beset monarchist mobilisation throughout Spain, see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 168-178 for examples.

24. See further Ben-ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, chapter 5 and Carr, Spain 1808-1975, 591-603.

25. GR, 27 October 1930.

independent daily paper El Adelanto. Under the slogan "Liberty, Law, Responsibility", the declaration, which had been issued from Madrid three days earlier, appealed to the reforming Catholic lawyer, Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, to lead a mass conservative movement towards "sincere elections" and "national reconstitution". The Salamancan lawyer and journalist, Fernando Iscar Peyra, was among the signatories to the declaration. Three days later, El Adelanto published an additional list of all those Salamancans who had signed the manifesto: twenty one names were given, including those of eight monarchists (two of whom, Eduardo Lamamié de Clairac and Aquilino Romo, were members of leading Traditionalist families) and four avowed republicans (two of whom were later to join Manuel Azaña's Izquierda Republicana while the other two, who included Fernando Iscar, remained in the political centre throughout the Republic).²⁶

The diversity of party allegiances encompassed in this list of Ossorio supporters revealed the depth of the dissatisfaction with the *Dictablanda* which was felt even by those on the political right. Five of the Salamancan supporters of Ossorio in 1930 were to become Acción Popular activists under the Republic. Their original affiliation to the group around Ossorio suggests that, at least during the constitutional uncertainty of 1930-1931, some Catholic conservatives were exploring the possibility of occupying the political centre ground.²⁷ However, despite tentative moves towards it, the proposed mass party of the right never emerged from the political morass of 1930. Ossorio, who defined himself politically as a "monarchist without a king", never responded to the call put out to him.

26. El Adelanto, 15, 18 February 1930.

27. Two of these men, Eduardo Jiménez del Rey and José Cimas Leal, were future editors of the Gaceta Regional. José Cimas was a CEDA deputy for the province 1933-1936.

Although he believed Alfonso's abdication to be the only means of saving the monarchy, Ossorio took no part in the municipal elections arguing that, although he had been estranged from the king since Alfonso's appointment of Primo de Rivera in 1923, he was not a republican and, therefore, could not vote for either side.²⁸ Severino Aznar, a leading social Catholic theorist who was sympathetic to Ossorio, likened his anomalous position to that of a Catholic who had left the Church because his parish priest was a sinner. Although Ossorio still distinguished the "priest" from the "faith", Aznar recognised that the position of a "monarchist without a king" was an impossible one: on the left, Ossorio would be "nothing more than a prisoner" while conservatives persisted in seeing him as a leftist who would "agitate the pure and calm waters of the right".²⁹

Similar problems were to beset Miguel Maura, son of the leading conservative politician of the Restoration monarchy, Antonio Maura. Unlike Ossorio, Maura fully espoused the republican cause. Together with the Second Republic's first president, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, Maura founded the Derecha Liberal Republicana on 14 July 1930.³⁰ The Derecha Liberal Republicana looked to capture the centre ground of Spanish politics and mobilise mass support for a non-revolutionary republican regime. Despite their sincere and undisputed Catholicism, the party's two most prominent figures both abandoned monarchist constitutionalism for republicanism in 1930; their betrayal of the king's cause was completed in August of that same year when they joined other

28. Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, Mis Memorias (Buenos Aires, 1946), Chapter XXXVIII.

29. Severino Aznar, 'Por el partido de derechas', GR, 9 April 1930.

30. On the foundation of the Derecha Liberal Republicana see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 56-58.

republican leaders in the Pact of San Sebastián. To the traditional Catholic right, this participation in a republican pact which was committed to negotiating with socialists, communists and anarcho-syndicalists was clear evidence that Maura and Alcalá-Zamora had gone over to the other side.

Despite its national prominence, the Derecha Liberal Republicana made little headway in the provinces. In Salamanca, where one of its candidates would be returned to the Cortes in the general elections of July 1931, a local branch of the party was not established until the previous May.³¹ This lack of a formal party, together with the failure of the Ossorio initiative, meant that the monarchist right, represented most coherently by Acción Castellana, had little competition for the allegiance of Salamanca's Catholics during the months leading up to the municipal elections of April 1931.

Although the leaders of the Derecha Liberal Republicana went to some pains throughout the election campaign to demonstrate both their personal religious beliefs and their respect for the institutional Church, the Spanish hierarchy continued in its implicit — and occasionally overt — support for the monarchy. In a "Voters' Decalogue" made up of extracts from papal and episcopal pronouncements and published on the front page of El Debate two days before the municipal elections, Catholics were exhorted by the Bishop of Vich to go to the polls "valiantly and enthusiastically". Mateo Múgica, Bishop of Vitoria, told the faithful to vote for the monarchists, the only candidates who offered "solid guarantees" of the preservation of order and religion. Voting for the Republican-Socialists was forbidden as their ideas were "in open conflict with the doctrines of the Church". Similarly, Múgica rejected "the Catholic minorities who, separating themselves from the

31. An account of the founding meeting is given GR, 23 May 1931.

majority, only obstruct victory".³²

The publicity given to Múgica's views meant that their influence was felt far outside the confines of his own Basque diocese. Similar ideas were being reinforced at parish level even in those dioceses, such as Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, whose bishops made no direct intervention in the election campaign. At a Catholic Action meeting in Béjar in March 1931, the subject under discussion was "the patriotic duties of Catholics". Local speakers emphasised that Catholic Action was "outside and above" party politics but insisted that all members were obliged to participate in the coming elections, always remembering that no Catholic could act according to "a political conscience which does not accord with the conscience of the Church". Using a slogan which was beginning to have a familiar ring to it, one speaker warned that "religion, authority, family and property" did not figure in many party manifestos. Adhering to a party which ignored these fundamental principles could mean that Catholics themselves "facilitated the triumph of evil". Presenting the electoral struggle as a straight fight between two different forms of government was deceptive for, if this were so, Catholics would be free to vote for either side. The popes had taught that both monarchy and republic were good forms of government but Spain was a special case. Although the final speaker admitted that some republicans acted in good faith he was preoccupied by "the Anarchists, syndicalists and Communists" as "the chaos of Russia" demonstrated where their republic would lead to.³³

The Béjar meeting was part of a national campaign organised by Catholic Action

32. 'Decálogo del elector', El Debate, 10 April 1931.

33. GR, 28 March 1931.

which issued posters explaining how to vote and convened numerous local meetings to clarify the electoral duties of its members.³⁴ The Catholic Church had thrown in its lot with the monarchy and was preparing to defend both institutions not only with prayers but also with votes. Indeed, the Béjar meeting had ended with a call to confront the enemy and defend Christ. Spanish Catholics were to remain "on their knees to pray and on their feet to fight."³⁵

On the same day as the Catholic Action rally in Béjar, the monarchist campaign was launched in the city of Salamanca. At an assembly of local notables presided over by a small committee of men including José María Lamamié de Clairac and his fellow Traditionalist, Carlos Romo, the candidature was declared. Twenty monarchists stood for election in the provincial capital, the great majority of whom were members of the city's commercial and professional bourgeoisie. Only one candidate defined himself as a landowner while the urban workers were represented by a lone printer. Both the candidature and the meeting itself were dominated by men who had become prominent in local politics and government under Primo. Indeed, a past loyalty to the dictator, rather than a present loyalty to the reigning monarch, most adequately explains the involvement of the local Traditionalist Communion.³⁶ Although, unsurprisingly, none of Salamanca's Carlists were prepared to stand as candidates for a monarch whose claim to the throne they persisted in seeing as illegitimate, the presence of Clairac and Romo on the presiding table indicates the importance of the role played by these two extremely influential local

34. For the national campaign together with other examples of ecclesiastical interventions in the municipal elections see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 227-228.

35. GR, 28 March 1931.

36. Far from mobilising on his behalf, most Carlists greeted Alfonso's fall with undisguised jubilation. For a range of Traditionalist responses to the municipal elections and the abdication, see Martin Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis in Spain 1931-1939 (Cambridge, 1975), 4, 40.

men in the final composition of the city's monarchist candidature.

At the other end of the conservative political spectrum, the assembly included three men who had signed the 1930 appeal to Ossorio y Gallardo to lead disaffected conservatives in a new political party. Despite their previous attempt to look for a political affiliation encompassing a wider range of right-wing opinion, Eduardo Lamamié de Clairac, Jesús Cañizal and José Cimas Leal had clearly all now decided that their dissatisfaction with the politics of the *Dictablanda* was not sufficient cause to drive them out of the monarchist camp. Indeed, José Cimas, took a particularly active part in the meeting, thus beginning a political career which was eventually to take him to the Cortes. The involvement of such prominent local figures immediately gave the monarchist campaign a high public profile in the city. The final seal of respectability was conferred with the announcement that the campaign's headquarters would be housed in the Catholic Workers' Circle, a Jesuit-run organisation with accommodation in the Society of Jesus's own residence.³⁷

The composition of the Salamanacan candidature, with its Traditionalist influence, was not typical. At national level, the monarchists were beset by division and disagreement as, indeed, they had been throughout the preceding *Dictablanda* period. Not even the San Sebastián Pact and the increasingly threatening unity of the republicans inspired Alfonso's supporters to renounce factionalism and create a coherent national movement. As a result, their 1931 election campaign never became anything more than a series of often uneasy local alliances between fragmented groups.³⁸ The situation in

37. A full list of candidates and the names of those present at the proclamation are given GR, 28 March 1931.

38. For the problems of factionalism and examples of the diverse alliances established all over Spain, see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 169, 218-222)

Salamanca was, in fact, rather clearer than in many other parts of Spain, largely because of the mobilisation which had already been initiated by Acción Castellana. However, this reliance on Lamamié de Clairac's party inevitably gave the Traditionalists a far more important role in the defence of the Alfonsine monarchy than was common in other parts of Spain.

Despite the relative ease with which the candidature had been declared in the provincial capital, developments elsewhere in the province continued to demonstrate the fluidity of monarchist electoral arrangements. Much of the province appeared to be staunchly monarchist: the Gaceta Regional commentator in the cathedral city of Ciudad Rodrigo, for example, even went so far as to declare that

We are all Monarchists and the Republicans, if there are any, which I doubt, have no force so we do not have to bother ourselves with them.³⁹

However, the situation in the textile town of Béjar in the mountains towards Cáceres, was far from being as clear-cut. Here the prominent right-wing grouping was an anomalous local alliance, formed solely for the purpose of fighting the elections, which went by the unwieldy title of "Authority, Order and Upright and Honest Municipal Administration". Its most prominent supporters were members of the town's commercial and industrial bourgeoisie who often echoed Acción Castellana's social and religious conservatism. The "Authority" grouping also joined with Acción Castellana in a vehement rejection of the "old" politics, but there was never any suggestion of a link between the two groups. Béjar's interests were very far removed from those of the Castilian wheat-growers and the town's right-wing never made overtures to the agrarian parties, instead emphasising local issues

39. GR, 26 March 1931.

and municipal politics. The grouping looked to present

competent men with no thought as to their social class but only to the good of Béjar.⁴⁰

The "Authority" grouping persisted in centering their campaign on municipal issues. One of the proposed candidates was even forced to stand down after the town's newspaper publicised the fact that he was not a "son of Béjar".⁴¹ The word *Bejaranismo* was added to the group's slogan when the candidates declared themselves to be "independent *Bejaranos*" who would administer local government in the best interests of the town, without taking up the Ayuntamiento's time with "political questions and debate".⁴² Indeed, at the final rally before the elections, the "political question" of monarchy *versus* republic was never mentioned. Instead, debate centred around the regeneration of local industry and the urgent need to rebuild the gaol, the slaughter-house and the market.⁴³

In their determination to avoid national political debate, those in favour of "Authority, Order and Upright and Honest Municipal Administration" showed, the monarchists' consistent failure in this election campaign to take the high

40. GR, 31 March 1931.

41. Quoted GR, 1 April 1931.

42. The same concern was expressed at a national level by El Debate which claimed that one of the reasons for voting for the monarchy was to ensure that municipalities governed in the people's interest rather than "playing with political passions", El Debate, 12 April 1931.

43. GR, 11 April 1931; the "Authority" grouping only once strayed into the realm of national politics when it invited José María Gil Robles, then prosyletising the Castilian countryside on behalf of the monarchist organisation Reacción Ciudadana, to speak to them, a meeting which was recorded GR, 9 April 1931. For Reacción Ciudadana see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 225; José Gutiérrez-Ravé, Gil Robles, caudillo frustrado (Madrid, 1967), 17-19; Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 29-33.

moral ground from the republicans. The monarchists were fighting for an unpopular and discredited King who had flouted the Constitution and brought about an illegal *coup d'état*. Against such a background, it was an easy task for their opponents to argue that a republic would be "the embodiment of order and well-being".⁴⁴ Faced with this barrage of moral rectitude, the monarchists did not persist with their hollow claims to represent the legal and established order, but instead concentrated their propaganda campaign on the likelihood of republican excesses and the horrors of socialism.

The right's most vociferously expressed fear was that the oxymoronic conservative republic would swiftly give way to a Satanically-inspired communist regime which was the left's true goal. El Debate, for instance, claimed that, in Spain, a republic

would be the beginning of an era of anarchy in which Religion, property, the family, the fundamental institutions of society would be the object of 'Russian experiments'.

Voting monarchist in the elections would be a clear vote in favour of everything the communists wanted to destroy whereas voting for a republic could only lend support to their nefarious ends.⁴⁵ The stance taken by El Debate's daughter paper, Salamanca's Gaceta Regional, was even more extreme, reflecting the ultra-conservative nature of the

44. Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 230.

45. El Debate, 10, 12 April 1931; for further examples and an indication of the extent to which allegations of a communist threat featured in the monarchist campaign throughout the country see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 223-224. The actual position of the Spanish Communist party (PCE) was, however, very weak. It had experienced a gradual decline in membership under the Dictatorship and, by 1930, numbered only a few score. The real rise was only experienced after the coming of the Republic, when the number of PCE members rose dramatically from about 800 in April to 3,000 in May, 6,000 in June, 7,000 in August and 8,800 by the end of the year. For a national party, however, the PCE was still very small and the party's presence in Salamanca was negligible. See Rafael Cruz, El Partido Comunista de España en la II República (Madrid, 1987), 58, 304.

city's monarchist alliance. The paper's editor declared the campaign to be 'The hour of order against revolutionary audacity'. With scant regard for recent history, the paper went to some pains to stress "the legality and vigour" of Salamanca's monarchist coalition. Readers were told that the time of definitions had arrived: Spaniards had to choose whether they were "for order and the law or for rebellion and chaos". The "titanic efforts" of the extreme left had obliged ordinary people to stand up in defence of "Religion, the Monarchy and the Family" and the elections were nothing less than a battle between two broad camps: the Republican-Socialists, who had waged war on "God, King and Spain", confronted by the "anti-revolutionaries", dedicated to eradicating this "Leftist smallpox".⁴⁶

The violence of the rhetoric employed in the Salamanca campaign demonstrated how quickly the right fell back upon the bellicose language and martial imagery which integrist Spanish Catholicism, with its uncompromising rejection of pluralist modernity, had long since made its own. For instance, in the same week as the Gaceta Regional issued its call to arms to the Catholic voters of Salamanca, Bishop López Araña of Ciudad Rodrigo was issuing similar instructions to his flock in a Lenten lecture entitled "Defend Christ". In a crescendo of apocalyptic imagery, the bishop told his male audience that life was a continual struggle against the powers of evil:

That fight is Babylon against Jerusalem, good against evil, light against darkness, flesh against spirit, Lucifer against God. Jesus Christ wanted us to be soldiers in that war and, if in Baptism we are made men of Christ, with Confirmation we become soldiers in His cause, in that war between heaven and hell which He Himself brought to the earth.

Such language was immediately reminiscent of the rhetoric being employed in the elections by the monarchist right, particularly when the bishop cautioned

46. Editorial 'La hora del orden contra la audacia revolucionaria', GR, 1 April 1931.

that, in this cosmic struggle, whoever was not fighting with Christ would be fighting against Him. The severity of such a warning also echoed the language of contemporary piety which, with near-manichean clarity, drew an uncompromising distinction between perdition and redemption. The language used by the bishop must have struck an immediate chord in the minds of those listeners used to hearing the act of reparation to the Sacred Heart or accustomed to the martial devotion to Christ the King. Yet, López Araña's address was not intended as a direct intervention in the world of electoral politics. Even when he warned the faithful that the time had come for combat as "when the enemy advances, it is necessary to fight", the bishop was not referring specifically to the threat of a republic. It was rather one more battle in the war which a besieged Church had been fighting since the mid-nineteenth century. The speech was a clarion call against the plagues of secularism and modernity rather than the possibility of a Spanish republic which was, after all, nothing more than a symptom of the greater disease.⁴⁷

The similarities between the language of religion and the rhetoric of the right were far from coincidental. Catholicism had provided the monarchists with an anti-revolutionary idiom of which they took full advantage, blurring the always hazy division between politics and religion in Spain. The Gaceta Regional told its readers that, in Spain, the monarchy was "the incarnation" of "the only solution for the salvation of the Fatherland".⁴⁸ Similarly, at a rally on the eve of the elections, Lamamié de Clairac accused Spain's First Republic (1873-1875) of "great heresies" against "holy and sacred things". In response to such onslaughts, there was only one true Catholic position. Those

47. Full text of lecture given GR, 4 April 1931.

48. Editorial 'A votar', GR, 8 April 1931; see also the editorial 'Mañana', GR, 11 April 1931.

who pretended otherwise, specifically the conservative Republicans, Niceto Alcalá-Zamora and Miguel Maura, were doing so only in order to deceive honest church members. As evidence of the unswerving orthodoxy of his views, Clairac ended by exhorting his listeners to pay heed to the advice to Catholic voters issued by Bishop Múgica of Vitoria.

All the speakers who addressed the rally also made much of the spectre of communism which lurked behind the acceptable face of republicanism. The language of good and evil precluded distinguishing between the parties and ideologies of the opposition. Clairac, for example, baldly informed his audience that the republicans were already encouraging children to rebel against their parents as a prelude to communist revolution while another speaker asked those present to imagine "a bolshevised Salamanca" where the cathedral was used as a garage. A republic would be the ruin of Spain, a denial of the country's national traditions and greatness. Such a regime would endanger the fundamental bases of society, in particular religion. After all, as the final speaker pointed out, no religion has ever upheld the right of children to rebel against their fathers.⁴⁹

The effectiveness of this lurid propaganda was never doubted by those who espoused the cause of the King. Although there were isolated attempts to appeal to a more moderate, liberal opinion (such as when the Gaceta Regional praised the democrat Gumersindo Azcárate and urged its readers to go to the polls with respect for their opponents), in general the monarchists remained convinced that the righteousness of their cause would bring them electoral success.⁵⁰ Indeed, El Debate was so confident of a monarchist triumph that, on the eve of the elections, it published a leading article

49. Account of the monarchist rally held in the Teatro Bretón, GR, 11 April 1931.

50. Defence of Azcárate, 'Ante las urnas', GR, 7 April 1931.

predicting a great victory. Similarly, the Gaceta Regional had argued that the fatherland would triumph and the monarchy would emerge from the polls "stronger and regenerated".⁵¹

Against this background of confidence and even complacency, the republican triumph on 12 April 1931 caught the Catholic right completely unawares. The republican parties had won an overwhelming victory in virtually all of Spain's cities and these municipal results brought about the immediate collapse of the monarchy. In his memoirs, Gil Robles described the monarchist defeat as a "bitter surprise" for "the world of the Propagandists".⁵² El Debate announced a "total crisis" of government and argued against the elections being interpreted as a plebiscite in favour of the removal of the monarchy. However, despite Herrera's protests in the editorial columns of his newspaper, Alfonso left Spain the following day. In typical fashion, El Debate tempered the news with a lengthy "Homage to the King Alfonso XIII".⁵³ In Salamanca, the announcement of the Republican victory was greeted with more calm if no less despondency. The Gaceta Regional announced a "total triumph" for the Republican-Socialists in the city's municipal elections as their entire slate had been returned to the Ayuntamiento.⁵⁴ The results from other municipalities told a similar story. Although the conservative city of Ciudad Rodrigo had returned 15 monarchists (three of them under Article 29 of Antonio

51 El Debate, 11 April 1931; GR, 11 April 1931.

52. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 97.

53. El Debate, 14, 15 April 1931.

54. GR, 13 April 1931. Each side had fielded 19 candidates for a total of 31 places in the Ayuntamiento; 19 republicans and 11 monarchists were returned.

Maura's 1907 electoral law which ensured that uncontested candidates were elected automatically) and only 2 socialists, Béjar had elected 7 republicans, 4 socialists and only 6 monarchists.⁵⁵ Throughout the province, the monarchists had triumphed in those Castilian market towns whose local economies were dominated by the cultivation of wheat. Ledesma, for instance, had returned 11 monarchists and no republicans, the market town of Vitigudino had elected 9 monarchists to 1 republican while even Peñaranda de Bracamonte, a larger town on the main road and rail links to Madrid, had elected 7 monarchists to 5 republicans. In other areas of the province, however, the situation was very different. The monarchists lost not only Salamanca city and Béjar but also the meat producing town of Guijuelo in the mountains near Béjar, the village of Tejares, quickly merging into the outer districts of the provincial capital, and, more surprisingly, Alba de Tormes, historic seat of the Dukes of Alba.⁵⁶

The Salamanacan results thus mirrored the national electoral map. The municipal elections held throughout the land had resulted in considerable republican victories in 45 of the 52 provincial capitals as well as in many other large towns and cities although the monarchists retained their traditional hold over rural areas.⁵⁷ In purely numerical terms,

55. This was not unexpected. Béjar's politics reflected the town's position as the only industrial area of Salamanca; e.g., a petition of 'monarchist affirmation' launched in the province in April 1930 collected 12,000 signatures in the provincial capital, 2,000 in Ciudad Rodrigo, 1,100 in Ledesma and a mere 800 in Béjar, GR, 30 April 1930.

56. Full list of results given GR, 13, 14 April 1931.

57. Of the provincial capitals the Monarchists won only Avila, Palma de Mallorca, Burgos, Cádiz, Lugo and Las Palmas while the election in Orense was drawn. For a full study of the national results see Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, Appendices I & II.

therefore, more monarchists than republicans had been returned, a fact which El Debate lost no time in pointing out.⁵⁸ However, the left successfully claimed the result as an anti-monarchical plebiscite and the old regime capitulated even before all the provincial results had been returned to Madrid. There was general recognition that the declaration of country areas for the king reflected not so much a genuine political choice as the influence of local *caciques* manipulating the vote in time-honoured fashion. "The rural monarchism" was, as Miguel Maura's monarchist brother Gabriel said, the result of "sheep-like obedience and routine".⁵⁹ Indeed, one third of the total number of councillors elected in the municipal elections took their seat under Article 29 and, therefore, represented *pueblos* where the Republicans were too weak to stand for election. As both Raymond Carr and Shlomo Ben-Ami have pointed out, Article 29 encouraged local deals and *caciquismo*. In April 1931, its application clearly favoured the Monarchist cause.⁶⁰

This interpretation is borne out by the Salamanacan results where 783 monarchists were returned under Article 29 as opposed to 361 others, only 47 of whom belonged to parties which had signed the San Sebastián Pact.⁶¹ Even in this conservative, Catholic, Castilian province it was recognised that only the free elections held in the cities were a

58. El Debate, 14 April 1931.

59. Quoted Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 238-239; see also Gabriel Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War (Princeton, 1965), 518.

60. Contrary to the view put forward by Juan Linz whose argument that the republicans did better under Article 29 than on polling day (12 April) has been successfully refuted by Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 310; see also Carr, Spain 1808-1975, 368-369.

61. The full results were 23 centrists, 3 Ciervists, 172 conservatives, 45 liberals, 4 democrats, 4 Albists, 42 Reformists, 21 constitutionalists, 30 Traditionalists, 715 independent monarchists, 38 non-aligned monarchists, 31 Derecha Liberal Republicana, 8 Radicals, 8 Socialists, GR, 13 April 1931.

true reflection of popular feeling; hence the concern over the result from the provincial capital which heralded the capitulation of the local right. Indeed, the Gaceta Regional went to some pains to point out that polling in the city had been carried out calmly. Although the paper deplored the actions of, for example, the republican youths who stoned the house of the Mayor, Manuel Iscar, once the results had been announced, the editor recognised that the few random incidents of electoral malpractice it recorded had only "journalistic importance".⁶² The monarchists had been defeated in a clean fight and Spain's Catholic establishment recognised that it now had only a few hours to accommodate itself to the fact that its worst fears were about to be realised.

62. GR, 13 April 1931.

Chapter 7: Squeezing out the Centre: Catholic party politics in the new Republic

The Church's unpreparedness for the coming of the Republic was swiftly revealed by the varied responses put forward by Catholic institutions. Reports of April's extraordinary events ranged from the absurdly understated to the apocalyptic. The Jesuit periodicals ran the whole gamut of reactions: Razón y Fe, a serious intellectual publication, made no comment on the advent of the Spanish Republic, merely listing it along with other newsworthy events, including an earthquake in Managua. In contrast, La Estrella del Mar, a pious magazine for members of the Marian Congregations, greeted the new regime with an article contrasting republicanism in the United States of America, where "people know how to be democrats", to that in Spain where

Democracy is vulgarity (*grosería*) ... it is audaciousness ... The integrity of the Fatherland, the prestige of its institutions, the credit of the nation, all these mean nothing. We are in a time of virulent impudence.

The following month, this popular youth publication continued its attack on the new Republic in a more discreet way, choosing as its cover the first scene of Janssens's 'The Seven Sorrows of the Most Holy Virgin'. The series continued throughout the coming months, serving as a pictorial reminder of the sufferings of Mary who had once chosen Spain as her own particular domain.¹

The violent antipathy towards the Republic demonstrated by La Estrella del Mar was echoed elsewhere on the Catholic right. Extremist monarchists, of both Alfonsist and Carlist persuasions, remained irreconcilable. Determined to see the Spanish throne

1. Razón y Fe, xcv (1931), 285-286; La Estrella del Mar, 8 May 1931, 242-243; 12 June 1931.

occupied once again, they plotted for the downfall of the Second Republic virtually from the time of its inception.² However, this "catastrophist" position was only ever held by a minority of Spanish Catholics. Most adhered to the pragmatic position advocated by Rome which directed that the constituted powers be respected and obeyed "for the maintainance of order and the general good". To this end, Rome was prepared to compromise over the 1851 concordat, which the new Republic had unilaterally abrogated, counselling "prudent reserve" over practical matters such as the naming of bishops, formerly a prerogative of the Spanish crown.³

In the political sphere, this pragmatism was translated into "accidentalism", first articulated during the early days of the Second Republic by Angel Herrera Oria in the editorial columns of El Debate. Although he had steadfastly refused to believe in the imminence of the Republic and, as late as 13 April, had been scandalised to hear the editor of the staunchly monarchist daily ABC prophesy the fall of the king, Herrera lost no time in adapting to the new circumstances. In his memoirs, José María Gil Robles recollected how, even though Herrera had been totally unprepared for the result of the municipal elections, he immediately and "with his characteristic vehemence" conceived the idea of

-
2. For the Carlists in the first months of the Republic see Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 41-67 and the first hand account given by a Navarrese Requeté volunteer, Antonio Lizarza Iribarren, Memorias de la conspiración 1931-1936 (Pamplona, 1953); the position of the Alfonsists is discussed in Paul Preston, 'Alfonsist Monarchism and the Coming of the Spanish Civil War' in Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), Spain in Conflict 1931-1939 (London, 1986), 160-182.
 3. Communication from the Papal Nuncio Tedeschini to the Archbishop of Tarragona, Francesc Vidal i Barraquer; letter from Cardinal Pacelli, Vatican Secretary of State and later Pope Pius XII, to all metropolitan bishops in Spain; letter from the Cardinal Primate Pedro Segura, Archbishop of Toledo to Vidal i Barraquer, M. Batllori & V.M. Arbeloa (eds.), Arxiu Vidal i Barraquer: Església i Estat durant la Segona República Espanyola 1931-1936 (3 vols.; Montserrat, 1971-1977), I, 24, 27- 28, 41-43.

organising the dispersed Spanish right within the newly constituted legality.⁴ To this end, Herrera published a leader on 15 April 1931 which firmly stated that "legal, active" respect for the new Republic was a "duty". The paper also pointed out that the Vatican was not unduly apprehensive about recent developments in Spain as the Church was indifferent to forms of government.⁵ Indeed, this indifference was the main theoretical underpinning of Herrera's accidentalism. However, despite its insistence upon the need to act within legality, El Debate was alarmed at the prospects for the Church. "Let us not delude ourselves", the paper counselled,

the Republic proclaimed in Spain has a leftist and anticlerical character ... The forthcoming Constituent Cortes could bring about, if not violent persecution then a perfidious and devious policy, an unhurried and premeditated offensive.⁶

Such apprehension was far from unwarranted and was echoed, at least in private, by churchmen the length and breadth of the land.⁷ Indeed, it was this mixture of carefully-worded respect and clear foreboding which characterised episcopal pronouncements about the new regime. Enrique Plá y Deniel, bishop of Avila, later bishop of Salamanca and,

-
4. Gil Robles, La fe a través de mi vida, 97-98. In the same passage, Gil Robles suggests that Herrera's failure to realise the significance of the events of April and the miscalculations of El Debate's electoral campaign resulted from the "almost monastic isolation" in which he lived. The same suspicion was voiced by Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena, editor of ABC, who maintained that "with all his prestige and his experience, Don Angel Herrera lacked what I would call a sixth sense: the political one". Cited in García Escudero, Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera, 34.
 5. El Debate, 15, 16 April 1931. Gil Robles makes the point that the cogency of this response was due to the discussion and exposition of Catholic political thought in the Madrid Study Circle of the Asociación Católico Nacional de Propagandistas, No fue posible la paz, 34.
 6. 'Los católicos y la República', El Debate, 18 April 1931.
 7. See, e.g., the communication of 15 April from Isidro Gomá, archbishop of Tarazona and later cardinal primate, expressing his "complete pessimism" to Vidal i Barraquer and the letter of 16 April sent by Vidal i Barraquer stating his deep concern to the papal nuncio, Església i estat durant la Segona República Espanyola, I, 19, 20)

eventually, cardinal primate of Spain, repeated the Holy See's instructions to respect and obey the constituted powers in a pastoral letter addressed to the faithful of his diocese and reiterated the Church's teachings on the accidental nature of governments. However, he exhorted Catholics to political and religious activity, reminding his flock that

This we asked of you in 1923. This we repeat to you in 1931. Then we asked you to pray for the Church and the Fatherland. Today we insist that you do so.⁸

The rapturous welcome the Church had given to Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in 1923 was thus explicitly contrasted with the trepidation and antipathy the hierarchy now felt towards the Republic.

The then incumbent of the Salamancan see, Francisco Frutos Valiente, also addressed the members of his diocese in a pastoral letter 'On the occasion of the accession of the Republic'. In a powerful declaration of respect for the constituted powers which, nevertheless, revealed his preference for traditional government, Frutos Valiente told his flock that, without authority, no life was possible in the polity, likening the role of the "Public Power" in the "social body" to that of the soul in the physical body. He emphasised that all Catholics, both clergy and laymen, should respect the Republic and work within legality. He insisted upon the apolitical nature of both sacerdotal and secular apostleship and warned catechists in particular that they should take special pains to avoid confusing "profane matters" with the "holy material" of catechesis. With a reminder that Catholics had higher aims in view and an injunction to all to continue with the important work of Catholic Action, Frutos Valiente concluded that

8. Extracts from the full text given El Debate 3 May 1931. For other pastoral letters see El Debate, 19, 28, 30 April; 3, 5, 7, 8 May.

the grandeur and supernatural character of the end we follow and the sincerity of the respect (*acatamiento*) we offer to the constituted Powers has to be demonstrated like this, with continuity of action and perseverance in sacrifice.

Prayers were asked for, that Spain might remain faithful "to God and Holy Church".⁹

In slightly more pessimistic and practical fashion, the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, issued a short circular on the subject of the new Republic rather than a full pastoral address.¹⁰ Reminding the faithful that the hand of providence lay behind all historical events, the bishop assured his flock that no institution could contemplate such events with greater serenity than the Catholic Church, confident in the divine assurance of its indestructibility. The Lord would permit nothing that was not for the good of His children, provided that they implored His help with "humble, trusting and persevering prayer". The bishop therefore ordered three days of supplicatory prayers to the Holy Spirit, together with the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, in all the churches of the diocese in order that both governors and governed might work for the "greater prosperity of Religion and the Fatherland". However, López Araña ended his circular with a similar injunction to that issued by his brother prelate in Salamanca, explicitly warning his clergy not to intervene in purely political matters and to respect the established civil authorities. Both bishops were thus concerned to utter calming words of reassurance and respect in uncertain times.

Although the sentiments expressed by the two Salamancan incumbents were given greater authority by the metropolitan bishops' collective pastoral letter of 9 May 1931, the

9. 'Exhortación Pastoral' dated 28 April, BEOS (1931), 129-141.

10. 'Sobre Rogativas públicas' dated 19 April 1931, BEOCR (1931), 150-151.

attitude of the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Pedro Segura, remained intractable.¹¹ In contrast to the moderately worded — though undoubtedly trepidatious — collective pastoral on ‘Respect for the Constituted Powers and Fears of the Church’, Segura greeted the new regime with an outspoken and provocative pastoral letter which, while reiterating Catholic doctrine on the accidental nature of forms of government, nevertheless heaped extravagant praise upon the "very Christian and very Spanish" person of Alfonso XIII who, throughout his reign, protected "the ancient tradition of faith and piety". Who could forget the king's devotion to the Holy See, asked the cardinal, or that it was Alfonso who consecrated Spain to the Sacred Heart of Jesus?¹² This highly nostalgic "glance towards the past" provided Segura with a deliberate contrast to his deeply pessimistic comments on the gravity of the present political situation.

Although the cardinal's May pastoral was by no means typical of the hierarchical pronouncements being issued at the time, the Republican government was greatly offended by it and swiftly ordered Segura to leave the country. The primate left for Rome from where he continued to issue hostile pastorals in the collective name of the Spanish hierarchy. When he returned in mid-June, Segura was immediately and forcibly expelled. In a conciliatory gesture — which recognised the part the cardinal had played in bringing about his own downfall — the Vatican relieved him of the primacy in September despite the fact that, by this time, another prelate, Mateo Múgica, bishop of Vitoria, to whom

11. ‘Acatamiento del régimen constituido y temores de la Iglesia’ in Iribarren, Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 131-133.

12. The full text, dated 1 May 1931, is given in the polemical work by Jesús Requejo San Román, El Cardenal Segura (Toledo, 1932), 137-148. Extracts from the letter are also given in Garriga, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional-Catolicismo, 157-158.

Segura had written advising that ecclesiastical capital be sent out of Spain, had also been exiled by the Republican authorities.¹³ Yet, notwithstanding Rome's conciliatory interventions, the expulsions highlighted the tensions which existed between the Catholic hierarchy and the Republican government. Indeed, the tautness of relations between church and state was such that one historian has been led to conclude that

The precarious co-existence of Church and Republic was definitely shattered long before October 1931, when the anti-religious clauses were introduced into the constitution.¹⁴

Despite the apprehensions which were so clearly apparent among members of the hierarchy, not all Catholics were entirely devoid of goodwill towards the Republic. Indeed, the considerable exertions of Tedeschini and Vidal i Barraquer to maintain channels of communication at governmental level also suggests that, even among the episcopacy, opinion was far from unanimous. Moreover, ultimate responsibility for the expulsions of Múgica and Segura had lain with the Catholic minister of the interior, Miguel Maura, whose decision to exile the two bishops was supported by his co-religionary President Alcalá-Zamora.¹⁵ Another devout if outspoken Church member, Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, had been entrusted with the highly sensitive task of presiding over the juridical commission charged with drawing up the first draft of the new Republican constitution.¹⁶

In the initial weeks of the Republic, therefore, individual Catholics had

13. For these events, together with a description of Segura's irascible and difficult personality and his maverick political career, see Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 171-172, 179-180, 186-187, 218-219.

14. Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 259-260.

15. Maura's own account of his dealings with these "bellicose prelates" is to be found in his political memoirs, Así cayó Alfonso XIII (Mexico, 1962), 293- 307.

16. See Ossorio y Gallardo, Mis Memorias, Chapter XXXIX; his ill-fated constitutional draft is discussed below, Chapter 8.

extremely prominent roles to play. Despite being much underplayed by historians, Catholic republicanism was not confined to a handful of prominent politicians who happened to belong to the Roman Church. Given the size of the republican victory in the municipal elections, it was clear to any impartial observer that not all Spanish Catholics had voted for the monarchy in April.¹⁷ Away from the intense intellectual and political worlds of Rome and Madrid, religion and republic were not necessarily seen as antithetical concepts. Indeed, in the province of Salamanca the two occasionally coincided in dramatic expressions of popular devotion such as that which took place at the beginning of the Republic during Holy Week in Béjar. The most emotional moment of Holy Week was always the Good Friday evening procession of the Virgin of Sorrows whose *paso* was taken round the town, stopping for those in distress, such as the inmates of the gaol and the sick. That year the procession was stopped by an ill lady who, while the crowds gathered,

went on elaborating her petitions and making the faithful weep more and more and thus she remained supplicating the Virgin for nearly ten minutes, until she ended her prayers with a cry of 'Long live the Republic!' which resounded throughout Béjar.¹⁸

On Maundy Thursday of the following year, a Holy Week mission to Saelices el Chico near the Portuguese border on the other side of the province, ended with the visiting Claretian fathers being escorted out of the village by an enthusiastic crowd cheering both the Spanish Catholic Church and Republican Spain.¹⁹

Catholic republican feeling in the province was, however, best articulated

17. See e.g. Gil Robles's statement that the unconstitutional manoeuvrings of Alfonso XIII had had a profound influence "en espíritus rectos y en conciencias sinceramente religiosas", No fue posible la paz, 32-33.

18. Fraile Alvarez, Recuerdos de una vida, 21-22.

19. GR, 24 March 1932.

in the political sphere. After the right's comprehensive defeat in the April elections, the sensibilities of erstwhile monarchists were bruised still further by the awful sight of a Socialist, Primitivo Santa Cecilia, being inaugurated as the first republican mayor of the provincial capital, an event which was greeted with great enthusiasm in the streets of Salamanca, Béjar and Alba de Tormes.²⁰ Aware that the municipal elections had clearly demonstrated the lack of popular support enjoyed by the forces of the old right, the Gaceta Regional adopted a rather different style of political reportage during the initial weeks of the Republic to that which it had used during the election campaign. The monarchist right disappeared from the pages of the Gaceta: political reporting was much reduced and the only group to receive regular coverage was the Catholic Republicans. Towards the end of April, the paper published an article by Ossorio y Gallardo which argued that, although church/state relations were a matter for concern, there was no reason to fear the Republican government. In a later interview, Ossorio emphasised that "elements of order" were legally obliged to support the government and denied the imminent danger of a communist threat.²¹

The editor of the Gaceta was not so easily reassured. As well as running an article on the vast propaganda machine being manipulated by Soviet Russia, he editorialised on the "serious danger" facing the youth of the city after seeing students "of good families" reading communist newspapers. With "the sincerity of youth", these boys had told him that they had been republicans a year ago but now had moved further to the left.²² The tone

20. In contrast, the raising of the Republican flag in Ciudad Rodrigo sparked off a demonstration, GR, 16 April 1931.

21. GR, 24 April, 4 May 1931.

22. GR, 'Ante la revolución mundial', 22 April 1931; 'Un peligro serio que amenaza a nuestra juventud', 5 May 1931.

adopted by the paper in the early weeks of the Republic was overtly one of political neutrality or, at least, political silence. The Gaceta and the Catholic monarchists it had represented were unsure of their ground and had temporarily retreated from the political arena. In recognition of the republican victory, the paper appeared to have softened towards those moderate conservatives and Catholic Republicans it had opposed so vehemently in the run-up to the municipal elections. However, the preoccupations of the old right were still apparent in the coverage given to what was perceived as the ever-present communist menace. Stories of socialist excesses and Bolshevik atrocities served to remind Catholics that the Republic might soon give way to an even more frightening regime.²³

It was this unsympathetic, if not openly hostile, editorial which disseminated news of the dramatic events of 11 May. Following a monarchist provocation on the previous day when the royal march was played to the crowds coming away from their Sunday *paseo* in Madrid's Retiro park, an outburst of mob violence against the Republic's perceived enemies led to the burning of churches, convents and religious schools in the capital. Despite the protests of Miguel Maura — who as minister of the interior was ultimately responsible for public order — the government refused to intervene and the fever of anti-

23. El Debate paid similar attention to the Bolshevik threat, see e.g. 'La lucha contra el ateismo ruso', 19 April 1931. The horrors of Soviet communism were a constant theme of La Estrella del Mar and, although examples are too numerous to cite individually, the lurid flavour of its pieces may be judged from the articles which claimed that wolves, hunger, infanticide, cannibalism, murder and millions of homeless children were all features of life in Soviet Russia while the communist persecution of religion had led to paganism and human sacrifice, Estrella del Mar, 24 March, 27 November 1930. Papal fears were expressed in the letters of Pius XI, The Soviet Campaign against God (1929) and Divini Redemptoris (1937).

clerical incendiarism spread rapidly around the country.²⁴ In Salamanca, the Gaceta Regional gave full coverage to the events in Madrid and, later, those in Murcia, Málaga, Cádiz and Almería, but factually and without comment.²⁵ No church buildings were burnt in the province, although several religious communities felt sufficiently intimidated to leave their buildings. Those in residence at the Jesuit novitiate, housed in the city of Salamanca, were dressed in secular clothes and sent out to take refuge with well-wishers.²⁶ Similarly, Peñaranda de Bracamonte's Carmelite community acted on the advice of the mayor of the town and dispersed to private houses although, as the convent had not been threatened, the nuns' retreat from the cloister was purely precautionary. All were back in the Carmel within a month.²⁷ In Béjar, however, the events of May were rather more serious. The Salesian brothers left their school after being intimidated by a hostile crowd. Although the municipal authorities intervened to scatter the crowd and guarantee the protection of the convent buildings, all parties were agreed on the need for a temporary closure of the school. The Town Council also gave assurances of personal security to the Little Sisters of the Poor who ran the town hospital. Although the sisters remained at their duties throughout the crisis, the hospital was temporarily handed over to

24. See Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 180-181; Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 256-259; Maura, Así cayó Alfonso XIII, 240-264.

25. GR, 11, 12, 13, 14 May 1931.

26. Most were only away for one night although, because of the "marxist electricity" that continued to pollute the city's atmosphere, the novitiate was closed before the end of the year and both novices and junior brothers were sent elsewhere to continue their studies, 'Colegio Noviciado de S. Estanislao', 11, in Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ.

27. This went unreported at the time but was recalled in an interview with the Prioress, GR, 9 December 1932.

the care of the local authority in order to ensure that the patients would not be left abandoned. In contrast, the Franciscans who kept the shrine on the Castañar mountain outside the town were not convinced by such reassurances and, in the province's most notorious incident, the monks abandoned their shrine for good. Although, as the Gaceta recorded, they suffered no "hostile demonstration" and were even escorted out of the town by the mayor, the monks did not want to stay and moved a few miles across the border into the neighbouring province of Avila. Far from being a source of bitterness, the episode soon became something of a joke among the people of Béjar and was commemorated in a popular song which claimed that the friars left so quickly, one of them was wearing a sports jacket.²⁸

In contrast to the good humour displayed in Béjar, the events of 11 May came to be seen as a turning point in the history of the Second Republic. José María Gil Robles, for example, saw the convent burnings as "decisive" in the development of Spanish politics as they obliged those who represented the Catholic interest to devote all their energies to "urgent political necessities". He claimed that the fires of 11 May destroyed the precarious coexistence which had been established between church and state. Indeed, Gil Robles persisted in seeing the burnings as the result of planned and co-ordinated action by the Republican government. The liberal Catholic Ossorio y Gallardo also believed in the likelihood of conspiracy, but as the work of monarchist *agents provocateurs* rather than governmental stooges, a theory which Gil Robles categorically denied. Although Ossorio was reluctant to see the firing of convents as a demonstration of popular anger against the symbols of the old regime, he concisely summed up the political effects of 11 May.

28. Fraile Alvarez, Recuerdos de una vida, 301-302; GR, 15 May 1931.

"From now on", he wrote "the right was utterly opposed to Maura as if he, a sincere Catholic, had been responsible for burning churches." The effect on Miguel Maura's political career was also recognised by Gil Robles who later suggested that the entire episode might have been engineered by the government in order to discredit the minister of the interior and prevent the establishment of a conservative republic. However, from the vantage point of the 1970s, Gil Robles conveniently forgot that he was one of the prime beneficiaries of Maura's discomfiture and one of the first to capitalise upon it.²⁹

Gil Robles's Catholic right was to make much of Maura's association with the arson attacks of 11 May. During Salamanca's 1933 election campaign references to "those who consent to Spain being lit by burning churches" abounded while Maura was dubbed "he of 11 May 1931". These allusions and innuendoes were carried over to the 1936 campaign when electors were told that they were voting to "reject the burning of churches".³⁰ Indeed, reminders of Maura's position as minister of the interior during the early days of the Republic were so constant that, for many Catholics, his name became indelibly associated with anti-clericalism. For the parties of government, however, Maura's conservatism, clearly demonstrated by his stance in defence of Church property in May 1931, revealed the ideological gulf which separated the Derecha Liberal Republicana from the other signatories to the republican Pact of San Sebastián. Maura and his co-religionaries were falling prey to that classic predicament of the centre in periods of intense political polarisation when undisputed occupation of the rapidly-diminishing

29. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 35, La fe a través de mi vida, 99-103; Ossorio y Gallardo, Mis memorias, chapt. XXXVIII; Maura, Así cayó Alfonso XIII, 256-257.

30. GR, 4, 7 November 1933; 14 January 1936.

middle ground becomes less a political advantage than an electoral liability.³¹

Although to the historian the demise of the centre right may seem inevitable, its future was by no means determined by the time of the Cortes elections in July 1931. The political space occupied by conservative and non-socialist republicans had not yet been eroded. Indeed, although the Catholic right of Acción Popular and the CEDA were later to claim that religious-political affiliations were determined by the events of 11 May, such a conclusion was by no means obvious at the time. In Salamanca, the 1931 election campaign was the only one held under the Republic in which the firing of convents was not made into a party political issue. The arson attacks of May went unmentioned during the run-up to the July elections, undoubtedly because of the continuing strength the centre right enjoyed in the province.

The importance of the political centre was demonstrated in Salamanca shortly after 11 May. Partly as a result of the monarchist provocations which had led to the firing of Church buildings, Miguel Maura ordered new elections to be held in at least 882 *ayuntamientos*, the great majority of them rural, all over Spain.³² In the May elections in Salamanca at least 107 members of Maura's Derecha Liberal Republicana were returned, as opposed to the 56 elected in April. The political representation of many municipalities changed dramatically. For example, in Babilafuente, a village close to the provincial

31. The increasingly isolated position of the DLR is carefully plotted by Ben- Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, chapt. 6.

32. Neither the exact number nor the detailed results of these elections have been fully determined, see further Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 270-271, 313-314. Results returned under Article 29 were unaffected: a decision which was fiercely criticised by the left. Unsurprisingly, the re-elections were also bitterly resented by the monarchist right.

capital in the north east of the province, the "independent" and "unaligned" monarchists returned in April were replaced by Socialists and Radical Socialists while the Derecha Liberal Republicana increased its number of elected representatives from 1 to 3. In other villages entire slates were changed. The *pueblo* of Cordovilla, close to Babilafuente, replaced its 6 monarchists with 6 "independent republicans" while in the hamlets of Galinduste and Montejo de Salavatierra, both south of Alba de Tormes towards the Avila border, members of the Derecha Liberal Republicana were substituted for 9 monarchists (Galinduste) and 7 conservatives (Monetjo).³³ Some level of support for Maura's party seems to have been maintained after the May elections and, in the following month, local branches of the Derecha Liberal Republicana were established in all three *pueblos*.³⁴ Republicans of the right were clearly providing an alternative political allegiance for Salamanca's Catholic and conservative rural areas.

Throughout the run-up to the July elections, the complexities of the Spanish political map ensured that the self-styled Catholic right trod warily. The Catholic republican option had not yet been swept away nor even substantially eroded. At the national level Angel Herrera Oria's *El Debate*, while arguing that the position of the "liberal right" was untenable, agreed that "we represent fundamentally the same things".³⁵

33. *GR*, 13 April, 4, 6 June 1931. It must be remembered that the new elections were partial and incomplete: the Salamancon results were never published in full (see *GR* 4, 6 June 1931) while other provinces, e.g. Orense, which had been ordered to go to the polls never returned the results, Ben-Ami, *The Origins of the Second Republic*, 313. It would be naive to assume that no pressure was applied to voters by local representatives of the Republican-Socialist coalition. However, the May elections did, to some extent, free the rural areas from the influence of monarchist *caciques* and allow people to vote in an atmosphere conducive to the Republic.

34. *GR*, 9 June 1931.

35. *El Debate*, 6 June 1931.

In his turn, Miguel Maura fully recognised the influence wielded by both El Debate and the Propagandists; he even suggested that Herrera Oria lend his personal and organisational support to the Derecha Liberal Republicana.³⁶ Such an outcome was never likely, not least because Herrera had already launched his own Acción Nacional (later Acción Popular) in the columns of his paper towards the end of April 1931, before the church burnings of 11 May. Although the new movement deliberately eschewed the now hopeless cause of Alfonso XIII, this was explained as a purely tactical move, intended to attract as many people as possible to this "broad anti-republican concentration". It was quite clear that, despite the change in method, the aims and, indeed, the language of the old monarchist right remained intact. Acción Nacional was defined, not as a political party but rather as a "grouping" of all those who believed in the "urgent necessity" of defending the "fundamental principles" of "Religion, Fatherland, Order, Family, Property".³⁷

In the early days of May, again before the firing of the convents, the ranks of Acción Nacional were swelled by the adhesion of Salamanca's vehemently monarchist Acción Castellana. Making full use of Herrera's legalist arguments, the leaders of Acción Castellana insisted that this tactical retreat did not mean that they were thinking of "becoming Republicans" but rather that the question of regime be set aside until a more opportune moment so that all might fight together in defence of the "basic principles" of society which, in this case, were defined as "Religion, Order, Family, Property, Work and

36. Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 285-286.

37. El Debate, 21, 29 April 1931; a more elaborate announcement on 7 May defined AN as "an organisation of social defence" and contained an explicit declaration of accidentalism. On the foundation of Acción Nacional and the Catholic mobilisation around El Debate in the first weeks of the Republic, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 27-34.

National Unity".³⁸ The inclusion of an ultra-right movement such as Acción Castellana among the accidentalist Catholics grouping themselves around Herrera and the Propagandists gave the lie to El Debate's new-found political neutrality. The legalist tactic was, as Paul Preston has described it, nothing more than

an acceptance of the democratic game in an attempt to take over the Republic and draw its teeth.³⁹

It was not a mere difference of approach which separated Acción Nacional from the Derecha Liberal Republicana but a profound ideological divide. Despite their consistent rejection of the catastrophist and conspiratorial methods advocated by those Alfonsists and Carlists who remained implacably opposed to the new regime, the circles around Herrera and El Debate had found Maura's genuine commitment to the Second Republic unpalatable even before 11 May. Acción Nacional articulated the unchanged aims and aspirations of the traditional Catholic right but in a republican rather than a monarchist idiom. Indeed, the alternative Catholic political mobilisation engineered by the old monarchist forces was already underway by the time the first convent was set alight. Maura's overtures to Herrera Oria were always doomed to failure. There was no possibility of the Propagandists espousing the cause of the Republic.

A similar policy of public respect for the conservative Republicans and private manoeuvrings against them was being enacted at local level by Salamanca's Gaceta Regional. The paper gave full coverage to the foundation of the provincial branch of the Derecha Liberal Republicana, printing its fullmanifesto without editorial comment,

38. El Debate, 9 May 1931.

39. Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 27.

publishing details of membership secretaries and explaining where and how to join the new party.⁴⁰ As was announced in the coverage of the founding meeting, full membership was only open to republicans. Those who had been "active monarchists" or who had served under Primo de Rivera were only accepted as auxiliary members.⁴¹ Although such a purist republican stance was undoubtedly unattractive to the province's Catholic political leaders, the issue over which the Gaceta Regional publicly parted company with the Derecha Liberal Republicana was a religious one. In its manifesto the local party had, like its national leaders, announced its support for freedom of worship and the separation of church and state. It also adhered to the measures introduced by the Provisional Government towards the end of May, which repealed all restrictions on the practice of non-Catholic faiths and ensured that no Spanish citizen would be obliged to attend religious functions.⁴² In the context of Europe in the 1930s these proposals were far from extreme, but they were swiftly denounced by the Spanish bishops. On 3 June Cardinal Segura, writing from Rome, issued his 'Exposition of wrongs done to the Church' which claimed that the toleration of freedom of worship in Spain not only broke the concordat with the Vatican but also violated "fundamental laws of the State".⁴³ Segura elaborated upon this theme in his pastoral of 25 July which roundly condemned "modern" liberties as

40. GR, 14, 15, 27 May 1931.

41. Account of founding meeting given GR, 23 May 1931. As the numbers of those who had not been monarchists a few years earlier would have been extremely small, the embargo presumably referred only to those active during the last months of the Dictatorship.

42. See clause 8 of the local DLR manifesto which proclaimed respect for all beliefs, manifesto reprinted GR, 14 May 1931; decree introducing freedom of worship to Spain given in full GR, 23 May 1931.

43. 'Exposición de agravios hechos a la Iglesia' — the publication of which was regretted by Tedeschini — in Iribarren, Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 133-135.

the legacy of the French Revolution and, therefore, the inheritance of those "democracies (which are) enemies of the Church". Quoting Leo XIII's 1888 encyclical Libertas, the primate argued that freedom of worship was a false liberty as it allowed individual men and women

to pervert or abandon a most holy obligation and to turn to evil ignoring the immutable good; this is not liberty but denial of liberty and servitude of the soul degraded by sin.⁴⁴

The argument that true freedom was only to be found by following Catholic teachings was to remain a doctrine of the Church until the Second Vatican Council. Yet, while the Holy See may have been profoundly disturbed by the declaration of liberty of cult in Spain, it was not prepared to forfeit its relations with the new Republic over this issue. Nor were Segura's trenchant remarks palatable to all members of the Spanish hierarchy; the archbishops of Tarragona, Valladolid and Burgos all protested at the text of the July letter.⁴⁵ These prelates were fully aware of the unpromising situation of the Spanish Church, and the delicate diplomatic task which lay ahead, a task which Segura's uncompromising statements were not making any easier.

The cardinal primate was not interested in producing bargaining counters to be used in negotiations with the Republic. Nor was he concerned to look for common ground with the new Spanish state. His 'Exposition of wrongs' was rather a lament for the passing of the confessional state and the privileged position which the Spanish Church had previously enjoyed. Thus, the cardinal's list of grievances put such essentially trivial matters as the ending of obligatory mass attendance for soldiers and convicts and the ending of military honours for the Blessed Sacrament in procession alongside the

44. *Ibid.*, 145-146.

45. Ramón Muntanyola, Vidal i Barraquer: el cardenal de la paz (Montserrat, 1976), Chapter 14; see further Chapter 8 below.

suppression of religious education in state schools and the proposed secularisation of the cemeteries. Segura was not prepared to concede any ground at all in his struggle with a laicising state. His vision of Spain was that of a totally Catholic society where all citizens worked for the social reign of Christ, under the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus whose image was "enthroned" in so many public buildings throughout Spain.⁴⁶

As the popularity of public dedications to the Sacred Heart had shown, Segura's nostalgia for the old confessional state was not unusual. Despite the doctrine of accidentalism, the only government acceptable to many Spanish Catholics was one which would confirm the Church as holding a monopoly on truth. Just as there was only one God, only one way to achieve salvation, so there was only one right way to live and to believe. The only solution to the problems of modern society, caused as they were by doubt and disbelief, was the eradication of error. In this context, any degree of cultural or religious heterodoxy, particularly freedom of worship, was unthinkable. To those brought up in the hermetic world of the traditional Church, the suggestion that Catholicism should become merely one faith among many, competing for the hearts and minds of Spaniards, was horrifying and was met with bitter opposition.

In Salamanca, José Cimas Leal, sometime editor of the Gaceta Regional, roundly condemned the decree in the paper's columns.⁴⁷ Declaring that "(t)here is no right to error", Cimas Leal argued that religious faith and "ideological toleration" were mutually

46. See above, Chapter 3. It is appropriate that Segura's 'Exposición de agravios hechos a la iglesia' used the language of the cult of the Sacred Heart which had come to symbolise this struggle between the sacred and secular worlds. 'Actos de desagavios' were regularly offered to the Heart of Jesus as recompense for the offences given to Him by an ungrateful world.

47. Cimas Leal had been acting editor of the Gaceta during the 1920s and was to resume this position in 1932.

exclusive as the consciences of the faithful would not admit the possibility of error. Truth for the believer was religious dogma; "tolerance" would violate the true Catholic's conscience.⁴⁸ Arguments such as these revealed the hollowness of the accidentalist tactic adhered to by many Spanish Catholics. Declarations of respect for a democratic government were belied by this inability to accept the political and cultural pluralism on which democracy was based.

Despite his rejection of religious heterodoxy Cimas Leal did not join those who advocated the immediate overthrow of the Second Republic by violent means. Together with other prominent local figures, he was building up a new political grouping in the province, focussed around the Gaceta Regional. The role of the Gaceta in establishing this new party, christened the Bloque Agrario Salmantino, mirrored that played at national level by El Debate in the foundation of Acción Nacional. Following the example of El Debate, and with the patronage of Angel Herrera Oria, the Gaceta Regional made full use of its personal and political contacts, as well as its well-oiled publicity machine, to launch a determined Catholic offensive against the Republic. Like Acción Nacional, the Bloque Agrario distilled old monarchist wine into new republican bottles. The nucleus of the new party was provided by Acción Castellana, which had already fielded candidates for the July elections. The familiar figures of José María Lamamié de Clairac and Luis Bermúdez de Castro, Viscount of Revilla, had been joined by their CNCA colleague José María Gil Robles, Angel Herrera's young *protegé* who was returning to his native province for the first time in twelve years.⁴⁹ Cándido Casanueva, the former deputy and

48. José Cimas Leal, 'Libertad religiosa', GR, 9 June 1931.

49. Believing his chances of victory to be very slight, Gil Robles considered withdrawing from the Salamanca list, despite support from Clairac, but was directed to remain by the Acción Nacional

founder member of Acción Castellana, was also involved in the new alliance despite his original decision not to take part in political life under the Republic. He claimed to have changed his mind after the events of 11 May which had impressed upon him the urgent need to prevent Spain falling into anarchy and, therefore, caused him to stand as a "Catholic Agrarian" together with the local landowner and livestock breeder, Argimiro Pérez Tabernero.⁵⁰

The formation of the new party was announced in the local press on 10 June 1931, the day of the Bloque's founding meeting. This took the form of a general assembly, held in the city of Salamanca's only theatre, which was attended by around 1,500 people. 92 villages, hamlets and *fincas* were represented at the meeting, at least 33 of which had Catholic agrarian syndicates affiliated to the CNCA.⁵¹ The strength of the new party's rural connections — and the good use the Bloque's organisers made of them — was further demonstrated five days later when a rally in the city's bullring was attended by an estimated 5,000 people, including delegates from 129 *pueblos*.⁵² Like its forerunner, Acción Castellana, the new political grouping laid great stress on its Castilian and agrarian roots. Unlike its predecessor, however, the Bloque Agrario deliberately emphasised agricultural matters to the virtual exclusion of every other area of policy. There was no talk of monarchy and little of religion; the twelve point programme which served as the Bloque's manifesto was made up of a declaration of loyalty to the Republic and an

executive, Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 36-37.

50. Notice of candidature and interview with Casanueva, GR, 5 June 1931; Cimas Leal had also been nominated but had withdrawn from the lists.

51. GR, 10 June 1931.

52. GR, 15 June 1931.

aspiration towards rural class harmony followed by ten technical points, including the establishment of a ministry of agriculture and a national agrarian bank as well as a reforestation scheme.⁵³

This emphasis on agrarian matters represented a conscious policy on the part of the Bloque's leaders to make their programme as uncontentious and as appealing as possible. An open letter in El Debate from the Acción Castellana candidates had referred to an "(a)grarian block which looks to unite all men of the countryside". Clairac, Gil Robles and Revilla declared themselves eager to join with other "rightist elements" in a coalition candidature which would give the Catholic Agrarian cause its greatest chance of success. Such was their "patriotic duty" in the "critical" time of the early weeks of the Republic.⁵⁴

In their efforts to create "a new force" which would defend the "sacred" rights and interests of agriculture, the Bloque Agrario chose its candidates for the coming election through a free vote at a meeting of representatives of all local committees held in the city on 14 June 1931.⁵⁵ Candidates for selection were proposed from the floor and, in several cases, their prior consent had not been sought. This led to some intriguing suggestions: Casto Prieto Carrasco, a Republican who was to be elected for the Popular Front in 1936, was proposed as a Bloque Agrario candidate as was the Radical José Camón Aznar who had previously crossed swords with Canon José Artero in the columns

53. Manifesto given in full GR, 13 June, El Debate, 16 June 1931; El Debate, 24 June 1931 also gave details of the Bloque's proposals for sickness benefit and unemployment insurance.

54. El Debate, 13 June 1931. The coalition excluded the old men of the Restoration monarchy e.g the irreconcilable Alfonsist, Diego Martín Veloz, who stood as an independent candidate for "Order, Agriculture and the unity of the Fatherland", GR, 6 June 1931.

55. GR, 15 June 1931.

of the Gaceta Regional.⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly perhaps, Carrasco received a mere 2 votes, a total which was, however, double that secured by Camón Aznar. Yet, other republicans fared well in the poll. Although the greatest number of votes were cast for Lamamié de Clairac and Gil Robles with respective totals of 106 and 104, the next most popular candidates were Tomás Marcos Escribano with 95 votes and Dr Filiberto Villalobos, of Melquíades Álvarez's old Reformist, now Liberal Democrat, Party, with 84. The fifth and final nomination was that of Cándido Casanueva who had gained 69 votes, just beating Marcos Escribano's co-religionary, Julio Ramón y Laca.⁵⁷

With the exception of Gil Robles who, despite his Salamancan origins, was not well-known, the Bloque Agrario representatives had chosen local figures, respected men who wielded great influence in the province. Villalobos had close connections with Salamanca's independent newspaper El Adelanto. A noted local philanthropist, he had been a member of the Reformist party since its foundation in 1913, representing Béjar in the Cortes between 1918 and 1923.⁵⁸ He owed his considerable electoral support almost entirely to personal following. The party to which he belonged (and to which he remained loyal throughout his long political career) had no real strength outside Asturias and, in Salamanca, Villalobos was its only representative. A vote for the Liberal Democrat Party was simply a vote for the good doctor.

Villalobos's popularity among the small farmers of the province in 1931 was testimony to the continuing importance of patronage and personality even in an age of party politics. Indeed, his reliance upon face to face contact with the electorate was soon

56. See above, Chapter 6.

57. Nominations and results given in full GR, 15 June 1931.

58. For Villalobos' career in national and local politics, see Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos and, for a detailed account of his philanthropy, see above, Chapter 2.

to bring charges of *caciquismo* from the representatives of the Bloque Agrario.⁵⁹ Yet, Villalobos's party affiliation was sufficiently strong for him to resist incorporation into the Bloque Agrario. He stood for his own party in the July elections, as did Marcos Escribano who, nevertheless, expressed his gratitude for the smallholders' "confidence and support".⁶⁰ Indeed, the Derecha Liberal Republicana had already launched its electoral campaign with intensive and professional propaganda. Thousands of copies of the party manifesto were distributed around the province in an effort to disseminate the Conservative Republican ideology of democracy, authority and liberty.⁶¹ Unlike Villalobos, Marcos Escribano was a serious contender in the party political game.

Aware of the formidable weapon of agricultural credit wielded by the Bloque Agrario, Marcos Escribano was devoting much of his time to establishing a local alternative to the CNCA. A previously defunct agrarian body, the Liga de Agricultores, was refounded under his presidency in June 1931. The new body was designed to be an association of smallholders and tenant farmers, providing practical assistance to its members through a credit scheme set up with the National Agrarian Bank.⁶² Such a service was identical to that provided by the Catholic Agrarian Syndicates of the CNCA.

59. The charge is examined in some detail by Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 84-91.

60. Open letter from Marcos Escribano, GR, 15 June 1931. Richard Robinson is, therefore, mistaken in his assertion that Acción Castellana set aside its Monarchist convictions to enable them to enter into an electoral "alliance" with two "Right Republicans", a claim which he bases on the El Debate reports of 9, 13 June 1931, Richard A.H. Robinson, The Origins of Franco's Spain. The Right, the Republic and Revolution, 1931-1936 (Newton Abbot, 1970), 46.

61. GR, 11, 16 June 1931.

62. GR, 5 June 1931.

The ideology espoused by the Liga was, however, extremely different.

At an early public meeting the Liga announced itself to be "definitely and determinedly Republican". Like the CNCA, the Liga was fervently committed to the creation of peasant proprietors but, unlike its Catholic counterpart, it looked to the expropriation of land from the great estates which would then be divided among small farmers. The Liga thus fully supported centralised agrarian reform instituted by the state. Such a programme, according to Marcos Escribano, had to be the work of "men of the soil" and not the aristocracy which had prevented ordinary people "gaining access to the land". To illustrate his point, he cited examples of villages in the province where even "the streets and the cemetery" belonged to the landlord rather than to the community.⁶³ Such a programme of reform was unlikely to be popular with men like José María Lamamié de Clairac and Cándido Casanueva, themselves substantial landowners, who consistently refused to countenance the expropriation of land, despite their supposed commitment to the principle of peasant proprietorship.⁶⁴

Nor did the Liga's stand on religion endear it to the traditional Catholic forces marshalled behind the Bloque Agrario. Although the new organisation was not explicitly confessional, Marcos Escribano used the same meeting in Valdecarros at which he had expressed his support for agrarian reform to make public his ambition to reconcile religion and Republic. After attending the village's Corpus Christi procession, he began his speech by proclaiming his belief in the compatibility of religious ideas and "the liberating ideas of

63. GR, 1, 5 June 1931.

64. See below, chapter 9.

the Republic".⁶⁵ Such an aim was clearly very different to the nostalgia for the monarchist confessional state which, despite their use of the new accidentalist lexicon, was clearly evident among the men of the Bloque Agrario.

The deliberate attempt of the Derecha Liberal Republicana to construct a viable alternative to the Bloque Agrario in the province, together with the continuing popularity of the political centre — in the persons of both Tomás Marcos Escribano and Filiberto Villalobos — meant that the attitude of the Bloque's leaders towards their supposed running-mates was always ambivalent. A note published by the Bloque soon after the choice of candidates by acclamation had been made known announced that all five candidates were to be supported "whatever might be the attitude held by those candidates among themselves".⁶⁶ Although this direction was respected by the Bloque's official party machine, it did not prevent the Gaceta Regional from attacking Villalobos's candidature in its columns. On the same day as the paper published the Liberal Democrat manifesto, it carried a signed article describing the party's belief in the supremacy of the state over all other powers as "the most grossly tyrannical doctrine imaginable". The article went on to argue that the Church could not be subject to a "decatholicised, dechristianised state" and declared that, as Villalobos had not publically dissented from his party's religious policy, he could not be supported by true followers of the right. A few days later, the Gaceta published a further signed article insisting the Catholics should only vote for other practising members of the Church.⁶⁷ The publication of these articles, apparently written by independent columnists, enabled the Gaceta to attack Villalobos whilst maintaining an editorial stance of support for the Bloque Agrario. Neither the paper nor the political

65. GR, 5 June 1931.

66. GR, 18 June 1931.

67. GR, 19, 23 June 1931.

forces it represented were, however, sufficiently confident to mount an attack on the Derecha Liberal Republicana, led as it was by the confirmed, if unconventional, Catholic, Tomás Marcos Escribano.

The reason for the Gaceta's caution and its reluctance to distance itself too publicly from the Bloque Agrario's putative running-mates was clearly demonstrated on polling day when Filiberto Villalobos was returned top of the list.⁶⁸ He was followed by the Socialist, Primitivo Santa Cecilia, then Miguel de Unamuno, standing as a Republican, and Tomás Marcos Escribano. Although all the Bloque Agrario candidates won seats they were returned fifth, sixth and seventh in the provincial poll.⁶⁹ In the provincial capital the results for the Bloque were even less encouraging. However, in the city of Salamanca none of the right-wing candidates fared particularly well. Again, Villalobos did best but with a mere 1,866 votes compared to Unamuno's 5,512 and Santa Cecilia's 5,417.⁷⁰

The election results clearly demonstrated a plurality of political opinion in Salamanca. The Republican-Socialist coalition was seen to be the dominant force in local politics although, within that coalition, the conservative positions of Marcos Escribano and Villalobos had proved more popular than Santa Cecilia's socialism. It was this continuing

68. Robinson's claim that Villalobos owed his election to the "Agrarian Coalition" is thus inaccurate, The Origins of Franco's Spain, 57.

69. The final results were: Villalobos, 32,418; Santa Cecilia, 29,190; Unamuno, 28,849; Marcos Escribano, 28,213; Gil Robles, 26,365; Casanueva, 25,618; Lamamié de Clairac, 23,649. The next two places were taken by the Republican Casto Prieto Carrasco with 22,681 votes and the Radical José Camón Aznar with 20,191. For a complete table see GR, 3 July 1931.

70. Gil Robles polled 1,729 votes, Marcos Escribano 1,702. See Martín Vasallo, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca, chapter IV.

strength of the centre right which caused concern within the traditional right of the Bloque Agrario. Despite the increasing coolness shown by the Bloque's leaders towards their conservative republican counterparts as the electoral struggle progressed, Villalobos and Marcos Escribano had emerged victorious. Both men appeared to have succeeded in attracting support from those Catholic and conservative elements in the province whom the Bloque saw as their natural constituency. Villalobos' personal popularity and Marcos Escribano's effective use of party political tactics had both proved able to provide a credible electoral alternative to the Bloque Agrario. Neither the convent burnings of 11 May nor the increasingly difficult path of church/state relations had yet alienated the voters of Salamanca from the conservative centre. In July 1931 the province's right republicans still had cause for confidence.

Chapter 8: Against the Constitution: Political Opposition in the bienio rojo

The first task which faced the parliamentary representatives of the new Republican regime was to create a new constitution. The liberal Catholic lawyer, Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, who defined himself politically as a "monarchist without a King at the service of the Republic", had been appointed president of the juridical commission charged with drawing up a first constitutional draft.¹ This turned out to be a cautious document which proposed complicated governmental structures. Not only was there to be a "corporative" second chamber, intended to act as "a reflective and moderating influence", but also further senatorial restraint on the executive in the form of a permanent consultative commission on legislation.² Finished in July 1931, and abandoned shortly afterwards, these unwieldy and, in all probability, unworkable proposals contributed to the failure of the draft. It won little favour among those on the left, who saw it as an excessively legalistic and cerebral document which failed to reflect the mood of the nation, and was never even debated by the Constituent Cortes.³

However, the left's antipathy towards these first constitutional proposals did nothing to assuage the bitter hostility Ossorio's proposals had aroused among those on the right, particularly amongst his fellow Catholics. El Debate printed the full text of the draft and admitted that the authors had been looking to eschew extremism, even going so far as

-
1. Ossorio y Gallardo's unusual and often idiosyncratic politics are examined more fully in Lannon, 'The Church's Crusade against the Republic' in Preston (ed.), Revolution and War in Spain, 35-58.
 2. The second chamber was to include representatives of employers' and workers' organisations as well as professional and cultural bodies, see Ossorio y Gallardo, Mis Memorias, chapter XXXIX.
 3. To El Socialista, 3 July 1931 Ossorio's draft was "confused, reactionary and inadequate", Robinson, The Origins of Franco's Spain, 61.

to admire the document "from an academic and pedagogic point of view".⁴ However, if the document were to be judged "as a Constitution ... for today's Spain", then the paper confessed to serious reservations. The first objections articulated by El Debate were religious ones: despite the guarantee of religious education for all who chose, the number of articles dealing with spiritual issues was deemed to be insufficient. Although Ossorio's draft was not hostile to the Church — certainly not when compared with what was to come in the Constitution itself — El Debate took the proposed introduction of liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, together with the designation of the Church as an institution of public law, as evidence of "a spirit (which is) threateningly laic, atheist, almost pagan, areligious". However, the gravest defect of the proposed constitution was its "democratic-parliamentary prejudice" which would prove to be "corrosive for whichever government". According to El Debate,

no man of a certain intellectual level ignores [the fact] that, in Spain, it is necessary to preach not liberty and democracy but authority and a spirit of social discipline and obedience.⁵

Similar authoritarian preferences were vividly demonstrated later in the month when the exiled cardinal primate, Pedro Segura, issued a pastoral letter on the duties of Catholics in the face of the constitutional draft. This document revealed a deep mistrust of pluralist, parliamentary regimes, describing the idea of popular sovereignty as "atheism", demonstrated in the "Godless democracies of our days". Segura's letter — which had been issued in the name of the whole Spanish hierarchy — denounced both the separation of

4. El Debate, 1, 2 July 1931; the reactions of the Catholic press, particularly that of El Debate, are plotted in Alejandro López López, El boicot de la derecha a las reformas de la Segunda República (Madrid, 1984), 154-160.

5. 'Con olvido de la eficacia', El Debate, 2 July 1931.

church and state and freedom of conscience, instructing the faithful to avoid "the enemies of the Church" and, in particular, to flee from the "impious, blasphemous and indecent press" as if from an asp. The corrosive influences of a corrupt and fallen world were thus to be eschewed by the righteous in the political, just as in the religious or cultural, spheres.

The recalcitrant and embattled position adopted by Segura, although by no means unrepresentative of Spanish Catholic opinion, was not shared by all his co-religionaries. Cardinal Vidal i Barraquer considered Segura's letter to be so inflammatory that he refused to sign it and, indeed, issued his own text of the supposedly collective letter. Although retaining much of the original material, the irenic tone of Vidal i Barraquer's version contrasted noticeably with Segura's bellicosity.⁶ The Vatican also found Segura's instructions unpalatable and, after the publication of the letter in August, the Holy See prohibited him from making any further public pronouncements.⁷

Nor were those looking for a *modus vivendi* with the Republic confined to the upper echelons of the hierarchy. Even Ossorio's much-reviled constitutional draft found favour in some quarters. In contrast to El Debate, the Dominican social Catholic and trade union organiser, Father José Gafo, believed that the draft proposals for recognising the Church as an independent body under public law was a "viable and weighty" political option, given the near unanimous feeling in favour of an amicable separation of church and state. He also pointed out that the constitutional draft included the doctrine of the

6. Both the Toledo and the Tarragona versions of the letter are given in full and compared, Església i estat durant la Segona República, I, 454-478. Only the Toledo version was published in Salamanca, BEOS (1931), 264-281.

7. Garriga, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional-Catolicism, 176-177.

social function of property, "so often proclaimed by the popes".⁸ The property clauses of the Constitution were, however, to be vigorously debated, provoking vehement opposition from right-wing parliamentary deputies.

Ossorio's rejected draft had quickly been replaced by a much more radical and far-reaching document, which abandoned the earlier complex system of gubernatorial checks and balances in favour of a unicameral legislature and defined the new regime as "a Republic of workers of all classes". Parliamentary debate of the new proposals began after the presentation of the replacement draft to the Cortes on 18 August and continued until 9 December when the new Constitution was finally voted into law.

Although the right was poorly represented in the Constituent Cortes, its opposition to the constitutional proposals was vociferous. The attack was spearheaded by the Agrarian Minority, a group of twenty-four deputies from the two Castiles and León which included the sitting members of Salamanca's Bloque Agrario. José María Gil Robles soon emerged as the leader of the Agrarian Minority, having made his parliamentary debut with a powerful defence of the Bloque Agrario's electoral results which had been challenged on the grounds of falsification and *caciquismo*.⁹ In an important and effective speech made on 24 July, Gil Robles swung the opinion of the chamber against declaring the

8. La Ciencia Tomista (July/August 1931), 102; (September/October 1931), 373. Catholic teaching on property recognised the concept and right of individual ownership but mitigated this by declaring that all goods were created by God for the benefit of the whole human race. Ownership brought with it, therefore, duties as well as rights; the correct conduct of proprietors depended upon their acceptance of this "social function" of their property.

9. The protests were first voiced at a local level by the unsuccessful candidates José Camón Aznar, for the Radical party, and the Republican Casto Prieto Carrasco. There were 124 challenges (out of 386 municipal polling stations), mostly for "irregularities" or "simulation" although some were more dramatic, for example, Camón Aznar's claim that the mayor of Espadaña "pistol in hand" forced the electorate to vote against the Republican-Socialist coalition, GR, 2, 3 July 1931.

partial nullity of the Salamanacan results, securing the support of Miguel de Unamuno in the process.¹⁰ He thus emerged as the leading spokesman of the parliamentary right and, despite his relative youth, was soon confirmed as the effective leader of the accidentalists.¹¹

Gil Robles's oratorical talents, together with his legal training, were soon put to good use in the constitutional debates. Although popular opposition to the Constitution crystallised around the religious issue, the Agrarian Minority also objected to proposals for regional autonomy, labour legislation and agrarian reform. Article 44, which declared that

Property of all kinds can be the object of expropriation with adequate compensation for reasons of social utility unless a law to the contrary receives an absolute majority in the Cortes

was subjected to amendment after amendment in an attempt to block its passage through parliament.¹² Nor was the rhetoric employed in the defence of private ownership always consistent with the doctrine of the social function of property, elaborated by Pope Leo XIII.¹³ Indeed, the threat to individual property posed by the Republican Constitution

-
10. See the debates of 24 July in Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes de la República Española (henceforth DSCC; Madrid, 1933), 96-121. The text of Gil Robles' speech is reproduced in José María Gil Robles, Discursos parlamentarios (Madrid, 1971), 6-17 while the incident is also recalled in his political memoirs, No fue posible la paz, 47.
 11. The Agrarian Minority followed the Bloque Agrario, its provincial prototype, in not excluding dedicated monarchists. Not only did Carlists such as José María Lamamié de Clairac sit on its benches but also Alfonsist monarchists, including Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, an academic from Santander, who made no secret of his anti-Republican, even violent intentions, Sainz Rodríguez, Testimonio y Recuerdos (Barcelona, 1978), 165.
 12. For the legal tactics adopted by the Agrarians in their battle against the Constitution, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 34-35.
 13. In the encyclical Rerum Novarum; the Church's teaching on property was reiterated by Pius XI in the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno which was, coincidentally, published during the Cortes debates on the Constitution.

provoked some delicate doctrinal juggling. For example, Ricardo Gómez Rojí, deputy for Burgos and one of four Catholic priests to sit with the Agrarian Minority in the Cortes, argued that property's social function should not be "exaggeratedly aggrandised" as this would extend the concept to the point where the very right to property would be annulled. Although Father Gómez did adumbrate the obligations of ownership, saying that these were duties both of charity and of justice, he put forward no concrete proposals to ensure that the social function of private property was fulfilled nor to take measures against those owners who failed in their obligations.¹⁴

In similar vein, the leader of the Agrarian Party, José Martínez de Velasco, argued in an article in Salamanca's Gaceta Regional that, despite the need to conform with the social function of property, no limits could be set on either the right to ownership or property itself.¹⁵ The imposition of such limits in the Constitution — an exercise which could have been interpreted as an attempt to define the content of the "social function" of property — was depicted as an attack on individual ownership, a violation of the divinely-sanctioned right to private property. Under the Republic, it was argued, all land would be subject to nationalisation; as in Russia, the very right to property would be denied.¹⁶ In the words of the Bishop of Salamanca, "private property would be left at the mercy of State absorption"¹⁷

The attack on property was only one of the issues which concerned the

14. DSCC, 767-768; the Agrarian Minority's attitude towards the social function of property is further examined in López López, El boicot de la derechas a las reformas de la Segunda República, 168-193.

15. GR, 7 September 1931.

16. See, e.g., the articles by Luis Izaga SJ and Joaquín Azpiazu SJ, Razón y Fe (1931) and 'Casi todo como Rusia', El Debate, 28 August 1931.

17. 'Ordenando preces por la salud de España', BEOS (1931), 262.

Salamancan prelate. In a short letter published in September, Bishop Frutos Valiente categorised the constitutional proposals as "a mortal blow": never had he imagined that the established power would practically proclaim "political atheism". Further injury was done to the Catholic religion by the admission of divorce, which, in the words of the bishop, would violate the "unity and dignity" of the family. If adopted, the new Constitution would threaten the very "moral health of our poor Spain", releasing a "plague of errors, hatreds and libertinage" which would rage throughout the land. The way to prevent such a plague lay in penance and mortification, and Frutos called on all the Salamancan faithful to pray and work for the health of the fatherland, granting 50 days indulgence for every such act of piety.¹⁸

The Catholics of Salamanca responded enthusiastically to their bishop's call. As the date for voting on the new constitution drew near, the city's faithful flocked to the church of San Pablo to ask for the intervention of Jesus Divine Risen Redeemer

before whose blessed image the Catholic people of Salamanca have always prostrated themselves in their moments of torture and which lavished help on the city during many calamities.¹⁹

Those addressing the *devotés* of the Risen Jesus expressed both complete confidence in the Redeemer's willingness to listen to His Salamancan children and a conviction that the maladies afflicting Spain were the consequence of "its sins and egoisms" which had led to these "atrocious punishments sent by Providence". Catholic *salmantinos* also made reparation for the sins of Spain in the best-attended stations of the cross ever held in the provincial capital. The presence of the bishop for this ritual reconstruction of Christ's passion ensured that the Jesuit church of the Clerecía was so full, it was impossible to

18. BEOS (1931), 261-263.

19. GR, 6 October 1931.

enter. Three days later the same church was packed once again as the women of the city came to ask for the "spiritual peace of Spain" in a *via crucis* held specifically for the Children of Mary. Other Catholic sodalities also took up the Bishop's call: Women's Catholic Action announced a Holy Hour every Thursday to be said for "Spain and her Catholic Church" while the Apostleship of Prayer organised triduums to the Sacred Heart in the cities of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo.²⁰

These were not the first such cults to be seen in the province. In August, the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo had instructed members of his diocese to have particular recourse to the Mother of God. "Today", he wrote, "error, heresy and hatred towards religion are trying to finish with the Catholic faith in this Spain of Mary". Against such evils, the rosary was a "powerful remedy" and was to be said in Christian families, religious houses and parish churches, preferably in front of an illuminated image of the Virgin. As with the Salamancan cults, customary devotional practice was thus brought within a specifically political context: the constitutional proposals affected "the fundamental principles of civilisation" and were to be combatted by prayer and piety. The faithful of Ciudad Rodrigo were to occupy themselves with "prayers, alms, fasting and all kinds of good works", in the hope of attracting divine intervention "in favour of the Church and the Fatherland."²¹

The concern of the Salamancan prelates for the preservation of Catholic Spain was echoed in the Catholic press. Luis Izaga SJ writing in the Jesuit periodical Razón y Fe, claimed that the mere idea of divorcing the state from all religious influence was not only

20. GR, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16 October 1931; BEOCR (1931), 322.

21. 'A grandes males, grandes remedios' and 'Prescribiendo oraciones', BEOCR (1931), 287-290.

absurd but a fundamental political error, equivalent to the state trying to separate itself from society.²² Stronger terms still were employed by La Estrella del Mar, which maintained that the separation of church and state was not simply an arbitrary rupture of a bilateral pact, but rather

a State breaking with its history, with its culture, with its customs and traditions, with its art, with its entire life, steeped as it is in the sweet perfume of spirituality and religion.²³

The same images of disaster, violation and apocalypse were repeated in the constitutional commentaries of the lay Catholic press. El Debate used phrases such as "the absolute laicism of the state", "democracy without God" and "state atheism" to describe the end of the confessional state, while Salamanca's Gaceta Regional informed its readers that the proposed constitution contained an "heretical laicism". Proposals such as the severing of links between church and state, the attack on religious orders and Christian education and the "destruction" of the family through the introduction of divorce and the legal recognition of illegitimate children were inspired by "atheistic, irreligious and tyrannical principles". Against such an onslaught no Catholic could remain indifferent or inactive; all must respond to the alarm sounded by the bishops and have recourse to "protest and prayer, propaganda and penance."²⁴

Both the press commentaries and the earlier hierarchical pronouncements made it clear that the Church was, in effect, waging war on the Constitution and, therefore, on the Republic itself. It was the whole Constitution which was unacceptable, not simply the anti-

22. 'Algunas notas características del proyecto constitucional', Razón y Fe (1931),

23. La Estrella del Mar (1931), 578.

24. El Debate, 18, 19, 21, 30 August 1931; GR, 21 August 1931.

clerical clauses contained therein. Some constitutional legislation undoubtedly represented a grievous affront to Catholic sensibilities. The introduction of divorce and civil marriage were inappropriately situated in the Constitution being, as their critics pointed out, measures better dealt with in the Civil Law Code.²⁵ Further, and still more bitter, opposition was aroused by articles 26 and 48 which concerned the religious orders and congregations. These clauses not only ended all state financial support for the clergy and secularised the educational system but also banned members of religious orders from industry, commerce and education and dissolved the Society of Jesus. Such measures introduced considerable practical difficulties for the Church which had been given no notice of the impending financial crisis nor time in which to consider alternative forms of funding. Together with the attack on Catholic education, the withdrawal of funds, in Frances Lannon's words, "threatened the entire infrastructure of national Catholic culture."²⁶

The strictures imposed on individual members of religious congregations not only represented an outright attack on the Church, they also undermined the liberal and democratic principles on which the Constitution was based. This contradiction was soon seized upon by the Catholic deputies within the Cortes and such unlikely champions of democracy as Lamamié de Clairac and Gil Robles, together with their fellow Agrarians,

25. See e.g., the comments made by Martínez de Velasco and Canon Jerónimo García Gallego during the parliamentary debates on the Constitution, DSCC, 1535, 1573. There is a considerable literature on the religious debates, including much memoir material e.g. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 51-55. See also the narrative commentary by Fernando de Meer, La cuestión religiosa en las Cortes Constituyentes de la II República (Pamplona, 1975) and, particularly, Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 181-185.

26. Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 181.

the priest-deputies Gómez Rojí and Molina Nieto, were to be heard speaking the language of liberty, equality and civil rights.²⁷ The impossibility of proclaiming equal rights while denying those very rights to some citizens was also commented upon by other observers, more sympathetic to the republican cause. Jerónimo García Gallego, canon of Segovia cathedral and an independent Republican deputy in the Constituent Cortes, had the unenviable task of convincing his fellow deputies that their attack on religion was unjust, much as he shared their distaste for El Debate, Acción Nacional and other self-styled defenders of Catholicism.²⁸ Although Canon Gallego was joined in his attempts by other independent figures such as Ossorio y Gallardo and, of course, the Catholic Republicans Miguel Maura and President Alcalá-Zamora, the hostility of the left majority in the chamber was simply too great. The anti-clericals won the day and, indeed, Catholic statesmen were acutely aware that, although the Constitution was bad, it could easily have been worse. The dissolution of the Jesuits, for instance, was in some senses a compromise given that the only likely alternative had seemed to be the outlawing of all religious communities on Spanish soil.²⁹

Such arguments made little headway among the traditional Catholic champions, those self-styled defenders of the faith so bitterly criticised by García Gallego. Throughout the Cortes debates, the Agrarian, Traditionalist and Basque-Navarrese Minorities echoed the hierarchy in their insistence that the new Constitution was "laic, irreligious, atheist". The parliamentary opposition also mirrored the prelates in the

27. See e.g., DSCC, 648-652, 664-666, 764-770, 1528-1532.

28. DSCC, 872-881, 1569-1577; García Gallego believed Catholicism to be "the religion of the rights of man" and had nothing but contempt for the erstwhile supporters of Primo de Rivera.

29. Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 306-307. See also Ossorio y Gallardo, Una posición conservadora ante la República, lecture given 17 October 1931 (Madrid, 1931).

attention they gave to article 3, the terms of which were, if anything, even more controversial than those of clauses 26, 43 and 48. This third article declared that the Spanish state had no official religion, and thus drove a coach and horses through the much-cherished idea of Spain as a totally Catholic nation. As had already been clearly shown in the vehemence of the attacks on Ossorio y Gallardo's first constitutional draft, the separation of church and state — indeed, any dismantling of the apparatus of the confessional state — was completely unacceptable to the great majority of Spain's Catholic leadership, both clerical and lay. This inability to accept political and cultural pluralism was demonstrated time and again during the constitutional debates. On 28 August, Lamamié de Clairac began a long list of offences committed against the Church with the proclamation of freedom of worship, the separation of church and state and the prohibition on official participation in liturgical events. At the beginning of October, Gil Robles roundly declared that article 3, rather than signifying religious neutrality, was a declaration of "absolute laicism" while, a few days later, Father Molina Nieto continued to proclaim the inseparability of religion and fatherland, declaring that

the Republic has been put above Spain [just as] you put sectarian passion above the Republic.³⁰

Yet, despite the Spanish Church's refusal to countenance the religious neutrality of the state, some individual Catholics continued to support the cause of ecclesiastical disestablishment, as did the Conservative Republican party to which Salamanca's Tomás Marcos Escribano belonged. These were the men whose attempts to steer a middle way between reactionary clericalism and anti-religious hostility attracted the opprobrium of

30. DSCC, 649, 664-666, 1528, 1548-1554.

both left and right. The constitutional attack on religion effectively forced Maura and Alcalá-Zamora out of the government, yet their resignations did nothing to reconcile them to the agrarian Catholic right.³¹ In Salamanca, this hostility was made abundantly clear in the pages of the Gaceta Regional which had been bought by a Bloque Agrario consortium at the beginning of October, supposedly with a view to making it the "orientator of the sectors of the political right, with a broad interpretation of that ideology".³² However, it immediately became apparent that the paper was to be the focus of the Agrarian party in the province. Now the official mouthpiece of the Bloque, the Gaceta duly recorded Maura's resignation on 14 October but devoted most attention to the position of the Traditionalist, Agrarian and Basque deputies who had, at the instigation of Lamamié de Clairac, withdrawn from the Cortes in protest at the acceptance of the Constitution's anticlerical clauses. According to an earlier statement made by Cándido Casanueva these men were the only 35 Catholics in the chamber.³³ The mobilisation of conservative forces behind the Bloque was achieved through the pages of the Gaceta Regional just as Angel Herrera Oria had first organised Acción Nacional around the Madrid daily El Debate.

The most serious threat to the Bloque Agrario's aim to create a mass following in the province was the continued existence of the conservative Republican option. Personal attacks on Villalobos had already been published in the columns of the Gaceta, accusing

31. See Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Second Republic, 305-308 and Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, 195-197 for analyses of the isolated position of the Catholic Republicans.

32. GR, 5 October 1931.

33. GR, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 October, 31 August 1931; for the withdrawal from the chamber, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 35.

him of maintaining a nocturnal friendship with the right and a diurnal one with the left.³⁴ Lamamié de Clairac had also become involved in an attack on Marcos Escribano's Liga de Agricultores and technical arguments concerning rents and tenancies were traded across the columns of El Adelanto and the Gaceta together with a measured amount of personal invective.³⁵ The Bloque's thinly-disguised hostility towards the Catholic Republican centre was most starkly revealed at the end of the voting on the religious clauses of the Constitution. Effectively using article 3 as a litmus-test of Catholicism, the Gaceta Regional declared that the names of those who voted in favour of an alternative proposal proclaiming the Catholic religion as that of the state would be "graven in the hearts and minds of Catholics". Unsurprisingly, the only Salamancan deputies to sustain this declaration of confessionality as "the fundamental principle in all religious question" were Casanueva, Gil Robles and Lamamié de Clairac. The names of those who had voted against such an amendment were listed without comment: the Gaceta was thus able to group together Maura, Alcalá-Zamora, Ossorio y Gallardo and Marcos Escribano with the local Socialist deputy Primitivo Santa Cecilia. Although pointing out that, with the exception of Santa Cecilia, all the above voted against article 24, the paper concluded that, of all the Salamancan deputies, only the Agrarians "always voted in defence of Catholic feelings". Readers were informed that several deputies had voted against article 24 "in the name of liberal principles"; the names of Marcos Escribano and Villalobos (who had

34. See, e.g., 'Don Fili', GR, 11 July 1931 and the item in the 29 October edition which attacked Villalobos's charitable work, claiming that his withdrawal from politics during Primo's dictatorship had prevented the building of a much-needed sanatorium for tubercular cases.

35. El Adelanto, 15 August 1931; GR, 18, 19 August 1931.

abstained from voting on the other religious clauses) were given in this context.³⁶ The possibility of a plurality of Catholic opinion over constitutional questions was thus firmly excluded. Those liberal Catholics who believed in the aconfessionality of the state simply allowed their political loyalties to come before their religious ones. Such a choice was clearly unacceptable to true sons and daughters of the Church.

The Agrarian deputies were thus making considerable efforts to turn this confessional issue into a political one. Even before the Constitution had formally been passed by the Cortes, the Catholic deputies had launched a campaign for its revision, hoping to turn what had been a minority issue in the Constituent Cortes into a majority one in the countryside of Castile. The first rally in this new campaign was held locally, in the ancient town of Ledesma, and was addressed by those Bloque Agrario representatives whom the Gaceta was now calling "the Catholic Salamancan deputies", thus firmly excluding Marcos Escribano from the religious label. Returning 3 Agrarians and 2 Republicans was no longer acceptable to the Salamancan right; as Cándido Casanueva said, now was no time for half measures. Faced with the disappearance of established religion in Spain, Catholics had to "go forth to the Reconquest" and do battle against those who looked to "snatch religious ideas away from children". In similar vein, Gil Robles referred scathingly to the Conservative Republicans "in whom so much faith had been placed" as "cuckoos fleeing the chamber". True Catholics, rather than failing to stand up and be counted, would come forward to join "the crusade which we initiate today".³⁷

This crusade was, in fact, an onslaught upon the Constitution itself. In

36. GR, 21 October 1931.

37. GR, 19 October 1931.

Paul Preston's words "the call for revision now became the rallying cry against the Republic" and, as such, was condemned by Miguel Maura who regarded Gil Robles's rhetoric as "a call for religious warfare".³⁸ Certainly, the "Catholic deputies" at Ledesma did not stop at excoriating articles 3 and 24. Casanueva referred to "that which they call Parliament, which for me it is not" and claimed that the atrocities of the Constitution were such that "its law does not rule, at least not in my conscience". Gil Robles also argued that the Constitution could not be respected as it was "born dead". It was, he said, "a dictatorial Constitution in the name of democracy".³⁹

Other rallies followed. The "Catholic masses" of Salamanca province, lauded as being the first to respond to the call, took practical steps to ensure that their support continued once the campaign had passed beyond their provincial boundaries. A committee was formed to organise transport to the next big meeting in Palencia, the largest rally yet seen. Swelling the crowd of some 20,000 were around 300 *salmantinos*, those from the city having heard early morning mass at the aristocratic church of San Martín before setting off for Palencia.⁴⁰ After this rally, alarmed by the large crowds and the increasingly violent rhetoric, the government banned the campaign as anti-Republican.⁴¹

38. Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 35-36; Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 51-52.

39. GR, 19 October 1931.

40. GR, 26 October, 6, 9, 10 November 1931.

41. It did so under the terms of the Defence Law of the Republic, a series of extraordinary police powers voted in on 29 October to last the lifetime of the Constituent Cortes. Jackson (The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 52) notes the self-contradiction inherent in such a measure but accepts Azaña's argument that the law was necessary to save the regime from "reactionary and revolutionary opponents". In contrast, Robinson claims that the government thus "voted itself dictatorial powers"

Unsurprisingly, the decision to suspend the campaign was greeted locally with incredulity and outrage, not least because the next rally was to have been held in Ciudad Rodrigo. Vociferous protests were heard from the Agrarian Minority, while the Gaceta Regional claimed that nobody could accuse the right of any action against the regime as "the question of the form of government" had been "resolved".⁴² The paper also published a far stronger attack on the Republic by "Axel", one of its occasional columnists, who claimed that each day that passed revealed more of the government's "dictatorial nature". Despite his condemnation of this "antiliberal, antidemocratic action", Axel went on to claim that "Spain is not a country which can be given liberty". He ended by roundly affirming "that the only means of governing Spain ... is Dictatorship" although this was not meant to include a "repellent", "disguised" dictatorship which "spouts phrases from the French Revolution".⁴³

Despite the differences of style, all these commentators were agreed that the campaign and its suspension had shown both the strength of the Castilian right and the government's fear of it. The first item on the Bloque Agrario's agenda was the politicisation of the countryside and the mobilisation of its previously quiescent conservative forces. Gil Robles gave the aims of the campaign as being fourfold; not only to protest at sectarian laws and spread the Catholic political programme but also to use mass meetings to give supporters of the right a sense of their own strength and, ominously,

(The Origins of Franco's Spain, 68) while Preston argues that the campaign had reached the momentum which would "force the government to ban it" (The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 36).

42. GR, 13 November 1931; Gil Robles later categorised the Defence Law of the Republic as "a forceful blow against the Constitution". No fue posible la paz, 69.

43. GR, 14 November 1931.

to accustom them "to fight, when necessary, for the possession of the street".⁴⁴ This imperative need to demonstrate the strength of the right had even led the Gaceta Regional to castigate *salmantinos* who chose not to attend the Palencia rally for having failed in their duty.⁴⁵

Undoubtedly, the agitation against the Constitution served as a clarion call to the Spanish right. The religious legislation of the government became the focus of all opposition to the Republic and, indeed, Gil Robles considered the campaign to have achieved all its objectives, despite its early demise. In Salamanca, the passing of the Constitution provoked a considerable body of protest. A public meeting was organised by the Salamancan Association of Catholic Propaganda which decided that the best way of informing the Cortes of the strength of Catholic feeling in the city was to open an office for the dispatch of telegrams. In a mere two days over 1,500 of these telegrams were sent, either to the President of the Republic or to the Salamancan deputies.⁴⁶ The volume of protest generated all over the province was considerable. A national women's petition, initiated by the Catholic Union of Spanish Ladies, received 12,313 signatures in the diocese of Ciudad Rodrigo and 39,943 in Salamanca. A second petition, organised locally by Ciudad Rodrigo's diocesan Catholic Action, attracted 18,300 signatures, all apparently calling for the day when "Catholic Spain, as one man, will defend the faith of the home and the Fatherland". In addition, around 300 telegrams were sent from the parishes and religious associations of the diocese. A similar pattern was followed in some *pueblos*: the Catholic associations of Fuentes de Oñoro wrote to the Cortes asking that the "atheist"

44. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 64-65.

45. GR, 10 November 1931.

46. The office was in the Catholic Workers' Circle, GR, 6, 8 October 1931.

Constitution be rejected while a further 80 telegrams were sent from Villares de la Reina, just outside the provincial capital.⁴⁷

This protest campaign was organised and co-ordinated with impressive speed and efficiency. Local protest at the Constitution was the expected response of an aggrieved interest group rather than the spontaneous outcry of a rural peasantry fearful for their traditions and beliefs. The petitions and telegrams sent off to central government were all instigated by established defenders of traditional Catholic political values; the Ciudad Rodrigo protests were initiated by the Countess of Ardales, the Salamancan co-ordinating committee by Canon Castro Albarrán.⁴⁸ The methods of protest employed were petitions, letters and telegrams; these were the weapons of the affluent and the educated, who had access to telephones and post offices and could afford to foot the bills for the campaign. In contrast, Salamanca saw no spontaneous demonstrations against the Constitutional articles, no riots or popular disturbances at the legal construction of a secular state. Even article 24, which had a direct impact upon the city of Salamanca as it forced the Jesuit novitiate into exile in Belgium, provoked no real popular display. Although the first group to leave was seen off from the railway station by a "great many friends" — all drawn from among "the most select of Salamanca" — who shouted "Long live the Jesuits" and sang the March of St Ignatius, the last group to depart were sent on their way by a large group of "socialists", including many railway workers, and left to the strains of the Marsellaise and

47. GR, 26 August, 14 September, 12, 26 October 1931; BEOCR (1931), 323, 334.

48. GR, 26 August, 6 October 1931; for Castro Albarrán, see below, chapters 9, 10.

cries of "Long live the Republic".⁴⁹

The dissolution of the Society of Jesus, together with the legal restrictions placed on members of other religious orders, did lead to the foundation of a local branch of the Association of Families Related to Religious (AFER). This was an *ad hoc* pressure group which had originated in the Basque Country, although a Castilian version had been established in Valladolid in August.⁵⁰ The Salamancan association was set up in August by a small group of prominent Catholic men, including José María Lamamié de Clairac, under the presidency of his fellow-Traditionalist, Tomás Salas Diestro. All of these men had relations in the Society of Jesus, the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart or the Daughters of Jesus, the three most socially-select religious communities in the provincial capital. The Association claimed a membership of over 4,000 families in the province shortly after its foundation, although it never asked its supporters to take to the streets, preferring to use the trusted and familiar protest methods of petition and propaganda. It established a fortnightly bulletin, Defensa, in September 1931, submitted a petition with 3,700 signatures to President Alcalá-Zamora in the same month and went on to produce and distribute thousands of propaganda leaflets. Given the origins of the AFER in Salamanca's Traditionalist circles, it was hardly surprising that the Association's publications took an extreme political line. The tone taken by Defensa was consistently inflammatory; the second edition contained an article by Tomás Salas's son, Daniel, which declared that parliament was "a disaster" and accused the Gaceta Regional of cowardice and betraying

49. 'Colegio-Noviciado de San Estanislao', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 18-19; 8 of the 49 departing novices were from Salamanca, GR, 1 February 1932.

50. El Debate, 7 August 1931.

the hopes of its readers.⁵¹ In May 1932, Daniel Salas Villagómez and his co-worker Fructuoso Pedraz were gaoled for the publication and distribution of an "unauthorised and offensive leaflet" entitled ¿Maura?¡No!. Despite the undoubted legality of the sentences imposed upon these young men, their case became a minor *cause célèbre* attracting some correspondence in the Gaceta Regional and a prison visit from the Congregation of St Louis Gonzaga who followed their communion mass and celebratory breakfast with a procession to the gaol to see their fellow-congregants.⁵²

This restriction of constitutional protest to those Catholic and old monarchist circles already confirmed in their opposition to the Republic does not, however, mean that the anti-clerical legislation had no impact on popular perceptions of the new regime. While the Catholic elites of the province signed petitions against the separation of church and state and attended elaborate religious liturgies to mourn the dissolution of the Jesuits, spontaneous street protests greeted the removal of crucifixes from village schools. An estimated 200 men and 400 women took to the streets of Fuentes de Béjar, at the edge of the *sierra*, when the school cross was taken down and a similar demonstration was seen in La Alberca, further into the mountains. In Golpejas and Santa María del Sando, both towards Ledesma in the north of the province, all children were kept away from school until the crucifixes were returned, an absence of only a few days. The authorities were not, however, always so accommodating: the women of Alba de Tormes who protested at

51. Defensa (Organo de la Asociación de Familias Emparentadas con Religiosos de Salamanca), 19 September, 3 October 1931.

52. GR, 10, 11, 14 May 1932. Defensa ceased publication later in 1932 when it was suspended by the Republican authorities following General Sanjurjo's August coup attempt. For Daniel Salas see above, chapter 2 and below, chapter 10.

the removal of their school crucifix were fined by the Civil Governor. Despite this firm action the demonstrations continued, with protests in Lumbrales and Vitigudino in the north west of the province.⁵³ It seemed that, while constitutional legislation that altered the legal position of the Church could be tolerated, anti-clerical measures which affected customary religious and communal practices would be resisted.

Holy Week was the first great liturgical feast to be affected by the new legislation. In 1932, for the first time, the richly-decorated floats of the Holy Week processions were not seen in the streets of the provincial capital, although in many *pueblos* the traditional celebrations took place as usual.⁵⁴ The ban on unauthorised processions and public worship also affected the eucharistic feast of Corpus Christi, when the procession of the Blessed Sacrament was usually led by first communicants. In 1932, however, there was no public holiday; the schools remained open and, in the city of Salamanca, the Corpus procession was held inside the Cathedral. Béjar had no procession and, although the traditional cults took place in some villages, obtaining permission was not always straightforward. In Galinduste, a sizeable *pueblo* to the south of Alba de Tormes badly affected by unemployment and labour conflicts, authorisation was only granted after an initial refusal and some delay by the mayor.⁵⁵

Much depended on the attitude of the municipal authorities. The Civil Governor had caused ill-feeling in the provincial capital when he banned the procession of the Most

53. GR, 1, 2, 3, 18 February, 1 March 1932.

54. GR, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 March 4, April 1932. Under article 27 of the Constitution, written permission had to be obtained from the local *ayuntamiento* before any religious procession or act of worship could take place outside an ecclesiastical building, BEOS (1932), 67.

55. GR, 2 April, 25, 31 May, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 June 1932.

Holy Christ of the Miracles at twenty-four hours notice. In the large *pueblo* of Lumbrales, however, the local council seemed to reach a satisfactory compromise when the procession for the feast of St Joseph was allowed to go ahead, but without the participation of the civic authorities whose place was taken by members of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament.⁵⁶ But such compromises were not widespread, nor were they likely to have been effective outside cohesive rural communities. In the province's industrial centres of Salamanca and Béjar further strictures were soon imposed. At the end of September 1932, the ringing of church bells was prohibited in Béjar; they were neither to summon the faithful to mass nor peal for weddings nor toll for the dead. A similar motion to ban church bells as "unconstitutional" was put forward in the provincial capital. Although this motion failed to win a majority in the city council, an ordinance severely restricting the use of church bells was introduced. Under legislation prohibiting noise from private buildings reaching the street, ecclesiastical bell-ringers were limited to no more than a dozen rings from a single bell "of little noise" before Sunday mass. When these embargoes were taken up in rural areas, as in Valdesangil at the beginning of 1933, then the old temporal divisions of the agricultural day, marked by the ringing of the angelus, were suppressed along with the call to prayer.⁵⁷

The anti-Republican feeling generated by these attacks on traditional devotional practices had been predicted, even during the Cortes debates on the Constitution. The socialist intellectual Fernando de los Ríos, education minister from December 1931, had

56. GR, 22 March, 9 May 1932.

57. GR, 8, 27 October 1932, 23 February 1933.

argued that a ban on all public manifestations of Catholic cult was neither opportune nor justified. "Do you not see that processions do not have a purely religious significance?" he asked the chamber, before going on to declare that the deputies had no right to deprive communities of their traditional rituals, Seville of its Holy Week celebrations, Toledo of Corpus Christi or Valencia of the *fiestas* to the Virgin of the Forsaken. In prophetic vein, the Republican priest Jerónimo García Gallego argued that the removal of crucifixes from state schools and public offices, the prohibitions on processions and church bells would

cause Catholics to see the Republic as their enemy, to declare themselves enemies of the Republic and say that the Republic equals religious persecution and democracy is nothing more than religious unbelief.⁵⁸

Yet such warnings went unheeded. The Republic was too widely perceived as an opportunity to wipe the slate clean eliminating the injustices and divisions of the old regime, in particular the favoured position of a privileged Church. In this new era, religion had to be confined to the private sphere.

At governmental level, this forcible delineation of the sacred and secular worlds encompassed the laicising of the schools, the end of state stipends for clergy and the introduction of civil marriage. At local level, these secularising policies were translated into specific and often highly symbolic actions. Civic bodies withdrew from religious celebrations; the firemen of Ciudad Rodrigo, for instance, refused to participate in the procession for St Sebastian in January 1932, although they did celebrate the feast of their own patron, St John, later in the year.⁵⁹ Religious images, as well as crucifixes, were removed from public buildings. Statues of the Sacred Heart were removed from the town

58. DSCC, 1543, 1575-1576.

59. GR, 22 January, 27 June 1932.

hall in Ciudad Rodrigo and the provincial hospital and orphanage in the city of Salamanca.⁶⁰ These "enthroned" images of the Heart of Jesus, that public symbol of integrist Catholicism, had to be removed.

The secularisation of Salamanca's welfare provision was taken further in the following year when the *Diputación* decided to suspend the chaplaincy posts previously maintained at the provincial hospital, orphanage and asylum. This "introduction of laicism" was denounced by the Gaceta Regional as proof of the Republic's anti-Catholicism while the bishop appealed for reconsideration in the name of "the sick, the mad, the children". Although Tomás Marcos Escribano, the Conservative Republican President of the *Diputación*, also opposed the measure, claiming that the Daughters of Charity who staffed the provincial welfare institutions had a contractual right to a chaplain, the decision was not reversed. Indeed, the charitable and religious basis of welfare provision came under further attack in March 1933 when the civic authorities began legal proceedings to expropriate the Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity and convert it into a state-run sanatorium for tuberculosis sufferers.⁶¹

This process of, in Bishop Frutos Valiente's words, "expelling God" continued with the forcible expropriation of Church cemeteries.⁶² Under the law of 30 January 1932, ownership, maintenance and control of graveyards passed to the civic authorities. All Church cemeteries within town boundaries were henceforth to belong to the municipality, although formal expropriation orders had to be obtained before taking possession. In

60. See above, chapter 4.

61. GR, 4, 11, 18, 21 January 1932, 9 March 1933. See above, chapter 2.

62. BEOS (1932), 338.

Salamanca, although the bishopric appealed against the decision, such an order was quickly granted and the city cemetery, legally the property of the diocesan seminary, passed into municipal control by 13 votes to 9 in the *Diputación*. This change of ownership had an immediate physical effect as the wall which had previously separated the Catholic part of the cemetery from the civil graves was removed.⁶³

But it was not only the physical landscape which was affected by the secularising laws of the Republic. The new legislation on marriage and burials made the civil forms of these ceremonies normal procedure for Spanish citizens. From 3 August 1932, the Spanish state recognised no other form of marriage than the civil one: couples choosing to marry in church had to repeat the ceremony in a register office.⁶⁴ Similarly, from February 1932, the new law of municipal ceremonies decreed that

burial will have no religious character whatsoever for those deceased, over the age of twenty, who have not left express instructions to the contrary.⁶⁵

Burial inside churches, crypts and religious houses was also prohibited, under any circumstances. Henceforth Spaniards would die as citizens rather than as Catholics.

In an area, like Salamanca, where the ceremonies associated with rites of passage were overwhelmingly entrusted to the Church, such legislation can only have seemed intrusive and offensive, particularly where the dead were concerned. Dying was not only secularised, it was also bureaucratised as all those wishing to be laid to rest with the

63. *BEOS* (1932), 171-173, 209; *GR*, 28 June 1931, 27 July 1932.

64. 'Doctrina y advertencias sobre el matrimonio' *BEOS* (1932), 187-196; the legislation was also the subject of a collective pastoral letter issued by the metropolitan bishops, 'Sobre matrimonio civil y canónico', Iribarren, *Documentos colectivos del episcopado español*, 181-189.

65. 'Reglas relativas a los cementerios municipales', *Gaceta de Madrid*, 6 February 1932, reprinted *BEOS* (1932), 96-97.

blessing of the Church had to leave a formal certificate requesting religious burial, authenticated by two independent witnesses, in secret archives kept by every parish church in the diocese.⁶⁶ Nor were the wishes of the relatives to be taken into consideration except where the deceased was a minor. In Castillejo de Martín Viejo, to the north west of Ciudad Rodrigo, a Catholic woman was given a civil funeral even though she had received the last sacraments before she died. Being too ill to write, the burial request had been signed by a neighbour on her behalf but, as this proxy had no validity in law, the document was ignored.⁶⁷

This insistence on the letter of the law denied this unfortunate woman the funeral rites of both her religion and her community; in cultural terms, she was prevented from making "a good death".⁶⁸ In Catholic culture the bounds of community encompassed both the living and the dead and the rituals of death were thus particularly important. Burials were public ceremonies, announced by the tolling of the church bell and marked by a funeral procession led by the parish cross, rituals which were now normally prohibited in towns such as Béjar.⁶⁹ Even after death, the deceased remained members of the parish

66. Circular del prelado, BEOS (1932), 63-66; the certificate read 'I am a Catholic and as a Catholic I desire to die. I want my body interred in consecrated ground, with the ceremonies, rites and benedictions of the Holy Catholic Church and, over my tomb, the Holy Cross to be hung, blessed by a priest of the same Church'.

67. GR, 19, 26 July 1932.

68. This was important both spiritually and communally; see Patricia Goldey, 'The Good Death: Personal Salvation and Communal Identity' in Rui G Feijó, H Martins & Joao de Pina-Cabral (eds), Death in Portugal: Studies in Portuguese Anthropology and Modern History (Oxford, JASO, 1983) for a discussion of the concept and some parallel examples. In Catholic hagiography the patron of a good death is St Joseph.

69. Although the priest was permitted to accompany the mourners through the streets, the processional cross was prohibited, together with other "ornaments". Written permission obtained in advance from the Béjar town council was insisted upon, GR, 12 September 1932.

community, remembered in masses said for the repose of their souls.⁷⁰ The souls in Purgatory — which could be freed by the prayers of those left behind on earth — occupied a special place in local devotions while the dead were also remembered in the customary visits to the cemetery on All Saints day.⁷¹

This sense of community with the dead was clearly expressed when the sanctity of the graveyard was threatened by secularisation. A letter of protest addressed to the bishop maintained that the "blessed earth of the cemetery still very much belongs to us". Even the cleanest of civil hands should not administer "the mansion of our dead". Abilia Arroyo, organiser of the women's branch of *Acción Popular*, said that the young daughter she had buried there "will always be something of mine": in that "sacred earth which guards our dead" rested her affection and her dreams, her happiness and her great sorrow.⁷²

Arroyo's moving appeal to safeguard her child's grave was not the first she had made to the Catholic women of the province. When the crucifixes were removed from state schools, she proclaimed that Salamancan women were "on guard" in defence of the home. "Our children are *ours*", she declared, "they belong to us" and the state would never place its "sinful hands" on those souls which "we alone have to guide". Abilia Arroyo de

70. Joao de Pina-Cabral, an anthropologist who has worked extensively on Iberian concepts of death found that, in northern Portugal, "The Mass is not only a reunion of the parishioners with the divinity, but also of the living with the dead", Pina-Cabral, Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Peasant Worldview of the Alto Minho (Oxford, 1986), 137.

71. The development of the cemetery as the focus of all piety for the dead is chronicled in Philippe Ariès, The Hour of Our Death (Paris 1977; trans. 1981), chapter 11. Some remoter villages still lacked cemeteries or, like La Alberca and Santibañez de Béjar, had only recently acquired them. The traditional practice of burial in the church, which had been in decline throughout the nineteenth century, was outlawed under the new legislation.

72. GR, 29 June, 1, 2 July 1932.

Román Retuerto, wife of a prominent Catholic businessman and mother of eleven surviving children, was well known in the provincial capital, not least for the religious columns she wrote in the local press under the soubriquet 'Teresa de Castilla'. It was under this name that she issued a call to all "Castilian women" in October 1931 to support "all that is (for) Catholicism, Hispanicism, order, the family, and all that is great, honourable and suitable for Spain." Arroyo's clarion call was not the first to have been made to the women of Salamanca. Appeals had already been issued by the Bloque Agrario for women to join in "this crusade in defence of the faith", with Cándido Casanueva even claiming that "Faith is like virginity, once lost, never recovered".⁷³

This mobilisation of women was to be a major electoral tactic of the Catholic right.⁷⁴ Although female enfranchisement had been introduced to Spain in the very Republican Constitution so bitterly opposed by Abilia Arroyo and other Bloque Agrario activists, panegyrics to Spanish and Castilian women soon became a regular feature of Bloque Agrario rallies. Similarly, articles calling on Salamancan women to fight "like a hen defending her chicks" against a regime which threatened "faith, love and the family" began appearing in the Gaceta Regional.⁷⁵ As well as this public preparation, a series of private meetings had been arranged. Gil Robles and Manuel Torres López, professor of

73. GR, 30 September, 21 October 1931, 16 January 1932.

74. This emphasis on the female vote was partly due to higher levels of Catholic practice among women but also reflected the belief that the Right had a "natural" appeal to women; for a further examination of the subject and a discussion of the mobilisation of the female vote, see Vincent, 'The Politicisation of Catholic Women in Salamanca 1931-1936' in Lannon & Preston (eds), Elites and Power in Twentieth-Century Spain, 107- 126.

75. See e.g. GR, 20 September, 2, 19 October 1931.

law at the University, had approached Arroyo, whose reputation, connections and considerable propaganda skills made her an attractive choice, to lead the new group and, towards the end of October 1931, the Asociación Femenina de Educación Ciudadana (AFEC) was born.⁷⁶

The AFEC was in an excellent position to exploit the popular feelings of protest aroused by the Republic's anticlerical legislation. Defined as "a civic association ... above political parties" and with no fixed programme, the Association aimed to convince women that their political involvement was inspired by the highest of motives. Political programmes were presented as moral crusades. Arroyo's protest at the removal of crucifixes was depicted as the response of women "on guard against attacks on the home" while the secularisation of education was seen as denying women their rights over their own children. Women, according to the AFEC, were above "mere politics", moving through it "like oil through water" with far higher ends in mind. When the Association started a regular women's page in the Gaceta Regional in April 1933, "Teresa de Castilla" told her readers that the page was for all Salamancan women, who had their "vision fixed on the Cross and face to the wellbeing of our Spain".⁷⁷

This determined possession of the high moral ground by the ladies of the AFEC was given credibility by their position as newcomers to the political scene. Disenfranchised women had had no political voice before the coming of the Republic; unlike many on the Catholic right, they remained untainted by the monarchy or

76. Account of founding meeting, GR 26 October 1931, see also the interview with Arroyo, GR, 16 March 1932. The AFEC was the first female branch of Acción Popular (formerly Acción Nacional) established in Spain, although the Madrid women's association was founded on 5 November 1931 and similar women's sections were soon set up throughout Spain, see José Ramón Montero, La CEDA: El catolicismo social y político en la II República (2 vols., Madrid, 1977), I, 665, 681-682.

77. GR, 16 January, 14 March, 23 April 1932, 'La Mujer Charra', 4 April 1933.

collaboration with the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera.⁷⁸ This impression of Catholic women as essentially apolitical creatures, forced out of their homes by the secularising onslaught of a hostile government, was also reinforced by the running of the AFEC along similar organisational lines to a female sodality. As well as their political work, members of the Association were involved in catechesis and charity work. The girls of the AFEC's Youth Section held weekly meetings to make baby clothes for female workers, some of which were distributed at an evening held in January 1932 where babies' layettes were given to working women who had given birth near to midnight on Christmas Eve, the hour when Jesus was born.⁷⁹ The AFEC was often depicted simply as another Catholic organisation; when the Gaceta Regional welcomed in the New Year in January 1932 with a survey of provincial religious life, the AFEC was listed alongside the Catholic Parents' Association and Students' Federation as "developments in the social Catholic field". Similarly, when Bishop Frutos Valiente died in January 1933, the AFEC representatives at his funeral were included with those attending for Catholic Action organisations and confraternities, not political parties.⁸⁰

However, behind this strongly confessional self-image lay a practical political organisation. Helped by their colleagues in the Bloque Agrario and the Gaceta Regional, the ladies of the AFEC quickly built up a sophisticated and efficient party machine in the

78. For example, Arroyo claimed at an AP rally in Madrid in 1932 that she had never been either republican or monarchist as she had brought twelve children into the world and had not had time for such questions, Montero, La CEDA, I, 686.

79. GR, 9 January, 21 April 1932, 10 January 1933; the AFEC ran specific programmes to attract female workers into the Association, including a mutual benefit scheme which provided sickness and maternity insurance.

80. GR, 1 January 1932; BEOS (1933), 24-25.

provincial capital. Concerned that as many women as possible should exercise their new right to vote, the Association soon established a *sección del censo*. As well as using census returns to register female voters, the AFEC opened an office in the city of Salamanca to give advice to all those wishing to put their names on the electoral roll. Aware of the fact that poorly-educated, working women were less likely to register as voters, the Association's activists also ensured that all those attracted to the AFEC by its mutual benefit and insurance schemes were registered to vote.⁸¹

The principal aim of the AFEC was the politicisation of Catholic women in the province of Salamanca. Its leaders saw women's true interests — "our husbands, our children, our religion" — threatened by Republican legislation which attacked religion and secularised the family.⁸² Conscious of the need to make other women accept this analysis of government-inspired social change, the women of the AFEC campaigned tirelessly against divorce, civil marriage and anti-clericalism. Their campaigns of public speaking and propaganda, together with the practical programme of electoral registration, helped harness the discontent with Republican anticlerical legislation so apparent in the province. This genuine popular opposition to what was widely perceived as government interference with local ways of life was thus redefined in a party political context and translated into support for Acción Popular and the Bloque Agrario.

The politicians, acutely aware of the need to maintain these feelings of popular hostility towards government legislation, continued to fly the Catholic banner. Particular emphasis was put on local religious customs in an attempt to foster an impression of an organic Catholic community, attacked from outside by an irreverent, intrusive and alien

81. GR, 25 July, 28 November 1932.

82. GR, 14 March 1932.

government. To this end, Casanueva, Gil Robles and Lamamié de Clairac, accompanied by Abilia Arroyo, attended the 1932 *romería* to Our Lady of the Castle in the sizeable village of Pereña in the Duero river valley. The image of the Virgin was processed from her shrine to the *pueblo*, under a canopy carried by the Agrarian deputies. In testament to the popularity of this famous devotion, thousands of pilgrims and villagers then attended high mass in the parish church before taking part in the afternoon's secular *fiestas*. Taking such a prominent part in these ceremonies demonstrated how the Bloque saw itself as part of the traditional, Catholic Salamancan community. But they also needed to turn such an impression to their political advantage, and so the Bloque Agrario representatives followed the liturgical festivities with a visit to the town council while Arroyo, after receiving various ladies of the locality, established a local branch of the AFEC.⁸³

The Bloque leaders saw themselves not only as members of this traditional community, but also as its undisputed leaders. The expropriation of the city cemetery was used as the starting point for a further campaign against the Conservative Republican party. Marcos Escribano, leader of the *Diputación* had abstained from voting on the issue, despite having been, in the Gaceta Regional's words, "elected to the Cortes on Catholic votes".⁸⁴ Six months later, Bishop Frutos Valiente's death from pneumonia provided further occasion for contemplating the tragedies of the Republic. Catholic

83. GR, 17 May 1932.

84. GR, 29 June, 1 July 1932. The Gaceta claimed a campaign was necessary to disabuse Catholics and other "discreet and tolerant persons" who had believed "Republican promises of toleration and respect for religious feelings". In reply, the Conservative Republican party published an official note protesting at the campaign being waged against them "by certain sections of the Salamancan right" and explaining their abstention in terms of respect for the laws of the Republic, GR, 4 July 1932.

Salamanca turned out *en masse* for the bishop's requiem, but no Republicans, conservative or otherwise. However, it was not only the dignitaries who came to pay their respects to Frutos Valiente. An estimated 20,000 people filed past his body as it lay in state before being laid to rest in the cathedral crypt of St Teresa.⁸⁵

The funeral oration, given by that most intransigent of canons, Aniceto Castro Albarrán, depicted Frutos as a victim of the Republic: "like the Good Shepherd, he has given his life for his sheep". The bishop's two great loves, for his diocese and his country, had become his great sorrows in this "calvary of the Spanish Church". Although the arms carried by the enemies of religion could have no effect on the Church's "immaterial and divine nature", they could wound its bishop, the "visible incarnation of the Church" who, like Christ, died a victim of his persecutors.⁸⁶ The same message was commemorated in stone on Frutos Valiente's mausoleum, the money for which was raised by public subscription. The stone carvings on the tomb, dominated by a figure of the crucified Christ, testified to the suffering of the Spanish Church, which

embittered the last days of [this] great apostle and even ensured that they were cut short by so premature a death.

The situation of Spain was symbolised by a pair of stone-cut reliefs flanking the crucifix: the one on the left showed the "enemies of Christ" casting lots for his garments, while to the right was a picture of "His friends" the Apostles, with Thomas confessing his Lord and Saviour.⁸⁷ The images of Spain and anti-Spain were thus recorded for posterity in

85. BEOS (1933), 23-27.

86. Text of funeral oration given, GR, 28 January 1933.

87. Mark 15:24, John 20:28-29.

memory of the prelate who "died prematurely, because the pain of the Church broke his enormous heart."⁸⁸

As his panegyrist recorded, Frutos Valiente's last pastoral instruction had ordered prayers for the members of religious communities, now faced with legislation to implement article 26 of the Constitution.⁸⁹ The new law proposed to ban all religious from working in industry, commerce or, most importantly, education. All educational provision in Spain, public and private, was henceforth to be lay, regardless of the fact that the state had no adequate means of substituting Church schools. In Salamanca, although both the Catholic Parents' Association and the AFER organised protests against the proposed law, Lamamié de Clairac's injunction to "fight, fight and fight" received a rather muted response.⁹⁰ It was left to the politicians to make the protest, a task they were quite happy to accept.

By 1933, the men of the Bloque Agrario were the undisputed leaders of Catholic Salamanca. They had presided over an unprecedented period of political turbulence and had orchestrated the first large-scale political mobilisation ever experienced in the province. New movements and parties had been established, women had been brought into the electoral arena for the first time ever and, at last, the old monarchist labels appeared to have been laid aside. Salamanca had entered an age of mass politics and everybody had a role to play.

Yet, despite this great increase in the numbers of troops, the officers remained the

88. Description of mausoleum and panegyric to Frutos Valiente by Canon José Artero, BEOS (1934), 20-24.

89. 'Ordenando preces', BEOS (1932), 284-285; the metropolitan bishops issued a collective pastoral, drafted by Vidal i Barraquer, in protest at the new law, 'Con motivo de la ley de confesiones y congregaciones religiosas', in Iribarren, Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 189-219.

90. GR, 19 October 1932, 30 January, 13, 18 February, 7 March 1933.

same. The Catholic Agrarians who led the Bloque were those same men who had risen to prominence under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Lamamié de Clairac, Casanueva and Gil Robles had all been confirmed supporters of monarchism, in either its Carlist or Alfonsist guises. Both Clairac and Casanueva owned large estates in the province and were violently opposed to the expropriation of property or any restriction on the rights of landowners. In the Cortes, all three of Salamanca's Bloque Agrario deputies had contributed to the Agrarian Minority's time-consuming but ultimately futile attempts to amend and delay the agrarian reform legislation before the chamber.⁹¹ Much of their energy was reserved for opposing the inclusion of Salamanca within the orbit of the Agrarian Reform Law but, despite their strenuous efforts, the proposal was accepted.

Salamanca was the only northern province affected by agrarian reform.⁹² Its inclusion was partly the result of an initiative taken by the Salamancan *Diputación* which, under the presidency of Tomás Marcos Escribano, petitioned the Cortes for the extension of the law, arguing that seigneurial and *latifundia* property was so prevalent in the

91. On landowning opposition to agrarian reform, see Mercedes Cabrera, La patronal ante la II República: Organizaciones y estrategia 1931-1936 (Madrid, 1983), chapter 4; López López, El boicot de la derecha a las reformas de la Segunda República, chapter 4; Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, chapter 2. As a result of his participation in the debates on Article 44 of the Constitution and the proposed agrarian reform legislation, Lamamié de Clairac has been termed "the most ardent Catholic opponent of state interference with the distribution of landed property", Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis in Spain 1931-1939, 65.

92. The law applied to the regions of Andalusia and Extremadura, the provinces of Albacete, Ciudad Real, Toledo and Salamanca, as well as to *señoríos* all over Spain. Carrión, Los latifundios en España catalogued a high incidence of great estates in the province, particularly in the *comarcas* of Ledesma, Vitigudino and Ciudad Rodrigo, see further above, chapter 1.

province that, in many *pueblos*, the entire municipal acreage was still the property of one landlord.⁹³ The province's inclusion in the Agrarian Reform Law was confirmed in December 1931, despite the bitter opposition of the Bloque Agrario. True to their origins in the National Catholic Agrarian Confederation (CNCA), the leaders of the Bloque insisted that the solution to Spain's rural ills lay not in the "nationalisation" of the land but in credit schemes and the creation of peasant proprietors. In contrast, Gil Robles maintained that the proposed reform would leave many proprietors as hired labour but would not turn a single day-labourer into a landowner. Rather, the Bloque claimed that all those who lived from the land would become "tenants of the state"; agrarian workers would continue to pay rents and work the land communally but it would belong to no-one. Specifying Salamanca in the legislation was, in any case, inappropriate as *latifundia* estates covered a relatively small area of the province.⁹⁴

Cándido Casanueva had developed a different line of argument in his campaigning against the proposed reform. Although admitting that it was not permissible for proprietors to be guilty of abuses, he argued that it was equally inadmissible for tenants to exploit their landlords, a similar argument to that put forward by Lamamié de Clairac when he crossed swords with Marcos Escribano in the columns of the local press. Marcos, speaking at an assembly of his Liga de Agricultores, had criticised the Bloque Agrario's parliamentary manoeuvrings against the fair rent proposals included in the agrarian reform legislation. He had referred to those men "at the service of the landed

93. GR, 29 August 1931; still under the presidency of Marcos Escribano, a committee was set up to study the agrarian problems in the province and report to the parliamentary commission, GR, 31 August 1931.

94. GR, 22 September, 1, 3 December 1933; on the hostility of the CNCA to the Second Republic see Castillo, Propietarios muy pobres, 361-389; Cabrera, La patronal ante la II República, 63-66.

aristocracy" and concluded by saying

we will go with all those who work for agriculture but not with those who set themselves up as defenders of a class for whom they never make sacrifices.

Unsurprisingly, these comments were widely taken as referring to the Bloque Agrario and were immediately refuted by Clairac, who claimed that his party was only concerned with preventing interference with "reasonable, paternal rents". Yet, the Bloque's opposition to state intervention in landlord-tenant relations was obvious. When draft legislation on rural leases did come before the Cortes in 1933, the Agrarian Minority tabled 250 parliamentary amendments in a successful attempt to block the bill, regardless of the support of rent reform expressed by many voices on the right, including that of Salamanca's Gaceta Regional.⁹⁵

Despite Marcos Escribano's brave stand against the Bloque, his organisation was fading fast. Although it had intended to provide a local alternative to the Catholic Agrarian Federations, the Liga de Agricultores could not compete with the well-established and securely-funded networks of the CNCA, nor with the high political profile of the Bloque Agrario. The Liga dissolved itself after announcing its bankruptcy at an extraordinary general meeting in June 1932, three weeks after Marcos Escribano had seen his members vote for a merger with the Bloque Agrario.⁹⁶ Despite this considerable setback, Marcos Escribano continued to fight for agrarian reform in Salamanca. He gave unqualified support to the new law when it came before the Cortes in July 1932. Although

95. GR, 3, 18, 19, August 1932. On the blocking tactics employed in the Cortes, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 45.

96. Marcos offered to resign as president in order to facilitate the merger, GR, 14 May, 6 June 1931.

a successor to the ill-fated Liga, the Unión de Agricultores, was established later in the year, it was ineffective and was the subject of withering attacks from the Agrarian leadership.⁹⁷

The Bloque Agrario was fast becoming the undisputed leader of the Salamancan countryside. Paul Preston has argued that this success was due, above all, to the Agrarians' skilful use of propaganda in persuading its supporters that the interests of all landowners were the same, whether they were struggling smallholders or masters of great estates. This attempt to draw a false community of interest between the leaders and the led was undoubtedly one of the tactics employed by Bloque propagandists: Ernesto Castaño, fast coming to prominence as local leader of the Bloque, criticised Marcos Escribano for not knowing the "agrarian class" (*clase laboradora*) nor understanding "our miserable situation".⁹⁸ But such an interpretation will not stand on its own. The attempts of men like Clairac, Casanueva and Castaño to appear as *labradores* were often quite transparent. All were known to have large estates in the province, all were educated, elegantly-dressed and conscious of their social position: even Lamamié de Clairac's children addressed him with the formal vocative "Usted" rather than the familiar "tu". Nor were Gil Robles's attempts to appear as a "man of the countryside" convincing. A city-dweller by both breeding and inclination, he professed great admiration for the Castilian countryside but seldom spent very long there.

Yet, the Bloque Agrario did succeed in mobilising considerable hostility towards agrarian reform. In the early months of 1932, Bloque orators travelled the province,

97. His interventions in the Cortes debates were reported *verbatim* and commented upon, GR, 9, 12, 19 July 1932; for the Unión de Agricultores, see GR, 14 October 1932, 20 February 1933.

98. Open letter from Ernesto Castaño (Cándido Casanueva's son-in-law), GR, 14 October 1932.

speaking at rallies and denouncing socialist plans for reform as "the negation and destruction of property" and a plan to turn tenant farmers into "slaves of the state". Articles abounded in the Gaceta Regional claiming that the new law would infringe the legitimate rights of landowners and introduce collectivisation schemes unacceptable to the peasantry. The socialisation of the land was unthinkable in Spain, a country of "individual, passionate and undisciplined" characters.⁹⁹ But, in spite of the rhetoric, popular opposition to the new legislation did not become apparent until October. Although talk of collectivising the land almost certainly inspired genuine fears among smallholders whose plots of land were all they had in the world, it was not the threatened expropriation of *fincas* that caused them to demonstrate but the introduction of new labour legislation in the province.¹⁰⁰

The local *bases de trabajo* were published amidst much protest in October 1932. Concern had already been expressed that the proposed agrarian reform took no account of the distinct conditions prevailing in different areas of the province: the smallholding, wheat-growing lands of the Castilian *meseta* to the north east, the sparse mountain lands to the south and the fertile Duero valley which marked the Portuguese border were all classed together with the *latifundia* of the province's central areas. Now, rural labourers all over the province were to receive a statutory wage for an eight hour day, together with

99. GR, 7, 14, 23 April, 9, 16, 17 May 1932.

100. The first provincial expropriations affected estates belonging to the great noble landlords (including the Duke of Alba) who lived in Madrid or Paris and were not local figures. Only 2 *fincas* were expropriated before the agricultural year 1934-5, both confiscated after the Sanjurjada (see below). There is a full study of land reform in the province, Elisabeth McInnis, Javier Loscos Fernández and Jesús Ruiz-Huerta, 'La reforma agraria de la II República: su incidencia en la provincia de Salamanca', (unpublished *informe* for the Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, Salamanca, 1985)

overtime rates and lodging provision.¹⁰¹ The new regulations were clearly inspired by industrial working practices: the eight hour day was impracticable at most times of year and impossible at harvest. Apart from this, however, the minimum wage rates, although undoubtedly an improvement for landless agricultural labourers, created real difficulties for the Castilian smallholders. The rate of pay was not tied to agricultural prices — not even the price of grain — nor inflation, neither did it vary according to the fertility of the land. In areas like those around Peñaranda de Bracamonte and Alba de Tormes, smallholders would hire labour at sowing and harvest times, sometimes hiring themselves out at leaner times of year. The distinction between labourer and proprietor was thus less distinct than it was among the rural proletariats of Extremadura or Andalucía.

Another piece of legislation which caused wide-spread resentment was the Law of Municipal Boundaries, also confirmed in October 1932. This effectively created immobility of labour between different areas of the province by prohibiting the hiring of labour from outside the area while there were still local people needing work. The Bloque Agrario opposed this law vehemently, partly, no doubt, because it prevented the use of outside labour to break strikes or implement wage cuts. However, the use of so small a unit as the *término municipal* caused more problems than it solved. Salamanca was divided into an extraordinary 386 *términos municipales* — the highest number of any province in Spain — with an average area of 31.92 km². The introduction of immobility of labour at this parochial level was hardly practicable, particularly in a province with as

101. Gil Robles, writing in GR, gave the statutory wage as 10 ptas. with 65% overtime. Speaking in the Cortes, he quoted a figure of 15 ptas., although 5 ptas. was the sum given in the *bases de trabajo* published El Adelanto, 1, 4 October 1932; see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 74-75. Malefakis, Reforma agraria y revolución campesina, 306 gives wage figures for the province of 5.5 to 6 ptas. in 1931, rising to 11 ptas. in 1933.

varied an agricultural profile as Salamanca. Seasonal labour was needed at different times of year in different parts of the province: as the harvest varied, so did local requirements. Ernesto Castaño struck a chord with those attending a rally in November 1933 when he reminded them of the sufferings of local workers who, with the Law of Municipal Boundaries, could no longer travel to other parts of the province for seasonal work at harvest times, where they had previously been well rewarded for their labour.¹⁰²

Although the Bloque Agrario spearheaded the campaign against the new laws, it was not the only voice raised in protest. Rallies protesting against the legislation were called by both the Bloque and Marcos Escribano's Unión de Agricultores while, on a protest delegation to the Ministry of Agriculture in Madrid, the Bloque Agrario deputies were joined by Filiberto Villalobos and his co-religionary, Julio Ramón y Laca.¹⁰³ But, it was the activities of the Bloque which turned the agitation against agrarian reform into a

cause célèbre. Its leaders initiated a campaign to prevent the cultivation of the soil, a sort of agricultural strike. Claiming their actions to be a legitimate response to popular demand, the Bloque distributed leaflets around the province exhorting smallholders and tenants not to sow next year's harvest, a move which swiftly led to the detention of the

junta directiva. Although most were released after a day or two, the Bloque's offices remained closed and Ernesto Castaño was sentenced to a month in gaol,

102. GR, 14 November 1933; earlier e.g. of the immobility of labour in the province are given GR, 24 June, 4, 6, 21 July 1932; 17 October 1933.

103. GR, 6, 22 October 1932. On 16 January 1933, Villalobos, a supporter of land reform, wrote in El Adelanto that the agrarian problem had not been solved in a single Salamanacan village; for Villalobos and agrarian reform, see Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 134-162.

his period of imprisonment acclaimed as "a sacrifice for the cause of the agricultural class".¹⁰⁴

This campaign against the *bases de trabajo* was acclaimed as a great triumph. Keen to capitalise on the political advantage they had gained, the Bloque held a celebratory rally in January, which preceded a "march to Madrid" of an estimated 1,100 supporters. Delegations from over 63 *pueblos*, together with representatives of the Salamancan Catholic Agrarian Federations, heard Castaño explain that, although other politicians and agrarian organisations had been invited to participate in the rally, all had refused, Villalobos counselling caution and serenity rather than "unity and protest". As this "brotherly invitation" had been rejected, the Bloque's president declared that

now there is no alternative but to follow our road, with tranquil consciences and heads held high, not concerning ourselves with who accompanies us or rejects us. We have offered harmony and they have replied with war.¹⁰⁵

Such drawing of the battle lines both reflected and reinforced the political polarisation increasingly apparent in the Salamancan countryside.

The discontent prevalent in many rural areas had flared up in the autumn of 1931, when a spate of local strikes led to conflicts between landlords and tenants in the *pueblos* of Galinduste, Horcajo Medianero and Babilafuente, all to the west of the province.¹⁰⁶ Although the Civil Guard had to be called in to restore order in Hocaño Medianero, where the tenants, whose cause was championed by the Bloque Agrario, had been given 48 hour eviction notices, the disturbances remained localised until the events of Palacios Rubios on 27 September. Here, a group of Civil Guard, three of them on horseback, fired

104. The crisis can be followed *GR*, 1, 4, 6, 7, 29 October, 1 November 1932; see also Preston, *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War*, 74.

105. *GR*, 23, 25 January 1932.

106. *GR*, 15, 18, 19 September 1931.

into a group of between thirty and forty striking workers who had just returned from a Socialist meeting in Peñaranda de Bracamonte, leaving two dead and four injured, two of them fatally.¹⁰⁷

The tragedy of Palacios Rubios sparked off the province's first general strike, called for 29 September by José Andrés Mansó, the young Socialist leader of the Federación Obrera. Technically illegal, and unauthorised by either the PSOE or the UGT, the strike was quickly suppressed by the firm action of the Civil Governor, who ordered the immediate detention of the organising committee. The after effects of the Palacios Rubios affair were, however, less easy to contain. Although the strike in the *pueblo* was finally resolved following the mediation of the parish priest, and an independent judicial committee was appointed to investigate the incident, feelings in the province were running high. Against the left's insistence that those who died were the victims of an unprovoked assault, the right eulogised the Civil Guard as guarantors of legal and social stability. In the ensuing tension, windows were broken in the office of the Gaceta Regional and those selling the paper were attacked on the streets of the provincial capital. Sectarian positions were even maintained during the juridical enquiry, which saw Manso acting for the families of the victims, with Gil Robles representing the Guardsmen.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to the scant sympathy shown to the Palacios Rubios victims, Catholic Salamanca was outraged in the following January when four Civil Guards were knived and beaten to death by an angry mob in the Extremaduran village of Castilblanco. A "popular

107. GR, 28 September, 8 October 1931; the Socialist deputy for the province, Primitivo Santa Cecilia, brought up the incident in the Cortes, citing as a witness the parish priest's sister who had seen the Civil Guard fire without warning. The allegations were disputed by Gil Robles, GR, 2, 7 December 1931.

108. GR, 29, 30 September, 2, 5, 6, 30 October, 9 November 1931.

homage" to the Civil Guard was organised in the city of Salamanca in tandem with a petition protesting at the "vile murders" and "barbarous events" of Castilblanco. Bishop Frutos Valiente, members of the rightist minority on the Town Council and representatives from religious orders and Catholic lay associations attended the requiem mass said for the victims in the elegant church of San Martín.¹⁰⁹ This Salamancan protest was partly a response to the grotesque manner of the Castilblanco deaths, which shocked many people all over Spain. But it was also a demonstration of support for the principle of authority, widely believed by the Catholic right to have been fatally undermined by the Republic. Gil Robles wrote of a campaign against the Civil Guard, in which "subversion and disorder coincide". As the Civil Guard was Spain's greatest safeguard against "total disintegration", it had been targeted by those planning a "revolutionary advance". This militarised police force was to "protect Spain from anarchy, shouting 'they shall not pass!'". The forces of law and order were to be the salvation of Spain.¹¹⁰

On 10 August 1932, the former head of the Civil Guard, General Sanjurjo, tried to intervene directly in the salvation of Spain by mounting an ill-fated coup attempt.¹¹¹ In the ensuing show of strength by the Republican government, the publication of the Gaceta Regional was suspended until 6 September. When the paper reappeared it described the

-
109. GR, 4, 5, 6, 11 January 1932. The difference in response to Castilblanco and Palacios Rubios is commented upon by López López, El boicot de las derechas a las reformas de la Segunda República, 272.
110. José María Gil Robles, 'La ofensiva contra la Guardia Civil', GR, 21 January 1932; for an account of the Civil Guard and Castilblanco, see Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 68-71.
111. On the *Sanjurjada*, see Mariano Aguilar Olivencia, El ejército español durante la Segunda República (Madrid, 1986), 306-326.

suspension as "an unjust act" against those who did not deserve "such harsh treatment". Again, the paper proclaimed its accidentalism, pointing out that it had never advocated violence, but had rather proclaimed "the ways of legality" as both more appropriate and more effective.¹¹² Indeed, the obvious failure of the *Sanjurjada* seemed to prove the Gaceta right. The clear incompetence of the conspirators seemed to confirm the efficacy of the accidentalist tactic. However, this did not mean that there was no sympathy in the province for the plotters' aims. The professor of canon law at Salamanca university, Father Teodoro Andrés Marcos, whose former pupils included José María Gil Robles, was arrested immediately after the failed coup and charged with facilitating the escape of one Captain Batalla, implicated in the rising. Together with two other priests and the driver of the car which took Batalla into Portugal, he was detained for some weeks before being released, only to be greeted with rapturous ovations when he returned to the university.¹¹³

This sympathy for authoritarian solutions was fostered by the social disorder which, according to those on the right, was threatening to engulf the province. Increasingly bitter labour relations were becoming a feature of life in a province which had liked to think of itself as an oasis of social peace and class harmony. Now, after a summer of agrarian unrest and the autumn agitation over the *bases de trabajo*, Salamanca was gripped by another general strike, called by Mansó's Socialists in December. This strike, which lasted for over a week, paralysed the provincial capital with a near-complete withdrawal of labour which even included the printworkers on the Gaceta Regional. Incidents of vandalism, arson and the release of livestock were reported from all over the province.

112. GR, 6 September 1932.

113. GR, 6 September, 6, 10 October 1932.

Roads, telephone wires and electricity cables were cut; in Matilla de los Caños del Río, home to the bull-breeding estates of the Pérez Tabernero family, a booby-trapped road led to the local vet sustaining severe injuries. In the city, gunshots were fired from the Socialist Casa del Pueblo, while confrontation between patrons and workers in Macotera, near Peñaranda de Bracamonte, left one person dead and another four injured.¹¹⁴

The disruption and bitterness spilled over into the new year. In January, three more people were left seriously injured after a confrontation between employers and workers in Paradinas de San Juan, also near Peñaranda de Bracamonte. Again, the Civil Guard had to be called in to restore order, an unfortunate occurrence in the *pueblo* only a few kilometres away from Palacios Rubios.¹¹⁵

The situation deteriorated still further in the spring when the local UGT called a general strike throughout the province. The Bloque Agrario responded with a lock-out. Led by Gil Robles and Castaño, 2,000 *agricultores* demonstrated in the city of Salamanca as levels of rural violence became even more alarming. Any hope of concord between the two sides now seemed to have vanished completely. The summer of 1933 saw the greatest confrontation yet in what the *Gaceta* had termed the "battle" between "these two great forces" of revolution and order.¹¹⁶

114. A day by day account of the strike is given *GR*, 6 December 1932.

115. *GR*, 11 January, 20 February 1933.

116. For personal accounts of the events of 1933 see Gil Robles, *No fue posible la paz*, 73-74 and Rodríguez de las Heras, *Filiberto Villalobos*, 134-176. The lock-out is also covered in the secondary literature, see particularly Cabrera, *La patronal ante la II República*, 154-156.

Chapter 9: Dismantling the Republic: Political Power in the bienio negro

During the summer of 1933, against a background of rising discontent and considerable social unrest, the Republican government crumbled. Manuel Azaña's party became increasingly isolated, as, in the aftermath of the summer's agrarian agitation, the Socialists moved to the left and Lerroux's Radicals to the right. The movement of the Radicals into full opposition eventually precipitated the government's downfall and general elections were called for November 1933.¹ These were contested by a new political organisation, the Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups), more commonly known as the CEDA.

Founded in Madrid at the end of February 1933, the CEDA was the political heir to Angel Herrera Oria's Acción Popular. Like its accidentalist antecedent, the CEDA defined itself in terms of the "affirmation and defence of the principles of Christian civilisation", translating this theoretical stand into a practical demand for the revision of the Republican Constitution.² Like Acción Popular, the CEDA saw itself as a defensive organisation, formed to protect religion, family and property — the fundamental institutions of traditional Spanish society. Unlike its predecessor, however, the new Confederation was a permanent rather than an *ad hoc* organisation. Led from its

-
1. President Alcalá-Zamora had first asked Lerroux to form his own government but Socialist opposition prevented it from governing, Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 110-115.
 2. On the foundation of the CEDA, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 41-44; Tusell, Historia de la Democracia Cristiana, I, 172-198; José Ramón Montero, La CEDA, I, 245-304. The quotations cited are from CEDA's manifesto and programme, given in Montero, *op. cit.*, II, 621-638.

inception by José María Gil Robles, the CEDA looked to weld together the diverse local groups which had pledged support for Acción Popular, creating a stable party organisation which would lead the Spanish right firmly into an age of mass politics.

The CEDA was constructed around organisational units known as Derechas Autónomas, the first of which had been established in Salamanca in December 1932. Any local or national organisation was eligible to join, provided only that it accepted the "principles of Christian civilisation" which the party was pledged to defend. In all other matters "confederated bodies" retained full freedom both of thought and of action; at local level, Salamanca's Derecha Autónoma simply defined itself as a "unifying bond between citizens of different ideologies".³

This declared respect for the convictions of individual members was framed with the Carlists in mind. The Derecha Autónoma succeeded in maintaining the close links with the local Traditionalist Communion built up by the Bloque Agrario. Gil Robles announced that the two groups would "travel together to defeat the enemy", while Clairac declared that

In the moments of battle, in those of danger, we will all stand united even if differences of tactics exist in our modes of thought.

The experience of the Bloque Agrario had already shown that the forces of the right could work together, firm in the knowledge that the only means of saving religion and fatherland was "the radical transformation of the regime".⁴

Although this new union of the right inherited a broad membership from the old Bloque Agrario and Acción Popular alliances, it was a far tighter grouping, both organisationally and ideologically. The Gaceta Regional launched the movement under

3. 'Estatutos de la CEDA', Montero, La CEDA, II, 637; 'Manifiesto de la Derecha Autónoma Salmantina', GR, 18 January 1933.

4. GR, 27, December 1932; 9 January 1933.

the slogan "*Caudillo*, flag, discipline, enthusiasm" while, at the founding meeting, the need for unity and discipline was emphasised again and again. Gone were the tentative approaches to Conservative Republicans which had characterised the foundation of the Bloque Agrario in July 1931; now the Catholic right was sure of its ground and preparing for battle. As the Gaceta put it, "the street is waiting for us".⁵

All loyal Salamancans were expected to answer the call of the CEDA. The "reconstruction of the true Spain" had begun; it was time to fight for Salamanca, that "part of the Fatherland God entrusted to our care". According to the Gaceta Regional, the *cedistas* would go forth to the street and claim it as their inheritance. Such a path was not without danger and, in such difficult moments, nobody was to be concerned with "doctrinal differences" which, the paper insisted, came a poor second to "the very life of Spanish society".⁶ Unity was the key to power; burying their differences and concentrating on the needs of Spain would bring political victory to the Salamancan right.

The success of the Derecha Autónoma, the foundation of the CEDA and, especially, the announcement of a general election in November brought about an unprecedented mobilisation of the Spanish right. From March to September, Salamancan activists had been occupied in compiling electoral rolls, collecting and collating information on the voters of the provincial capital. Following a system pioneered by the AFEC — and still using female labour — the Derecha Autónoma established files for each district of the city, listing potential voters by name and residence. One such list was

5. GR, 27 December 1932; see also the series of articles by one César Moro on the CEDA programme, GR, 29, 30 December 1932, 3, 5, 15, 21 January 1933.

6. Editorial comment on Derecha Autónoma manifesto, GR, 19 January 1933.

compiled for every street in the city of Salamanca, and polling stations were noted, both for those registered to vote in the city and for those who needed to return to their *pueblo* of origin on election day.⁷

Such constant activity was common throughout the country during the run-up to the campaign. El Debate instructed its readers that all "good Spaniards" should make the coming elections into an "obsession", treating them as the "sublime culmination of citizenly duties".⁸ Victory in the polls would bring about a new era for Spain, ending the "nightmare" of the Republican *bienio rojo*. When playing for such high stakes nothing could be left to chance. Gil Robles went to Nazi Germany to study modern methods of electoral propaganda, attending the Nuremburg rally in the meantime.⁹ Modernity was to be one of the watchwords of this first CEDA campaign, anti-Marxism the other.

A broad rightist front was to be presented at the forthcoming elections, primarily to maximise the chances of electoral success but also to show the electorate that unity was the only way to defeat the common enemy.¹⁰ A national electoral committee was established, comprising CEDA, Alfonsist, Traditionalist and Agrarian representatives and excluding Maura's Conservative Republicans. All three Catholic Salamancan deputies served on this committee, helping to draw up the criteria for a series of *ad hoc* electoral alliances,

7. José Monge y Bernal, Acción Popular (Estudios de biología política) (Madrid, 1936), 1053-1054.

8. El Debate, 10 October 1933.

9. According to El Debate, the trip was made "to study details of organisation and propaganda"; for the Nazi influence on Gil Robles and the CEDA campaign, see Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 47-50.

10. The electoral system of the Second Republic strongly favoured the formation of alliances. The Decree of 8 May 1931 ordered the drawing-up of coalition lists; in each province the majority list would receive 80% of the seats, the minority 20%. This system of majorities and minorities was retained in the Electoral Law of 27 July 1933.

established throughout the country according to local circumstances.¹¹ Unsurprisingly, such coalitions varied considerably in composition. Many were firmly "anti-revolutionary"; alliances with the Agrarians were common, particularly in Old Castile, and such coalitions were joined by Renovación Española in Cuenca and Palencia, by the Traditionalist Communion in Sevilla, Zaragoza and Valladolid and by both monarchist groups in Cádiz, Pontevedra and Santander. The CEDA also fought with the Alfonsists in Orense and with the Carlists in Castellón, Valencia and Salamanca. Other alliances were more unlikely. In the Andalusian provinces of Granada and Málaga, CEDA candidates stood with members of the Radical party, an alliance which would have been unthinkable in Salamanca. Similarly, in Alicante, Badajoz and Albacete, the CEDA-Radical alliance was joined by members of the despised Conservative Republican party. Indeed, despite the clear antipathy shown towards Miguel Maura's party at national level, CEDA-*Maurista* electoral slates also featured in Ciudad Real, Huelva and Soria. In Asturias, local *cedistas* joined forces with Melquíades Álvarez's Liberal Democrat party, even though their Salamancan co-religionaries treated his loyal follower Filiberto Villalobos as a sworn enemy.¹²

The Salamancan CEDA alliance of Traditionalists and erstwhile Agrarians, while reflecting the actual composition of the self-styled "Catholic right" in the province, was not the electoral slate which had been hoped for. In their desire to exclude any Socialist

11. These criteria took the form of a set of "common aspirations", held "without prejudice" to the principles of particular organisations, which comprised the revision of all laicising legislation (constitutional and otherwise), safeguarding economic interests and a general amnesty for all "political offences". See Gil Robles, *No fue posible la paz*, 95-96; Montero, *La CEDA*, II, 289-292.

12. For details of the local alliances, see Montero, *La CEDA*, II, 293-296.

candidates from the chance of electoral success, the leaders of the Derecha Autónoma had proposed the formation of an "anti-Marxist front", in which the CEDA-Agrarian block would field four candidates, leaving three places available for the Republican right. According to the Gaceta Regional, this proposal came to nothing because of the "intransigence" of Marcos Escribano, who refused any alliance on the grounds of the Bloque's anti-Republicanism. Villalobos, who publicly proclaimed his desire for a Republican candidature, was also charged with blocking tactics, an accusation which indicated the start of a personal campaign against the Liberal Democrat candidate, waged through the columns of the Gaceta Regional.¹³

The Gaceta accused Dr Villalobos, always referred to as 'Don Fili', of incompetence, *caciquismo* and socialist leanings. His visit to the gaoled Socialist leader, José Andrés Mansó, during the general strike of December 1933 and his success in facilitating a negotiated end to the strike were translated into closet leftism. This insistence that the unlikely figure of Villalobos was a revolutionary in disguise culminated in the false claim, made a mere three days before polling, that he had entered into an electoral pact with Mansó's Socialists. He could thus be presented as nothing more than a Marxist, "clear enemy of the agriculturalist", who deserved expulsion from his own, Republican, party. The smallholder who voted for Villalobos would "betray his conscience, and contribute to ... [the] sorrow and ruin of the Salamancan countryside".¹⁴

These charges were not new ones. The Gaceta had long been accusing

13. El Adelanto, 11 October 1933; For the campaign against Villalobos, see Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 151-162.

14. GR, 8, 16, 17 November 1933.

Villalobos of waging "old politics" and indulging in clientelism, the traditional scourge of Spanish politics. Now, however, a young CEDA orator, Ignacio Arenillas, warned him that, "[t]oday favours are not paid for with votes" while Villalobos refused to attend the Bloque's 1933 general assembly on the grounds that it would "violate" his Republican feelings, a stance which led the Agrarians to accuse him of deception and betrayal.¹⁵ Even at this early stage, relations between Villalobos and the Agrarians hardly boded well for the formation of any "anti-revolutionary front" and, by the end of the election campaign, such thoughts were nothing more than pipedreams. The day before polling, Villalobos issued a pamphlet categorising the Bloque's campaign against him as "vile and ignoble", perpetrated by "so-called defenders of the Church" who "daily deceiving God, [now] try to do the same with men". He denied ever having entered into a pact with the Socialists and said that he now replied to the accusations against him so that the voters might see "the moral condition of those said to be depositories of faith, propriety and decency".¹⁶

Given the nature of the campaign waged against its candidates, it is perhaps not surprising that, in Salamanca, the Republican centre was to be almost totally eclipsed by the rising star of the CEDA. Although both the CEDA-Agrarian grouping and the local Socialists fielded complete slates of five candidates, Villalobos's hopes for a local Republican front were dashed. He stood alone, competing against not only the Agrarian and Socialist blocks but also the four candidates put forward by the Conservative Republican and Radical candidates, who had reached an electoral compromise and were

15. GR 24 June, 16 November 1933; El Adelanto, 24 January 1933.

16. Text of the pamphlet is given in full, Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 159.

campaigning together.¹⁷ But, the electoral campaign mounted by the Republican Conservative coalition was minimal, doing little more than reiterating the arguments of 1931. Villalobos also repeated the tactics of 1931, essentially relying on his personal prestige and reputation in the province to bring in the votes.

In contrast, the CEDA swamped entire localities with electoral publicity. According to Gil Robles, in the autumn of 1933 the CEDA introduced an electoral publicity machine previously unknown in Spain. Despite, or perhaps because of, the myriad local alliances in which the CEDA was participating, much electoral material was produced centrally in Madrid and sent out to be used in the provinces. The party printed ten million leaflets, together with some two hundred thousand coloured posters; hundreds of cars were used to distribute this material while, in all the major cities of Spain, propaganda films were shown around the streets on screens mounted on large lorries.¹⁸

The Salamancan campaign was entrusted to a specially convened committee put forward by the Union of the Salamancan Right, an *ad hoc* electoral body comprising the Derecha Autónoma, the Asociación Femenina de Educación Ciudadana (AFEC), the Bloque Agrario and the Traditionalist Communion. A propaganda section was established which, although at first reliant on pamphlets and posters sent from Madrid, was soon

17. There is an account of the campaign in Martín Vasallo, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca, 80-88; on the failure of the Republican parties to reach electoral agreement, see also Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 152-153. The Radical leader Lerroux was informed of the situation in Salamanca in a letter from General Quiapo de Llano which maintained that, although a united Republican candidature might have been successful, the local Radical party had only "escasa importancia", Octavio Ruíz Manjón, El Partido Republicano Radical 1908- 1936 (Madrid, 1976), 388.

18. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 100.

producing its own electoral material.¹⁹

Alongside the printed publicity — ten tons of which was distributed by the Derecha Autónoma Salamantina — went a programme of meetings, public addresses and rallies, designed to take the parliamentary candidates and their supporters into every corner of the province. The impact of this new style of campaigning was such that the local Socialist Party accused the "agrarians, anti-Republicans and fascists" of using Salamanca as a "field of experimentation for all their insanities".²⁰ In more measured tones, the independent Republican paper, El Adelanto, in an article published towards the end of the campaign, concluded that

the strength of the Bloque Agrario has increased considerably and today surely represents the best organised force amongst those in Salamancan politics.²¹

The electoral battle had begun in earnest with the formation of the Salamancan candidature, announced from the Catholic Workers' Circle in the provincial capital on 22 October 1933, and chosen by the votes of members of the Union of the Salamancan Right. The increased strength and confidence of the Catholic right in the province was reflected in a longer list of candidates: the familiar names of Cándido Casanueva, José María Gil Robles and José María Lamamié de Clairac were joined by those of Ernesto Castaño and

-
19. Monge y Bernal, Acción Popular, 1055-1056; 'Como funciona la Derecha Autónoma Salmantina', GR, 15 November 1933.
20. Partido Socialista pamphlet, reprinted El Adelanto, 27 October 1933.
21. El Adelanto, 9 November 1933. Much of the campaign's success was due to the wholehearted involvement of El Adelanto's rival, the Gaceta Regional, which made effective use of block print, banner headlines, campaign slogans and photography. This intense press campaign pointed a marked contrast to El Adelanto's coverage of the campaign, which was neither as striking nor as coherent.

José Cimas Leal, both of them already well-known.²² Castaño, president of the Bloque Agrario since September 1932, had come to prominence during the agitation over agrarian reform. Cimas Leal was less of a public figure but had consistently used his position as editor of the Gaceta Regional to facilitate a union of the Catholic right in the province; he was the original founder of the Bloque Agrario and its juridical assessor, and had later promoted the idea of a Derecha Autónoma, becoming its vice-president in February 1933. A man of great influence, most of whose achievements were accomplished quietly, he was heralded by his paper as the "inspirer of every organisational idea of the [Salamanca] right".²³

Instead of three prospective parliamentary orators the right now had five, although Gil Robles' position as national leader of the CEDA meant that he had less time to spare for his home province. However, he campaigned indefatigably, and would have returned to Salamanca, had the government not refused him permission to charter a civil aviation plane.²⁴ Despite his curtailed personal campaign, the prestige of having such a figure as a local candidate was enormous, particularly as the national campaign was increasingly dominated by the conflicting personalities of Gil Robles and the Socialist

22. Five was the number of seats available to the majority party under the electoral law of the Republic. Had the right fielded six candidates then the last place would have been taken by Abilia Arroyo de Román, who ran the successful contenders a very close second. If elected, she would have been the only female parliamentary deputy elected for the right under the Second Republic.

23. GR, 22 November 1933. Cimas Leal handed over the editorship of the Gaceta to Eduardo Jiménez del Rey — who was to remain editor for the rest of the Republic's existence — towards the end of 1933.

24. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 99-100. The intensity of Gil Robles' personal campaign was previously unheard of in Spain; on this occasion, his planned schedule would have taken him from Cáceres on 11 November to Seville and Madrid on the morning of 12 November and Salamanca in the afternoon, a programme impossible without modern means of transport.

trade union leader, Francisco Largo Caballero. Indeed, Gil Robles began to attain the status of a charismatic leader. A biography published that year compared him to Joan of Arc, saying that there was in him "something special, something extraordinary". Similarly, when the CEDA leader spoke at an election meeting in Salamanca, the *pueblo* of Fuentes de Béjar was said to have welcomed "the *caudillo* of the right, ... the providential man, sent in such critical circumstances to save Spain".²⁵ This pre-eminence of Gil Robles, which was to become more pronounced as time went on, was already beginning to cause friction within the local right. Relations between Gil Robles and Lamamié de Clairac, in particular, were to become increasingly strained.²⁶ During the November campaign, however, rivalries were put aside as the right made good use of Gil Robles as one of its most effective electoral assets. Thus, the campaign ended with the CEDA leader using the final half hour of allocated campaigning time to deliver an address to the whole nation, using the new medium of radio. The right ended its campaign on a high note, uniting its supporters the length and breadth of the land in listening to the words of the leader.²⁷

This need for unity was the consistent theme of the campaign. Salamancans were bombarded with instructions to vote for the entire Agrarian-CEDA candidature. The Gaceta Regional warned that, in these elections, it would be better not to delete a single

-
25. Juan Arrabal, José María Gil Robles: su vida, su actuación, sus ideas (Madrid, 1933), 6; GR, 8 November 1933.
 26. The first inkling of this had come in January 1932 when an aggrieved Clairac had addressed a critical note to his Traditionalist followers after the Derecha Autónoma had been founded without his participation, GR, 9 January 1932; in December 1932 he wrote to Gil Robles that, given the new direction of Acción Popular, membership was incompatible with that of the Traditionalist Communion, Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 101.
 27. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 100-101; the duration of the electoral campaign (6 weeks) was determined in advance according to the Electoral Law and ended at 6pm on the eve of polling day.

name. This was a confrontation of ideas, not personalities. The electors' choice was simple: they voted either for redemption or revolution, Christianity or communism. According to an electoral notice put out by the Union of the Salamanacan Right, the fortunes of Republican Spain had been decided by "immorality and anarchy". Only the CEDA candidates held out the promise of "moral and material reconquest"; on the forthcoming elections depended either "the salvation or the perdition of Spain".²⁸

In order to maintain this carefully-drawn picture, those Catholics who continued to proclaim their republicanism were moved firmly into the revolutionary camp. Many speeches and column inches were taken up arguing that the Catholic republican option had become totally illegitimate. A Gaceta editorial declared in block capitals that "A good Catholic may not vote for the Conservative Republican party" and the impression was strongly given that the Conservative Republicans, far from being Catholics, were, in fact, anti-religious. Their Radical running-mates were stigmatised as irredeemable anti-clericals while articles were printed recalling Miguel Maura's time at the Ministry of the Interior by listing all the churches burnt, damaged or looted on 11 May 1931. Electoral slogans were addressed to Catholics referring to Maura as "the politician of 11 May 1931" who expelled Cardinal Segura. The agreement which Maura and Alcalá-Zamora had reached with other Republican parties in August 1930 was also presented as clear evidence

28. GR, 11, 14 November 1933. The directive may have been constructed with Villalobos in mind. As an independent candidate, he was the most likely to benefit from stray votes. Manuel Sánchez, a left-wing activist in the province, described Villalobos as an "institution" and claimed that "In general, one did not vote for the complete candidature; ... if the slate was made up of five men, be they of the left or the right, one was omitted, and that vote was given to Don 'Fili'". Sánchez, Maurín, Gran enigma de la guerra (Madrid, 1976), 64.

of weakness and left-wing sympathies. The Gaceta Regional referred to an "alliance with Socialists and masons" while the Bloque Agrario was lauded as the only party on the right untainted by "secret pacts".²⁹ As if accusations of sectarianism and closet-socialism were not enough, "landowners" were also advised that "Maura voted for the article of the Constitution which introduced expropriation without compensation". Nor was the land issue allowed to rest there; tellingly, a checklist for voters about to visit the polling station included the point that "one of the Conservative candidates" (Tomás Marcos Escribano) was responsible for Salamanca's inclusion in the agrarian reform legislation.³⁰

In this all-round attack on the political centre, effective use was made of Abilia Arroyo's female propagandists. The AFEC leader instructed her listeners not to be seduced by the "lures of false Catholicisms". According to this hermetic world-view, good women should move only within Catholic circles, even restricting their shopping to those businesses which advertised in the Gaceta Regional. Female suffrage and, in particular, the high profile of the AFEC, added a new dimension to the 1933 general election. Castilian women were warned that, if they did not vote for the Agrarians, communism would come

which will tear your children from your arms, your parish church will be destroyed, the husband you love will flee from your side authorised by the divorce law, anarchy will come to the countryside, hunger and misery to your home.³¹

Such claims reminded the voters that, for the first time ever, the Communist

29. GR, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12 November 1933.

30. GR, 11, 19 November 1933; in fact, the Constitution referred to "forced expropriation with adequate indemnity for reasons of social utility", artículo 44, Constitución de la República Española (1931).

31. GR, 5, 8 November 1933.

Party of Spain (PCE) was fielding a slate of candidates in Salamanca. Although the Communists' participation in the elections was essentially experimental, with no realistic hope of returning a single candidate, the mere fact of their presence profoundly disturbed the Salamanican right. The enemy was at the door even if, with a mere 4,034 activists from Castilla la Vieja in July 1932, its troops were hardly equipped to offer a challenge to the well-marshalled forces of the Catholic right.³²

In their efforts to convince the people of the righteousness of their cause, AFEC orators and organisers urged women to vote "For God and for Spain!" and the Catholic deputies whose candidature was "white and immaculate as your honour". In Las Uces, a hamlet to the north west of the province, the Vitigudino AFEC even held an election meeting in the local shrine.³³ Much play was made of the nature of Spanish and Castilian women whose feminine virtues, good sense and maternal feelings would bring them out in defence of their homes and families.

Although the AFEC emphasised traditional female qualities such as gentleness and patience, its activists were quite prepared to handle rougher treatment than that usually deemed appropriate for delicately nurtured ladies. It was not uncommon for right-wing meetings to be violently interrupted by protesters; a rally in Alba de Tormes earlier in the

32. The figures for July 1932 were recorded at the Conference of Syndical Unity, at which no separate figures for Salamanca were returned. Rafael Cruz, El partido comunista de España en la II República (Madrid, 1987), 58-59, 295-298. The local party was clearly very weak; when the 1933 election results were returned the Communist candidates occupied the last five places on the poll and, though the local campaigner Luis Campo Redondo obtained 4,359 votes, the returns for his co-religionaries were far less impressive, declining to 1,151, 655, 535 and 394.

33. For details of AFEC meetings, held in every corner of the province, see GR, November 1933, *passim*.

year had had to be abandoned as the speakers could not be heard for heckling. During the run-up to the elections, events occasionally turned ugly. Abilia Arroyo's car was stoned as she left San Felices de los Gallegos, towards the Portuguese border, while, further south, CEDA propaganda was systematically destroyed in Ciudad Rodrigo.³⁴ The most serious incident, however, took place in Guijuelo in the last week of the campaign. Here, the efforts of a group of left-wing sympathisers to prevent people entering the bull ring where Castaño and Clairac were speaking, led to a running battle with the CEDA's self-styled *sección de defensa*, a group of young male activists brought along to police the event. The fight was broken up by the Civil Guard who escorted the young *derechistas* back to the main road under a hail of stones and missiles. The bus taking them back to the city was later stopped and searched by Assault Guards, who confiscated a quantity of pizzle whips which had been taken along "to fend off the violence which had been promised".³⁵

This escalating level of violence provided striking evidence of the polarisation of political opinions which had occurred in the province since the early days of the Republic. The euphoric scenes of crowds massing in the city's Plaza Mayor to welcome in the new regime now seemed to belong to another era. In this election campaign, when CEDA activists went bill-sticking in the provincial capital they were guarded by a dozen or so members of the *sección de defensa*. This new CEDA 'squad' was also very much in evidence on election day itself, when its members patrolled the streets and polling stations,

34. GR, 3 April, 3, 15 November 1933; sporadic violence was a feature of the campaign throughout the country, some examples are given in Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 119.

35. GR, 14 November 1933. Pizzle whips were made out of the dried penises of bulls.

supposedly to prevent the left from tampering with the ballot boxes.³⁶

This closing down of political options was also vividly demonstrated when the election results were declared. Unsurprisingly, all five CEDA-Agrarian candidates were returned, occupying the first five places with Gil Robles, who obtained 85,581 votes, at the top of the poll. The young Socialist leader José Andrés Mansó was returned in sixth place with 40,757 while, despite the best efforts of the Gaceta Regional, Filiberto Villalobos took the final place, a mere 46 votes behind Mansó. Tomás Marcos Escribano was relegated to tenth place, behind two Socialists.³⁷ The contrast with July 1931 could not have been more marked. In November 1933 the right even won a substantial victory in the provincial capital, with the highest turn-out (78.5%) of any election fought under the Republic.³⁸

These results confirmed the new political climate in the province. The battle lines had been redrawn along party political lines and, in this straight fight between right and left, there was no longer any room for the compromises or moderation of the original republicans. Although Villalobos had kept his place in the Cortes, he had been returned in last, rather than first, place. The veteran Socialist leader, Primitivo Santa Cecilia, had retired from the fight, making way for younger, perhaps tougher, men. Miguel de

36. Some of the 200 private cars which had been put at the service of the Derecha Autónoma on polling day were used for this purpose, Monge y Bernal, Acción Popular, 1055-1056.

37. The full results, given GR, 24 November 1933, were José María Gil Robles (CEDA), 85,581; Ernesto Castaño (CEDA), 82,908; Cándido Casanueva (CEDA), 80,015; José María Lamamié de Clairac (Trad), 78,020; José Cimas Leal (CEDA), 76,772; José Andrés Mansó (PSOE), 40,757; Filiberto Villalobos (Lib Democ), 40,701; Valeriano Casanueva (PSOE), 36,162; Rafael de Castro (PSOE), 36,142; Tomás Marcos Escribano (Cons Rep), 32,212; Adolfo Goé (PSOE), 29,663; Fernando Iscar Peyra (Cons Rep), 29,235; Rufino Martín (PSOE), 26,584. Only 1 of the 8 remaining candidates (a Radical) gained over 20,000 votes.

38. Martín Vasallo, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca, 93.

Unamuno had withdrawn from politics, disillusioned with the Republic, while Marcos Escribano had lost his parliamentary seat. No Conservative Republican would ever again represent Salamanca in the Spanish Cortes.

This impressive triumph of the right in the province was not, however, an exact reflection of the national results. Although the disintegration of the old Republican-Socialist coalition meant that the left had done badly throughout the country — with the Socialists dropping from 116 deputies to 60 and the Republicans losing all but 5 of their 26 deputies — the CEDA's overwhelming victory in Salamanca was not repeated in the country at large. With 115 seats, the CEDA was the largest single party in the new Cortes but did not have a governing majority. President Alcalá-Zamora, wary of Gil Robles' demagoguery and the CEDA's ambivalent attitude to democracy, approached the next largest party in the Cortes to form a government and the Radical leader Alejandro Lerroux became Spain's Prime Minister.³⁹ The 1933 elections, though clearly a success for the right, had not produced the overwhelming, clear-cut victory which some had imagined. Graphic proof of this was offered early in the following year when Villalobos was appointed to the ministry of public instruction, becoming the first Salamancan ever to hold government office. To the Catholic right of the province, the appointment was an outrage; only a true son of the Church should be entrusted with the sensitive education portfolio.⁴⁰

39. The Radicals won 102 seats in the Cortes, reflecting a national political choice which had not been viable in Salamanca. In general, where the Radicals and the Centre parties had made electoral agreements with the CEDA and the right, they had been returned. Thus, despite the loss of Marcos Escribano, the Conservative Republicans retained 18 of their 22 seats while the Liberal Democrat representation increased from 4 to 9, a direct result of the pact Melquíades Álvarez had struck with the CEDA in Asturias.

40. For Villalobos's ministerial career, see Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 177-266.

The ousting of the Republican-Socialist government, however, had an immediate effect on those living in the city and province of Salamanca. The anti-clerical measures introduced in the Constitution fell into abeyance, while the implementation of the Law of Congregations was halted.⁴¹ When, a week after the elections, the victorious Catholic deputies celebrated their triumph at the polls with a mass of thanksgiving and a *Te Deum* in Ledesma, they were greeted outside the church by the clergy, fully vested and bearing the processional cross, those public symbols of Catholicism which had disappeared from the streets under the first Republican government.⁴² In the provincial capital, the eleven fathers and six brothers of the Society of Jesus who had been living in flats in the city since the dissolution of their community, emerged from clandestinity. Although the Jesuit presence in the provincial capital had been discreet, it was widely known that the fathers continued to say mass and hear confessions in the parish churches and religious houses of the city. When one of their number died in April 1933, his funeral, though unannounced, was well attended. By the end of 1933, the Society had resumed its pastoral work and had taken public possession of the Jesuit church of the Clerecía, preaching a triduum there in January 1934. By the end of 1935, with the CEDA finally participating in government, the Salamancan Jesuits had also returned to their community residence.⁴³

Freed from the need to obtain licenses from the civil authorities, the

41. See *BEQS* (1933), 272-275; (1935), 69 for examples of government decisions affecting religious practice.

42. *GR*, 28 November 1933.

43. *Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ*, xxxiii (May 1933), xxxiv (January 1934); 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca' in *Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ*, 17-18.

Holy Week processions returned to Ciudad Rodrigo and other towns and villages in the province at Easter 1934, and to the provincial capital in the following year.⁴⁴ Other traditional *romerías* and processions were held around the province, often with much celebration and ceremony.⁴⁵ These public rituals, however, were not always simple expressions of religious faith or the welcome return of much-missed community practices. Elaborate public liturgies could also act as symbols of the triumph of the victors over the vanquished, political statements which cloaked the resurgence of the right in religious vestments. For example, the *fiestas* to Our Lady of the Chestnut Grove, patroness of the Socialist textile town of Béjar, in September 1934 became the occasion of a bitter political confrontation.

In Béjar, unlike the remainder of the province or even the rest of the country, public displays of religious worship were still forbidden by the local *ayuntamiento*: although the image of the Virgin of the Chestnut Grove was to be carried in procession, no bells had been heard in the town since 1931. The symbolic nature of the event was shown by the number of men offering to carry the Virgin's *paso*. Over twenty of them eventually bore her from the shrine into the town, with teams of them taking turns to carry the float through streets lined with women bearing lighted candles. Although, the day before the grand procession, it had seemed that the Virgin would be honoured with bells as she entered Béjar — Gil Robles having obtained formal permission from central government for them to be rung — a preliminary peal from the shrine of the Chestnut Grove brought down retribution from the mayor of Béjar, who threatened the bell-ringers with arrest.

44. GR, 28 March, 4 April 1934; 10, 17, 20 April 1935.

45. See, e.g., the account of the *fiestas* to Our Lady of Hinojal (Paradinas de San Juan), GR, 23 September 1934.

That night, on the eve of the procession, an attempt was made to burn down the shrine. The next day, despite the efforts of the municipal authorities, four youths succeeded in ringing the bells of the parish church of San Juan but were beaten up by a crowd of anti-clerical sympathisers when they came down from the bell-tower. Both the bell-ringers and the arsonists were arrested, although none of the assailants was detained.⁴⁶

Despite the events in Béjar, which demonstrated that Republicanism was far from dead, the right now dominated the province. Cándido Casanueva announced the need for the urgent repeal of agrarian reform legislation which, at both local and national level, was either ignored or emasculated. Salamanca's Catholic deputies in the Cortes also helped to bring about a general amnesty for those involved in the *Sanjurjada* of August 1932 while the CEDA also proposed that land confiscated in the aftermath of General Sanjurjo's failed coup be returned to its owners.⁴⁷ Such an amnesty, widely-welcomed among those on the Catholic right, seemed almost to condone conspiratorial activity and, perhaps bolstered by this show of support, the search for a violent solution to the problem of the Republic continued in monarchist quarters. In March 1934, delegates from the Traditionalist Communion and Renovación Española put aside their dynastic differences in a joint mission to Mussolini where the *Duce* pledged money and arms as preparatory aid for a future coup against the Republic. The first installment of the 1,500,000 *pesetas* pledged by the Italian leader was received on 1 April 1934, illicit arms consignments were flown into Navarre and Carlist volunteers were sent to Italy for military training with the

46. GR, 9, 11 September 1934.

47. GR, 14 December 1933, 24 March 1934; see further Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 96-97, 103.

fascist army. All of these developments were known to José María Lamamié de Clairac, one of the four members of the Traditionalists' Delegate Junta, who had sent the Spanish representatives to Rome with their "knowledge and blessing".⁴⁸

Clairac's involvement in Traditionalist preparations for a *coup d'état* indicated that the conspiratorial option remained open, even outside the closed Carlist circles of Navarre. Nor was this preference for a swift, authoritarian solution to the problem of the Republic confined to the diehard monarchist groups of Renovación Española and the Traditionalist Communion. In 1934, the Salamancan canon, Aniceto Castro Albarrán, published a lengthy work entitled El derecho a la rebeldía, a theological defence of armed rebellion, under the usual ecclesiastical licences. Although these were removed by the Vatican after a discreet protest from the archbishop of Tarragona, Cardinal Vidal i Barraquer, the new cardinal primate of Spain, Isidro Gomá y Tomás, defended the canon on the grounds that his doctrine was none other than "that of the great theologians", despite the fact that Castro Albarrán's book was both widely discussed and even serialised in the Carlist press.⁴⁹ Regardless of the controversy, Castro Albarrán's ecclesiastical duties in Salamanca continued uninterrupted. A noted preacher, his services were much in demand among the city's more conservative circles. In May 1934, for example, he joined José María Lamamié de Clairac's Jesuit brother, Juan, in a pilgrimage organised for the

48. Lizarza Iribarren, Memorias de la conspiración, 34-38; Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 136-137. On Clairac's membership of the Delegate Junta, which was also involved in the reorganisation of the Carlist guerrilla force, the Requeté, see Blinkhorn, *op. cit.*, 133, 138.

49. Gomá had been appointed to the primatial see of Toledo in April 1933, taking possession of the diocese in July. For an account of the controversy over Castro Albarrán see Muntanyola, Vidal i Barraquer: el cardenal de la paz, chapter 18; Lannon, 'The Church's Crusade against the Republic' in Preston (ed.), Revolution and War in Spain, 40-41. Extracts from the book appeared in the Carlist El Observador from 28 January 1934, Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis in Spain, 217, 349.

congregation of the Daughters of Mary to the local shrine of Our Lady of Valdejimena. After hearing mass and a sermon from the canon, the congregation held its first regional assembly in the sanctuary, recording a tribute to the "defender of the rights of the Church ... and martyr of the persecution of our times, Dr Francisco Frutos Valiente", a message strongly reminiscent of the funeral oration delivered by Canon Albarrán.⁵⁰

The authors of this persecution had always been understood to be atheistic socialists, given free reign in Spain by a corrupt, liberal Republic. Now, however, their ranks were joined by other, more shadowy figures, perpetrators of an international conspiracy directed against Spanish Catholicism. As a prelude to the CEDA's 1933 election campaign, Gil Robles had announced the need to purge the Fatherland of "Judaising freemasons" and the stock figures of the grasping Jew and Machiavellian mason occurred again and again in the party's electoral propaganda. As early as March 1933, Abilia Arroyo de Román had declared at a rally in the Salamancan *pueblo* of Macotera that Spain was governed by masonic lodges, intent on "decatholicising" Spain, while the Gaceta Regional had blamed the Law of Congregations on "an occult power" which had taken refuge in Spain "in order to carry out its experiments".⁵¹ The use of such terminology by these mainstream political figures suggests that belief in an international conspiracy was widely diffused in Catholic circles. Indeed, as the Republic progressed, this conspiracy was clearly identified as having a Jewish-masonic-communist content and images of Satanically-inspired plotters held sway in many sections of the

50. Conclusions of the 1st Regional Assembly of the Congregations of the Children of Mary, BEOS (1934), 107-109, also printed La Estrella del Mar (1934), 301. See also 'Memoria de la Residencia', Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ, 18.

51. El Debate, 15 October 1933; GR, 8, 14 February, 14 March 1933.

Catholic press.

In La Estrella del Mar, a bi-monthly magazine edited by the Jesuits for young members of the Marian Congregations, coverage of this putative conspiracy became almost obsessive. Articles on the work of "secret societies" in Spain — in particular the powerful grip atheistic freemasonry held on the Republican government — were complemented by lists of lodges and panegyrics to those working to expose masonic activities, a "labour necessary to the public good". Many of these "revelations" had been compiled by a Catalan priest, Juan Tusquets, who combined teaching at the Barcelona seminary with a personal crusade to eradicate masonry from Spain. His Orígenes de la revolución española (Madrid, 1932), became the best known of the numerous anti-masonic tracts which appeared regularly in the editorial lists of Catholic publishing houses during the 1930s. Extracts from the book were reprinted on an occasional basis in Estrella del Mar while another Jesuit periodical, Razón y Fe, welcomed such "documentary evidence" of the masonic impiety "now sweeping over Spain".⁵²

Similar revelations of the nature of the "Spanish revolution" were found in many respectable Catholic publications. In December 1934, the official bulletin of the Salamanca bishopric contained a list of the papal pronouncements which had denounced "Franc-masonry" as a sect working for the "anti-Church", for everything "opposed to truth and virtue".⁵³ Such condemnations had long been regular features of the lay Catholic press, including El Debate, and suggestions that the Republican Constitution, with

52. Estrella del Mar (1932), 210-212, 258, 274-276, 306-307, 394-395; Razón y Fe (1932). Tusquets' career is discussed in Garriga, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional Catolicismo, 196-201.

53. BEOS (1934), 216-220.

its anti-clerical insistence on lay education, was a masonic document were not uncommon.⁵⁴ The fear of masonic plots was also linked to the rampant anti-semitism which was a depressingly familiar feature of much Catholic culture.

Catholic anti-semitism relied upon those Christian stories which centred on the figures of Judas Iscariot and the Wandering Jew. As the Jewish population of Spain was negligible, there was no "Jewish problem" to build upon; the Jew remained a caricature, the bogeyman of pious legend rather than a living member of the human race. As the 1930s progressed, disturbing features of biological racism became added to this mythologically-based anti-semitism: Estrella del Mar, informing its readers that there were 14,600,000 Jews on the face of the earth, described the physical appearance of semites and claimed that the Jewish soul was equally distinctive, characterised as it was by an "aversion" for those of other races and a desire to dominate them.⁵⁵

The Estrella del Mar's concern to ensure its readers could recognise Jews at a glance heralded its serialisation of the Protocols of the Elders of Sion, proffered as conclusive proof of the Jewish plan to achieve world domination through the use of masonic and Marxist stooges.⁵⁶ Although by 1931 the Protocols were known to be a Tsarist forgery, they were widely circulated under the Second Republic. A Spanish translation — via the English — was reissued by the Jesuit publishing house, Ediciones

54. See e.g. Atenas (1931), 95; GR, 8 November 1933. For the real incidence and influence of Spanish masonry see María Dolores Gómez Molleda, La Masonería en la crisis española del Siglo XX (Madrid, 1986).

55. Estrella del Mar (1932), 370; (1934), 354-355, the latter article also listed common German Jewish surnames. A similar trend replacing mythology with biology may be discerned in Carlist anti-semitic writings, Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 181.

56. Protocols appeared, often with explanatory articles, Estrella del Mar (1932), 338-341, 372-373, 402-405, 443-444, 466-468, 498-500, 530-534, 562-565, 595-596, 650-651, 668, 709, 723-724; (1933), 36, 173-174, 514-515, 572-573; (1934), 354-355.

FAX, and was favourably received in many Catholic quarters. The Carlist press was quite convinced of the truth contained in the Protocols, reproducing detailed plans for the subjugation of Spain and expressing particular horror at the prospect of the Republic welcoming Jewish refugees from Nazism.⁵⁷ Such sentiments were also echoed in more moderate Catholic circles. The Jesuit journal Razón y Fe, quoted an Irish Jesuit priest to claim that

even if they have been compiled or edited by an anti-semitic author, as Jewish and masonic writers assure, they are of great worth. The Protocols, together with the great Encyclicals of Leo XIII, and other more recent papal teachings, may be seen as the best summary of modern social science.

Razón y Fe's counterpart, the Dominican journal La Ciencia Tomista, issued from San Esteban in Salamanca, also proclaimed the "continuing relevance" of the Protocols. Jewish Marxists, expelled from ghettos across the world, took refuge in Spain where "they settle down and sprawl about, as in conquered territory". In similar vein, a columnist in Estrella del Mar wrote that, in Germany, "750,000 Hebrews wanted to subjugate 64 million Teutons". Now, the Nazis' lifting "of the yoke that another foreign race wished to impose" had resulted in a semitic invasion which was turning Spain into another "wailing wall".⁵⁸

This conspiratorial rhetoric came to the fore during the election campaigns of November 1933 and February 1936, in both cases allowing the Catholic right to present the fight at the ballot box as an apocalyptic battle between good and evil. In 1933, voters in

57. Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 179-181.

58. Review of ESJ Cahill SJ, Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement (Dublin, 1932) in Razón y Fe (1933); La Ciencia Tomista (1934); (1936), 88-89. Estrella del Mar (1933), 649-650.

Salamanca were called upon to make a "virile protest against nefarious policies". Since 1931, "immorality and anarchy" had decided the destiny of Spain;

the crimes and outrages of fanatics [lit. 'energumens'] at the beck and call of the masonic lodges and international Judaism, with the co-operation of marxist sectarianism, ... severed the sacred links between Church and State ... ruined property, wounded honest consciences ...

Against this ghastly history, supporters of the right were urged to vote for the "men of good" whose "constructive and redemptive politics" held out the promise of "the moral and material reconquest of this glorious and disgraced nation". In February 1936, this dichotomy of construction and destruction, Spain and anti-Spain, again dominated the right's campaign. CEDA posters exhorted the electorate to vote "Against the revolution and its accomplices" while supporters of the Salamanican party compared the left's "banner of destruction and hatred" with the white flag of those "who are with Christ, looking towards Him and Catholic Spain".⁵⁹

The prevalence of extremist rhetoric and anti-semitic theory among the supporters and orators of the CEDA has received little attention from historians, even though it provided immediate common ground between Catholic parliamentarians and the extreme right — in particular, the small fascist parties which had emerged in Spain during the course of 1933. One such group was established in Valladolid under the leadership of Onésimo Redondo, a devoutly Catholic trade union organiser, whose political views had been formed among the smallholders of the *meseta*. The proponents of his "austere, Castilian, Catholic authoritarianism" had, in October 1931, joined forces with another miniscule fascist grouping, the Madrid-based national syndicalists of Ramiro Ledesma

59. Electoral notice published by Unión de Derechas Salmantinas, GR, 11 November 1933. On the 1936 campaign, see Mary Vincent, 'The Spanish Church and the Popular Front: the experience of Salamanca province' in Martin Alexander & Helen Graham (eds), The French and Spanish Popular Fronts: Comparative Perspectives (Cambridge, 1989), 79-93.

Ramos to form the JONS (Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista).⁶⁰ Although the JONS remained at the margin of Spanish politics — partly because its two leaders continued to espouse very different ideological positions — the party was actively recruiting throughout 1933, particularly after José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the late dictator, boosted the fascist profile by launching his Falange Española in Madrid on 29 October 1933.⁶¹

Fascism's fortunes in Castile rested largely in the hands of Redondo, who remained in Valladolid, one of the main centres of fascist activity during the Republic.⁶² In December 1933, Redondo visited the city of Salamanca, speaking to an invited audience of some 250, mainly university students. Describing the JONS as a "new and national party", Redondo denied connections with either Italian fascism or German national-socialism as his movement was based on "authentic Spanish ideals which, culturally and politically, are superior to those of other peoples". The JONS was working for a "Spain, one, great and free", free from both the "anti-national action of Marxist parties and hidden (*ocultos*) powers" and the "criminal principle of the class struggle". In this new Spain, all classes

60. The phrase is Blinkhorn's, Carlism and Crisis, 168. On the early fascist groupings, see Stanley Payne, Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism (Stanford, 1961), chapters 2, 3, 4 and Sheelagh Ellwood, Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era (London, 1987), chapter 1.

61. José Antonio was elected as a deputy for Cádiz in the November 1933 elections as one of a general right-wing slate.

62. At the beginning of 1935, FE de las JONS had 4-500 members in Valladolid, 743 in Madrid and c.200 in Seville; by 1936 there were an estimated 15- 1800 Falangists in Valladolid as opposed to 1500 in Madrid and 1200 in Seville, Payne, Falange, 81-82, 278-179.

would work together for the common good of the fatherland.⁶³

Redondo's visit to the provincial capital, and the apparent headway the fascists were making among the city's youth, forced the local CEDA to confront the issue of fascism for the first time in print. In a series of signed editorials which appeared in the Gaceta Regional under the title 'JONS ¿Para qué?', Eduardo Jiménez del Rey took issue with the very idea of a fascist party in Spain, arguing that the JONS was not so much pernicious as unnecessary. Like others on the Spanish right, he found fascism a mixture of the desirable and the dangerous. In Spain, however, as those elements of fascist thought which were to be admired were already well represented by the CEDA, the JONS was merely irrelevant.⁶⁴ Even the JONS' anti-parliamentarianism was replicated by those who shared a new, Catholic and corporatist, vision of the state and thus "repudiated" the liberal, party political solutions of the nineteenth century. Unity of action was needed to implement this new system, not caucuses

nor squads, nor triumvirates, nor youths in the grip of violence and still less, shirts of whatever colour, nor Roman salutes, nor many other external and decorative things.

It was enough to feel proud of being "Spanish and Christian" and act as such. Totalitarianism, the only new aspect to the fascist programme, was rejected since it denied "the respect owed to the human personality" and gave the state a "pagan" role, making it omnipotent and, therefore, a blasphemy against God.⁶⁵

Jiménez del Rey insisted that Redondo was not a fascist, even in the face of Redondo's equally certain conviction that he was. The JONS leader used the

63. 'Un acto de propaganda de las JONS', GR, 2 December 1933.

64. Many Carlists had an identical response to fascism, Clairac commenting "It is a political conception which I do not share since I believe that what is appropriate for Spain is the Traditionalism which I profess", Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 166-167.

65. 'Oyendo a Onésimo Redondo: JONS ¿Para qué?', GR, 2 December 1933.

columns of the Gaceta to proclaim the primacy of nation over religion and outline his plans for a "Spanish totalitarian" role for the state, a role which could only be achieved through violence against "the enemies ... of the health and unity of the [Spanish] people". Despite Redondo's insistence on the aconfessional nature of his party — a claim which had been judged totally illegitimate when made by the Catholic Republican parties — Jiménez del Rey claimed he was now convinced that the ideological difference between the JONS and the CEDA was "trivial". Not unfairly categorising Redondo's thought as muddled, Jiménez suggested that he would have to choose between fascism and Christianity as there was in the former "a pagan concept", incompatible with the Catholic faith.⁶⁶

Identical arguments were marshalled the following month when the Falange Española announced its new political programme, shortly before it merged with the JONS in February 1934.⁶⁷ Under the title "The points of the FE are our own", Jiménez del Rey once again set out to show that the place for all right-thinking people was in his own party. CEDA supporters "who are not remotely fascists, could subscribe, with easy conscience, to the programme of the FE de las JONS".⁶⁸ Social Catholic teaching already offered the vision of a newly-organised, corporate political order, where class harmony reigned and inter-necine party quarrels had been eliminated. Such a system, elaborated in Pius XI's 1931 encyclical Quadragesimo Anno, proffered corporatism as a middle way

66. Onésimo Redondo, 'Por una vez: JONS ¿Para qué?' and Eduardo Jiménez del Rey, 'Réplica: JONS ¿Para qué?', GR, 8, 14 December 1933.

67. To become the Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional- Sindicalista or FE de las JONS, Payne, Falange, 47.

68. 'Los puntos de la FE son los nuestros', GR, 3 January 1934; translations of selected Falange documents, including 'Basic points' and 'Proclamation of the FE de las JONS' are to be found in Hugh Thomas (ed.), José Antonio Primo de Rivera: Selected Writings (London, 1972).

between the class warfare of communism and the "state-God" of fascism which also bypassed the atomised individualism of liberal democracy. Explorations of this new organisation of society were proliferating in the Catholic press; in Salamanca, Jiménez del Rey published a series of explanatory articles on the corporate regime, while national Catholic journals such as Razón y Fe also devoted many pages to theoretical and descriptive accounts of corporatism. Although such accounts usually took the confessional regimes of Salazar's Portugal and Dollfuss' Austria as their models, several prominent Catholic laymen — among them members of Angel Herrera's Propagandists — went on fact-finding trips to Italy, intent on seeing the workings of the new state in practice.⁶⁹

Nor was the Falange's brand of patriotism unique; quoting José Antonio's own words, Jiménez del Rey maintained that all good Spaniards wanted to "elevate" the Fatherland "to the category of a dominant and spiritual empire, based on a unity of universal destiny".⁷⁰ Rather than distinguishing between different ideological tendencies, the concepts of *patria* and *hispanidad* united those on the right of the Spanish political spectrum. To Catholics — Falangists, Carlists, and *cedistas* alike — Spain was not merely a geographical entity but a mystical unity, charged with a particular historical mission or "destiny". In the words of a prominent Jesuit polemicist, writing in the 1920s, the Fatherland was a "moral unity", whose essence was Catholicism and whose boundaries had

69. See e.g., GR, 25 November 1933, 12, 17, 20 January, 15, 17, 20 February 1934, together with the series of articles by Fr Noguera SJ, 'Individualismo, estatismo y la enciclica Quadragesimo Anno', Razón y Fe (1932-1933); see also Fr Joaquín Azpiazu SJ, 'El estado corporativa', Razón y Fe (1934). For the trips of e.g. Fernando Martín-Sánchez Juliá and José María Gil Robles to Italy, the latter in spring 1933, see Montero, La CEDA, I, 651. Gil Robles was also impressed by Nazi Germany when he went there in September 1933.

70. GR, 3 January 1934.

been determined by centuries of Spanish history and Hispanic culture. One of the most influential explorations of patriotism published under the Second Republic defined *Hispanidad* as a cultural concept, dependent not upon blood, genetics or skin colour, but upon "spiritual light", language and religious belief. The unity of all Hispanic peoples, commemorated each year on 12 October, the anniversary of the discovery of America, was not a racial nor a geographic community but a spiritual one.⁷¹

Although 12 October was then known as the "Día de la Raza", the terms *raza* and *hispanidad* were used interchangeably and neither had a eugenic sense. The concept of biological, as opposed to historical, destiny found virtually no echo on the Spanish right; despite the common thread of anti-semitism, Nazi doctrines of superior (Aryan) and inferior (Slav and Latin) races were generally thought to be both disturbing and offensive. Cardinal Gomá, speaking in Buenos Aires on 12 October 1934, condemned the "idol of modern racism" and followed Maeztu in defining *hispanidad*, as "something spiritual" which combined Catholicism with other "merely human" factors, such as "tradition, culture, collective temperament, history, [all] qualified and harmonised by the religious element". Hence had come "the Spanish temperament, not physiological, but moral and historic, which had transformed other races, other nations and other lands". This, the conquest and conversion of America, was Spain's universal mission, "the genius of Spain".⁷²

71. Ramón Ruíz Amado SJ, El Patriotismo (2nd. ed., Barcelona, 1922), particularly chapters I, III; Ramiro de Maeztu, Defensa de la Hispanidad (Madrid, 1934), 15, 41-42.

72. 'Discurso pronunciado en Buenos Aires, el día 12 de Octubre de 1934', full text given in Luis Casañas Guasch & Pedro Sobrino Vázquez, El Cardenal Gomá: Pastor y Maestro (2 vols., Toledo, 1983), II, 179-193; the address was later described as an "epilogue" to Maeztu's Defensa de la Hispanidad and published in the *Renovación Española* journal, Acción Española, November 1937. The phrase "genius of Spain" was a direct reference to an early work by the Falangist theorist Ernesto Giménez Caballero, Genio de España (Madrid, 1932)

This shared concept of patriotism, which pervaded all sectors of the Spanish right, lent some credence to Jiménez del Rey's assertion that, once borrowed elements of Catholicism and corporatism were removed from the Falange's political programme, all that remained were vague exhortatory phrases which, in their desire to encourage a "happy and sporting spirit" were more reminiscent of a football club than a new political movement.⁷³ Should the young men of Salamanca be attracted by such sentiments, or by the Falangists' laudable emphasis on discipline and sacrifice, they would be better advised to channel their energies into the Juventudes de Acción Popular (JAP), then in the process of establishing a branch in the provincial capital.

The Salamancan branch of the JAP was launched following a rally held in the city on 24 January 1934. Unlike other Acción Popular organisations established in the province, all of which had been initiated locally, the JAP was founded by Madrid-based activists. Other branches of AP, including the women's sections, varied in name and constitution; all the youth sections, with the sole exception of the Juventudes de la Derecha Regional Valenciana, were known by the title JAP and virtually all adopted the statutes laid down by the Madrid branch.⁷⁴ Such determined homogeneity marked a sharp movement away from the carefully-devised federal structure of the CEDA. The JAP saw itself as a unitary and centralised force with a clear, and autonomous, identity. Its members all sang the same anthem ("For God and the fatherland to conquer or die"), marched behind the same flag, gave the same salute and, eventually, wore the same green shirts. Regional diversity was of no concern to JAP activists, even if it had long been a

73. GR, 3 January 1934.

74. Montero, La CEDA, I, 634-638, 642-643. The JAP's centralising tendencies are also discussed by Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 189-191.

feature of the party that spawned them. In the new style of youth politics, unity would come through order and discipline rather than through diversity.

Throughout the land, young men were flocking to the JAP and, by February 1936, the organisation claimed 225,000 members. Such figures contrasted strikingly with those for the Falange Española de las JONS, whose regular members or *primera linea* numbered no more than 10,000 at any time before February 1936.⁷⁵ Indeed, the Falange's marginal position on the Spanish political scene is indicated by the fact that, in the university town of Salamanca, the FE did not have its own offices until January 1935.⁷⁶ Such contrasting experience suggests that the JAP's success reinforced, and possibly even contributed to, the marginality of the Falange. Both parties made a self-conscious appeal to youth and, although it is difficult to determine the social composition of either movement with any great degree of accuracy, both organisations recruited young men from among that "deeply conservative petty bourgeoisie ... [p]resent throughout provincial Spain".⁷⁷ The failure of the self-styled Spanish fascist parties to attract a

75. Montero, *La CEDA*, I, 648; Payne, *Falange*, 81, 278-279.

76. Opening reported *GR*, 11 January 1935.

77. Martin Blinkhorn, 'The Iberian States', in Detlev Mülberger (ed.), *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements* (London, 1987), 320-348. The JAP was open to men and boys between 16 and 35 while 60-70% of Falange members were under 21, Montero, *La CEDA*, I, 606; Payne, *Falange*, 81-82. There are no full statistics on party membership for either FE de las JONS or JAP, but some indications may be gained from Payne *ibid.* which shows the Madrid JONS of February 1936 as composed of 431 service employees and labourers, 351 white-collar employees, 114 skilled workers, 106 professional men, 19 small businessmen and 17 officers and aviators together with 63 women and 38 students. Although it is a much smaller example, Montero, *op. cit.*, 599-600 gives details of the JAP committee in Zaragoza which was made up of 9 professional men (5 of whom were lawyers), 1 small businessman, 3 white-collar employees and 1 worker. As the executive committee, the numbers of professionals may be exaggerated; the Salamancan JAP included several anti-Marxist workers, one of whom, the railway worker Abelardo Martín Alfaraz, was active as an orator during the 1936 election campaign, see e.g. *GR*, 14 January 1936.

mass following, far from indicating a missing political constituency, may rather reflect the fact that potential members were already enrolled in the JAP.

The closeness of the two parties was revealed by the significant overlap between them. One of the national leaders of the JAP, the Propagandist Antonio Bermúdez Cañete, was a former JONS activist while, in Salamanca, the young extremist Daniel Salas was to appear on the editorial board of the local JAP paper ¡¡Presente!!.⁷⁸ Both parties were active in the universities although, due to a 1934 law which forbade student membership of political parties, the Falange was represented by the Sindicato Español Universitario (SEU) while Catholic students joined the Confederation of Catholic Students rather than the JAP.⁷⁹ Falangist and Catholic students often collaborated; in January 1936 they joined their Carlist counterparts in the Agrupación Escolar Tradicionalista (AET) in organising a boycott which affected universities throughout Spain, including Salamanca.⁸⁰ Similarly, when a Falangist brother and sister were shot dead in the streets of the provincial capital in April 1935, much of Salamanca turned out for their funerals. The language of sacrifice united many on the right: the name of

78. For Bermúdez Cañete's political career see Montero, La CEDA, I, 625-628; on Daniel Salas see above, chapters 3 & 7. ¡¡Presente!! began publication in January 1936 and ceased shortly thereafter. There appear to be no surviving copies.

79. SEU members could not register as members of the Falange, a distorting factor in assessing FE strength as students were undoubtedly the party's largest single source of support. The Confederation of Catholic Students was an autonomous body which predated the JAP.

80. On the strike in Salamanca, see GR, 22, 23, 24, 25 January 1936; co-operation between the student groups is discussed further in Payne, Falange, 91; Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 115, 181-182.

Clemente Barragán Fiz, a young *japista* killed in the run-up to the 1936 elections, soon joined those of Carmen and Juan Pérez Almeida in the Salamancan right's litany of martyrs. The obituary notice for Barragán Fiz said he had "Fallen fulfilling his duty as a Spaniard in the fight against the revolution" while a notice put out by his JAP co-religionaries said that, now "Spain's blessed earth has received ... the glorius body of a new JAP martyr", he would be rewarded with glory and immortality. The terminology of Franco's crusade was already coming easily to the young men in the vanguard of the right.⁸¹

From the start of its intensive mobilisation in 1934, the JAP was a highly visible organisation. Once established as an autonomous body within the CEDA, the movement soon developed its own character.⁸² As well as promoting study circles and borrowing libraries, traditional occupations for Catholic youth groups, the JAP also emphasised sporting and political activity. Physical exercises, so the young men of Salamanca were told, would complement spiritual ones, strengthening the body as well as fortifying the spirit.⁸³ Physical strength was clearly a useful asset for those involved in the *secciones de defensa*, whose presence was now formalised. Even if the JAP rejected "systematic violence", it was adamant that necessary force "to oppose the violence of the enemy" was nothing other than an "exercise of legitimate defence".⁸⁴

81. GR, 12, 13 April 1935, 8, 9 February 1936.

82. Article 1 of the JAP statutes read, "Se constituye en Madrid una Asociación denominada Juventud de Acción Popular, con el mismo ideario de Acción Popular, pero que actuará independientemente de ésta", 'Estatutos de la JAP', Montero, La CEDA, II, 638-640.

83. On the activities of the Salamanca JAP, see the interview with Antonio Tavera & Bernardo Cuadrado, GR, 8 February 1934; Montero, La CEDA, I, 630- 631 suggests that there were overtones of racist eugenics in this emphasis on sport. The 6th point of the JAP programme referred to the "fortaleza de la raza".

84. JAP national president José María Valiente speaking in Salamanca, GR, 24 January 1934.

The JAP's ideas were spread locally through their page in the Gaceta Regional, which published articles outlining the nature of the JAP revolution. Guided by "social justice", the new regime would avoid both the errors and excesses of the "criminal and fratricidal struggle" brought about by "the suicidal egotism of capitalism" and "the concealed hatred of marxism". Replacing the class struggle with class harmony would mean that all could work together for the good of the fatherland. The first of the nineteen points which made up the JAP's basic programme read "Spanish spirit. Think of Spain. Work for Spain. Die for Spain", while the nineteenth proclaimed "Above all, Spain and above Spain, God." Nor was this new, "young Spain" to be governed by an inorganic, pluralist democracy. The JAP's distaste for the principles of universal suffrage was such that internal decisions were never voted upon, the first party congress having ruled that, as an expression of the general will, voting was inadmissible. As the thirteenth point of the JAP put it: "Anti-parliamentarianism. Anti-dictatorship. The people participating in Government in an organic manner, not by degenerate democracy."⁸⁵ Although the JAP explicitly and consistently denied charges of fascism, the line between Christian corporatism and fascist statism here became very thin indeed. Even Gil Robles, in his political memoirs, admitted that the JAP's determined "anti-politics" resulted in "totalitarian politicians".⁸⁶

The fascist tendencies of the JAP were vividly demonstrated in the series

85. GR, 18 February 1934; Montero, La CEDA, I, 603. 'Puntos de la JAP' also given Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 191.

86. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 196. For e.g.s of the JAP's denial of fascism, see GR, 24 January, 8 March 1934. At various times, both José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Ledesma Ramos also denied the "fascism" of their explicitly national syndicalist FE de las JONS.

of rallies held by the CEDA youth movement during the course of 1934. The first of these took place at Philip II's monastic palace, El Escorial, where the "Youth of the new Spain" were to gather among those "old and austere stones" to make a "profession of faith" to the fatherland. The JAP were determined to continue Spain's "glorious history, far [removed] from the corruption of old politics and marxist sectarianism".⁸⁷ In the eyes of the JAP, the man to rescue the Fatherland from its decadent state was the CEDA leader, Gil Robles. Using the title *jefe*, the JAP created an intense and often disturbing cult around the figure of Gil Robles. The second point of its deeply hierarchical programme maintained that "the leaders (*jefes*) are never wrong", an injunction which the Gaceta Regional had soon translated into the slogan "Our *jefe* never makes mistakes". When the JAP established a branch in Alba de Tormes in 1936, its members were told that the "supreme chief" was capable of anything. Indeed, the original plans for the Escorial rally had included a march past with Gil Robles taking the salute.⁸⁸

The CEDA leader had been much impressed by the discipline and massed strength of the Nazi party which he had witnessed at Nuremberg. Recalling the spectacle in an interview in 1935, he remembered

When I saw ... the parade of 12,000 racist militia or saw 60,000 trained boys in the Stadium, I could do no less than think: who in Spain dreams of seeing a political party, whose members, in uniform, march twelve abreast for six hours, rucksack on back, to the sound of drums and bugles. I insist. In the racist and fascist movements, apart from certain unacceptable things, there is much to approve, provided that [we] mould it to our temperament and imbue it with our doctrine.⁸⁹

87. 'Manifiesto del Congreso de la JAP de El Escorial', Montero, La CEDA, II, 642. Also published GR, 15 March 1934.

88. See e.g., 'El jefe se os llama ¡Juventudes, a El Escorial!', GR, 17 April 1934; account of JAP in Alba, GR, 2, 4 January 1936. On El Escorial rally, see Montero, La CEDA, I, 652-656.

89. Interview with Gil Robles, CEDA, 30 September 1935, reprinted Montero, La CEDA, I, 652. Gil

On his return from Nuremberg in 1933, Gil Robles had claimed that one of fascism's attractions was its "youthful enthusiasm, steeped in optimism, so different to the desolate and enervating scepticism of our defeatists and intellectuals". Although he condemned both Nazi violence and the exaltation of the state, the CEDA leader was convinced that the German regime had introduced "a new order of things" which, although needing to be adapted to Spanish circumstances, provided a model for the future. Leading Spain towards this new order was, he thought, a youthful task; "who knows if, in the inscrutable plans of Providence ... the hard task of harmonising new political trends with the immortal principles of our Catholic tradition" might not fall to the JAP. Others shared this vision of the JAP's political role. When the Madrid activist, Jesús Pabón, spoke to the Salamancan JAP he told them that only the young could make the transition from one epoch to another "with brio", because their minds were "clean", unsullied with the detritus of old politics.⁹⁰

The JAP's functions in this proposed new state were demonstrated in October 1934 when a revolutionary general strike was called by the socialist General Workers' Union (UGT) in response to three CEDA ministers being admitted into government.⁹¹ Although the strike had little success outside Asturias, where anarchist solidarity ensured that an armed insurrection developed, *japistas* all over the country lent their services to the authorities as part of a programme of "civil mobilisation" which they had been

Robles's visit to Nazi Germany in September 1933 is discussed in Angel Viñas, La alemania nazi y el 18 de julio (Madrid, 1974), 143-150.

90. Gil Robles, 'Antidemocracia', GR, 8 September 1933; No fue posible la paz, 207-208. Jesús Pabón, GR, 20 February 1934.
91. Gil Robles had withdrawn CEDA support from Lerroux's minority Radical government at the end of September, provoking a cabinet crisis, Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 124-127.

preparing since the beginning of the year.⁹² In Béjar, the JAP delivered 800 kilos of bread from outside the town while, in the city of Salamanca, *japistas* not only drove buses, unloaded lorries and took over the running of the railway station, they also provided vigilante forces to patrol certain areas of the city. The provincial capital was seriously affected by the strike, as transport and metallurgy workers — together with bakers, waiters, hairdressers and printers — withdrew their labour. No local papers appeared for six days; factory workers in Béjar came out while strikes in service industries also affected Ciudad Rodrigo and other *pueblos* around the province. Employers in both the construction industry and the Béjar textile factories responded to the strikes with mass dismissals and lock-outs. The tension in the provincial capital soon erupted into violence; arson attempts were made upon the convent church of the Ursulas and a presbytery, while a deliberate fire in the chapel of the Most Holy Christ of the Miracles had to be put out by neighbours. On the second day of the strike, four Socialist party members carrying brand new pistols were arrested outside the Civil Guard barracks and a Portuguese communist was shot in the leg after police broke up a clandestine meeting in a city bar. The next day shots were fired in the Plaza Mayor and a bus was overturned by armed men. On the 8th, the train to Portugal was derailed, again by *pistoleros*. The authorities had no doubt who was responsible for these incidents. By the time a national state of emergency was called on 7 October, the president and secretary of the local Socialist Youth had been arrested

92. Pérez Laborda had told the Salamanca JAP in January that the preparation of such a "civil mobilisation" was "pure citizenship", *GR*, 24 January 1934. For JAP activity during the strike, see Montero, *La CEDA*, I, 615-616; Gil Robles, *No fue posible la paz*, 193.

and were soon joined in prison by Socialist councillors and trade union leaders.⁹³

The mass arrests and heavy-handed suppression of the strike did not go uncontested, particularly after news arrived of the Spanish military's brutal repression of the Asturian miners.⁹⁴ There were violent scenes in the *ayuntamiento* when the city's mayor, Casto Prieto Carrasco, refused to support an Acción Popular motion of confidence in the government and condemned the repression on behalf of his Republican party. Immediately afterwards Prieto Carrasco was removed from his post, on the order of the Civil Governor. He was replaced as mayor by Miguel Iscar Peyra, local leader of Acción Popular, and a government nominee. On the town council, Republican and Socialist councillors were replaced by Radicals and members of the CEDA, as they were throughout the country. In Béjar, Ramón Olleros Gregorio, leader of the CEDA in the town, was substituted for the Socialist mayor as a nominated right-wing council replaced the elected left. As in the rest of Spain, all Socialist headquarters and *casas del pueblo* in the province were closed.⁹⁵

The victory over the Asturian miners and the suppression of the local left was celebrated as a triumph by the Salamancan right. The JAP's "civil mobilisation" was widely admired, with the Gaceta Regional advocating its expansion into a fully militarised programme of civilian units which could respond immediately to further outbreaks of

93. GR, 12, 19 October 1934.

94. Some 30,000 people were imprisoned, and many tortured, after the rising which was put down by troops, many of them Moorish legionaries, commanded by Francisco Franco. The secondary literature on the Asturian rising is vast; perhaps the best overview is Germán Ojeda (ed.), Octubre 1934. Cincuenta años para la reflexión (Madrid, 1984). The social history of the rising is examined in Adrian Shubert, The Road to Revolution in Spain: The Coal Miners of Asturias 1860-1934 (Chicago, 1987).

95. GR, 12, 17, 18 October, 6, 7, 27 December 1934. Miguel Iscar, an ex- monarchist who had served as mayor under the dictatorship, was brother-in -law to José María Lamamié de Clairac's wife.

Marxist "tyranny". The murders of priests and religious by revolutionaries caused particular outrage; a "new and horrendous crucifixion" had taken place on Spanish soil.⁹⁶ Graphic accounts of the devastation of Asturias also appeared in the Gaceta, some of them written by Jiménez del Rey who had accompanied José Cimas Leal on a visit to the revolutionary zone.⁹⁷ According to the editor, the defeat of the rising had been followed not by repression but by justice. There were two ways of behaving in victory, as barbarians or as Christians. While the Asturian miners had behaved barbarously when they had the upper hand, now the world must be made to see that "our victory is Christian" carried out by Christian political parties which may be neither "hateful nor egotistical". Despite its much-vaunted Christianity, the paper was not proposing to turn the other cheek. Justice demanded the punishment of the guilty and justice, like mercy, was a divine virtue. The government should beware of "false benevolence"; the soldiers who defeated the miners should not have spilt their blood in vain.⁹⁸

When a local batallion of Assault Guards who had been posted to Asturias returned to Salamanca on 23 October, they were greeted as heroes. Crowds thronged into the Plaza Mayor to cheer the guards as they went to a lavish reception held for them in the town hall. Women's Catholic Action arranged for a mass of thanksgiving to be offered for them while the Bloque Agrario organised a public subscription as an act of "homage". Fighting against the "marxist hordes" was a claim to eternal fame; at a time when the fatherland's gravest enemies were internal, they had fought and defeated "the enemies of

96. Crónica de las Marías, November 1934; see also 'Los mártires de la revolución', BEOS (1935), 49-50.

97. For the proposed civilian militia, see GR, 17 October 1934; accounts of Asturias given GR, 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30, 31 October 1934.

98. GR, 13, 18 October 1934.

Spain".⁹⁹

Notwithstanding the heroic actions of these soldiers of Spain, Catholic Salamanca looked to providence for the resolution of the evils afflicting the fatherland. Although the right had now assumed political control, good sons and daughters of the church were called to mark the victory in Asturias by prayer and penance, making reparation to the majestic and victorious figure of Christ the King.¹⁰⁰ Although the cults held in the Jesuit church of the Clerecía in the aftermath of Asturias were essentially penitential rites, the figure of Christ clothed in majesty was also used by the Catholic right as a symbol of the triumph of their cause. The cry "Long live Christ the King" had been heard so often at political rallies that some sections of the left had insisted that it was a political slogan, a charge rejected as blasphemy by the Jesuit youth magazine, Estrella del Mar. Yet, in Spain, as in Belgium or Mexico, Christ the King had become the symbol of militant Catholicism.¹⁰¹ It was, therefore, singularly appropriate that this particular liturgical feast should usher in an era when Catholicism once again held sway in the streets of Salamanca.

This possession of the streets was vividly demonstrated when, in May 1935, a new bishop took possession of the Salamancan see. Enrique Plá y Deniel, translated from the neighbouring see of Avila, entered the province in considerable splendour. Entire parishes turned out to welcome the new bishop as he passed along the highways towards the provincial capital; crowds lined the streets in Peñaranda and in Alba de Tormes, where Plá

99. GR, 24, 25 October 1934.

100. GR, 28, 30 October 1934.

101. Estrella del Mar (1931), 450; on the use of the symbol by the Belgian Rexist movement see Martin Conway, 'Building the Christian City: Catholics and Politics in Inter-War Francophone Belgium', Past and Present, 128 (1990). See also above, chapter 3.

stopped to visit the tomb of St Teresa, he was greeted with *vivas*, banners and the sound of bells. When he reached the provincial capital, bells rang out from every parish as Plá y Deniel made his way towards the cathedral, past decorated balconies and streets lined with cheering crowds. The new bishop was escorted through the city amid a sea of banners, standards and insignia, representing every Catholic association in the diocese. When the procession reached the cathedral, Plá gave his first address to the assembled faithful, reminding them of Bishop Frutos Valiente, whose "immense heart" had not been able to withstand the "uncontrolled assault" unleashed on "Holy Mother Church". This "wave of laicism" was intended to "pervert" a nation which owed its greatness to Catholicism, now receiving its just homage on the streets of Salamanca.¹⁰²

This combative note was characteristic of Plá y Deniel's style of office. A noted defender of the rights of the Church, he took the Good Shepherd as his pastoral model and believed that a combination of traditional doctrine and social Catholic practice would bring about a much-needed regeneration of Spanish society. His translation to the Salamanacan see inaugurated a brief but extremely active period in the history of the diocese. Convinced that his generation had been chosen to resist "the coarse onslaught of destructive laicism", Plá y Deniel looked to strengthen religious life in Salamanca, fostering "a living catholicism, consistent and generous". To this end, the new prelate bravely attempted to remedy the parlous financial state of the diocese, exhorting the faithful to give economic support to the clergy. Less assiduous members of the flock were encouraged to comply with the precepts of the Church, not least by the pastoral visit to the parish churches of the provincial capital which Plá undertook at the end of his first year in

102. BEOS (1935), 17, 121-131 and 'Número extraordinario', 15 May 1935, 5-8.

Salamanca.¹⁰³

Alongside this renewed emphasis on liturgy and doctrine went a revitalised social ministry. In these disturbed times, Catholics had to come forth from their churches to demonstrate the truth of their doctrine. Under this new episcopal impetus, particular stress was laid upon professional bodies. Catholic employers, doctors, students and teachers were told that it was the duty of all to "organise and proclaim themselves Catholic". The rejuvenation of society was to be led from above, both by influence and example. Catholic teachers were assured of their "vocation" and instructed to be "the regenerator of society", contributing to "the salvation of the Fatherland's culture".¹⁰⁴ At national level too, social catholicism had become part of the political agenda. Between November 1934 and March 1935, the CEDA minister for agriculture, Manuel Giménez Fernández, introduced into parliament a series of agrarian reform measures designed to ameliorate conditions in the Spanish countryside.¹⁰⁵ These moderate proposals, described by El Debate as "the Encyclicals made into laws", provoked bitter attack from reactionary elements within the Cortes, including the conservative wing of the CEDA, who not only defeated the proposed reform in the Cortes but also ensured a change of personnel in the ministry. José María Lamamié de Clairac and Cándido Casanueva were among Giménez Fernández's most vehement opponents, taking particular exception to draft legislation

103. See the pastoral letter 'Sobre la cooperación económica a las necesidades del culto y clero', BEOS (1936), 3-37; for the pastoral visit see *ibid.*, 193- 201, 215-216.

104. 'Reglamento de la Asociación Provincial de Maestros Católicos de Salamanca' in Magisterium (Organo de la Asociación de Maestros Católicos), iv (1936); addresses by Plá y Deniel BEOS (1935), 229-230; (1936), 129-130.

105. Giménez Fernández's ill-fated agrarian reform is widely covered in the secondary literature, e.g. Malefakis, Reforma agraria y revolución campesina, 395-418; Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 124- 125; Robinson, The Origins of Franco's Spain, 200-202.

giving tenants of twelve years' standing the right to buy the lands they worked. Clairac persisted in construing even the mildest agrarian reform as an attack on property maintaining that, despite his good intentions, the efforts of the CEDA minister would have exactly the same results as the Republican reform of 1931-1932.¹⁰⁶

Giménez Fernández's agrarian reform bill proved to be the catalyst for a series of increasingly bitter divisions among the Catholic right. In Salamanca, the editor of the Gaceta Regional used the columns of his paper to defend the Minister. Jiménez del Rey, a fervent *gilroblista*, thus inevitably crossed swords with Lamamié de Clairac. According to the paper, Giménez Fernández's proposals were only resisted by "those who always oppose any just social advance whatsoever", a charge interpreted by Clairac — not altogether surprisingly — as a personal attack. Against the Gaceta's insistence that Giménez Fernández, professor of canon law at the university of Seville, had "learnt his doctrine from the purest sources of pontifical teachings", Clairac maintained that his Catholicism was "not only doctrinal but practical" and was simply opposed to the sin of economic liberalism. Indeed, what Jiménez del Rey saw as an essential attempt to introduce a Christian concept of ownership and save Spain from two equally unjust situations, was dismissed by the Traditionalist leader as nothing more than "a weakening of property rights".¹⁰⁷

Clairac's refusal to countenance any change in the *status quo* of property relations, had become so notorious that, on 16 December 1934, the Gaceta Regional reprinted a

106. Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 179.

107. GR, 2, 6, 7, 15, 16 December 1934.

story from the Madrid Republican daily El Sol which had him declaring that, if the government persisted in attempts "to steal our lands by quoting encyclicals, we will end by becoming schismatics". The remark was to become infamous, although, by the very next day, Clairac had written to the paper denying that any such conversation had taken place in the corridors of the Cortes. A man whose "greatest claim to fame" was as a "submissive son of the Catholic church" was incapable of making such a remark "even in jest".¹⁰⁸

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the affair, the very fact that the Gaceta was prepared to countenance such a story indicates the depth of these internecine divisions. These had been exacerbated at national level by the Carlist deputies' flirtation with their fellow-monarchists in the Cortes. In December 1934, the Alfonsist parliamentary leader, José Calvo Sotelo, had launched a reactionary offensive against the Republic in the form of a Bloque Nacional. Clairac not only signed the manifesto, but was also on the executive committee.¹⁰⁹ This monarchist initiative only succeeded in severely irritating the CEDA. Gil Robles accused Calvo Sotelo of being selfish and divisive while the Bloque Nacional's "furious, injurious and reprehensible campaign" led Salamanca's Gaceta Regional to suggest that Clairac's arrogance and envy were such that he be expelled from the province's agrarian alliance in a "purification" of the local right. Clairac responded by launching a personal attack on Gil Robles in a pamphlet circulated to members of the Bloque Agrario. This intemperate behaviour drew a public rebuke from Ernesto Castaño,

108. GR, 15, 16 December 1934; the quotation is repeated in much of the secondary literature. Malefakis, Reforma agraria y revolución campesina, 405 suggests that the remark was made in the chamber; Robinson, The Origins of Franco's Spain, 201-202 uses the phrase "Greek schismatics". The persistence of the quotation undoubtedly stems from its apparent authentication by Gil Robles who repeated it in both No fue posible la paz, 179 and La fe a través de mi vida, 95.

109. List of signatories given in full, Richard Robinson, 'Calvo Sotelo's Bloque Nacional and its manifesto', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, X (1965-6)

the Bloque's president, who denied that Clairac's candidature was in question, but suggested that he would be advised to show the same loyalty to the Agrarians as they had shown to him. Jiménez del Rey also leapt into print in his *jefe's* defence, accusing Clairac of misusing his time in the Cortes and abusing the trust of Gil Robles, to whom he owed his parliamentary seat. In an embarrassing, but not unusual, excess of devotion, the Gaceta insisted that one was "either with Gil Robles or against Gil Robles". In Salamanca, the *jefe* was "untouchable" and, when the CEDA leader wrote to thank the editor for his staunch support, Jiménez described this gesture as "the greatest recompense", saying that he had not deserved "so exceptional a distinction".¹¹⁰

The bitter rifts which had emerged among the Catholic right by the beginning of 1935 clearly indicated that the broad-based CEDA alliance was disintegrating. Partly as a result of the impetus of the JAP, the Catholic party had been moving further to the right, turning a blind eye to the para-military activities of its youth section and forcing the resignation of moderate government figures, including Filiberto Villalobos.¹¹¹ Nor, despite his own convictions, was Gil Robles prepared to return the agriculture portfolio to Giménez Fernández. For all the social Catholic rhetoric, the extreme right had won the day. The *jefe* was not prepared to sacrifice his party nor to forfeit his own chance of power.

110. GR, 28 December 1934; 2, 3, 4, 8, 11 January 1935. See also Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 189-192.

111. Reported GR, 22, 28 December 1934; Gil Robles' speech against the minister is given in his Discursos parlamentarios (Madrid, 1971), 406-411. See also Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 153-154.

Chapter 10: 1936: Political Defeat and the Coming of War

In February 1936, Spain went to the polls in what was to be the last general election held under the Second Republic. The Radical-CEDA government — ridden by factionalism and internal dissent — had collapsed in the wake of the *straperlo* scandal which cost Lerroux the premiership. His successor, Joaquín Chapaprieta, stayed in office only a matter of weeks. A second scandal — the Nombela affair — in December 1935 cost the Radicals what little remained of their political reputation. Although Gil Robles was poised to head a government himself, he had singularly failed to win the confidence of President Alcalá-Zamora who, aware that stability of government could not be guaranteed, chose to dissolve the Cortes.¹

With the announcement of fresh elections, the CEDA immediately began to rally its forces. As the Electoral Law favoured coalitions, pressure rapidly built up for the party to enter into some form of general right-wing alliance. The nature of such a coalition was, however, always the subject of some dispute. Some *cedistas* wanted to see as broad an alliance as possible, others — notably Manuel Jiménez Fernández and the Valencian CEDA leader Luis Lucia Lucia — favoured an all-republican pact which would marginalise the conspiratorial right, while a third faction would only support an agreement exactly those irreconcilable monarchist groups the moderates sought to exclude. Even though the left was united under the broad electoral mantle of the Popular Front, a national right-wing alliance was clearly impossible; as in 1933, what emerged was a series of *ad hoc* local

1. The caretaker government of Portela Valladares was appointed to this end; see further Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 163-171; Jackson, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 176-177.

coalitions, constituted according to circumstances. According to Gil Robles, this gave the CEDA the flexibility it needed, allowing the party to ally with moderate republicans in areas where the left was strong, such as Asturias, Badajoz and Jaén, and with the extreme right in areas of conservative strength, including Navarre, many parts of Castile and Salamanca.²

In Salamanca, despite the intense ill-feeling caused by his dalliance with the Bloque Nacional, Lamamié de Clairac retained the backing of the CEDA in the 1936 elections. Indeed, he effectively vetoed any collaboration with conservative republican groups by declaring that the "anti-revolutionary coalition" had to be composed solely of

substantive Catholic and pure Spanish forces, without admitting incursions from men₃ belonging to parties which participated in the pact of San Sebastián.³

Rumours were also circulating in the Salamancan press that, should Tomás Marcos Escribano be included in the CEDA candidature, Clairac would stand as part of a rival, monarchist, slate. Two Alfonsist monarchist candidates were standing in the province, the first time since July 1931 that such a political option had been presented to the electorate. Although one of these candidates, the Marquis of Albayda, eventually stood down in favour of the CEDA, he reiterated his belief that violence was now inevitable while his co-religionary, Diego Martín Veloz, insisted that "only a tenuous line" separated him from Gil Robles, even though he was standing against him.⁴

The political complexion of the province was now very firmly of the right. Not only were Alfonsist candidates standing again, but the CEDA-Traditionalist alliance had

2. Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 169-170; Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 404-406; Montero, La CEDA, II, 311-312.

3. Quoted Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 415.

4. El Adelanto, 9, 21 January 1936; GR, 28 January, 13 February 1936.

expanded to include a sixth candidate, Ramón Olleros Gregorio, who joined an otherwise unchanged list. The inclusion of Olleros, the CEDA mayor of Béjar, was a gamble taken by the local electoral committee which decided to thwart the intended legal maximum of five candidates, calculating — perfectly correctly — that the right's support in the province was sufficient to return an extra candidate.⁵

The CEDA campaign presented the elections as the final confrontation between revolution and order. February 1936 would see the decisive battle between

construction and destruction; ... the Spain of ancient traditions, religious principles and the conservation of society and the anti- Spain of demolition, church-burning and the October revolution.⁶

The JAP were given control of the national propaganda campaign and, in Salamanca, the party's youth played the same highly visible role which had been taken by the women's section in 1933. Then, the CEDA had been looking to present itself as moderate and reassuring, fighting for eternal moral truths rather than political power. In the bitter days of 1936 the dynamism, extremism and confrontational style of the JAP seemed far more appropriate. Nothing could now be allowed to stand in the way of achieving absolute political power.

In a vigorous and often violent campaign, the Catholic right went to the polls demanding "All power for the *Jefe*". The CEDA was playing for high stakes. If they won, the Republic would be dismantled and a new state constructed, one free of the "debased politics" of parliamentary democracy. An outright victory would finally enable

5. Martín Vasallo, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca, 118- 119.

6. GR, 1 January 1936; despite the impression given by local CEDA orators, the Communist party neither participated in Salamanca's Popular Front candidature, nor fielded candidates in the elections.

the CEDA to pursue "national" rather than partisan politics. Gil Robles, "a gift sent to Spain by Providence", would lead the country into a new epoch of peace and justice. Catholic voters everywhere were exhorted to vote, not for the CEDA, but for the salvation of Spain.⁷

Such divine endorsement meant that the possibility of defeat was never even countenanced. Blithely unconscious of the gulf between the right's alarmist rhetoric and the Popular Front's self-consciously moderate programme, CEDA activists remained convinced that outright victory was finally to be theirs. God was with Gil Robles and, in the face of the wishes of providence, defeat was simply inconceivable. In Salamanca, the Catholic right was confident that the successful manipulation of well-disciplined voters would mean the return of six CEDA-Traditionalist candidates, rather than five. On polling day, this tactic reduced the province's Republican representation to a single deputy, the Socialist José Andrés Mansó, returned in seventh place behind the entire CEDA slate. The manoeuvre also succeeded in finally excluding the Agrarians' old adversary, Filiberto Villalobos, from the Cortes.⁸ The Salamancan right, cocooned in the secure knowledge of an overwhelming local triumph, was thus completely unprepared for the

7. GR, 7 January, 4, 16 February 1936.

8. The full results were as follows: places 1 to 6 were taken by Gil Robles, 86,960 votes; Casanueva, 61,379; Castaño, 61,094; Cimas, 60,788; Clairac, 60,191 and Olleros, 57,953. Mansó was returned in 7th place with 47,015 votes, narrowly beating Villalobos on 42,798 and his Popular Front ally, Prieto Carrasco, who gained 41,157 votes. Then came the other Popular Front candidates: Ruipérez, 39,699; Valeriano Casanueva, 38,433; Crespo, 36,062. With the exception of Villalobos (who was standing as an independent Republican), those candidates not standing as part of a slate did badly: Marcos Escribano (Conservative Republican) received 18,782 votes; González Cobos (Liberal Democrat), 13,876; Martín Veloz (monarchist), 5,964; Fernández Suárez (independent), 2,436 and García Tabernero (agrarian), 556.

catastrophic news of national defeat. Nor could pride in the local achievement assuage the bitter humiliation of overall defeat. In the aftermath of the February elections, there was no denying that the accidentalist tactic had failed. Gil Robles was no longer the man sent by Providence, but simply another defeated politician.

In the shadow of defeat, the CEDA's once-ascendant star plunged headlong into oblivion. Support for Gil Robles and his party evaporated almost overnight. Although Salamanca's Gaceta Regional, loyal to the last, bravely proclaimed the survival of legalism, the parliamentary party was thrown into turmoil. Leading members of the CEDA's social Catholic wing — again led by Giménez Fernández and Lucia Lucia — attempted to use the defeat as a means of bringing the party into the republican fold, but they were neither powerful nor numerous enough to determine the CEDA's future. Although Giménez Fernández succeeded in forcing his parliamentary colleagues to declare a lukewarm preference for democracy over fascism, Gil Robles's remaining supporters lambasted him and Lucia for their "vain pretensions" to leadership. According to the Gaceta Regional, Gil Robles was the subject of disloyal attacks from both left and right of the party. Rather than recognising the CEDA as "a compact block with an unchallengeable *Jefe*", the left was usurping his authority and the right simply deserting.⁹

This exodus of erstwhile CEDA supporters was led by those whose relationship with Gil Robles had always been ambivalent. The Traditionalists took the Popular Front's victory as the CEDA's death-knell; the legalist tactic had only succeeded in squandering the right's resources and leaving the parliamentary path open to the forces of revolution.

9. Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 181-182; GR, 19 February, 7, 21 March 1936. The increasingly isolated and difficult position of Lucia and Giménez Fernández is examined in Tussell, Historia de la democracia cristiana, II, 274-283.

Even before the election results were known, the Carlist leader, Manuel Fal Conde, had announced that the Communion would "fully recover its personality and freedom of movement". After the elections, the Traditionalist deputies severed their connections with both the CEDA and Calvo Sotelo's Bloque Nacional to form an independent grouping under the leadership of José María Lamamié de Clairac.¹⁰

The Carlists' new-found independence, though damaging, was not unexpected; relations between the two parties had been increasingly strained since the foundation of the Bloque Nacional. Far more striking was the haemorrhaging of CEDA members towards the Falange. Bitterly disillusioned with the failure of their *jefe*, the JAP went over *en masse* to the fascist party; 15,000 of them had transferred their loyalties to the Falange by 16 June 1936. The JAP simply could not survive the experience of defeat; the movement's bulletin ceased publication immediately after the election results became known.¹¹ This rapid radicalisation of the CEDA youth movement effectively meant that all attempts to save parliamentary Catholicism were doomed to failure. In Valencia, the party's social Catholic wing suffered a crushing defeat when Luis Lucia's Derecha Regional Valenciana (DRV) rejected moderation and democracy in favour of direct action. The DRV, which had begun organising its own militia in the immediate aftermath

10. Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis in Spain, 229-230.

11. Most joined the Falangist student movement (SEU), passing automatically to the fascist militias, Gil Robles No fue posible la paz, 573-574; Montero, La CEDA, I, 622-623; Payne, Falange, 104. The speed of the CEDA's disintegration, together with the JAP's mass defection to the Falange, would appear to belie Payne's claims that the JAP was "not a very energetic organisation" and that its parent party, the CEDA, was "a careful, moderate, bourgeois party with ... no stomach for violence", Payne, *ibid.*, 23, 70.

of the elections, was to become the first branch of the CEDA to join Franco's rising in July 1936.¹²

Events at national level clearly showed that there were few in the party prepared to accept Eduardo Jiménez del Rey's interpretation of the election as a punishment sent by providence. He argued strongly that the right had not deserved to win; its followers had singularly failed to implement Christian teaching, ignoring biblical and papal injunctions regarding the equitable distribution of wealth.¹³ Such condemnation clearly referred back to Giménez Fernández's controversial agrarian reform bill of the previous year. Salamanca's *gilroblistas* were still bearing old grudges. Though maintaining that the right's lack of true Christianity meant that victory had not yet been earned, they persisted in refusing to attribute any blame to the *jefe*. In the wake of the February results, such a position was simply untenable; Gil Robles's few remaining supporters became as isolated locally as they were in parliament.

As the Popular Front took charge of the streets of Salamanca, the right became convinced that their worst fears were about to be realised. Less than a week after the elections, a second arson attempt was made against the chapel of Most Holy Christ of the Miracles in the provincial capital. Four months later, Béjar's shrine to St Anne, site of the town's traditional children's pilgrimage, was burned to the ground. The town had already lost one of its parish churches, dedicated to the Saviour, in an arson attack earlier in the year.¹⁴ This dramatic evidence of a fresh assault against religion was accompanied by an

12. Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 188, 193; Tusell, Historia de la democracia cristiana, II, 274-276. See also Stephen Lynam, "Moderate" conservatism and the Second Republic: the case of Valencia', in Blinkhorn (ed.), Spain in Conflict, 133-159.

13. GR, 20, 26 February, 3, 9 April 1936.

14. GR, 22 February, 9 April, 5 June 1936.

attack on property. The Republican-Socialists' agrarian reform legislation was re-instated and a provincial committee established to oversee its implementation. Despite the right's protestations that the local *junta* was receiving orders from Moscow, the long-awaited expropriations finally began.¹⁵ Between March and June, fifty estates encompassing 50,808 hectares were made subject to agrarian reform. 49,339 of these hectares were expropriated and divided between 2,659 new proprietors at an average holding of 20.19 hectares.

The expropriations of 1936, unlike their 1932 antecedents, directly affected the local landowning classes, commonly known as the *cuernocracia* after their widespread involvement in livestock breeding. Indeed, one of the first estates to be taken over belonged to a member of the bull-breeding Sánchez Tabernero family. In May the possession and redistribution of three estates in El Bodón altered the fortunes of some of Ciudad Rodrigo's leading families. Clemente Velasco y Sánchez-Arjona, a former president of Ciudad Rodrigo's Catholic Agrarian Federation, lost 890 hectares; the following month his nephew, Jesús Sánchez-Arjona y Velasco, the federation's treasurer, secretary of the landowning pressure group Asociación de Proprietarios de Fincas Rústicas, and a local representative on the provincial committee of the Bloque Agrario, was forced to surrender 943 hectares to the state. The same month also saw one of the CEDA deputies injured by the reform, as 1,031 hectares belonging to the Casanueva family in Aldehuela de la Bóveda were expropriated.¹⁶

15. See, e.g., GR, 3 July 1936.

16. The information on agrarian reform in the province is taken from McInnis et.al., 'La reforma agraria en la II República: su incidencia en la provincia de Salamanca'. Although the expropriations continued into July, McInnis considers them separately because the data is necessarily incomplete; 17 estates were made subject to agrarian reform in July, but only 2 were fully expropriated before the rising.

Nor did Casanueva's parliamentary colleagues emerge unscathed from the triumph of the Popular Front. In April, the elections of José María Lamamié de Clairac, Ernesto Castaño and Ramón Olleros were declared null and void following a petition to the chamber by the local Socialist deputy, José Andrés Mansó.¹⁷ Despite the right's protests, the decision was not reversed and Filiberto Villalobos returned to the Cortes, accompanied by two Popular Front deputies, the Republican Casto Prieto Carrasco and his Socialist colleague, Valeriano Casanueva. The despised figure of Don Fili thus took his seat in the Cortes for a third successive occasion, much to his opponents' chagrin.

The disqualification of the Salamancan deputies, though acclaimed by both the provincial left and independents like Villalobos, was seen by the right as a grotesque political injustice. Political opinion in Salamanca had now hardened to exclude all thoughts of compromise. The prophets of doom on the local right remained unsurprised when 1 May demonstrations paralysed the provincial capital and sparked off violent confrontations in the village of Cantalapiedra, just outside Peñaranda de Bracamonte. Moderate opinion on all sides was alarmed by the increasingly violent activities of local fascist groupings, their ranks swelled by erstwhile members of the JAP. In May, a young fascist injured an Assault Guard after pulling a gun during a brawl with left-wing youths in

17. Text of Mansó's speech given in full, GR, 4 April 1936. Although most of Mansó's allegations concerned violence and vote-rigging, the three deputies were disqualified for holding positions in the Catholic Agrarian Federation while they were running for parliament, the Cortes accepting that their consequent involvement in the negotiation of one and a half million pesetas' worth of government grain contracts acted as an effective bribe. See Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, 544-545 and Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, 183. Clairac, who had been aware of the difficulty of his position and had therefore resigned in favour of Luis Bermúdez de Castro in January, bitterly resented the decision, see GR, 9 April 1936 and Blinkhorn, Carlism and Crisis, 231.

the city of Salamanca and was himself shot in the leg as he tried to flee the scene. A more serious incident occurred in Ciudad Rodrigo when five fascist activists were arrested for distributing illegal pamphlets around the city. One of them resisted arrest and, in the resulting fracas, a passer-by was shot dead. In the unrest which followed the shooting, three more people were injured and rioting threatened to engulf the city. This was prevented but, during the ensuing police action, the directive committees of the Falange Española, Bloque Agrario and Acción Popular were arrested. The detainees — including two priests, one of whom, Joaquín Román Gallego, was a cathedral canon — were transferred to gaol in the provincial capital where, a few days later, a group of their visitors was involved in a violent confrontation outside the prison gates. The Ciudad Rodrigo detainees were presented by the Gaceta Regional as victims of Republican persecution. The paper was particularly incensed by the arrest of Acción Popular leaders, insisting that the party was one which acted within the law adding, ominously, that this profound respect for the rule of law was considered by many to be excessive.¹⁸

This disquieting remark was clearly a disguised reference to those who had rejected the legalism of the CEDA and were now plotting more or less openly against the regime. As the year progressed, even increasingly heavy censorship of the local newspapers could not disguise the fact that stories of violence and unrest had come to dominate national news reports. In this threatening and volatile situation, Gil Robles was well aware that a coup was being prepared, although his party was not directly involved in the negotiations. Despite his later insistence that he had no part in the destruction of the Republic, the CEDA leader was kept informed of each stage of the plot. Members of his party

18. GR, 5, 14, 15, 16, 19 May 1936.

played important liaison roles, facilitating contact between military and civilian plotters. Most important of all, Gil Robles himself authorised the transfer of 500,000 pesetas worth of CEDA electoral funds to General Mola's military insurgents.¹⁹

During June and July, secret orders were issued to local CEDA leaders, instructing them to co-operate with the coming coup. Knowledge of the planned uprising was spreading rapidly throughout the land. By mid-June, the leaders of the Salamancan right were fully aware of what was planned and rumours had begun to reach the local left. Agustín Iscar Alonso, the Republican eldest son of the CEDA leader, Miguel Iscar Peyra, was warned by his maternal grandmother of the impending coup and, particularly, the preparation of blacklists containing the names of local left-wing activists, Popular Front supporters and unaffiliated individuals who "professed heterodox ideas". Fears for her grandson's safety had overcome Aurea Moreno de Alonso's political loyalties. As mother-in-law to both Miguel Iscar and José María Lamamié de Clairac, she knew that Agustín's position as secretary to the provincial agrarian reform commission would place him in grave danger and so advised him to flee the country before the army rose against the Republic. The young Iscar Peyra shared this advice with his friends. Although they dismissed it at the time, several later had reason to be grateful for such early notice of the right's intentions.²⁰

19. See Gil Robles, No fue posible la paz, chapters XVIII, XIX; Tusell, Historia de la democracia cristiana, II, 266-273; Preston, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War, chapter 7.

20. The event is recalled by Manuel Sánchez, who believed that the information saved his life, Sánchez, Maurín, 79-81. The Iscar Peyras were an uncommonly divided family: Miguel's brother, Fernando, was a leading member of the local Conservative Republican party and had stood as a parliamentary candidate in 1933.

On Saturday, 18 July 1936, the only untoward sign of trouble in Salamanca was a notice on the back page of the Gaceta Regional explaining that no news had come through from the national capital. Rumours of the military rising in Morocco began to reach the city during the morning and, on 19 July, the local garrisons rebelled, declaring a state of war throughout the province. The civil governorship was henceforward to be under military control; strikes, meetings and demonstrations were prohibited and the rule of law suppressed. The crimes of rebellion, sedition, resisting agents of authority, illicit possession of arms and the distribution of clandestine propaganda would all be subject to summary trial.²¹ In the provincial capital, there was virtually no resistance to these draconian measures. In the early hours of Sunday morning, the troops had installed machine guns in the main squares of the town, including the Plaza Mayor. There were few people about that early in the morning but, when the cry "Long live the Republic" was heard in the Plaza Mayor, the soldiers opened fire, leaving several dead and injured. The crowd fled, leaving nothing but "a terrifying silence".²²

In the wake of events in the provincial capital, troops were despatched around the province to declare the state of war in every town and *pueblo*. In Ciudad Rodrigo, a crowd of workers and Popular Front supporters had gathered outside the *ayuntamiento* in response to an appeal by the mayor to impede the declaration of rebellion. However, the

21. Declaration of a state of war reprinted in full, El Adelanto, 28 July 1936.

22. Sánchez, Maurín, 83-84. According to the Gaceta Regional 21 July 1936, the shout of "Long live the Republic" was taken up by the crowd and the cry "Long live the social revolution" then rang out, to be answered with bullets. El Adelanto, 28 July 1936, recounts only the latter part of the narrative, while a recollection of the events in the Jesuit community memoir gives the unlikely phrase "Long live Russia", 'Memoria de la Residencia de Salamanca', 22, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ. The lack of resistance to the rising was partly because the mayor of the city, Prieto Carrasco, refused to arm the workers.

local Civil Guard had already gone over to the insurgents and, despite their brave intentions, the loyalists were dispersed without a shot being fired. The Civil Guard then took charge of the town hall and, when the soldiers arrived from Salamanca on the following day, they were greeted by a cheering crowd crying "Long live Spain" rather than by any show of Republican strength.²³

Only in Béjar was any real resistance offered to the military insurgents. As rumours of the rising of the Morocco garrison reached the town during the night of 18 July, the streets filled with republican loyalists. On 19 July, in reply to the Civil Guard's declaration of a state of emergency, the unions declared a general strike. Barricades were erected at the entrances to the town and watched over by men bearing any and every kind of makeshift weapon. On the evening of 20 July, sporadic fighting broke out in the streets. However, the news that the army was on its way to Béjar quelled the protestors. Realising that they would be hopelessly outnumbered, the *bejaranos* waited for the soldiers in silence. The troops took the town without a shot being fired.²⁴

The only shots to be heard in Béjar were those which rang out, unexplained, in the nights following the town's surrender. In the provincial capital, short bursts of machine gun fire punctuated the darkness during the nights which followed the army rising. The repression was concentrated in the working-class areas of the city — Pizarrales and the *barrios* by the river — where the Popular Front had found its most loyal and vociferous support. From the start, the business of arrest, imprisonment and summary execution was entrusted to the young men of the province. Falangist activists were released

23. Miróbriga, 2 August 1936.

24. El Adelanto, 31 July 1936.

from gaol on the afternoon of 19 July and promptly formed a 'squad' under the command of their local leader, Francisco Bravo Martínez. From then onwards, the Falangists carried out the dirty work of war, aided by a companion 'squad' of *japistas*, led by their old party secretary, Antonio Tavera Quirós.²⁵ Although the JAP had sufficient strength in Salamanca to retain a separate existence, in purpose and method it was now virtually indistinguishable from the Falange.

With the arrival of Major Doval's troops from Burgos and Valladolid the repression intensified. Parties of "Marxist leaders" were rounded up all over the province and brought to the city of Salamanca. Socialist councillors — among them the former deputy Primitivo Santa Cecilia — trade union leaders and left-wing activists were removed from their posts to face the summary justice of the rebellious generals. Later in July the bodies of the Popular Front deputies, José Andrés Mansó and Casto Prieto Carrasco, were found lying by the roadside thirty-seven kilometres outside the city. They had been shot by a party of Falangists from Valladolid and their bodies simply abandoned.²⁶

Two further public figures, the councillors Casimiro Paredes Mier and Manuel Alba, lost their lives at the hands of the insurgents and many other republicans were detained and imprisoned. Filiberto Villalobos was arrested on 10 August; he spent the next two years in Salamanca gaol, was heavily fined and had his property confiscated.²⁷ Others, less conspicuous than Don Fili, were detained, either by order of the authorities or

25. Luciano González Egidio, Agonizar en Salamanca Unamuno (julio-diciembre 1936) (Madrid, 1986), 41-44. Bravo, who was to become a figure of national importance in the Falange, had begun his political career with the Bloque Agrario in 1931. He and his men had been detained in the spring as a threat to the Republic.

26. González Egidio, Agonizar en Salamanca, 52, 57; Sánchez, Maurín, 93 has Mansó and Prieto Carrasco being done to death during a mock bullfight.

27. Rodríguez de las Heras, Filiberto Villalobos, 326-327; see also the letter from Villalobos's son,

after being denounced as subversives. In the summer of 1936, terror became an effective political weapon on the streets of Salamanca.²⁸

Popular support for the rising was, however, immense and immediate, particularly among the Catholics of the province. Even repression was accepted as the firm action of a strong leadership, intent on cauterising the rottenness of anti-Spain. Thus, Joaquín Román Gallego, the clerical editor of the Ciudad Rodrigo weekly, Miróbriga, referred to the suppression and detention of "marxist elements" without comment; it was simply a task which had to be done. Far better copy was found emphasising the patriotic fervour of those volunteering to join the Nationalists. As soon as the state of war had been declared in Ciudad Rodrigo, young men went to offer their services at the Civil Guard barracks. Others travelled to enlist in the provincial capital and, by the beginning of August, a squadron of the city's Falangists had joined Major Doval's military column stationed in Salamanca. Those not eligible for military service contributed to the war effort in other ways. A committee of Ciudad Rodrigo's great and good was established to collect and administer funds for the army in Salamanca. The committee's five members initiated the subscription; none gave less than 1,000 pesetas while Clemente de Velasco donated 8,000

Fernando, to José María Gil Robles, reprinted in Gil Robles, Marginalia política (Barcelona, 1975), 294-295. Sánchez, Maurín, 93 tells how Alba refused to go into hiding on the grounds that, as an honest man, he had nothing to fear.

28. This account of the repression in Salamanca is pieced together from La Gaceta Regional, El Adelanto, Miróbriga and Sánchez, Maurín, chapters VI, VII. The military commander, Major Doval, had been involved in the repression which followed the abortive Asturian revolution of October 1934.

pesetas and his nephew Jesús Sánchez-Arjona gave the enormous sum of 15,000 pesetas.²⁹ The less wealthy contributed in other ways. Local doctors and pharmacists organised field hospitals in the city and surrounding *pueblos*, to be used in the event of the army needing to evacuate wounded to the relative calm of Ciudad Rodrigo. Lectures on first aid were given to over a hundred young ladies who had volunteered to work as nurses. Four of these would-be nurses accompanied two of the city's doctors to the provincial capital, planning to go wherever needed to relieve the wounded at the front. However, although the military authorities kept the ambulance in which the party had travelled, they sent the volunteers back to Ciudad Rodrigo the very same afternoon.³⁰

The atmosphere in the provincial capital was equally enthusiastic. On 28 July, the military governor issued an acknowledgement of over 3,000 offers of help which had been received by the Nationalist authorities. These included 500 young men volunteering for military service, only 200 of whom were subject to the call-up; 600 infantry had left the city for the Avila front on 22 July. The principal agent of this mobilisation, the Falange, was organising in both the city and province. Local militias, usually affiliated to the Falange but also representing the JAP and Requeté, were established in the province's major towns. While the young men were volunteering to become soldiers, drivers and policemen, their sisters and sweethearts were flocking to the Falange's women's section. Here they sewed winter clothes for the soldiers at the front, cooked and served meals for their

29. Miróbriga, 9 August 1936. The peseta, although its real value fluctuated, had a nominal value in the early twentieth century of 25 pesetas to one pound sterling; by 1940, this had fallen to 39 pesetas to the pound. Joseph Harrison, An Economic History of Modern Spain (Manchester, 1978), xi.

30. The hospitals, like the ambulance, were used by the army although much of the nursing care was provided by nuns. Miróbriga, 2, 9, 16 August 1936; El Adelanto, 31 July 1936.

brother Falangists and cleaned the blueshirts' barracks. Like their Carlist counterparts, the Margaritas, some also volunteered for work in the hospitals, although most contributed to the Nationalist war effort with their expertise as needlewomen rather than as nurses.³¹

The fervour which the rising inspired in the province initially encompassed a significant range of political opinion. Although the presidency of the Diputación Provincial was given to the Alfonsist Diego Martín Veloz, one of the few *salmantinos* actively involved in the *coup*, the philosopher and erstwhile republican, Miguel de Unamuno, was among the first to announce his allegiance to the Nationalist cause. He denied that the rising was an ideological matter, portraying it rather as a fight to save western civilisation. The local Conservative Republican party echoed Unamuno's words. Tomás Marcos Escribano offered unconditional support to the insurgents, claiming that, for patriots, there was no other possible course of action. His co-religionary, Fernando Iscar Peyra, was soon to be heard addressing fund-raising meetings for the Nationalist army.³²

31. By October, women's sections had been established in Peñaranda, Ledesma and Ciudad Rodrigo, which also had a branch of the Margaritas. *El Adelanto*, 28, 29 July, 4, 18, 21, 26, 28 August, 6, 8, 25 September, 1 October 1936; *GR*, 1, 2 October 1936.

32. *El Adelanto*, 28, 30 July, 19 August 1936; Unamuno soon became distanced from the regime he had hoped would curb the excesses of the Republic. Horrified by the repression, he categorised the Civil War as "a collective mental illness, an epidemic of madness" and spoke out against it in a famous speech at the celebrations for the Day of the Race held in the university on 12 October. He was promptly removed as rector on Franco's orders and, in the final, troubled months before his death in December, he concerned himself with the plight of the city's sole Protestant pastor, executed as a freemason on the night of 8 December. Unamuno's brave stand had not made him popular in Salamanca; when he visited his usual club after the events in the university, he was greeted with cries of "red" and "traitor" and even his friend, Marcos Escribano, who greeted him courteously and expressed regret for the incident of the afternoon, warned him that he should not have come, *GR*, 28 October 1936; González Egido, *Agonizar en Salamanca*, 96-97, 109-110, 144-146, 223-224; Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (London, 1977), 501-504.

In this battle for Christian civilisation, religion had a key role to play. The Church was to become the most important source of legitimation for the rebellious generals, justifying the rising as a crusade against godlessness, anarchy and communism. Although such a close identification with the Nationalist cause was not to be fully elaborated until the Spanish hierarchy's joint pastoral letter of July 1937, there was no doubt that the Church would line up with the rebels against the Republic.³³ Nor, at local level, was there any hesitancy. The Jesuit priests of the city of Salamanca were among the first volunteers to present themselves to the military authorities. They were put to work immediately, attending to prisoners and offering the last sacraments to those condemned to death. Throughout the war the Jesuits acted as chaplains to both the Nationalist soldiers and their prisoners, preparing both groups for the Easter Duty and giving regular Spiritual Exercises. The Jesuit novitiate, which had been handed over to the war effort, was used as a barracks, although mass was still said there every Sunday.³⁴ Although the Jesuits were the first of Salamanca's churchmen to become actively involved with the rising — their enthusiasm in part a reaction to their experiences under the Republic — other priests and religious

33. 'Sobre la guerra en España', in Iribarren, Documentos colectivos del episcopado español, 219-242. Two prelates, Vidal i Barraquer of Tarragona and Múgica of Vitoria, refused to sign the letter although the only sizeable group of Catholics to remain loyal to the Republic were the Basques, see Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy, chapter 8.

34. 'Memoria de la Residencia', 23, Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ. The Jesuits' work with prisoners was not unique to Salamanca. Juan Lamamié de Clairac was superior of the León residence throughout the war where, according to the provincial memoir, 50,000 Republican prisoners who passed through the concentration camp established in the city were spiritually "cultivated" by the Jesuit fathers, 'Residencia de León', *ibid*.

communities also registered their support for the generals in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion. The community of Capuchin monks in the provincial capital was among the first to subscribe to the city's military support fund, sending a donation of 100 pesetas ten days after the rising began. Three days later the city's Dominican community adhered to the cause with a gift of 500 pesetas.³⁵

As the war entered its second month, these indirect adhesions to the rebel cause were replaced by explicit declarations of support. Little — if any — time was spent considering the moral complexities of war or the dangers and divisions inherent in civil conflict. The simple choice between good and evil which had been, for so long, the moral mainstay of the Spanish Church, was easily translated into bellicose terms. The first public exposition of this language of confrontation came on 15 August, feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, when that most belligerent of canons, Aniceto Castro Albarrán, gave a talk on Nationalist radio entitled "The lawfulness of the armed rising". Although emphasising that this was a personal rather than an authoritative statement, Castro Albarrán used Thomist arguments for the justification of a holy war, arguing that the Spanish Republic had been "a tyranny, an anarchy, a revolution". "How" asked the canon, "could it not be licit to remove that yoke of ignominy and death?" The country's patriots had recourse to arms only when all legal methods had been exhausted; "[o]ur war", concluded the canon, "is holy. Our battle cry will be that of the crusades: God wills it. Long live Catholic Spain".³⁶

35. 'Donativos para la suscripción a favor de la Fuerza Pública', El Adelanto, 29 July, 2 August 1936; in contrast, the only female religious community to make a donation in the first weeks of the war, the Domestic Service sisters, sent a gift of scapulars to the Red Cross, El Adelanto, 18 August 1936.

36. Full text of Castro Albarrán, 'La licitud del movimiento armada', El Adelanto, 16 August 1936.

The idiom of holy war was becoming increasingly prevalent in Nationalist Spain. The construction of Franco's crusade had begun. The same night as Castro Albarrán was giving his theological consideration of the rising, Radio Salamanca also broadcast an address by José María Lamamié de Clairac which referred to "this sacrosanct crusade", dedicated to the extermination of "that horde of evil-doers at the service of Russia". In September, the ranks of the radio preachers expanded to include members of city's monastic communities. Two Augustinian monks from the Calatrava school in the city and a discalced Carmelite father broadcast to the nation on the redemptive mission of the insurgents, "providential men" come to save "Mother Spain" from "degenerate traitors".³⁷ Whether used in the context of armed conflict or electoral confrontation the moral choice facing Salamancan Catholics was the same, either revolution or redemption, Spain or anti-Spain.

In this struggle for the salvation of the soul of Spain, public demonstrations of religious fervour had a key role to play. Mass affirmations of Salamanca's Catholic identity provided proof of the survival of the true Spain, despite the assaults and injuries suffered under the anti-Spain of the Republic. Such displays also indicated the strength of popular support for the rebel cause and showed the fidelity of Castile, loyal to traditional values when the rest of Spain was given over to barbarism and anarchy. A dramatic instance of this came on 8 August 1936, after news had reached the province of the bombing of Zaragoza cathedral by Republican aircraft. Not only was the cathedral consecrated ground, it was also home to the chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar, patroness of Spain, who had supposedly appeared in a vision to lead the Christian troops of Spain to

37. Ironically, Franco's soldiers were helped in their task by Moorish legionaries.

victory over the Moors during the Reconquest of the Islamic south. The Virgin of the Pillar was thus a peculiarly appropriate symbol for the troops of this latter-day reconquest, dedicated to expurgating unhealthy foreign influences from the soil of Spain.³⁸ Much was made of the fact that, although the shrine received a direct hit during the raid, all three bombs failed to detonate; they had fallen at the feet of the Virgin "as an offering of lighted candles". The assault on one of Spain's most sacred symbols, however, demanded expiation and acts of reparation for the sacrilege of the "anti-Spaniards" were held in the cathedrals of Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. Huge crowds attended both services, as did representatives of the military authorities and, in Ciudad Rodrigo, the Falange. Indeed, one commentator recorded that the smaller city's cathedral was filled "as on few other occasions".³⁹

The assault on the basilica of Our Lady of the Pillar seemed to offer concrete proof of the Republicans' determination to destroy religion in all its guises. News of the horrific massacres of religious personnel trapped in the Republican zone was also coming through to Salamanca, providing truly shocking evidence of the reds' satanic intentions. Such infernal hatred of religion was represented as the common aim and over-riding intention of the Republican forces, just as it had once been presented as the banner of the Popular Front.⁴⁰ As if in proof, later that month Republican militiamen ritually "executed" the

38. El Adelanto, 16, 20 August, 4, 5, 13 September 1936.

39. Miróbriga, 9 August 1936; El Adelanto, 4, 9 August 1936; BEOS (1936), 323-324. The cult of the Virgin of the Pillar in Francoist Spain is considered in Giuliana di Febo, La santa de la raza. Un culto barroco en la España franquista (Barcelona, 1988), 35-43.

40. See Vincent, 'The Spanish Church and the Popular Front' in Alexander & Graham (eds.), The French and Spanish Popular Fronts, 80-81.

Sacred Heart of Jesus at the Cerro de los Angeles outside Madrid.

Devotion to the Sacred Heart had long symbolised adherence to the cause of Catholic Spain. Patriotic, triumphalist and vehemently anti-secular, the cult provided dramatic liturgical expression for the Nationalist war effort. The Cerro itself — scene of Spain's dedication to the Sacred Heart by Alfonso XIII in 1919 — was a potent symbol of integrist Catholicism, epitomised by the words "I will reign in Spain" carved into the base of the monument. News of the destruction of the monument — which was eventually dynamited — and the "execution of Christ" caused outrage in Salamanca. Both of the province's bishops issued their first pastoral communications of the war in response to the assault. To Plá y Deniel, the sacrilege against the Sacred Heart was the culmination of the "Satanic hatred" which had caused months of burning churches and the countless clerical murders committed by the "communist hordes" in the Republican zone. An "impotent rage" was trying to destroy the seed of Christian faith in Spain.⁴¹

Bishop López Arana of Ciudad Rodrigo used the occasion to survey the wider moral questions of the war. Armed conflict had, he said, become inevitable as "systematic atheist and communist propaganda was poisoning Spanish intellects". The horrors of war were punishment for the injuries which had been offered to "all that was most holy and most sacred, all that made up the irreplaceable basis of human society." In the providential scheme of history, wars were the result of venal passions which prevailed over divine will, disturbing an equilibrium which could be restored only by armed repression. It was the duty of Christians to bring good from bad, transforming the passion of Spain into that of Christ. Only suffering would lead to the redemption of Spain just as "in spite of its

41. BEOS (1936), 261-263.

horrors, the passion of our divine Saviour was happy". The Catholics of Ciudad Rodrigo were to offer up the sufferings of the fatherland, confess the sins of all Spaniards, offer prayers for those fallen "in the cause of goodness" and make reparation for the injuries given unto God.⁴²

This message was delivered on 27 August in Ciudad Rodrigo's cathedral, where a great congregation had gathered to atone for the sacrilege of the Cerro. As with the act of reparation for the bombing of Zaragoza, the eucharistic function which it preceded was attended, not only by record numbers of the faithful, but also by the civil and military authorities. The Falange came in uniform, carrying their flags and banners down the cathedral aisle. The unity of the Nationalist war effort was apparent for all to see; church and army were footsoldiers in a common cause. The passion of the fatherland would end with the victory of the righteous, when the world would witness the "triumphant dawn of a new and believing Spain".⁴³

The same themes of passion and redemption had been developed by Castro Albarrán when he preached to a huge congregation — including the civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities — at the act of reparation held in Salamanca cathedral. Lamenting the "new crucifixion" of Christ by "deformed and monstrous sons of Spain", the canon depicted the Heart of Jesus as Spain's "standard of war". The Sacred Heart — the emblem of those who "fought for God, for the Church and for the Fatherland" — had become the focus of hatred for the "anti-Fatherland". Conjuring up a vision of the ill-fated Republic, Castro Albarrán described how, on 11 May 1931, clouds of smoke and ashes

42. 'Alocución pastoral con motivo de la guerra', full text given, Miróbriga, 6, 13 September 1936.

43. Miróbriga, 30 August 1936.

shrouded the Cerro de los Angeles, brought by the wind from every corner of Spain where churches, convents, images and even consecrated hosts were burning. Around the monument, "in a circle like those of Dante's inferno, packs of beasts, herds of buffalo and jackals howled blasphemies against God and His Christ." Though on that day, Christ was alone and undefended, He resolved to remain at the Cerro, geographical centre of Spain, so that He might "fuse the two hearts", making recompense for Spain's loss of the lifeblood of "religion and history", by transferring blood from His own heart to the heart of Spain. But even this had proved insufficient and the Heart of Jesus Christ had again made the supreme sacrifice, offering a new crucifixion for the new redemption of Spain. With this sacrifice, Spain would rise again from the ashes of civil war. On the ruins and bones of the martyred Fatherland, "a gigantic pyramid of the new Spain" would be built with the cross at its apex. Above the cross the Spanish flag would fly with, in its centre, "the burning image of your Sacred Heart".⁴⁴

Castro Albarrán's extraordinary allocution reasserted and reinterpreted the language of martyrdom and sacrifice in a manner appropriate to a holy war. Salvation could not be attained without sacrifice, nor without suffering. Spain had to be purged of the corruption afflicting its soul, a task allocated to the soldiers of the crusade.

The avenging, purifying Falange, like the Angel of Paradise, sacrifices on the altar of Spain, not only the enemies of the Fatherland but also their accomplices.⁴⁵

Retribution would lead to the redemption of Spain and its salvation would be brought about by bloodshed. As agents of this salvific process, both the Falange and the army

44. Full text given, El Adelanto, 21 August 1936.

45. 'Han fusilado a Cristo', Miróbriga, 23 August 1936.

received the blessing of the Church. On 4 August 1936, a solemn mass said in the Falangist barracks by the Jesuit superior, Father Arroyo, ended with the fascist anthem "Cara al sol" and the raised arm salute. Some days later, the flag of the Acción Popular militias was due to be blessed by the ecclesiastical authorities. The Sacred Heart had become the symbol of Spain's salvation; the Ciudad Rodrigo Falangists stationed at the front requested a grandiose act of reparation in their native city, which would culminate with the return of the Sacred Heart to the front column of the Town Hall, where it used to hang before it was removed by "vile and oriental sectarianism".⁴⁶

The presence of local boys at the front served as a continual reminder that sacrifice was to be the guiding principle of the new Spain. As the war progressed, there was no shortage of martyrs. In Ciudad Rodrigo, the anti-clerical holocaust perpetrated in the Republican zone was exemplified by the death of a diocesan priest, the seminary professor Bienvenido García Comerón, who had been trapped in Santander by the outbreak of war and killed there. This unfortunate man was the first of seven clergy from the provincial dioceses to be killed in the war.⁴⁷ By October, notices of the deaths of those killed "for God and the Fatherland" were appearing regularly in the local press. News of the death of Cándido Casanueva's son, Manuel, by firing squad in Madrid reached the province by the end of October. Four months later, José María Lamamié de Clairac, who at the beginning of the war had called upon young men to "sacrifice your lives on the altar of ... traditional

46. El Adelanto, 4, 18 August 1936; Miróbriga, 6 September 1936.

47. Miróbriga, 11 October 1936. 1 Salamancan priest was killed as well as 6 from Ciudad Rodrigo, Antonio Montero Moreno, Historia de la persecución religiosa en España 1936-1939 (Madrid, 1961), 763-764. See also Vicente Cárcel Ortí, La persecución religiosa en España durante la Segunda República (1931-1939) (Madrid, 1990), 236-245.

Spain", also lost a child when his eldest son, José María, Jesuit chaplain to the Requeté militia on the Guadarrama front, was blown up by a grenade.⁴⁸

On hearing the news of his son's death, Clairac wrote to his eldest daughter, María del Pilar, then a novice with the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart in the Basque village of Loyola. Neither knew the fate of Pilar's mother and six remaining siblings who had been trapped in Madrid when war broke out. Yet, both accepted José María's death with resignation and even pride. His father asked that God might accept "my sacrifice in expiation of my sins and that the fruit of his pure blood serves in holocaust for this poor Spain". These sentiments were echoed by his daughter when she replied to her father, praising him for knowing how "to offer to the Lord, with complete generosity, such a great sacrifice". She wrote of his happiness in giving to God "a pure, pure victim, who was not for this world". God had foreseen such an end: all of her brother's training and experience of the priesthood had been leading to "that happy day" of his death. Signing herself "the sister of our martyr", Pilar finished her letter with a valediction to her father:

Farewell papa; I love you very much, I love you because you are my father, because you are the father of a priest, of a saint, of an angel and, above all, of a martyr.

Unbeknownst to her father, she had written to her brother before he went to the front saying that, were it not for her parents' feelings, she would tell him to ask God for a family martyrdom which would then form one of the "living stones of the monument and throne which the Heart of Jesus is preparing in our Spain".⁴⁹

48. El Adelanto, 16 August 1936; Camarero-Núñez, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat", 16.

49. Camarero-Núñez, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat", 16-19, 193-195. The remaining members of the Clairac family spent the war in hiding in Madrid and, though near starvation when the city fell, they all survived.

The blood of the martyrs would purify Spain, cleansing her of the sins of the "anti-fatherland" and preparing her for the reign of the Sacred Heart, a feature of Catholic devotion which had long been given a curiously literal interpretation in Spain. Spain had, however, to be worthy of such divine favour and, to this end, a fervent rechristianisation campaign was launched in the Nationalist zone. Missions, often conducted by Jesuit priests began to be held in *pueblos* throughout the province, attracting record numbers of people to the altar rails.⁵⁰ Similarly, Bishop López Arana instructed his clergy not to rest until every child in the diocese was baptised, every sexual union legitimised, and no-one failed to make the Easter duty or went without religious instruction.⁵¹ By the beginning of September 1936, crucifixes were being replaced in schoolrooms throughout the province. In Ciudad Rodrigo, two thousand children, all with the red-and-gold flag pinned to their breasts, heard the bishop say mass in the cathedral. Teachers brought up the crucifixes to be blessed and the sanctified crosses were then paraded "in triumph" around the city. Finally, after the children returned to the cathedral to say the creed, together with prayers for the salvation of Spain, they rose to sing "Cara al sol", give the Falangist salute and cry "Long live Christ the King!" before kissing the feet of the crucifix and filing out into the street.⁵²

Such explicit combinations of religion and politics were becoming commonplace. Later that month, various military uniforms were to be seen in the procession which completed the festivities in honour of Our Lady of the Chestnut Grove in Béjar while the

50. News of missions given BEOS (1936); (1937) *passim*.

51. 'Exhortación pastoral', Miróbriga, 20 September 1936.

52. El Adelanto, 4 September 1936; Miróbriga, 6 September 1936.

image itself was escorted through the streets by a squadron of Falangists. On another September feastday, the figure of Holy Christ of the Miracles was processed through the streets of the provincial capital by members of the assault guard and the urban police as well as by militiamen belonging to the Falange, Requeté, Acción Popular and Renovación Española. There were an estimated 3,000 people in the procession and many of the overlooking balconies were hung with red and gold flags and Nationalist banners.⁵³

It was this context of religious and Nationalist fervour that provided the background to Plá y Deniel's famous pastoral letter "The Two Cities". The bishop of Salamanca made his adherence to the insurgents' cause perfectly plain when he vacated the episcopal palace on 6 October 1936 in favour of General Franco. His pastoral had been issued on 30 September, and was the first lengthy episcopal consideration of the claim to be waging a just war. It had clearly taken some time to prepare, being an erudite document with the customary Biblical and scholarly references. Reiterating St Augustine's distinction between the terrestrial city, where selfishness prevails, and the celestial city, where love of God replaces all sense of self, Plá y Deniel depicted Spain divided in just such cities. In one,

communism and anarchism are the very ideology leading to the disdain, the hatred for God Our Lord; and against them heroism and martyrdom have flourished ... which offer life itself in sacrifice and holocaust out of exalted love for Spain and God.

A universal struggle was being waged on the battlefields of Spain by the "children of Cain" who "take pleasure in murder, in looting, in destruction and in fire". But, this construction of the "earthly city of those without God" had been met by a "heavenly city of God's children", now enriched by a "long and glorious martyrology".

53. El Adelanto, 15 September 1936.

Reviewing the recent history of the Republic in the light of the church's teaching on resistance to tyranny, Plá concluded that Thomas Aquinas's conditions for a just war had been met. A rising against the Republic had been justified: Christians were the "children of martyrs, but not a race of slaves". Although, in the eyes of the world, the conflict might have the external appearance of a civil war, in reality it was a crusade. The rebellion had been not to perturb but to re-establish civil order. This was what had led the bishop to speak out. The caution imposed by the apolitical nature of the Church had meant that its leaders had remained silent

even when they were no longer ignorant of the true nature of the movement and the rightfulness of intentions and loftiness of aims among its promoters.

Now, however, the Church had to speak out and proclaim itself to be in favour of order, hierarchical government, Christian civilisation, religion, fatherland and family, and against anarchism, communism and atheism. The bishop had baptised the civil war with the name of crusade.⁵⁴

On the same day that Plá y Deniel issued his most famous pastoral letter, General Francisco Franco was proclaimed head of state. The bishop immediately sent a telegram of congratulation anticipating the "glorious resurrection of Christian Spain".⁵⁵ This true Spain, to which Salamanca had always been loyal, had chosen martyrdom before apostacy. It had now found a champion and, just as the Catholic right had previously extolled the leadership and omnipotent virtues of Gil Robles, so the Nationalists now exalted their new *caudillo*. The *generalísimo* was seen by the local church as a new paladin, the champion

54. 'Las Dos Ciudades', *BEQS* (1936), 262-313; the pastoral is widely discussed in the secondary literature, see e.g. José M Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, (Indiana, 1987), chapter 11.

55. *GR*, 1, 4 October 1936.

of their cause who would provide official succour for the re-established church. As protestants, communists and freemasons were declared to be "unSpanish" and driven into clandestinity, exile or gaol, the Church would no longer have to compete with alternative purveyors of the truth. Spain was reaffirmed as Catholic and, henceforth, no good patriot would be found outside the bosom of the Church. In the wave of liturgical triumphalism that was sweeping through the Nationalist zone, the Catholics of Salamanca implored the Virgin Mary to look upon Franco with especial predilection. Upon his shoulders had fallen "the enormous [and] glorious responsibility of liberating our Fatherland" and, with Mary's help, Jesus would give him "light and life, inspiration to rule the Fatherland and take it towards peace and splendour".⁵⁶

56. 'Acto de consecración a la Virgen Santísima', BEQS (1937), 165-166.

Conclusion

From 1931 to 1936, Church and Republic in Spain were engaged in what was effectively a dialogue of the deaf. For many protagonists, Catholic Spain and Republican Spain were mutually exclusive: believers were monarchists and reactionaries while republicans were agnostics, atheists or anti-clericals. Despite the determined efforts of some key individuals, as well as some small parties, neither side was prepared to accommodate the other. Once the main lines of party division were drawn up — Socialists in the PSOE and Catholics in the CEDA — the two opposing blocks careered towards seemingly inevitable confrontation. The armed camps of the civil war were simply the PSOE and the CEDA bearing guns.

That the Second Republic was marked by unprecedented political polarisation can hardly be denied. Indeed, there is a widely held belief that the Republic was doomed from the outset. Viewed from the perspective of high politics, such an interpretation seems highly persuasive. The men who led the CEDA had cut their political teeth under Primo de Rivera; loyal supporters of the monarchy, they were implacable opponents of any change in regime. Ranged against them were men and women equally convinced that social justice and progress could come only through a republic. To the leaders of each side, the other represented everything they opposed.

However, outside the political world of Madrid, the divisions were not so clear-cut. Even in Salamanca, part of the Castilian heartland of traditional Spain, the Republic received a clear popular mandate. Although the province would rise for Franco in 1936, five years earlier there was little to suggest that peaceful co-operation between left and right would prove impossible. Indeed, the most successful candidates in the general elections of July 1931 were conservative republican figures such as Unamuno, Villalobos and Marcos Escribano. It is one of the arguments of this study that the descent into war resulted from the closing down of the moderate political options these men represented.

In Salamanca, this erosion of the political centre was, to a large extent, the result of

the impact of the Second Republic on people's daily lives. In contrast to the south of Spain — where the Church had long since lost its influence over much of the population — Catholicism still provided the defining idiom through which most *salmantinos* lived their lives. Church ceremonies marked rites of passage in an individual's life as well as time throughout the year. The very landscape of the province reflected the way in which local and communal identities were bound up with the expression of religious faith.

It is one of the central tragedies of the Republic that its leaders in Madrid were unable to understand how their legislation affected the devotional lives of ordinary Catholics. In their clumsy attempt to undo the influence of the institutional Church, they rode roughshod over the beliefs of many people who would otherwise have had little reason to suppose ill of the Republic. Whilst the separation of church and state held little relevance for many laypeople, the attempt to confine religion to the private sphere had a dramatic impact on all believers. Shorn of crucifixes, processions and elaborate *pasos* to the Virgin, the ceremonial life of Catholic Spain was abruptly curtailed. It is small wonder that such intrusive legislation was bitterly resented.

Unwittingly, therefore, the Republic greatly eased the task of its opponents. The assault on religion — together with the fiasco of agrarian reform — allowed erstwhile monarchists like Gil Robles and Lamamié de Clairac to pose effectively as the true defenders of the people. The CEDA's ability to mobilise support depended not only upon its effective use of religious rhetoric, but also its skillful use of the associational network of Catholic agrarian federations, trade unions and professional organisations. The orators of the Catholic right drew extensively upon the clear division between truth and error which the Spanish Church had long since made its own. Behind the much-vaunted accidentalist tactic of accepting and respecting the legally constituted powers lay a determination to dismantle the Republic and all it stood for. As the regime progressed, the CEDA's flirtation with fashionable corporatism descended into outright contempt for democracy. By February 1936 nothing short of absolute victory would suffice.

The story of Salamanca in the 1930s contains a double tragedy. The tragedy of the Second Republic was that it abetted its own destruction; the tragedy of the Church was that it became so closely allied with its self-styled defenders that its own sphere of action was severely compromised. The Republican government implemented ill-conceived anti-clerical legislation which, though intended to affect the Church hierarchy rather than ordinary believers, nevertheless allowed the Bloque Agrario to assume the dominant position in Salamancan politics and ensured the CEDA became undisputed leader of the right at national level. The Church, though grateful for the championship offered first by Gil Robles and then by Franco, entered into a political alliance which prevented it carrying out the pastoral task it had itself identified.

Ironically, both the Church and its republican adversaries recognised that the needy and the sick were poorly catered for in Spain. A chronic underprovision of schools, hospitals and asylums combined with a total lack of any social security system to ensure that few palliatives and even fewer remedies were available for the poor. Though both Republic and Church were anxious to make good this shortfall, they were diametrically opposed over how to do so. To the Church, the greatest gift it could offer was that of salvation; to the Republic, superstition merely obscured the secular task of ensuring all citizens were fed, clothed and schooled. Though the Church strove hardest to alleviate the lot of the impoverished, the offer of salvation that went with its efforts made virtually no impression on the souls of those it cared for. The urban working classes, whether resident in Béjar, Barcelona or Bilbao, were always unlikely to be won over to a Church which had so readily thrown in its lot with the landed bourgeoisie.

With the publication of Plá y Deniel's 'Las dos ciudades', the Church's uncritical support for the Francoist cause was thrown into stark relief. The *Caudillo* epitomised the forces of good, the Republic those of evil. Throughout Nationalist Spain, churchmen and laypeople threw themselves into the war effort, celebrating the titanic struggle of those who were "with Christ". After five years of a laicising, pluralist Republic, the primacy and supremacy of Catholic values had at last been recognised. However, the tide of liturgical

triumphalism which celebrated the victory of the institutional Church effectively disguised many of its shortcomings. In this new Spain, the needs of the poor, the ignorant and, most importantly, those who were fighting for the Republic received scant attention. The victorious Francoist regime demanded a compliant Church, prepared to give thanks to God for the *Caudillo* and endlessly celebrate his providential triumph against the forces of the anti-Christ, the representatives of anti-Spain. In allying so closely with the victors, the Church effectively abandoned its pastoral task among the vanquished.

Bibliography

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Archives consulted

Archivo diocesano de Salamanca

Archivo diocesano de Ciudad Rodrigo

Archivo, Casa de los Jesuitas, Salamanca

2. Papal and Episcopal Documents

Pius IX: Syllabus Errorum (1864)

Leo XIII: Aeterni Patris (1879)

Cum Multa (1882)

Immortale Dei (1885)

Libertas (1888)

Sapientiae Christianae (1890)

Rerum Novarum (1891)

Au milieu des sollicitudes (1893)

Pius XI: Divini Illius Magistri (1929)

The Soviet Campaign against God (1929)

Casti Connubii (1930)

Quadragesimo Anno (1931)

Non abbiamo bisogno (1931)

Miserentissimus (1928)

Caritate Christi Compulsi (1932)

Divini Redemptoris (1937)

Batlloori, M. & Arbeloa, V.M. (eds.), Arxiu Vidal i Barraquer: Església i Estat durant la Segona República Espanyola 1931-1936 (3 vols.; Montserrat, 1971-1977)

Casañas Guasch, L. & Sobrino Vázquez, P., El Cardenal Gomá: Pastor y Maestro (2 vols.; Toledo, 1983)

Gomá y Tomás, Isidro, Por Dios y por España (Barcelona, 1940)

Iribarren, Jesús, Documentos colectivos del episcopado español 1870-1974 (Madrid, 1974)

3. Ecclesiastical Bulletins

Boletín de la Confederación de Mujeres Católicas de España (Madrid, 1936)

Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Ciudad Rodrigo (Ciudad Rodrigo, 1931-1936)

Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1930-1937)

Boletín de la Juventud Católica de San Juan de Sahagún (Salamanca, 1931-1933)

Iluminare (Boletín Oficial de la Unión Misional del Clero Español) (Madrid, 1931-1933)

Noticias de la Provincia de León SJ (León, 1930-1936)

4. Official State Publications

Anuario Estadístico de España (Madrid, 1929, 1930, 1931)

Boletín del Ministerio del Trabajo y Previsión Social (Madrid, 1932-1933)

Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1932)

Constitución de la República Española (Madrid, 1931)

Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes de la República Española (Madrid, 1931-1933)

Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Mapa de Cultivos y Aprovechamientos de la Provincia de Salamanca (Madrid, 1984)

5. Newspapers and Periodicals

El Adelanto (Salamanca, 1930-1936)

Adoración Nocturna Española (Sección de Salamanca) (Salamanca, 1936-1937)

Atenas (Revista de información y orientación pedagógica) (Madrid, 1930-1933)

La Ciencia Tomista (Salamanca, 1931-1937)

Crónica de las Marías (Salamanca, 1930-1936)

Cruz y Raya (Madrid, 1933-1936)

El Debate (Madrid, 1923, 1931-1936)

Decíamos Ayer (Revista Escolar. Colegio de Calatrava, Salamanca) (Salamanca, 1929-1930)

Defensa (Organo de la Asociación de Familias Emparentadas con Religiosos de Salamanca) (Salamanca, 1931-1932)

Ecos de mi Colegio (Hijas de Jesús, Salamanca) (Salamanca, 1931-1937)

La Estrella del Mar (Organo de la Confederación Mariana Española) (Madrid, 1930-1934)

La Gaceta Regional (Salamanca, 1930-1936)

Magisterium (Organo de la Asociación de Maestros Católicos) (Salamanca, 1935- 1937)

Miróbriga (Ciudad Rodrigo, 1936)

Piedad y Patriotismo (Congregación de María Inmaculada y San Estanislao de Kostka. Salamanca) (Salamanca, 1938-1939)

Razón y Fe (Madrid, 1931-1937)

Revista Social y Agraria (Madrid, 1930-1934)

6. Books, Articles and Pamphlets

Anuario de educación y enseñanza católica, 1935-1936 (Madrid, 1936)

Arrabal, Juan, José María Gil Robles: su vida, su actuación, sus ideas (Madrid, 1933)

Aznar, Severino, La revolución española y las vocaciones eclesiales (Madrid, 1949)

Ayala, Angel, Formación de selectos (Madrid, 1940)

Bodas de Plata de la Provincia de León SJ 1918-1943 (Private publication for the Society of Jesus, no place, no date but, León, 1943?)

Buckley, Henry, Life and Death of the Spanish Republic (London, 1940)

Cahill, E.S.J., Freemasonry and the Anti-Christian Movement (Dublin, 1932)

Carrión, Pascual, Los latifundios en España (Madrid, 1932)

Castro Albarrán, Aniceto, El derecho a la rebeldía (Madrid, 1934)

Civardi, Luis, Manual de Acción Católica (2 vols.; Barcelona, 1934)

Cortés Cavanillas, J., Gil Robles ¿Monárquico? (Madrid, 1935)

Fraile Alvarez, Ruperto, Recuerdos de una vida (Béjar, 1984)

García Escudero, José María (ed.), Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera (Madrid, 1986)

García Escudero, José María (ed.), El pensamiento de Angel Herrera. Antología política y social (Madrid, 1987)

Gil Robles, José María, No fue posible la paz (Barcelona, 1968)

Gil Robles, José María, Discursos parlamentarios (Madrid, 1971)

Gil Robles, José María, Marginalia política (Barcelona, 1975)

Gil Robles, José María, La fe a través de mi vida (Madrid, 1975)

Giménez Caballero, Ernesto, Genio de España (Madrid, 1932)

Goicoechea, Antonio, Monarquía y República (Madrid, 1930)

Hijas de Jesús, Salamanca, Un camino entre dos fechas. Hijas de Jesús, 1871- 1971 (Salamanca, 1976)

Herrera Oria, Angel, Obras selectas (Madrid, 1963)

Herrera Oria, Enrique, Historia de la educación española (Madrid, 1941)

Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas, Sociología Religiosa y Pastoral de Conjunto de la Diócesis de Salamanca (Barcelona, 1968)

Lizarza Iribarren, Antonio, Memorias de la conspiración 1931-1936. Como se preparó en Navarra la Cruzada, 1931-1936 (Pamplona, 1953)

Maeztu, Ramiro de, Defensa de la Hispanidad (Madrid, 1934)

Manterola, José de, La disolución en España de la Compañía de Jesús, ante sus consecuencias, el sentido común y el Derecho (Barcelona, 1934)

Maura, Miguel, Así cayó Alfonso XIII (Mexico, 1962)

Monge y Bernal, José, Acción Popular (Estudios de biología política) (Madrid, 1936)

Mora, Constanca de la, In Place of Splendour (London, 1940)

Obispado de Salamanca, Estadística Diocesana (Salamanca, 1967)

Ossorio y Gallardo, Angel, Una posición conservadora ante la República (Madrid, 1931)

Ossorio y Gallardo, Angel, Mis memorias (Buenos Aires, 1946)

Reglamento de la Congregación Mariana de Esclavas de María Inmaculada establecida exclusivamente en las casas del Instituto de las Esclavas del Sacratísimo Corazón de Jesús (Madrid, 1927)

Reglamento Especial de las Hijas de María, asociación canónicamente establecida en el Colegio de las Hijas de Jesús (Salamanca, 1938)

Requejo San Román, Jesús, El Cardenal Segura (Toledo, 1932)

Resines, Luis (ed.), Catecismos de Astete y Ripalda (Madrid, 1987)

Ruíz Amado, Ramón, El Patriotismo (2nd., ed.; Barcelona, 1922)

Sainz Rodríguez, Pedro, Testimonio y Recuerdos (Barcelona, 1978)

Sánchez, Manuel, Maurín, gran enigma de la guerra y otros recuerdos (Madrid, 1976)

Starkie, Walter, Spanish Raggle Taggle (London, 1934)

Thomas, Hugh (ed.), José Antonio Primo de Rivera: Selected Writings (London, 1972)

Thurston, H., Beauraing and Other Apparitions (London, 1934)

Xavier, Adro, Altar de España (Valladolid, no date)

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books and Articles

Aguilar Olivencia, Mariano, El ejército español durante la Segunda República (Madrid, 1986)

Aldea Vaquero, Quintín, Martín Martínez, Tomás, & Vives Gatell, José (eds.), Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España (4 vols.; Madrid, 1972-1975)

Alexander, Martin & Graham, Helen (eds.), The French and Spanish Popular Fronts: Comparative Perspectives (Cambridge, 1989)

Andrés-Gallego, José, Aproximación a la historia social de la iglesia contemporánea (Madrid, 1978)

Andrés-Gallego, José, Pensamiento y acción social de la Iglesia en España (Madrid, 1984)

Aparicio Olmos, Emilio María, Así nacieron las Hermanitas... Aproximación a la época y al espíritu de la fundación del Instituto de las Hermanitas de los Ancianos Desamparados (Valencia, 1984)

Arbeloa, V.M., La Semana Trágica de la Iglesia en España (octubre 1931) (Barcelona, 1976)

Ariès, Phillipe, The Hour of Our Death (Harmondsworth, 1981)

Arrarás, Joaquín, Historia de la Segunda República Española (4 vols.; Madrid, 1956-1968)

Aubert, Roger, The Church in a Secularised Society (New York, 1978)

- Bainvel, Jean, Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1924)
- Barthes, Roland, Mythologies (London, 1972)
- Bastarrica, José Luis, 1936-9. Tres años de historia salesiano (Madrid, 1970)
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, The Origins of the Second Republic in Spain (Oxford, 1978)
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, Fascism from Above: The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain 1923-1930 (Oxford, 1983)
- Benavides Gómez, Domingo, El fracaso social del catolicismo español (Barcelona, 1973)
- Benavides Gómez, Domingo, Democracia y cristianismo en la España de la Restauración 1875-1931 (Madrid, 1978)
- Blanco, Juan Francisco, Usos y costumbres de nacimiento, matrimonio y muerte en Salamnaca (Salamanca, 1986)
- Blinkhorn, Martin, Carlism and Crisis in Spain 1931-1939 (Cambridge, 1975)
- Blinkhorn, Martin, 'The Iberian States' in Detlev Mülberger (ed.), The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements (London, 1987)
- Blinkhorn, Martin (ed.), Spain in Conflict 1931-1939 (London, 1986)
- Bossy, John, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985)
- Brenan, Gerald, The Spanish Labyrinth (Cambridge, 1960)
- Cabrera, Mercedes, La patronal ante la II República: Organizaciones y estrategia 1931-1936 (Madrid, 1983)
- Callahan, William, Church, Politics and Society in Spain 1750-1874 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984)
- Camarero Nuñez, María Teresa, Mi nombre nuevo "Magnificat". María del Pilar Lamamié y Alonso ACJ 1915-1954 (Madrid, 1960)
- Capetti, Giselda, El camino del instituto a lo largo de un siglo. Hijas de María Auxiliadora (Rome, 1972)
- Cárcel Ortí, Vicente, La persecución religiosa en España durante la Segunda República (1936-1939) (Madrid, 1990)
- Carr, Raymond, Spain 1808-1975 (2nd. ed.; Oxford, 1982)
- Carr, Raymond (ed.), The Republic and the Civil War in Spain (London, 1971)
- Castillo, Juan José, El sindicalismo amarillo en España. Aportación al estudio del catolicismo social (1912-1923) (Madrid, 1977)
- Castillo, Juan José, Propietarios muy pobres. Sobre la subordinación política del pequeño campesino (La Confederación Nacional Católico Agraria, 1917- 1942) (Madrid, 1979)

- The Catholic Encyclopedia (15 vols.; New York, 1913-1922)
- Christian, William A. Jr., Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, 1981)
- Christian, William A. Jr., Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Princeton, 1981)
- Christian, William A. Jr., 'Religious Apparitions and the Cold War in Southern Europe' in Eric Wolf (ed.), Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities (Berlin, 1984)
- Christian, William A. Jr., Person and God in a Spanish Valley (2nd. ed.; Princeton, 1989)
- Clark, Martin, Modern Italy 1871-1982 (London, 1984)
- Cleary, M.C., 'Priest, Squire and Peasant: The Development of Agricultural Syndicates in South-West France 1900-1914', European History Quarterly, xvii (1987)
- Conway, Martin, 'Building the Christian City: Catholics and Politics in Inter- War Francophone Belgium', Past and Present, cxxviii (1990)
- Cruz, Rafael, El Partido Comunista de España en la II República (Madrid, 1987)
- Cuenca Toribio, José Manuel, Sociología del episcopado español e hispanoamericano (1789-1985) (Madrid, 1986)
- Cuesta, Josefina, Sindicalismo católico agrario en España (1917-1919) (Madrid, 1978)
- Díaz, Luis (ed.), Aproximación antropológica a Castilla y León (Barcelona, 1988)
- Driessen, Henk, 'Religious Brotherhoods: Class and Politics in an Andalusian Town' in Eric Wolf (ed.), Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities (Berlin, 1984)
- Duocastella, R., Marcos, J. & Díaz Mózaz, J.M. (eds.), Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español (Barcelona, 1967)
- Ellwood, Sheelagh, Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era (London, 1987)
- Febo, Giuliana di, La santa de la raza: Un culto barroco en la España franquista (Barcelona, 1988)
- Federici, Emidio, Un ideal vivido (Madrid, 1959)
- Feijó, R., Martins, H. & Pina-Cabral, J. de (eds.), Death in Portugal: Studies in Portuguese Anthropology and Modern History (Oxford, 1983)
- Fernández Areal, M., La política católica en España (Madrid, 1970)
- Fierro Torres, Rodolfo, Historia del movimiento de los A.A.AA. Salesianos en España (1899-1922) (Madrid, 1966)
- Foard, Douglas W., 'The Forgotten Falangist: Ernesto Giménez Caballero', Journal of Contemporary History x (1975)

- Francis, E.K., 'Towards a Typology of Religious Orders', American Journal of Sociology lv (1949-1950)
- Freeman, Susan Tax, 'Religious Aspects of the Social Organisation of a Castilian Village', American Anthropologist, lxx (1968)
- Freeman, Susan Tax, 'Faith and Fashion in Spanish Religion: Notes in the Observation of Observance', Peasant Studies, vii (1978)
- García Delgado, José Luis (ed.), La II República española (Madrid, 3 vols.; 1987-88)
- García Villoslada, Ricardo (ed.), Historia de la Iglesia en España. V. La Iglesia en la España Contemporánea, (Madrid, 1974)
- Garriga, Ramón, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional-Catolicismo (Barcelona, 1977)
- Geertz, Clifford, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, 1973)
- Gellner, Ernest & Waterbury, John (eds.), Patrons and Clients (London, 1977)
- Gibson, Ralph, A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914 (London, 1989)
- Goddijn, H.M.P., 'The Sociology of Religious Orders and Congregations', Social Compass, vii (1960)
- Gómez Molleda, María Dolores, La Masonería en la crisis española del Siglo XX (Madrid, 1986)
- González Egido, Luciano, Agonizar en Salamanca. Unamuno (julio-diciembre 1936) (Madrid, 1986)
- Graef, Hilda, Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion (London, 1985)
- Granados, Anastasio, El Cardenal Gomá. Primado de España (Madrid, 1969)
- Greinacher, Norbert & Mette, Norbert (eds.), Concilium (Special edition on popular religion, August, 1986)
- Gutiérrez-Ravé, José, Gil Robles, caudillo frustrado (Madrid, 1967)
- Harrison, Joseph, An Economic History of Modern Spain (Manchester, 1978)
- Hermet, Guy, Los católicos en la España franquista (2 vols.; Madrid, 1985)
- Hernández Díaz, José María, Educación y Sociedad en Béjar durante el siglo XIX (Salamanca, 1983)
- Heywood, Paul, Marxism and the Failure of Organised Socialism in Spain 1879-1936 (Cambridge, 1990)
- Hill, Michael, 'Typologie sociologique de l'ordre religieux', Social Compass, xviii (1971)
- Huntington, R. & Metcalf, P., Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual (Cambridge, 1979)

- Izquierdo Gallo, Mariano, Historia sucinta de la Congregación de Misioneros Hijos del Corazón de María (1849-1973) (Madrid, 1975)
- Jackson, Gabriel, The Spanish Republic and the Civil War 1931-1939 (Princeton, 1965)
- Jedin, Hubert (ed.), The Church in the Industrial Age (London, 1981)
- Jiménez Campo, Javier, El fascismo en la crisis de la II República (Madrid, 1979)
- Juliá, Santos, Orígenes del Frente Popular en España (1934-1936) (Madrid, 1919)
- Kenny, Michael, A Spanish Tapestry: Town and Country in Castile (London, 1961)
- Kselman, Thomas A., Miracles and Prophecies in Nineteenth-Century France (New Jersey, 1983)
- Lannon, Frances, 'A Basque Challenge to the pre-Civil War Spanish Church', European Studies Review, ix (1979)
- Lannon, Frances, 'The Socio-Political Role of the Spanish Church - A Case Study', Journal of Contemporary History, xiv (1979)
- Lannon, Frances, 'Modern Spain: the Project of a National Catholicism' in S. Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity (Oxford, 1982)
- Lannon, Frances, 'The Church's Crusade against the Republic' in Paul Preston (ed.), Revolution and War in Spain (London, 1984)
- Lannon, Frances, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975 (Oxford, 1987)
- Lannon, Frances, 'An Elite of Grace: Spanish Bishops in the Twentieth Century' in Frances Lannon & Paul Preston (eds.), Elites and Power in Twentieth-Century Spain (Oxford, 1990)
- Linz, Juan J., 'Religion and Politics in Spain: From Conflict to Consensus above Cleavage', Social Compass, xxvii (1980)
- Lisón Tolosana, Carmelo, Belmonte de los Caballeros (Princeton, 1983)
- López, Félix, La sorpresa de los pobres: Historia de la Hijas de la Caridad (Salamanca, 1983)
- López López, Alejandro, El boicot de las derechas a las reformas de la Segunda República (Madrid, 1984)
- Lynam, Stephen, "'Moderate' Conservatism and the Second Republic: the Case of Valencia', in Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), Spain in Conflict 1931-1939 (London, 1986)
- McLeod, Hugh, Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1945 (Oxford, 1981)
- Maldonado, Luis, 'Popular Religion: Dimensions, Levels and Types', Concilium (Special edition on popular religion ed. N. Greinacher & N. Mette, 1988)

- Malefakis, Edward, Reforma agraria y revolución campesina en la España del siglo XX (Revised ed.; Barcelona, 1982)
- Martín, Isidoro, & González Ruíz, Nicolás, Seglares en la historia del catolicismo español (Madrid, 1968)
- Martín González, Angel, Los Salesianos de Utrera en España (Sevilla, 1981)
- Martín Vasallo, José Ramón, Las elecciones a Cortes en la ciudad de Salamanca 1931-1936 (Salamanca, 1982)
- Meer, Fernando de, La cuestión religiosa en las Cortes Constituyentes de la II República (Pamplona, 1975)
- Mol, Hans (ed.), Identity and Religion (Berlin, 1978)
- Montero, José Ramón, La CEDA: El catolicismo social y político en la II República (2 vols.; Madrid, 1977)
- Montero Moreno, Antonio, Historia de la persecución religiosa en España 1936-1939 (Madrid, 1961)
- Montserrat, Cipriano, Enciclopedia del Católico (3 vols.; Barcelona, 1951)
- Muntanyola, Ramón, Vidal i Barraquer: el cardenal de la paz (Montserrat, 1976)
- Niebuhr, H. Richard, Christ and Culture (New York, 1951)
- O'Brien, Susan, 'Terra Incognita: The Nun in Nineteenth-Century England', Past and Present, cxxi (1988)
- Ojeda, Germán (ed.), Octubre 1934: Cincuenta años para la reflexión (Madrid, 1984)
- Payne, Stanley G., Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism (Stanford, 1961)
- Payne, Stanley G. (ed.), Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century Spain (New York, 1976)
- Pérez Galán, Mariano, La Enseñanza en la Segunda República Española (Madrid, 1977)
- Perry, Nicholas & Echeverría, Loreto, Under the Heel of Mary (London, 1988)
- Pina-Cabral, Joao de, Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve: The Peasant World of the Alto Minho (Oxford, 1986)
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian, The People of the Sierra (Chicago, 1971)
- Pope, Barbara Corrado, 'Immaculate and Powerful: the Marian Revival in the Nineteenth-Century' in C. Atkinson, C. Buchanan & M. Miles (eds.), Immaculate and Powerful. The Female in Sacred Image and Social Reality (Boston, 1985)
- Preston, Paul, The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic (London, 1978)
- Preston, Paul, 'The "Moderate" Right and the Undermining of the Second Spanish Republic, 1931-1933', European Studies Review, iii (1973)

- Preston, Paul, 'Alfonsist Monarchism and the Coming of the Spanish Civil War' in Martin Blinkhorn (ed.), Spain in Conflict (London, 1986)
- Preston, Paul (ed.), Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939 (London, 1984)
- Raguer, Hilari, 'La Iglesia Española en la II República', Arbor, cix (1981)
- Ramírez, Manuel (ed.), Estudios sobre la II República española (Madrid, 1975)
- Ramírez, Manuel (ed.), Las reformas de la II República (Madrid, 1977)
- Rees, Timothy, 'The Political Mobilisation of Landowners in the Province of Badajoz, 1931-1933' in Frances Lannon & Paul Preston (eds.), Elites and Power in Twentieth-Century Spain (Oxford, 1990)
- Robertson, Roland, The Sociology of Religion (Harmondsworth, 1969)
- Robinson, Richard A.H., 'Calvo Sotelo's Bloque Nacional and its manifesto', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, x (1965-1966)
- Robinson, Richard A.H., The Origins of Franco's Spain: The Right, the Republic and Revolution, 1931-1936 (Newton Abbot, 1970)
- Rodríguez Aisa, María Luisa, El Cardenal Gomá y la guerra de España (Madrid, 1981)
- Rodríguez de las Heras, Antonio, Filiberto Villalobos, su obra social y política 1900-1936 (Salamanca, 1985)
- Ruíz Giménez, Joaquín (ed.), Iglesia, Estado y Sociedad en España. 1930-1982 (Madrid, 1984)
- Ruíz Manjón, Octavio, El Partido Republicano Radical 1908-1936 (Madrid, 1976)
- Sáez Alba, A., La otra «cosa nostra». La Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (Paris, 1974)
- Sánchez, José M., The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy (Indiana, 1987)
- Sánchez Jiménez, José, El Cardenal Herrera Oria (Madrid, 1986)
- Sánchez Muñoz, Aurora, Historia de la educación en Zamora. 3: Primera enseñanza y analfabetismo en la provincia de Zamora 1900-1930 (Zamora, 1987)
- Sánchez Pérez, José Augusto, El culto mariano en España (Madrid, 1943)
- Sanchis, Pierre, 'The Portuguese *romarias*', in Wilson, Stephen (ed.), Saints and their Cults. Studies in Religion, Sociology, Folklore and History (Cambridge, 1985)
- Shubert, Adrian, The Road to Revolution in Spain: The Coal Miners of Asturias 1860-1934 (Chicago, 1987)
- Shubert, Adrian, A Social History of Modern Spain (London, 1990)
- Southworth, Herbert R., El mito de la cruzada de Franco (Paris, 1963)

- Thomas, Hugh, 'The Hero in the Empty Room - José Antonio and Spanish Fascism', Journal of Contemporary History, i (1966)
- Thomas, Hugh, The Spanish Civil War (London, 1977)
- Tuñón de Lara, Manuel, La España del siglo XX (Paris, 1966)
- Tuñón de Lara, Manuel, Tres claves de la Segunda República (Madrid, 1985)
- Turner, Victor & Edith, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (Oxford, 1978)
- Tusell, Javier, Las elecciones del Frente Popular (2 vols.; Madrid, 1971)
- Tusell, Javier, Historia de la democracia cristiana en España (2 vols.; Madrid, 1974)
- Ullman, Joan Connelly, The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain, 1875-1912 (Harvard, 1968)
- Ullman, Joan Connelly, 'The Warp and Woof of Parliamentary Politics in Spain: Anticlericalism v. neo-Catholicism', xiii European Studies Review (1983)
- Verheylezoon, Louis, Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (London, 1955)
- Viñas, Angel, La alemania nazi y el 18 de julio (Madrid, 1974)
- Vincent, Mary, 'The Spanish Church and the Popular Front: the Experience of Salamanca Province', in Martin Alexander & Helen Graham (eds.), The French and Spanish Popular Fronts: Comparative Perspectives (Cambridge, 1989)
- Vincent, Mary, 'The Politicisation of Catholic Women in Salamanca 1931-1936' in Frances Lannon & Paul Preston (eds.), Elites and Power in Twentieth-Century Spain (Oxford, 1990)
- Warner, Marina, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London, 1976)
- Williams, Drid, 'The Brides of Christ', in Shirley Ardener (ed.), Perceiving Women (London, 1975)
- Wilson, Stephen (ed.), Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History (Cambridge, 1983)
- Winston, Colin, Workers and the Right in Spain 1900-1936 (Princeton, 1985)
- Wolf, Eric (ed.), Religion, Power and Protest in Local Communities (Berlin, 1984)

2. Unpublished works

Cuesta, Josefina, 'Estudios sobre el catolicismo español (1915-1930). Un estado de la cuestión' MS.

Edmunds, Mary, 'But the greatest of these is chastity', (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1986)

Lannon, Frances, 'Catholic Bilbao from Restoration to Republic: a selective study of educational institutions 1876-1931', (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1975)

McInnis, E., Loscos Fernández, J. & Ruíz-Huerta, J., 'La reforma agraria de la II República: su incidencia en la provincia de Salamanca', (Privately commissioned report for the Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1985)