Joint Letter of the Spanish Bishops to the Bishops of the Whole World Concerning the War in Spain, July 1st, 1937

The Collective Letter of the Spanish Bishops, 1937, was a pastoral letter of the Spanish bishops which justified Franco’s uprising that had precipitated the Spanish Civil War. Franco, presenting himself to world opinion as the defender of the Church, was greatly displeased at criticism levelled against him by some European Catholics who condemned not only the murders of priests in the Republican zone, but also those of workers and peasants in the nationalist zone. Nearly all the Spanish bishops had spoken publicly in favour of the insurrection but this was insufficient for Franco. On 10 May 1937, Franco asked Isidro Goma y Tomas to promulgate "a text, addressed to bishops the world over with a request that it be published by the Catholic press everywhere, which would set out truth clearly and in proper perspective" (from a letter, Goma to Eugenio Pacelli, 12 May 1937). Goma immediately set to work on the statement aimed at international Catholic opinion.

Venerable Brethren,

Our country is undergoing a profound upheaval; it is not only one of the bloodiest of civil wars which fills us with tribulation, it is a tremendous commotion which is shaking the very foundations of social life, and has put in danger our very existence as a nation. You have understood it, Venerable Brethren, and ‘Your words and your heart have opened unto us,’ we will say with the Apostle, letting us see the depth of your charity towards our beloved mother country. May God reward you for it.

...

[The Spanish Episcopate is United]

Nearly all we Bishops who subscribe to this letter have tried to strike, at the right moment, the exact note concerning the sense of this war. We thank the Catholic Press for having made its own the veracity of our declaration, as we also regret that some newspapers and reviews, which ought to have been an example of respect and submission to the voice of the Church’s Prelates, have attacked or twisted them.

...

Thus do we discharge, together with our pastoral ministry — which involves above all the teaching of truth — a triple duty of religion, of patriotism, and of humanity. Of religion, because, witnesses as we are of the great prevarications and heroisms which have had our country for a stage, we can offer the world lessons and examples which fall within our episcopal ministry and which will be beneficial to everyone; of patriotism, because the Bishop is the first who is bound to defend the good name of his country, *Terra patrum*, inasmuch as our venerable forerunners were those who formed our own, so Christian as she is, ‘engendering her sons for Jesus Christ and for the preaching of the Gospel’; of humanity, because God having permitted that our country should be the place of experiment for ideas and procedures which aspire to conquer the world, we should wish that the damage should be reduced to the circuit of our country, and that the other nations should save themselves from ruin.
The Spanish Episcopate implores peace and denounces war

Before everything else let it be recorded, in view of the fact that the war could have been foreseen since the national spirit was attacked roughly and inconsiderately, that the Spanish Episcopate has given since the year 1931 the highest examples of apostolic and civic moderation. [It] placed itself resolutely on the side of the constituted powers, exerting itself in order to collaborate with them for the common good. And in spite of the continual offences to the persons, things, and rights of the Church, it did not change its purpose of not altering the system of harmony long since established with the civil power. And the Catholic people followed us, our intervention being a valuable factor of national concord in a time of deep social and political commotion.

When the war broke out we lamented more than any one the painful fact. Since its beginnings we have had our hands raised to heaven that it might cease. And in these moments we repeat the words of Pius XI, spoken when the mutual suspicion of the great powers was on the verge of bringing war over Europe: 'We implore peace, We bless peace, and We pray for peace.' God is witness to the efforts that we have made in order to lessen the ravages that always form its train.

To our desires for peace we join our generous pardon for our persecutors and our feelings of charity for all. And on the battlefields we say to our sons of the one and of the other party the words of the Apostle: 'The Lord knows how much we love you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ.'

The Bishops justify war in order to re-establish peace

But peace is the 'tranquillity of order, divine, national, social, and individual, which ensures to everyone his place and gives him what is due to him, putting the glory of God above all duties and making the brotherly service of all derive from His love.' And such is the human condition and the order of Divine Providence — without its having been possible hitherto to find a substitute for it — that war, though it is one of the most terrible scourges of mankind, yet sometimes it is the heroic and only remedy for replacing things on the centre of the pivot of justice and bringing them back to the Kingdom of Peace. Therefore the Church, even while she is the daughter of the Prince of Peace, blesses the emblems of war, has founded the military Orders, and has organized the Crusades against the enemies of the Faith.

This is not our case. The Church has neither wished for this war nor provoked it, and we do not think it necessary to vindicate her from the charge of belligerency with which the Spanish Church has been censured in foreign newspapers. It is true that thousands of her sons, obeying the promptings of their conscience and of their patriotism and under their own responsibility, revolted in arms in order to safeguard the principles of religion and Christian justice which had for ages informed the nation’s life; but whoever accuses her of having provoked this war or of having conspired for it and even of not having done all that lay in her to avoid it, does not know or falsifies the reality.

This is the position of the Spanish Episcopate, of the Spanish Church, in presence of the fact of the present war. She was vexed and persecuted before it broke out; she has been the chief victim of the fury of one of the contending parties; and she has not ceased to work with her prayers, with her exhortations, with her influence, in order to lessen its damages and to cut short the days of trial.

Causes of war: a weak Second Republic

We affirm first of all, that this war has been occasioned by the rashness, the mistakes, maybe the malice and the cowardice of those who could have avoided it by governing the nation with justice.

Leaving on one side causes of lesser influence, it was the law-makers of 1931, and then the executive power of the state with the practices of its Government, which persisted in roughly twisting the path of our history in a sense completely opposed to the nature and requirements of the national spirit, and especially opposed to the religious sense prevailing in the country. The Constitution and the secularist laws which developed its spirit were a violent and continuous attack against the national conscience. The rights of God being abolished, and the Church persecuted, our society remained weakened in the legal
order in the most substantial part of its social life, which is the religious. The Spanish people, of whom a
majority kept alive the faith of their forefathers, received with invincible patience the repeated injuries
made to their conscience, through iniquitous laws; but the rashness of their governors had introduced
into the national soul, along with the injury, an element of repudiation and of protest against a social
power which had failed in the most elemental justice, which is that owing to God and to the conscience of
the citizen.

At the same time the authorities on many and grave occasions surrendered their power to the populace.
The burning of the churches in Madrid and in the provinces in May, 1931, the revolts of October, 1934,
especially in Catalonia and Asturias, where anarchy ruled during two weeks; the turbulent period which
ran from February till July, 1936, when 411 churches were destroyed or profaned, and when about 3,000
grave transgressions of a political and social character were committed, foretold the total ruin of the
public authority which was often seen to succumb to the strength of the hidden powers which controlled
its functions.

[Causes of war: the U.S.S.R is manufacturing an anti-church Marxist revolution]

On the 17th of February, 1936, and immediately after the triumph of the People’s Front, the Russian
Komintern resolved to decree the Spanish Revolution and financed it with exorbitant amounts of money.
On the 1st of the following May hundreds of young people clamoured openly in Madrid ‘For bombs and
pistols, powder and dynamite, for the coming revolution.’ On the 16th of the same month the
representatives of the U.S.S.R. met the Spanish delegates of the Third International at the People’s House
in Valencia, resolving in the ninth section of their agreement ‘To charge one of the wireless stations of
Madrid, that one designated with the No. 25, consisting of police officers on active service, with the
elimination of the political and military personages destined to play an important role in the counter-
revolution.’ Meanwhile from Madrid to the most distant villages the revolutionary militiamen learned the
military instructions, and they were armed plentifully to such an extent that, when the war broke out, they
were able to rely upon 150,000 shock troops and 100,000 reserve.

It may appear to you, Venerable Brethren, inappropriate in an episcopal document to enumerate these
facts. We have preferred them to the reasons of political law which could justify a national movement of
resistance. Without God, who must be in the foundation and on the summit of the social structure;
without authority, which nothing can replace in its functions of creator of order and maintainer of civil
rights; with the material strength of the service of the Godless and of men without conscience, driven by
powerful agents of international type, Spain had perforce to slide towards the anarchy which is the
contrary of common weal and of justice and social order. To this end have come those regions of Spain
where the revolution has followed its initial trend.

This is the characteristic of the attitude on the Government side towards the civic-military rising. It is
certainly a counter-attack by the forces loyal to the Government; but it is above all a fight in partnership
with the anarchical forces which joined them and which will fight together with them until the end of the
war. Russia has grafted herself on to the Government’s army, as the whole world knows, taking part in its
control; and she aimed really, whilst preserving the appearance of the People’s Front Government, at
implanting the Communist régime through the subversion of the established social order. In judging the
legality of the National Movement, one cannot overlook the intervention on the other side of these
“uncontrollable and anarchical militiamen” — it is the phrase of a minister of the Madrid Government —
whose power might have prevailed over the nation.

And because in God lies the deepest foundation of a well-ordered society — as was the case with the
Spanish nation — the Communist Revolution, allied to the Government armies, was, above all, anti-
divine. So the cycle of secularist legislation of the Constitution of 1931 closed with the destruction of all
that was connected with God.

We allow for every personal intervention of those who have not consciously fought under this standard;
we only mark out the general direction of events.
And so, in the national soul, there arose a reaction of a religious nature, corresponding to the nihilist and destructive action of the Godless. And Spain remained divided into two great military factions; each one of them as it were cemented by the two deeply popular tendencies; and surrounding and collaborating with them, there stood out, in the form of voluntary militiamen and assistance and rearguard services, the opposing forces which hold the nation divided.

The war is therefore like an armed plebiscite. The civil struggle of the district assemblies of February, 1936, when the lack of political conscience of the national Government arbitrarily gave the revolutionary forces a victory which they had not obtained in the elections, was transformed by the civic-military struggle into the cruel fight of a people cleft into two tendencies; on the side of the insurgents the spiritual, which aimed at the defence of order, social peace, traditional civilization and the mother-country, and very markedly, in a great section, the defence of religion; and on the other side the materialist tendency, be it called Marxist, Communist, or Anarchist, which wanted to substitute, for the old civilization of Spain, with all its factors, the ultra-new ‘civilization’ of the Russian Soviets.

The ulterior complications of the war have not altered, but accidentally its character has. Communist internationalism has run to Spanish territory to help the Marxist army and people; just as, for the natural exigencies of the defence and for considerations of an international character, there have come to help the traditional Spain arms and men of other foreign countries. But the national nuclei remain equal, although the struggle, being profoundly popular, may have come to take on the character of an international struggle.

Thus it is that clear-sighted observers have been able to write these words about the war: ‘It is a race of speed between Bolshevism and Christian civilization.’ ‘A new and maybe decisive stage in the fight initiated between revolution and order.’ ‘An international struggle on a national battlefield; Communism wages in the Peninsula a formidable battle, on which depends the fate of Europe.’

...[Defining the relationship between the Church and the Nationalist movement]

Firstly: that the Church, in spite of her spirit of peace and of the fact that she neither desired the war nor collaborated in it, could not be indifferent to the struggle. Her doctrine and her spirit, the sense of self-preservation and the experience of Russia made this impossible. On the one side God was suppressed, whose work must be realized by the Church in the world, and there was caused to the latter an immense harm in persons, things and rights, such as maybe has never been suffered by any institution in history; on the other side, whatever might be the human defects, there was the effort to preserve the old spirit, Spanish and Christian.

Secondly: the Church, with all that, has not been able to identify herself with conduct, tendencies, or intentions which at the present time or in the future might be able to distort the character of the National Movement, its origins, manifestations, and ends.

Thirdly: we affirm that the civic-military rising has taken a double grip on the depths of the popular conscience: that of the patriotic sense which has seen in it the only means of raising up Spain and of avoiding her definite ruin; and of the religious sense, which considered it as the force necessary to reduce to impotence the enemies of God, and as the warrant of continuity for her faith and the practice of her religion.

Fourthly: for the moment, there is no hope in Spain for the reconquering of justice and peace and the blessings that derive from them, other than the triumph of the National Movement. Maybe to-day, less than in the beginnings of the war, because the contrary factor, in spite of all efforts on the part of its governors, offers no guarantee of political and social stability.

...[The cruelties of the Soviet-controlled Marxist revolution in Spain]

A very eloquent proof that the destruction of the churches and the slaughter of the priests, in an exhaustive manner, was a premeditated thing, is its frightful number. Although the figures are premature
we calculate that about 20,000 churches and chapels have been destroyed or totally plundered. The murdered priests, counting on an average 40 per cent in the devastated dioceses — in some they reach 80 per cent. — will sum up, of the secular clergy alone, about 6,000. They were hunted with dogs; they were pursued across the mountains, they were searched for with eagerness in every hiding-place. They were killed without trial most times, on the spot, for no other reason than that of their function in society.

The revolution was ‘most cruel.’ The forms of murder took on characters of horrible barbarity. First as regards their number: the number of laymen who have been murdered only for their political ideas, and especially for their religious ones, is calculated to surpass 300,000. In Madrid and in the first three months more than 22,000 were murdered. Scarcely is there a village where the best known men of the Right have not been eliminated. Secondly, in the lack of form: without accusation, without proofs, in the majority of cases without trial. Thirdly, in tortures: many have had their limbs amputated or have been dreadfully mutilated before being murdered; their eyes have been put out, their tongues cut out, they have been ripped open from top to bottom, burned, or burned alive, chopped to death with axes. The greatest cruelty has been used against the ministers of God. For respect and charity we do not wish to give any more detailed account.

The revolution was ‘inhuman’. The honour of women has not been respected, not even of those consecrated to God. Tombs and churchyards have been profaned. In the famous Romanesque monastery of Ripoll the sepulchres have been destroyed, among them that of Wilfredo el Velloso, the conqueror of Catalonia, and that of Bishop Morgades, the restorer of the famous abbey. In Vich the tomb of the great Balmes was profaned, and we read that the people have played football with the skull of the great Bishop Torras y Bagés. In Madrid and in the old cemetery of Huesca, hundreds of tombs have been opened in order to strip the corpses of the gold of their teeth or of their finger-rings. Some of the forms of torture employed indicate the overthrow or suppression of all sense of humanity.

The revolution was ‘barbarous’, inasmuch as it destroyed the civilizing work of centuries. It destroyed also thousands of works of art, many of them of world-wide reputation. It plundered or burnt archives, making historical research and the instrumental proof of facts of a social and juridical order impossible. There remain hundreds of slashed canvases, mutilated sculptures, and architectural marvels destroyed forever. We can say that the treasures of art, especially of a religious type, which had been accumulated during centuries, have been stupidly wasted in a few weeks, in those regions dominated by the Communists. Even to the Arch of Bara, in Tarragona, Roman work which had seen twenty centuries, dynamite brought its destructive action. The famous collections of Art of Toledo Cathedral, of the Liria Place, of the Prado Museum, have been basely despoiled. Several libraries have disappeared. No war, nor any barbarous invasion nor any social commotion, in any century, has caused in Spain a ruin to compare with the present, with the concurrence, for the purpose, of factors that had not been at hand in former times: a clever organization put at the service of a terrible purpose of annihilation, concentrated against the things of God, and the modern means of locomotion and destruction within the reach of every criminal hand.

The revolution trampled underfoot the most essential principles of ‘The Law of Nations’. Remember the Bilbao prisons, where hundreds of prisoners were murdered by the crowds in an inhuman way; the reprisals committed on hostages guarded on ships and in prisons, without any more reason than a reverse in war; the mass-murders, the poor prisoners tied up and then riddled with a stream of machine-gun bullets; the shelling of defenceless towns without any military objective.

The revolution was essentially ‘anti-Spanish’. The work of destruction was carried out to cries of ‘Long live Russia!’ in the shadow of the international Communist flag. The mural inscriptions, the propaganda of foreign personages, the military commands in the hands of Russian leaders, the spoliation of the nation in favour of foreigners, the Communist hymn — all are abundant proofs of hatred towards the national spirit and towards the feeling of the mother country.

But, above all, the revolution was anti-Christian. We do not believe that in the history of Christianity and in the interval of a few weeks there has occurred such an explosion of hatred, in all forms of thought, will, and passion, against Jesus Christ and His sacred religion. So great have been the sacrilegious ravages suffered by the Church in Spain that the delegate of the Spanish Reds sent to the Congress of the Godless in Moscow was able to say: ‘Spain has surpassed in a great degree the work of the Soviets, as the Church in Spain has been completely annihilated.’
We count the martyrs in thousands; their witness is a hope for our poor country. But we should hardly fail to find in the Roman Martyrology a form of torture not used by the Communists, not excluding crucifixion; and, on the other hand, there are new forms of torture which have been made possible by modern substances and machines.

The hatred against Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin has reached paroxysm...

... [The religious character of the Nationalist movement]

Let us now give a sketch of the character of the movement called ‘National.’ We believe this description to be a fair one. Firstly, on account of its spirit; because the Spanish nation was disassociated, in its vast majority, from the position of a State which was not able to represent its deepest needs and aspirations; and the movement was hailed as a hope throughout the entire nation. In the regions not yet liberated it is only waiting to break the weight of the Communist forces which hold it down. It is also national by reason of its object, inasmuch as it aims at saving and supporting for the future the essentials of an organized people, in a State which may be able worthily to continue their history. We express a reality and a general strong desire on the part of Spanish citizens; we do not point out the means to realize it.

The Movement has strengthened the patriotic sense against the exotic nature of the forces which are against it. Fatherland implies paternity. Its moral atmosphere is that of a vast family, in which the citizen attains his total development; and the National Movement has released a current of love which has concentrated round the name and historical essence of Spain, with aversion for the foreign elements who occasioned our ruin. And as love of country, when supernaturalized through the love of Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, touches the summit of Christian charity, we have witnessed an outburst of veritable charity which has found its maximum expression in the blood of thousands of Spaniards who have given it to the cry of ‘Love live Spain! Long live Christ the King!’

Within the Movement there has appeared the wonderful phenomenon of martyrdom — veritable martyrdom as the Pope has said — of thousands of Spaniards, clergy, religious, and laymen; and this witness of blood must regulate in the future, under penalty of an immense political responsibility, the action of those who, once that arms have been set aside, will have to construct the new State in the calm of peace.

The Movement has guaranteed order in the territory over which it rules. We contrast the situation of those regions where the National Movement has prevailed with that of those where the Communists still hold sway. Of these latter may be said the words of the Wise Man: ‘Ubi non est gubernator, dissipabitur populus’; without clergy, without churches, without worship, without justice, without authority, they are a prey to terrible anarchy, to hunger and misery. On the contrary, amidst the effort and the terrible ache of war, the other regions live in the tranquillity of internal order, under the protection of a real authority which is the principle of that justice, peace, and progress which assure the fullness of social life. Whilst in the Marxist Spain people are living without God, in the unhurt or reconquered regions Divine Worship is celebrated profusely and new manifestations of Christian life abound and flourish.

This situation permits us to hope for a régime of justice and peace in the future.

.... [A rebuttal of criticisms against the Church]

The Church has been accused of having defended herself against a people’s movement, transforming her churches into fortresses, and thus leading to the massacre of clergy and the ruin of the churches. We deny this. The attack on the churches was sudden, almost simultaneous in all regions, and coincided with the butchery of priests. The churches were burned because they were the Houses of God, and the clergy were sacrificed because they were the ministers of God. The proofs are abundant. The Church has not been an aggressor. She was the people’s first benefactor, inculcating Christian Doctrine and encouraging works of social justice. She succumbed — where anarchical Communism has prevailed — an innocent, peaceful, and defenceless victim.
We are asked from abroad to say whether it is true that the Church in Spain owned one-third of the national territory, and that the people have revolted in order to free themselves from her oppression. It is an absurd accusation. The Church did not possess more than a few and insignificant portions of land, presbyteries and schools, and even of this the State had recently taken possession. All that the Church possesses in Spain would not cover a quarter of her needs and answer to the most sacred obligations.

The Church is charged with the mark of rashness and partiality in mixing in the struggle which keeps the nation divided. The Church has been always on the side of justice and peace, and has collaborated with the powers of the State, in whatever situation, for the common good. She has not tied herself to anybody, parties, persons, or tendencies. Placed over all persons and things, she has fulfilled her duties of teaching and exhorting to charity, feeling profound grief at having been persecuted and rejected by a great number of her misguided sons. We appeal to the copious documents and facts which give credit to these assertions.

It is said that this war is one of classes and that the Church has put herself on the side of the rich. Those who know its causes and its nature can observe that it is not so. Even recognizing some negligence in the accomplishment of the duties of justice and charity, which the Church has been the first to urge, the working classes were strongly protected by the law, and the nation had entered decidedly on the way of a better distribution of riches. The class struggle is more virulent in other countries than in Spain. It is precisely in Spain that a great part of the poorer regions have been spared the horrors of war, which have been fiercest where the standard of prosperity and popular well-being has been highest. Nor can our advanced social legislation be forgotten, and our prosperous institutions of charity and public service, of Spanish and most Christian ancestry. The people were swindled with unrealizable offers, incompatible not only with the economic life of the country, but also with any class of organized economic existence.

Witness the prosperity of the undamaged regions and the misery which took possession of those which have fallen under the Communist domination.

It is said that the war in Spain is nothing but an episode in the universal struggle between democracy and statism; that the victory of the National Movement will bring the nation to State slavery. ‘The Church in Spain’ — we read in a foreign magazine — ‘in face of the dilemma of persecution by the Madrid Government, or of servitude towards those who represent political tendencies which have nothing Christian about them, has chosen servitude.’ This is not the dilemma which has been put before the Church in our country, but rather this: the Church, in danger of perishing totally at the hands of Communism, as has occurred in the regions where it holds sway, feels herself protected by a power which until now has guaranteed the fundamental principles of all society, without any consideration of its political tendency.

[In closing]

We would be the first to regret that the irresponsible autocracy of a Parliament should be replaced by the more terrible one of a dictatorship without roots in the nation. We nourish the legitimate hope that it will not be so. Just what has saved Spain in this most grave situation has been the persistency of those age-long principles which have informed our life, and the fact that a great section of the nation has risen to defend them. It would be a mistake to interrupt the spiritual orientation of the country, and it is not probable that the mistake will be made.

Let us make a final declaration. God knows that we love in the bowels of Christ, and that we pardon with all our heart all those who, without knowing what they are doing, have done the gravest damage to the Church and to their country. They are our sons. We implore before God and in their favour the merits of our martyrs, of the ten bishops and of the thousands of priests and Catholics who died forgiving them, and also the suffering, like to a deep sea, which Spain is undergoing. Pray that in our country hatreds may be extinguished, that souls may draw together, that we may all again be one in the bond of charity. Remember our murdered Bishops and so many thousands of priests, religious, and chosen laymen, who perished only because they were the chosen armies of Christ; and beg the Lord that He may make fruitful their generous blood. Of none of them is it known that he failed in the hour of martyrdom; by thousands
they gave the highest examples of heroism. This is the unwithering glory of our Spain. Help us to pray, and over our country, watered to-day with the blood of brothers, the rainbow of Christian peace will shine once more, and our Church glorious as she is, and our mother country which has been so fruitful, will be built up together again.

And may the peace of the Lord be with us all, since He has called us all to the great work of universal peace, which is the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the world through the building up of the Body of Christ which is the Church, of which He has made us the Bishops and Shepherds.

We write to you from Spain, making memory of those brethren who are deceased or absent from their country, on the feast of the Most Precious Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the first of July, 1937.
Questions

For the following questions, answer in paragraph form unless required to respond specifically to a Paper 1-style question.

[The Bishops justify war in order to re-establish peace]

1. **Comprehension**: How does the church justify its “[blessing] the emblems of war”? (answer as a Question 1a on a Paper 1 exam) (3 marks)

[Causes of war: a weak Second Republic]

2. **Comprehension**: How were the initial policies of the Spanish Second Republic an “attack against the national conscience”? (answer as a Question 1a on a Paper 1 exam) (3 marks)

[Causes of war: the U.S.S.R is manufacturing an anti-church Marxist revolution]

3. **Comprehension**: What role did the Soviet Union play in the development of the conflict, according to the bishops? How have “clear-sighted observers have been able to write... ‘[the war] is a race of speed between Bolshevism and Christian civilization,’”?

[Defining the relationship between the Church and the Nationalist movement]

4. **Source analysis**: How might the church be attempting to make itself look clean or blameless?

[The cruelties of the Soviet-controlled Marxist revolution in Spain] & [The religious character of the Nationalist movement]

5. **Contrast how the bishops describe the leftist revolutionaries with the religious character of the Nationalist movement.**

Entire Source

6. **Source analysis**: OPCVL this source (respond as a Question 2 on a Paper 1 exam) (4 marks)