



**The
Recatholicisation
of
Málaga**

1937 - 1966

*Church and State
in the Spanish Postwar*

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis analyses the strategies and mechanisms adopted by the postwar Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities to indoctrinate the province of Málaga in counter-revolutionary and Catholic political, social and religious values. The recatholicisation project implied the attempt to impose a homogenous cultural and religious code which belied the reality of social and cultural life in Spain and constituted a form of cultural imperialism. It is argued that the recatholicisation project represented a form of institutional violence against the traditionally Republican sectors of the population, and that pastoral practices constituted an indirect perpetuation of Civil War divisions.

The process of recatholicisation is seen as fatally flawed. The recatholicisation project was based on the assumption that there was such a thing as traditional Hispanic culture, and that this was synonymous with tridentine Catholic culture and values. The thesis examines the peculiarities of local cultural and religious values in Málaga, and how they were or were not affected by the process of recatholicisation. The existence of a traditional cultural code in Málaga which is not synonymous with Catholic culture indicates that the central premise of National-Catholicism -the symbiosis between traditional and Catholic culture- is erroneous. The recatholicisation project was based upon a fundamental misconception about the nature of Spanish culture and religiosity; as a result the strategies for recatholicising the population are often seen to have contradictory or unexpected results.

The pastoral practices of the two postwar bishops of Málaga are closely analysed. The second bishop -Angel Herrera Oria, eminent lay Catholic during the Second Republic and renowned as a social reformer during the postwar- is judged to have been a paradoxical figure, who played an important role in developing the social conscience of the Spanish Catholic Church. On the other hand, the so-called "red bishop of Málaga" is seen to be an ultra conservative force within his own diocese, whose fame as "red" must be debunked and his fame as social reformer seriously qualified.

Both the recatholicisation process in general, and Herrera Oria's projects specifically, were characterised by paradox and dichotomy. Both were ultimately failures, victims of their own contradictions.

DECLARATION.

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other University or tertiary institution, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Should this thesis fulfill the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy I consent to it being made available for loan and photocopying.

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INTRODUCTION.



Málaga is a province of 7,276 square kilometres, situated on the Mediterranean coast, and flanked by the Andalusian provinces of Cádiz to the west, Sevilla and Córdoba to the north and Granada to the east. The political and social development of Málaga throughout the 19th and 20th centuries was intimately related to the rise and consolidation of its economic élites, which came to exercise an overwhelming hegemony over all aspects of public life. The economic history of Málaga was characterised by an early industrial boom, as intense as it was shortlived.¹ In the early 19th century, Málaga was a prosperous province, whose wealth was based on its agriculture, with an influential commercial and mercantile bourgeoisie. Three families of this bourgeoisie led the industrialisation of Málaga, which came to be amongst the most industrialised provinces of the nation in the first half of the 19th century. These three were Heredia, Larios, and Löring.² These families were involved in the establishment of the mining industry in Málaga, the giant textile industry (especially the two factories *La Industria Malagueña* and *La Aurora*), the creation of banks, the construction of the railway, and the energy industry.

By the second half of the 19th century, the process of de-industrialisation began. Málaga experienced acute economic crisis, unable to compete with Spanish and international rivals. After 1880, the province suffered the devastation of its vines by the *Phylloxera vastatrix*. Thousands of peasants lost their livelihood, and flocked to the city in search of work, which was scarce as a result of the closing down of factories and workshops.

The economic crisis did not affect the different classes in the same way. The process that had led to the death of an enterprising industrial bourgeoisie had also signalled the triumph of an agrarian oligarchy which benefitted from the disentanglement of common and Church lands carried out throughout the 19th century. Some members had received noble title, some forged marital alliances with the affluent and/or noble families, and consolidated their wealth by investing in urban and rural properties.³ Of these families, that of Larios is perhaps the most emblematic

¹On the economic history of Málaga in the 18th and 19th centuries, see J. A. Lacomba, *Crecimiento y crisis de la economía malagueña* (Málaga, 1987).

²See J. A. Jiménez Quintero, "El triángulo financiero Heredia-Larios-Loring," in *Jábega*, no. 19 (1977).

³On some of these marital alliances, see M. D. Ramos Palomo, *Burgueses y proletarios malagueños. Lucha de clases en la Crisis de la Restauración (1914-1923)* (Córdoba, 1991), 85.

-indeed, to this day, the main street of Málaga is the *Calle Larios*- but other names of the local eminent include: Huelin, Pries, Lara Lüroth, Kraüel, Livermore, Crooke, Sáenz, Rein, Alvarez Net, Bolín, Werner, Gross, Fórmica, Lamöthe, Miró, Garret, Lopera, McKinley, Tembours, Grund, Peralta, Pérez Bryan, and Estrada. The predominance of foreign names is indicative of the extent to which Málaga's economy had been "colonised" by non-natives. Even of the native Spaniards, the most significant and influential were not natives of Málaga: Larios and Heredia were from Logroño, while Huelin was from Castile.⁴

The latifundia, (or large rural estates typically in the hands of absentee landlords) which were formed in these years came to occupy 30-40% of all the land of Málaga.⁵ In some municipal districts of Antequera, Archidona, Campillos and parts of Ronda, the proportion of land given over to latifundia was much higher. In the lowlands of Antequera in 1930, 63% of the registered rural wealth was in the hands of one proprietor.⁶ The rest of the land was divided into small to medium landholdings, principally excessively small landholdings, or minifundia.⁷ The inequitable economic structure led to the existence of a dominant oligarchy comprising upper bourgeoisie allied to the old order; a vast landless proletariat; a pool of smallholders or sharecroppers who nevertheless worked as wage earners to supplement their meagre incomes from the land; and a body of artisans, small industrial and commercial interests, and a small petite-bourgeoisie such as teachers and civil servants.

The oligarchy defended its interests by dominating the political arena and the administration. Its overwhelming economic power and the networks of patronage that went along with it gave some of its members the status of virtual feudal lord. Political office was often regarded as the patrimony of certain families.⁸ Corruption and graft was prevalent.⁹ The

⁴A. García Sánchez, *La Segunda República en Málaga: La cuestión religiosa (1931-1933)* (Córdoba, 1984), 99.

⁵E. Malefakis, *Reforma agraria y revolución campesina en la España del siglo XX* (Barcelona, 1971).

⁶J. Tusell, *Oligarquía y caciquismo en Andalucía (1890-1923)* (Barcelona, 1976), 261.

⁷On the social and economic structure of Málaga during the first two decades of this century, see M. D. Ramos Palomo, "Estructura social en Málaga (I): El vértice del poder 1900-1920," and "Estructura social en Málaga (II): Medianas y pequeñas burguesías. Los sectores populares 1914-1923," in *Baética*, no. 8 (1985), and no. 9 (1986), respectively.

⁸On the patrimonialisation of politics in Marbella, Tolox, and Torrox, see M. D. Ramos Palomo, *Burgueses y proletarios malagueños*, 107; J. Sánchez Jiménez, *Vida rural y mundo contemporáneo: Análisis*

oligarchy was overwhelmingly monarchist, conservative, and a staunch defender of the Church and its privileges. Heredia and Löring were generous benefactors to the bishop and religious congregations, including their social-charitable work with the poor, the ill, children, the seminary, the cathedral, and other ecclesiastical buildings. They helped to fund the costs of running the diocese and the bishop's personal necessities.¹⁰

For its part, the Church in Málaga defended the established order and its own privileges. Religious rituals became symbols of reaction to social and political change; as a result, pilgrimages, processions, and churches were occasionally attacked.¹¹ The bishops of Málaga publically defended the monarchy, the established order, and Spain's unpopular colonial campaigns, and extolled the virtues of the local eminent in homilies, public rituals, in catholic publications, and at the funerals of one of its members.¹²

Throughout the course of the 19th century, simultaneously with the profound social and economic changes, religious indifference grew amongst the masses. Clerical authority plummeted, breaches of clerical norms, especially sexual norms, were rife, and there was a decline in religious practice and in the reception of sacraments in both rural and urban spheres.¹³ The clergy and ecclesiastical hierarchy attributed the apostasy of the masses to Anarchist and Marxist propaganda and to the consequent weakening of Christian traditions and values. The pastoral response was to foster the reception of sacraments, to teach catechism, to organise missions, pious acts, and a range of paternalistic initiatives to alleviate the economic plight of the workers. Pastoral visits of bishops as part of the missions were organised. They were ceremonious affairs often accompanied by acts of intolerance and fanaticism such as public burning of impious literature.¹⁴ The pastoral visits, and the social apostolate (comprising mostly

sociohistórico de un pueblo del Sur (Barcelona, 1976), 195; and J. Tusell op. cit., 236.

⁹On vote-rigging at elections, see J. Tusell, op. cit., 135-57.

¹⁰E. de Mateo Avilés, *Piedades e impiedades de los malagueños en el siglo XIX: una aproximación a la religiosidad española contemporánea* (Málaga, 1987); and F. J. Rodríguez Marín, "Las clases industriales y su papel en la transformación de la Málaga decimonónica: la Casa Larios," in *Jábega*, no. 62 (1988).

¹¹E. de Mateo Avilés, *Anticlericalismo en Málaga (1874-1923)* (Málaga, 1990), 104-5.

¹²E. de Mateo Avilés, *Piedades e impiedades de los malagueños*, 325-9.

¹³See *ibid.*, 25-34, 307-24; and *Málaga contemporánea: textos y documentos* (Málaga, 1983), 274-7.

¹⁴E. de Mateo Avilés, *Piedades e impiedades de los malagueños*, 34, 36.

of vertical Catholic syndicates) naturally received the full support of the local élites.¹⁵

Bourgeois Republicans and workers movements accused the Church of being reactionary, backward and ignorant; of distracting the oppressed from seeking justice; of being fabulously wealthy and allied to wealth; and of indoctrinating the flock in order to maintain its social and political hegemony. In Málaga there were cases of nepotism and of exploitation of political influence involving the clergy.¹⁶ There were clergy and canons renowned for their reactionary diatribes.¹⁷ It was even alleged that one of Málaga's bishops owed his position to political patronage.¹⁸

The accusations that the Church was reactionary and ignorant can at least partially be attributed to the inadequate state of the seminary.¹⁹ The dramatic decline in the numbers of secular clergy and seminarians also adversely affected pastoral relations.²⁰ In general terms, the clergy, especially the rural clergy, lived in poverty, and constituted the tragic counterpoint to the ostentuous lifestyle of the bishop and the wealth, whether real or imagined, of the regular orders.²¹

The regular orders, unlike the secular clergy, expanded rapidly during the Restoration monarchy. Often they were accused of being parasitic upon society.²² Many congregations constituted competition for workers, because they taught their charges basic trades and skills and

¹⁵See *ibid.*, 331-41; and M. D. Ramos Palomo, "El 'otro sindicalismo:' El campesinado malagueño y la Confederación Nacional Católica Agraria (1914-1923)," in *Jábega*, no. 52 (1986).

¹⁶E. de Mateo Avilés, "Caciquismo y clero en la Andalucía de la restauración; entre el protagonismo de la crítica," from *I Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Seville, 1983).

¹⁷D. Benavides, *El fracaso del catolicismo social: Arboleya-Martínez (1870-1951)* (Barcelona, 1973), 189-92, 196-8; and A. García Sánchez, *op. cit.*, 187, 206 n. 71, 271, 325-7, 330, and 334.

¹⁸E. de Mateo Avilés, *Anticlericalismo en Málaga*, 68; and *Málaga contemporánea*, 260-1.

¹⁹On the Seminary of Málaga in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, see E. de Mateo Avilés, "La formación del clero en Málaga durante la restauración (1875-1923) in *Jábega*, no. 64 (1989); and "El clero parroquial en Málaga durante la Restauración (1875-1923), in *Actas del IX Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores. 'Hespérides'* (Almería, 1991).

²⁰E. de Mateo Avilés, "La formación del clero en Málaga," 67.

²¹On the difference between the income of the ordinary secular clergy and that of the bishop, see M. Tuñón de Lara, "Iglesia y Estado durante la Segunda República," from A. Gallego (ed.), *Estudios históricos sobre la Iglesia Española contemporánea* (El Escorial-Madrid, 1979), 326.

²²On the religious congregations present in Málaga in 1930-1931, see A. García Sánchez, *op. cit.*, 64-5.

sold the products in order to raise money to keep the organisation going. Many female religious communities did laundry work, or sewing, for example.²³ In Málaga's two poorhouses of San Carlos and Santo Domingo, the beggars were housed in exchange for making shoes and slippers.²⁴ Another source of resentment was that religious practices were imposed as a condition for receiving assistance, and that the religious actively proselytised amongst the marginalised and desperate.

Undoubtedly, the order that most attracted the hostility of the anti-clerical circles, in Málaga as in the rest of Spain, was the Society of Jesus, which was the symbol of ecclesiastical hypocrisy, fanaticism and obscurantism. The Jesuit college *San Estanislao de Kostka* was built using the fabulous fortune bequeathed to the order by the Marchioness of Pastrana in 1882, and taught the children of the local élite. The kind of instruction it gave these children was moulded to their social background and to their future prospects as leaders of society; it differed absolutely from the kind of instruction given to the children of the popular classes.²⁵ Whilst there was any shortage of well-stocked schools for the children of the élites, the children of the workers were largely illiterate, despite the fact that -or because- the Church insisted on its rights to educate. During the first two decades of the 20th century, Málaga registered the highest level of illiteracy of all Spain.²⁶ The Bishop of Málaga from 1917-1931, González García, made sincere concerted efforts to remedy the situation, but it was too little too late. Indeed, it is a sad and illuminating reflection on the state of the Spanish Church at this time that his efforts met with the incomprehension and suspicion of his own ecclesiastical colleagues.²⁷

Hostility to the Church was summed up in the four institutional reforms demanded by the anti-clerical sectors. These were; the separation of Church and State (including the ending of

²³F. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: the Catholic Church in Spain (1875-1975)* (Oxford, 1987), 76.

²⁴On the charitable work of the religious congregations of Málaga see E. de Mateo Avilés, *Paternalismo burgués y beneficencia religiosa en la Málaga de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX* (Málaga 1985), especially 52-7.

²⁵On the kind of education given and the world view of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Bilbao, see F. Lannon, "The Socio-political Pole of the Spanish Church -A Case Study," in *Journal of Contemporary History*, no. 14 (Apr. 1979).

²⁶A. García Sánchez, op. cit., 47.

²⁷Ibid., 77.

state funding and the limitation or prohibition of teaching by religious); the dissolution of religious orders; the nationalisation of Church property; and the expulsion of the Jesuit order. Anti-clericalism to a greater or lesser degree became the distinguishing characteristic of the anti-monarchist opposition, and anti-clerical rhetoric was to become prominent in the anti-monarchist press.²⁸ Anti-clericalism occasionally spilled over into violence, for which Málaga was sadly to become famous. In December 1930, there was an attempt to set fire to the episcopal palace. Shortly after the municipal elections of April 1931 which brought in the Second Republic, a wave of anti-clerical attacks led to a renewed attack on the episcopal palace, where the 400 year old archive was destroyed, along with the bishop's car, and furniture and works of art. Hostilities were then directed at the Jesuit residence, the Marist Brothers and the Augustine colleges and residences, and on convents and churches. In the dramatic events of 11-12 May 1931, there were burnings, raids, looting, and destruction and robbery of artistic and liturgical works. In an attack on the convent of the Capuchin Sisters, bodies were disinterred from the cemetery and paraded through the streets.²⁹

Málaga's anti-clerical fame was confirmed by electoral results which clearly indicated its overwhelmingly left-wing nature. Already, in the municipal elections of 1931, Málaga had elected the first Communist councillor of all Spain, Andrés Rodríguez. In the elections to *Cortes* of 1933, in which the *Frente Unico Antifascista* (electoral alliance which was precursor of the Popular Front, comprising members of the Radical Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party) won three of the four seats of the capital, including one for the Communist deputy Cayetano Bolívar, again, the first Communist deputy elected to the Spanish Cortes. In these elections, the victory went to the Right only because of the weight of the rural vote, which had been achieved due to an anti-natural electoral alliance between the anti-clerical Republican Radical Party and the clerical conservative *Acción Popular*.³⁰ If this could happen in the 1933 elections, there could be no surprises about the landslide victory of the Popular Front in 1936

²⁸Ibid., 154; see also S. Guerrero Salazar, "1931, La II República en Málaga," in *IV Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Cádiz, 1989).

²⁹For a comprehensive narration of these events and their consequences, see A. García Sánchez, op. cit., 235-88.

³⁰E. Barranquero Texeira, "Los Partidos políticos de derechas ante las elecciones generales de 1933 en Málaga," in *II Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Casares-Málaga, 1985); and J. Velasco Gómez, *Elecciones generales en Málaga durante la II República* (Málaga, 1987), 97-107.

(ten deputies for the Popular Front in comparison with two for the Centre-Right coalition), which was consistent with Málaga's "red" and "anti-clerical" fate.³¹

In the early days of the Civil War, as we shall see in the first chapter, Málaga would provide the final dramatic evidence to confirm its reputation for anti-clerical barbarism. The province not only stood out as bastion of left-wing feeling, of hostility to the Church and the political and social values it represented; it also had the misfortune to fall to the insurgent generals early in the course of the Civil War. The recatholicisation of the population therefore began while hostilities were still underway and in the logical atmosphere of fear and paranoia that the Civil War had engendered. It is now highly debatable whether the anti-clerical events illustrated the feeling of the majority of the citizens of Málaga. Nor can it be assumed that anti-clericalism was identical to apostasy or hostility to religion. At that time, however, Málaga had become "Málaga roja," and this formed the psychological background to the process of recatholicisation.

In the post-war, both Church and State made concerted efforts to socialise, or at least neutralise, the political opposition of the population of Málaga and re-establish the Church's ideological hegemony. This study, then, is an analysis of the mechanisms by which it a set of cultural-religious values were to be implanted on an intensely anti-clerical and left-wing populace. These values sought to inculcate submission to political and clerical authority and acceptance of the status quo. They implied the consolidation of counterrevolutionary ideology and the destruction of all the values that the Second Republic had ever stood for. The time frame chosen has been the thirty year period running from the beginning of the Civil War in Málaga in June 1936, to the resignation of its second post-war bishop, Herrera Oria, in August 1966.

As a result of this study, a number of assertions can be made about the nature of the Franco régime, about the nature of the Spanish Catholic Church and the application of social-Catholic doctrine in practice, and about the nature of cultural and religious values and their transmission. The process of recatholicisation of Málaga manifests the many contradictions and paradoxes inherent in the policies adopted by the régime and by the ecclesiastical authorities. The Franco régime and the National-Catholic ideology that sustained it is demonstrated to have been

³¹P. Fuertes de Estefani, "La campaña electoral en las elecciones del Frente Popular. Málaga, 1936," in *III Congreso sobre Andalucismo Histórico* (Granada, 1987); and J. Velasco Gómez, op. cit., 141-3.

a victim of its own contradictions. On the one hand, the régime maintained its dominance by continual reference to the traumatic Civil War and its stereotypes in all public discourse. The ostracism, vigilance, and discrimination to which the Republican or suspected Republican sectors of the population were submitted was in effect a form of institutionalised violence. The repressive nature of the régime contrasted starkly with the image of itself that it sought to present internally and externally of Catholic State which operated on the basis of Catholic principles of equity and social justice.

Many other contradictions undermined the régime. On the ideological front, the Franco régime had legitimised itself as defender of the Church, which in turn was guarantor of Spanish tradition and bulwark against modernity. The régime's credibility as bastion of orthodox Catholic values was therefore seriously undermined when the Catholic Church began its process of *aggiornamento* during the papacy of Pope John XXIII. The struggles in the seminary of Málaga are a manifestation of the contradictory position that the régime found itself in.

On the social front, whilst the régime sought to consolidate patriarchal society and ensure the subordination of women on the one hand, on the other hand it mobilised women and had them working as moralising agents, vigilants of the family and public virtue, and as socialisers and transmitters of National-Catholic ideology. To some extent, the régime therefore fostered the training and public role of many women, for the paradoxical purpose of encouraging the majority to stay away from public life.

On the economic front, the régime purported to be anti-liberal in its political and social philosophy, but it embraced economic liberalism, wholeheartedly adopting modern neo-capitalist economic reforms during the later 1950's and onwards. As a result of these economic reforms, the régime revolutionised the social and economic face of society. The introduction of modern communications and media such as television, as well as the huge increase in the tourist industry, brought with it contact with foreign customs and values which were often in direct contradiction with the nucleus of conservative Catholic values that the régime purported to defend and foster.

Similarly, the régime maintained an elitist attitude to education, which was principally run by and for the children of the Spanish dominant classes. But while not stimulating education on the one hand, the Francoist industrialisation policies and other economic reforms necessarily demanded that there be an increasingly well-trained and specialised working class. Hence, the régime, which proved surprisingly unaware of the vast numbers of illiterate citizens that it had, was obliged by the logic of its own economic policies, to address the issue of public instruction,

and set up public schools where earlier it had refused to assume that responsibility. Although there continued to be discrimination in the nature and extent of educational possibilities available to women, again, it was during the Franco régime that women began to be increasingly incorporated into the labour force, and began to receive public instruction in ever greater numbers and to ever increasing levels.

The social and economic revolution which began in the 1960's included the mass migration from countryside to cities. The process of urbanisation, however, also brought with it a greater secularisation, as age-old religious traditions which were habitual in rural communities were lost. Many of the traditional practices, both religious and non-religious associated with rural society disappeared as villages were abandoned. Hence, a régime which purported to defend the traditional was actually responsible for the destruction of the traditional way of life in many villages decimated by emigration, and the loss of many traditional values and practices - including religious values and practices-, which had no reason for being or nothing to succour them in the more atomised and impersonal conditions of urban life.

Paradox is also what characterises the pastoral practice of the bishops of Málaga, especially that of the bishop of Málaga from 1947 to 1966, Angel Herrera Oria. Herrera Oria had been one of the principal elaborators and advocates of Catholic social doctrine as the solution to Spain's social and political ills. His role as Catholic politician, propagandist and journalist, and especially the true nature of the accidentalist policy adopted by the Catholic mass party he helped to found, the CEDA, has been closely considered by other historians.³² In the postwar, however, despite being very much a public man, and no less active than in the Republic, Herrera Oria disappears from historical analysis. In this study it is revealed how Herrera Oria, one of the Catholic public men most genuinely and publically devoted to the application of Catholic concepts of social justice and social reform, proved to be one of the principal obstacles to social, economic, and pastoral reform in his own diocese. Herrera Oria's fame as social reformer is subjected to scrutiny and found to be exaggerated. His reputation as "red bishop" is debunked. During his period as bishop, Herrera Oria was ideally situated to implement social reform

³²See, e. g., P. Preston, *The Coming of The Spanish Civil War. Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic 1931-1936* (London, 1978); M. Fernández Areal, *La Política Católica en España* (Barcelona, 1970); J.R. Montero, *La CEDA. El catolicismo social y político en la II República*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1977); and A. Sáez Alba, *La Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas: La otra "Cosa Nostra"* (París, 1974).

according to the precepts he had advocated since pre-Republican and Republican days. It was to be corporatist, clericalised, based on the collaboration between Church and State, and based on the principle of class harmony. Yet despite the ideal circumstances in which Herrera Oria found himself in the postwar, it will be seen that his reform projects either failed, did not outlive him, or did not develop as he had originally intended. It is ironic that Herrera Oria was the spiritual father of a process of self analysis and criticism within the Spanish Church, which soon overtook him completely.

The recatholicisation project is judged to be a failure according to its own terms, which sought to instil authoritarian political values on the one hand, and entice the masses back into the temples and within the folds of orthodox Catholic morality on the other. The failure of the political and ecclesiastical authorities to do so reveals much about social and cultural values in Spain. Cultural-religious imperialism was one of the strategies adopted by the Franco régime to secure political hegemony and the destruction of the regionalist or separatist movements in Spain. This consisted of imposing a homogeneous model of what officially constituted "Spanish culture" upon the entire population. The stark regional differences in culture, worldview, and values, were reduced to being virtually folkloric differences amounting to little more than differences in regional dances and dress. A model of what was authentically Spanish -closely identifiable with Castile- was identified as the ideal, the most authentic, the purest form of Hispanism, and certainly the model to which all should aspire. This was an essential part of National-Catholic doctrine, which purported to have identified a Spanish essence, intimately related to the Catholic faith, which was unique to all Spain and distinguishable from all other nations, including other Catholic nations. Even the bishops tried to base religious practice and belief on the relatively austere and sober Castilian style.

Yet the regional differences remained. The struggle of the bishops of Málaga with the exuberance and "laicism" of Andalusian religiosity was an unending battle which in fact continues to the present day. Similarly, attempts to impose and entrench strict sexual and moral values met with the intransigence of the locals, whose own concepts of sexual morality and immorality were not necessarily identical to those of the clergy.

This work is thus part of the current historiographical trend of carrying out local histories, which add a fresh perspective to the overall picture of the nature and development of the Franco régime and National-Catholic ideology. The different Spanish regions may have little or nothing in common with others. Local culture conditioned the nature of religious belief and

practice, local social structures and worldviews conditioned the nature of the community's relations with ecclesiastics and with the institutionalised Church. There was little in common, for example, between the nature of anticlericalism felt by the Galician minifundist, and that of the landless agricultural labourer of Andalusia, except the fact of their anticlericalism. When the Spanish bishops purported to identify the essence of Hispanism with the glorious Spanish Catholic past, they were ignoring the multifaceted nature of the Spanish nation. Their attempts to impose a homogenous common set of cultural and religious values necessarily failed, because Spain was not a culturally homogenous nation.

The inescapable conclusion is that the purported symbiosis between traditional and religious values which National-Catholic theory insisted was at the core of Spanish culture and the national essence, was in fact a myth. From this study of Málaga it is clear that traditional and religious values were sometimes at odds with each other, and they remained so over the course of many years of intense recatholicisation.

This is not to deny the intensely religious nature of the population, nor to deny the intimate relationship between religious and traditional values. It is merely to acknowledge the role that religion played and plays in the social construction of identity, both individual and communal. Religious adherence or identification has, apart from its purely spiritual aspects, a cultural and social component. The bishops identified religious identification with national identification. Anticlericalism in turn was identified with the enemies of the Spanish nation, and of Catholicism in general. The population of Málaga, however, appeared to use religious identification as a means of social and cultural identification on a much smaller scale than national. Religious rites served to distinguish villages from other villages, social classes within the natural community from other social classes, and so on. The people of Málaga also appeared to clearly distinguish between the Church and its professionals in particular and religion in general. It was perfectly possible for a virulent anti-clerical to be a fervent devotee of his favourite virgin or saint. The bishops mistook anticlericalism for apostasy or irreligiosity. It was their belief that, having destroyed anticlerical propaganda, the flock would return to its pastor. This was to misunderstand the true reasons behind religious identification (apart from the purely mystical and spiritual) and was to lead to misguided pastoral policy which was detrimental to the process of recatholicisation.

The process of recatholicisation could not be successful, based as it was on the misinterpretation of the causes of the Civil War, on ignoring or trying to eradicate the cultural

differences between the peoples of Spain, and on a lack of understanding of the Church's own responsibility for the fiasco. It also depended upon insulating the nation from contact with foreign ideologies, which proved to be completely impossible, particularly after the economic reform plans of the late 1950's and thereafter. After studying the recatholicisation of Málaga, what strikes the observer at the end of the day are the contradictions, dichotomies, and paradoxes. Recatholicisation, such as the ecclesiastical hierarchy interpreted it, could never have succeeded by the means it adopted.

I. CHURCH AND REPRESSION IN MALAGA.

1. MALAGA FROM REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES TO MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

Málaga fell to Nationalist troops in February 1937. The relatively early collapse of one of the most renowned "red" capitals exposed it to an exemplary punishment. The bishop, clergy and religious of Málaga collaborated in the brutal repression that followed its fall directly and indirectly. The repression had two facets. The first was purely prophylactic, and comprised the physical elimination of political opposition to Franco and the isolation and submission of all potential dissidents. The second facet was that of the indoctrination of the penal population and their families in National-Catholic ideology. Over time, when the element of socialisation took precedence over the physical elimination of enemies, the repression became institutionalised in what was purportedly Catholic penal policy and practice. This was done by dehumanising the Republican opposition, representing them as ignorant, barbaric, uncivilised, immoral and antireligious beings. The Civil War, far from being considered the consequence of a complex web of political, social and economic factors, was explained with reference to the deficient culture, morality, or spirituality of the opponents of the insurgents and their supporters.

On the 17 July 1936, the radio of Málaga had announced that a military uprising had broken out in Morocco; by the end of the month, Málaga was under attack from air and sea.¹ During the first week or so after the attempted uprising, there did not appear to be any executions in Málaga, although many people, including priests and religious, were arrested, ostensibly for their own security. This included, on the 22 July, five Salesians working in technical schools who were taken before the Civil Governor, and subsequently imprisoned. Similarly, 33 secular clergy engaged in doing spiritual exercises at the seminary of Málaga, were also arrested and imprisoned on July 21.² The bishop and a few clergy were able to escape thanks to the help of individual citizens and in the case of the former, of the Italian consul. By 28

¹For a more detailed account of these events, see: A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga* (Málaga, 1984), 25-49; "Málaga, 18 de julio de 1936," in *Jábega*, no. 21 (1978); "Acontecimientos militares en Málaga (Julio del 36 a Febrero de 1937)," in *Baética*, no. 6 (1983); "Las tramas civiles y el 18 de julio," in *Baética*, no. 11 (1988); and G. Brenan, *Memoria personal (1920-1972)* (Madrid, 1974), 274-319.

²Fr. García Alonso (S.J.), *Mis dos meses de prisión en Málaga* (Seville, 1937), 9.

July, there were 43 priests and religious imprisoned at the jail.³

Two key factors appear to have sparked off the mass executions which would subsequently add to Málaga's already anticlerical reputation. The first was that the stories of massacres and atrocities committed by the insurgent forces were filtering in from other parts of Spain, and propagated by General Queipo de Llano in his terrifying radio chats. The second important factor was the Nationalist aerial attacks against the civilian population, which began in Churriana and Torremolinos, very close to the capital, on 29 July 1936. The Nationalist Army was receiving German and Italian military assistance, and faced no aerial resistance.

It was after an aerial attack against the civil population that the first mass killing of political prisoners took place in the capital. Montero Moreno, priest and historian of the anti-clerical massacres, declares: "It can be said that all the evacuations from the jail, above all when these were carried out tumultuously by the mobs in a direct assault on the prison, had the character of an act of revenge for the previous Nationalist bombardments."⁴ The jail was situated on the outskirts of the city, which made its defence against a mob attack much more difficult. The first attack took place on the 22 August, an hour after the bombing of the local petrol deposit. In this attack fifty four people who were associated with the right-wing parties and movements were taken out and shot. The first clerical losses in the capital took place on the nights of 30 and 31 August, after a night bombing. At two o'clock in the morning, militiamen and assault guards appeared at the prison, and selected sixty people to be shot, amongst which there were sixteen priests and religious. The next attack on the jail took place after a bombing, on the 20 September. On this occasion, 47 people including a parish priest were taken out and shot. Another attack took place on the 22 September. Finally, after another very intense bombing raid, another 14 priests and religious lost their lives, of approximately 120 victims.⁵ After this, the authorities moved the political prisoners to safer quarters, and in general further bloodshed was avoided.⁶

The Anarchists, whom Tamames describes as having carried out "the most absurd red

³A. Montero Moreno, *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España. 1936-1939* (Madrid, 1961), 278-87.

⁴Ibid., 280. All translations from the original Spanish are the author's own, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵Ibid., 282. Note that the number of victims is unclear; Montero Moreno refers to the different estimations given by various authors.

⁶Ibid., 284.

terror in all Republican Spain," appear to play a prominent role in the anticlerical attacks.⁷ In particular, it was the small apparently uncontrolled terrorist groups, drawn from the violent anarchist FAI (*Federación Anarquista Ibérica or Iberian Anarchist Federation*) which were responsible for a great many revolutionary attacks. One of these groups appears to have been responsible for the massacre of members of the order of Saint John of God, which ran a hospital on the outskirts of Málaga and who were dedicated to the care of the mentally ill. On 17 August, a group of men apparently members of the anarchist FAI appeared at the hospital, and arrested eight of the ten religious there present (the director, for some reason, was not arrested; another brother managed to save himself by virtue of his Colombian citizenship). The eight, who were purportedly taken away for questioning, appeared shot dead shortly afterwards.⁸ At around the same time, another crime took place in Ronda, where three lorries of FAI youth appeared, rounded up the prisoners, and threw them alive over the cliff that surrounds the public gardens -five hundred and twelve people died, including some women. According to Fr. García Alonso, the Jesuits of Málaga arrested on August 17 were arrested by the FAI, which took them away and shot them. Of eight clergymen, five were lost, as well as three of the five brothers.⁹ There were other executions of priests and religious which may have been the responsibility of the FAI, although there is no direct evidence. Six days before being taken over by Nationalist forces on the 12 August, five Capuchin brothers were removed from the monastery of Antequera and shot. Other executions took place in Alora and Motril, again, principally in the months of August and September. Gradually, the authorities assumed a greater control of the situation.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the atrocities committed by the Republican tribunals were to be prominent in Nationalist propaganda.¹¹

⁷R. Tamames, *La República. La Era de Franco; Historia de España Alfaguara VII* (Madrid, 1973), 301.

⁸One was shot dead on the road to Málaga; the rest appeared heaped together and abandoned in the cemetery of San Rafael. A. Montero Moreno, op. cit., 284-6.

⁹Fr. García Alonso (S. J.), op. cit., 118.

¹⁰G. Brenan, op. cit., 310.

¹¹These -and subsequent- executions in Málaga provided the basis for a number of tendentious and sensationalist publications which served as magnificent propaganda. See Fr. García Alonso (S. J.), op. cit.; G. Gómez Bajuelo, *Málaga bajo el Dominio Rojo* (Cádiz, 1937); A. Gollomet Megías and J. Morales López, *Sangre y fuego. Málaga* (Granada, 1937); Ll. F. Valls, *Mi diario entre los mártires. Cárcel de Málaga 1936*. 2nd ed. (Granada, 1937); M. Octavio, *Relación de los sucesos acaecidos en el Sanatorio de San José, de la ciudad de Málaga, durante la dominación marxista* (Palencia, 1937); and P.T. López Cerio, *Treinta semanas en poder de los rojos en Málaga. De julio a febrero* (Seville, 1938). For a reassessment of the true nature of the "red terror" see A. Nadal Sánchez, "Los comités malagueños," in *Los nuevos*

The fall of Málaga to the Nationalists finally took place on 8 February 1937. Immediately after the fall of Málaga, the propaganda machinery began to weave the myth of "Red Málaga." This myth consisted of creating the image of "red" rule as being a reign of terror, in which the most depraved and corrupt of human instincts of human nature had been given free rein. In the words of Nadal, "I believe that in the Francoist propaganda, at State level, there was no construction of image more denigrating and extreme than this one. Málaga was scum. The "committees" were instruments of villains."¹² As one of the first Republican strongholds to fall, and as a province of renowned Republicanism, Málaga was used as the example of what the Republic stood for, and to justify the necessity of the insurrection. This process of satanisation was necessary to legitimate the action of the insurgent Generals, once it was clear that the rebellion had failed in its immediate objective and that there was a civil war ahead of them.

No effort was spared to demonstrate the depths of human baseness to which the Republicans of Málaga had sunk. It was necessary to dehumanise the enemy. The Republican authorities and the popular classes were referred to in terms such as: "the revolutionary wave, emboldened by the electoral triumph;" "criminals;" "the Moscovite tyranny reigned;" "perverted mobs inebriated by unconscious hatred." They were responsible for "outrages, crimes and sacrilege to extremes such as do not exist in the history of peoples;" "they destroyed by fire... [and] went extending desolation and death;" "devastation;" "extermination;" "...the Church... was subjected to the iron clad and ominous yoke of the Marxist followers."¹³ The anticlerical violence was inevitably much used as proof of the debased nature of republicanism: 112 members of the secular clergy -including canons, professors at the seminary, chaplains, etc-, 56 members of masculine religious orders, 4 seminarians, and 6 female religious, lost their lives in the massacres of July 1936 - February 1937. For the secular clergy, this meant the loss of 48% of its members; for the regular clergy, the proportion was a staggering 75% of the total.¹⁴ Few dioceses registered such dramatically high losses; and apart from the actual deaths, there were also considerable attacks against churches, clerical properties, and religious images. Six churches

historiadores ante la Guerra Civil española, vol. II (Granada, 1990), 141-52. See also P. Navarro Jiménez and A. Nadal Sánchez, "Los Comités y el Estado," in *V Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Almería, 1991), 400.

¹²A. Nadal Sánchez, "Los comités malagueños," 141.

¹³Cited in A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga*, 343-8.

¹⁴E. de Mateo Avilés, "La restauración religiosa en Málaga tras la ocupación nacionalista (1937-1939)," in *Los nuevos historiadores ante la Guerra Civil española*, vol. II, 91-2.

were completely destroyed, and 282 were partially destroyed, profaned, or looted.¹⁵ The anticlerical repression was maximised to achieve the greatest political and propagandistic value possible. Photographs were taken of the state in which the churches and the cathedral were left in, and utilised as an example of the absolute contempt shown towards religion and towards the Church. In some cases, the churches were littered with clothes, remains of food, old bedding, etc. merely because frightened and homeless people had taken shelter there -this had been the case in the cathedral- but in every case, this was presented as a profanation by the irreligious. Sections on the anticlerical repression received titles such as "Martyrs for the faith," or "The savaging of the Church."¹⁶ Lists were compiled of the number of buildings and works of art destroyed, a goodly proportion of which belonged to the Church, and calculations of their monetary value were established in order to demonstrate red barbarism and contempt for culture and civilisation.¹⁷

The other victims of the Republican repression comprised members of the established élites and those perceived as enemies of the social revolution. During the months of July 1936 to February 1937, 60% of the candidates presented for elections by the monarchist coalition, or their direct relatives, perished. Similarly, two of the three candidates of the *Bloque Antimarxista* [Antimarxist Block] which opposed the *Frente Unico Antifascista* [Antifascist United Front] in the 1933 election, also perished.¹⁸ Nadal's study of the revolutionary violence in Málaga indicates that the social classes and sectors that supported the uprising were the principal targets of the attacks; concretely, 46% of the victims were proprietors and professionals; another 39% were military men and members of religious orders and clergy; only 5% of the victims of revolutionary violence were manual labourers.¹⁹ The atrocity stories were spiced up with stories of humiliations, insults, torture and all sorts of cruelty carried out by the Republicans.²⁰ The

¹⁵The dioceses which registered percentages of deaths of secular clergy higher than that registered in Málaga were: Barbastro (87.8%), Lleida (65.8%), Tortosa (61.9%), Segorbe (55.4%), Menorca (48.7%). See V. Cárcel Ortí, *La persecución religiosa en España durante la Segunda República (1931-1939)*. 2nd edn. (Madrid, 1990), 235-6, and 240-1 on the destruction and looting of churches throughout Spain; and A. Montero Moreno, op.cit., 282.

¹⁶G. Gómez Bajuelo, op.cit., 122-30, 131-7.

¹⁷Ibid., 106-11.

¹⁸A. Nadal Sánchez, "Las tramas civiles y el 18 de julio," 556-7.

¹⁹A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga*, 172-3.

²⁰See the anecdotes in A. Gollomet Megías and J. Morales López, op.cit., e.g., 71, 82. See also G. Gómez Bajuelo, op. cit.

Nationalists themselves were represented as the saviours of the masses. The insurgents began to publically urge those who had fled Málaga for fear of the insurgents to come home without fearing any repression: only those who had shed blood, it was asserted, would be punished. The contrast between the terror of the Red Chekas, and the justice of the Nationalists became a constant theme in official propaganda. Of the residents of Málaga who began to return to their abandoned homes after the fall of Málaga to the Nationalists for fear of the repression, it was said that "The news that these horrors are one of the characteristic lies of the enemy has soon spread, and the people are returning to their homes trustingly and in tranquillity, bringing with them their children and their most valued possessions..."²¹ The reality of the situation was quite different, however; a systematic, methodical rule of terror was imposed which annihilated many of the enemies of the new régime, and terrorised the rest of the population into submission.

A new legal order was constructed on the basis of the illegitimacy of the former. The constitutional situation was turned on its head; the Republican government, and the parties, syndicates and associations that supported it were declared to be "rebels," thus retrospectively sanctioning acts and behaviour that was perfectly legal at the time of commission or occurrence. By Decree of 24 July 1936, the *Junta de Defensa Nacional* [National Defence Committee] assumed "all State powers." At the end of September, these powers were assumed by Franco personally, who became Head of the Armed Forces, of the Government, and of State. Another Decree of 13 September 1936 declared all parties and political and social associations of the Popular Front, and all organisations opposed to the National Movement, illegal. All political and syndical action was declared illegal by Decree of 25 September 1936; and the single Party -the Spanish Phalanx or *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* (FET y de las JONS)- was established by Decree of 19 April 1937.

The repressive effect of the dismantling of all political and syndical opposition was reinforced by the application of military law to the civil jurisdiction. In the first instance, the military authorities applied the Code of Military Justice. A military Decree of 28 July 1936 declared military law in all territory under the control of the Army, extending the offences subject to military law. The objective was to extend military control of the civil population, secure its collaboration, but also to punish political opinion and those faithful to the Republican government. Notably, the offence of rebellion was interpreted in such a way as to include anything at all indicative or suggestive of affiliation to the Republican side or opposition to the

²¹Cited in A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga*, 464.

Nationalist cause. Article 6 included as acts of rebellion, the circulation of "false" or "tendentious" news about the Army and those who cooperated with it; possession of firearms and explosives; celebration or participation in meetings, conferences or demonstrations without prior authority; certain economic offences; and limited the freedom to contract labour, or abandoning work, whether they be employers, or workers.²² It must be noted that these offences were submitted to summary trial and were subject to the death sentence. Subsequently, further legislation expanded the jurisdiction of the military tribunals.²³

The most frequent accusations made were: adherence to the rebellion; assisting the rebellion; and stimulating or fomenting the rebellion.²⁴ The attitude of the accused, expressly in favour of a Republican victory, their political opinions (or apparent apoliticism), and certain trivial details which were in themselves legal, or were very minor offences, served as evidence to convict for military rebellion.²⁵ Republicans who could not be convicted for adherence to the rebellion (which implied sentences which ranged from the death sentence to very long prison sentences) were sanctioned under the second of these offences. Finally, the offence of fomenting the rebellion was applied to minor subversives or propagandists, that is, to anyone whose words could be interpreted as a criticism of Franco, the Nationalist cause, the Army, or the dominant ideology of the Nationalists and their supporters.

Nationalist justice was characterised by the combination of an excessively generalised military jurisdiction, the generality of the wording of the offences with "catchall" phrases, the lack of judicial guarantees, the severity of the sentences, its retrospective nature, and its objective of punishing people for their ideology or political opinions.²⁶ Another characteristic was the

²²The offence of rebellion was redefined, albeit in very similar terms on 2 March 1943; it maintained the summary procedure for the trying of this offence. The law demanded that "from now on, let nobody dare deviate from a rigid social discipline." Note especially, article 4, which includes as act of rebellion, "Those who carry out acts with the objective of interrupting or disabling public services or the routes and means of communication or transport. Sit down protests, strikes, sabotage, unions of producers and other similar acts might also have this character when they pursue a political end and cause grave disturbance to public order." See *Justicia en Guerra. Jornadas sobre la Administración de Justicia durante la Guerra Civil española: instituciones y fuentes documentales* (Madrid, 1990).

²³See article 3 of Decree of 5 September 1939, repealing republican reforms to the Code of Military Justice. For the republican reforms, see Decrees of 11 May 1931, 18 August 1931, and article 95 of the Republican Constitution.

²⁴I. Berdugo, "Derecho Represivo en España durante los períodos de guerra y posguerra (1936-1945)," in *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Complutense*, no. 3 (1980).

²⁵Ibid, 122-3.

²⁶A study of the accusations brought by the local insurgent authorities against political enemies in Córdoba

imposition of sentences out of proportion with the nature of the offence, but which satisfied the needs of the régime of establishing a firm control via a rule of terror. As a result of the application of the Code of Military Justice in Málaga, the mass shootings in Málaga began in February 1937 simultaneously with the entry of the troops. Nadal has published lists of the names of the victims of the Nationalist repression from 1937-1940. The first days of February were especially dramatic. On February 16, 1937, no less than 86 people were officially shot in one of the ten mass shootings that took place that month. According to these "official" executions (which naturally exclude those acts that were not strictly authorised by the military authorities), 1,884 people were executed in Málaga in 1937; another 227 were executed in 1938; 172 in 1939; and finally, 252 in 1940; a total of 2,537, which included women, sixty of whom were executed by the particularly brutal form of strangulation [*garrote vil*]. Nadal's figures exclude, however: 1. deaths caused in the villages of the province upon the entrance of the Nationalist troops; 2. deaths in the capital caused during the entrance of the Nationalist troops; 3. deaths in the capital between the 8 February, when the troops entered, to 16 February, when the first "official" executions began; 4. the number of deaths caused by the aerial attack on the civil population on the road to Almería; 5. deaths caused by the repression in the villages of Málaga which were never transferred to the capital; and 6. deaths in action. Taking all these factors into account, the real number of deaths caused by Nationalist repression would be much higher. Nadal himself calculated that they could not have been lower than 7,000.²⁷ Salas Larrazábal puts forward a total of 3,678 deaths in Málaga between 1939-1940 as a direct consequence of the repression; however, both his methodology and his objectives are much disputed, and cannot be given much credibility.²⁸ Yet another calculation, this time based on English consular sources,

has been carried out in F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra. (La represión y la guerrilla, 1939-1950)* (Córdoba, 1987), 109-39.

²⁷A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga*, 190-1.

²⁸R. Salas Larrazábal, *Pérdidas de la Guerra* (Barcelona, 1977). Salas Larrazábal's figures are based on the facts available in Civil Registers, taking for granted that all violent deaths were appropriately registered along with the cause of death. Salas Larrazábal's methodology has given the lowest number of victims of the post war repression of all historians, even lower than that offered by the régime's "official" historian, Ricardo de la Cierva. (See H. Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. 3rd edn. (London, 1977), 926-7; R. Tamames, op. cit., 353; R. de la Cierva, *Historia ilustrada de la Guerra Civil española*, vol. II (Barcelona, 1970), 221; and G. Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War* (New York, 1974), from the Spanish translation, *La República Española y la Guerra Civil* (México, 1967), 446. In recent years, regional studies on the repression clearly indicate the insufficiency of Salas Larrazábal's figures, and are able to prove that indeed, not all violent deaths were properly registered. A few examples include: A. Nadal Sánchez, "La represión nacionalista en Alora," from *IV Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Cádiz, 1989); A.R. Frías, "La represión en Soria," from *La oposición al régimen de Franco: Estado de la cuestión y*

puts the total at 16,952.²⁹ Even by Salas Larrazábal's conservative estimates, Málaga was one of the Spanish cities most castigated by the repression, both in absolute and relative terms.³⁰

The Italians were staggered by the brutality and ferocity of the repression. The victory in Málaga "was celebrated in Italy as their own, as a result of which General Roatta, the ambassador and the Consul of Italy tried to stop the repression which General Queipo de Llano unleashed."³¹ Cantalupo, the Italian ambassador, complained that Italian troops were being discredited by the executions at Málaga, and he managed to obtain the dismissal of two judges and reprieves for nineteen masons.³²

These protests in no way restricted the savagery of the repression. The military trials were carried out on the basis of the reports received from neighbours, which gave free rein to the lowest passions of the population. In the postwar climate, where denouncing one's neighbour could help to deflect attention from oneself, and which provided the perfect circumstances for some to exact revenge, accusations based on trivialities, real or invented, were rife.³³ The utilisation of the legal machinery as a means of revenge and of terror was exacerbated by the

metodología de la investigación, vol. I, part 2 (Madrid, 1990); F. Moreno Gómez, *La guerra civil en Córdoba 1936-1939* (Madrid, 1985); and A. Hernández García, *La represión en la Rioja durante la guerra civil*. 2 vols. (Logroño, 1984).

²⁹H. Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo* (Barcelona, 1983), 44-5. The losses are exceptionally difficult to quantify for various reasons. Firstly, Málaga was swollen with refugees from other nationalist-controlled zones such as Sevilla and Granada -it is unknown, for example, how many no residents of Málaga fell on the road to Almería in flight from the Army. Secondly, losses due to combat are difficult to distinguish from those which were purely the result of revenge or repression for political reasons. Thirdly, the jail in Málaga was used for prisoners awaiting trial, and in case of receiving a prison sentence, they were usually sent to other institutions to serve their sentence. See *Redención. Semanario para los reclusos y sus familias* (15 Nov. 1941), 3. Indeed, a favourite tactic of Francoist justice was to send prisoners to prisons outside their native communities, thus making it more difficult for family members to keep in touch. In short, the prisoners in Málaga were not necessarily locals, and many locals could have been interned in jails in other parts of the country. The process is infinitely more complicated by the destruction of the records of the jail of Málaga in an alleged riot after Franco's death. The fire virtually destroyed all the jail's records. The brutality of the repression, unreflected in official records, nevertheless remains in the popular memory in the form of Captain Arias Navarro, Prosecutor for the Army from 1937 to 1939, and eventually Prime Minister to Franco from 1973 to 1975: he is still remembered by many as "the butcher of Málaga."

³⁰R. Salas Larrazábal, op. cit. The conservative estimates made by Salas Larrazábal are well refuted in J. A. Lacomba, "La represión en Andalucía durante la guerra civil. El asesinato de Blas Infante," *Arbor*, no. 491-492 (1986), 121-30. See also P. Fuertes de Estefani, "Cárcel de Málaga. Febrero de 1937," in *Actas del IX Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores. 'Hespérides'* (Almería, 1991), 461-7.

³¹R. Tamames, op. cit., 276.

³²H. Thomas, op. cit., 586.

³³*Ibid.*, 515.

tendency to appoint citizens who were relatives of victims of the Republican repression, as military judges "so that the reprisals would be exhaustive and implacable."³⁴ The local influential played an important part in formulating accusations and appearing as witnesses. These might act directly or through their employees, such as foremen, rural guards, old blackleggers, etc. It must be remembered that in the *Consejos de Guerra* [War Tribunals] only two prosecution witnesses were necessary, and in many cases it was deemed unnecessary to hear the accused. Many offences were collective, so many were tried together, making it impossible to establish different grades of responsibility. Many of the military tribunals were a mere formality, consisting of a propagandistic harangue by the prosecutor, after which sentence was passed. No appeals were possible until 9 January 1940. The class nature of the Nationalist repression is patent: Moreno notes that the repression in latifundist zones was higher than in others, and that even in villages where there had been no revolutionary violence, the reprisals were as extensive as in the rest. The majority of those jailed in Córdoba by the Nationalists were registered as day or agricultural labourers.³⁵

The arbitrariness and savagery of the repression was also exacerbated by the occasional roundings up which took place without any kind of judicial authorisation: they were simply taken out for a walk [*paseo*], from which they never returned. These deaths were often justified by applying the sinister "ley de fugas," [fugitives law] which empowered the authorities to shoot to kill in cases of attempted escape of prisoners. These deaths were not acts of uncontrolled violence, but were ordered by the authorities.³⁶ The case of Antonio Carmona Gómez, resident of the town of Alora in Málaga, is a graphic illustration of how the "ley de fugas" was applied.³⁷

Hence, a rule of terror became institutionalised. The legal system was oriented towards the search for, and punishment of, particular political and social ideas. Members of the Popular Front government, parties, and associations, were condemned, not for crimes of blood, as the official propaganda declared, but for their ideas. Up to the end of the war, the Permanent War Tribunal of Granada [*Consejo de Guerra Permanente*], which had jurisdiction over Málaga,

³⁴F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 95.

³⁵Ibid., 17-28; and F. Moreno Gómez, "La Represión en la España campesina," in *El primer franquismo. España durante la II Guerra Mundial* (Madrid, 1989), 189-90; and A. Reig Tapia, *Ideología e historia: sobre la represión franquista y la Guerra Civil* (Madrid, 1984).

³⁶F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 51-7.

³⁷A. Nadal Sánchez, "La represión nacionalista en Alora," 606-7.

acted in thousands of trials -more than 4,000 only in 1937, of which virtually all were against accused from Málaga.³⁸ After the Nationalist victory, in just one month, more than 1,000 people entered the jail of Málaga.³⁹ This is not surprising given the variety of military, paramilitary, police and militia forces with jurisdiction to make arrests -Civil Guards, Assault Guards, *Falange*, Army, Foreign Legion, etc. Between 8 February 1937 and April 1939, at least 819 women and 4,168 men were sent to jail, excluding the provincial jails, and those in the concentration camps. The majority were locals of Málaga: 50.6% were rural workers; another 40.5% were artisans and semiskilled industrial workers. Only 2.5% were professional people. Of the women, 75% were housewives.⁴⁰ The majority of arrests took place in 1937, especially in February, and the number of arrests in early 1939 was also notable. The longest sentences were imposed at the beginning:

Thus, for example, 33% of the total were condemned for "military rebellion" in 1937, while the proportion descended to 7% in 1938 and even less in 1939: for "Aiding the Rebellion," the evolution is similar: 29.5%; 7.4% y 7% in the three years respectively. On the contrary, the evolution is inverted in the case of "Inciting rebellion," which carried a lesser sentence.⁴¹

Due to the acute lack of space, civil hospitals, barracks and other public buildings were temporarily used as prisons in Málaga. A special body -the *Junta de Clasificación de Detenidos*- was set up to classify the prisoners. Many were interned in concentration camps: the bullring of Málaga, the old factory of *La Aurora*, at Alhaurín el Grande, and at Torremolinos. Occasionally, relations and widows of the victims of revolutionary violence would appear; they would identify an individual, who would be taken away and never heard of again. Many were taken to the cemetery, placed against the wall, and shot.⁴²

From the very beginning, the hierarchy, clergy, and religious orders, as well as the lay apostolic movements, played a significant role in the legitimation of the repression, and actively participated in it. The clergy, and especially the parish priests, were called upon to provide all

³⁸R. Gil Bracero, "La justicia nacional y el Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas de Granada: las fuentes y primeras conclusiones," in *Justicia en Guerra*, 605-6.

³⁹E. Barranquero Texeira, *Málaga entre la guerra y la posguerra. El franquismo* (Málaga, 1994), 215. Barranquero argues that the real figure must have been much higher, because her figures are based only on a list of those who were released in that month.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 229-30.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 232, 234.

⁴²On the concentration camps, the prison, and executions in Málaga, see *ibid.*, 218-39.

sorts of information about their parishioners for both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In 1938, the bishop of Málaga asked his clergy to prepare a report on the events in the parishes which occurred after the uprising, to be sent to the Holy See. They were asked, amongst other things, about the results of the February 1936 elections in their parishes; what political centres existed, and their strength; the attitude of the villages to the disturbances, whether those responsible were from the same locality or not, and if so, what the reaction of the villagers had been; and whether they had acted to save the lives of the clergy and religious, or whether they had caused their deaths.⁴³ They were also required to keep the diocesan census up to date. To this purpose, they were ordered to keep records of all the families in the parish, with personal details on every individual and including the frequency with which they received the sacraments, and the regularity of compliance with religious practice.⁴⁴

Much more sinister was the active role played by the clergy in collaboration with the civil and military authorities in the repressive apparatus. There were certificates from parish priests in all indictments before the military courts, along with those of the mayor, the commander of the Civil Guard, and the local chief of the Single Party, known as The Movement or as the *Falange*. These certificates as to the good or bad conduct and character of the accused from the parish priest could be of vital importance given that these indictments tended to attract a high proportion of death sentences.⁴⁵

The clergy also played an important role in the issuing of *salvoconductos*, or travel passes.⁴⁶ The *salvoconductos* were necessary in order to travel within the same province until 5 April 1945, from one province to another until 1 January 1948, or to move anywhere that bordered with Portugal or France. These papers were really issued by the Civil Guard, but in many small villages, it was the parish priest, in his condition as one of the only literate people in the village, who filled in the forms, and handed them in to the Civil Guard. This might have caused the mistaken impression that the priest was the ultimate authority in the matter.⁴⁷ Be that as it may, the local parish priest was the visible face of the repression of freedom of movement of the civil population.

⁴³ *Boletín Eclesiástico del Obispado de Málaga* (hereafter BEOM) (1938), 278.

⁴⁴ *Boletín Oficial del Obispado de Málaga*, successor of old BEOM, (hereafter BOOM) (1941), 254.

⁴⁵ F. Moreno Gómez, op. cit., 33.

⁴⁶ The obligation of receiving official permission to travel was instituted by Circular of 2 June 1939.

⁴⁷ Conversation with Fr. Rafael Gómez Marín, in Málaga, 9 June 1991.

It is possible that some members of the clergy of Málaga adopted a position in defence of individuals who the authorities had under suspicion. Certainly, it would appear at the very least, that members of the clergy were deeply involved in issuing good conduct certificates, personal guarantees, and in participating in many civil duties and posts. This was not at all to the bishop's liking. In March 1938, Santos Olivera published a letter originally published by the bishop of Salamanca to his clergy. The letter stated that the civil authorities had been reporting cases of priests filing complaints, informing on people, accepting civil posts, and joining "political organisations." The source of the problem appeared to be that the authorities had not agreed with all the complaints and reports, and had accordingly complained to the bishop. The bishop, on being informed, agreed that "in effect, in substance or in form, they distance themselves from the prudence, propriety and serenity which should always characterise ecclesiastical communications."⁴⁸ Santos Olivera declared that, in order to avoid what he described as "annoying incidents," no priest was to accept non-obligatory civil posts, nor join any political organisation of any kind, nor inform on anyone, without the prior permission of the bishop. It would appear his admonition was not heeded, for he repeated it on three separate occasions, in 1939, 1940 and 1942. In 1939, under the heading of "Neither informers nor abettors," he warned the clergy not to exceed the orbit of their responsibility and compromise themselves. They were neither to inform -which was contrary to their mission of peace- nor act as guarantors for anyone before the judicial authorities, especially if they were not completely sure that some responsibility did not lie.⁴⁹ There is no direct evidence to indicate the nature of clerical participation in the repression, but as in other parts of Spain, there were presumably priests who sought to defend individual parishioners, and others who were more motivated by a sense of vengefulness. An example of the former type is the case of Alfonso Gómez Serrano, then prison chaplain in Málaga, who was gravely affected by the fate of one prisoner, whom he assured was innocent of all wrongdoing, and who was nevertheless executed.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the pastoral work of another prison chaplain of the postwar, Villalaín (see below), is an example of the latter case.

The clergy played a fundamental role in the repression whether they chose to or not. Over time, the clergy were assigned more and more civil obligations and duties. They had to

⁴⁸*BOOM* (Mar. 1938), 151-2.

⁴⁹*Ibid.* (June 1939), 293. See also *ibid.* (June 1940), 383; and *ibid.* (May 1942), 438-9.

⁵⁰Conversation with Fr. Rafael Gómez Marín. Gómez Serrano passed away in 1980 and no further information is available on this episode.

represent the hierarchy in an extraordinary array of boards and tribunals, ranging from the most transcendental to the absolutely mundane. In some cases, the clergy's presence was more symbolic than real: for example, the parish priest was a member of the *Junta Provincial Reguladora del Abasto de Carnes* [Provincial Committee for the Supply of Meat], along with the veterinary surgeon and other specialists.⁵¹ In other cases, the mere presence of ecclesiastical representation gave the Church a decisive advantage in the formulation of public policy and in the shaping of the new society. For example, article 2 of the 1943 legislation regulating film censorship provided that no session could be heard in the absence of the ecclesiastical representative. The legislation also provided that approval had to be unanimous. The veto of the ecclesiastical representative was sufficient to impede the showing of a film.⁵² The clergy were also present on boards that purged schools, universities, libraries, and public servants of all kinds, and were increasingly present on the boards of penal institutions and of many committees of the Ministry of Justice. These would include, as we will see, the *Patronato de Redención de Penas* for inmates of jails, the *Consejo Superior de Protección a la Mujer*, for the protection of women, and the *Patronato de Protección de Menores*, which safeguarded the interests of minors.

The prison population received very particular attention from the clergy and apostolic organisations. These dedicated their pastoral care principally to the giving of last sacraments, and regularising of marriages in a last minute quest for the salvation of souls. According to Eiroa San Francisco, "From oral testimony we know of the zeal with which the priests in prisons worked so that those sentenced to death marry within the Church before being executed."⁵³ One of the prison chaplains, Fr. Villalaín, left a short published memoir of his work in the prison of Málaga in the first days of Nationalist occupation. Fr. Villalaín worked in the administration of sacraments to the prison population, whom he referred to as "monsters of crime and of degeneration."⁵⁴ Despite this, Fr. Villalaín asserted that "The disgrace of these wretched men has always attracted me" and he reflected that they were always open to Christian charity and to the

⁵¹ *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Málaga* (hereafter BOPM), no. 99 (May 1938), 5.

⁵² *Ecclesia* (9 Nov. 1943), 19.

⁵³ M. Eiroa San Francisco, "La conjunción Iglesia-Estado en el primer franquismo: Málaga, 1941," in *Actas del VIII Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores. 'Hespérides'* (Baena, 1990), 604.

⁵⁴ Fr. Villalaín, *Memoria de la actuación del Rdo. P. Villalaín durante los primeros días del Movimiento y en la Prisión Provincial de Málaga* (Málaga, 1939), 12.

possibility of salvation. For this reason, he dedicated himself to spiritual assistance in the prison of Málaga, and was invited weekly to confess those about to be executed on execution nights. His work consisted of preparing "for a Christian death all those abject souls who by their earlier conduct had deserved such final punishment."⁵⁵

Fr. Villalain came to the conclusion that amongst those he confessed on execution nights, there were some who genuinely repented, and who deserved more than the summary confessions he was able to offer. For this reason, he began to make daily visits to the prison, especially to the prison clinic, in order to conduct a more diligent and serene spiritual preparation. Frequently, he would sit in the confessional box at three in the afternoon and would not emerge until nine in the evening. According to the memoir, few refused confession, and the majority confessed

... with sincere suffering. Many asked me for a crucifix to alleviate the difficult moment. All reminded me of their children and with tears in their eyes asked me to give some attention to [the children's] hapless state, something that would serve to alleviate their state of abandonment.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, his companion, Fr. Uriarte (S. J.), "devoted himself to legitimising marriages of those who had comically united themselves in matrimony before the civil committees."⁵⁷

Fr. Villalain's preoccupation over the spiritual health of the prisoners did not end with the mere administration of sacraments. He managed to get the entire penal population to recite the rosary every day, in groups. He also distributed many rosaries, innumerable holy medallions, and images. He was also greatly preoccupied with holy literature, or "buenas lecturas." He distributed many of his own books amongst the prisoners, comprising bibles, hymn books, and religious and patriotic books.

Fr. Villalain was able to rely on the local bourgeoisie and nobility and its organisations with his spiritual work. In due course, the *Damas Catequísticas de Málaga* [Catechistic Ladies of Málaga] came to assist in the organisation of prison missions, given by various religious orders. Amongst the help he received, Fr. Villalain was able to count with the assistance of influential widows and ladies of the social élite, who gave donations of money, clothes (the widow of the deceased vice-consul generously donated her former husband's clothes), or other things. Rein, for example, distributed tobacco from his tobacco factory. Local industries also

⁵⁵Ibid., 12-3.

⁵⁶Ibid., 13.

⁵⁷Id.

responded generously to Fr. Villalaín's pleas on behalf of the orphans of the prisoners, offering work. Needless to say, Fr. Villalaín counted with the enthusiastic support of the Director-General of Prisons, Manuel Cuervo, and the Director of the Prison of Málaga. Fr. Villalaín's conception of the principles of the Gospel, of the nature of the "red" prisoners, and of his own pastoral duty was of a markedly vengeful nature. He declared that the prisoners' psychology was threefold. Firstly, for the murderers and their accomplices, the priests' role was to act as "confessor who accompanies them in their just torment," who would remind them of divine mercy, and that their salvation lay in eternal life. For those of "dissolvent ideas," the priest was to be a "teacher with the doctrine of Christ on his lips, in order to correct with the truth and the doctrine of salvation those corrupted minds." Finally, there were the cowards and the weak, for whom the priest was to be "the mediator who will interpose his judgement before the Supreme Judge" in order to secure mercy.⁵⁸

The physical elimination of political enemies reached its peak in Málaga during 1937. Another rise was registered in September 1939-December 1941, apparently coinciding with the return of local refugees from other parts of Spain.⁵⁹ Smaller rises were registered during April and September of 1942, due to the course of the Second World War.

This was, however, merely the most overt, brutal and direct form of repression. Over time, the repression would develop a new dimension, based not on the physical extermination of the enemy, but on control of the population by means of information services, limitations on the liberty of movement, and special measures over the rural population.⁶⁰ The control of the rural population was especially necessary because of the existence of the maquis, members of revolutionary parties and opponents of the fascist régime who had fled to the mountains, from where they continued their struggle for survival and to defeat the fascist régime.⁶¹ The penal

⁵⁸Ibid., 16.

⁵⁹According to Eiroa San Francisco, during 1939-1942 in Málaga, a further 8,523 people were jailed, of which 364 were executed, principally in the final months of 1939 and during 1940. The vast majority were agricultural labourers judged under military law for offences which were registered on the prison records as "unknown." M. Eiroa San Francisco, *Málaga tras la guerra: el asentamiento del sistema franquista 1939-1942* (Málaga, 1992), (thesis) 627-35.

⁶⁰H. Heine, "Tipología y características de la represión y violencia políticas durante el período 1939-1961," in *La oposición al régimen de Franco*, vol. 1, part 2, 312.

⁶¹See J. F. García, "Iniciación al estudio de la Agrupación Guerrillera de Granada-Málaga. El Séptimo Batallón," in *La oposición al régimen de Franco*, vol. II, part 2; J. M. Azuaga Rico, "La 'Agrupación Guerrillera Granada-Málaga.' Estudio sobre las mentalidades y la vida cotidiana," in *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Historia Contemporánea*, no. 4, (1991); F. Romeu Alfaro, "Panorámica sociopolítica de los primeros movimientos guerrilleros en la España del 39 al 44," in *El primer franquismo*; and E. Pons Prades,

legislation was also repressive, and was used to identify political adversaries, who might then be the subject of socialisation.

2. NATIONAL-CATHOLIC PENAL PHILOSOPHY, AND THE RECATHOLICISATION OF THE PENAL POPULATION.

The Church did not participate in the conspiracy against the Republic. Nor was the defence of religion and of the Church one of the reasons for the uprising.⁶² Religion was, however, the amalgam that held together the disparate supporters of the military uprising. The bishop of Málaga eagerly supported the Nationalist cause, in his homilies and pastoral documents, by raising funds for the Army, in the rituals and religious practices carried out in the cathedral, and he was even photographed making the fascist salute. The masses and ceremonies in homage to Franco, the new régime, and to fallen Nationalists were continuous, and always included representatives of the military and civil authorities. The local paper *Sur* reports, for example, "Málaga honours the *Caudillo* of Spain: Mass and *Te Deum* -Review and parade of troops. Patriotic speech by his Excellency the Military Governor in the public square."⁶³ Special masses for the fallen were held for the Assault Guards, Civil Guards, and Infantry.⁶⁴ Significant fascist dates were also celebrated in religious ceremonies -the Mass for the Fallen Student, the anniversary of the death of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, individual heroes or martyrs or groups such as the *Agrupación de Cofradías* [Union of Catholic Brotherhoods], or anniversaries such as the Conquest of Málaga by the Catholic Kings. Santos Olivera even built an altar in memory of the martyrs of Marxism.⁶⁵ In 1939, Franco visited Málaga. The bishop was in the line of official cars which accompanied Franco in his triumphal visit. Franco visited the cathedral, which he entered *bajo palio*.⁶⁶

Guerrillas españolas 1936-1960 (Barcelona, 1977), especially 114-27 for the maquis in Málaga.

⁶²On this question see H. Rager, *La Espada y la Cruz. (La Iglesia 1936-1939)* (Barcelona, 1977); J. Chao Rego, *La Iglesia en el Franquismo* (Madrid, 1976); and F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos en la España de Franco. Crónica de una intolerancia (1936-1975)* (Madrid, 1991).

⁶³*Sur* (2 Oct. 1937), 4. This celebration was held annually.

⁶⁴*Ibid.* (5 Oct. 1937), 4; *ibid.* (14 Oct. 1937), 8; and *ibid.* (10 Dec. 1937), 7, respectively.

⁶⁵*BOOM* (1941), 210.

⁶⁶M. Prados y López, *Ruta malagueña y triunfal del Generalísimo a Málaga. 19 y 20 de abril del año de la victoria* (Málaga, 1939). To enter *bajo palio* meant to enter the Cathedral in solemn procession under a special canopy held aloft by ecclesiastics, a privilege normally only conceded to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Whilst still in exile in Tangier, Santos Olivera published a pastoral letter on 1 November 1936, describing the insurgents as instruments of divine providence, sent to liberate the population, "still imprisoned under the ominous yoke of terror and iniquity."⁶⁷ Curiously, he nevertheless urged the flock to reject enmity and apply the Christian precepts of forgiveness and fraternal love. On returning to Málaga, the bishop gave an inaugural speech giving free rein to the triumphalism he felt. He declared that Málaga had been rescued from a reign of darkness and impiety, and he welcomed the new order of justice and peace. He honoured the Army, and acknowledged that the Church owed it a debt of eternal gratitude. By liberating the province and making the cowardly enemy flee, it had filled the entire world with amazement and admiration and written one of the most brilliant pages of its history.

Santos Olivera's speech had two principal threads. Firstly, he carefully distinguished those who had brought Málaga into disgrace from the mass of ordinary citizens. He bitterly inveighed against this nameless minority, treated in his rhetoric as anti-patriots, agents of foreign powers, saboteurs, whose objective was to wipe out religion:

How foolish and what imbeciles our adversaries! The enemies of God and of the Motherland believed they were going to exterminate Religion from our soil, and they have done nothing more than enliven and stimulate the faith and religious sentiment....⁶⁸

Secondly, the bishop demanded the "purification" and "cleansing" of the diocese, with the collaboration of the new authorities, in whose sense of justice and nobility of purpose he fully trusted:

At all costs we must try to eradicate for all time the black legend of our lovely and loved city; we must wash from its face the ignominy that spurious and denaturalised sons have cast upon it. With the most worthy authorities whom we fortunately have as leaders, with the decided support of the just and understanding New State, and ... with the enthusiastic support and sacrifice of all those good children of this soil, we will soon see a new Málaga arise, purified and clean, honoured and noble; a Málaga, in short, that is genuinely Spanish and fervently Christian.⁶⁹

The bishop ended his speech with a warm greeting for the mayor as a symbol of the pledge of friendship and inviolable concord that he hoped would always exist between the civil and religious authorities. In the days that followed, Bishop Santos Olivera dedicated himself in

⁶⁷Pastoral document from Tangiers, of 1 November 1936, in *BOOM* (1936), 346. See also pp. 360-64 for the bishop's radio message from Seville to his clergy.

⁶⁸*BOOM* (1937), 39.

⁶⁹*Id.*

the early days of his return to an intense cycle of mass atonements, rites of purification, and masses and eulogies for the fallen Nationalists, "martyrs" of the faith. The cathedral underwent special rites to atone for its supposed profanation by the "reds" who had resided there for a period. Similar rites were held in other churches in Málaga. On the Feast of Saint Joseph, the bishop invited all the Catholics of the diocese to a special mass of atonement for the "horrible profanation and sacrilege committed by the marxist hordes in our city."⁷⁰ On Good Friday, a candlelight procession was held as an act of penitence. The procession, held in silence, departed at nine in the evening, and did not return until half past one in the morning. According to the diocesan bulletin, 8,000 people participated, and another 50,000 were silent spectators. Although the real motivation of all these people is highly questionable given the atmosphere of terror of the times, the bishop proudly declared, "You have set the standard of what a holy procession should be. Who would have said so two months ago!"⁷¹

The idea expressed by Santos Olivera as to the necessity of purging and disinfecting the community was enshrined in penal legislation and endorsed by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In its collective pastoral letter of 1 July 1937, -signed by 48 bishops, and with only two notable exceptions⁷² - the hierarchy expressly legitimated armed resistance to attacks against tradition, patriotic values and religion and justified the supposedly prophylactic measures being undertaken by Nationalist justice. The insurgent uprising was presented as not merely a military coup, but as a popular, civic response to revolutionary, antipatriotic and antireligious tyranny and to the threat of communism. Thomist doctrine on the just rebellion was applied to the Civil War to justify the uprising, and the subsequent repression and "purification" of the population.⁷³ The Nationalists represented the destruction of atheistic communism, and the restoration of traditional society, public order and justice.

⁷⁰Ibid., 40.

⁷¹Ibid., 46.

⁷²These were Mons. Múgica, Bishop of Vitoria, and Cardinal Vidal i Barraquer, Bishop of Tarragona. Both were resident in Rome at the time. On the missing signatories, see F. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 204-6. The collective pastoral is in *Documentos Colectivos del Episcopado Español (1870-1974)* (Madrid, 1974), 219-42.

⁷³Ibid., 227. See also the doctrinal studies to the same effect: on the theory of the just rebellion, see F. Stampa Irueste, *El delito de rebelión* (Madrid, 1945), who argues that armed resistance and even tyrannicide is legitimate in Catholic doctrine in certain circumstances. Stampa Irueste argues that there was no government in Spain in 1936, but only anarchy and chaos. Similar views are maintained by Fray I. Menéndez-Reigada, *La guerra nacional española ante la moral y el derecho* (Salamanca, 1937); and J. de la Cruz Martínez, *¿Cruzada o rebelión?* (Zaragoza, 1937).

In its analysis of the causes of the war, the emphasis on the "spiritual contagion" of the Republicans inevitably led to the philosophy of adopting prophylactic measures, to prevent that contagion spreading. Furthermore, the the vanquished Republican enemy was dehumanised as a consequence of the rhetoric adopted by Catholic ideologues, thus making it far simpler to carry out a savage repression. The monstrosity and the satanic nature of the anti-Franco forces were greatly emphasised. Their barbaric nature led them to despise all manifestations of human virtue, culture, and spirituality.⁷⁴ The selfishness and materialism which motivated the advocates of the class struggle was attributed to their irreligiosity, their lack of moral values and of a Christian concept of life.

As the causes of communism were a spiritual problem, and not a personal, social, or political problem, communists were treated as diseased persons who in many cases were irremediably infected and beyond recovery. The danger of contagion of anti-Catholic philosophies remained latent as long as the individuals concerned either did not open their hearts to Christ, or were not removed from society. While the communist peril had been defeated on the battlefield, the danger nevertheless continued "insofar as these souls lack the idea of God, and this is a call for our activities and our apostolate."⁷⁵ Crusade mentality inexorably led to the justification of the repression, as Tello notes.⁷⁶

The collective pastoral letter of May 1937 had also denied accusations that the Nationalist repression was as cruel as, if not more cruel than, the Republican atrocities. The ecclesiastical hierarchy declared that Popular Front justice had consisted of terrible crimes against God, society, and men, and with one fell swoop discredited the Republican legal system declaring: "There can be no such thing as justice if God has been eliminated." The destruction carried out for its own sake by the Republicans could not justly be compared with the actions of the military. Cardinal Gomá, Primate of Spain, declared that all wars had their excesses,

⁷⁴J.A. Tello Lázaro, *Ideología y política: La Iglesia Católica Española 1936-1959* (Zaragoza, 1984), 79. In the *Carta Colectiva* of the Spanish hierarchy of July 1937, for example, the "Communist" revolutionaries were accused of plotting the premeditated destruction of the Church; of hunting down clergy with dogs over the hills; of carrying out all kinds of barbaric tortures and mutilations; of not respecting the honour of women, not even that of female religious; of profanating cemeteries; of destroying the works of civilisation of hundreds of years. Cardinal Gomá even referred to a story he had read in which it was reported that the enemy had played football with the head of the deceased Bishop Torras y Bagés. See Cardinal Gomá, "Sobre la guerra de España," in *Documentos Colectivos del Episcopado Español*, 231-5.

⁷⁵*Boletín de la Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas* (hereafter BACNP), quoted in J. R. Montero Gibert, "El Boletín de la Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (1939-1945)," in M. Ramírez (ed.) *Las fuentes ideológicas de un régimen (España 1939-1945)* (Zaragoza, 1978), 100.

⁷⁶J.A. Tello Lázaro, *op. cit.*, 86-7.

including on the Nationalist side. While reproving these excesses, he nevertheless denied that Nationalist justice was as brutal as that of the Republicans, affirming that there was a vast chasm between the administration of justice on one and other side.⁷⁷ True justice was being applied by the Nationalists, according to the bishops and writers, because all executions were subject to a judicial sentence, all legal guarantees were observed, and the accused were given the chance to repent and be reconciled with God before being executed. One of the most horrendous manifestations to this effect was that of Fray Martín Torrent, who was the chief prison chaplain and one of the formulators of Francoist penal policy, when he declared, "Nobody is more fortunate than the man sentenced to death, because he is the only one who knows exactly when he is going to die, which gives him a better opportunity to set his soul at peace before surrendering it."⁷⁸

The Franco régime, which declared itself Catholic, was presented as the antithesis of the cruel and degenerate Republic. The new values of the Crusade were being fully realised in the Nationalist controlled areas, according to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and Catholic rhetoricists. The ecclesiastical hierarchy gave full support to the ideology known as *nacional-catolicismo*, whose two dominant characteristics are indicated in its name, namely an exaggerated nationalism, and a religious integrism which overvalued Catholic orthodoxy and extended it to all aspects of life.⁷⁹

The elaboration and implementation of penal policy was necessarily influenced by this Crusade mentality, and implemented by a judicial and penitentiary system heavily dominated by Catholics. The first Minister of Justice, Count Rodezno, was replaced by the traditionalist Esteban Bilbao. The Propagandist Máximo Cuervo Radigales was Director of Prisons from 1939; the Propagandists José Guallart and Ferrer Sama, professors of Penal Law, were active in

⁷⁷Cardinal Gomá, op. cit., 239. See also Doctor Mugueta, *Ellos y Nosotros. Al mundo católico y al mundo civilizado* (Pamplona, 1937), 45, cited in J.A. Tello Lázaro, op. cit., 87. One slightly discordant voice was that of the Archbishop of Pamplona, Mons. Marcelino Olaechea; see G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. II (Madrid, 1986), 121-2.

⁷⁸Cited in J.A. Tello Lázaro, op. cit., 186.

⁷⁹For an analysis of the characteristics of *nacional-catolicismo*, see A. Alvarez Bolado, *El experimento del Nacional-Catolicismo (1939-1975)* (Madrid, 1976), 45. See also E. González Calleja and F. Limón Nevado, *La Hispanidad como instrumento de combate. Raza e imperio en la prensa franquista durante la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid, 1988); R. Morodo, *Acción Española: orígenes ideológicos del franquismo* (Madrid, 1980); and F. Urbina, "Formas de vida de la Iglesia en España: 1939-1975," in *Iglesia y sociedad en España 1939-1975* (Madrid, 1977).

the formulation of Francoist penal policy and legislation.⁸⁰ The Church's authority over the elaboration and implementation of penal policy was unquestionable: the Church had a right to attend to penal policy insofar as the spiritual welfare of the prisoners -indeed their salvation- was at stake. The Minister of the Exterior, Serrano Súñer, declared that the Church's contribution was vital: "... the State cannot rely only on sanitary prophylaxis nor on the penal legislation. It needs the cooperation of 'other entities that live beyond its sphere,' and concretely, the unsubstitutable teaching of the Church."⁸¹

In accordance with Crusade philosophy, penal policy sought two objectives: firstly, the prophylactic, and secondly, the re-educational. Instruction in Catholic doctrine was the antidote or remedy to the spiritual ailment of the individual and the appropriate vaccination for the population at large. Santos Olivera urged the flock not to seek reform of prisoners only through laws, advocating religious instruction and the apostolate as antidotes to laicism and what he described as "the propaganda of the false apostles of liberty."⁸²

It was necessary to identify all those potentially infectious elements of the population with a view to their instruction. Repressive legislation was drafted as broadly as possible with the clear intention of bringing as many citizens as possible under the scrutiny of the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical. Once identified, these individuals -indeed, entire families- were subjected to a complex process of socialisation and indoctrination. The identification and socialisation of "suspect" citizens was greatly facilitated by a Decree of 1939 -the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* [Law of Political Responsibility of 9 February 1939]. The way in which this law was applied also served as a form of public humiliation -an aspect of the Francoist repression which has never attracted sufficient attention and whose practical importance has been underestimated. By identifying "suspect" citizens, it also served as a means of public vigilance and control. Finally, it was an important means of fund raising for the State.

This extensive piece of legislation -89 articles in all- purported to clear up the responsibility [*liquidar las culpas*] of all who, "contributed, with acts or grave omissions, to the red subversion, to keeping it alive during more than two years and to obstructing the providential and historically inevitable triumph of the Nationalist Army..."

The legislation was retrospective. It ratified the illegalisation of all parties and political

⁸⁰A. Sáez Alba, *La Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas*, XXXI.

⁸¹*Ecclesia* (15 Jan. 1941), 3.

⁸²*BOOM* (Feb. 1938), 103.

and social groups which had been integrated in the Popular Front after February 1936, as well as all those related or affiliated associations, separatist organisations, and "all those which might have opposed the triumph of the National Movement." The property of such parties and associations was confiscated in its totality by the State (articles 2 and 3). By subsequent order of 23 September 1939, all works of art, furniture, precious metals, etcetera, were auctioned, and the belongings of the prohibited parties passed to the Movement. Furthermore, all physical and juridical persons were declared politically responsible if, from 1 October 1936 to 18 July 1936, they contributed to "creating or aggravating the subversions of any type to which Spain was made victim and those others which, after the second of said dates, opposed or oppose the National Movement with concrete acts or grave passivity." The broad wording of the legislation was quite deliberate, expressly designed to encompass "all those acts which, in the judgement of the Government, are deserving of sanction.... The judicial discretion will be as extensive as the complexity of the acts and omissions which must be judged demand."

Article 4 elaborated the types of offences which specifically fell within the scope of the legislation. Most notable of all was that all those convicted under the military jurisdiction for the crimes of rebellion, adherence or inducement to the rebellion, and who were therefore imprisoned, were automatically subjected to the provisions of the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*; they were consequently tried twice, and sanctioned with prison sentence and with economic sanctions for the same offence. In other cases, many who could not have been accused of an offence under the military code of justice, could nevertheless be sentenced under this Law.

Its application was so general and so broad that it permitted the "netting" not only of Republican sympathisers, but even of citizens who merely dissented with or even were indifferent to, the new régime. Furthermore, the legislation placed at least as much emphasis on acts of omission and "grave passivity" as on concrete acts, thus effectively imputing a criminal motivation to failures to actively support the Nationalist uprising. Ambiguity in itself was suspicious and dangerous. As it is highly problematical empirically proving that "grave passivity" was motivated by political intentions, the effect of the legislation was also to reverse the burden of proof, that is, the State did not prove the accused's guilt, but on the contrary, the accused had to prove his or her innocence. Many people could be placed under suspicion, for not being convincing enough, and doubtless there were many borderline cases. Many must have been tempted to throw in their lot with the Nationalist cause, informing on neighbours, appearing as prosecution witnesses, being seen regularly in the church, etc. in an attempt to deflect attention from themselves. The inducement to do so was very real. Doubtless a prudent dose of cynicism

and foresight saved many families, at the cost of condemning many others. In essence, the legislation sought to try intentions and beliefs, and not concrete actions, which led to the deliberate misinterpretation of acts, or omissions, in search of a culpable intention or ideology.

Proceedings could be instituted merely by the accusation of a citizen, as well as by the military tribunals or any of the authorities (article 35). The generality of the wording and lack of legal guarantees virtually guaranteed indictments. The sanctions were threefold: disqualification from the practice of one's profession, exile, or economic sanctions which could include loss of all goods and properties. Article 15 decreed that economic sanctions will be made effective against the estate of the accused, even in cases where the accused has deceased before or during the proceedings.

The legislation served to gravely sanction and stigmatise a great proportion of the population. Firstly, these sectors of the population were exposed to serious economic hardship. Secondly, they were distinguished and discriminated from the rest of the population; indeed, a law of 27 September 1940 extended the economic sanctions, and decreed that the names of the convicted should be made public. This allowed property registries to prevent the accused from disposing of their assets. Banks could block accounts, and individuals and associations were authorised to keep the accused person's belongings, not respect debts owed to them, etc. As Moreno Gómez has demonstrated in the case of Córdoba, this was open to all kinds of abuse.⁸³ Finally, these individuals were susceptible to close vigilance by the police and to the careful ministry of the Church, which was ever disposed to see to the spiritual necessities of the strayed. It is probably impossible to know exactly how many prisoners and their families were affected by this legislation; Abella argues that the total of cases instructed by the *Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas* reached 700,000.⁸⁴

The body of repressive legislation continued to build over the years.⁸⁵ The judicial interpretation of the body of repressive law relied on the application of the natural law as much as on positive law. In his study of the political thought of the judges of the Supreme Court [*Tribunal Supremo*], Bastida notes how the judges handed down judgements supporting their

⁸³F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 272-5; see also R. Gil Bracero, op. cit., especially 607-10 on the application of this legislation in Granada.

⁸⁴R. Abella, *Por el imperio hacia Dios. Crónica de una posguerra (1939-1955)* (Barcelona, 1978), 66.

⁸⁵See *Ley para la Represión de la Masonería y el Comunismo*, 1 March 1940; the *Ley de Seguridad del Estado* promulgated on 29 March 1941; the reform of the Penal Code in 1944; and the *Ley de Orden Público* of June 1959, amongst others.

arguments with references to biblical texts, encyclicals, pastorals, and other religious texts, "... to the extent that in some sentences, the TS pontificates rather than gives sentence;"⁸⁶ but the same did not happen when the defence lawyer reminded the tribunal of Catholic doctrine on human rights: "In such cases the Supreme Court argued that such doctrine cannot be of direct application by the tribunals..."⁸⁷

Those unlucky enough to be jailed were subjected to a special vigilance and to a more intense process of socialisation. From the first, Francoist penal policy constituted a bizarre mix of brutal repression and process of indoctrination; the eradication of political opposition by force was combined with the theory of redeeming and regenerating the penal population. As Angel Sanz, General Director of Prisons, declared on taking office, "I aspire not only to win, but also to convince ["No aspiro sólo a vencer, sino a convencer"]".⁸⁸ Similarly, the Propagandist Zulueta remarked in a speech to an assembly of the ACNP in 1942, that 99% of inmates in Spanish jails were reds; but that shortly 99% of them would be fervent Catholics.⁸⁹

As a first step in the Christian regeneration of prisons, the clergy and religious orders were given administrative posts. This was no novelty; in many cases, this was merely reverting to the situation that had existed before the penal reforms of the Republican period. By Decree of 22 November 1936, the *Reglamento de los servicios de Prisiones* of 14 November 1930 was reestablished. The 1930 legislation included the obligation of all prisoners to hear mass on Sundays and holy days; the participation of clergy on the disciplinary boards; and the participation of female religious orders in basic maintenance and administration.⁹⁰ This latter issue was confirmed in legislation of September 1938. According to this legislation, the prisons were entitled to contact with orders such as the Daughters of Charity, Oblatas, etc, in order to intensify the moral values in prisons. These orders were entrusted with general services in women's prisons, including book-keeping and administration, nursing, kitchen duties, and as wardens. In men's prisons, the religious communities were entrusted with nursing and running

⁸⁶F. J. Bastida, *Jueces y franquismo. El pensamiento político del Tribunal Superior en la dictadura* (Barcelona, 1986), 185.

⁸⁷Ibid., 13-25.

⁸⁸*Redención* (8 May 1943), 1.

⁸⁹A. Sáez Alba, op. cit., XXXII.

⁹⁰Decree of 14 November 1930, articles 27, 37, 40, 381 and 385.

the clothing department.⁹¹ These duties were progressively extended to administering the provision of food supplies,⁹² exclusive jurisdiction over the administration and accounting in women's prisons,⁹³ and participation in the disciplinary boards.⁹⁴ In Málaga, the Carmelite nuns were involved in running the men's prison as early as the beginning of 1939.⁹⁵ Apart from their role as socialising agents, the work of the religious communities was extremely beneficial to the state because it lowered labour costs.⁹⁶ The "regenerative" work of the religious orders was greatly appreciated by the régime. In 1944, for example, Sor Pilar Gómez Martín, of the Community of Carmelites of the Eucharistic Heart of Jesus, and Superior of the Prison of Málaga, was conceded the Medal for Penitentiary and Social Merit.⁹⁷

The administrative work of the religious communities was supplemented by the spiritual and pastoral work of the prison chaplains. From October 1938, the bishops were charged with the organisation and supervision of religious worship in prisons as a provisional measure; in January 1941, a decree of the Ministry of Justice reinstated the Corps of Prison Chaplains.⁹⁸ Finally, article 3 required that Directors of Prisons satisfy whatever the bishop should regard as necessary for divine worship.⁹⁹ The bishop and chaplains were assisted in the prison apostolate by Catholic Action. In the early years of the régime, the usual strategy adopted was the running of missions in prisons for the spiritual regeneration of prisoners, and Catholic Action assisted in the organisation and carrying out of the missions. The diocesan bulletin published commentaries on the various missions, which the penal population always attended en masse. In 1938, for example, missionary fathers gave missions in the prisons of Melilla. The inmates were preached at "with simplicity and affection," about the fundamental truths and obligations of the good

⁹¹BOE (5 Sept. 1938).

⁹²Ibid. (11 Aug. 1941).

⁹³Ibid. (25 Jan. 1943).

⁹⁴Ibid. (6 Feb. 1941).

⁹⁵Specifically, the *Religiosas Terciarias Carmelitas*. BOOM (1939), 58-9.

⁹⁶In 1941, female religious working in prisons received a pay rise up to six pesetas a day, which was still two pesetas per day cheaper than what was being paid to non-religious staff. BOE (10 Aug. 1941).

⁹⁷*Redención* (24 June 1944), 3.

⁹⁸BOE (1 Jan. 1944).

⁹⁹Ibid. (3 Oct. 1938).

Christian. At Rostro Gordo, thirty inmates did not comply with their religious obligations, but in Victoria el Grande, all of them did, except for nine Arabs, referred to as "Moors". Here, there were also two renunciations of masons. At the prison of Zeluán, a whole week of instruction was meted out, morning and night, by the mission fathers. Instruction was given from high up in the watch tower to the patio of inmates waiting below and "The result was highly satisfactory," that is to say, two hundred prisoners received communion, and ten individuals made a public retraction for being masons, and received absolution for their sins.¹⁰⁰

In 1939, in the men's prison of Málaga, the bishop gave the inmates a talk, followed by the singing of religious songs by the prison choir. In the same year, there was a mission held in order to prepare the inmates for Easter. Twenty five priests were necessary to administer communion, and 2,440 inmates received communion. In the women's prison, there was also a preparatory mission, and mass was said for about 900 women.¹⁰¹ In 1939, a decree was passed making Our Lady of Mercy the patron of prisons: from then on, special masses would be said on that day, and special privileges were offered to the prisoners to celebrate.¹⁰² In 1942, the diocesan bulletin again mentions missions in the prisons of Málaga; in the men's prison from 3 April to 16 April, and for the women, from the 3 April to 21 April. As always, the missions were declared a great success. The bulletin reported that 1,973 men attended, of which 1,010 received communion. Of the women, 750 attended, and 720 received communion. The bulletin insisted on the voluntary and spontaneous nature of the inmates' attendance, and reported cases of intense religious fervor, something which was typical of all the religious press of these years, and which appears more rhetorical than real.¹⁰³ In subsequent years, the hierarchy would depend on the specialised apostolate of Catholic Action to carry out apostolic work in prisons. At the V Diocesan Assembly of Catholic Action in Málaga, the male branch of Catholic Action received special preparation to carry out its apostolate in male prisons.¹⁰⁴

The role of the religious orders, clergy, and lay apostolic movements in the prisons is an issue which raises passions. According to Eiroa San Francisco, who has carried out interviews

¹⁰⁰ *BOOM* (July 1938), 477-8.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* (May 1939), 58-9, 279-80.

¹⁰² Order of 24 September 1939.

¹⁰³ *BOOM* (May 1942), 408-9.

¹⁰⁴ *Ecclesia* (7 Mar. 1942), 4. On the work of Catholic Action's specialised apostolate in prisons in Madrid-Alcalá, see *ibid.* (25 July 1942), 5.

amongst ex-prison inmates in the prisons of Málaga, "It is curious that all coincide on the nullity of the help supplied by the clergy in general to the vanquished population, although from the pulpit and the confessional they sought to control their spiritual and political formation."¹⁰⁵ Religious ceremonies were the order of the day; mass on Sundays and holy days was obligatory; nevertheless Barranquero Texeira declares that in the jails of Málaga, the prisoners rejected religious ceremonies, especially the propagandistic official acts in the presence of the authorities, and many hid from Fr. Gorospe, "whom they considered to be not just an informer, but indeed a policeman in disguise."¹⁰⁶ Oral testimony from ex-prison inmates of Málaga indicates that the behaviour of some clergy and religious was not ideal. There are accusations of members of religious orders stealing money, or demanding money from prisoners for the carrying out of favours such as passing letters on to relatives. Others include non compliance with norms on the feeding of the prison population, and of humiliation, ill treatment and insults in general.¹⁰⁷ Many other sources severely castigate the religious communities for their purported inhumanity and cruelty.¹⁰⁸

The incorporation of clergy and religious within the penal institutions was not the only means by which prisoners might be indoctrinated. The *Redención de Penas* scheme, which was made necessary by the extraordinarily overcrowded nature of Spanish jails under Franco, was also used as a means of socialisation. According to an estimate of Máximo Cuervo, Director General of Prisons, the prison population in 1941 was twelve to fourteen times higher than the norm.¹⁰⁹ The prison population had experienced an enormous increase; from a total of 12,571 prison inmates in 1934, to 100,262 in 1939 to a peak of 270,719 in 1940.¹¹⁰ In 1944, the Director General of Prisons, Sanz Nogués, announced the incorporation of prisoners as labourers in public works, either for the State or subcontracted to private enterprises. The

¹⁰⁵M. Eiroa San Francisco, "La conjunción Iglesia-Estado," 607.

¹⁰⁶E. Barranquero Texeira, *Málaga entre la guerra y la posguerra*, 236.

¹⁰⁷M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 608.

¹⁰⁸See, e. g., G. di Febo, *Resistencia y Movimiento de mujeres en España (1936-1976)* (Barcelona, 1979), 17-47. On the work of prison chaplains in Córdoba, see F. Moreno Gómez, op. cit., 38.

¹⁰⁹*Ecclesia* (15 Jan. 1941), 9.

¹¹⁰From *Anuario Estadístico de España* (Madrid, 1943), 41; published in D. Sueiro, *El Valle de los Caídos. Los secretos de la cripta franquista* (Barcelona, 1983), 55-6. On the vexed question of how many prisoners existed in the Franco régime, see also R. Tamames, op. cit., 353-6; A. Suárez, *Libro blanco sobre las cárceles franquistas, 1939-1976* (París, 1976), 63-5; and H. Heine, op. cit. 311.

project purported to regenerate the inmates through hard labour, or as the director general declared, "To recover for the Motherland... the intelligence and the manual labour lying inert in jails, to make it fertile in the task of reconstruction."¹¹¹ The justification for this policy, based on the book of Genesis, was that work was divine punishment for original sin. Catholic doctrine defended both the necessity and the nobility of labour, and the necessity of repairing the damage done to the community. According to Fr. Pérez del Pulgar, "It is very just that the prisoners contribute with their labour to the reparation of the damage which they contributed to by their cooperation with the marxist rebellion."¹¹² Sanz Nogués declared that work was a way of redeeming one's own guilt and of making amends and thus regenerating the prisoner. Considering work in this light, he declared, it was impossible to regard it in the same light as forced labour.¹¹³

As early as 28 May 1937, a decree established the prisoners' "right" to work. The prisoners were put to work both for State municipalities and private enterprises. They were paid two pesetas per day, of which 1.5 was reserved for their maintenance, and the rest paid to them. There were also additional payments to prisoners' wives and children. These were personally handed over to the families. This gave the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy the opportunity of making contact with the families for apostolic purposes. Indeed, a Decree of 7 October 1938 stated that it was appropriate that those organisations entrusted with the subsidies exercise their apostolate by combining this act of material assistance with the spiritual and political improvement of the inmates and their families.

To this end, the decree established the *Patronato Central de Redención de Penas* [Central Board for the Redemption of Sentences], and *Juntas Locales Pro Presos* [Local Committees Pro Prisoners], in all the localities where prisoner's families worked. They were responsible for all services regarding the prisoners, "in order to carry out the enormous task of purging from the prisoners and their relatives the poisonous ideas of hatred and anti-patriotism, substituting them for mutual love and close solidarity between all Spaniards." The *Patronato* included a priest or member of a religious congregation named by the primate (in the 1940's this representative was Fr. Ignacio de Zulueta). It was to watch over prisoners, and could

¹¹¹*Redención* (1 Jan. 1944), 3.

¹¹²J. A. Pérez del Pulgar, *La solución que España da al problema de sus presos políticos* (Valladolid, 1939), cited in D. Sueiro, op. cit., 50.

¹¹³*Redención* (22 Jan. 1944), 3.

recommend that they be transferred nearer to their families, or that their sentences be reduced for work done, at a rate of two days' reduction for every days' work done. Only spouses of prisoners married according to canon law, and legitimate children could benefit from the subsidy. Furthermore, female inmates received none at all, unless the children of under fifteen years were fatherless.

The *Juntas* were composed of a representative of the mayor, the parish priest, and a woman chosen from "among the most charitable and zealous elements." They were to personally hand over the money to the families of inmates, and inspect for any changes in the circumstances of the family, "trying furthermore to alleviate those in necessity with a spirit of true assistance and social solidarity, and promoting as far as possible the education of the children of the prisoners in respect for the Law of God and love of the Motherland.." The Decree of 7 June 1939 on the granting of conditional liberty established a clear relationship between redeeming sentences by hard labour and the attainment of the status of conditional liberty, disposing that a register be kept of all days worked, which would be taken into account in conceding conditional liberty. On 8 February 1946, work within the inside of the prison was made obligatory; article 28 of this legislation decreed that the working day would comply with the labour legislation, but article 44 decreed that rejection of extra work would be considered a very grave fault, along with blasphemy and misbehaviour. Inmates were therefore mobilised for the postwar reconstruction, alleviating an extraordinary financial burden on the State both in penitentiary expenses and in reconstruction expenses. Furthermore, an unknown number of private enterprises also benefitted from the forced labour which the régime provided, despite the allegations to the contrary.

Another, greater step was taken with the Decree of 23 November 1940, -*BOE* (29 Nov. 1940)- on *Redención de Penas*. The new legislation offered "redemption" of prison sentences, not merely by physical labour, but also through what was termed "intellectual" or "artistic" labour. This intellectual effort was to consist of religious, political, and basic literacy classes. The importance of teaching religion was based on the conviction that the Republican revolution had been caused by a spiritual malaise and by the ignorance of the population. According to Cuervo de Radigales:

It was logical that the task of redeeming sentences be extended to intellectual work, with which, besides, we get those who do not know the beauty of our religion to appreciate it, distancing them from that ignorance which perhaps was the only cause of their irreligiosity, given that it is impossible to love what one does not know.... Hence, everything that means opening the eyes of these people

to our doctrine and pouring charity into their souls, insofar as it is compatible with justice, is a very great task of Catholic Action.¹¹⁴

By attending classes, and offering their abilities and skills to the penitentiary authorities, inmates could reduce their prison sentences. Religious instruction was offered for two, four and six months, for elementary, intermediary and superior levels respectively. These classes had to be given by prison chaplains, although inmates could work as auxiliaries. The inmate had to pass an examination, and appear before an examination tribunal, on which a priest or member of a religious order was to be present.

Basic literacy was also required. Elementary instruction or special classes approved by the General Director of Prisons had to be "inspired by the most vibrant patriotic spirit." Those who ceased to be illiterate could reduce their sentences by two months, and another three for every additional level they acquired, after examination before the tribunal. Reductions were also offered to those with artistic or technical skills or expertise, if they devoted themselves to something deemed worthy in the prison, and to those who acquired said skills in prison. Finally, extraordinary redemption could be offered to those who carried out "an artistic or literary production of any order which is esteemed to be of real merit."

In every case, in order to receive conditional liberty, inmates were obliged to have received an elemental religious and basic instruction. Thus, even those who might have been inclined to ignore the benefits of classes for ideological reasons, would have been obliged to go through the motions if he or she had wanted to benefit from, for example, an amnesty.

The emphasis placed on the redeemability and regeneration of inmates was regarded with considerable satisfaction by the authorities and ideologues as manifest proof of the superiority of the Spanish penal system: "... it does not deny the human condition of the delinquent, a complete evaluation, a possibility of salvation."¹¹⁵ In *Ecclesia*, it was held to be the most advanced penal system in the world, while the Minister of Justice, Aunós, declared that the Spanish penal system served in part to reconquer the world for God in the spirit of the Gospels.¹¹⁶ The Propagandists were majority in the *Patronato*, as well as in its local boards.¹¹⁷ Their presence assured that the

¹¹⁴*Ecclesia* (15 Jan. 1941), 9.

¹¹⁵*Redención* (8 May 1943), 1.

¹¹⁶*Ecclesia* (21 Mar. 1942), 10; *Redención* (15 Sept. 1943), 1-2.

¹¹⁷A. Sáez Alba, op. cit., XXXI. The propagandists were members of the *Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas* (ACNP). It was established by Herrera Oria as a Catholic intellectual élite which acted as lobby group and organisation for the development and instruction of Catholic social doctrine. It sought to

recatholicisation of the inmates would be treated with seriousness. They were soon prominent in all the penal and judicial organisms of the new State, from where they developed and applied penal and judicial policy, impregnating it with Catholic concepts of justice, regeneration, and pardon.¹¹⁸ The secretary of the *Patronato* declared that a profoundly Christian philosophy underpinned the policy of redemption, which considered prisoners to be recoverable for the greater glory of Spain.¹¹⁹ He denied that there had been any political repression, explicitly considering the Republican prisoners to be common criminals, whose behaviour had to be moulded for a new moral life. The penitentiary policy of the régime was described as "a policy of love;" the product of this policy would be prisoners "with religious devotion, full of life and strength, lovers of the Motherland."¹²⁰

In reality, the concern for the spiritual salvation and regeneration of the prisoners was no less important than the consideration that these individuals, if not adequately resocialised, might serve to reactivate the social and political struggle in civil society. The process of redemption therefore consisted of testing whether or not the individual was indeed rehabilitated, because "it is not possible to categorically declare that an individual is or is not socially rehabilitated without prior testing..."¹²¹

Fr. Pérez del Pulgar, to whom the idea of redemption of sentences was attributed (although he generously attributed the idea to Franco), and was member of the board of the *Patronato Central para la Redención de Penas por el Trabajo*, was even clearer:

... it is not possible, without taking the necessary precautions, to return to society, or shall we say, to social circulation, damaged, perverted, politically and morally poisoned elements, because their reincorporation into the normal and free Spanish community, without more, would represent a danger of corruption and of contagion for all, as well as being an historic failure achieved at the cost of so much sacrifice.¹²²

form many of the nation's future leaders and directors in all walks of social, cultural, economic, and political life, and thus guide the nation's future destiny along the lines of orthodox Catholic ideology. See also J. R. Montero Gibert, "El Boletín de la Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas (1939-1945)."

¹¹⁸On the presence of the ACNP in repressive, penal, and judicial bodies and tribunals of all kinds, see *ibid.*, XXIX-XXXII.

¹¹⁹*Redención* (25 Sept. 1943), 3.

¹²⁰The Secretary of the *Patronato para la Redención de Penas*, Gervasio M. Castrillón, citing the Minister of Justice, Aunós, in *ibid.* (11 Dec. 1942), 1.

¹²¹*Ibid.* (30 Oct. 1943), 1.

¹²²J. A. Pérez del Pulgar, *op. cit.*, cited in D. Sueiro, *op. cit.*, 51-2.

The inmates' disciplinary record was taken as an important indication of the degree of repentance felt by the prisoner, and of the success of the regenerative process. Franco's Christian penal system, it was argued, demanded moral regeneration, of which important indications were: good spirit, discipline, assiduity, diligence, hard work, and always being cheerfully disposed to the task at hand.¹²³ Naturally, obedience, and submission to authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, were highly prized. Special reductions in sentences were offered to prisoners who behaved well. According to the penal publication *Redención*, inmates were divided into various groups. Those who were classified as "very Good" received four days off. Those who were "extraordinarily good" -which meant excelling all others in obedience, discipline and work- received six days off for every day of work.¹²⁴ The slightest infraction could mean the loss of benefits accrued, at the minimum. In 1941, for example, one unfortunate individual lost all the benefits accrued under the *redención de penas* scheme, and was transferred from Murcia to the island of Las Palmas, for blasphemy.¹²⁵

The kind of intellectual/artistic work for which redemption was conceded generally consisted of propaganda in favour of Franco and the régime. Reduction in sentences was offered, for example, to those who participated in the weekly publication of the *Patronato de Redención de Penas, Redención*, aimed at the penal population.¹²⁶ Its first editor was the Propagandist José María Sánchez Muniain (May 1939 to January 1943), followed by another prominent Propagandist, Nicolás González Ruiz. Giuliana di Febo alleges that inmates refused to buy *Redención*, so that, in order to stimulate its purchase, it was decreed that those who subscribed to it would be rewarded with an extra visit from their families every month.¹²⁷

Its tone -either menacing, or paternalistic- reflected the general attitude adopted towards the recatholicisation and political socialisation of inmates. A large part of the paper was dedicated to official news and speeches made by Franco or his ministers, particularly the Minister of Justice. In the early years, great coverage was dedicated to the course of the Second World War which began to decline when the Axis fell into decline. The religious context was ever

¹²³*Redención* (16 Jan. 1943).

¹²⁴*Ibid.* (14 Aug. 1943), 1.

¹²⁵*Ibid.* (1 Mar. 1941), 1.

¹²⁶R. Abella, *op. cit.*, 61.

¹²⁷G. di Febo, *op. cit.*, 32. See also A. Suárez, *op. cit.*, 89-90.

present, even in the most innocuous, such as cartoons. Articles on questions relating to Catholic doctrine and dogma, saints and great mystics, were regularly published, usually written by clergy or distinguished Propagandists. All religious events held within the prison itself were inevitably commented on -masses, baptisms, canonical marriages which "corrected" the immoral situation of some inmates, holy days celebrated within the prison, etc. *Redención* also participated in the education campaign. During 1941, it began to publish a guide to the letters of the alphabet, accompanied by religious texts in bold print with which to practise. In this way, basic literacy skills were connected with religious instruction. Basic catechism questions were also published, in question and answer form, to facilitate rote learning.¹²⁸

Redención also reported on the numbers of inmates benefitting from *redención de penas*, and the favourable evolution of literacy statistics. Presumably in an effort not to be totally indigestible, the publication also included articles on sport, and question and answer columns on various questions, like handyman hints, and legal advice for the inmates. In 1943, under the heading "For the moral elevation of the inmate," *Redención* published news of the creation of a new status -that of "student of honour." Every month, the director of the prison was to put forward the name of a student who had distinguished him or herself by good conduct and application. This had to be signed by the teacher, and the chaplain. During that month, the student would receive as "reward:" being the first in line when marching in formation; permission to write a daily letter to their families, or receive a daily parcel; permission to receive two extra visits per week. Any fault, however slight, would result in forfeiture of the title. Three titles won in one year were rewarded with the "diploma of honour." This permitted the inmate to kiss his mother, wife, and children on one visit, with the prior approval of the director of the prison.¹²⁹ On other occasions, competitions were held to incite inmates to participate in religious acts of some kind. For example, a competition was held to select the lyrics of the official hymn of the Patron of Prisons, Our Lady of Mercy.¹³⁰

It is unknown exactly how many inmates took part in *Redención*, or in the various competitions and other schemes. Abella suggests that according to the Ministry of Justice,

¹²⁸These questions at elementary included, for example: What is a good Christian? Who was Jesus Christ? Where are the sacraments? Recite the Our Father. Why does God allow physical harm? What is the doctrine of original sin? How many way does a Christian cross himself and what does it mean?

¹²⁹*Redención* (27 Feb. 1943), 1.

¹³⁰*Ibid.* (20 Feb. 1943), 1.

40,000 inmates underwent *Redención*, although not all of them finished.¹³¹ *Ecclesia* triumphantly declares in 1942 that 22,897 inmates had learnt to read and write in a year, and many more had received catechism classes. Illiteracy, it declared, had been totally wiped out of Spanish prisons, and the inmates had read a total of 35,266 books, "of religious, patriotic and technical instruction."¹³²

Some examinations were held amidst great ceremony, in the presence of local authorities and including prizes, hymns and other rituals.¹³³ *Redención* was full of examples of exemplary conversions, changes of heart and miracles.¹³⁴ Literary and artistic competitions were also held, with an overtly propagandistic function. A clear example is one literary competition held in Granada in 1937, and doubtless representative of what was taking place in the rest of the nation. The topic of the competition was "Franco, Caudillo and Saviour of Spain," and it attracted work from the "the most select and most brilliant pens of those who, for political errors, principally suffer loss of freedom, and who are nowadays sincerely repentant, with the hope of being useful some day to the new Spain which is dawning."¹³⁵ The competition was open to all inmates, with cash prizes of sixty, forty, thirty, twentyfive and twenty pesetas, plus a diploma, awarded in a solemn ceremony in November 1937. The prison sentence was expressed to be an opportunity to reflect, to seek spiritual purification and rectify one's past errors. The competition was therefore the manifestation of the fruits of this prolonged meditation. Indeed, prison was explicitly compared to a monastery by the Director of the Prison of Granada:

Prison is not only a place for transcendental rectifications, which is the supreme finality of any penitentiary policy, but is also a place for profound meditation, of deep reflection, done far from the flurry of ordinary life, without perturbing influences, in an atmosphere of forced repose which has much that is penitential and much that is monastic.¹³⁶

¹³¹R. Abella, op. cit., 64.

¹³²*Ecclesia* (21 Mar. 1942), 10. See also *Justicia en Guerra*, 312, which gives a total of 29,354 applications for conditional liberty approved during 1942; and *Redención* (18 Sept. 1943), 1, which gives 23,888 inmates inscribed under the scheme in April 1943.

¹³³*Redención* (11 July 1942), 20.

¹³⁴*Ibid.* (5 Nov. 1943), 2.

¹³⁵T. H. Redondo, Professor of Literature of the University of Granada, in his introduction to *Franco, Caudillo y Salvador de España. Trabajos Premiados en el certamen literario celebrado en la Prisión Provincial de Granada* (Granada, 1938).

¹³⁶"Discurso pronunciado por el Sr. Director D. Amancio Tomé Ruiz," in *ibid.*, 101.

As a consequence of this reflection, the inmates repented of their errors and dedicated themselves to sincere praise of the new civilisation.

All this... clearly demonstrates... that here noble sentiments are cultivated, that here in the mansion of suffering, pain and suffering are used to purify spirits, to rectify errors and modify conduct; to awaken repentance with hearts set on God and on the essence of the Motherland.¹³⁷

Opinion shared by the Professor of Literature of the University of Granada, Tomás H. Redondo, who noted that some of the greatest works of Spanish literature had been written in jail, including *Don Quijote*: "Prison, then, is a place of meditation for elevated and sincere souls." The forgotten Christian values, cause of their present disgrace, were now overflowing from their souls through their pens, proof of their retraction of past errors and of their desire to incorporate themselves to the task of reconstructing the "new Spain."¹³⁸

The policy of *redención de penas* was not merely a means of spiritual regeneration of the inmates; it was also necessary in order to release many thousands of political prisoners, which the State was unable to maintain in prison, whilst keeping them under vigilance. Hence, the legislation on redemption became oriented towards the virtual automatic concession of redemption, with scarce guarantees as to the authenticity of the spiritual regeneration which was the purported objective of the scheme. In April of 1940, a ministerial order offered conditional liberty to all inmates of over sixty years of age, and with sentences of less than 20 years, provided they had not committed blood crimes. This could be revoked if there was evidence of unfavourable or censurable behaviour.¹³⁹ Subsequently, legislation of June 1940 conceded conditional liberty to inmates with sentences of less than six years; in 1940 and 1941, to sentences of less than 12 years; in 1942, to sentences of up to 14 years; and in 1943, to sentences of up to twenty years, always on the condition that the sentence had not already been reduced from the death sentence.¹⁴⁰

Redemption began to be conceded on a massive basis. In 1943, 15 days of redemption were automatically conceded to all inmates to celebrate the feast day of Our Lady of Mercy,

¹³⁷Ibid., 106.

¹³⁸T. H. Redondo, op. cit., 4-5.

¹³⁹BOE (5 Apr. 1940).

¹⁴⁰See legislation of 5 April 1940; 4 June 1940; 1 October 1940; 1 April 1941; 1 October 1942; 30 March 1943, respectively.

patron of prisons, and another 15 to celebrate *El Día del Caudillo*.¹⁴¹ From 1943 on, redemption served, not only to be released on conditional liberty, but also to reduce the actual sentence, so that the prisoner spent less time on conditional liberty.¹⁴² Also in 1943, redemption was automatically offered to sick inmates. Those who had been ill, and who had carried out any kind of work, would add on as redemption, the time that they had been ill. Directors of prisons were instructed to set the political prisoners to work, in cleaning, conservation of the buildings, or entertainment of the inmates, and that would give them a right to benefit from redemption. Article 5 expressly conceded redemption to writing for the prison paper; buying the paper *Redención* for the prison archive; the copying of paragraphs from the catechism or religious works or educational works as indicated by the chaplain or prison teacher; or listening "with attention and benefit" to the reading out loud of a chosen religious or cultural work, also indicated by the chaplain or teacher. These forms of redemption were expressly to be employed principally for the elderly, the ill or the disabled, but even so, article 7 asserted that the previous articles were of a demonstrative nature, and did not limit the discretion of the director of the prison, who was expressly ordered to organise services in the prison "in such a way that... all the prisoners to which these instructions apply benefit from redemption"¹⁴³ A week later, redemption was offered to inmates who gave blood for transfusions.¹⁴⁴ Special concessions were made for certain inmates, according to their particular circumstances, on the grounds of their special collaboration with the authorities. Inmates who undertook to be auxiliary teachers, for example, only needed to do about 75% of the lessons that the others had to do, provided satisfactory progress was made.¹⁴⁵ Similar concessions were offered to assistant librarians, writers, artists, and composers who worked for the prison authorities or newspaper.¹⁴⁶

According to *Redención*, in 1940, 10,836 inmates were released on conditional liberty. In 1941, the figure was 47,234, and in 1942, and 1943, 29,353 and 70,000 respectively.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹*Redención* (2 Oct. 1943), 1.

¹⁴²*Ibid.* (9 Oct. 1943), 9.

¹⁴³*Ibid.* (13 Nov. 1943), 2-3.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.* (20 Nov. 1943), 1.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.* (12 Sept. 1942), 1.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.* (16 Jan. 1943), 9.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.* (1 Jan. 1944), 5.

According to Moreno Gómez, by the end of 1943, the régime had released 150,000 inmates into conditional liberty.¹⁴⁸ In practice, it is virtually impossible to know how many were released because of the régime's opaque nature when it came to stating how many political prisoners there were in Spanish jails.

The adequate recatholicisation of inmates required specialised staff who could create the necessary meditative atmosphere and provide the necessary spiritual and doctrinal assistance for the inmates. The role of the prison warden, far from being merely the custodian of prisoners, was extended to that of missionary. One writer argued that in their daily missions, Spanish prison officers had ceased to be jailers. They could save thousands of souls for God and their country and derive a spiritual satisfaction from their work as no other profession.¹⁴⁹ To this end, the Propagandists created the Penitentiary Studies School [*Escuela de Estudios Penitenciarios*].¹⁵⁰ The course was not optional; it was indispensable for anyone who wanted to advance professionally.¹⁵¹ The prison officers were taught that they had a transcendental, redemptory and spiritual mission, as well as administrative function. It was not merely a job; it was a vocation. According to *Redención*, "It is necessary that the functionary ... become an educator; it is necessary ... not to appear to be in their eyes a custodian, but to be a comrade who shares with them their hours of captivity..."¹⁵² The courses run by the School focussed heavily on teaching Catholic dogma and social doctrine, principally the papal encyclicals. Detailed studies were also made of the régime's legislation. In all probability, the course was never more than an annoying formality, necessary for the professional advancement of the penitentiary staff. The composition of the penitentiary staff was heavily inclined towards individuals who lacked the necessary level of training and understanding to carry out a missionary role, but rather had been victims of the Republican repressions. Some articles published in 1944 criticised this state of affairs.¹⁵³

The work of the prison chaplains was also intense. The Directorship General of Prisons [*Dirección General de Prisiones*] acknowledged that the chaplain was the most effective

¹⁴⁸F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 315.

¹⁴⁹*Redención* (24 June 1944), 2.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.* (20 Feb. 1943), 1.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.* (26 June 1941), 1.

¹⁵²*Ibid.* (4 Sept. 1943), 3.

¹⁵³*Ibid.* (15 Jan. 1944), 3; *ibid.* (29 Jan. 1944), 3-4; and *ibid.* (15 Apr. 1944), 4.

instrument of regeneration in prisons. In 1942, six days were dedicated to the study of the penitentiary apostolate. The chaplains received classes on psychology of delinquents, on penal legislation, and on teaching of catechesis to inmates, relations with those under sentence of execution, relations with the members of the families of those under a death sentence, and with the prison officers, sacraments, etc.¹⁵⁴

The work of the chaplains was regarded as very positive and highly productive. The success or failure of their work was invariably calculated by the grade of external adhesion which the inmates demonstrated towards the basic precepts of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic press did not admit the possibility of their being any motivation other than the strictly religious. Under the heading of "Two hundred chaplains regenerate prisoners for God and for Spain," *Ecclesia* stated that in the missions held in Spanish jails in the last year, 70% of prisoners complied with their Easter obligation, and there were 1,480 marriages celebrated, as well as 331 first communions.¹⁵⁵ According to the glowing reports of the Catholic press, the chaplains had succeeded in wiping out the hate and suspicion from the hearts of bitter people, guilty in many cases of horrendous crimes against the Church, by their paternal, constant, and patient work.¹⁵⁶ In 1944, the head chaplain was also incorporated onto the board of the *Patronato para la Redención de Penas por el Trabajo*, from where he was to supervise the work of all religious and chaplains in prisons, and presumably foment a closer collaboration and coordination between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.¹⁵⁷ The chaplains maintained a close watch over the spiritual health of the inmates, to the point that a report in *Ecclesia* recommended that chaplains establish a special file on all inmates who entered or left infirmaries. Thus the chaplains would be able to report on the spiritual state of sick inmates to the new chaplains, should the inmate need to be transferred.¹⁵⁸

The regenerative process meticulously carried out in prisons was also extended to the inmates' families, and particularly to the children. Catholic Action carried out a vital role in this respect. Aparici, President of the Youth sections of Catholic Action explained that this

¹⁵⁴*Ecclesia* (9 May 1942), 8.

¹⁵⁵In 1941, 186 missions were given to inmates by clergy and religious in Spanish jails. *Ibid.* (21 Mar. 1942), 9.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.* (9 May 1942), 7-8.

¹⁵⁷*BOE* (1 Jan. 1944); also in *BOOM* (Mar. 1944), 197-9.

¹⁵⁸*Ecclesia* (6 June 1942), 14.

apostolate was fundamental, because on emerging from prison, many ex-inmates found society closed against them, and this could cause them to be kept the company of the dangerous and anti-Spanish elements of society. If inmates could see that the Church had been attending to their families, they would be more kindly inclined towards Catholic society.¹⁵⁹

During the visits of members of Catholic Action to the inmates' families in order to hand over payments, the moral conditions of the family were carefully scrutinised. Members of the local boards of the *Patronato de Redención de Penas* could also make routine visits. If any of them esteemed a child to be in great need or moral danger, the child could be removed from his or her home against the parents' wishes and institutionalised, usually in a Catholic college.¹⁶⁰ Inmates who did not have their children in Catholic colleges, were nevertheless strongly encouraged to do so. The *Patronato de Redención de Penas* appealed to the female religious to participate in "the great redemptive labour" by accepting at least a certain proportion of these children. In return, the government would pay the board of children enrolled in Catholic boarding schools, and guarantee a minimum number at all times. It also offered public assistance for the construction of new institutions if it were necessary, although the majority were interned in already existent institutions.¹⁶¹ The *Patronato* subsidised part of the costs of boarding and construction of schools with the money earned by the inmates.¹⁶²

According to *Redención*, long lines of women patiently waiting to enrol their children were reported.¹⁶³ The publication was full of news of baptisms, first communions, etc, of the children of inmates, as well as the school marks of the brightest; all them appeared to be cheerful, content, and well fed and clothed. Those who joined religious orders were naturally the object of the greatest satisfaction. Letters were printed from sons studying for the priesthood, in which they expressed their deepest gratitude to the authorities and the current social and political order, which received editorial comments such as "Ironies one constantly finds in life!"¹⁶⁴

The sending of these children to Catholic colleges, far from an act of repression, was

¹⁵⁹*Redención* (4 Jan. 1941), 4.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.* (23 Oct. 1943), 4.

¹⁶¹*Ecclesia* (1 June 1941), 29.

¹⁶²*Ibid.* (21 Mar. 1942), 10.

¹⁶³*Redención* (12 July 1941), 4; and *Ecclesia* (21 Mar. 1942), 10.

¹⁶⁴*Redención* (13 Nov. 1943), 1.

regarded as "a work of sublime charity." The parents' absolute liberty to withdraw their children from the college at any time without offering any explanations, was heavily emphasised, though scarcely credible. Great emphasis was also placed on the fact that the children were treated exactly the same as the rest, without being distinguished or discriminated in any way, to avoid causing resentment or feelings of inferiority.¹⁶⁵ Letters from delighted parents were often published in the pages of *Redención*.¹⁶⁶ It is not surprising that the number of children admitted to these colleges increased sharply in a very short time, although it is impossible to say how many were admitted voluntarily and how many simply removed from their parents. On the one hand, admission guaranteed an education and the maintenance of the children, as well as providing proof of the regeneration of their parents. If, on the other hand, the parents were steadfast in refusing to educate their children with the religious orders, political suspicions might be aroused. Thousands of children were interned in these colleges.¹⁶⁷ At the beginning of 1944, the national total had reached 12,000.¹⁶⁸ In Málaga there were 198 children interned in 1942, and the Civil Governor made a special contribution of 50,000 pesetas to the fund for the protection of children of inmates.¹⁶⁹ It should be noted that children could be placed under the tutorship of the *Patronato de Redención de Penas* without actually being interned. In January 1942, there were 4,135 children in colleges, but another 11,694 under guardianship.¹⁷⁰

If the inmate had shown sufficient signs of spiritual and political regeneration, the time came when that individual was released, under "conditional liberty." The first prerequisite was having passed the relevant examinations. Subsequently, however, the prison director was required to solicit reports from the mayor, the Commander of the Civil Guard, and the chief of the Movement in the locality where the prisoner lived. If the mayor and the chief of the Movement were one and the same person, a report from the local parish priest was also required. Subsequently added to these were the reports of the chaplain, the teacher, the doctor, and the prison director himself. The reports had to certify that the inmate had received basic religious

¹⁶⁵Ibid. (17 Jan. 1942), 4.

¹⁶⁶Ibid. (2 Mar. 1942), 1.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. (28 June 1941), 1. By August 1942, there were 6,719 children boarding in these institutions, and new colleges were continually being opened. See *ibid.* (29 Aug. 1942), 1.

¹⁶⁸Ibid. (1 Jan. 1944), 3.

¹⁶⁹Ibid. (12 Sept. 1942), 1.

¹⁷⁰Ibid. (3 Jan. 1942), 1; and *ibid.* (10 Jan. 1942), 1 respectively.

instruction, was literate, and free of disease. Finally, a report from the disciplinary board was sought. Of all these reports, the most fundamental was that the inmate should have had no disciplinary problems, and had received sufficient religious instruction:

Good conduct in the prison and the minimum of religious instruction are indispensable requisites to obtain conditional liberty and the *Patronato* has never approved any case which had negative reports from the Board of Discipline.¹⁷¹

Once all this paperwork was completed, the application went first to the Provincial Commission of Conditional Liberty, then to its secretariat, and finally to the board of the Board of Conditional Liberty [*Patronato de Libertad Condicional*].

Having survived this process, the inmate was in no way free from the process of socialisation begun in the prison. Initially, *redención de penas* reduced the time that the prisoner had to serve in case that prisoner had worked and been of good conduct. Subsequently, it also reduced the actual sentence, so that, for every day worked, the sentence was reduced by three days. Nevertheless, it did not extinguish the actual sentence. Therefore, any infraction could land the ex-inmate back in jail to serve the rest of the sentence. From April 1939, inmates in Málaga began to benefit from conditional liberty; a third approximately left prison between 1939 and 1941; others were transferred to other prisons all over Spain, many of whom were taken to work on public works.¹⁷² According to *Redención* in September 1942, conditional liberty was conceded to 377 inmates of Málaga and another 28 applications were rejected. Another 17 inmates were no longer required to live exiled from their homes.¹⁷³

A strict vigilance was maintained over ex-inmates by both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The Local Boards Pro-inmates [*Juntas Locales Pro-Presos*], sub-branch of the *Patronato de Redención de Penas* which had been established in 1939, were functioning in nearly 500 provincial capitals and villages by 1942.¹⁷⁴ These bodies maintained close contact with the families of inmates, to provide moral and material support. Each local board comprised a representative of the bishop, and of the mayor, plus a secretary. Their work was voluntary and unpaid. According to *Redención*, these people had to demonstrate deep rooted Catholic sentiment, zeal, and missionary activity and vocation if they were to carry out a this task, which

¹⁷¹Ibid. (10 Apr. 1943), 1.

¹⁷²E. Barranquero Texeira, op. cit., 238.

¹⁷³*Redención* (12 Sept. 1942), 1.

¹⁷⁴Id.

was to be saturated in "deeply charitable spirit."¹⁷⁵ These bodies acted as intermediaries between State, penitentiary authorities, the inmates, and the inmates' families. They exercised a kind of guardianship [*tutela*] over the ex-inmates, helping them to find work and accommodation, as well as reintegrating ex-prostitutes.¹⁷⁶

The massive integration of political prisoners into civil society required the taking of extra measures. In 1943, a number of innovations were made. A new board was established -the National Board of Inmates and Sentenced [*Patronato Nacional de Presos y Penados*]. It was to attend to all the physical, moral and spiritual matters in prisons, as well as support the families, and especially the children. The central governing committee had to have two clerical representatives designated by the bishop. The provincial boards were also required to have ecclesiastical representation. The *Patronato* was to inform the Directorship General of Prisons monthly.¹⁷⁷ In the same year, the *Patronato para la Redención de Penas* was modified and one of the representatives on the permanent commission had to be a member of the clergy, regular or secular.¹⁷⁸ Also in 1943, the Service for Liberty under Vigilance [*Servicio de Libertad Vigilada*] was established by decree; Propagandists were prominent on its boards. Its function was to observe the political and social conduct of all who had been sentenced by military tribunals. The service was to be in continual contact with the security and police forces. Each provincial capital and municipality was to have its own board. The municipal boards were required to report on the ex-inmates under their scrutiny at least once a month.¹⁷⁹

Amongst the things the boards had to report on, were cases in which "the concentration in one same locality of an excessive number of freed prisoners is inadvisable for the maintenance of public order." The boards could recommend varying or restricting the inmates' residency, "when such concentrations may result damaging for public security."¹⁸⁰ Ex-inmates had to receive a favourable report from each board if he or she wanted to change residence from one municipality to another. If the proposed move was from one province to another, the process

¹⁷⁵Id.

¹⁷⁶Id.

¹⁷⁷Decree of 26 July 1943; see also *Redención* (7 Aug. 1943), 1.

¹⁷⁸*Redención* (31 July 1943), 1.

¹⁷⁹Decree of 22 May 1943.

¹⁸⁰Article 4, Decree of 22 May 1943; see also *Redención* (12 June 1943), 1, 4.

was even more complicated; authorisation had to come from the central authority of the board. If the move was in order to find work, even more reports were required, in particular from the appropriate syndicate. Finally, the ex-inmates were required to appear in the Civil Guard barracks periodically, causing great inconvenience to those living in the remoter villages.¹⁸¹ Residency in the bigger cities was discouraged because control there was inevitably laxer. Similarly, some zones were totally off limits, such as, for example, all areas bordering France and Gibraltar.¹⁸²

The ex-inmates were marked out in the community they lived in, by having to carry a special identity card, the *tarjeta de libertad vigilada*, until their sentence expired. Subsequently, they were also issued a "redemption notebook" or *cartilla de redención*. This included the individual's personal details, fingerprints, and a complete list of the work carried out that had earned reductions in time served, with the dates, total days redeemed, etc.¹⁸³ Subjected to rigorous control and vigilance, the ex-inmate lived in perpetual fear of transgression and return to jail. The authorities were quite clear on this point. Those on conditional liberty were warned to use their liberty wisely:

Let this be understood; the freed prisoner who does not adjust his behaviour to the humanitarian disposition of Franco will return to prison with no possible remission, with the loss of all rights that he might have acquired during his lamentable and unfortunate condition as common delinquent. Let this be clear.¹⁸⁴

The names of transgressors, their misdemeanours, and the subsequent punishment, were published in *Redención* in order to drive the point home. Individuals were punished with the loss of conditional liberty for minimal transgressions, or for "bad conduct."¹⁸⁵

The ex-inmate also suffered from inequality before the law. Being an ex-prisoner accorded the individual an inferior status. A worker who had been a prison inmate was still primarily a prisoner and was subject to special conditions. Companies that contracted ex-inmates still on conditional liberty were required to finance the sending of the workers' children to special colleges on occasions, or provide special classes for the workers at the company's expense.

¹⁸¹F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 314.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 314-5.

¹⁸³*Redención* (23 Oct. 1943), 1.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.* (12 June 1943), 1.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.* (9 Oct. 1943), 2.

"Thus," comments *Redención*, "the spiritual finality of the regeneration supersedes other more secondary objectives of labour."¹⁸⁶

The network of ideological controls exercised by the régime under the guise of imposing Catholic social justice and harmony very effectively dismantled all organised or popular resistance to the régime. As we have seen, the most basic human sentiments -such as paternal feelings for their children, the natural desire to leave prison, or receive special privileges such as visits from the family-, were manipulated and used for the purposes of socialisation. The inmates were marked out and distinguished from the rest of the population, allowing the régime to divide and rule. This in turn was greatly facilitated by the Catholic rhetoric which presented the half of Spain which had supported the Republic as little more than animalised beings, savage, inhuman and inhumane, and therefore not worthy of the normal respect for human dignity. Spiritual hygiene demanded the cauterisation of an infection; and furthermore, ex-Republicans were obliged, not merely to abstain from the manifestation of a particular ideology or worldview, but to actively assume an ideology, worldview and set of cultural and historical values with which they were, or at least, had been, in profound disagreement. The rehabilitation of inmates therefore did not merely consist in the abandonment of certain practices or even of a certain ideology, but the active assumption of new one, which implied the assumption of a range of social norms, customs, traditions, and political and cultural practices. This was expressly declared in *Ecclesia*, where the writer argued that it was necessary that inmates learn certain social mores so that the community could live harmoniously. In a Christian society, no one ignorant of Catholic dogma and morals could live without violating social norms and disrupting society. For this reason, it was argued, inmates were obliged to study and follow the basic social and cultural mores of Catholic society.¹⁸⁷ Ironically, the article also alleged that *redención de penas* did not aim to impose Christianity forcibly or with coercion.

The socialisation of inmates process adopted by the Spanish Church in the postwar was not immune to the danger that an important sector of the population would adopt Catholic ideology, values, and behaviour in order to avoid prejudice to themselves or their families. The recatholicisation, therefore, was not necessarily a process which occurred through personal conviction, but was possibly merely the assumption of external norms of behaviour, adopted probably with a simmering inner resentment. The ecclesiastical authorities themselves were not

¹⁸⁶Ibid. (4 Sept. 1943), 3.

¹⁸⁷*Ecclesia* (21 Mar. 1942), 10.

unaware of this problem, although reserves were almost non-existent in comparison with the rivers of ink spilt on triumphalist propaganda. In 1942, Fr. Ignacio Zulueta, member of the board of the *Patronato para la Redención de Penas*, declared that not everyone was being sincere in their reception of the sacraments. He expressed the suspicion that some might be receiving communion because they feared sanctions, or standing out. He therefore decreed that no more general masses were to be held. Instead, at the end of missions, and on feastdays, there would be a daily mass the next day, at which attendance was voluntary. *Redención* also emphasised this point, reminding inmates that they were perfectly free to receive communion or not, for only God could judge the hearts of men and women. Non attendance, it was asserted, would not affect their condition adversely, nor would attendance get them out of prison earlier. The editorial denied that a record was kept of those who received communion and those who did not.¹⁸⁸ *Ecclesia* advised the clergy that one of their principal functions was to watch out for the simulation of religious spirit and fight against "the belief that religion could serve them as a means of attaining material benefits."¹⁸⁹ In order to minimise this danger, it recommended that spiritual exercises and missions be given in small groups. It also advocated that select groups be chosen from amongst the inmates to undergo apostolic retreats, absolutely separated from the rest. It was envisaged that this nucleus of individuals would later constitute an evangelising influence amongst their fellow inmates and peers. The article also suggested that the rates of mass attendance in prisons were lower than what was usually euphorically claimed.¹⁹⁰

The construction of the National-Catholic state was based on the imposition of supposedly unified and unifying "national" values upon a bitterly divided population. On the one hand, the image of the "Málaga roja" was kept alive and used to justify the continuing political and social repression. On the other hand, the fiction of a unified religious-political community was maintained, whose values were the antithesis of the values of the modern democratic nations. The Franco régime eliminated and cowed its ideological enemies. The Church had participated in this process, both in the elaboration of the ideological framework that justified the physical elimination of political enemies and in the socialisation of political dissidents and their families. Pastoral practices in the early postwar period had little to do with reconciliation and much to do with retribution upon an ideological enemy which had been satanised and

¹⁸⁸*Redención* (18 Apr. 1942), 1.

¹⁸⁹*Ecclesia* (9 May 1942), 8.

¹⁹⁰*Id.*

dehumanised. The repression eliminated the political enemies of the régime and secured the abject submission of the population; it also destroyed the ideological enemies of the Spanish Catholic Church and allowed it recover its ideological influence and social importance.

II. THE RECATHOLICISATION OF THE WORKERS IN MALAGA.

1. BISHOP SANTOS OLIVERA AND CATHOLIC ACTION: THE RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO AND THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE.

The history of the recatholicisation of the working masses of Málaga is the story of the struggle between two completely diverse concepts of the workers' apostolate, of pastoral practice, and of spiritual life in general. The first was a corporatist, highly clericalised and culturally homogenous concept of worker's apostolate intimately associated with the Spanish bourgeoisie. It emphasised piety and mysticism, and was highly respectful of hierarchy as well as a staunch defender of the status quo in all its economic, political, social and religious aspects. The second reflected the less individualistic and more social dimensions of working class culture. It emphasised group solidarity, temporal compromise, a more democratic ecclesiology, and challenged social injustice, and therefore the status quo. This second form of spirituality tended to identify the working classes with the poor, oppressed and marginalised so often referred to by Jesus in the Gospels. The workers' apostolate was therefore a political affair from its inception, faithfully mirroring the two diametrically opposite worldviews which had come into conflict in the Civil War. As it reflected the changing political and social values of the times, the workers' apostolate became ever more politicised, as political struggles were played out in what was an essentially religious and pastoral issue.

The workers' apostolate under Franco was founded on the idea of Catholic corporatism. According to its ideologues, the new State based its labour philosophy on the principle of class harmony. Labour relations were now based on the establishment of a single, State-run syndicate, subject to party-political control, and based on the pre-existing capitalist social-economic order.¹ The Labour Charter, or *Fuero del Trabajo*, of 9 March 1938 established that all productive forces were to be integrated into lay State-run vertical syndicates, led by militants of the *Falange*.² Catholic corporatist doctrine was influential in the elaboration of Francoist syndical doctrine, primarily in reconciling the Party's anti-liberal rhetoric with the

¹On the syndical theory of the *Falange*, see L. Mayor Martínez, *Ideologías dominantes en el sindicato vertical* (Madrid, 1972); and M. Aparicio, *El sindicalismo vertical y la formación del Estado Franquista* (Barcelona, 1980).

²See the *Ley de Unidad Sindical* of 6 February 1940 and the *Ley de Bases de la Organización Sindical* of December 1940 which established and organised the vertical syndicates.

continued existence of private property.³ The Republican agrarian and industrial legislation was dismantled.⁴ The Church collaborated directly with the syndical system through the *Asesoría Nacional de Sindicatos* [National Council of Syndicates], established in 1945, which named a national councillor and an ecclesiastical representative per province. Throughout the first twenty years of the régime, ecclesiastics such as the Jesuit intellectuals Joaquín Azpiazu and Martín Brugarola (the latter member of the National Ecclesiastical Council of Syndicates) defended the official syndical doctrine, arguing that it was of Catholic inspiration, and in line with Catholic social doctrine.⁵

Behind the national-syndicalist rhetoric, the reality was that the traditional oligarchies had returned and resumed control of the institutions of the new State. In February 1936, there were no more than 40 members of the *Falange* in the province of Málaga. On the eve of the war, after the influx of sympathisers of the extreme right-wing organisation *Renovación Española*, the Catholic corporatist CEDA, and its youth movement, the *Juventud de Acción Popular* (JAP), the number of members had reached 300.⁶ One month after the occupation by the Army, there were 18,000 inscriptions to the *Falange* in Málaga; these reached 40,000 barely one year later, in February 1938.⁷ In Málaga, the *Falange* office holders did not include many old guard members, given the weakness of the Party, but did include many eminent monarchists, conservatives, and members of the pre-republican oligarchy in general. For example, the Provincial Administration of the Party [*Jefatura Provincial*] in Málaga included Manuel Pérez Bryan, and Peralta, with José Luis Estrada as Provincial Chief of Press and Propaganda.⁸ Some of the eminent locals of Málaga who were rewarded for their services to the *Falange* in the postwar included such eminent members of the pre-Republican oligarchy as Fernando Löring-Cortés, Jorge Rein-Segura, Enrique Huelin Huelin, Rafael Crooke Campos, Luis Peralta-España and Francisco

³M. Aparicio, *op. cit.*, 58.

⁴See Decrees of 30 August 1936, 24 September 1936, and 6 April 1938.

⁵R. Belda, "La Iglesia y el sindicalismo vertical," in *Iglesia y sociedad en España 1939-1975*.

⁶E. de Mateo Avilés, "Orígenes ideológicos del personal político franquista en Andalucía. Los Ayuntamientos malagueños (1941)," in *IV Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico*, 231-2.

⁷A. Villalobos Casanova, "Los inicios del sindicalismo vertical en una ciudad andaluza durante la Guerra Civil: El caso de Málaga," in *III Congreso sobre el Andalucismo Histórico* (Granada, 1987), 596.

⁸M. Eiroa San Francisco, *Málaga tras la guerra*, 466.

Baena Ruiz.⁹ Names intimately associated with the traditional political and social élites reappear on the organisations established to direct economic, administrative and cultural activity immediately after the entry of the Army. At provincial and municipal level, *Comisiones Gestoras* [Governing Committees] ran administrative affairs until the definitive re-establishment could be organised.¹⁰ The *Comisión Gestora* established in March 1937 included Carlos Rein Segura, Juan Temboury Alvarez, Leopoldo Werner Bolín and Julio Gancedo Sáenz.¹¹ The post of mayor often fell into the hands of the influential families as long as these were favourable to the régime, thus excluding, for example, bourgeois families of Republican tradition. The mayor of Málaga from December 1939 to 1943, Pedro Luis Alonso, had participated in the 1931 elections in the Monarchist coalition. After the fall of Málaga to the Nationalist forces, he was entrusted with the purging of the Town Council and in his speech on taking power, he expressed his loyalty to the Caudillo and to the Falangist ideology.¹²

This same phenomenon is apparent in the Town Councils [*Ayuntamientos*]. In 1939, the various *concejalías* [specialised councils] of the Town Council fell to such familiar names as the merchant Pedro Alarcón Bryan (markets and street stalls), José María Huelin Müller (charity), Emilio J. Souviron (education), Andrés Peralta (waterworks), Francisco Benjumea Heredia (personnel and *fiestas*) and Juan Temboury Alvarez (public cleaning). Some of these men proceeded from the same 1931 monarchist coalition as the Mayor Alonso.¹³ The occupants of these public posts were all professional people -lawyers, doctors, engineers, chemists- or military men, businessmen and merchants and public servants.¹⁴ As for the provincial advisory councils, the *Diputaciones Provinciales*, the president of the same in 1939 was Manuel Pérez Bryan, who was also the local *Falange* chief and Secretary of the Movement. Another eminent conservative on the council was Juan Huelin. Thus, posts in the Town and Provincial Councils typically fell to wealthy and influential people who were not afraid to use their posts to increase their wealth and

⁹Ibid., 471-2.

¹⁰See E. Barranquero Texeira, *Málaga entre la guerra y la posguerra*, 53-80, on the provincial and municipal commissions.

¹¹E. Barranquero Texeira, "Las instituciones en la implantación del nuevo Estado: El Ayuntamiento de Málaga, en 1937," *Baética*, no.11 (1988), 514-5.

¹²M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 78-9.

¹³Ibid., 82.

¹⁴Ibid., 83. A list of all the councillors of the Town Council in 1939 is noted at pp. 80-2; other public office holders at pp. 82-6.

social influence.¹⁵

The reorganisation and reopening of the educational, social, and cultural institutions in accordance with the new dominant ideology, were also carried out by the local élites. It is important to remember the work that these men, or members of their family, carried out before the war in defence of Catholic education and ecclesiastical censorship. Juan Alvarez Temboury, who had been responsible for the saving of artworks from the cathedral, was also a member of the *Junta Pro Catedral*, set up in March of 1937 and comprising prominent members of the local bourgeoisie.¹⁶ Prominent members of the bourgeoisie of Málaga also sat on the myriad of essentially repressive or triumphalist organisations such as the *Comisión Pro Víctimas del Marxismo*, the exhumations committees, or the *Junta Oficial de Recuperación y Restituciones* (dedicated to the return of property confiscated or looted during the Republic and Civil War to its original owners).

The class nature of the new provincial authorities is therefore unquestionable. Despite the revolutionary rhetoric of the Party and the propaganda which promised to eradicate and supersede the traditional dominance of the conservative élites, the reality was that the power structure in post war Málaga comprised basically the same élites as those that dominated local life before the Second Republic. An understanding of the ideological orientation of those exercising political power in the postwar can be gleaned from the study of the composition of the town councils of Málaga in 1941, carried out by de Mateo Avilés.¹⁷ The source used is the *Libro de Gestoras*, which includes all the office holders of all municipal councils of Málaga for 1941. The series includes the personal details of all these individuals, including their ideological orientation before the Unification Decree, and their past political activities. Virtually all the office holders were now members of the Party, and the mayors were normally also the local chiefs of the Party. Nevertheless, the presence of the Party is more bureaucratic than real. When asked about their ideological orientation, the overwhelming majority of office holders -nearly half- declared themselves to be ex-members of monarchist parties, of the Catholic corporatist *Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas* (CEDA), of the reactionary *Acción Popular*, or described their ideology vaguely as "monarchist", "conservative" or "right-wing." A very small proportion identified itself as ex-Agrarian, ex-Radical, ex-*Renovación Española*, ex-member of

¹⁵Ibid., 165.

¹⁶BEOM (1937), 88-9.

¹⁷E. de Mateo Avilés, op. cit.

Unión Patriótica or *Unión Monárquica Nacional* (movements created in support of the ex Spanish military dictator Primo de Rivera), traditionalist, or ex-member/ supporter of a Republican party. An important proportion (34.41% of the total) declared themselves to be apolitical, which de Mateo Avilés attributes to people recently arrived in political and administrative life, with no ideological past, and easily adaptable to the political circumstances. What is notable is the relative weakness of the *FET y de las JONS* -only 6.76% were *camisas viejas*, that is, members of the *Falange* before the Unification Decree.

The political commitment of the members of the Party in Málaga was scarce. In the 1940's, the Provincial Chief of the *Falange* in Málaga was constantly complaining about this. In one report, he complained that the mayors, the military commanders and the local chiefs of the *Falange* in towns and villages dedicated their time to private rows and disputes, were frequently corrupt, did not comply with social legislation, permitted economic abuses, and in the case of the mayor of Ronda, even dared to criticise the Party.¹⁸ The provincial chief sought means to eliminate the influence of the local *caciques*, or traditional political bosses, as well as to enable the *Falange* to "proceed energetically against those political bosses who have deliberately remained distant from all service and sacrifice, with the objective of directing local politics from the shadows."¹⁹

The *caciques* were firmly pro-Allied and hoped that an allied victory in the Second World War would seal the fate of the Party, and restore political and social circumstances as they were before the Second Republic.²⁰ Consequently, attitudes of many of the *caciques* were relatively cold towards the Party. They were merely biding their time. One monthly internal Party report declared that the atmosphere in the provincial party was cold, and there were card-carrying members of the *Falange* who neither felt close to the Party nor complied with the Party norms, either public or private. It was a situation of "almost absolute indifference."²¹

By July 1943, with the allied campaign in Italy underway, the atmosphere in the *Falange* of Málaga was one of frank depression, whereas it was causing manifest satisfaction amongst the

¹⁸ *Archivo General de la Administración* (hereafter AGA), letter to Secretary General of the *Falange* in Burgos. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 41, folder 4.

¹⁹ *Id.* In fact, in 1941, the posts of Civil Governor and Provincial Head of the *Falange* were fused, as were the posts of mayor and local head of the *Falange*.

²⁰ AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 61, folder 4. "Parte de 15-31 julio 1940."

²¹ AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 41, folder 52. "Parte de julio 1941."

groups hostile to the *Falange*.²² The first purges of the Party in Málaga took place in September 1942, in which influential locals associated with the monarchist parties including Alvaro Pries Gross and Juan Huelin García were expelled for their intrigues against the Party and disreputable public and private lives.²³

The implementation of the just economic social order announced by the propagandists of the régime was, in short, in the hands of the traditional oligarchies. This new order was characterised in its early days by rationing, severe unemployment, and hunger.²⁴ Rationing was introduced in May 1939 (not to be abolished until 1951), and was accompanied by its almost inevitable concomitant, the black market.²⁵ The Civil Governor established the so-called *Bases de Trabajo*, the first of which set wages in the countryside at between 3 and 9 pesetas for men, and 3.5 for women.²⁶ All wage claims were declared to be "crimes of rebellion" and therefore subject to the death sentence. According to Tuñón de Lara, the cost of living rose in Spain from 1939-1942 by 274%, whilst wages only rose by 150% for the same period.²⁷ At the same time, the government's policy of economic interventionism and self sufficiency favoured the interests of the traditional oligarchies.²⁸ Certain sectors of the population -often members of the traditional oligarchy, but also sectors of the urban population, including functionaries, military men, and others in positions of power or influence-, became illegitimately enriched. The bureaucratic and syndical apparatus set up by the government lent itself to all kinds of corruption. The traditional élites in many cases saw the *Falange* as the perfect mechanism through which they could re-establish and institutionalise their practices of patronage, and graft

²²AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 121, folder 30. "Parte de julio 1943."

²³AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 41, folder 4. On the purges of the Party in Málaga more generally, see M. Eiroa San Francisco, *Málaga tras la guerra*, (doctoral thesis), 476-84.

²⁴On economic conditions in Spain in the postwar, see R. Tamames, *La República. La Era de Franco*; Ll. Ferri, J. Muixí and E. Sanjuán, *Las huelgas contra Franco 1939-1956* (Barcelona, 1978), 25-6; and M. Tuñón de Lara, "El modelo franquista," in *Historia 16, Extra XXIV* (1982), 77-80.

²⁵See Gerald Brenan's testimony on rationing in postwar Andalusia in G. Brenan, *La faz de España* (Barcelona, 1985), 54-5, 97-8.

²⁶*BOPM* (16 Nov. 1937).

²⁷M. Tuñón de Lara, *op. cit.*, 77.

²⁸See E. Sevilla Guzmán, *La evolución del campesinado en España* (Barcelona, 1979).

became a common feature of life.²⁹ The black market in wheat, for example, was such a profitable business that the black market wheat exceeded the amounts of legally sold and rationed wheat in circulation.³⁰ Large landowners of the latifundist regions including Andalusia dramatically increased the production of wheat during 1939-1951, taking advantage of the favourable economic circumstances.³¹ In Málaga, the local landowner Leopoldo Werner Bolín, was the Provincial Chief of the *Servicio Nacional del Trigo* which set official wheat prices and production quotas, and was responsible to the Civil Governor for everything related to abuses of the system and the hiding of wheat.³² Hence, he was in a privileged position to protect his fellow landowners in cases of warehousing of wheat, which many of them were actively engaged in. On the other hand, a war widow who sold a few loaves of bread on the black market was liable to suffer an exemplary punishment. In Andalusia generally, the wheat policy adopted by the government permitted the enrichment of the local rural oligarchy.³³ The agricultural syndicates [*Hermandades*], supposedly instruments of class harmony, were dominated and manipulated by the agrarian barons at will and did not represent the interest of all agricultural workers.³⁴ The programmes for the creation of family plots for peasants in rural Spain only settled a minuscule portion of the rural proletariat on lands.³⁵ With respect to irrigation policy, the defence of exclusively class interests and the maintenance of the status quo again comes to the fore.³⁶

Nevertheless, according to official propaganda, class conflict and social injustice did not exist in Spain. Under the fatherly guidance of Franco, in Spain there was (according to one of the propaganda slogans of the time), "Ni un hogar sin lumbre, ni un español sin pan" [no home without a hearth, nor any Spaniard without bread to eat]. The State assumed the responsibility of defending the workers' interests, and engaged in extensive social programmes, constructing

²⁹M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 85.

³⁰C. Barciela, "La España del 'estraperlo'," in *El primer franquismo*, 121.

³¹E. Sevilla Guzmán, op. cit., 160-8.

³²M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 289.

³³E. Sevilla Guzmán, op. cit.; and C. Barciela, op. cit.

³⁴See A. Peña, "Las Hermandades de Labradores y su mundo," in *Horizonte español*, vol. II (Paris, 1966); and E. Sevilla Guzmán, op. cit., 175-6.

³⁵E. Sevilla Guzmán, op. cit., 169-73; and R. Tamames, *Estructura económica de España* (Madrid, 1969), 392.

³⁶A. M. Bernal, "Riegos: Los latifundios del franquismo inicial. (1939-1950)," in *El primer franquismo*.

housing, establishing pension schemes, and offering many other public services, in which the vertical syndicate and the Movement played a predominant part. In practice, a great part of the Francoist social security system was operated on a decentralised basis by the syndicates. These provided educational facilities, sports and recreational facilities, arranged holidays for workers, ran medical centres, sanatoriums, insurance and pension programmes, built parks, housing, and established cooperatives. The list of welfare, educational and recreational activities of the syndicate absorbed 40% of the syndicate's budget in the 1960's.³⁷ In Málaga, the great housing campaign was of greatest relevance.³⁸

The attitude of the Bishop Santos Olivera to the political developments was one of optimism and complete collaboration, unlike other prelates who had manifested disconformity with the régime or with aspects of its ideology.³⁹ With the cooperation of the new régime, the bishop reassumed his project of recatholicisation much in the same style as before the war, relying on the patronage and support of the traditional élites, channelled through Catholic Action, on the exercise of public charity, and on instruction of Catholic doctrine, principally via catechism and missions.

Santos Olivera began to prepare the spiritual reconquest that was to follow the military reconquest even before he returned to the capital. In pastoral letters from Seville, he instructed his clergy to re-establish religious services in those parts of the province already under control of the Army, and urged the giving of catechism classes and of sacraments, especially to those individuals distanced from the Church.⁴⁰ The giving of the sacraments, especially amongst the indifferent or irreligious, and acts of public worship such as masses and processions, were the tasks that Santos Olivera established as being most urgent.⁴¹ The acts of worship were to be

³⁷J. Foweraker, *Making Democracy in Spain* (Cambridge, 1989), 87.

³⁸*Indice de actividades del Gobierno Civil y de la Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento* (Málaga, Mar. 1950); and *Operación Chabola. La lucha contra el chabolismo en la provincia de Málaga. Publicaciones de la Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento* (Málaga, undated).

³⁹Cardinal Segura, Bishop of Sevilla, was the most famous dissident of these years. He never forgave Franco for not restoring the monarchy, and was openly hostile to the Movement on the grounds of its totalitarian nature. On Segura, see R. Garriga, *El Cardenal Segura y el nacional-catolicismo* (Barcelona, 1977). Even Cardinal Gomá, staunch defender of Franco and Crusade ideology, expressed his concern over the totalitarian tendencies of the new State in his pastoral letter "Lecciones de la guerra y deberes de la paz," published in the *Boletín Eclesiástico del Arzobispado de Toledo* (1 Sept. 1939), which was duly banned by the censors.

⁴⁰*BEOM* (Dec. 1936), 345-56.

⁴¹*Ibid.* (1936), 361; and *ibid.* (1937), 6-7.

accompanied by the military and civil authorities. Before returning triumphantly to the capital on 15 March 1937, the bishop carried out a month long visit of inspection of the northern zone from Olvera to Antequera and Ronda. In the presence of all the local political authorities and socially influential, Falange militias, and military men, there were Te Deums, processions, banners, and a speech by the bishop. Stiff and dogmatic, Santos Olivera was effusive in his thanks to the new authorities which were purging the nation of an adulteration which threatened to destroy civilised society.

The destruction caused in the diocese as a result of the anticlerical violence and Civil War obliged the bishop to depend on the resources of the social élites more than ever. A great deal of administrative work was necessary before the work of recatholicisation could begin to take place. The grave loss of clergy meant that many parishes were unattended and the bishop was obliged to put two or more parishes under the pastoral care of one priest. Alhaurín el Grande and Alhaurín de la Torre, for example, were entrusted to one clergyman, and another was entrusted with the villages of Yunquera, el Burgo and Tolox. Yet another saw to Parauta, Cartágima, Pujerra and Igualeja.⁴² Twelve Catalanian priests were also sent to Málaga at least during the war years. A great deal of money would be necessary in order to train the young clergy required for the recatholicisation of the province. The lack of State funding during the war (it was to be re-established in 1939) forced the bishop to set about a campaign of donations. Special collections were held, fees for the administration of sacraments and the saying of mass were increased by 10%, and other measures adopted to regularise the chaotic financial situation and help to reconstruct the ruined churches, convents, etc.⁴³ A considerable amount of work was necessary to reestablish Church records on baptisms, marriages etc, which had been destroyed in the churches.

Santos Olivera set about the administering of sacraments to the population -but with a particular interest in the working classes- through an intensive programme of Missions. He was to declare in 1942 that "The humblest class was always the principal concern of the plan for these Holy Missions of Málaga."⁴⁴ In 1938, seventy one missions were conducted in villages and parishes by various orders.⁴⁵ In the same year, 64 pastoral visits were carried out by the bishop,

⁴²E. de Mateo Avilés, "La restauración religiosa en Málaga tras la ocupación nacionalista (1937-1939)," 96.

⁴³*BEOM* (1937), 337.

⁴⁴*BOOM* (May 1942), 399.

⁴⁵*BEOM* (1939), 56-8.

and a total of 19,496 people were confirmed.⁴⁶ During these years, the public ceremonies with their inevitable propaganda function were an inescapable part of life. The bishop's principal concern was that the working classes be purged somehow of the marxist infection, and to guarantee that a strong and effective religious education would prevent the recurrence of the infection. This strategy was consistent with classical Catholic interpretation of the class struggle as being, not the result of structural malfunctions in society, but of the inadequate spiritual and moral formation of the population. The bishops continued to express the idea that only the sustained reeducation of the population in Catholic doctrine and values could re-instil the lost national virtues and prevent a recurrence of violence.⁴⁷

Santos Olivera's principal instrument for the spiritual and moral reformation of the diocese was Catholic Action. Catholic Action was restructured in 1939, and adopted as a kind of lay apostolic army.⁴⁸ The 1939 statutes, unlike the 1932 statutes, made the local, parish or diocesan structures predominant over the national. The role of Catholic Action was the organisation and carrying out of all apostolic activities of the faithful, and the co-ordination and development of pious, cultural, charitable and social institutions, assisting the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In 1941, it was described by the ecclesiastical hierarchy's weekly paper, *Ecclesia*, as "the official institution of lay catholics at the service of the hierarchy."⁴⁹ It had an overtly evangelising role.⁵⁰

The responsibility for establishing and directing Catholic Action corresponded exclusively to the bishops. The structure was highly clericalised, closely tied to the vigilance of the parish priest at parish level, the prelate at diocesan level, and the Spanish episcopate at national level. The faithful were divided into four main branches, one for adult men, one for adult women, one for young men and the last for young women. The women's branch was entrusted with the young boys until they reached 11 years of age, after which they became the responsibility of the young men's branch. The young women's branch saw to all girls of less than 16 years of age. Although the structure of Catholic Action was clearly and rigidly centralised, the

⁴⁶Ibid. (1937), 432-6.

⁴⁷See e. g. the pastoral letter of Cardinal Gomá, Primate of Spain, entitled "Causas de la Guerra y Deberes de la Paz," which was published in Málaga in *BOOM* (Nov. 1939), 647-705.

⁴⁸*Ecclesia* (1 Jan. 1941), part 1, 35-3; and *ibid.* (15 Jan. 1941), part 2, 20-1.

⁴⁹*Ibid.* (15 Jan. 1941), 19.

⁵⁰*Ibid.* (1 Feb. 1941), 22.

implementation of policy was designed to be carried out at parish level.⁵¹

Catholic Action also became an "umbrella organisation" which encompassed all aspects of Catholic lay apostolate and indeed all cultural and social activities with a view to enforcing unity, conformism, orthodoxy, and uniformity of action.⁵² Clerical control was given the utmost importance. In 1944, on closing the reunion of presidents of the *Juntas Diocesanas*, the Primate, Plá i Deniel, advised members of Catholic Action to be "intimately united with your Prelate," adding that "all the external Apostolate is directed in each diocese by a successor of the Apostles.... Catholic Action... has an absolute dependence upon only the bishop, and for this reason,... everything must receive the approbation and blessing of the pastor himself."⁵³

The bishop of Málaga's own pastoral exhortation on the importance of Catholic Action was reprinted in *Ecclesia* under the heading "Extremely important pastoral exhortations."⁵⁴ As the social problem was primarily a spiritual and moral problem, the spiritual and moral needs of the diocese were to have absolute priority. The bishop decreed that all parish priests were to set up centres of Catholic Action, in all four of its branches, even if these only consisted of a handful of members. Interparish unions were to be established to encompass villages with no parish priest. Then the parish junta was to be set up, and all pious or charitable organisations integrated. All members, whether collective or individual, were to pay a due, and the bishop also recommended subscription to the *Tarjeta de la Acción Católica*, or Catholic Action Card. In order to ensure compliance, Santos Olivera warned that he would not approve the formation of any more pious associations unless there were a branch of Catholic Action in the parish, of the same branch and gender as that which purported to establish the association. Santos Olivera warned his clergy that Catholic Action was "one of the principal obligations of the pastoral ministry," as well as being an official organisation of the Church and not a merely private initiative. It was a grave duty for all clergy and all faithful to promote and support Catholic Action, and the clergy in particular were instructed to treat Catholic Action, not as an extra burden, but as a powerful and providential aid to the apostolate.⁵⁵

In fact, the terrible scarcity of priests in the province, particularly hard hit by the

⁵¹Ibid. (15 Apr. 1941), 19.

⁵²Ibid. (1 June 1941), 15.

⁵³Ibid. (22 Jan. 1944), 5-6.

⁵⁴Ibid. (15 Apr. 1941), 24-5.

⁵⁵Id.

anticlerical violence, rendered this an onerous duty on the few priests who remained, particularly given the scant margin to delegate. Santos Olivera also insisted that interparish centres were to be avoided except in cases of necessity: "everything that can be done on a parish level... must not be carried out on an interparish basis."⁵⁶

During Santos Olivera's time as bishop, the diocesan bulletin was always full of Catholic Action news, activities, and enterprises dedicated to the propagation and defence of Catholic values and culture. Catholic Action adopted a campaign theme every year, and all propaganda and cultural and social works was geared towards this particular objective. It is notable, however, that the "social question" appeared to occupy the bishop's mind only slightly, and the resolution of said question appeared to consist of preserving public morals and fostering of Christian pious practices. In 1940-1941, the bishop launched the campaign "Pro Seminary," in which Catholic Action drew attention to the needs and the importance of the Seminary in the evangelisation of the province. The next year, the campaign "Pro Charity," was launched, and 1942-1943 was the campaign of "Sanctification of Feast Days." To this end, special lecture and study circles were held on these themes, and propaganda campaigns organised.

The number of centres of Catholic Action grew steadily. By 31 May 1942, Santos Olivera was able to boast of 12 *Juntas Parroquiales* [parish boards], 17 centres for men, 30 for women, 33 for young men, and 53 for young ladies, with a total membership of 7,357.⁵⁷ By the time of his transfer to Seville in 1947, the bishop was able to publish an impressive list of centres, committees, and related cultural, pious, charitable, propaganda, and moralising organisations, although membership numbers left much to be desired. The diocesan board had many specialised secretariats established, including those of morality, propaganda, charity, and the Institute of Superior Religious Culture. The *Unión Diocesana de Hombres* [Diocesan Men's Union] curiously only totalled 749 members in its different centres. The *Unión Diocesana de los Jóvenes* [Diocesan Young Men's Union] had 37 centres, but the number of members is unknown. The women's centres were more promising. The *Unión Diocesana de las Mujeres* [Diocesan Women's Union] had 50 centres, comprising 3,000 members; the *Unión Diocesana de las Jóvenes* [Diocesan Young Women's Union] comprised 88 centres for young women, and totalled 4,586 members.⁵⁸ The fledgling movement even counted with its own magazine -*Fuego*.

⁵⁶Id.

⁵⁷*BOOM* (1947), 98.

⁵⁸*Ibid.* (1947), 100.

Despite the bishop's enthusiasm, the organization did not attract mass support, even among committed Catholics. There were various reasons for this. Firstly, Catholic Action was too closely associated with the CEDA and the Propagandists of the Republican years, tainted and discredited by their purported "collaboration" with the Republic. Secondly, the younger people were more drawn to movements such as the *Falange* or the *Opus Dei*, which were more dynamic and vital, and not tainted by the staid piety or excessive clericalism of Catholic Action.⁵⁹ Thirdly, the economic costs of membership of Catholic Action must necessarily have deterred those who were not comfortably off. There was a form of subscription for individuals, which consisted of purchasing the Catholic Action Subscription Card. This subscription, which was heavily promoted by *Ecclesia*, came in ten grades. In 1941, the tenth cost one peseta, and the first cost one thousand pesetas.⁶⁰ Catholic press campaigns calling for the purchase of the ticket were continual in these years of starvation wages and unemployment.⁶¹ In 1942, Santos Olivera urged its purchase, if need be, by saving money from expenses which were "if not altogether superfluous, are not strictly necessary either." And he even went so far as to offer an indulgence for the day that the card was bought, and for every day that one was renewed.⁶² Santos Olivera explicitly fostered elitism in Catholic Action, because his strategy was the formation of a select group which would recatholicise society from the top down. On one occasion, he warned potential members that only those able to dedicate their full attention to the enterprises run by Catholic Action would be able to participate. In short, all those compelled to work for a living were effectively excluded.

The workers' apostolate of Catholic Action comprised instruction in Catholic doctrine, focussed primarily on the idea that poverty was inevitable and necessary, and emphasising the nobility of manual labour. A stereotype of the ideal worker was constructed, embodying virtues expressly identified with Christ himself. Christ was presented as a humble, obedient, loving son, willing to sacrifice and work hard. The episodes of the Gospels where Christ demonstrated a violent or rebellious character (such as when he expelled the merchants from the temple) were either not emphasised, or were toned down. Work, far from being degrading or undignified, was imbued with a mystical and sacred quality; so much so, that not even the Son of God had been

⁵⁹G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. II, 181-7.

⁶⁰*Ecclesia* (1 Jan. 1941), 8.

⁶¹*Ibid.* (16 Jan. 1943), 19. See also *ibid.* (23 Mar. 1946), 8.

⁶²*Ibid.* (4 Apr. 1942), 20.

ashamed of his humble origins, or loath to work manually. Christ's humble birth was constantly in reference. In Málaga in 1943, for example, the men of Catholic Action held a series of lectures on the theme of "Jesus, the worker."⁶³ Santos Olivera, for his part, urged the working population to attend missions saying, "Workers, come to the Holy Mission, and there in the workshop of Nazareth you will see the Divine Worker labouring... He will teach you, showing you his calloused hands, that labour redeems and dignifies."⁶⁴

Those tenets of Catholic doctrine that taught the virtues of resignation, hard work, discipline and gratitude were greatly emphasised. These were "patriotic" qualities which were juxtaposed with the blind egoism, violence, and anarchy that had characterised the "marxist hordes." This ideology fostered conservatism as the fundamental political characteristic of the workers, identifying this with patriotism and indeed the defence of religion and the State. Charity was emphasised more than justice, individual duty was emphasised more than individual rights.

Underlying the thinking of the time was the traditional ecclesiastical idea that the poor had a duty of obedience, subservience, and gratitude, and the rich had a duty to be merciful, compassionate, and charitable. In his first pastoral exhortation of 1945, the bishop quoted Scripture to the effect that there would always be poor among us, that they were part of the natural order, and indeed a necessity. Nothing could be done to remedy poverty except teach the rich to serve the poor, making them merciful and magnanimous, and making the poor humble, resigned, and grateful. Poverty was a positive, not a negative, circumstance of life: "Poverty is a social binding; desired by God, like inequality of conditions, in order to establish between men that constant interchange of services and relations which constitute the most powerful bond in the human family."⁶⁵ Poverty served to foster the higher virtues in all sectors of society. As an example of the bishop's concept of Christian charity, the bishop entertained 16 poor children at his table for Christmas lunch as part of his Christmas campaign "Pro the Poor Man's Christmas." They were fed a sumptuous feast, and then various gifts were handed out to the poor thronging outside.⁶⁶ One of his proposals for Catholic Action as far as charity was concerned was to use the census as a basis to take down information on all the poor, and their necessities, which would then be passed onto the bishop, whose deacons would work out the accuracy of the claims. This,

⁶³Ibid. (10 Apr. 1943), 3.

⁶⁴*BOOM* (May 1942), 399.

⁶⁵Ibid. (Feb. 1945), 91.

⁶⁶Ibid. (Jan. 1945), 51.

he argued, would provide the perfect opportunity for them to uncover moral dangers in the household and carry out "apostolic and merciful" acts. The next step would be to pass this information discreetly to the faithful, so that, moved by compassion, they might take steps to remedy the situation. In this way, different classes would be put into contact with each other, establishing bonds of Christian fraternity and understanding.⁶⁷

Santos Olivera relied heavily on missions to recatholicise the population, assisted by the men and women of Catholic Action. The missions for the workers of Málaga were given in their work places, during the day. The bishop asserted that no one was to be obliged to attend, and confession and communion were only given in a church and not at the actual factory. Despite this, attendance was significantly high; for example, 35 of 40 male workers of the *Ceregumil* factory went to church to receive communion, along with 120 of the 130 female workers.⁶⁸ During 1942, the missions were held amongst railway workers, tramdrivers, workers of *La Industria Malagueña*, the tobacco company, the port, and other individual factories. By May of that year, the diocesan bulletin was claiming a total attendance of 6,449 men and 1,389 women.⁶⁹ Records were kept of the baptisms that resulted as a result of the missions, first communions, and marriages, distinguishing those that already had children. The male branch of Catholic Action in Málaga also prepared itself to carry out its apostolate in male prisons in 1942.⁷⁰

Other means of inculcating Catholic doctrine and values included study circles, lectures, and courses. The IV Diocesan Assembly of Catholic Action in Málaga held in February of 1941 included a week of discussions and study circles, presided over by the bishop, accompanied by the mayor, representatives of the Civil Government, the naval commander and other civil and military authorities.⁷¹ In 1940, Catholic Action had also established the Central Institute of Superior Religious Culture. This national Institute with schools in all the diocese offered three year courses for those who intended to exercise the apostolate of Catholic Action, teaching religion, or anything related to religious studies and apostolic actions.⁷² In 1943, new sections of

⁶⁷Ibid. (Oct. 1944), 627.

⁶⁸Ibid. (May 1942), 399-400.

⁶⁹Id.

⁷⁰*Ecclesia* (7 Mar. 1942), 4.

⁷¹Ibid. (15 Mar. 1941), 28.

⁷²Ibid. (15 Jan. 1941), 4-5.

the Institute were established; the General Academy of Propaganda, and the Social Section. The latter was to concede the diploma of "social secretary" to all workers who studied there with the aim of becoming worker-leaders of Catholic Action, "... endowed with a solid religious culture and capacitated to counsel their fellow workers in a Christian way on the exercise of their duties and on their social, family and individual rights."⁷³ All others who intended to exercise the workers' apostolate was also to study there for three years, with studies comprising dogma, social doctrine, natural law, labour legislation, propaganda techniques, and morals.

The instruction given to workers on their social duties and rights abounded more on the former than on the latter. The bulk of the activities were aimed at the working classes. Attempts to recatholicise the propertied classes did not meet with the same enthusiasm. One national study circle for employers organised by Catholic Action attracted the grand total of 20 representatives, and the number of dioceses that had initiated this specialised apostolate could be counted with the fingers of one hand.⁷⁴

The myriad of activities organised by Catholic Action did not, however, attract the masses back into the temples, nor was there a manifest improvement in the state of public morality or piety apart from that imposed by the State. At best, indifference was the norm. During the early years of the dictatorship, the bishop of Málaga appeared to be at ease; the revolutionary workers' movements had been completely crushed and there was virtually no possibility of a recurrence of class violence. After the fall of the Axis powers, however, the ecclesiastical hierarchy including Santos Olivera began to express a much more vocal interest in the "social question" and to demand social justice.⁷⁵ On 28 October 1945, the first collective pastoral letter on social issues was published by the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Granada, which included Málaga.⁷⁶ The pastoral denounced communism, praised Franco's profoundly Christian social programmes, and defended corporatist syndical organisations in

⁷³Ibid. (17 June 1944), 11-4.

⁷⁴Ibid. (13 Apr. 1946), 8.

⁷⁵See e. g. the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Jaén entitled "Uso y abuso de las riquezas," published in *ibid.* (13 Jan. 1945), 6-7; and *ibid.* (20 Jan. 1945), 3-4. Also the pastorals and letters of Monsignor Pildain, Bishop of the Canary Islands, e. g. his pastoral letter in *ibid.* (21 July 1945), 9-20; and *ibid.* (28 July 1945), 17-9; and his article in *ibid.* (8 Sept. 1945), 20-1.

⁷⁶"Carta Colectiva de los Obispos de la Provincia Eclesiástica de Granada," published in *ibid.* (15 Dec. 1945), 5-8; and *BOOM* (Dec. 1945), 791-810. The ecclesiastical district of Granada included Granada, Cartagena, Málaga, Jaén, Almería, and Guadix. See also *Ecclesia* (12 Jan. 1946), 4, drawing attention to the defects of existing social legislation.

order to wipe out the class struggle. They also criticised, however, the prevalence of unemployment in the south, and the impunity with which certain sectors of the population were amassing fortunes in times of widespread hardship and hunger. The bishops also criticised the absenteeism of the great landowners. They argued that the concept of social justice was firmly tied to the unfair distribution of wealth, and warned that without social justice there could no respite from the promoters of revolution. They also criticised child labour, and recommended that employers and employees form Catholic associations, thus questioning the syndical system.

This letter was not typical of Santos Olivera's usual tone or style. Up to then, the bishop of Málaga had published very little on social questions in the diocesan bulletins. The only "social" pastoral letter published by Santos Olivera in the diocesan bulletin was published in 1939 on the housing problem in Málaga, and his interest appeared to be the political consequences of the disastrous housing. His experience had taught him that in general, these immense suburbs that surround cities "have been the most propitious elements to introduce all sorts of sectarian and unpatriotic propaganda, and to foster all kinds of unrest, of rebellion, of crimes."⁷⁷ In 1941, the bishop had participated in Catholic Action's "Pro-charity" campaign, but not on the grounds that poverty was an evil to be eliminated. On the contrary, he declared that poverty and the exercise of charity was the means to strengthen fraternal bonds. He was, however, alarmed by the fact that the existence of poverty fostered communism. Therefore, he declared, "... the great menace of communism we well know will not be entirely vanquished until physical poverty is completely eliminated, as well as the unjust suffering of the disinherited."⁷⁸ The joint pastoral letter, therefore was probably a sign of Santos Olivera's growing anxiety about the rising influence of communism rather than evidence of a new and sudden social consciousness.

By 1944, *Ecclesia* was defending the desirability of setting up specialised branches of Catholic Action, for workers, students, and different social and professional groups.⁷⁹ In order to attract the membership of workers, certain economic, recreational and professional benefits were to be offered to the workers via Catholic Action that were unavailable elsewhere. These benefits -or *obras marginales*- were defended on the grounds that the Church "will not attract a great number of workers to the Church if we limit ourselves to offering them exclusively spiritual

⁷⁷*BOOM* (Apr. 1939), 169.

⁷⁸*Ecclesia* (15 Aug. 1941), 2.

⁷⁹*Ibid.* (20 May 1944), 15.

benefits."⁸⁰ Amongst the benefits that were interesting to workers were legal advisory services, training in technical skills and education in general, economic assistance, recreational facilities, etc. The direction of these services was to be secular, with adequately trained assessors for the worker's centres. The spiritual and moral direction would belong to the ecclesiastical authority, but professional and technical questions were best left to members of Catholic Action or even non members. Special emphasis was to be given to *obras marginales* for children. The writer asserted that "It is difficult to win over the adult worker who is alienated from the Church; but the work done in favour of their children has a great indirect influence over them. The children are the best missionaries for conquering the parents."⁸¹ Once workers had been attracted to the Church's services, some groups could later be prudently formed of the select -the leaders or influential peers, people who had influence and credibility, and were able to exercise authority over their companions.

In May of 1946, the general norms for the new specialised worker's section were published; these would crystallise into the *Hermandades Obreras de Acción Católica* (HOAC), or Worker's Brotherhoods of Catholic Action.⁸² The HOAC, and its youth version the *Jóvenes Obreros de la Acción Católica* (JOAC) [Young Workers of Catholic Action],⁸³ developed a mentality which drew away from the classical insistence upon the harmonisation and integration of social classes. Their members considered that spiritual and moral development had to occur in the context of daily life and ordinary pursuits. The spiritual preparation of the militants was based on a dynamic apostolate influenced by a profound knowledge of the realities of working conditions and of modern life in general. Hence, the movements helped overcome the distance that existed between the Church and modern life.⁸⁴ The workers assumed the responsibility for the defence of their own interests and defended their own rights, applying a special Christian methodology to the analysis and resolution of problems summed up by the expression: *ver,*

⁸⁰Ibid. (20 May 1944), 16.

⁸¹Ibid. (20 May 1944), 17.

⁸²Ibid. (4 June 1946), 7-8.

⁸³The JOAC was officially set up in Spain in 1949, but it was not autonomous of Catholic Action until 1956, when it was amalgamated with the international *Juventud Obrera Católica* (JOC) which had been founded by the Belgian Cardinal Cardijn in 1947. Upon this integration, the JOC substituted the JOAC.

⁸⁴F. Urbina, "Formas de vida de la Iglesia en España: 1939-1975," 56. See also A. Casamayor Fernández, *Teología y creencia en Tomás Malagón* (Madrid, 1988). On the history of the HOAC generally, see B. López García, *Aproximación a la historia de la HOAC (1946-1981)* (Madrid, 1995).

juzgar, y actuar [see, judge, and act]. Reunions included study teams which were essentially religious and scriptural but which also dealt with the social and political implications of the application of scripture in working life. The specialised apostolic movements increasingly adopted a prophetic role of denouncing social injustice. The weekly HOAC paper *¡TU!* soon became the voice of a sector of society that sought to defend the rights of the defenceless. As a result, *¡TU!* was not infrequently in trouble with the authorities, which raided offices, confiscated editions, and arrested HOAC militants.

The specialised movements of Catholic Action could not be considered mass movements, but their influence went beyond their numerical importance. According to Hermet, even at their period of greatest expansion from 1959-1963, the HOAC/JOC never totalled more than 150,000-180,000 militants and sympathisers, less than 1/20 of the total working population, and even less than some other organisations of Catholic Action such as the Women's branch of Catholic Action.⁸⁵ This influence was due to their excellent organisational skills, capacity to negotiate, their discipline, efficiency, sense of commitment, and the impressive analytical and critical training they received in theological, doctrinal, political, philosophical, and syndical issues.

For the ecclesiastical hierarchy, this raised the spectre of a conflict of interests between employers and the employees, and the possibility of action being taken that might include strikes and other forms of industrial action which belied the classic discourse on class harmony. Other worrying aspects included the HOAC's organisational structure, based on cells like the Communist syndicates, and the custom of addressing of colleagues as "brother," which was reminiscent of the communist "comrade."⁸⁶ Such accusations were doubtless disseminated by elements of the *Falange* who resented the new measures which cut ground from under the feet of the vertical syndicates, and which knew that this was a very sensitive issue for the Church. In 1950, the Primate Plá i Deniel had to come out in defence of the HOAC, denying that they encroached on territory of the vertical syndicates, and alleging that "The HOAC is not a syndicate, but neither is it a pious association [*cofradía*]." ⁸⁷ Plá i Deniel's defence of the HOAC was to become an annual event, usually on the Feast Day of Saint Joseph the Worker.

⁸⁵ Indeed, excluding the sympathisers and including on the militants of the organisations, at the beginning of the 1960s, the HOAC had probably 12,000 militants and 20,000 affiliates, and the JOC about 70,000 members. G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 238-9, 242-3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁸⁷ *Ecclesia* (25 Mar. 1950), 5-6.

The HOAC/JOC played a notable role in the syndical action of the 1950's and 1960's.⁸⁸ They were joined by Catholic apostolic groups, such as the *Vanguardias Obreras Juveniles* (VOJ) formed by the Jesuit priest Luis María Granda in 1958, and *Solidaritat d'Obrers Catalans Cristians* (SOCC) formed in Barcelona in the same year. The hierarchy was eventually forced to suspend the publication of *¡TU!*. The Primate of Spain, who had always defended the HOAC, despite his own reservations on the subject, was forced to communicate the suspension to all the bishops in order to avoid further problems with the civil authorities. The objective was no longer to reeducate the worker, but rather to reeducate the régime, something which the régime would not hear of.⁸⁹

The establishment of the HOAC and the other specialised movements of Catholic Action coincided with the departure of Santos Olivera to Granada and the arrival of Herrera Oria as new bishop. Santos Olivera was named Archbishop of Granada on 4 November 1946, where he remained until his death in 1953. On 27 April 1947, Angel Herrera, who had been parish priest in the parish of Santa Lucía in his native Santander, was named as successor of Santos Olivera. He was consecrated bishop in Santa Lucía, on 30 June 1947, and on 12 October took possession of the diocese of Málaga.

Before his departure, Santos Olivera had already taken some timid steps towards the establishment of a specialised workers' apostolate. On 17-19 September 1946, the Fourth Assembly of Diocesan clergy was held, and here the workers' apostolate attracted a good deal of attention. The assembly dealt with the question of instructing the clergy in social issues; the establishment of a specialised workers' apostolate within Catholic Action; and the structuring of parish charitable organisations.⁹⁰ It was agreed that the clergy were to be intensively instructed in papal doctrine, and the intervention of the clergy in social matters was to be indirect, mostly through the instruction of future leaders and directors of the workers' apostolate, employing the traditional means -preaching, propaganda, special courses, retreats, and/or spiritual exercises, in parish or trade schools. However, the clergy was also to do everything possible to improve the

⁸⁸F. Fanés, *La vaga de tramvies del 1951* (Barcelona, 1977); Ll. Ferri *et al.*, *op. cit.*; F. Jáuregui and P. Vega, *Crónica del antifranquismo (1). 1939-1962: Los hombres que lucharon por devolver la democracia a España* (Barcelona, 1983); C. Molinero and P. Sás, "Luchas obreras y oposición al franquismo en la Cataluña de postguerra," in *La oposición al régimen de Franco*, vol. 1, part 2; and P. Ibarra, "Bases y desarrollo del nuevo movimiento obrero en Vizcaya (1951-1967)," in *La oposición al régimen de Franco*, vol. 1, part 2.

⁸⁹Ll. Ferri *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 62.

⁹⁰*BOOM* (July 1946), 408-9.

material and economic situation of the workers, principally by helping them to get all the social benefits they were entitled to under the social security of the régime, for example, housing. The priests were also to collaborate with the *Hermandades de Labradores* -rural organisations of the vertical syndicates-, to give them a more moral and religious orientation, and to collaborate with the Secretariats of Charity in order to alleviate poverty.⁹¹

At the X Diocesan Assembly of Catholic Action in December 1946, amongst the conclusions of the Men's Diocesan Union was that the Union would assume "as a principal objective of immediate realization, that of lending all its efforts and support to the budding *Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica*."⁹² As for the young women's branch of Catholic Action, the Council recommended that the young militants try to convert the women worker schools into specialised centres of Catholic Action. The Council also proposed to immediately establish an interparish centre for female office workers.⁹³

These, then, were the timid beginnings of the specialised workers' apostolate in Málaga. In the working class parish of Santiago in Málaga, the first young workers centre was established by Emilio Benavent, then councillor of the Diocesan Council of Youth.⁹⁴ The opening ceremony was attended by about one hundred young men.⁹⁵ From 7 to 11 February 1947, the Youth Workers' Centre of Catholic Action of the parish of Santiago held spiritual exercises, attended by 29 boys, many of whom did not belong to the organisation.⁹⁶ At the same time, the traditional strategy of organising missions as means of recatholicisation of the masses was still maintained. In December 1946, for example, a mission was held at Antequera. The mission had six centres, and singled out, amongst others, railway workers, metalworkers, carpenters, textile and rural workers, doctors and medical staff, servants, teachers, the sick, and married women. Missions were also held in other localities, such as Archidona, Benauría, Benadalid, Atajate, and

⁹¹Ibid. (Oct. 1946), 688-9.

⁹²Ibid. (Dec. 1946), 783.

⁹³Ibid. (Dec. 1946), 784.

⁹⁴*Ecclesia* (4 May 1946), 17. Benavent was then a young priest, renowned for his commitment to the cause of the workers. Subsequently he became Auxiliary Bishop of Málaga, during which period his attitude changed considerably.

⁹⁵Ibid. (4 Jan. 1947), 13.

⁹⁶Ibid. (22 Mar. 1947), 15.

2. THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF BISHOP HERRERA ORIA: AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE RECATHOLICISATION OF THE URBAN WORKERS IN MALAGA.

The social apostolate adopted a markedly different style and tone under Bishop Herrera Oria, successor to Santos Olivera from 1947. This was the reflection of the vastly different life histories of both men. Santos Olivera was born in 1887 in León. He studied latin, humanities and philosophy at the seminary, and in 1905 -when he was eighteen- he was sent to Rome on a scholarship. He completed his doctoral dissertations in philosophy and theology, and was ordained in 1911. In 1913, on his return to Spain, he was appointed to the staff of the bishop of Astorga, and taught at the Pontifical University of Salamanca. In 1919, he won the post of canon in Córdoba, and two years later, that of metropolitan of Seville, where he held chairs in scripture, logic and theology for fourteen years. Santos Olivera was named bishop of Málaga on 5 August 1935, where he remained until he was named Archbishop of Granada on 4 November 1946. He died in Granada in 1953.

In comparison with the classically insulated world of Santos Olivera, Herrera began his career as a lawyer. In 1907, he won a post as State lawyer via public service exams. He received his doctorate in Law in 1909. He abandoned the practice of the law and took up journalism in 1911, when he became editor of *El Debate*. He subsequently abandoned this particularly brilliant career in order to become director of Catholic Action in 1933. His political career was no less intense; he was only briefly the leader of *Acción Nacional* (later *Acción Popular*, and nucleus of the Catholic mass political party, the CEDA), but his work in favour of Catholic conservative politics, through publications, schools, lobbies, syndicates, and associations, cannot be underestimated. The most important of the associations was the ACNP, of which he had been the first president and one of the founding members. Herrera's influence over the many enterprises, institutions, and projects related to the ACNP is overwhelming, particularly in the cultural sphere. Some of the many enterprises closely connected to the ACNP and Herrera are *La Editorial Católica* (1912), the *Escuela de Periodismo de El Debate* (1926), the Catholic agrarian syndicates of the CNCA and the summer courses at the University of Santander. As a layman, his life's activities were therefore dedicated to the extension of Catholic influence in the

⁹⁷*BOOM* (Dec. 1946), 785-90.

temporal sphere.

Having resisted vocations for many years, Herrera finally left Spain for Switzerland in May 1936, to study for the priesthood. He was ordained in July 1940; by this time he was 54 years old. On his return to Spain in 1941, he was destined in a fishing village in Santander as parish priest until he was named Bishop of Málaga scarcely six years later, on 24 April 1947. Therefore, at his arrival in the diocese of Málaga, Herrera had spent the greater part of his life working in the modern lay world, and dealing with its social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual complexities. In comparison, he had only spent seven years as a priest. This wealth of experience, and Herrera's long history in the social apostolate, resulted in there being a dramatic change in the social apostolate in Málaga, although the real consequences of the change must be qualified, as we will see.

In 1948, shortly after taking possession of the diocese, Herrera Oria asserted that a section of the HOAC had been established in Málaga, and he declared that he proposed to create a rural section in Antequera. Apparently mistaking the nature of the new organisation, he declared that the Church did not exceed its jurisdiction with this measure, but on the contrary, assisted the State in offering it committed and well-educated Catholics, and therefore perfect citizens.⁹⁸ Subsequently, he sent some delegates from the diocese to special courses on the HOAC in Madrid, but on discovering the real nature of the courses he let the whole idea drop. Apparently, he had argued with the National Councillor of the HOAC, Malagón, over the nature of the new movement, which Herrera wanted to mobilise the masses to form the syndical or working class nucleus of a Catholic political party.⁹⁹

Completely immune to the winds of change, Herrera remained absolutely true to the methods and ideas that he had promoted when he was a young propagandist. He refused to foster the HOAC in Málaga. Indeed, during his time as parish priest in Santander, Bishop Eguino had asked Herrera to be Councillor of the local HOAC, a post which Herrera had declined.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Ibid. (July-Aug. 1948), 271.

⁹⁹Fr. Miguel León Rodríguez argues that in one such dispute with Malagón, Herrera put forward his opinion that the HOAC ought to form the germ of a "left-wing" of a Christian Democrat Party, such as in Italy, where the left-wing of the Christian Democratic Party, based on the Catholic syndicalist roots, had permitted the Party to have a fundamental influence on political affairs and brake the advance of the Communist Party and the Socialists. Malagón rejected this view, on the basis that the HOAC was not intended to be a political party, but to provide instruction which permitted the militants to carry out their own struggle and defend their own rights. Interview held on 26 June 1991 in Málaga. This is a point of view corroborated by Julián Gómez del Castillo, a layman very involved in the HOAC and man in whom Herrera trusted, in J.M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera* (Madrid, 1986), 286.

¹⁰⁰Ibid. 279-80.

Instead, Herrera Oria continued in his traditional strategy of organising social weeks [*semanas sociales*], such as the Diocesan Social Week of 1948, inaugurated by the Civil Governor. During these events, the bishop participated in meetings and assemblies, where he expounded papal doctrine in an attempt to instruct the population in its Christian duties and obligations.

What, then, was the cause of Herrera's refusal to permit the HOAC to establish itself in Málaga? Certainly, as the virtual leader of the "social-Catholic" group clustered around the ACNP, Catholic Action, and its associated organisations, Herrera had helped to foster a greater consciousness of class exploitation. This in itself was enough to distinguish him from Santos Olivera, who was only heard to lament the lot of the working population in the collective pastoral letter of the Andalusian bishops of October 1945. Herrera, unlike Santos Olivera, identified the dominant classes as a source of the social problem, and specified that they, too, needed to undergo a spiritual and moral regeneration. And yet, while the specialised movements were germinated in the seed bed of social-Catholicism which Herrera had done so much to develop, Herrera proved to be a major obstacle to their development in the diocese of Málaga.

This was so because of the ultra-orthodox nature of Herrera's analysis of the causes of the "social problem." According to the neo-Thomist philosophy that prevailed at the time, both the social classes and the right to property were part of the natural law, and had a civilising and moralising influence. As Herrera declared in a homily in 1959, "The existence of classes is in accordance with nature. It is born of the inequalities between men. It is born also of virtue and work. It is a social necessity."¹⁰¹

This analysis rejected the marxist position that the classes were the result of structural malfunction in society which led to class conflict. The "social problem" was the result of personal, moral and spiritual deficiencies. The solution was not the abolition of the classes or of property, but the application of the Christian alternative, or "third way," that is, the application of Catholic doctrine to social problems, thus overcoming both the exploitation of capitalism and the materialism of marxism.

The "third way" implied the acceptance of an important qualification in the enjoyment of property. Property, argued Herrera, was not a primary, but a secondary natural right. That is to say, that it could only be enjoyed subject to the common good of others and to the exercise of charity. Wealth could legitimately be enjoyed in furtherance of the owner's "perfection", provided that this consisted of enriching the soul with virtues, both intellectual and moral, and that they be

¹⁰¹A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas de Mons. Angel Herrera Oria* (Madrid, 1963), 464.

in the social and economic interests of the entire community.¹⁰² Expenditure on education was a case in point, although there were many kinds of investments that could be made with excess funds that would increase the national wealth, "as long as the investments are not made for profits, but for a social end."¹⁰³

The concepts of charity and justice played a critical role in the construction of the Christian alternative. Catholic doctrine sought the construction of true social peace, and this depended on the forging of fraternal relations between classes. The mere reclamation of what was due as a matter of justice did not satisfy the demands of doctrine because, although the exercise of charity did not substitute justice, justice was not complete without charity. Charity complemented justice because the former virtue, unlike the latter, forged fraternal and loving relations between the two parties.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, charity served the transcendental end of saving souls. If the rich were impeded from exercising charity, there could be grave repercussions on their supernatural lives, because the rich who had not been given the opportunity to be charitable and generous with the poor whilst alive, could not count on the intercession of the poor before God on their behalf when they died.¹⁰⁵

The exercise of charity was a moral virtue whose exercise had transcendental and supernatural repercussions; but it could not be legally enforceable. Alms giving, whilst a grave moral obligation, "is not a duty of social justice. It is a duty of charity, which cannot be demanded as a matter of law."¹⁰⁶ This paternalist mentality was completely impervious to the slightest consideration of the human dignity of the poor. In a homily in the cathedral in 1961, Herrera declared that the practice of almsgiving did not degrade anybody, but on the contrary, "It exalts him who receives and exalts him who gives."¹⁰⁷

Herrera's thinking was therefore radically opposed to the critical tendencies of the apostolic movements. These adopted an increasingly anti-capitalist tone and used the language of human rights and dignities, and of social justice. Herrera's teaching emphasised resignation, submission, and acceptance of the status quo. Justice would be done in the other world; it was

¹⁰² *BOOM* (Mar. 1948), 116-7.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* (Mar. 1948), 117.

¹⁰⁴ A. Herrera Oria (dir), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. I, (Madrid, 1953), 547.

¹⁰⁵ Homily given 31 July 1960, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 648.

¹⁰⁶ Speech given in Madrid 1 April 1962, in *ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 638.

not for the poor to foster antagonism and conflict in search of material justice, even if their claim was legitimate. It is notable that Christ's words exalting the poor as heirs to the Kingdom of God were interpreted as being references, not to the materially poor, but to the poor in spirit.¹⁰⁸ In another homily, Herrera declared that God did not condemn wealth, nor the abundance of wealth, but "It is necessary to teach the rich to be poor. To be poor in spirit. To consider themselves to be administrators of God our Father."¹⁰⁹ The revolution that Herrera sought was a spiritual revolution, not a social rebellion. Saint Paul, he asserted, was a leader of the spiritual revolution, unlike Spartacus, the brave and noble yet reckless slave leader.¹¹⁰

In reality, Herrera had had very little direct contact with the working masses.¹¹¹ Even as a layman, he had lived a semi-monastic existence, which was exacerbated when he was ordained.¹¹² Accordingly, his view of class relations was characterised by a paternalistic worldview derived from a nostalgic, idealised perception of the pre-capitalist past. In his references to the working classes, Herrera clearly regarded them as infantile and helpless. Sometimes this is made explicit, such as in the comment that "The people [*pueblo*], like children, know perfectly well who loves them. And the workers are very grateful and respond with an exemplary and even heroic fidelity;" or "The people, like the children they are, when seduced by perverse leaders, can have a moment of obfuscation, of ire, of cruelty, and sacrifice the Just One."¹¹³ Herrera's references to "the mob," "the masses" and "the poor common people" are too numerous to mention. Herrera profoundly distrusted the masses unless they were ordered hierarchically; "... the populace is one thing and the mob is another."¹¹⁴ The lower classes, if given too much independence, were prone to demagogic excesses and were easily manipulated. It was not for them even to criticise the rich and powerful. In one homily, Herrera warned the

¹⁰⁸Homily given 9 June 1963, in *ibid.*, 734-6.

¹⁰⁹A. Herrera Oria (dir), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. I, 286.

¹¹⁰Homily given 22 January 1961, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 580.

¹¹¹This was so much so that Herrera liked to take the third class compartment in trains in order to talk to humble people. Testimony of Antonio Ocaña Medina, Secretary of Herrera Oria from 1949-1968, in J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, 408.

¹¹²On Herrera's virtually monastic lifestyle, see testimony of Rafael González Moralejo, who was a close collaborator of Angel Herrera, and companion in Santa Lucía, in *ibid.*, 290-1.

¹¹³A. Herrera Oria (dir), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. II, (Madrid, 1954), 412; and *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. I, 284, respectively.

¹¹⁴Homily 2 July 1961, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 638.

poor not to judge the rich. Firstly, because Scripture said that God often rewarded holiness with abundant wealth; and secondly, because only God could judge the hearts and minds of men: "You judge by appearances and by the past; but you know the present imperfectly and you do not know the future."¹¹⁵

The answer to the "social problem" was moral and spiritual; but this had to reach all echelons of society, and not merely the working classes. Herrera's insistence on the necessity of regenerating society's élites was therefore a distinguishing characteristic of Herrera's recatholicisation strategy. Herrera used the expression "aristocracy," to refer to society's élites, referring to the élites in all fields of human activity, to the leaders of society, to the most virtuous and the most instructed. The aristocracy consisted of the highest elements of the academic, the administrative, judicial, professional, or economic spheres, or "citizens who have been in high posts in the government or in diplomacy; leaders of the workers with a long and clean history, etc."¹¹⁶ The aristocracy was to be virtuous, in the Aristotelian sense. Gifted by breeding and by education, and destined to be the leaders of society, the aristocracy was responsible for the instilling of Christian values in the common people, both actively, as instructors, and passively, by setting a public example of moral rectitude. The aristocracy was obliged to seek wisdom and virtue, orient all its actions according to Catholic doctrine and the common good, and to place spiritual and moral considerations above individual interests and purely material considerations.¹¹⁷

For Herrera Oria, the corruption of the aristocracy was directly responsible for the collective convulsions of recent history. Without a true aristocracy, there was no real community, but only masses; there was no real aristocracy, either, but merely an oligarchy.¹¹⁸ Herrera was not loath to highlight the deficiencies of the élites with respect to their Christian duties. In a conference given in 1945, he declared of the upper classes that nothing had been learnt from the Civil War, and he denounced those Catholics "guilty of the apostasy of the masses."¹¹⁹ Such sentiments were not limited to texts published for the enlightened minorities, but were also expressed in homilies. In one such homily in the cathedral on 4 December 1949,

¹¹⁵Pastoral letter 24 February 1954, in *ibid.*, 527.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁷*Id.*

¹¹⁸Speech 6 March 1948, in *ibid.*, 64.

¹¹⁹A. Herrera Oria, *Concepto de la justicia social* (Granada, 1945), 32-3.

Herrera advised those who were social leaders not scandalise with their superficial, ostentatious and expensive acts of public piety, whilst omitting to carry out their obligations of social justice: for the poor observed all, and were "scandalised, and not evangelised."¹²⁰

Hence it was necessary to recatholicise all the social groups; this was to be carried out by what Herrera called select minorities. The select minorities would proceed from all walks of life, classes, economic and cultural circumstances and backgrounds. They would be specially and intensively trained in various modern disciplines -sociology, propaganda techniques, communications- as well as Catholic social doctrine. Acting within their own social and professional environment amongst their peers and colleagues, these groups and individuals would constitute the vanguard of the recatholicisation. Their work was to be carried out in factories and suburbs, in the countryside, but also in the cultural and educational organisations for the upper classes. They were also to seek to exercise a profound influence on the apparatus of State.¹²¹ An important part of the work of these minorities would consist of the identification and analysis of social problems, with all their legal, moral, social and political implications. The solutions were to be elaborated in strict accordance with the guidelines established by Catholic doctrine, and in close cooperation with the civil authorities.

Apart from their strictly professional qualities, their personal virtues and piety were of fundamental importance. Herrera counted on very few being chosen, likening them to the apostles.¹²² They were to be the forgers of a new Christian society, arising from the ashes of the old. Herrera envisaged the quest as a modern crusade: "The idea is to form authentic crusaders, like those of the Middle Ages, not to reconquer material territory, but spiritual territory. These are to be the foundations of future society."¹²³ It was clear that the lay élites were mere assistants of the clergy, to whom they owed filial submission and obedience. Only the clergy had the moral authority to decide which reforms conformed with doctrine and which did not; and only the clergy could legitimately act as intermediaries between different classes, resolving clashes of interests for the common good.

¹²⁰Homily given 4 December 1949, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 561.

¹²¹Referring to Pope Pius XI's invitation to form select minorities and forge a new order, Herrera declared: "It is not sufficient -that great Pontiff said- to reform customs: it is imperative to reform institutions. When we refer to institutions -he went on- we are referring to the State." Speech to the *Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana*, in *BOOM* (Nov. 1961), 896.

¹²²A. Herrera Oria (dir), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. II, 802-3.

¹²³Excerpt from BACNP, in J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera. Antología política y social* (Madrid, 1987), 179.

The recatholicisation of society, according to Herrera's conception, also depended upon close collaboration with the State. In 1947, whilst acknowledging the words of Christ that a Christian was to "give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's," Herrera retorted that in a confessional society, "God and Caesar are logically united in benefit of the community, which belongs to Caesar and to God." He went on to add that if the Church, represented by its clergy, was not present in everyday reforms, the danger was that, despite the good intentions of the governors, the communist spirit would infiltrate the institutions. Therefore, he insisted, the community would not react against the Church for its apparent participation in politics. On the contrary, on seeing how the Church collaborated with the State for the good of the community, the community would reconcile itself with the Church, making spiritual fathers of the clergy and conceding the Church invaluable religious and moral authority.¹²⁴

Herrera's first important attempt to promote agricultural reform in Málaga was anchored in the two principles that characterised his thinking: collaboration with the dominant élites, and collaboration with the State. With respect to the latter, Herrera was excellently situated, despite the initially negative reception he had received on his return to Spain.¹²⁵ In 1948, within six months of arriving in the diocese, Herrera initiated a scheme for agricultural reform of the latifundist region of Antequera. The reform question was pressing: the authorities were indicating that productivity was declining in an alarming fashion, and urgent measures had to be adopted.¹²⁶ At the *Jornadas Sociales Malacitanas*, which consisted of a series of lectures from the 7th to the 10th of April, Herrera endorsed the principle of agrarian reform and lectured on the issue of the limits of the enjoyment of property, defending the state's right to tax, and reminding proprietors that goods have a social function and must be used for the common good. Furthermore, he drew the attention of proprietors to a recent circular from the Civil Governor, which invited proprietors to give up 10% of their lands in long tenancies in the coming year -idea which was to come to nothing and was abandoned.¹²⁷ He drew an analogy with Italy, which he believed was being dragged along the path to communism, and which Spain had to be careful not

¹²⁴"Programa de un episcopado," delivered in Málaga, 12 October 1947, on taking possession of the diocese. In A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 760-1.

¹²⁵On the harassment suffered by Herrera when he finally returned to Spain, see J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 287.

¹²⁶A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 381. The Mayor of Antequera, Ruiz Ortega, referred to "the almost vertical decline of the productivity of manual labour." *BOOM* (July-Aug. 1948), 267.

¹²⁷G. Brenan, *La faz de España*, 90.

to imitate.¹²⁸ Herrera expressly refused to enter into the technical questions of how much land ought to be ceded in leasehold, or under what kinds of contract, etc, but he urged that Málaga be the first in this initiative, because Málaga would inspire other Andalusian provinces to follow in its wake, "And God knows what repercussion a generous attitude from this privileged corner of the nation could have in the rest of the world."¹²⁹ Herrera believed that reform was a race against time, during which it was necessary to take advantage of the favourable circumstances to change society radically.¹³⁰

In May 1948, Herrera held a preliminary retreat, with spiritual exercises and special assemblies to deal with the issue of agrarian reform. A mission for proprietors was held from 16 to 22 May, which 25 proprietors attended. The bishop had already been to Antequera twice before to discuss the reforms, and other meetings on the topic had been held at the Episcopal Palace. A special association -the *Asociación Pío XII* [Pius XII Association]- was established to undertake these reforms. Its motto, quoting a papal expression, was "The time for action has arrived."¹³¹ The civil authorities were also invited and participated.

The bishop expressed his frustration at the lack of land reforms.¹³² The bishop also criticised the defensive position the proprietors had adopted to the Civil Governor's suggestion that they voluntarily offer land for lease, warning them that neither the State nor the workers nor the Church was favourable to maintaining the current state of affairs in the Andalusian countryside. He criticised the abusive working conditions that existed in the countryside, and questioned whether society had seriously attempted to overcome social problems.¹³³ Nevertheless, the bishop insisted that there could be no reform at all without the support of landowners and employers, and that in Andalusia, despite the fact that they had "a deficient social formation," they had to preside over the application of the reforms, or otherwise they would be expensive, unequal, and mutilated.¹³⁴

¹²⁸*BOOM* (Apr. 1948), 124-6.

¹²⁹A. Herrera Oria, *Obra selectas*, 381.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 382.

¹³¹J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, 187.

¹³²*BOOM* (June 1948), 195.

¹³³*Ibid.* (June 1948), 196-7.

¹³⁴*Ibid.* (June 1948), 197.

The proposals put forward at the meetings by the proprietors, were, not surprisingly, vague and conservative. One speaker proposed a system of sharecropping [*aparcería* or *medianerías*], another the proportional division of profits, which was not accepted so well. Another speaker proposed the creation of a fixed staff of permanent workers, which would be given to heads of families, the creation of cooperative stores and rural banks, and the establishment of a sickness benefit -the typical measures which were being supported by the Catholic corporatist agrarian syndicate, the *Confederación Nacional Católica Agraria* (CNCA), in the 1920's. The bishop himself proposed the study of how to evangelise the workers on the massive rural estates.¹³⁵ Herrera even went so far as to send one of his priests, Emilio Benavent, to Rome to inform the pope on the Antequera project.¹³⁶

On 3 August, the Third Assembly of the Pius XII Association took place. In Herrera's opening session he argued that Andalusian latifundism was obsolete and could not be supported by the Church.¹³⁷ Ecclesiastical participation was limited to the presentation of a proposal for the evangelisation of landless rural workers.¹³⁸ The agrarian reform as such was put to a vote, and it was decided to distribute profits between landowners and their workers, although the landowners disputed the amount to be conceded to the workers.¹³⁹ It was a scheme which guaranteed the dependence of the landless labourers, and as the bishop noted, ensured that the landless would never achieve ownership of the land. Herrera preferred that the workers eventually become tenant farmers, although he acknowledged that general opinion was not on the side of this option.¹⁴⁰ This despite the fact that one speaker, Ruiz Muñoz Rojas, who had set up a number of estates on his land worked under the system of sharecropping, or *aparcería*, defended the apparently excellent results that this had promoted. The mayor of Antequera avoided the issue of how to implement agrarian reform, by recommending that agrarian reform be carried out by the vertical syndicates. Finally, the President of the Provincial Council and President of the *Hermandad de Labradores* [verticalist agricultural syndicate] in the province of Málaga, Baltasar Peña, reported on the successful case studies of small plots of land being

¹³⁵Ibid. (June 1948), 199-200.

¹³⁶J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 187.

¹³⁷*BOOM* (July-Aug. 1948), 249-75.

¹³⁸Ibid. (July-Aug. 1948), 262-3.

¹³⁹Ibid. (July-Aug. 1948), 263-6.

¹⁴⁰Ibid. (July-Aug. 1948), 266.

handed over to the permanent workers, in addition to their wages. He argued that production had increased spectacularly since this measure was adopted because the land was much better cared for.¹⁴¹ His assertions were much disputed by the Assembly, who alleged that the increase in production could not be solely attributed to the division and distribution of land.

At the end of the assembly, the bishop gave his final address, and invited his guests to approach the secretary and indicate which measures would be taken up on their lands. The resolution adopted was to transform the current system of ownership by allowing workers a share in gross production.¹⁴² Of the 19 landowners who still attended the meetings, 11 had voted in favour of the sharing of profits, and 8 in favour of the establishment of sharecropping.¹⁴³ Thereafter, the ecclesiastical bulletin was silent on the issue of agrarian reform, until 1950, when the issue was taken up again in the Social Week held in Málaga on "Agrarian Reform", on 26 to 30 April 1950. During this time, there do not appear to have been any important changes, except for the confirmation of the fact that yields from non irrigated land had diminished considerably, by 63.7% between the years 1929 and 1948.¹⁴⁴ The countryside was still lacking in mechanical assistance such as tractors, and there was excessive reliance on manual labour. Mention was made of the necessity that the State irrigate land; the bishop also recommended that workers work harder, because in his opinion, they worked too little, too few hours, and unwillingly. He also asserted that the latifundia were not caused by "the lack of good will of great men, but by climate, nature..."¹⁴⁵ Perhaps the bishop's fighting spirit had been dented by the public criticism of his reformist spirit noted by Gerald Brenan, who was in Málaga at this time.¹⁴⁶

By 1959 the bishop had reached the obvious conclusion that the great Antequera scheme had been stillborn. In a homily in the cathedral of Málaga, the bishop declared that, of all the landowners invited to organise a reform project, "As far as I know one or two have introduced some reform.... the Association failed."¹⁴⁷ Nor did the great scheme for the Christian reform of

¹⁴¹Ibid. (July-Aug. 1948), 271-2.

¹⁴²A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 443.

¹⁴³*BOOM* (Apr. 1955), 123.

¹⁴⁴Ibid. (June 1950), 204.

¹⁴⁵Ibid. (June 1950), 210-1.

¹⁴⁶G. Brenan, *op. cit.*, 90.

¹⁴⁷*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1959), 253.

the agrarian world fail only in Málaga. A similar project organised by Herrera in 1953-1954 with great landowners of Seville, Córdoba and Cádiz also failed spectacularly, in the former case, meeting also with the obstruction of the bishops, Cardinal Segura and Bueno Monreal.¹⁴⁸

Herrera did not appear to abandon hope, although in 1960, the bishop of Cádiz, Antonio Añoveros, expressed his grave doubts as to the reformist will of the dominant classes.¹⁴⁹ Herrera, however, was incapable of abandoning ideological positions forged in the 1920's and equally incapable of doubting the goodwill of the landowners. Herrera justified the response of the landowners, praising these men for their good intentions and for acting in good faith.¹⁵⁰ And in his homily of August 1959 commenting the failure of the Pius XII Association, he asserted that it would be unjust not to acknowledge the excellent good will of the landowners. He justified the failure on the grounds of the difficulty of the task at hand; firstly, because of the difficulty of changing property ownership; secondly because of the justified fear of the landowners that they would initiate a process which could take them too far; and thirdly Herrera declared that "their good intentions were smothered by the atmosphere within their own social class." Herrera recalled the doctrine of Pius XI to the effect that a landowner or employer could not be obliged to introduce social reforms in isolation to the other members of his class. Finally, Herrera suggested that "those gentlemen of proper Christian conscience" had been led astray by others of a less conscientious nature: "Hence, it is necessary to share out responsibilities to a considerable degree."¹⁵¹ The private secretary to the auxiliary bishop also attributed the failure of the reforms to the wives of the landowners, which was a point of view shared by the auxiliary bishop and Herrera himself.¹⁵² Herrera continued to urge the landowners to form another reform

¹⁴⁸Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 122-5; and J. Sánchez Jiménez, *El cardenal Herrera Oria. Pensamiento y acción social* (Madrid, 1986), 167, 183.

¹⁴⁹Letter of Antonio Añoveros to Herrera Oria, 5 February 1960. Herrera Oria's reply of 4 March 1960 manifested his usual optimism. In it, the bishop of Málaga alleged that he was not very optimistic about the collaboration of the leading classes, but that it was merely a question of time: "... we will reach the true path." J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 184-5, from the personal correspondence of Herrera Oria in the *Archivo Herrera Oria* (Madrid).

¹⁵⁰A. Herrera Oria, *Meditación sobre España* (Madrid, 1976), 247.

¹⁵¹*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1959), 253-4. Herrera's account of the course of the attempted reform in Antequera, written in 1965, is published in A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 244-9. Cardinal Herrera Oria notes the decisions made by the *Asociación Pío XII*, but omits any reference to the failure of the project.

¹⁵²*BOOM* (Apr. 1955), 124. According to this commentator, the womenfolk who were opposed to economic sacrifices of any kind were those who effectively sabotaged the project. The then Auxiliary Bishop of Málaga, Benavent, conveniently attributes the failure of the Antequera project to the great landowners of Seville, who had close, and sometimes, blood ties with those in Málaga, and who were firmly against any such reform. He also declares that the women played a part in obstructing the reformist intent. See J. M.

association.¹⁵³ Moreover he continued to insist that the mere redistribution of land was not the solution to the rural question. The reform had to consist of the creation of the "exemplary proprietor," that is to say, the virtuous proprietor in the Aristotelian sense. To this Herrera continued to dedicate his efforts. In 1953, he asserted that the Government was right to refuse to engage in agrarian reform if this implied redistribution of the land:

Agrarian reform, as it has generally been carried out throughout history and in modern times in some nations, is the worst of rural plagues. It is a blight from the heavens. It is a punishment from God. To redistribute property precipitately and rapidly is to cause economic, social and moral dislocation to the area affected by the disastrous reform.¹⁵⁴

In his attitude to the urban working classes, Herrera maintained an equally elitist concept of industrial relations. Certainly, Herrera condemned the upper classes for their infidelity to Christian doctrine, and this was uncomfortable for those sectors of society unaccustomed to criticism, and overused to public deference and reverence. On the other hand, Herrera's criticisms were not meant to undermine, but to perfect and consolidate the established order. Herrera never criticised Franco, and indeed, excused him personally for the evident deficiencies in the implementation of social justice and papal doctrine in Spain. Herrera asserted that "the wisest laws, received by a society with a deformed conscience, are either not obeyed, or produce effects contrary to those intended by the legislator."¹⁵⁵ On more than one occasion, other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy proved to be considerably more daring than Herrera.¹⁵⁶

Herrera's unconditional collaboration with the Franco régime was doubtless influenced to a great degree by personal circumstances. Firstly, Herrera had a naïvely favourable view of Franco, with whom he enjoyed good, if not excellent relations.¹⁵⁷ Another factor which conditioned Herrera's actions was his overwhelming fear that civil strife would return to Spain,

García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 187-8.

¹⁵³*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1959), 257.

¹⁵⁴Homily of 16 August 1953, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 667.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 444-6.

¹⁵⁶The most notably examples were Monsignor Pildain, Bishop of Canarias; González Moralejo, then Auxiliary Bishop of Valencia and ex-disciple of Herrera Oria; and Vicente Enrique y Tarancón (then Bishop of Solsona, subsequently President of the Spanish Episcopal Conference). See F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos*, 113-5.

¹⁵⁷See J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, for the testimony of Herrera's personal secretaries, 254-5, 346, 413, 512. Fr. Manuel González Ruiz, Canon of the cathedral of Málaga also testified to the mutual respect felt by both men. Conversation held 28 June 1991 in Málaga.

particularly in the form of a communist revolution.¹⁵⁸ Finally, Herrera had benefitted from his collaboration with the Franco régime, which had supported many of his initiatives for the recatholicisation of the flock, first when he was parish priest at Maliaño, and subsequently as Bishop of Málaga. Referring to his days as parish priest in Santander, in 1948 Herrera argued that the evangelisation of the flock would have been impossible without the active collaboration of Church and state and the neighbourhood would have been "... a focal point of communism."¹⁵⁹

Not surprisingly, therefore, Herrera supported the industrial and labour policies of the dictatorship, and only sought to perfect them as far as possible in line with Catholic social doctrine. In 1949, for example, Herrera declared that the Labour Charter deserved praise for its guiding principles, which, if well interpreted, would be the basis of wise legislation. It was "a singular document," "of authentic Christian inspiration," and could be the launching pad for future labour reforms including paid Sunday rest and holidays.¹⁶⁰ One of its imperfections was related to possible State or public control of industry or banking, which was contrary to papal teaching.¹⁶¹ As for the vertical syndicates, in 1954 Herrera wrote that despite the deficiencies of the organisation, it too offered positive aspects. Although it was not perfect from a doctrinal point of view, "it is incomparably superior to what we knew before; its sets an objective which it defends with noble tenacity and in its fundamentals offers the basis for a definitive solution [to the syndical question]."¹⁶²

On the complicated question of the legitimacy of strike action, in 1954, Herrera was still arguing that the strike was not in itself immoral, was not expressly prohibited by the popes, and could even be necessary in certain circumstances. Nevertheless, the strike "... is an imperfect weapon, antijuridical and dangerous."¹⁶³ It caused grave damage, tended to be accompanied by violence, usually served political, and not economic ends, and was often the beginning of a revolutionary movement. Therefore, "It is not, ... a desirable process." Moreover, in cases where

¹⁵⁸Homily 24 February 1952, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 457.

¹⁵⁹Speech 15 February 1948, in *ibid.*, 436-7.

¹⁶⁰Speech 30 April 1949, in *ibid.*, 402-3.

¹⁶¹Speech 9 June 1950, in *ibid.*, 422-4.

¹⁶²Letter from Herrera Oria to Martín Artajo, 22 March 1954, excerpt published in J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 247.

¹⁶³A. Herrera Oria (dir), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. II, 935-7.

strikes were prohibited by the authorities, Catholics were obliged to obey the law and not go on strike. Catholics, argued Herrera, were only entitled to break a positive law when it went against a superior law; and this was not the case with strikes.¹⁶⁴

Herrera Oria's urban worker's apostolate was therefore anchored in the social paternalism that had characterised the social-Catholic reform projects of the pre-Republican and Republican periods. In collaboration with the civil authorities, housing construction projects were begun in Málaga; one, for example in San Patricio (working class district of Huelin), with a population of 15,000, where 1,400 living quarters and a church were constructed. In Melilla, another 600 living quarters were built, and yet another 150 living quarters and church in Ubrique.¹⁶⁵ In Ronda, a "worker's centre" was set up, which was to be the centre of education and leisure of the population. It included a night school, sporting recreational facilities, and offered classes in religious, moral and social formation.¹⁶⁶ The objective was to establish "a new society guided by a better and more just brotherhood between its components... in which the postulates of Religion, Nation, and Family, foundation of a Christian society, are applied and can take root."¹⁶⁷ In a working class district, "... the Worker's Social House is of maximum importance." This institution was to instruct a chosen number of workers, who, once correctly oriented, might direct their peers away from "dissolvent and utopian ideas" and towards their own religious, moral, cultural and economic betterment. It was envisaged that, at the end of the working day, the workers would be able to make use of meeting rooms within their very workplaces, in which "honest recreation and instruction" would be provided.¹⁶⁸

Meanwhile, the working classes also received intensive instruction in Catholic doctrine in the professional training and vocational schools of Málaga. The *Escuela de Formación Profesional 'Francisco Franco'* was established to train specialised workers such as metalworkers, electricians, carpenters, mechanics, printers, etc. The school was to provide specialised training, but also forge a "whole man," in social, political and religious terms. Religion was taught at the school by the chaplain, who saw to the spiritual direction of the students. The bishop received the ecclesiastical counsellor in 1957 and demanded that daily mass

¹⁶⁴Id.

¹⁶⁵*BOOM* (Jan. 1954), 46-52.

¹⁶⁶Ibid. (Sept. 1954), 334.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. (Mar. 1953), 120-7.

¹⁶⁸Ibid. (Mar. 1953), 127.

be said at the school, which had its own chapel.¹⁶⁹ In this chapel, some of the students were married, and other religious ceremonies were held, such as the novena for the Immaculate Virgin, which was purportedly "followed by all the apprentices with maximum fervour." According to the Institute's publication, *Formación*, 925 students received communion.¹⁷⁰ The total number of students was approximately 1,150. There were also other professional training schools in Málaga: the *Escuela de Formación Profesional de Miraflores de El Palo*, run by the Jesuits; the *Escuelas del Ave María*, for poor working class children; and the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* in Antequera.

With the most important socialising mechanisms in place, Herrera dedicated himself to disseminating his own views on the application of Christian doctrine to industrial and labour affairs at a national level. In his proposed syndical reform, Herrera defended a hierarchical structure based on the Thomist mixed constitution of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. He likened the employers to the Monarchy, and the workers in turn, were likened to the body of citizens. In the middle, he regarded the shareholders as a form of aristocracy, counselling and controlling the possible excesses of their head. The hierarchical structure was fundamental for the prosperous management of an economic enterprise. Herrera refused to entertain any criticism of the employers, or accept anything that undermined their authority. The claims of workers to be allowed to participate in the decision making and running of the enterprises where they worked was, in the words of Herrera, "demagogy." In 1949, he attacked democratic values in industrial relations declaring that it was vulgar and foolish to criticise employers:

Entrepreneurs tend to be, generally, the creators.... Such men deserve every consideration from society.... The egalitarian principle is as opposite to nature as it is to healthy philosophy. It is as disastrous in the political arena as it is in industrial theory.¹⁷¹

And in the same lecture, he added: "I am an enemy of industrial demagogy as much as of political demagogy. I do not accept that sovereignty resides in the masses."¹⁷²

Nevertheless, private enterprise could only legitimately seek private benefit subject to the common good. The doctrine of the common good included the moral obligation of taking

¹⁶⁹*Formación. Revista para formación e información de los Aprendices de la I.S. Francisco Franco*, no. 37 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1957), 2.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, no. 37 (Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1957), 13, 27.

¹⁷¹A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 388-9.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 395.

issues of social justice into account and of complying with questions of the appropriate spiritual and social protection and education of the workers. For example, the workers ought to be paid a just wage, which would permit them to acquire a modest property and avoid falling into the proletarian condition. What is more, the mere payment of a just salary might not be enough to satisfy the requirements of social justice if the employer merely continued accumulating wealth. In such a case, social justice would imply, apart from the paying of a minimum wage, the redistribution of wealth.

The structure Herrera proposed was as follows: the board of administrators would retain absolute technical, economic, and legal control of all aspects of the enterprise's economic activity. Existing alongside it, however, there was to be a social council, which represented the enterprise "as natural association, as human community." It would receive information with respect to the physical, moral and spiritual health of the workers, social projects in the neighbourhood such as the worker's living quarters, recreation, vacations, the running of spiritual exercises, etc. On the council, labour was to be represented. Herrera expressed the firm conviction that "the worker will participate in the social council with real interest if the social council, properly ordered and administered, offers him benefits."¹⁷³ The clergy were to be active as referees between the workers and employers. The embryo of Herrera's ideas had already been put into practice in his own working life when he was manager of *El Debate* and *La Editorial Católica*.¹⁷⁴

The workers were not in a position to demand or coerce, let alone dominate the council. It was not envisaged to be a pressure group or defence mechanism that could clash in any way with the employers. Herrera suggested that the council might comprise, for example, nine members. Three would represent the workers, three the enterprise and finally, three would be professionals from outside the enterprise. These might include a social worker, an economist, and, if he was not already on the council, a clergyman. This structure was not limited to the factory level; Herrera envisaged that it could effectively be applied at federation level, or even amongst groups of enterprises.¹⁷⁵ The financing of the councils would derive from three sources:

¹⁷³Ibid., 396-7.

¹⁷⁴*La Editorial Católica*, which put into place the commissions which Herrera defended as the ideal system of organisation of productive relations, was one of the first journalistic enterprises to give its employees a wide range of benefits like a paid month's holiday. See J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 429-35.

¹⁷⁵A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 396-7.

firstly, from a percentage of the company profits that was dedicated to workers; secondly, from special reserves for social purposes as decreed by law; and thirdly, the enterprise directly.

The success of this reform depended upon a moral and spiritual revolution taking place in the hearts and minds of all the implicated parties. It was an idea which depended upon the spiritual perfection of each individual, and the full assimilation of Catholic doctrine into everyday behaviour. Hence, the efficacy of this idea, as Herrera was aware, depended upon an adequate instruction: it was necessary to establish social schools, most urgently for workers, employers, and clergy, but also all other social sectors. It was also imperative to advance the faculties of economics and sociology, to further develop and learn Catholic social doctrine.¹⁷⁶

In Herrera's opinion, this system was far more in keeping with Catholic principles than the modern trend towards syndicalisation, whereby workers simply elected representatives to defend them as a class against the employers. Democratisation of the enterprise, he argued, could only result in the oppression of the rich by the poor. Economic decisions would not be made on the basis of the common good, but on the basis of popular opinion.¹⁷⁷ He argued that enterprises left in the unfettered hands of real experts were better managed, because the economic measures that were considered the soundest would be taken without fear of popular reaction or outrage. The economic well-being of the nation, in short, depended upon preventing the obstructive effects of democracy, even within the productive process. Similarly, the reforms had to be implemented from the top of the productive pyramid down, and not as a result of pressure or instigation from horizontal class syndicates. He rejected the strategy of those countries which defended the horizontal syndical system, and criticised Catholic laymen who defended the right of "co-management" or a share in the decision making by workers or the State in the economic affairs of the enterprise. This, he considered, was "dangerous and scarcely compatible with papal thought."¹⁷⁸

Herrera did not approve of State intervention in productive life in order to share power among the productive elements or redistribute wealth. The role of the State in the internal affairs of the enterprise was, in his opinion, limited to certain functions such as the redistribution of wealth via the taxation system. On the other hand, he reminded the State of the papal exhortations that requested that the State not oppress private enterprise with a heavy tax burden.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 397-8.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 417-8.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 419-21.

Nationalisation was also accepted, though only as a last resort in specific circumstances.¹⁷⁹ State intervention, however, was regarded by Herrera as essentially prone to imperfections and drawbacks, and disastrous both in economic and social terms. Hence, Herrera urged that the employers themselves undertake reforms as soon as possible before the State followed the model of other European nations, and undertook reforms for them.¹⁸⁰

Herrera expounded his theories in conferences and lectures all over the country, including in dioceses where the HOAC was in operation.¹⁸¹ Herrera's recatholicisation programme was more and more to be oriented in Madrid. In Madrid, he attempted to recreate the old Republican *Instituto Social Obrero* [Worker's Social Institute] in Madrid in 1956. The project was intended to be a training school for workers, to be called the *Instituto Pío XI*, and counted with the collaboration of political authorities and friends and disciples of Herrera.¹⁸² However, Herrera's plans were frustrated; the HOAC initially indicated its willingness to participate, but nothing came of the proposal, probably due to Herrera's insistence on choosing the teachers.¹⁸³

During the 1950's, members of some Catholic apostolic workers' movements such as the HOAC and JOC were heard to publically defend the principles of co-management in enterprises, of dialogue with Communists, of liberty of press and of association, and to demand that the Church take a more active role in the defence of the interests of the weaker sectors of society. The change -or progression- in the ideological orientation of the HOAC aligned it much more clearly with the revolutionary groups than with the more conservative sectors of the Church. The economic stabilisation plan of 1956 adopted by the technocratic government was met with the vociferous opposition of these Catholic organisations as well as the clandestine syndical and political movements.

Málaga did not manifest this kind of strife; the HOAC did not officially exist there, unlike

¹⁷⁹Herrera believed that other countries had gone too far in applying the principle of nationalisation. See *ibid.*, 411.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 400-1.

¹⁸¹Herrera frequently appeared in the *Semanas Sociales* held by other bishops. In 1949, Herrera expounded his ideas at the *Semana Social* in Murcia, even though there was a HOAC group established there. M.E. Nicolás Marín, *Instituciones murcianas durante el Franquismo 1939-1962. Contribución al conocimiento de la ideología dominante* (Murcia, 1982), 79.

¹⁸²J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 253.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 234-5. See also the testimony of Julián Gómez del Castillo in *ibid.*, 277-88.

other parts of Andalusia, which did have HOAC groups.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the changes in Catholic thinking were nationwide, and Málaga could not be immunised against them. The ideas and methodology of the HOAC and the JOC did penetrate Málaga in a very timid way, despite Herrera Oria's reservations. The bishop's absences from the diocese were frequent, and sometimes prolonged, and he was to some degree distanced from what was happening in the diocese. His general pattern was to come from Madrid on Saturday afternoons, and leave for Madrid on Sunday afternoon, or on Monday afternoon.¹⁸⁵ In 1951, an auxiliary bishop was appointed -Fr. Emilio Benavent- to assist Herrera in the running of the diocese, given that he was absent one week in every two.¹⁸⁶ This perhaps liberated Herrera even further: in 1951 and 1952, Herrera visited South America, where he hoped to set up institutes similar to those established in Spain.

Moreover, the bishop could not impede that individuals freely subscribe to the Catholic apostolic movements, which were neither illegal nor prohibited by the hierarchy. Hence, according to one testimony, there were individuals who were militants of the HOAC in Málaga before 1962, although doubtless these were relatively few isolated individuals, with little or no influence.¹⁸⁷ According to Hermet, in 1964, there were 110 subscribers to the HOAC bulletin in Málaga.¹⁸⁸ In about 1958, Tomás Malagón, one of the founders of the HOAC, came to Málaga to give a course to diocesan priests; on other occasions, individuals were sent from Madrid to give the workers of certain factories lectures on the HOAC. The bishop's response to these initiatives was essentially obstructionist; Herrera offered no open opposition to the limited HOAC activities that existed, but he ignored them, and forbade clergy to go to its meetings.¹⁸⁹ The Auxiliary Bishop Benavent was initially favourable to the JOC, but when he discovered that

¹⁸⁴Notably Cádiz, Córdoba, and Granada. See *Boletín HOAC* (21 May 1953), 13; and *ibid.* (21 Jan. 1956), 11.

¹⁸⁵J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, 248; and conversation with Manuel González Ruiz, held in Málaga, 28 June 1991.

¹⁸⁶J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, 228.

¹⁸⁷García de la Cueva, leader of the metal syndicate in Málaga in these years, was allegedly also a member of the HOAC. Testimony of José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz, ex-member of the JOC and CCOO in Málaga in the 1960's. Conversation held in Málaga, 21 September 1995.

¹⁸⁸G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 241.

¹⁸⁹Testimony of Pepe Juárez, member of the HOAC in Granada in these early years, and President of the Andalusian HOAC in 1970; Juárez believes that Herrera's obstructionism of the HOAC in Málaga is exaggerated. Conversation held in El Palo (Málaga), 22 September 1995.

members of the JOC were getting implicated in the workers' struggle, he refused to let the JOC have access to diocesan premises to hold their meetings.¹⁹⁰

Hence, a HOAC-JOC style apostolate did not exist in Málaga until the 1960's, except in the personal work of a minuscule number of individuals, such as Emilio Benavent and Jesús Sánchez. Both Emilio Benavent, when he was parish priest of the working class district of San Patricio de Huelin, and the young priest Jesús Sánchez, worked in San Patricio de Huelin, which was referred to locally as "the red neighbourhood." This parish was very extensive, running from the railway station of Málaga, all along the coast, up to the airport of Torremolinos. Malaga's industry was concentrated there, and the parish therefore included industrial, maritime, and agricultural workers. In this parish, four priests worked with different sectors. As parish priest, Benavent had a relatively open attitude to the worker's apostolate. Benavent's father had been founder of the Socialist syndicate, the *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT) in Bilbao; his brother had been a Republican tank commander who was condemned to death by the Nationalists.¹⁹¹ Benavent himself was a late vocation; in the seminary he studied with Malagón. Benavent's thinking subsequently was to change considerably, becoming much more paternalistic and conservative after being appointed auxiliary bishop to Angel Herrera. Rafael Marmolejo, ex-Anarchist, remembers Benavent in those early days of the worker's apostolate as being a man sympathetic to the left, who lacked the paternalism that normally characterised the Catholic workers' apostolate; so much so that he was able to enlist the aid of communists and anarchists in his projects.¹⁹²

The youngest of the four priests working in the parish, Jesús Sánchez, was coadjutor of Benavent, and was also in charge of the youth apostolate. Fr. Sánchez was also the teacher of the 1,000 students who attended the railway apprentice's school, the *Escuela de Aprendices de la Red Española Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles* (RENFE). This was an important school which trained apprentices to work in a numerically significant local industry -about 9,000- because Málaga was a terminus station, and therefore had an important workshop for the repair of trains. Fr. Sánchez was also the teacher of the *Institución Sindical 'Francisco Franco'*, the

¹⁹⁰Testimony of José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz.

¹⁹¹Testimony of Rafael Marmolejo in *En el recuerdo y el calor de Alfonso C. Comín* (Málaga, 23 July 1981), 22-3. Pamphlet published in limited numbers in remembrance of Alfonso C. Comín by his friends in Málaga on the first anniversary of Comín's death. The author has a copy thanks to the kindness of José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz.

¹⁹²Ibid., 23.

most important vocational training centre of Málaga, which comprised about 1,200 students including 200-300 boarders. The hostility of the young men who attended these classes towards indoctrination in religious or political matters was open and vehement. Fr. Sánchez relates that, when he arrived to give class for the first time, Franco's portrait had been slashed and turned to the wall, and he personally was informed that religion and politics classes were a waste of time.¹⁹³ The workers of RENFE had travel passes, and therefore were able to travel overseas. They were generally amongst the better informed workers in Spain, precisely due to their foreign contacts.

Fr. Sánchez, however, was not so easily intimidated. He had been trained in the JOAC in Valladolid, and was accustomed a more open and tolerant worker's apostolate. In the RENFE apprentice school, in the *Institución Sindical 'Francisco Franco'* and in other schools, Sánchez formed the JOAC cells and set about the study of Christian doctrine and the fostering of a real and profound spirituality.

It did not take long for Fr. Sánchez's work to arouse suspicions, and allegations began to circulate to the effect that he was a "red." The students of the *Institución Sindical 'Francisco Franco'* were obliged to confess and take communion, and attend the rosary, on the eve of the important religious feasts. If they failed to do so, they were given a "grave fault," and on receiving three, they could be expelled from the school. These boys only received one day off, and had to come to Málaga from El Palo, which was a suburb on the outskirts of the city, expressly to go to receive the sacraments and attend services. Fr. Sánchez did not believe in the paying of lip service and suggested that the boys come to him, but instead of making them receive sacraments that they did not want to receive, he merely talked to them and blessed them. News of this practice got out, and as a result, Fr. Sánchez was removed from his position as teacher of these lads.

On being withdrawn from his working apostolate in San Patricio de Huelin, in 1958, he requested and was conceded the post of parish priest of one of the poorest parishes of Málaga, Santa Rosa de Lima. This parish was created in 1952 from the working class parishes of Santo Domingo and San Carlos. Applying the JOC methodology he had learnt in Valladolid, Fr. Sánchez changed the face of the neighbourhood drastically. Rejecting the custom of the priest who had preceded him, Fr. Sánchez distributed the American aid which was then coming into Málaga -butter, cheese, milk, clothes- without there being any need to attend rosary. The 600 tin

¹⁹³Conversation with Fr. Jesús Sánchez Pérez, held in Málaga, 11 June 1991.

and cardboard shacks in which the residents lived were knocked down, and 600 homes built by the authorities, tired of the continual harassment of the combative parish priest of Santa Rosa. The local church and secondary school, however, were constructed by the locals without any assistance either from the civil or ecclesiastical authorities. Herrera was amazed on discovering what this enterprising priest was able to do in his parish.¹⁹⁴ On one occasion, the bishop was taken around to inspect the living conditions of the poor in Málaga. Herrera was overcome by what he saw, and remarked to Fr. Sánchez, "We have no contact with the people," to which Fr. Sánchez pertly replied, "You might not!" This episode caused a profound impression on Fr. Sánchez, and in a course being offered in the diocese on lines similar to that of the HOAC, he repeated Herrera's declaration. The course was about the necessity of getting closer to, and having more contact with, the working population. Fr. Sánchez posed the rhetorical question, that if the most socially conscious bishop in Spain could make such a comment, what was the rest of the Spanish episcopate, and indeed, the rest of the population like? This comment was made at about eight o'clock in the evening. The next morning, he received instructions to abandon the course.

The successes of Fr. Sánchez were very much personal successes, which depended upon the drive of the priest and his capacity to mobilise others to support him. The development of a JOC mentality which created an autonomous group of Catholic militants did not begin in Málaga until October 1961, however, after the arrival of the influential Catholic layman and self-proclaimed Communist Alfonso Carlos Comín.¹⁹⁵ Comín began working as a teacher in four different schools dedicated to professional and technical training. On his second day of teaching in one such college -the Jesuit boys' technical college run by the Jesuit father Mondéjar- he was expelled, for objecting to the use of corporal punishment to discipline the boys.¹⁹⁶ Comín was to work, during his four years in Málaga, in the *Instituto Católico de Estudios Técnicos* (ICET), the *Escuela del Ave María de Huelin*, the *Escuela de Peritos Industriales*, the *Escuela de Trabajo Social "Estela Aurora"* (the only feminine college, established by Herrera for the instruction of social workers) and he began to teach in the *Escuela de Maestría Industrial*. Comín attempted to develop class consciousness in his students in reunions he arranged after class, in which he discussed the class struggle and other issues. On one occasion, he was called

¹⁹⁴Id.

¹⁹⁵See A. C. Comín, *Fe en la tierra* (Bilbao, 1977).

¹⁹⁶This episode is briefly related in *ibid.*, 91, as well as in *España, ¿País de Misión?* (Barcelona, 1966).

upon to give a religion class, as the usual teacher was ill; Comín's class caused a sensation. No-one had ever heard anything like it.¹⁹⁷ His students were all young, ranging between 14 and 18 years of age, and were vastly impressed with the social sensibility of their new teacher.

Comín and his family lived in a working class suburb on the beach in the fishing district of El Palo. Shortly after arriving, Comín and some of his neighbours formed a JOC group. One of the members of this group, Pedro Andrés González, recalls that Comín inspired trust because he did not try to "convert" or evangelise anybody. Thus he was able to have relations with communists, socialists and anarchists, and together they and the JOC began to mobilise and organise social and political opposition to the régime.¹⁹⁸

Comín's work in the JOC was not carried out in a clandestine fashion from the bishop; on the contrary, Comín sought the collaboration of the bishop. However, the first initiatives of the JOC, in the words of Comín, "... were totally frustrated by the total incomprehension of the Herrera Oria-Benavent duo, who smothered the initiatives adopted by those who were beginning a task in incredibly hard and self-sacrificing conditions."¹⁹⁹ Comín's contacts were essentially with Benavent, who effectively ran the diocese in Herrera's absences. Comín describes Benavent's reaction to their meeting as being largely evasive; "There was nothing to talk about or discuss. Everything was his jurisdiction. Monsignor Herrera and he knew what they were doing.... Monsignor Benavent was never even remotely interested in dealing with such questions, he never tried to assimilate what might be of use from our experiences, from our lives."²⁰⁰

Comín's initiatives were also to run into ecclesiastical opposition on one other notable occasion. Comín had founded an industrial cooperative, called *Cooperativa Industrial Malagueña*, based on a similar initiative which was working well in Mondragón, in the Basque Country. Comín had personally sought financial assistance from the German episcopate; but before he could receive it, Herrera informed Comín that he was to abandon the cooperative if he wanted the cooperative to receive the money.²⁰¹

Comín also worked as technical advisor in a factory in Huelin, until his employer,

¹⁹⁷Testimony of Inocencio Fernández, ex-member of this class and disciple and friend of Comín. Conversation held in Málaga, 21 September 1995.

¹⁹⁸*En el recuerdo y el calor de Alfonso C. Comín*, 40.

¹⁹⁹A. C. Comín, *Fe en la tierra*, 92.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 93.

²⁰¹See A. Sáez Alba, *La Asociación Nacional Católica de Propagandistas*, 106, fn 1; and the testimony of Miguel Pérez, in *En el recuerdo y el calor de Alfonso C. Comín*, 47-9.

Jacinto Pariente, dismissed him, given that "Alfonso dedicated part of his time to counselling the workers, something which, obviously, did not interest D. Jacinto."²⁰² Finally, during his time in Málaga, Comín prepared his book entitled *España del Sur* [Southern Spain], in collaboration with some of his colleagues in Málaga, on the unjust social-economic conditions of the Andalusian working classes, and their causes. Subjected to police vigilance and raids, Comín was finally obliged to abandon Málaga and return to Barcelona in 1965. He was to write that: "The different controls placed on us -ecclesiastical as much as political- made the most minimal task almost impossible."²⁰³

Another formidable ideological opponent of the bishop of Málaga was José María González Ruiz, Canon of the cathedral, theologian, and biblical specialist. González Ruiz provoked the suspicion and opposition of Cardinal Herrera over the subject matter that he taught at the seminary, and suffered considerably until the opening of the Second Vatican Council, during which many of his ideas and opinions were ratified and vindicated. Due to the pressure of the bishop of Málaga (who did not have authority to remove González Ruiz from his post as canon, but did everything possible to make his life as uncomfortable as possible), González Ruiz spent relatively little time in Málaga in the 1960's. When he was there, "González Ruiz's house... was a parade of people from the Church or not, who needed to meet, talk or ask for something for the cause of the worker's movement."²⁰⁴

González Ruiz defended profound changes in the traditional thinking with respect to traditional ecclesiology, pastoral practice, and theology, and the rejection of the values of National-Catholicism. He was especially interested in the possibilities of dialogue between Christians and Marxists, participating in many philosophical debates with eminent Marxist philosophers and theorists. In 1962, he published *Marxismo y Cristianismo frente al hombre nuevo*, in which he rebutted the Marxist criticism that the Christian message was incapable of bringing about human advancement.²⁰⁵ In his relations with the working classes and their organisations, González Ruiz acknowledged the Church's historical mistakes. In his homily on 1 May 1966, celebrated by the Franco régime as *San José Obrero*, González Ruiz criticised

²⁰²Testimony of Gabriel Puga and family, in *En el recuerdo y el calor de Alfonso C. Comín*, 49.

²⁰³A. C. Comín, *Fe en la tierra*, 95.

²⁰⁴J. A. Ruiz Muñoz, *Como viví el movimiento obrero de Málaga (1965-1977)*, 10. Unpublished typewritten memoirs, in the Municipal Library of Málaga, dated June 1987.

²⁰⁵J. M. González Ruiz, *Marxismo y Cristianismo frente al hombre nuevo* (Madrid, 1962).

Catholic negligence, culpable silence, and collaboration with the oppressors of the working classes. He reminded his listeners of the words of the Second Vatican Council expressed in Scheme 13 (subsequently to become the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*): "the Christian who fails in his temporal obligations, fails in his duties to his neighbour, fails, above all, in his obligations to God, and places his eternal salvation in danger."²⁰⁶ The work of González Ruiz had a great influence on the Catholic apostolic movements such as the HOAC; indeed, one of the biblical specialists consulted and studied by all the HOAC militants was precisely González Ruiz.²⁰⁷

Despite the changes taking place in Catholic thinking both in Spain and, especially, in Europe, Herrera Oria remained faithful to Crusade values and to the essentially 19th century concepts of pastoral practice and apostolate. Therefore it was to the great surprise of Herrera Oria that the pontificates of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI gave an enormous impulse to the work of the HOAC, JOC, and individuals or apostolic organisations in line with the thinking of these groups. In the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961) Pope John XXIII drew a close relationship between personal salvation and the practical application of Catholic social doctrine in the ordinary life of every Christian, denying that there was any contradiction between the quest for personal perfection and what Pope John XXIII called "active presence in the world."²⁰⁸ The common good was interpreted more in terms of the defence of individual human rights and dignities; amongst these rights, the pope defended the right of workers to freely form and run associations in order to defend their own interests.²⁰⁹ Workers were entitled to actively collaborate in economic enterprises and political organisations.²¹⁰ The principles of equity, social justice and respect for human dignity were to be determining factors in the construction of economic life.²¹¹ The pope paid considerable attention to the particular problems of the rural workers, arguing that they should form associations in defence of their own interests, and that

²⁰⁶ Homily of José María González Ruiz given in Barcelona, in J. A. Ruiz Muñoz, op. cit., appendix.

²⁰⁷ Testimony of Pepe Juárez.

²⁰⁸ The version used here is translated by the author from the Spanish language version in *Ocho grandes mensajes*. 9th edn. (Madrid, 1976), 121-200, see paras 226, 255.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, para 22.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, paras 77, 91-3, 97.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, paras 21, 71, 73, 82-4.

rural workers were to be the protagonists of their own advancement.²¹² Finally, the pope urged the development of the lay apostolate; he urged Catholics to collaborate loyally in all those works "which are by their nature good, or at least can lead to good."²¹³

In his comments on the encyclical, Herrera maintained a guarded silence on the papal words indicating that workers had a right to establish their own associations. Indeed, when *Mater et Magistra* was published, Herrera wrote to the pope, suggesting that the Spanish translation had to be defective, as it was impossible that the encyclical could really declare that "the advancement of the peasants must be the work of the peasants themselves." The pope had to correct him on this point.²¹⁴ In 1961, when explaining the text in a lecture to civil servants, Herrera declared that the pope had written that the *landed proprietors* were responsible for their own advancement, by offering "noble and sincere" collaboration with the governmental agricultural reforms.²¹⁵ As to the implications of the encyclical on Spanish syndical policy, Herrera acknowledged the pope's words on the promotion of the working classes, and the right for workers to participate in the life of the enterprise actively; but he also noted that the pope eulogised "the syndical organisations of Christian inspiration," evidently with the Spanish vertical syndicates in mind.²¹⁶ In 1964, he warned workers that:

The workers who foster the class spirit amongst themselves are as distanced from the Gospels as those rich who defend their positions. One thing is the defence of one's own interests and another is the maintenance of a closed and exclusivist class spirit, which fosters individual egoism and predisposes spirits towards the class struggle.²¹⁷

Herrera also notably avoided making any reference to the papal comments on the collaboration of Catholics with non Catholics in social and economic initiatives that favoured the common good.

In his comments on the encyclical, Herrera was always most careful to remind his readers that the encyclicals define general principles, but do not offer concrete and practical

²¹²Ibid., paras 144, 146, 148.

²¹³Ibid., paras 237-9.

²¹⁴J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 281.

²¹⁵*BOOM* (Nov. 1961), 891-2.

²¹⁶Ibid. (Nov. 1961), 890-1.

²¹⁷J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 75, quoting homily of 12 July 1964.

solutions to day to day problems.²¹⁸ He was also careful to note that the encyclical's conclusions "cannot be applied literally to all nations and in all circumstances. Repeatedly the text says that the reality of time and place, different and changeable, must be taken into account."²¹⁹

In general, Herrera took pains to indicate that, despite the commotion caused by the encyclical, the papal doctrine therein expounded was no novelty on earlier papal doctrine. On the question of socialisation of the means of production, he declared that: "He who reads the text carefully will see that the encyclical does no more than repeat old ideas and establish the new situation;" on State interventionism, he declared that: "The doctrine is exactly the same as that of Pope Leo XIII;" on property, he declared that: "There is nothing new on property in 'Mater et Magistra'.... It is, in short, the traditional position."²²⁰

Herrera's explanations of the encyclical to his flock always consisted of proving the consistency of the new document with established authority, and confirming the doctrines that Herrera had always taught. His comments on the encyclicals included the usual appeals for collaboration with the State, and between State and Church even when these directly contradicted the spirit and even the words of the encyclical;²²¹ and they habitually included references to the necessity of establishing select minorities.²²² The formation of select minorities of workers was especially necessary. In his commentary on *Mater et Magistra*, Herrera insisted that the presence of workers in all aspects of public life demanded that they receive an adequate instruction. The economic enterprise had to be converted into a human community, for which purpose workers needed a careful Christian social instruction. If this were not forthcoming, Herrera argued, they would seek it independently from communist doctrine, "so fascinating because of what it contains that is truthful..."²²³

Herrera's elitist thinking was increasingly anachronistic and inconsistent with doctrinal and theological developments which had occurred without him apparently noticing.²²⁴ If he did

²¹⁸ *BOOM* (Nov. 1961), 886; and A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 345.

²¹⁹ A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 345.

²²⁰ *BOOM* (Nov. 1961), 887, and 889-90, respectively.

²²¹ A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 351.

²²² *Ibid.*, 352-6.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 355-6.

²²⁴ In the light of the developments during and after the Second Vatican Council, the publications of the *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, in which Herrera and the teachers of the *Instituto Social León XIII*

notice the contradictions, he simply relied on the affirmation that "Spain is different" to justify not following the dictates of modern papal authority.²²⁵

Despite Herrera's lack of support for the specialised movements of Catholic Action, these began to develop real social influence in the 1960's, and particularly after the year of Herrera's death in 1968, impelled by the vast social and economic changes. The economic revolution in Málaga came in the form of migration and the development of the tourist industry, which undermined the traditional economic structures and traditional ways of life. Thousands of peasants left the land to join the industrial working population in the large cities and towns.²²⁶ The Spanish economy and labour force underwent a dramatic transformation in relatively little time from rural economy to industrialised consumer society. Andalusia was one of the regions most affected by these changes in the labour force. In 1930, 3.7% of the natives of Málaga lived outside Andalusia; by 1970, that percentage had risen to 18.6%.²²⁷ The majority of migrants from Málaga went to Cataluña (52.5%), overwhelmingly to Barcelona, and another important number went to Madrid (20%).²²⁸ The majority of these migrants were rural workers, mostly young men (between 25-64 years of age), unskilled or semiskilled, and unmarried. An average 8.6% of these migrants were illiterate, in comparison with the national average of 3.7%.²²⁹

normally published, reflected the new orientations of Catholic doctrine. Every encyclical published by the popes was studied and a collection of commentaries on the various paragraphs and sections of the encyclical written by the professors of the *Instituto Social León XIII* was subsequently published. Herrera Oria normally wrote the prologue or the conclusion. In all of these cases, the differences in vocabulary, style, and cosmology between the contributors and Herrera Oria himself is perfectly evident. Comparing both, Herrera Oria sounds radically old-fashioned and distanced from reality. See, *Comentarios a la "Mater et Magistra"* (Madrid, 1963); *El diálogo según la mente de Pablo VI. Comentarios a la "Ecclesiam Suam"* (Madrid, 1965); *Comentarios a la Encíclica "Pacem in terris"* (Madrid, 1966); *Curso de doctrina social católica* (Madrid, 1967); and *Comentarios a la Constitución "Gaudium et Spes" sobre la Iglesia y el Mundo Actual* (Madrid, 1968).

²²⁵This was the case with respect to the phenomenon of worker-priests, about whom Herrera declared that "... son dos mundos distintos Francia y España, especialmente en lo que se refiere a la práctica de este tipo de apostolado social," although he declared he had sent out a fact finding party to study the situation. *Sur* (28 Dec. 1965).

²²⁶On Spanish migration, see R. Tamames, *La República. La Era de Franco*, 414. See also Ll. Ferri *et al*, *op. cit.*, 207; E. Sevilla Guzmán, *op. cit.*, 176; and F. Lara Sánchez, *Población y sector primario en la Andalucía franquista* (Málaga, 1984), 37. See also F. Lara Sánchez, *La emigración andaluza. Análisis y testimonios* (Madrid, 1977), on the social-economic aspects of Andalusian emigration.

²²⁷J. Velarde Fuertes (dir), *Decadencia y crisis en Andalucía* (Sevilla, 1982), 111.

²²⁸M. Delgado and J. Sánchez, "Movimientos migratorios en la provincia de Málaga," in *Jábega*, no. 27 (1979), 74-5.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, 75-6.

In the first years of the 1950's, the first foreign tourists began to appear in Málaga; the tourist boom that followed was to be as rapid as it was intense.²³⁰ From the beginning of the 1960's, there were natives of Málaga working in the construction industry overseas as well as important seasonal migration from the villages to the centres of Malaga's tourism on the *Costa del Sol* -the capital, Marbella, Torremolinos and Fuengirola, or to other Andalusian provinces.²³¹

This geographical, demographic and economic transformation was not, of course, either the result or the cause of a redistribution of rural wealth. The latifundist estates continued as they had before, and though the loss of labour caused a rise in agricultural wages, this was offset by the introduction of machinery and other forms of increased capital investment on the land. The massive displacement of the population alleviated the ills caused by the agrarian social and economic structure. The social consequences of this economic revolution were paradoxically to change everything so that everything might remain the same. The structural problems of the economy of Málaga were not addressed.²³² In the early 1960's illiteracy was still well above the national average in Málaga.²³³ The structural problems in the ownership of land had not been addressed since the years of Second Republic. The landed estates, if anything, were consolidated, and the composition of the social classes unchanged. In the 1960's, the traditional rural oligarchy -landed proprietors who employed an average of seventeen people- constituted less than 5% of the labour force of Eastern Andalusia, whilst 22.9% were smallholders that did not employ labour, another 7% were skilled salaried workers. The remaining 66% were unskilled landless labourers -the *braceros* or *jornaleros*.²³⁴

Málaga in particular continued to be an essentially backward and economically dependent region, but with a newly developing large, ignorant, and exploited urban subproletariat.²³⁵ At the time of Herrera's death in 1968, wealth was still very unequally distributed in the province of Málaga, and the distance between social classes still enormous.

²³⁰G. Brenan, *Memoria personal*, 503.

²³¹J. Sánchez Jiménez, *Vida rural y mundo contemporáneo*, 299-300.

²³²Alfonso Carlos Comín carries out an analysis of the human costs of the economic transformation of Andalusia in *Noticia de Andalucía* (Seville, 1985). See also the personal testimonies collected by Ronald Fraser on the social, political and economic changes experienced in the small village of Mijas in *Mijas. República, Guerra y Franquismo en un pueblo andaluz* (Barcelona, 1985).

²³³A. C. Comín, *España del Sur* (Madrid, 1966), 527.

²³⁴S. Juliá. "Población y movimientos migratorios," in *Los andaluces* (Madrid, 1980), 506.

²³⁵A. C. Comín, op. cit., 528-9.

The workers of Málaga began to mobilise and undertake syndical action in the 1960's. In 1964-1965, the first meeting of the Communist-dominated clandestine workers' movement *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO) had taken place. The first organised workers' movements independent of the vertical syndicates appeared in Málaga in 1965-1966. Its immediate strategy was to seek concrete objectives such as better working conditions, political and syndical liberty, an end to the dictatorship, as the basis for later seeking the real objective which was the destruction of capitalism. Hence, CCOO participated in syndical elections in order to infiltrate the syndical system, which it did in Málaga with some success. The first meetings of organisers of CCOO were held in the working class parishes of Perchel and Trinidad, amongst whom there were some members of the JOC and HOAC of Málaga. As there was close police vigilance, ten to twelve people were arrested, and protest movements were very limited in number and the nature of actions that could take place.²³⁶ The Communist Party, the *Juventudes Comunistas del PCE* and the *Frente de Liberación Popular* (FLP) formed the basis of the mass mobilisation. During the 1966 syndical elections there was a great surge of support for CCOO. The first strikes and demonstrations took place in 1966;²³⁷ and subsequently the organisation was illegalised in 1967.²³⁸ A police round up in 1968 in which 28 communist militants were arrested temporarily paralysed the activities of CCOO in Málaga until 1970.²³⁹

The small JOC group of Málaga was especially implicated in the CCOO and its actions, and was supported by a progressive parish priest of the working class suburb of Carranque. The JOC reached an agreement on collaborating with the CCOO in a meeting in a diocesan meeting room in May 1965, along with three or four members of the HOAC.²⁴⁰ In 1966, again on diocesan premises, there was a reunion of young progressive clergy who organised the apostolic movements, including the JOC. These included Pepe Sánchez Gámez and Pepe Cascos, who worked on the *Secretariado Social Diocesano*, the organisation in charge of the social

²³⁶Testimony of Antonio Camaño Gómez, militant of CCOO in Málaga in the 1960's. Conversation with Camaño, now in *Secretaría de Relaciones Sindicales de CCOO de la Provincia de Málaga*, held in Málaga, on 20 September 1995; and see J. A. Ruiz Muñoz, op. cit.

²³⁷J. A. Ruiz Muñoz, op. cit.

²³⁸On the syndical elections in Málaga, see *ibid.*, especially 16-23.

²³⁹The Communist cells of Málaga fell in 1961, 1968, 1970 and 1972. In 1961 the police repression was especially brutal, and various workers were imprisoned for circulating the Communist publication, *Mundo Obrero*. See *ibid.*, 8.

²⁴⁰Testimony of José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz.

apostolate which ironically had been established by Herrera.²⁴¹ At this time, the borderline between what was faith and political commitment was scarcely discernible; there were members of the JOC and of the HOAC who were also Communists, and indeed, in 1967, the Communist Party raised the question of whether or not to admit Christians into the Party, question which was resolved favourably, although with an inferior juridical status, that is, they did not have full voting rights.²⁴² The members of the HOAC especially worked elbow to elbow with the Communists, with whom in Málaga, according to the testimony of Camaño Gómez, then militant of CCOO, they got on very well. Some of the priests associated with the JOC in Málaga began to accuse the young militants of being manipulated by the Communist Party. This issue is denied by some ex-members of the apostolic movements who were, at the same time, members of CCOO or political parties; others however argue that there was no such thing as the JOC in Málaga during these years, but that it was merely a cover for political operations, principally for *Bandera Roja*, political organisation whose members were eventually to enter the Communist or Socialist Parties.²⁴³

On 19 August 1966, Herrera Oria (who had been named Cardinal in January 1965) offered his resignation to the Vatican, which was immediately accepted. He had been in ill health for many years. In fact, he had suffered an attack in 1953 from which he never recovered completely, and in 1962, he had received extreme unction whilst in Rome attending the Vatican Council.²⁴⁴ On 28 July 1968, Herrera Oria died in Madrid. He was eighty-two years of age. In the last years, Herrera Oria was too ill to be fully responsible for the running of the diocese. The development of the specialised apostolic movements and of the workers' movement in Málaga coincided with the Cardinal's period of decline.

In the years immediately after Herrera's death, the workers syndical and apostolic movements began to mobilise and become a mass phenomenon. The apostolic movements

²⁴¹Id.

²⁴²Testimony of Antonio Camaño Gómez. See also G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 353-4.

²⁴³The two points of view are personified by José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz, who combined his status as militant of the JOC with membership of CCOO, the FLP and briefly, the Socialist Party. He argues that in general, people did not use the JOC for political, rather than religious and apostolic reasons. On the other hand, Pepe Juárez argues that the JOC was totally politicised and manipulated by *Bandera Roja*, which had been formed in Málaga by Comín, along with the first JOC circles. Testimony of José Antonio Ruiz Muñoz, member of the JOC in Málaga, and Pepe Juárez, militant of the HOAC.

²⁴⁴*BOOM* (Oct. 1968), 857.

assumed political compromises and democratic values which were radically opposed to Herrera's elitist philosophy. Workers, students, progressive clergy, collaborated to construct a political, laboral and social order more in line with the rest of modern Europe than with the feudal constructs of ultra orthodox Catholic ideology. Herrera's ideas no longer had their day. No more was heard of select minorities or collaboration with social élites or with the political authorities in the years after Herrera's death. Herrera's projects for the workers' apostolate in Málaga died with him. Paradoxically, one of the Catholics most dedicated to fostering the Catholic social conscience in Spain, and to whom many owed a debt, died with a scarce legacy to show for his years of work. Herrera had simply been overtaken by events.

The workers' apostolate, then, can be seen to have had different levels of success. During the years of Catholic triumphalism, which principally sought to bring the apostate masses back into the ritualistic fold, the mass administration of sacraments and the mass missions satisfied the bishop's demands that there be at least an external compliance with religious obligations. Overt anti-clericalism disappeared, as did the class struggle. As time went on, however, religious indifference was perhaps the word that best described the traditionally Republican sectors of society.

When it was established, the specialised apostolate was not especially desired by the hierarchy, but it proved to be essential if a workers' apostolate was to exist at all in many parts of Spain. However, it could not be politically neutral. If it were excessively devoted to pious practices and mysticism, it would be seen to serve the status quo; if it pursued broader objectives, it inevitably questioned the régime and served to destabilise society. The Catholic organisations proved to be one of the only vehicles through which dissenting views could be expressed, and a myriad of individuals were active in the organisations until the syndicates and workers' movements were legalised, after which membership of the Catholic workers' associations plummeted. The Franco years were years in which the religious and the political were not readily distinguishable by anybody, no matter what their political ideology.

Herrera Oria occupied a peculiar middle ground in this ideological battleground, where he managed to become despised and/or ignored by both extremes. He was an express apologist of the régime and of the dominant élites, his social theory was paternalistic and he was devoted to Crusade values. His concept of evangelising, while incorporating modern strategies and technologies, was redolent of the classical image of the Spanish conquistador, sword in one hand and cross in the other. As Catholic philosophical and theological values increasingly emphasised principles of social justice and human rights, so Herrera's classical discourse based on concepts

of obligation and duty sounded more and more irrelevant. On the other hand, Herrera's dogged insistence on the necessity of recatholicising the middle and upper classes and on instituting social and economic reforms were a grating annoyance to the members of these classes, who were more accustomed to being publicly acclaimed for their generosity as benefactors and unswerving defenders of the Church and its privileges.

It is highly paradoxical that Herrera's time never appeared to arrive. During the years of totalitarian rule, when Spain was isolated from the international community, triumphalist values precluded any talk of reform or any hint of self criticism. Herrera's calls to social consciousness were lost on a class which was absolutely secure in its power base and which had every reason to feel complacent. During the late 1950's and after, when Spain's economic boom took place, the cultural and social evolution of society led to the increasing demand for democratic values, including pluralism and freedom of conscience. Social and political values swung from one extreme to the other, from Catholic totalitarianism to modern parliamentary democracy. Herrera's conception of the workers' apostolate was based on the constructs of feudal society, and was as inappropriate in the triumphalist society of the 1940's and early 1950's as in the turbulent years of the Second Vatican Council. The fact that the workers' apostolate in Málaga developed independently of the bishop, despite the fact that he dedicated his life's work to the social apostolate in Spain, is a sad reflection of this fact.

III. THE RECATHOLICISATION OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN MALAGA.

1. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND SANTOS OLIVERA, 1937-1946.

Francoist educational policy was heavily anchored in the clerical discourse of truth and error. The laicising policies of the Second Republic, with their emphasis on pluralism, tolerance, and equality, were regarded with abhorrence. Postwar education sought to eradicate all trace of ideologies that conflicted with the tenets of National-Catholicism, and to perpetuate the status quo. As a result, educational policy was largely based on wholesale indoctrination of the population, substituting one ideology and set of values for another. The children of the dominant classes were educated to assume their role as leaders of society. Education for the humbler classes consisted firstly of religious instruction, inoculating them against false doctrines and ideologies. Clerical influence over an intensely elitist educational system was restored, and thus inequalities were perpetuated instead of mitigated. For the humbler classes especially, socialisation rather than instruction was to be what characterised education. Ironically, however, the neglect of the principle of universal literacy was one of the elements which would have a negative impact on the recatholicisation project in the long run.

One of the primary obsessions of the Nationalist bloc was the recuperation of "traditional" Spanish values and culture, and the destruction of foreign, liberal, and marxist perversions which had purportedly undermined the integrity of the nation. Republican educational and cultural institutions were dismantled, and intensive purges carried out of personnel, in schools, Universities, libraries, newspapers, and of books and publications to eradicate anti-religious and anti-patriotic ideologies. One of the régime's official ideologues, the Catholic conservative linked to the reactionary pressure group *Acción Española*, José Pemartín, asserted that to ask for tolerance and respect for those not allied to the Crusade was akin to asking for tolerance and respect for those who argued that two plus two equals five, and declared that the Nationalists could never tolerate or respect erroneous opinions. He advocated "Absolute intolerance for doctrines or opinions that differ from the true Catholic Religion; compassion and Christian charity for those who sustain them."¹

The greater part of the pro-republican intelligentsia went into exile, including more than

¹Cited in A. Alted Vigil, *Política del nuevo Estado sobre el patrimonio cultural y la educación durante la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid, 1984), 160.

two thousand teachers.² Many others had perished as a result of the war or of the repression.³ Those who did not actually lose their lives were subjected to political repression, and were subject to imprisonment, fines, censorship, impediments or obstructions to working in the public service, or to working at all, and all kinds of public and private harrassment and humiliation. Thus a terrible vengeance was exacted upon those who had dared to be opposed, or simply indifferent to, the values of the "glorious national revolution."

Special attention was dedicated to the purging of teaching personnel at all levels, primary, secondary and tertiary, in the Decree of 8 November 1936. The purging of teaching staff was justified on the grounds that the teaching profession had been influenced and nearly monopolised by "dissolvent ideologies and institutions." This necessitated a total and radical revision of public instruction in order to root out "those false doctrines which, along with their apostles, have been the principal factors causing the tragic situation to which our Motherland has been driven."⁴

This piece of legislation established committees to purge Universities, technical schools, secondary and primary schools, as well as a committee at provincial level, which were to collect reports and determine whether or not to suspend, dismiss or otherwise sanction teachers and lecturers. More explicitly, the committees were instructed to permanently separate from their posts all those who were or had been members of the Popular Front parties, of secret societies, and those who sympathised with these parties and societies even if not actively members, by orienting their professional lives according to the philosophy of these movements.⁵ Indeed, even those who were considered to be morally irreproachable and who had never participated in the "Communist subversion" directly or indirectly, were to be transferred from their posts if they had sympathised with any of the regionalist parties of Catalonia, the Basque Country, or Galicia.⁶ By March 1939, a teacher could be removed from service if "evident passivity in those who could

²F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos*, 61. See also Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, who in 1940 declared that the exiled comprised about 90% of the total Spanish intelligentsia, cited in E. Díaz, *Pensamiento español (1939-1973)* (Madrid, 1974), 18. Díaz includes an extensive list of exiled intellectuals, albeit necessarily incomplete, at pp. 15-9.

³The most internationally famous case was the death of the poet Federico García Lorca. On the circumstances surrounding the death of Lorca, apparently at the hands of the local Falangist chief, see I. Gibson, *Granada, 1936. El asesinato de García Lorca* (Barcelona, 1979).

⁴Preamble legislation Decree of 8 November 1936, in *BOE* (11 Nov. 1936).

⁵Order of 7 December 1936.

⁶*Id.*

have cooperated in the triumph of the Movement" were demonstrated.⁷

The committee that purged the teaching body collected information on the political, syndical, social and professional activities of the teachers, as well as their ideological orientation and whether or not they complied with religious precepts. This information was sought via a questionnaire which also asked what papers or magazines the accused subscribed to, and what his/her conduct had been after the "glorious national revolution" began. These questionnaires were sent to the local Mayor, the parish priest, the local commander of the Civil Guard, and a local reputable head of family. The commission was also able to rely on information from other sources, such as the information services of the Movement, or private individuals. The determining factors in the purging of the teachers were ideological; having been a member of the Republican teacher's union, or having voted a Republican party was sufficient evidence of the individual's hostility to the Nationalist cause. Evidence of religious belief or disbelief also played an important part. Many were sanctioned, at least in part, because they were atheists, or indifferent, or for being merely "externally Catholic."⁸ The investigating committees were expressly authorised to request as many reports as were deemed necessary, and the utmost detachment and dedication was demanded. The purging committees were warned against letting witnesses hide or falsify facts because they were affected by "reprehensible mental reserves or out of place sentimentalisms." Those who unjustifiably alleged not to know facts on the persons under investigation were to be publically exposed by the committees, "to their perpetual shame."⁹

The sanctions ranged from temporary suspension for different periods of time, to provisional or definitive transfers either in or outside the province of origin, to being definitively removed from all teaching posts, or confirmation in their posts. As Ortiz Heras has noted, the investigations carried out were based on the assumption of guilt, and the teachers were obliged to demonstrate their innocence.¹⁰

The various studies on the regional purging committees which are now coming to light reveal that the decisions adopted by the purging committees were often based upon value judgements, gossip, opinions unsubstantiated by evidence, anecdotes, unconfirmed rumours, and

⁷Order of 18 March 1939.

⁸J. M. Nasarre López, "Depuración de maestros en la provincia de Huesca," in *La universidad española bajo el régimen de Franco (1939-1975)* (Zaragoza, 1991), 228.

⁹Order of 7 December 1936.

¹⁰M. Ortiz Heras, "La depuración del magisterio en la provincia de Albacete. El lenguaje de los expedientes de depuración," in *La universidad española bajo el régimen de Franco*.

mere suspicions. A clear nexus existed in the minds of the committee members between lack of religious fervour and left-wing political opinions.¹¹ For this reason, the investigation of the religious beliefs and practices of the individual under investigation assumes a vital importance. Hence, the committee investigated for indications of atheism, heterodox religious opinion, insufficient religious practice, tense relations with the parish priest, etcetera. There was no room for ambiguities. Teachers who had merely subscribed to the revolutionary or Republican press, even if only for a short time, were punished; similarly teachers' friends and social relations were closely inspected. Signs of "irregular" moral or sexual conduct were severely dealt with, especially in the case of women. Sexual misconduct was the most serious, but other practices -drinking, dancing until late- were also sanctioned. The studies of the purges carried out by these different historians manifest the great credibility that the reports prepared by the parish priests had, and the diligence with which many of these complied with this unpleasant duty. Indeed, in many cases, they were more intransigent than the other authorities.

Even after passing the purges, the primary teachers' general behaviour was subjected to close scrutiny. Special committees, entitled *Juntas de Primera Enseñanza* [Primary Education Boards], were established at local, municipal and provincial level, for this purpose. The committees included ecclesiastical representation designated by the bishop, various professionals, representatives of the civil authorities, and of the parents. It was to act on the information provided by the municipal committees; these in turn were to report on any irregularity in the teachers' public or private lives if these led to "notorious discredit."¹² It was also to report on teachers' negligence, improper treatment of students, or any other cause. The committee exercised a very important degree of control over teachers, given that it was responsible for the service records on the basis of which bonuses, prizes and other distinctions were awarded. Apart from these already conclusive measures to guarantee the ideological affiliation of the teaching staff, a significant number of teaching positions were also reserved for men who could only be considered unconditional devotees of the régime.¹³

¹¹See J. M. Nasarre López, op. cit.; M. Ortiz Heras, op. cit.; J. Crespo Redondo, et al, *Purga de maestros en la Guerra Civil. La depuración del magisterio nacional de la provincia de Burgos* (Valladolid, 1987); M. J. Dueñas Cepeda, "La represión en el profesorado de enseñanza primaria en Valladolid," in *Los nuevos historiadores ante la Guerra Civil española*, vol. II; F. Moreno Sáez, "La educación en el primer franquismo (1939-1951)," in G. Sánchez Recio, et al, *Guerra civil y franquismo en Alicante* (Alicante, 1990); and W. Alvarez Oblanca, *La represión de postguerra en León: Depuración de la enseñanza 1936-1943* (Madrid, 1986).

¹²Order of 19 June 1939.

¹³One Order of 26 January 1940, published in *BOE* (7 Feb. 1940), reserved 4,000 posts for officers; another

The purging of teaching staff in Málaga counted with the sincere collaboration of the Bishop Santos Olivera, who demanded of his clergy that they be objective when they were elaborating reports, because:

... the proper selection of [the teaching staff] being so critical, it is necessary that the priests be absolutely objective, saying all and only the whole truth and trying to carefully distinguish between proven facts and the personal interpretations of the informer.¹⁴

The nature and extent of the purges in Málaga are almost impossible to study at the present juncture.¹⁵ According to Barranquero, from December 1936 to the end of March 1937, 120 teachers were purged in the province of Málaga. The list of purged teachers discovered by Barranquero does not specify how many were readmitted to their posts, how many were sanctioned, nor what kinds of sanctions these individuals suffered.¹⁶ The internal monthly report of the provincial branch of the *Falange* seem to indicate that a vigorous purge was still being carried out in Málaga in 1943, a full six years after the end of the war in Málaga. Concretely, in June 1943 there were 418 files under investigation; in July, there were 679, in August, 618 and in September, 492.¹⁷

After the teaching staff had been appropriately purged, they were submitted to special courses to prepare them for their new role as missionaries and lay assistants of the parish priest. During the war, primary school teachers in Nationalist territory were requested to attend short courses, including one on religion. The prelate set the latter course, and the materials to be used. During two weeks in summer, teachers received special training, apart from religion, on such issues as "The Motherland," or "Mankind and the teacher." Attendance was voluntary;

Order of 17 October 1940 reserved 4,000 posts for ex-combatants, ex-prisoners of war of the Republicans, and war orphans. On the 25 November 1940, this number was increased to 5,000. Another 4,000 posts were reserved for military officers with a minimum of six months at the front.

¹⁴Bishop Santos Olivera, letter dated 31 December 1936, published in *BOOM* (1937), 363.

¹⁵The purging of teachers from Málaga apparently took place in Granada, directed by the rector of the University of Granada, Antonio Marín Ocete. The AGA contains scraps of information in the general summaries published by the Provincial Party for internal use, but in isolation, they are not particularly comprehensible. According to J. F. Jiménez Trujillo and M. Burgos Madronero in *Los Institutos de Bachillerato de Málaga (1940-1993)* (Málaga, 1994), 159, there is documentary evidence of the purges in the Archive of the University of Granada (see Legajo 1803. *Depuraciones. Años 1932-1942*), which I was unable to consult.

¹⁶E. Barranquero Texeira, "La enseñanza de la historia en la implantación del nuevo Estado: Málaga 1937-1939," in *Actas del VI Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores. 'Hespérides'* (Montilla, 1987), 335. Barranquero uses the list of sanctioned teachers published in the *BOPM*.

¹⁷AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no.17.10, box. 121, folders 18, 30, 32, 33.

nevertheless, "it will be considered a merit and will be recorded on the interested party's service records."¹⁸ By 1939, even those teachers who had proven their hostility to the Republic were obliged to pass special examinations and do some professional orientation courses, saturated in the religious and patriotic values of Franco's "Crusade."¹⁹ It was held that otherwise, the teachers would be incapable of inculcating the religious spirit and Catholic morals of the Nationalist movement on the student body. In October of 1946, a new plan for the teaching degree was passed. It was dominated by religious studies and history, "The former in its most integrist form. The latter in its National-Catholic and imperial version, so much so in its explicit contents as in its significant omissions."²⁰

Books and other publications were also diligently purged. According to the prevailing philosophy, there was no such thing as scientific neutrality with respect to books. They were either right or wrong, truthful or deceitful, and all were had to be rooted in orthodox Catholic doctrine, which was repository of the truth and the foundation of all human disciplines. The first purge was decreed by the Ministerial Order of 4 September 1936, which compelled the destruction of all works "of communist or socialist nuance," and permitted only those books that "... correspond with the principles of the Christian religion and morality and exalt patriotism."²¹ Under the Order of 16 September 1937, a purging committee was set up in every university district, and included a representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as well as one from the Catholic Association of Heads of Families. The committee was responsible for the inspection and withdrawal of all works from libraries which contained corrosive, Marxist, or immoral ideas, or which were an offence against the dignity of the Army, the unity of the nation, or the Catholic religion, or that "is opposed to the meaning and objectives of our National Crusade."²² Prior censorship on all printed documents was imposed by the Junta of National Defence as early as 28 July 1936.²³ One of Franco's first decrees as Head of State was that of 23 December 1936,

¹⁸Order of 13 July 1937.

¹⁹Order of 28 December 1939.

²⁰G. Cámara Villar, *Nacional-Catolicismo y escuela. La socialización política del franquismo (1936-1951)* (Jaén 1984), 256.

²¹Order of 4 September 1936.

²²For a list of some of the authors withdrawn from libraries, see A. Alted Vigil, *op. cit.*, 64.

²³On censorship in the press, and the purges of Spanish journalists, see J. Sinova, *Censura de prensa durante el franquismo (1939-1951)* (Madrid, 1989); and J. Terrón Montero, *La prensa en España durante el régimen de Franco: un intento de análisis político* (Madrid, 1981).

prohibiting books and publications of a "pornographic," socialist, communist, libertarian or generally corrosive nature.

While the ecclesiastical authorities were neither able to monopolise nor elude the censorship apparatus, their influence was overwhelming in the formulation of the guiding principles that were applied by the censors. In the Church-State agreement between the Spanish government and the Holy See of 7 June 1941, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was permitted to exercise a second level of censorship over school books, which was purely ecclesiastical and overrode the normal civil process. It also allowed bishops to prevent the publication, introduction, or circulation of books judged to be "bad or pernicious." Hence, novelists and writers of the postwar period found themselves in the bizarre position of having been approved by the official censor, and subsequently vetoed by the ecclesiastical censor.²⁴

Norms were established for all school books, assessed for their religious, moral, patriotic, and pedagogic value. Those which were "politically correct" but perhaps did not reflect the values of the Crusade ideology to sufficient degree were required to correct the defects before they could be accepted as official school books.²⁵ For example, in one book (*España es así* by Agustín Serrano de Haro), the 1933 edition referred to the discovery of America in the following terms: "Ever since Columbus discovered the immensities of America, Spain has propelled itself at that new world with the zealous idea of conquering it for Spain and of taking to those savages the benefits and the progress of civilisation." In subsequent editions, the author was obliged to add "and the solace of the faith" to this sentence.²⁶ The bishops also had the right to ban any books directly or indirectly related to the faith or morals, and the bishop of Málaga made use of this right to ban one reading book in 1944, on the grounds of its insufficient, or ambiguous religious content. The book, entitled *Corazón. Diario de un niño* by the Italian Edmundo de Amicis, was not explicitly on religious themes, and had been extremely popular in schools. Nevertheless, the bishop noted that, whilst not openly heterodox or immoral, it

²⁴Rafael García Serrano's novel *La fiel infantería* won the literary prize *José Antonio Primo de Rivera* in 1943, but was nevertheless removed from bookshops in 1944 due to the intervention of the Primate of Spain, Cardinal Plá i Deniel, who argued that the novel presented youthful lust as if it were something necessary and inevitable. Ecclesiastical censors were also incensed by Carmen Laforet's *Nada* (1945), winner of the Nadal prize, and Camilo José Cela's *La Familia de Pascual Duarte* (1942). Cela's novel *La Colmena* (1951) was passed by the official censors in 1946, but was rejected by the ecclesiastical censor and therefore did not appear until 1951, published in Argentina.

²⁵A. Alted Vigil, op. cit., 221-9.

²⁶Cited in E. Gervilla Castillo, *La escuela del nacional-catolicismo. Ideología y educación religiosa* (Granada, 1990), 344-5.

nevertheless could cause grave harm to the religious and moral development of children.

Amongst other things, the bishop rejected the book because of,

... the religious indifference rampant in it and the almost total absence of the supernatural element... Because of the lack of a categorical affirmation of the immortality of the soul and of the existence of another life, which in many passages is left in the shadow of doubt or an equivalent negation... Because of a certain disdain, bordering on irreverence, with which God and religious issues are referred to, the few times that they are mentioned... Because on describing the deaths of different people in vivid colours... there is not a word of hope or of Christian resignation, nor one allusion to Divine Providence, but on the contrary, the stimulation of sentiments of protest, of desperation, and even of tendency towards suicide....²⁷

The régime set about the systematic reversal of the laicising policies and the educational legislation of the Second Republic and the elaboration of a confessional educational system. The decree which had dissolved the Company of Jesus and appropriated its properties was annulled, as was the *Ley de Confesiones y Congregaciones Religiosas* which had impeded the members of religious congregations from teaching.²⁸ Coeducation in secondary schools was banned on 4 September 1936, and the prohibition was progressively extended to all other educational institutions.²⁹ Education was to be confessional both in religious and state schools. Religion was reintroduced as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools in 1936.³⁰ Catholic practices, symbols, and rituals permeated scholastic life. The celebration of first holy communions was to be held in schools annually;³¹ as well as spiritual exercises, rituals in front of the statue of the Virgin;³² and the celebration of religious Saints' days.³³ The crucifix was returned to schools and Universities, amidst great pomp and ceremony in the presence of the ecclesiastical, military and civil authorities.³⁴

²⁷*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1944), 549-51; also reproduced in E. Gervilla Castillo, op. cit., 347-8.

²⁸See Decree of 3 May 1938, and Law of 2 February 1939, respectively.

²⁹See the two Orders of 23 September 1936 which extended segregation to secondary schools and teacher training schools [*escuelas normales*].

³⁰Orders of 21 September 1936; and 22 September 1936, respectively.

³¹Regulation of 26 November 1938.

³²Circular of 9 April 1937.

³³Order of 5 February 1938.

³⁴Order of 30 March 1939.

The return of the crucifix to schools in Málaga was celebrated in the cathedral, in presence of the school children and their teachers and accompanied by national flags and the crucifixes which were to receive a special blessing. At this first ceremony, Bishop Santos Olivera declared that, "Ruthless and unbelieving men, anti-religious and unpatriotic public powers had tried to establish a barrier or unbridgeable wall between the heart of Christ and the innocent hearts of children."³⁵ The return of the crucifix represented a return to the moral order; the bishop asserted that the presence of the crucifix in schools "does not have merely a symbolic value, but also a profound moral meaning."³⁶ The return of the crucifix was commemorated annually by the authorities in Málaga in a propagandistic exercise of great solemnity. The children participated in the ceremony, and received half a day's holiday to celebrate.³⁷

The National-Catholic ideological foundations of the new educational system were constructed and consolidated by the two first Ministers of Education, Sáinz Rodríguez, and Ibáñez Martín. Sáinz Rodríguez (Minister of Education from 1937-1939) prepared the Circular on Primary Education of 5 March 1938 which established that primary children would receive four categories of instruction: religious, patriotic, civic and physical. Sáinz Rodríguez's second piece of legislation was the reform of the baccalaureate in 1938, which consolidated the Church's ideological domination of secondary education.³⁸

The reform of primary education of 1945 was prepared by Ibáñez Martín (Minister of Education from 1939-1951). Ibáñez Martín consolidated the hegemony of the Church over public instruction, by expressly acknowledging the Church's supernatural right to found any kind of school independently of the State. The Church was conceded the right to set up its own teacher training schools, and diplomas in teaching granted by the Church would be officially recognised. It was also to have its own body of school inspectors for its own schools, and state inspectors could only inspect Catholic schools in accordance with certain specific circumstances. By 1951, the Church had already established 44 teacher training schools, in comparison with the total of 106 run by the State at the same date.³⁹ Furthermore, under article 24, the clergy were

³⁵ *BEOM* (1937), 160-3.

³⁶ *Sur* (13 May 1937), 8.

³⁷ *BOOM* (1947), 162.

³⁸ On the conflict between Church and the Movement for control of the educational apparatus, see G. Cámara Villar, *op. cit.*, especially 145-201.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

expressly exempted from having to comply with the legal requirements of training if they could provide a certificate of pedagogical competence from the Bishop.

Another important privilege conceded to the Church was the generous public funding that was made available for the construction and maintenance of its schools. Schools were divided into various categories. Those classified as national schools were treated as though they were public state schools for the purposes of State funding. Nevertheless, even private schools which lacked this status could receive state funding, if they could guarantee a free education for a certain proportion of students.

As a result of the educational policy adopted, public primary schools were neglected until the 1950's and there was a great shortfall of classrooms; the bulk of the schools were run by the religious orders, principally in the major urban areas.⁴⁰ There was a marked increase in the number of Catholic primary schools matched by a rise in the number of religious orders dedicated to teaching.⁴¹ There was also a spectacular rise in the Church's control of secondary education at national level.⁴²

The consequences of this policy in Málaga were especially dramatic because Málaga was one of the most illiterate and scholastically backward areas of the nation.⁴³ This was especially the case in the rural areas, where the religious orders and secular clergy did not have the resources and facilities to set up schools even if they had wanted to. The closure of public schools was one of the first measures adopted by the new authorities in Málaga after the Nationalist victory. The *Comisión Gestora* of Málaga (temporary governing board set up immediately after the insurgent victory in February 1937) included a department entrusted with the administration of educational and cultural questions (called *Cultura, Instrucción Pública*). It was headed by Juan Temboury Alvarez, distinguished defender of confessional education during the Second Republic in Málaga. Under his direction, municipal schools were abolished in Málaga on 22 April 1937, on the grounds that municipal costs had increased alarmingly since the

⁴⁰See M. de Puelles Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona, 1980), 383-4; J. Sáez Marín, *El Frente de Juventudes: política de juventud en la España de la postguerra (1937-1960)* (Madrid, 1988), 106; and R. Navarro Sandalinas, *La enseñanza primaria durante el franquismo (1936-1975)* (Barcelona, 1990), 26.

⁴¹G. Cámara Villar, op. cit., 261-4.

⁴²See F. Blázquez, op. cit., 50; M. de Puelles Benítez, op. cit., 373; G. Cámara Villar, op. cit., 240, 258, 265.

⁴³See, e.g., M. Vilanova Ribas et al, *Atlas de la evolución del analfabetismo en España de 1887 a 1981* (Madrid, 1992), 312-3, 322-3.

Republic, and that now that religious and private colleges were permitted to open, there were too many schools and too many teachers in Málaga. It was asserted that:

... now that the religious colleges and private schools have been restored, the false and artificial problem of public instruction, created by sectarian politics, has disappeared along with the false reasoning that defended the existence of the cited municipal schools.⁴⁴

The Catholic schools began to reopen; and soon they had reached a total of 3,913 enrolments. Private, religious, parish and Catholic Action schools received financial assistance from the Town Council, which gave them a grant of 30,000 pesetas in 1938, while scholarships were limited, and depended on the political orientation of the family.⁴⁵ This was in accordance with the doctrine consistently espoused by the Spanish ecclesiastical hierarchy, which demanded that the State create the economic and social circumstances which would permit the Church to exercise its right to teach.

In the rural zones, the State manifested scarce commitment to the educational needs of its residents. An Order of 1939 decreed that schools that were 3 kilometres or more from the municipality, where the population was 500 people or less and was not communicated by rail or other rapid transport, were to be entrusted to priests, appointed by the bishop.⁴⁶ This was obviously important in Málaga, where an important part of the rural population lived widely dispersed in very small villages. It must be noted, however, that there was no official supervision of the teaching qualifications of these individuals, except by the bishop. Furthermore, the scarcity of clergy was so acute that it was physically impossible to see to the needs of the scattered rural population.

Some of the few public secondary schools that existed in Málaga were actually closed. In 1933, there had been five public high schools in the province of Málaga. One of them was the *Instituto-Escuela* created from the Jesuit college *San Estanislao de Kostka*, which had been expropriated from the Jesuits in 1933. The others were in Vélez-Málaga, in Antequera, Ronda, and the capital. In 1937, three were closed, leaving only one in the capital, and one in Antequera.⁴⁷ This situation was not to change until 1961-1962, when three more were

⁴⁴Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Málaga. *Memoria de su labor desde la gloriosa liberación de la ciudad, el día 8 de febrero de 1937, hasta el 30 de septiembre de 1939* (Málaga), 136-7.

⁴⁵E. Barranquero Texeira, *Málaga entre la guerra y la posguerra*, 194; and Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Málaga. *Memoria de su labor*, 139.

⁴⁶BOE (30 June 1939); also in *BOOM* (July 1939), 372.

⁴⁷These were the high schools of Ronda, Vélez-Málaga, and the *Instituto-Escuela* of Málaga, by Order of 14

established. In 1961, the existing boys' college in the capital, *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria*, was transferred to a new building, while the feminine equivalent of the same college remained in the old building. In the same year, a college was opened in Vélez-Málaga, and the following year, one in Ronda. Thus, thirty years later, the province was back to the position it had been in 1933. Meanwhile, the Jesuit College *San Estanislao de Kostka* returned to its prior status as one of the most prestigious Catholic boys' colleges in Andalusia, attracting the children of the Andalusian bourgeoisie. By the 1940's, the students of *San Estanislao* who proceeded from outside Málaga constituted very nearly half the total number of students.⁴⁸

Many Catholic schools in Málaga were given the status of national, that is, public colleges, for funding purposes. Over the years, there was a continuous flow of Catholic schools in Málaga which were conceded the status of national schools.⁴⁹ One such school was the *Grupo Escolar de El Palo "Nuestra Señora de El Palo"*, a Jesuit initiative which had been self-maintained by the order since its inception in 1939, until it was granted national status in 1941.⁵⁰ The *Grupo Escolar* comprised a vocational training school (*Escuela de Formación Profesional Miraflores de El Palo*), which was given official recognition and patronage by the Ministry of Education in 1942.⁵¹ The school offered a free education for the needy children of Miraflores de El Palo, a traditional and impoverished neighbourhood of fishermen. The *Grupo Escolar* also comprised a primary school, *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, which received funding from the Ministry of Education when it was officially recognised,⁵² as well as from the Ministry of Labour, the Town Council of Málaga, and the Provincial Council [*Diputación*].⁵³

An indication of how the Jesuit *Grupo Escolar de El Palo "Nuestra Señora de El Palo"* functioned can be gleaned from the school publications, such as *Forja*. One of the school's

September 1937 of the *Junta Técnica del Estado*. The information on the history of the high schools of Málaga is from J. F. Jiménez Trujillo and M. Burgos Madronero, op. cit., 133-222.

⁴⁸*Forja*, año VII, no. 56 (Oct. 1944), 6 -publication of the college. The tendency was for the number of students from outside Málaga to increase.

⁴⁹See for example, four schools in Estepona which received national school status in 1944, in *BOE* (2 May 1944), reproduced in *BOOM* (July 1944), 512-3; see also *BOOM* (Apr. 1946), 258-9.

⁵⁰*BOE* (13 Feb. 1941).

⁵¹Order of 19 June 1942.

⁵²According to article 7 of the Order of 19 July 1942, the grants were to be destined to financing the installation, maintenance and improvement of the workshops.

⁵³*Inauguración y bendición de la Escuela "Nuestra Señora del Carmen" de Formación Profesional* (Miraflores de El Palo, Málaga, 1945), 26-7.

publications declared that:

The objective of the *Grupo Escolar* is to take in the children when they still have not learnt vice, laziness, and lying. These are blots typical of the environment. The little one who comes to the *Grupo Escolar* has many probabilities of becoming a man of worth.⁵⁴

The school aimed to educate the children of perhaps the lowest social class of all in Málaga -the fishermen. Its declared objective was to catch these young people, who were essentially decent and God-fearing, before they became hardened and brutalised by extreme poverty and ignorance.⁵⁵

The school therefore took children of the fishermen from the age of five to about thirteen or fourteen years of age, and undertook to give them -in this order-: "a good spiritual growth;" to teach them to read and write; basic Arithmetic; and general notions of Geography and History, "above all of Spain, along with love of the Motherland and her saviour, our Generalísimo Franco."⁵⁶ After turning 14 or 15, the college undertook to find them a suitable job, in accordance with their abilities and personality.

By 1940, apparently 400 children had received "religious, patriotic, cultural, and why not say it, also professional instruction" in this school. The order of priority given to religious/moral training is indicative of the fact that this school was as much a socialising agent as an educational institution. In its own publications, it insistently declared that "The fundamental objective of the *Grupo Escolar* is spiritual and religious formation." To this end, the spiritual father was to instruct the students as to their duties with respect to God, themselves and their neighbours; prepare them to receive the sacraments; hear confession; and direct them in spiritual matters in general.⁵⁷ Amongst the pious practices required, the children were to hear mass on Sundays and holy days; recite the rosary daily; receive their first holy communion; and go to Saturday services [*Sabatina*], which included a sermon and the hearing of confession. Patriotic instruction included the singing of the national anthem every morning and every afternoon with the raising and lowering of the flag, and special lectures.⁵⁸

⁵⁴¿Qué es el I.C.E.T.?, *Publicaciones del I.C.E.T.*, no. 1 (Miraflores de el Palo, Málaga, May 1944), 7.

⁵⁵*Forja*, año II, no. 15 (1 Jan. 1940), republished in *Málaga contemporánea*, 240.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p 241.

⁵⁷"Grupo Escolar 'Nuestra Señora del Carmen'," in *Instituto Católico de Estudios Técnicos. Publicaciones del I.C.E.T.* (Miraflores de El Palo, Málaga, 1944), 72-3.

⁵⁸*Id.*

The parents of the children -poor illiterate fishermen and their wives- also received classes, to learn how to base their decisions always on the will of the Father and the Catholic religion.⁵⁹ According to one of the school's publications, the fishermen were good people, religious, ignorant, and sometimes fanatical. As such, they had to be carefully instructed, because together, "like all masses, [they are] reckless, and as such, are capable of the greatest heroism, or of the vilest baseness." It was therefore necessary to impose on them things that at the beginning they would not like, but which were necessary, and which one day, they would bless and applaud.⁶⁰

Undoubtedly, the school served to promote social mobility and encourage the brightest to undertake careers which otherwise would have been completely beyond their means. Four of the students entered the seminary; another twenty entered the Air Force, and five children entered the prestigious Jesuit college *San Estanislao de Kostka*, in order to study for the baccalaureate, which was necessary for entrance into a university. Yet another three had begun a degree in Commerce, and nine had entered the technical school *Escuela Industrial de Trabajo* of Málaga. In practice, however, the possibilities of social mobility in Málaga were extremely limited, because in general (and especially in numerous families) the children of humble families could not be spared to study even if their costs were financed, because the children had to work in order to help support the family.

Once their primary studies were completed, most young students of the *Grupo Escolar* who continued studying undertook vocational, technical, and professional training. Vocational training for young workers was heavily steeped in ideological content, both religious and patriotic, in both the Church's own schools and in those run by the State. The National Delegation of Syndicates of the Movement established the *Escuela de Formación Profesional* in 1945. This trade school was described as "a source of pride for the *Falange*, which, ... has established in Málaga one of its greatest works." It comprised 1,000 apprentices at half board and 150 fullboarders. Religion was of course part of the curriculum, and the chaplain visited regularly.⁶¹ The other vocational training school was the *Escuela de Formación Profesional Obrera Miraflores de El Palo* of the Jesuit *Grupo Escolar*. By the end of 1944, the primary

⁵⁹*Forja*, año II, no. 15 (1 Jan. 1940), republished in *Málaga contemporánea*, 241.

⁶⁰Pascual Díez de Rivera, Marquis of Valterra and Espinardo, "Esas buenas gentes que son los pescadores," in *Instituto Católico de Estudios Técnicos*, 103.

⁶¹"*Al servicio de Málaga.*" *Memoria Resumen de la labor desarrollada por el Gobierno Civil de Málaga, 1946-1950* (Málaga, 1950).

school, the professional training school and the associated workshops were integrated into one school called the *Instituto Católico de Estudios Técnicos* (ICET).⁶² The school was free. In its general principles, it purported to give its students a highly practical technical and vocational training that would produce specialised workers; nevertheless, the instruction received was fully human:

Manual ability, skillfulness, and professional training cannot prejudice the person. The worker in any workshop is, above all and before all else, a Spanish citizen, a Christian, called to achieve a transcendental end, and thus, is the bearer of eternal values.⁶³

Consequently, religious-moral-spiritual instruction was given preeminence over everything else:

In the I.C.E.T religious formation is the work of all the professors and teachers, the particular undertaking of the principals, the aim and objective of the combined efforts of all the leadership. Besides the theoretical courses in Religion, Liturgy, and Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, the students receive a constant functional education which plays a special role in the general events that all students participate in, on entering and leaving the I.C.E.T, in the parish, in the Chapel of the establishment, in the Spiritual Father's office.⁶⁴

The boys were accepted from about the age of fourteen, provided they had finished their primary education and had been baptised, and subject to an entrance exam. The children of the primary school were closely monitored for their capacity, and the school council recommended those individuals that it deemed had potential.⁶⁵ The boys underwent four years of specialised training in one of the three workshops; carpentry, mechanics, or electricity. In these workshops, a radio transmitter was built, from which propaganda about the school was broadcast, as well as broadcasting religious and patriotic hymns, regional songs, etc.⁶⁶ The boys' progress was monitored via the *ficha pedagógica-escolar*, a fortnightly report on the piety, conduct, dedication and courtesy of the student as well as school grades, absences from class and the reasons for said absences, and prizes awarded.⁶⁷ In order to foster religious life, a Marian Congregation was established, as well as a choir and a group of altarboys.

One of the important values taught at the school was "the social function of labour" and

⁶²*Ecclesia* (23 Dec. 1944), 6.

⁶³¿*Qué es el I.C.E.T.*?, 11-2.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 27.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 37-8.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 23-4.

its importance in the quest for personal perfection. The students were taught to regard work, not as a monotonous and unpleasant necessity, but as a means of personal sanctification and of pleasing God. Work had a sacred character, and dignified humanity. Work also had a social function, which the students had to understand. It was part of a communal social project which sought to restore and maintain the imperial greatness of Spain. Finally, social, economic and religious life must be interrelated, as in the old guilds. This was part of the essence of the greatness of Imperial Spain. It also represented a continual quest for "personal betterment, perpetual human progress."⁶⁸

For their part, the students of the elitist college *San Estanislao de Kostka* also received an intensely religious instruction based on the Jesuit philosophy of the pre-republican period, which aimed at providing an education suited to the social status and ambitions of their young bourgeois charges. The career options considered appropriate for these young men included the military, or industry, business, the legal profession, engineering, aviation, or the clergy.⁶⁹ Participation in acts of paternalist charity constituted an important part of the curriculum. The students continued to exercise public acts of charity such as serving "a succulent meal" to poor people in one of the school halls.⁷⁰ The college had a Marian Congregation which comprised the most pious and exemplary students, and this included a "charity section," which held a special collection for the poor every Monday, to which all students contributed, according to the school bulletin, generously and spontaneously. Members of this section took food, clothes etcetera to the poor; in one such trip, the students took food to families in the village of Las Cuevas. During the war, visits to the Red Cross and wounded soldiers were also organised.⁷¹

Spiritual formation was intense, but oriented towards a personal and intimist concept of spirituality, in which external manifestations of piety appeared to predominate over an authentic internalisation of the faith. The students attended mass every day, and had to read scripture and recite the rosary daily because these customs fostered a piety and a spirituality which lasted a lifetime. Indeed, the school magazine alleged that former students who had left college and

⁶⁸*Inauguración y bendición de la Escuela "Nuestra Señora del Carmen" de Formación Profesional*, 43.

⁶⁹*Forja* (Mar.-Apr. 1945), 2-3.

⁷⁰*Colegio de San Estanislao de Kostka 1882-1932-1941. Núm. extraordinario de Forja* (Málaga, 1942) - unpaginated.

⁷¹*Forja* (10 Nov. 1939). 3.

strayed had often returned like prodigal sons thanks to the memory of those hours of piety.⁷² As to the annual spiritual exercises, "The impression caused by these days is so profound, that its effect lasts throughout the year."⁷³

The students actively participated in the recatholicisation process. The *Sociedad de la Buena Prensa* [Good Press Society] was revived in the postwar in defence of the Catholic press. The Marian Congregation helped the priests to teach catechism to the poor in three different churches. At the end of the school year, special prizes were distributed amongst the poor children who had attended the catechism classes. The college also ran a night school for young workers, in which above all, religion was taught, and the students were prepared to receive the sacraments: "Even if the fruit is not more than leaving impressed on those hearts the idea that the priest and the religious brother are not the evil beings that they have been made out to be, but are interested in the students' souls, it would already suffice."⁷⁴

The Marian Congregation also included a "mission section," to which the students belonged by paying a monthly subscription, in return for which they received the publication *Anales de la Santa Infancia*. The members of the Congregation also participated in pious exercises.⁷⁵ In 1938, the spiritual life of the students was described in the school magazine in the following terms:

280 spontaneously do Spiritual Exercises in total silence; 450 daily receive communion; there are 160 Congregants, the leaven of Marian life, pious and active; 60 catechists spread themselves out -over various kilometres- to take the light of the Truth through the coastal villages, while an interminable series of candidates to be catechists impatiently awaits the first vacant place; [consider] the frequency of visits to the Holy Host in rest hours, on their own initiative; [and] the charitable visits to beneficent centres and to indigent families.⁷⁶

The college went to considerable lengths to maintain its influence over the students even after these had left. There was an association of former students, which organised short courses and conferences.⁷⁷ The pages of the school magazine were a showcase of the devotion felt for the school by the former students, whose progress was followed, especially those who entered

⁷²Ibid., año III, no. 22 (13 Nov. 1940), republished in *Málaga contemporánea*, 242.

⁷³Id.

⁷⁴*Colegio de San Estanislao de Kostka 1882-1932-1941*.

⁷⁵*Forja* (10 Nov. 1939), 3.

⁷⁶Ibid., año I, no. 1 (Apr. 1938), 3.

⁷⁷Ibid. (30 Sept. 1938).

Holy Orders. Nostalgic letters from former students were also published, and in general, a spirit of veneration of the school was fostered.⁷⁸ The College was regarded as a kind of moral fortress in which the students -past and present- were safe from mundane perversions, or a kind of monastic retreat from the world and its earthly corruptions. The spirituality was triumphalist, based on the traditional duality between body and soul, and between the transcendental/pure versus the earthly/impure. The Devil was ubiquitous and often present when least suspected, in bad companions, inappropriate reading matter, cinema, theatres, beaches, and walks. There were assaults from without, and treachery from within.⁷⁹ Hence, this mentality was oriented towards the spiritual perfection of the individual with particular attention to resisting the impurities and temptations of the world, but in which the social dimensions of the faith were notably absent. Charity, spiritual and bodily purity, and prayer constituted the path to perfection.

The clericalisation of education extended even to the youth movements and institutions of the Movement. The *Frente de Juventudes* was the Franco régime's mass youth organisation. Its founding Law of 6 December 1946 defined its objective as assuring "the formation and discipline of Spanish generations in the Catholic patriotic spirit of service, typical of the *Falange*." The Front offered political instruction, sporting activities, summer camps, and organised parades with the usual songs, banners and symbols typical of totalitarian mass movements. On the other hand, the religion classes and religious content of the instruction of the Front was notable.⁸⁰ The movement was organised into three age brackets until adulthood: for boys; the *Pelayos* were aged seven to eleven; the *Flechas* were aged eleven to fourteen; and the *Cadetes* were fourteen to seventeen years of age. The feminine equivalents were: the *Margaritas* (7-11 years); the *Flechas* (11-15); and the *Flechas Azules* (15-17). The militants of the Front would have direct access to membership of the Party on turning twenty-one. All other young people were obligatory members; article 10 declared that all primary and secondary students, both public and private, would form part, and article 16 made it obligatory for all members of the Front who went to university to join the *Sindicato Español Universitario* (SEU), founded in 1933 as a fascist alternative to the Republican *Federación Universitaria Española* (FUE). In autumn 1943, the *Frente de Juventudes* had 650,000 male members and 1,410,000 female

⁷⁸Ibid. (Nov. 1944), 5, 8, 10-1.

⁷⁹Ibid. (20 May 1938), 1.

⁸⁰See G. Cámara Villar, op. cit., 189-99, 493-501; and J. Sáez Marín, op. cit., 178-200.

members in its centres.⁸¹

In the first moments after the takeover of Málaga there were more than 1,200 *Flechas*, and 7,000 in little more than a month. These had to attend barracks [*cuartel*] once a week at times compatible with school attendance, and on Sundays.⁸² By the early 1940's, there was a total of 6,636 boys and a total of 10,460 girls.⁸³ In Málaga, the Front organised pilgrimages to all the religious sanctuaries of the province; organised public ceremonies on Mother's Day, on the *Día de la Canción*, or in memory of the fallen and on the anniversary of the "Liberation" of Málaga. Public ceremonies were organised at Christmas and on the Epiphany, and the Front ran special programmes on *Radio Juventud de Málaga*. The Front also ran night schools, rural schools, an apprentice school, and ran different courses, such as technical and professional and training courses. Naturally, the Front also organised pious acts, general communions and masses, and spiritual exercises. Competitions on patriotic/religious themes were organised with cash prizes for the winners.⁸⁴ The Movement also established the *Academia Azul* in Málaga in May 1937, ostensibly to instruct future militants. In Málaga, there was no university, and the province depended on the university district of Granada. Despite this, it had a SEU group, which organised some cultural activities such as lectures, study centres for workers, organised its own summer camps and collaborated with the activities of the Front. All students of the teachers' college, the School of Commerce and high school students were considered members of the SEU.⁸⁵ Despite all the apparent activity, in reality the Front was politically innocuous, dedicated to the instruction of the National-Catholic Crusade values, highly clericalised, and dedicated to inoffensive activities of a symbolic or recreational character.

In all schools and educational institutions, whether run by the State, religious congregations or Catholic organisations such as Catholic Action, or the Movement, the ideological content was the same. Children were submitted to intensive socialisation in which the dominant ideology was anti-modern, patriotic and clerical, and in which the more radical elements of the Falange ideology were notably absent. The clericalised nature of the ideology

⁸¹G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. II, 178.

⁸²E. Barranquero Texeira, "Los niños que hicieron la guerra," *Baética*, no. 10 (1987), 352.

⁸³M. Eiroa San Francisco, *Málaga tras la guerra*, 494.

⁸⁴A collection of documents published by the Front such as the *Memoria de la labor realizada por la Delegación Provincial del Frente de Juventudes de Málaga durante el año 1949* can be found in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial*, section "Organización del Movimiento Frente de Juventudes."

⁸⁵E. Barranquero Texeira, *Málaga entre la guerra y la posguerra*, 103.

taught is clearly manifest in the schoolbooks used by the régime. This question has been analysed by various authors. According to the analysis of Cámara Villar, the ideology derived from these books can be summarised in the following elements: 1. Exacerbated Nationalism; 2. The identification of "National" with "Catholic" and appeals to "Hispanism;" 3. Hierarchical-Authoritarian conception of the social-political reality; 4. Harmonious vision of society and corporativism; and 5. National-Catholic unity versus the "anti-model." Anti-liberalism, anti-masonry, anti-communism, anti-socialism.⁸⁶ This ideology hinged upon a very particular interpretation of Spanish history.⁸⁷ Firstly, it was necessary to establish that Catholicism inspired the great moments in Spanish history and that all the innovations and the creative genius of the nation was fruit of the religious inspiration. Secondly, applying that to the present, it was necessary to justify the Civil War as synonymous with a return to past glories, the reassumption of a temporarily abandoned historical role as bastion of Western Christian civilisation. Spanish history was taught as being a linear progression of heroic deeds and events which led up to Spain's destiny as defender of the faith and of Western civilisation.

The techniques used in these schoolbooks to socialise children in National-Catholic doctrine in schools were based on making religious/patriotic references ubiquitous even in the most innocuous and unrelated activities. The nature of the schooling received by children in the postwar consisted of a return to the situation before the Enlightenment, suppressing the critical spirit of reason, and submitting knowledge to ecclesiastical authority. Pedagogical principles were based on the hellenistic dichotomy between the transcendental or spiritual, and the mundane or earthly, and on a pessimistic concept of humanity. The underlying conception was the belief that the body, although inferior to the soul, was a constant menace to the purity of the soul. The forces of evil used human bodily weakness to pervert the soul and ruin its chances of salvation. The object of a Christian education was to form an individual who knew how to live and behave in order to achieve salvation.⁸⁸ This required considerable discipline and the exercise of authority, for "... mankind is born with depraved tendencies," and therefore needed careful vigilance.⁸⁹ Catholic education was thus heavily oriented towards the preparation of the individual for a lifetime struggle against the earthly instincts, and the fostering of discipline, in

⁸⁶G. Cámara Villar, op. cit., 293-385.

⁸⁷R. Valls, "Ideología franquista y enseñanza de la Historia en España, 1938-1953," in J. Fontana (ed.), *España bajo el franquismo* (Barcelona, 1986).

⁸⁸A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. VIII (Madrid, 1953), 704.

⁸⁹Ibid., 292.

order to restrain his or her natural barbarism.⁹⁰

One of the most important virtues sought by Catholic pedagogy was obedience, which implied the recognition and acceptance of hierarchy and authority. Rousseau's pedagogical theories were abominated.⁹¹ The virtue of obedience was especially critical at adolescence, "an extremely dangerous age" in which the normal passions and rebellious instincts came to the fore, and unleashed, could lead "towards the abyss."⁹²

Other virtues sought by Catholic pedagogy were piety, humility, discipline, and prudence. School was not intended to be easy: it was a forge, as the very name of the school magazine of *San Estanislao* indicated. In 1938, an article in the magazine declared:

Let us not just say that the school years are a time in which to form oneself... let us say that it is a time to forge oneself, to boil, to accommodate oneself to the mould, to receive hammer blows and be filed down, in order to emerge as perfect instruments: young men for the Greater Glory of God and for service to Spain.⁹³

A sound Catholic education also demanded much vigilance, because there were many evil influences that conspired against the child.⁹⁴ The exact extent of the danger was allegedly so all-pervasive that it must have induced states of acute paranoia in many wary parents: "Be aware, parents, of the danger in reading matter and conversation, in the colleges, boarding houses, and workshops, in the offices, in the streets, during Sunday leisure, and convince yourselves that it all conspires to kill the souls of your children."⁹⁵

At school, the teachers exercised a very intense vigilance of every child. The danger was greatest during the holidays, when the child was longer under the close watch of the Fathers. In *San Estanislao*, the teachers encouraged the students to write to them during the school holidays, and these letters were published in the school magazine. Thus the teachers, through this contact, continued to exercise some kind of influence over the students.⁹⁶ There were warnings

⁹⁰Ibid., 304.

⁹¹A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. II, 59.

⁹²Ibid., 296 and 60, respectively.

⁹³*Forja*, año I, no. 1 (Apr. 1938), 1.

⁹⁴A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. VIII, 303.

⁹⁵Ibid., 302-3.

⁹⁶*Forja* (15 Aug. 1938), 6.

about bad friends and how to identify them.⁹⁷ Students were invited to calculate the time spent on recreation in the summer (cinema, novels, swimming, naps, cycling, horseriding, cars, games, excursions) in comparison with the time devoted to study and piety.⁹⁸ The danger in having fun and in entertainment was that a slow and imperceptible process of degradation of the soul could take place without the individual even realising it. Suddenly, the sacraments, rosary, censorship, would no longer matter to students; "This is the real transcendental danger in holidays, that of my forming my own broad and erroneous judgement, which excuses my own vices, and silences my conscience."⁹⁹

The gravity of the danger is clear; and as human nature is essentially weak, repressive techniques were typically applied in order to instil the necessary virtues. The utilisation of fear was a common technique, provoked by the utilisation of language, gruesome anecdotes, or macabre drawings and symbols. The nature of eternal damnation and of purgatory were described in vivid detail for maximum effect.¹⁰⁰

Corporal punishment was also sometimes used as part of the disciplinary régime exercised in schools. There was a typical expression that "la letra sin sangre no entra (nothing is absorbed without the shedding of blood)," which served to justify, not merely the use of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in cases of misbehaviour, but also as an instrument to stimulate the learning process. A child who answered a question incorrectly, for example, might be dealt a blow across the head, to encourage him to concentrate more next time. In 1961, when the Catholic-Communist intellectual Alfonso Carlos Comín began to teach in three technical training schools in Málaga, he discovered that in one of them, brutality was the order of the day. On the very first day of arriving at the *Escuela de Maestría Industrial*, he protested about the treatment of the students -it was common for the boys to be slapped or hit about the head-, and as a result, he was dismissed the next day. The school was a state school, but its director was a Jesuit priest. The teachers of the college alleged in their defence that Andalusian children were especially undisciplined and rebellious, and needed "the stick" in order to be maintained under control and in order to learn. As Comín noted, however, in other Catholic colleges of Málaga,

⁹⁷Ibid. (June 1945), 3.

⁹⁸Ibid., año I, no. 4 (18 July 1938), 3.

⁹⁹Ibid., año VII, no. 55 (Sept. 1944), 1.

¹⁰⁰A. Sopena, *El florido pensil. Memoria de la escuela nacional-católica* (Barcelona, 1994), especially 55-80.

the children were also Andalusians, yet the teaching methods were not so brutal.¹⁰¹

National-Catholic ideology was imposed by the continuous repetition and rote-learning methods in both oral and written work. The children had to learn calligraphy and design, for example, and in the practical exercises, they were asked to copy out phrases, words, or expressions in a particular calligraphic style or design in order to practise it. One popular primary schoolbook included the following expressions to copy: "God exists;" or this quotation from Seneca: "Those who say they do not know God are lying; because, although they say this during the day, on finding themselves alone, at night, they doubt;" or, referring to the events of Sagunto, "The community [*pueblo*] that knows how to die, can never be enslaved."¹⁰² There was also considerable oral rote-learning and repetition; lists of Spanish monarchs, poetry, selections of texts, etcetera. These had to be learnt by heart and recited in class. The texts reflected the dominant ideology, comprising, for example, exaltations of the excellence of Spain, the Spanish people and the Spanish language and civilisation; heroic episodes and tales of Spanish military glories; odes to maternal love and to the mother figure; poems dedicated to the Virgin, Christ, or the Saints; and parables and fables. The contributions of the students of *San Estanislao* to the school magazine followed this pattern, including poems on the Motherland, God, and the Party.¹⁰³ In 1938, the magazine organised a Holiday Literary Competition. The children were to submit their work on one of these three topics; the Virgin and the college; an episode of the Civil War; and a scene from life in the college.¹⁰⁴

Children also received an intense religious socialisation by virtue of the practice of introducing religious and patriotic references in all aspects of academic work, even in subjects apparently immune to moral or philosophical considerations. According to Abella, in one book on English grammar, all the grammatical exercises were based on the deeds and conquests of Pizarro, Cortés, Franco, and other Generals.¹⁰⁵ Gervilla notes how the children's book on the alphabet identified the letters with words beginning with that letter, associated with the Church or national-patriotic values, and accompanied by a corresponding image. Hence, the letter "i"

¹⁰¹Alfonso Carlos Comín describes this episode in *España ¿País de misión?*, 134-45.

¹⁰²A. Alvarez Pérez, *Enciclopedia. Tercer Grado* (Zamora, 1945), 12, 425. Sagunto was a Spanish city which preferred to commit mass suicide and reduce the city to cinders than surrender to Carthaginian attack.

¹⁰³*Forja* (18 July 1938).

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, año I, no. 5 (15 Aug. 1938), 5.

¹⁰⁵R. Abella, *Por el imperio hacia Dios*, 157.

was identified with the word "iglesia," accompanied by a picture of a church. The letter "m" was matched with the word "misa." This process took place even in the most improbable of situations. Gervilla has recorded the following mathematical problem: "From the pocket money given to him by his parents, every Sunday a little boy withdraws one real for the poor. How many pesetas does he give in a year?"¹⁰⁶ In a similar line, *San Estanislao* published a booklet with model letters for children to copy, in order to foster the practice of letter-writing to members of the family. The booklet was naturally a model of moral/religious rectitude and offered letters to imitate such as the following:

Where I am best behaved is in religious duties. I am so devout, that not only at mass and at rosary, but also during study and classes, I spend my spare moments on my knees, upon which I have developed such callouses...¹⁰⁷

Another similar letter on religious education read as follows:

The boys hear mass and almost all receive communion every day. The Spiritual Father preaches to us daily about Our Lord, the Virgin, and the Martyrs, and makes us cry. It makes one want to go to India and be killed for Jesus Christ.... Every night we recite the rosary because only the Moors, and those who want to be Moors, stop reciting the rosary.¹⁰⁸

Catechism class was another very important instrument of "disintoxication" or "purification." Catechism was treated as either a vaccine for those not yet infected by dissolute foreign ideologies, or a cure for those unfortunate souls already contaminated by anti-Catholic and anti-patriotic doctrines. The instruction of the young was used as a means of enticing the parents to classes as well, or at least, as a means of maintaining some kind of contact with their families. Santos Olivera put considerable effort into the reorganisation of catechism and the training of suitable teachers. One of his first measures when he returned to his diocese was to call upon his priests and urge them to pay attention to the religious instruction of the flock, children as well as adults. He demanded that they give catechism classes at least on two weekdays of every week, as well as carrying out frequent inspection trips to public schools, encouraging the students to attend catechism. The clergy were not to slacken the pressure on the assumption that the schools would be responsible for catechism. The bishop declared that the schoolmaster and the parish priest had to complement each other, none being more or less important than the other. He thus placed a considerable workload on the unfortunate parish priests, who had to

¹⁰⁶E. Gervilla Castillo, op. cit., 338.

¹⁰⁷*Ortografía española y redacción de cartas. Colegio de San Estanislao* (Málaga, 1939), 32.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 33.

administer enormous parishes with no assistance. The ultimate object was the reimplantation of Catholic practices and morals. In a letter to the clergy of Málaga in 1936, the bishop urged that they use "all means to attract the lax and given them every type of facility that they might receive the holy sacraments that they should have received before and live according to God's law."¹⁰⁹

The restoration of catechism was presented as nothing less than a battle in the ongoing Crusade against the forces of Darkness, and its rhetoric was steeped in the mysticism and warrior values of the Middle Ages:

Impiety has declared war against catechism and proposes to de-Christianise the children at all cost.... God wills it! As in medieval times, this must be our cry and our motto; and as in medieval times, when that magic word placed all Christian nations on a war footing... so today it must shake the conscience of every Catholic, of every class and condition, and form, sustain and uplift the new Crusade in favour of catechism, in order to to end with that great shame of religious illiteracy... and in order to re-Christianise Spain and the world, conquering all souls for God.¹¹⁰

In order to carry out this mission, the bishop issued an episcopal decree, reorganising the Diocesan Catechism Board. It was to comprise five ecclesiastical members, and five lay members. These were to foster propaganda, and ensure that parishes and schools taught Catholic doctrine "in the traditional way of the Church." Part of its responsibility was also the training of catechism teachers, the running of courses and the visiting and inspection of all catechism classes in the diocese, so that, at the end of each course, which was of nine months' duration, it could present the bishop with meticulous statistics on all the studies realised in the diocese.¹¹¹

The bishop also established a special new congregation, the *Congregación de la Doctrina Cristiana*, in all parishes. Active members included all the secular and regular clergy of the parish, all the seminarians, and those lay people who assisted in catechism and were deemed to be necessary by the parish priest. Members received many indulgences for their work, and honorary membership was offered to those who assisted with donations or prayer. All members had the obligation of assisting in the running of catechism classes, and of regularly attending meetings. At a local level, a board of administration would administer and supervise the running of catechism. One of its responsibilities included the promotion of catechism, that is, to

¹⁰⁹*BOOM* (1937), 361.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.* (1937), 295-6.

¹¹¹*Ibid.* (1937), 297.

encourage parents to send their children to classes. This was done by holding a "Catechism Festival," which consisted of the saying of special masses, with sermons emphasising the importance of catechism. There were also special collections, and competitions amongst the children with prizes for the best behaved, for those who were best at catechism, etcetera.¹¹²

Standing orders were established to govern the teaching of catechism in the diocese. Naturally, the sexes were segregated. As a general guideline, the bishop suggested that children chant a brief invocation to the Lord in church, then march to class singing a hymn, where they would receive their lesson. Afterwards, they were to file back to church, to receive instruction from the priest on what they had just heard. The bishop even went so far as to recommend the songs that were to be sung. The discreet use of visual teaching aids was permitted by the bishop, but, "not as an end, but as a means of capturing the attention and exciting the curiosity of the children."¹¹³ The standing orders decreed that students should receive instruction personally from a priest at least twice a week (articles 24 and 25) and that the reception of first holy communion was to be a grand spectacle, so that it would be an unforgettable experience for the children. Adults would also receive instruction, every Sunday and holy day without exception; lack of attendance would not be permitted (article 36). Finally, the bishop solemnly urged his parish priests not to be negligent or lax in the teaching of catechism, under pain of being punished by the bishop himself.¹¹⁴

Catechism was used as a means of attracting young people into religious life, and particularly, into the seminary, which had been suffering an alarming decline in vocations since the second half of the 19th century. To this end, some of the more pious and dedicated students were to be separated from the rest and given special, more intense instruction, with daily mass, frequent communion, spiritual exercises, etcetera. By following this system, "we will already have the aspirants to the seminary." The system was functioning in various parishes, and some in the capital had up to a dozen children; in smaller villages, there were up to five.¹¹⁵

In the first years of the catechism programme, at the end of each year, competitions on catechism were held in every parish, then between parishes, and at diocesan level until finally, one boy and one girl were given a cash prize at the end of the school year. To conclude the

¹¹²Ibid. (Sept. 1937), 303.

¹¹³Ibid. (Sept. 1937), 301.

¹¹⁴Ibid. (1937), 307.

¹¹⁵Pastoral letter, in *ibid.* (1938), 414.

campaign, what was described as a "lovely children's festival" was held, presided over by the bishop and the provincial and local civil and political authorities. All this intense activity was alleged to have given "magnificent results."¹¹⁶ By 1946, the "Catechism Festivals" had become a major feastday held on the first Sunday of Advent. After days of propaganda in the press and on the radio, the prelate presided over a ceremony with thousands of children in the cathedral; the bishop asked the children questions on the catechism over the microphone, to which a chorus of voices shouted the answers. The catechism competitions continued to be held for youngsters, according to ages, and groups, at parish level and in schools.¹¹⁷

One example of the nature of the catechisms used was advertised in the diocesan bulletin in 1938. It was called the "Anti-Marxist Catechism," and was written by Andrés Coll, the famous integrist Canon of Málaga who had been exiled by the Republican authorities in 1932. It purported to explain Catholic doctrine on social issues so that children and youth "will never be surprised nor fooled by moral poisoners, originating in the marxist, socialist and liberal camps."¹¹⁸ It was addressed to different social sectors and groups in the following terms:

Head of family:

Are you interested in preserving your child against marxist doctrine? Today you can immunise him by buying this catechism. Study it with him.

To the Worker, who used to be socialist:

Listen to some advice:
Buy the anti-marxist catechism.
Read it in spare moments.
You will see how much peace it brings your soul.

To the Worker, who was deceived:

The anti-marxist catechism will be your best friend.
You will see how much it teaches you.
It will rip the hatred out of your heart.
It will give you noble means of defence.
It will give peace to your soul and happiness to your life.
Buy it; read it;try!

Christian Employer:

What greater good can you do than redeem your workers?

¹¹⁶*Ecclesia* (18 July 1942), 19.

¹¹⁷*BOOM* (1947), 206-10. See also *Ecclesia* (21 Dec. 1946), 701.

¹¹⁸*BOOM* (Jan. 1938), 72.

In the anti-marxist catechism you have the seeds of redemption.
Sow them in your workshop or in your factory and you have
done a work of social redemption.

Similar exhortations were directed at teachers, and priests.¹¹⁹

The official catechism book used for diocesan children was the *Ripalda*, which had to be learnt by heart.¹²⁰ The *Ripalda* catechism was a reactionary, dogmatic and intolerant catechism book grounded in National-Catholic/Crusade ideology, and which was eventually withdrawn from use after 1957 by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The book was written in a question and answer style, so that the priest or catechism teacher could pose the question and the student answer by heart. Hence it encouraged a purely mechanical and automatic response in the student, and furthermore, as the wording used and the concepts taught were on occasions highly philosophical and metaphysical, it seems probable that much of what was "learnt" was never understood. Common doubts and questions that arose from Catholic doctrine were expounded in question and answer form also; the idea was that there be absolute certainty as to what to think and what to believe.¹²¹ It is for this reason -the danger of doubts arising- that the direct and unguided reading of the Bible was discouraged; it had to be read with the appropriate commentaries, explanations, and filters lest the reader be led into error.¹²²

Santos Olivera exercised a particularly keen supervision over teachers of religion, adopting special measures to ensure their orthodoxy. According to 1939 legislation, the teaching of religion and everything that referred to Christian life in secondary schools was submitted directly to the authority of the bishop.¹²³ The legislation strongly emphasised that the sovereignty of the Church in matters of religious instruction, and the right of the bishops to organise and supervise religious education in all secondary schools. The legislation subjected religion teachers

¹¹⁹Ibid. (Jan. 1938), 72-3.

¹²⁰Circular of the *Consejo de Inspección* (1949), from A. Caballero Cortés, "Los boletines de educación: órganos de comunicación de la inspección con las escuelas," *Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado*, no. 13 (1992), 120. See also E. Miret Magdalena, "La educación nacional-católica en nuestra posguerra," *Tiempo de Historia*, no. 16 (Mar. 1976).

¹²¹Gervilla Castillo has carried out an excellent analysis of the most commonly used catechism books, including the *Ripalda* which was the most used in the South of Spain, in op. cit., 359-409.

¹²²Comín recalls in his years as a student that "Reading the Bible directly was prohibited. It was only licit to read it appropriately commented and annotated." Similarly, heterodox Catholic intellectuals and philosophers were treated little more than as heretics. Such was the case with Aranguren, and not only amongst the lay people but also in seminaries. Orthodoxy was the fundamental value, and doubt the greatest danger. See A. C. Comín, *Fe en la tierra*, 31-43.

¹²³Preamble to legislation, 27 July 1939.

to a double jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical. The hierarchy was to recommend the teachers, sending a list to the Ministry of Education, which would formally appoint the candidates to posts, and a list of books would also be approved by the same procedure.¹²⁴

Priests that taught religion in the diocese of Málaga were required to apply to the bishop annually for a written licence to teach. Only textbooks approved by the bishop could be used, and inspection and vigilance by the bishop were to be accepted. All ecclesiastics needed special permission to give or receive classes to or from women. The bishop declared that ideally, religion in schools should not be taught by lay people or even by regular clergy, but by secular clergy; and he set out an exam for testing the aptitude of the teachers -the so-called "certificate of aptitud."¹²⁵ Furthermore, Santos Olivera expressly required that in primary schools, the parish priest should supervise the children's first holy communions, listen to confession once every three months, and hold monthly catechism exams in the schools.¹²⁶

Another institution set up to deepen the spiritual and doctrinal preparation of the faithful was the Institute of Higher Religious Culture. This institution existed at both national and diocesan levels, and was dedicated to the training of religious and lay people for apostolic or social missions, and for the deepening of the faith via the promotion of biblical and doctrinal studies. In Málaga it was established on 8 September 1941, and was intended to be the institution that perfected the training of lay propagandists and catechism teachers, especially in doctrine. Thus they would be able to "cooperate more effectively in the transcendental task of rechristianising our beloved Motherland."¹²⁷ The Institute offered three years courses in dogma, history of the Church, sacred music, scripture, public ecclesiastical law, ecclesiology, etcetera, and the teachers were secular clergy.¹²⁸

According to the Institute's statutes in Málaga, "The objective of the Institute is the formation of lay people intellectually prepared for the exercise of the apostolate."¹²⁹ Hence, it

¹²⁴*BOOM* (Oct. 1939), 518-20.

¹²⁵*Ecclesia* (7 Aug. 1943), 22-3; and *BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1945), 572-3.

¹²⁶Circular in *BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1944), 556-7.

¹²⁷*Ibid.* (1947), 98.

¹²⁸*Reglamento Diocesano de Cultura Superior de Málaga* (Málaga, 1941); *Ecclesia* (11 Oct. 1952), 405. The Institute also offered courses on social and economic issues, by ecclesiastical and lay specialists in their fields, such as labour inspectors, lawyers, engineers, bankers, etcetera; see *BOOM* (Jan. 1946), 67-9.

¹²⁹*Reglamento Diocesano de Cultura Superior de Málaga*.

was aimed at Catholic Action above all, and was not an instrument of mass instruction. All the centres of all the branches of Catholic Action, according to the statutes, were to send at least two of their best members to the Diocesan Institute of Higher Religious Culture, and it was recommended that the other members of Catholic Action also attend. In its first year (1941-1942), there were 150 students enrolled, largely from Catholic Action.¹³⁰ In this year, 43 women and 8 men sat examinations.¹³¹ In the 1945-1946 academic year, there were 46 students enrolled in all subjects, and 16 enrolled in the "social section," plus an average of 90 men who had attended a series of lectures on social topics.¹³²

2. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION UNDER HERRERA ORIA, 1946-1966.

The education of the population and the formation of select minorities was the principle that most characterised Herrera Oria's strategy of recatholicisation. Like the rest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Herrera Oria also relied on the traditional method of organising catechism and missions. Under Herrera, the running of catechism was improved with the creation of the *Escuelas Catequísticas Seglares*, which as their name indicates, were established for the training of lay catechism teachers.¹³³ The teachers at this school were to be secular or regular clergy, named by the bishop. The applicants were to be at least 15 years of age, presented by the parish priest or a member of the Diocesan Catechism Committee, and be approved by the bishop. The applicant also had to establish intellectual capacity, live a life of sincere and intense piety, and have a vocation to the apostolate, because "The catechism teacher is not a simple teacher, pedagogue or professor, but the person who has the high mission of being Coadjutor of God.... It is without a doubt the most noble and excellent occupation to which a lay Catholic can dedicate himself."¹³⁴ The schools were set up in the capital and also outside the capital. Absolute dedication was demanded of the students; in theory, if they were missing from classes three times without sufficient justification, they could be expelled, although what happened in practice is not

¹³⁰M. Eiroa San Francisco, *Málaga tras la guerra*, 251, fn 200.

¹³¹*Ecclesia* (27 July 1942), 7.

¹³²*Ibid.* (26 Oct. 1946), 11.

¹³³*BOOM* (May-June 1948), 166-72.

¹³⁴*Ibid.* (May-June 1948), 171.

known.¹³⁵ By training lay catechism teachers appropriately, it was envisaged that these teachers would be able to teach in rural parishes beyond the reach of the clergy.

Herrera organised the mission in complicity with the civil authorities, to whom Herrera publically expressed his gratitude.¹³⁶ 1950 was an intense year for missions, which began on 12 February using all available means. Up to 800 loudspeakers were distributed throughout the capital and 72 mission centres were established, where more than 150 missionaries were to take part. A special homily on the Great Mission was read by the bishop over the loudspeakers for days before the event.¹³⁷

However, the mere reform of what was quaintly described as traditional "usage and customs" [*usos y costumbres*] was manifestly insufficient to bring about the authentic and profound changes of heart which the ecclesiastical hierarchy sought. The principal objective of Bishop Herrera Oria was to achieve the integral education of the people, that is to say, to instruct and develop the flock in all aspects of the human personality, moral, intellectual, and spiritual. The ultimate goal was the development of the collective conscience, which was badly deformed, and which made Spanish society rapidly move, "in the contrary direction to that indicated by the Pontiffs."¹³⁸ In the words of his personal secretary, Fr. Antonio Ocaña Medina, "[Herrera] Believed that the problem of Spain was a problem of culture. An educated and instructed people -he would explain- soon sheds the majority of its problems."¹³⁹

In order to achieve this objective, Herrera Oria depended on his select élites, including the clergy, social workers, politicians, journalists, and teachers. The bishop declared that the most important role of Catholic Action was to be catechistic. However, Herrera was well aware of the deficiencies in public instruction in his flock, especially in the countryside of Málaga. None of his educational projects were of any relevance if the population continued to be largely illiterate and if the lack of schooling facilities continued to be as acute as it was until then.

One of the facets of life that characterised the street scenes in Málaga in the 1940's and 1950's was the number of children wandering around the streets in school hours or, as the

¹³⁵Ibid. (May-June 1948), 171-2.

¹³⁶"Reflexiones del Obispo D. Angel Herrera Oria al término de la 'Gran Misión' de 1950," in *Málaga contemporánea*, 279.

¹³⁷*Ecclesia* (11 Feb. 1950), 16.

¹³⁸*BOOM* (Nov. 1947), 460.

¹³⁹Testimony of Fr. Antonio Ocaña Medina, personal Secretary of Herrera Oria from 1949-1968, in J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 408.

Movement's reports note, "dedicated to occupations inappropriate for their ages."¹⁴⁰ In the countryside, the situation was also dramatic. In 1950, the diocese had a population of more than one million inhabitants, of which over 200,000 lived dispersed.¹⁴¹ The province is 85% mountainous, and the distances between villages were often very significant. Illiteracy in Málaga in 1950 was calculated to be well above the national average. While the national average had decreased to about 17.34% in 1950, the average in Málaga was still 33.92%, second only to Jaén.¹⁴² The situation in the rural *cortijos*, or isolated rural estates, was infinitely worse; concretely about 70% of the population working there were illiterate, depending on the individual village.¹⁴³ It is clear that the religious orders in Málaga did not try -and were probably not able- to meet the academic needs of the entire population. Of the more than 200,000 people who lived dispersed in the countryside of Málaga, 30,000 were children. Herrera Oria's team calculated that 23,000 of these children did not receive any form of education whatsoever.¹⁴⁴ The religious and doctrinal ignorance of many of these villagers was dramatic. In one case reported in the diocesan bulletin, a fourteen year old lad allegedly did not know what a crucifix was, as he had never seen one before. Another of 16 years of age had no idea what a pencil was.¹⁴⁵ Herrera also complained that there were rural zones where the inhabitants did not know the fundamental prayers, such as the Our Father and the Hail Mary.¹⁴⁶

As a result of the evident deficiencies in the state of public instruction in Málaga, in 1952-1953, Herrera Oria, accompanied by parish priests, seminarians, school teachers, and members of Catholic Action, set out to visit all the rural zones in order to ascertain the needs of the population. Teams comprising one priest and three seminarians were dispersed throughout the countryside during one summer holiday period.

After studying the situation, the province was divided into three zones. In the villages

¹⁴⁰AGA. *Presidencia. Delegación Nacional de Provincias*. IDD no. 17.10, box 121, folder 37. "Parte Octubre 1943," issue no. 9, 1.

¹⁴¹*BOOM* (1955), 116.

¹⁴²F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales. Patronato Mixto de Educación Primaria, Obispado de Málaga* (Salamanca, 1990) -pamphlet, summary of the 1989 doctoral dissertation of the same title-, 7.

¹⁴³F. García Mota, *El Cardenal Herrera Oria: su Teoría y Práctica Educativas. Lección Inaugural del Curso 1990-1991. Seminario Diocesano de Málaga* (Málaga, 1 Oct. 1990), 19.

¹⁴⁴*BOOM* (Oct. 1954), 344.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.* (Apr. 1955), 121.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.* (May-June 1948), 166-72.

and latifundist estates chapel-schools were to be built. In the more inaccessible areas of the mountains, itinerant teachers on horseback would be needed. Herrera organised a body of itinerant teachers, and sought to improve their economic position, and elevate their professional standing with courses on professional development. The report drawn up estimated that 175 itinerant teachers were required, and 265 rural schools would be necessary.¹⁴⁷

The Ministry of Education was seriously lacking in funds.¹⁴⁸ Instead of constructing public schools, the State channelled public funding to private and confessional colleges, such as by the Law of 15 July 1954, which conceded financial benefits and loans to these institutions, and which according to de Puelles, channelled "a volume of financial resources difficult to determine exactly, but which without any doubt, was extremely large."¹⁴⁹ A Law of 22 December 1953 permitted the establishment of special boards or *patronatos*, to be comprised equally of representatives of the civil administration and of private individuals and groups to establish primary schools.¹⁵⁰ In December 1954, a five year plan was approved conceding government funding for the construction of rural schools at the rate of fifty new primary schools yearly.¹⁵¹ A Ministerial Order of 22 January 1955 established the *Patronato Mixto de Enseñanza*, or mixed board of trustees to supervise the establishment of 250 rural schools. It was composed of members of the diocesan board of education and three representatives of the national Ministry of Education. The *Patronato Mixto* governed the construction and running of the schools, and as its name suggests, comprised civil and ecclesiastical representation. The teachers were national teachers and were paid by the State. Construction began the following year, and all the schools were built within five years.¹⁵²

One of the problems associated with having national teachers working in the countryside was the temporary nature of their stay in the villages. The normal tendency was to serve a time in the countryside pending transfer to a city. Herrera's intention was that the teachers proceed from the countryside, and that they remain there. They were to be "drawn from the same locality in

¹⁴⁷F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (pamphlet), 17.

¹⁴⁸M. de Puelles, op. cit., 391.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 392.

¹⁵⁰BOE (24 Dec. 1953).

¹⁵¹Ibid. (19 Dec. 1954).

¹⁵²BOOM (1955), 107-9.

which they will later work; trained by the province for the province."¹⁵³ For this reason, he also established special training schools for the rural teachers -entitled the *Escuela Diocesana del Magisterio Rural*-, which got them a degree, but not the official qualification that would permit them to be national teachers.¹⁵⁴ Once these student teachers -drawn from the immediate surroundings of the school- graduated, it was envisaged they would begin working in the rural schools of Málaga in a more or less permanent position. The Marist Brothers ran the school for male teachers in Málaga; the Daughters of Jesus ran a school for female teachers in Málaga, the *Terciarias Franciscanas de la Madre Carmen* ran one in Antequera, and the *Institución Teresiana* ran another in Nerja. By July 1963, the diocesan bulletin could boast of 22 young women who had been studying under the direction of the latter community for their future apostolate in rural schools for three years.¹⁵⁵ Herrera intended the schools to have, apart from the teacher, a nurse and a social worker to cover all necessities, but he was not able to realise this ambitious project.¹⁵⁶

The teachers of the rural schools established by Herrera were subjected to careful scrutiny and vigilance. Although they were paid by the State, they were put forward as candidates to the post by the bishop in his capacity as president of the Mixed Board of Trustees [*Patronato Mixto*] from all the applications he had received.¹⁵⁷ Their role went beyond that of merely giving class, and encompassed activities more typical of a missionary. The teacher's work had a spiritual and social dimension -apart from their teaching, they were to visit the sick, assist the parish priest with catechism classes, visit and neighbouring villages various times a year. They were also to attend cultural and religious activities, and assist the poor. The schools themselves were intended to serve the entire community, educating young and old, but also serving as a centre for social and sanitary services of all kinds. In order to maintain the apostolic spirit in good health, monthly summer courses were organised for the rural teachers by the Mixed Board, on religion, cultural matters, pedagogy, sanitation, and social issues in general.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (pamphlet), 18.

¹⁵⁴Testimony of Fr. José María Eguaras Iriarte, in J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 251.

¹⁵⁵*BOOM* (July 1963), 539.

¹⁵⁶Testimony of Fr. Antonio Ocaña Medina, Private Secretary to Herrera from 1948-1968, in J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 408.

¹⁵⁷*BOOM* (Dec. 1960), 418.

¹⁵⁸F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (pamphlet), 22-3.

The parish priests were required to ensure that these teachers adequately fulfilled their role. The parish priests had to report to the board, filling in a form especially designed for the purpose, and which asked them to evaluate the teachers' pedagogic and apostolic work. On the first issue, the priests were asked to comment on the teachers' punctuality, ability to maintain discipline and order, the amount and nature of extra work done by them in the community, and their willingness to work. On the latter, they were asked whether the teachers taught catechism well; whether they were "well prepared to look after the tabernacle;" whether they explained the Gospel on Sundays in the absence of the priest; whether they organised events on Sundays "in order to spend the Lord's Day in a joyful and holy fashion;" and whether they took the trouble of interesting themselves in the rural workers' sanitary, social, agricultural, or other problems, and helped resolve them.¹⁵⁹ One of the indispensable qualities of the rural teachers, then, was apostolic zeal, and included organising worship, pious activities, and even preaching.¹⁶⁰

The new schools consisted of a single room with the teacher's living quarters attached or nearby. At one end of the room there was a blackboard, the desks, etcetera. At the other end there was a partition behind which there was a simple altar. In these schools, the children were to receive the necessary instruction in the basic skills, as well as considerable instruction in doctrinal and moral questions. Herrera believed that primary school children should learn a small "complementary social catechism," and certainly, in secondary, the students were expected to study papal encyclicals in great detail, so that by the time the students reached the preuniversity course, they would be able to "manage the great social encyclicals with ease."¹⁶¹ In the 1956-1957 school year, there were 2,581 students enrolled in the rural schools, and numbers increased until 1965-1966, when they peaked at 10,074 students. Thereafter, both numbers of students and the numbers of schools began to decline.¹⁶²

Herrera was able to rely on his excellent contacts in civil and political society for the realization of this ambitious project. He particularly benefitted from the collaboration of Martín Artajo, Minister of the Exterior since 1945; and of the Ministers of Education Ibáñez Martín (1938-1951) and his successor, Ruiz Giménez (1951-1956), especially the latter. The importance

¹⁵⁹A copy of this form was found in the diocesan library.

¹⁶⁰*BOOM* (Sept. 1961), 736.

¹⁶¹A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 447.

¹⁶²F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales. Patronato Mixto de Educación Primaria* (Salamanca, 1989) - unpublished doctoral dissertation-, 373.

of this collaboration is confessed by the bishop himself, who declared that the matter of the rural schools had been personally approved by Franco.¹⁶³ The collaboration between Church and State in the question of the rural schools filled Herrera with pride, and he publicly praised the civil authorities for their role in the instruction of Málaga. In 1963, he declared "It is my duty to second the splendid policy that the Government is applying in the field of education. The organisation of scholarly protection is exemplary."¹⁶⁴ In reality, the State provided only a part of the resources necessary for the realisation of this ambitious plan. From 1959, there were no more grants for the *Patronato Mixto* of Málaga, which began to suffer financial problems. Herrera was obliged to battle continuously to keep the project going.¹⁶⁵

In 1956, the Education Minister, Ruiz Giménez, was dismissed. His successor, Rubio García-Mina, embarked on a reasonably effective school-building programme.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, both Herrera's school-building project and the Minister's were afflicted by the same blight: neither had taken into account the factor of migration. The waves of migration that permanently changed the nature of life in rural Andalusia began in the 1950's, but became especially dramatic in the 1960's. In short, schools were built for children in Andalusia (and other regions such as Extremadura), which ended up half empty, while the children, now migrants in Barcelona or Madrid, were still unschooled. The changes in the numbers of rural schools open every year in Málaga reflect the changing demography. In 1956/57, there were 106 rural schools. The peak was reached in 1959/60 with 227 schools, which corresponds with the end of public funding for construction. After this date, the number of rural schools in utilisation progressively declined until the late 1960's, when the decline was quite rapid. From the 200 rural schools that were in use in 1968/69, there were only 171 a year later, and this scarcely improved in following years.¹⁶⁷

Along with the improvement to primary education in Málaga as a result of the projects of Herrera Oria and the Minister of Education, access to secondary education was made somewhat more democratic and less elitist by the *Ley de Ordenación de la Enseñanza Media* approved on 26 February 1953 by Ruiz Giménez. The elitist nature of the old baccalaureate

¹⁶³Letter of Herrera Oria to Fr. Manuel Marina (S.J.), 27 October 1954, quoted in J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 300-1.

¹⁶⁴*BOOM* (Sept. 1963), 772.

¹⁶⁵F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (pamphlet), 29.

¹⁶⁶R. Navarro Sandalinas, *op. cit.*, 170.

¹⁶⁷F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (doctoral dissertation), 373.

-which was principally preparation for entrance into university- was changed. It was divided into two parts. The elementary baccalaureate was of four years' duration, and the superior baccalaureate, of two years' duration, was followed by a pre-university year necessary for access to university. Thus the new law generalised education until the age of fourteen, and children could continue with their studies after primary school without it necessarily being focussed as an entrance to university, as the old baccalaureate had been.

It would appear that as a result of these changes, the level of public instruction in Málaga was significantly improved, although the changes did not become dramatic well into the 1960's. It is impossible to ascertain what changes occurred when. The paucity and inaccuracy of Spanish statistics are such as to provoke the desperation of even the most determined researcher.¹⁶⁸ One such researcher, after analysing the nature of the problems he confronted, was led to declare that "the régime's maintenance of official statistics on education are one of its most useless ventures."¹⁶⁹ In the case of Málaga, the statistical material is clearly vitiated and untrustworthy. The *Reseña Estadística* [Statistical Summary] published by the National Institute of Statistics, for example, is unusable because it causes more doubts than it resolves. The number of schools given for each academic year, or the number of students, vary wildly from one year to the next, without there being any apparent reason. Is this because hundreds of schools suddenly shut down for one year, and hundreds opened again in the following year? Or was it -as seems much more likely- that the principals of many schools simply closed their eyes to the annoying bureaucratic redtape? The inconsistencies, contradictions, and insufficiency of data obstruct any serious attempt to quantify the history of schooling and education in Málaga. Therefore, all statistical evidence used in the present investigation of Málaga is used merely as an indication of general tendencies and not as definitive statements of fact. And the general tendency, not surprisingly, was of a gradual increase in the number of schools, in the numbers of people schooled, and a lessening in the illiteracy rate.

One of the Movement's reports declares that from 1939-1969, whilst the population of Málaga increased by 25%, the number of students increased by 123%, and the number of schools tripled, from about 900 to about 2,650. In 1939, there were 10 centres of secondary and vocational training in 3 localities. By 1969, there was a total of 58 centres in 10 localities.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸On the problems of analysing the history of education in Spain during Franco, especially with the statistical sources, see R. Navarro Sandalinas, op. cit., 23-9.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 29.

¹⁷⁰*Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento de Málaga 1939-1969. La Paz rinde su cuenta a Málaga* (Málaga,

Many of these schools, however, must have been private or confessional centres recognised by the State.¹⁷¹

The change appears to begin the first years of the 1950's; nevertheless, the most dramatic changes did not take place until the 1960's, and especially after 1963, when the Spanish economy was undergoing a significant restructuring from traditional rural based economy to a modern neocapitalist consumer society. The economic changes from rural to industrial economy demanded skilled labour, and it is in response to this need that the régime notably increased the resources and attention paid to public instruction. According to one of the Movement's publications, the evolution of public funding for Málaga for education was as follows:¹⁷²

1939-1945	113,550	pesetas
1946-1951.....	350,000	"
1952-1957.....	561,625	"
1958-1963.....	24,403,650	"
1964-1969.....	174,203,320	"

The massive increase in public funding for state schools is reflected in the evolution of enrolments in primary schools in Málaga as follows:

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
1939	27,250	22,946	50,196
1945	35,111	25,226	60,337
1951	45,453	33,116	78,569
1957	40,482	40,564	81,046
1963	38,348	35,096	73,444
1969	57,251	55,010	112,261

A very similar tendency is notable with respect to the number of secondary students enrolled:

Year	Students
1939	4,399
1945	6,000 approx.
1951	8,500 approx.
1957	11,000 approx.
1963	16,000 approx.
1969	27,463

In the case of literacy levels, it is undeniable that literacy improved during the 1960's, and

1969), 27.

¹⁷¹It must be remembered that Málaga only had three public secondary schools until 1961, and another four were opened in what was left of the decade in Vélez-Málaga (1961), Ronda (1962), Sierra Bermeja (1964), and Campillos (1967), respectively. I have been unable to discover a list of vocational training schools for the province.

¹⁷²All of the following graphs are drawn from *Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento de Málaga (1939-1969)*, 25-30.

it can reasonably be inferred that in part, this was directly as a result of the rural schools, which, it must be remembered, gave classes to both young and old. Benavent, Auxiliary Bishop of Málaga from 1955, declared that in five years, adult illiteracy fell by almost 50%.¹⁷³ From 1956/57 to the end of the 1972/73 school year, 31,320 adults were enrolled in the rural schools (although it is unknown how many of these were the same individuals reenrolling in subsequent years). Of these, 11,650 individuals were totally illiterate when they began classes. From 1956/57 to 1972/73, 3,809 became literate and 1963/64 to 1972/73, 3,344 of these adults achieved their primary school certificate (no figures for the primary school certificate are offered for before 1963/64). There was a great difference in attendance according to gender; from 1956/57 to 1972/73, 25,906 men were enrolled in the rural schools, in comparison with only 5,414 women for the same period.¹⁷⁴

Fr. José Eguaras Iriarte, Herrera's private secretary from 1947 to 1962, rather optimistically alleges that thanks to these schools, "Málaga went from being in the last positions in terms of public literacy in Spain to being in the first."¹⁷⁵ According to official statistical evidence, while in 1950 illiteracy was 34% in Málaga, by 1960, it had dropped to 25%; in numerical terms, this means a drop from 204,664 illiterates in 1950 to 150,158 illiterates in 1960.¹⁷⁶ Whilst in 1950, only Jaén had a higher rate of illiteracy than Málaga (37%), by 1960, Málaga's position had improved slightly in relation to other Spanish provinces, four of which had slightly higher rates of illiteracy, and one of which -Albacete- had exactly the same percentage.¹⁷⁷ Málaga had improved; but Málaga continued to be backward in relation to the rest of the Spanish provinces, and furthermore, while many people ceased being technically illiterate, their actual level of literacy was extremely low.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, there continued to be dramatic differences between literacy rates in the capital and in the countryside.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³*BOOM* (May 1960), 131.

¹⁷⁴The totals are drawn from the lists of enrolments, illiterates, and redemption rates offered in F. García Mota, *Escuelas Rurales* (doctoral dissertation), 382.

¹⁷⁵Testimony of Fr. Eguaras in J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 251-2.

¹⁷⁶M. Vilanova Ribas et al, op. cit., 312-3, 322-3.

¹⁷⁷Id.

¹⁷⁸R. Gobernado Arribas, "Aspectos del comportamiento cultural en la provincia de Málaga (I)," *Jábega*, no. 26 (1980).

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 19.

Herrera Oria's other educational projects were oriented towards the creation of select minorities within particular groups and institutions, such as the seminary. Many of them were established in Madrid. One of the only other educational projects initiated by Herrera was the establishment of a diocesan school to train specialists in social work/charitable functions. In 1959, he established the Diocesan School of Social Assistance, under the direction of the Sisters of Charity. It offered the degree of Social Worker, and trained young women in social work "Because charity has its technique. And all those women who desire to help those who are socially defenceless must study it, in order to better appreciate their necessities and address them more effectively."¹⁸⁰ Students studied religion, and a variety of social sciences such as health sciences, statistics, economics, law, and the ubiquitous "formation of the national spirit." There was also practical work to do, in parishes, nurseries, and other social institutions, depending on the speciality chosen by each girl. There were also study circles on apostolic, social and professional training, visits to sanitary centres, children's homes, workers' centres, etcetera. What was explicitly sought were students who wanted to consecrate their lives to the service of others. Once graduated, the students were sent to carry out their social apostolate in working class neighbourhoods, factories, parishes, schools, jails, hospitals, and wherever else necessary. The school included a boarding school "for the better spiritual and apostolic formation of the young women who desire a total commitment to the practice of charity in the world..."¹⁸¹ In the year the school was established, priests were urged to send a student to the school, in order to have sufficient numbers of trained women "for the social and charitable mission."¹⁸² Together, the worker élites and the social experts such as the graduates of the social school were to win over the hearts and minds of the apostate masses. The former, with their greater credibility and influence, the latter offering concrete proof of how the Church was indeed preoccupied with social justice and with the needs and concerns of the working masses.

Herrera dedicated the greater part of his time and energy to the promotion of education at all levels, principally higher, and at establishing educational institutions. However, the vast majority of these were in Madrid, from where Herrera aimed at forming the highly qualified and specialised élites which he envisaged would lead social reform in all the nation. He was very interested in the Universities, but Málaga did not get its first university faculty until 1963, when

¹⁸⁰ *Escuela Diocesana de Asistencia Social San Vicente de Paúl* (Málaga, 1959), 3-4.

¹⁸¹ *BOOM* (Oct. 1959), 306.

¹⁸² *Id.*

the Council of Ministers approved the creation of a Faculty of Political Sciences, Economics and Commerce, dependent on the University of Granada.¹⁸³ In order to form a religious conscience amongst young people, especially university students, Herrera established the *Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana* [School of Christian Citizenship] in 1959. The school was aimed at the formation of select minorities amongst the university students. It was accompanied by a boarding school or summer residence- the *Colegio Mayor Pío XII*- built in 1961.¹⁸⁴ The students did a university degree, a journalism degree, and as part of the apostolic/vocational preparation of the students, they were made to carry out apostolic work every week.

The *Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana* was conceived as a training ground for Catholic propagandists; hence the necessity of receiving instruction in journalism.¹⁸⁵ In 1960, Herrera reestablished the *Escuela de Periodismo de la Iglesia* [Church School of Journalism].¹⁸⁶ All of these institutions -the *Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana*, the *Colegio Mayor Pío XII*, and the *Escuela de Periodismo de la Iglesia*- were integrated into one giant complex, called the *Centro Juan XXIII* [John XXIII Centre], and a special trust or foundation was especially created to run them, entitled the *Fundación Pablo VI* [Paul VI Foundation]. Herrera personally directed the *Escuela de Periodismo de la Iglesia* for one year. The institutions described above were also to collaborate with the *Centro de Estudios Sociales del Valle de los Caídos* [Centre of Social Studies of the Valley of the Fallen], also established by Herrera in 1957. The centre, established in the Francoist monolith built to glorify the Nationalist dead, was converted into a centre for spirituality and prayer/study centre/library with specialised resources on Catholic social doctrine, directed by the Benedictine order.

The establishment and running of these institutions in Madrid kept Herrera occupied and distant from his diocese. In Málaga, where there were no tertiary educational institutions, there was no conflict with the youth movements of Catholic Action,¹⁸⁷ whose activities in Madrid Herrera either ignored or mildly criticised by referring to the necessity for prudence, or to the

¹⁸³"Málaga Universitaria," in *Formación*, no. 51 (June 1963), 1.

¹⁸⁴See "Decálogo de la Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana," in A. Herrera Oria, *Conciencia social y conciencia ciudadana* (Madrid, 1962); and "Discurso del Excmo. y Rvmo. Sr. Obispo en la inauguración de la Escuela de Ciudadanía Cristiana," in *BOOM* (Nov. 1961), 896-903.

¹⁸⁵"Posición privilegiada de la prensa," in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 209.

¹⁸⁶See J. Terrón Montero, op. cit., 120-1.

¹⁸⁷See F. Montero, "Los movimientos juveniles de Acción Católica: una plataforma de oposición al franquismo," in *La oposición al régimen de Franco*, vol. II, part 1.

excessively temporal orientation of the social reformists of the period. In 1967 he wrote that modern social reformers centred their religious lives on the promotion of human society, relegating the faith to a secondary role.¹⁸⁸ Herrera's educational institutions and reforms were designed to lead one to the faith. Through an understanding of the faith and Catholic doctrine, education would lead to the promotion of human society. In a Catholic society, there could be no inversion of the order of priorities.

The evidence does not suggest, however, that Herrera Oria's reforms in Málaga bore the spiritual fruit that he intended. Herrera Oria's corporatist and collaborationist ideology satisfied the dictator, but discredited him in the eyes of the working masses of Málaga. Furthermore, reforms in the educational system in Málaga started late, and developed within the context of dramatic economic and social and cultural change. These changes disrupted the nature of Herrera Oria's reforms, which were based on the existence of a large, traditional and largely stable rural population. Indeed, the greatest changes to educational policy and practice were the result, not of pastoral pressure, but a consequence of the industrialisation policies being pursued by the government. The need for a skilled workforce gave the necessary impetus for the development of mass literacy programmes, and this in turn gave rise to a more enlightened and informed working class, which began to mobilise and resumed the struggle for democracy and democratic values. The shift away from authoritarian values affected not only the lay population, but also the clergy, on whom Herrera relied to transmit Gospel values and Catholic orthodoxy to the flock. The following chapter will deal with the changes occurring in the seminary of Málaga, and their effect on the recatholicisation process.

¹⁸⁸A. Herrera Oria. prologue to *Curso de doctrina social católica*, IX.

IV. EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

1. THE SEMINARY AND CLERGY OF MALAGA UNDER SANTOS OLIVERA AND HERRERA ORIA.

The clergy were a key element in a recatholicisation project which depended upon clericalisation of society and the subjection of all aspects of life to ecclesiastical vigilance. The clergy were to assume a pervasive influence over all manner of civil and social affairs. Therefore, two conditions had to be established. Firstly, there needed to be a sufficient number of clergy, taking into account the high losses caused by the anticlerical violence as well as the very low level of vocations. Secondly, the clergy needed a greater degree of pastoral training in order to assume a much more direct role in the ordering of society.

During the triumphalist years under Bishop Santos Olivera, much was done in favour of the reconstruction and funding of the seminary, and the fostering of vocations. As far as clerical instruction went, however, the philosophy underpinning seminary instruction continued to be anchored on the principle of the infallibility of the Church, and on the dichotomy between the profanity of the temporal world and the importance of the priestly profession, which had to be protected from the corruption of mundane affairs. Ecclesiastical cosmology was that of being a resident of a fortress under siege. Triumphalist spirituality identified the Kingdom of God with a particular political, economic and social system, and with a concrete historical moment, with all its cultural, artistic, and social connotations. Seminary instruction therefore forged men attuned to the search for, and elimination of, error. There was no scope for self analysis or criticism. Yet there was much to analyse and question in clerical intellectual formation, clerical understanding of vocation, spirituality, and pastoral practice, and it was not until the arrival of Bishop Herrera Oria that the hermetic world of the clergy began to experience the realities of the outside world. By that time, it was arguably already too little too late.

The Castilian language is replete with proverbs, sayings, and expressions that serve to describe the clergy and members of the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. One particularly succinct one is the expression "cura de misa y olla." This expression reflects a stereotype -that of the backward and lazy rural parish priest, dedicated to the compliance of minimum duties and with a typically bureaucratic mentality. Culturally ignorant, unprepared for modern life, distanced from his flock, with whom he barely had relations, the "cura de misa y olla," as his name suggests, oriented his life to the exercise of ritual duties such as the saying of mass, after which he would totter home to a prepared hot lunch. Although parish priests were not well remunerated, it was, above all, a secure existence.

This saying reflected a reality of clerical life in many parts of Spain. The Spanish clergy was divorced from its flock; and the backwardness of the Spanish seminaries had a good deal of responsibility for this state of affairs.¹ The situation was much aggravated by the material destruction caused in the anticlerical attacks during the Republic and the interruption of State funding during the war years placed considerable financial pressure upon diocesan coffers. Furthermore, a good many seminarians had fled during these years; this, added to the anticlerical violence, had decimated the already low numbers of seminarians.

The State restored public funding for the clergy on 29 November 1939: until that date, Bishop Santos Olivera had been forced to depend upon his own resources. The seminary had been reopened on 16 November 1937, with eighty students.² Nine months later, in July 1938, the bishop's pastoral letter on vocations revealed the desolate plight of the local clergy. Whilst twenty years earlier, Santos' predecessor had had 265 diocesan priests, at that time, there were 127 Malagan priests in the region, plus 70 more awaiting the Nationalist victory in their parishes in order to return. Of the 127 local clergymen, 65 were over fifty years of age, and 41 were in their sixties. In order to see to the 600,000 souls in his diocese, the bishop calculated there ought to be at least 350-400 clergy, and therefore, he needed to ordain 10 new clergy annually.³

The shortage of priests was acute in many parts of Spain, but perhaps nowhere as acute as in Málaga. According to the ecclesiastical bulletin, in 1936, Málaga had 246 clergy, a ratio of priest to faithful of 1 to 2,205. This dismal ratio was only superseded by three other dioceses -Cádiz, Ceuta and Cartagena. This process of decline in vocations had been ongoing for approximately the last hundred years; the anticlerical attacks had simply served to aggravate the problem much more.⁴ By 1939 -and therefore after the massacres of priests and religious that took place during the civil war- there were 133 priests, or one to every 4,078 faithful, which constituted the worst ratio of all Spain.⁵ In addition to this there was another problem. The

¹On the state of Spanish seminaries in the 19th century and first half of the 20th, see V. Cárcel Ortí, "Estado Material, Académico y Moral de los Seminarios Españoles Durante el Siglo XIX," in *Seminarios*, no. 26 (1980), 274; *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia*, vol. II (Navarra, 1993); and V. Carcel Ortí, "Decadencia de los estudios eclesiásticos en la España del siglo XIX," in *Hispania Sacra*, no. 33 (1981).

²E. Barranquero Texeira, *La implantación del nuevo Estado en Málaga 1937-1949* (Málaga, 1992), (thesis), 567.

³*BOOM* (July 1938), 410.

⁴The decline in ordination of priests in Málaga in the 19th and 20th centuries has been calculated in A. Sánchez García, *La Segunda República en Málaga: La cuestión religiosa* (Córdoba, 1983), 83.

⁵*BOOM* (Apr. 1940), 297-300.

parishes were of enormous size due to the great distances between many communities, scattered all over the hills and valleys of Málaga. If the parishes were reduced to workable sizes, an even greater disequilibrium would result. Indeed, in 1947, the bishop created 46 new parishes; after this reform, there were 100 rural parishes (as opposed to fifty) without parish priest.⁶

The gravity of the situation caused the bishop to undertake an intense campaign of vocations for the seminary. This coincided with years in which widespread poverty could make the seminary appear to be a means of social and economic advancement. Indeed, many boys joined the seminary with probably no more ambition than to receive an education and escape the gruelling poverty of their homes. Santos calculated that 60-75% of the students abandoned vocations, and taking this into account, he concluded that the seminary needed to have more than 350 students, and an intake in the first year of of 35-40 as a minimum.⁷ As a result of the bishop's incessant campaigns in favour of vocations and the seminary, in the 1938-1939 academic year, there were 127 new aspirants, giving a total of 169 seminarians.⁸ This was far from Santos' objectives, but it was a promising start. The next year, the bishop requested an intake of 50, and was delighted to have over 100 enter the seminary.⁹

These were the years of the great campaigns "Pro-Seminario," organised by Catholic Action. These sought both to foment vocations and to raise funds for the education of seminarians. In 1937, the bishop encouraged people to send whatever they could; if they could not contribute financially, he urged them to send foodstuffs such as oil, chickpeas or rice.¹⁰ In 1941, the Seminary of Málaga received 100,000 pesetas in public funding;¹¹ nevertheless, receipts were always less than what was needed. The campaigns "Pro-Seminario" therefore sought to attract patrons who would pay for all, or part of, the boarding costs of the seminarians. Of course, given the existing social, political and economic circumstances of this period, the danger that material, rather than spiritual, considerations would play an important part in the decision to undertake vocations was very real.

The vast majority of the Spanish clergy came from small rural communities, and entered

⁶Ibid. (Jan. 1946), 3-9.

⁷Ibid. (July 1938), 409-11.

⁸Ibid. (Oct. 1938), 666-7.

⁹Ibid. (May 1939), 351.

¹⁰Ibid. (Oct. 1937), 329.

¹¹*Ecclesia* (15 Aug. 1941), 6.

the seminary at a very tender age.¹² As late as 1960, it was calculated that 45% of Spanish vocations came from families that worked the land, while only 15% came from urban working class families.¹³ The small populations of less than 500 people provided 50.% of vocations, and another 25% came from populations of between 500-1000 people.¹⁴ It is also revealing that an important proportion of vocations stemmed from families of five or more children.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the seminarians entered at very tender ages, whereas relatively few vocations proceeded from the secular apostolate and Catholic Action. Child vocations -those entering the seminary at the age of ten, eleven, or twelve- constituted 71% of Spanish vocations. Another 24% entered at the ages of thirteen to sixteen. Finally, another 5% entered at the age of seventeen or more, and only 1% was over twenty-four years of age.¹⁵ Scholarships existed for a proportion of seminarians, and the maintenance costs -accommodation and food- were relatively low. Hence the seminaries offered attractions of a practical, rather than spiritual nature. In many cases, it constituted the only way of getting an education, and guaranteeing one's future. It also permitted poor families to free themselves of the burden of caring for one of its numerous members. Once ordained, some clergymen maintained members of their family on their stipend. Mothers or sisters, for example, often came to live with the parish priest, and kept house for him. Another factor to consider was the social prestige that the clergy had, especially in the Basque Country.¹⁶

The number of seminarians who entered the seminary, possibly for the wrong reasons, and then abandoned, was an ongoing nightmare for the bishop of Málaga. Santos Olivera was firmly committed to the intense fostering of vocations, which needed a strong push to overcome the critical shortage of clergy. In 1944, seven years after the war ended in Málaga, there were only 166 secular clergy, including 35 in Málaga on a temporary basis, to deal with 146 parishes, 52 of which had no resident priest. There were 100 coadjutorships vacant, and between 40-50 chaplains were needed. The bishop estimated that another 200 secular clergy were necessary, and that the influx at the seminary was not enough to cover losses. Nor was it expected to do so

¹²On this question, see J. M. Díaz Mozas, "Las vocaciones en España," in R. Duocastella (ed.), *Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español* (Barcelona, 1967).

¹³Ibid., 137.

¹⁴Ibid., 140.

¹⁵Ibid., 139. See also F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos*, 98; and G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 36-42.

¹⁶F. Sopena, *Defensa de una generación* (Madrid, 1970), 24-8.

for another five years at least.¹⁷

During the postwar period, Málaga underwent a boom in vocations. The number of seminarians varied between 170 to about 300.¹⁸ In 1951, *Ecclesia* reports the number of vocations in the diocese of Málaga at 464, compared with 191 in 1930.¹⁹ In 1940, a preparatory school for entry into the seminary (at the age of 10) was set up by the civil authorities, with two State teachers.²⁰ It is unclear whether figures given in the ecclesiastical bulletin included figures for the Preparatory School, or only the senior seminarians. What seems clear was that the influx into the seminary was significant, and an improvement on the pre war figures. This was in keeping with the rest of the country, which also experienced a boom in vocations.²¹

The bishop soon began to complain about the insufficient space at the seminary, and call for the construction of a new seminary. However, only a trickle of those enrolled went on studying and were ordained into the priesthood. According to the ecclesiastical bulletin, only two clergymen were ordained in 1939; none in 1940; three in 1946; another six in 1949; and seven in 1950.²² In short, while the numbers of new seminarians was undoubtedly improving, the completion rate was still unsatisfactory. A great proportion of seminarians abandoned at some stage or other, for one reason or another. Bishop Santos Olivera was not unaware of the danger

¹⁷*BOOM* (July 1944), 482-6.

¹⁸In 1940, for example, the *BOOM* reported that there were 170 students at the seminary; see *ibid.* (July 1940), 437. By 1943, the situation appeared to have stabilised at 250-300; see *ibid.* (July 1942), 520, which cited 270 seminarians. See also *ibid.* (July 1943), 431-6; and *ibid.* (July 1945), 484-5.

¹⁹*Ecclesia* (18 Aug. 1951), 154. At p. 155, *Ecclesia* gives the following figures for Málaga: in 1930, there were 191 seminarians; in 1934, there were only 113. In 1946, there was a notable improvement, namely 318. In 1950, the total had reached 451, and in 1951 it was 464.

²⁰*BOOM* (Sept. 1940), 563-4; and *BOE* (23 July 1940). By 1955, a special short course was adopted as preparation for entrance to the seminary. The course was one month in duration, assessed via final examination. The minimum age was eleven years. See *BOOM* (Apr. 1955), 79.

²¹Taking into account the numbers of both junior and senior seminarians, the increase in vocations is significant, -although the overwhelming majority would abandon the seminary in due course. *Ecclesia* gives a total of 12,854 seminarians in Spanish seminaries in 1927; this dropped to 7,516 in 1934, during the Republican government, and subsequently increased to 14,297 in 1946. In 1951, the enrolled had reached 18,536. See *Ecclesia* (18 Aug. 1951), 153. Taking into account only the senior seminarians, Blázquez notes that, in 1942-1943, there were 2,935 senior seminarians in Spain; in 1961-1962, there were 8,387. F. Blázquez, *op. cit.*, 98.

²²See *BOOM* (Jan. 1941), 7-10; *ibid.* (1946), 276-9; *ibid.* (Apr. 1955), 116-7. It must be assumed that similar problems occurred in most, if not all, other seminaries. In the seminary of Murcia, for example, between 1939-1962, a proportion of between 50-75% of seminarians dropped out. It is also notable that, as soon as there were schools available, the numbers in the seminary plummeted. See M.E. Nicolás Marín, *Instituciones murcianas durante el Franquismo*, 135-48.

that the seminary be used for purely material ends. In 1938 he warned against taking in students from amongst the destitute, declaring that

...nowadays, -fortunately or unfortunately- it is an undeniable and general fact that vocations come principally from the humble classes. But one thing is that they be poor and in need of some economic help, and another is that they be paupers. Poverty is blessed by God; but destitution or excessive penury, tends to bring with it vices and defects which make an appropriate education and training incomparably more difficult. Such students are in inferior conditions to the rest and normally are a hindrance to the seminary. Between these two extremes the middle class family, comfortable without being rich... undoubtedly has its advantages.²³

Also revealing was the republication of an article taken from a religious magazine in the ecclesiastical bulletin. The bishop sometimes resorted to the reprinting of such articles, pastoral letters, recommendations, etc, when the subject matter was something with which he strongly agreed. This particular article reminded its readers -that is, the clergy- that the priesthood was about sacrifice, divine calling, poverty of spirit and of body, about hard work, and the avoidance of worldly distractions. The writer attacked the use made by some families of the priesthood in no uncertain terms:

How sad it is to see how sometimes in Christian families there is a more or less materialist conception of the priesthood! The priest is not for the family. He is for God and for souls.... the priest must not change... the economic condition of the family, nor sustain it when it can earn its own sustenance. The faithful do not give him alms for this purpose, but to take care of his personal necessities and for Catholic and charitable works, which are many.²⁴

In the late 1940's and early 1950's, when Herrera was Bishop of Málaga, the motivation of some of the seminary students was still suspect. The canon of the cathedral, José María González Ruiz, found many of the students to be too infantile, and suspected of their reasons for being there. In the circumstances of the time, entry into the seminary was regarded as "undoubtedly a promotion in the eyes of peasant and proletarian families." Whenever he could, he advised those who were not there voluntarily, or who were there for the wrong reasons, to abandon their seminary studies and return to civil life.²⁵

The seminary instructors were themselves both products and perpetuators of this dogmatic institution. The mentality of the seminary instructors was one of profound nostalgia for

²³ *BOOM* (1938), 414.

²⁴ *Ibid.* (July 1939), 381.

²⁵ J. M. González Ruiz, *¡Ay de mí, si no Evangelizare!* (Bilbao, 1971), 35-6.

a lost, idealised Catholic civilisation. Traditional instruction ignored all modern and contemporary innovations in philosophy and theology, and was wary of the sciences, which were treated as incompatible with traditional Catholic doctrine. The training was defensive and aimed at the identification and avoidance of modern errors and heresies. Hence, instruction was heavily based on classical humanities -Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, sacred history, music, and some limited sciences such as mathematics and geography.²⁶ Theology was mostly moral and dogmatic theology, and canon law was intensively studied. The theory was that the students had to be protected from the errors of modern thought and culture, until they were able to identify the sources of error for themselves. Therefore, there was no indiscriminate access to books and reading matter. The ecclesiastical superiors maintained an authoritarian control of their pupils, which fostered conformism and dented the critical spirit. Classes -in Latin- were based on very few texts, which consisted of manuals specially designed for the preparation of exams. These contained the essence of neo-scholastic theology then taught in Spanish seminaries. As Sopeña noted, the Thomist *Summa Theologica* itself could be read; but that was optional and depended on the will of the student. What was relevant from the point of view of passing exams was the manual.²⁷ Sopeña's experience was that "...the bishop's entire preoccupation was to accumulate classes, and make the exams difficult in order to -he would say textually- 'lock us into the manual.'"²⁸ There was an obsession with direct reading and study of the scriptures, which was regarded as a Protestant heresy which encouraged an excessive subjectivity, and consequently, the risk of confusion and error.²⁹ The manuals had the virtue of teaching scripture appropriately interpreted and studied by the great Catholic scholars of the past. The students were expected to rely absolutely on the accumulated wisdom of two thousand years of Catholic doctrine.³⁰ If the atmosphere in the seminaries was hostile to non-Catholic culture in all its manifestations, it was no less suspicious of, and hostile to, certain tendencies within the Catholic cultural world. Spanish Catholicism was regarded as Catholicism in its purest and most orthodox form. The theological innovations of French liberal Catholicism met with a wall of virulent

²⁶For the subjects studied at the seminary of Málaga, see *BOOM* (Oct. 1937), 352-5.

²⁷F. Sopeña, *op. cit.*, 30.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 52.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 30-1.

³⁰See J. Domínguez, *¡Yo Creo en la Justicia!* (Bilbao, 1973), 20; and A. Orensanz, *Religiosidad popular española (1940-1965)* (Madrid, 1974).

anti-intellectualism which regarded these writers and intellectuals as heretics.

This atmosphere of intolerance and suspicion extended to anyone who did not fit squarely within the integrist concept of orthodoxy. Prohibitions, censorship and restrictions were habitual. For the intellectually precocious, seminary life could amount to a form of purgatory. The eventual Canon of the Cathedral of Málaga and eminent biblical scholar, José María González Ruíz, entered the Seminary of Málaga before the fall of the Alfonsine monarchy, and always felt particularly oppressed by the intellectually sterile atmosphere.³¹ He proved to be a problematical student, but his presence there was tolerated because the bishop of Málaga was his uncle. However, his intellectual pretensions were rapidly cut short in Málaga; a keen biblical student, he found that, in the 1930's, there was no copy of the New Testament in its original Greek version to be found at the Seminary of Málaga.³² The academic level was low, and there was nothing to stimulate progress. Knowledge was not sought for its own sake; the only knowledge that was necessary was that which was necessary for one's salvation.

The pastoral training received by the seminarian was conditioned by the classical duality between the temporal world -source of all corruption and vice- and the world of the spirit, to which the clergy properly belonged. There was a virtual obsession with worldly impurity and the necessity of avoiding contact with the temporal sphere, with its earthly and sensual distractions.

Education in Spanish seminaries verged between ambiguity and contradiction. On the one hand, they were told of the impure world, that "immense bacchanal," of the "foul cesspits" that the great cities were, and of mankind being like "disgusting worms." And on the other hand, they were made to dream about their being saviours of that ill-fated world, from which they had to flee in order not to be stained.³³

Hence, the clergy were somehow above the world and out of it; this was necessarily maintained to prevent worldly corruption. For this reason, the reading of newspapers was prohibited, and for this reason the seminarians of Málaga were not permitted to wear wristwatches. The world of the senses was treacherous, and had to be submitted to the mind and the spirit. The fact that the training of the seminarians was so limited and disconnected from the outside world, and so suspicious of the mundane, rendered them unable to deal with the many complex problems that characterised modern life, most of which were not of a purely moral or spiritual nature, but

³¹J. M. González Ruíz, op. cit., 20.

³²Ibid., 24.

³³F. Blázquez, op. cit., 99-100.

which constituted a web of material, social, and moral issues. A condescending sense of superiority marked clerical relations with the faithful, who moved in the temporal world that they were taught to dread. The clergy found itself trained for a pastoral role which was based on the social and political conditions of the Middle Ages and which did not meet the needs of modern society. The role of the parish priest was limited to that of functionary or administrator of the cult: administration of sacraments, the ministry of the Word, the rites and rituals of the Church, charitable work, catechesis and general instruction of Catholic doctrine, and the vigilance of public morals.³⁴

The consecration of Angel Herrera Oria as new Bishop of Málaga in 1947 constituted a revolution in the seminary of Málaga. The key to understanding Herrera's mentality is undoubtedly, the influence of the Jesuit order, and Herrera's own life experience as lawyer, journalist, politician, and missionary. Herrera's horizons were necessarily much wider than those of the rest of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, precisely because he had never isolated himself from the real world in the manner of the clergy of that time. The contrast between the modern nature of the new bishop and his predecessor can be illustrated by a trivial but revealing anecdote which occurred when Herrera made his first appearance at the seminary. Herrera was an obsessively punctual man, and on arriving to talk to the students, he automatically removed his wristwatch and placed it on the table in front of him. Up until that moment, wristwatches had been prohibited at the seminary. The impact of this trivial action was enormous; the students present at the time still remember and comment on the event. From that moment on, it was implicitly understood that seminarians were allowed to wear wristwatches.³⁵

Herrera's highly unusual life experience (in comparison with other Spanish ecclesiastics) made him a disconcerting and uncomfortable phenomenon in the clerical world. Herrera had dedicated his life to the resolution of the great social and political problems of his day, and was passionately interested in finding the Catholic response to these problems. What is more, Herrera's addiction was not limited to a personal interest. On the contrary, he expressly rejected the traditional ecclesiastical posture that limited the role of the clergy to purely spiritual questions, and which rejected becoming involved in social or political affairs. Herrera advocated a much more active and influential role for the clergy. He also dared to criticise the backwardness of their instruction and attribute part of the blame for the existing state of affairs to

³⁴F. Urbina, "Formas de Vida de la Iglesia en España: 1939-1975," 34, and especially 36-8.

³⁵J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 470.

their apprehensive and overly conservative stance with respect to social injustice. He considered this attitude to be " ...a comfortable, inhibitory, merely negative attitude. It would be to 'swallow the camel of social injustice' while we 'strain the mosquito' of individual sins."³⁶

Three of Herrera's brothers were Jesuits, and Herrera was steeped in Jesuit values and spirituality. Herrera combined intense mysticism with great experience and knowledge of the world.³⁷ It is perhaps this broader experience of life which permitted Herrera to have a different perspective on the clergy to that of the majority of Spanish bishops. Herrera had no qualms about acknowledging the responsibility of the clergy in the degradation of Spanish Catholicism. In order to rectify this situation, and as part of his theory on the recatholicisation of Spain, he proposed giving the clergy an active and direct role in social and political issues, indeed, immersing the Spanish clergy in temporal issues. This was the logical consequence of his Constantinian interpretation of Church-State relations. The State was obliged, as guardian of the common good, -"the law which after that of God is the first and last in society"³⁸ to correct dysfunctions. The Church, for its part, was the only society entitled, indeed obligated, to define what constituted, or failed to constitute, the common good in concrete situations. Both the citizens and the State itself necessarily had to submit to the superior jurisdiction of the Church, because the earthly end of the State was inferior to the celestial end of the Church, exactly the same as "the soul surpasses the body."³⁹ Therefore, in a Christian society, there was no question of separating Church and State; "Politics and morals cannot be divorced, neither objectively nor subjectively."⁴⁰

The Church and its clergy therefore played a vital role in the creation of a Christian society, by offering counsel and by orienting the guiding principles of public policy, defining the limits of the State's authority, and how it should be applied. The Church also helped to foster a sound level of civic virtues which permitted that social reforms be applied without encountering resistance on behalf of the self interested, or the wearing down of public authority as a result of

³⁶A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. VI, 2nd edn. (Madrid, 1955), 331.

³⁷For the testimony of collaborators of Herrera Oria on this point, see J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., XXV, 142, 199, 238, 246-7, 277.

³⁸A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 32, quoted from the papal encyclical *Au Milieu* (16 Feb. 1892), 23.

³⁹A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. V (Madrid, 1955), 365-6.

⁴⁰A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 483 and 63, respectively.

the imposition of said reforms.⁴¹ The Church served a vital role as intermediary between the social classes. The social classes needed to be instructed on the responsibilities and obligations that corresponded to each one for the correct functioning of the social organism; and this was a vital part of the role of the clergy. The clergy itself -which was also a social élite- had also failed in its mission, insofar as it was inadequately instructed and its role too circumscribed, and too detached from the realities of the real world. As a result the clergy was unprepared to deal with crucial social problems, and face new and dangerous ideologies. Herrera sought to revolutionise the clerical world, giving pastoral duty an extra dimension which went beyond the merely ritualistic function carried out till then. Herrera wanted men of action, modern day missionaries, because, as he declared in 1947, "Rechristianisation cannot follow procedures different from those used for Christianisation."⁴²

The first instrument of the evangelisation of the Spanish social classes was the instruction of doctrine, particularly in homilies. Herrera believed that the standard of preaching was low; the preachers "are not up to what necessity demands."⁴³ The clergy needed instruction, not only on what to instruct, but also as to how that message was best and most effectively transmitted:

The pulpit demands a solid study of pontifical doctrine. It also demands great discretion in order to relate general principles with particular circumstances... And... exquisite prudence in order to heal without hurting, to reform positively without fostering rebellions, to unite the classes without inflaming the differences.⁴⁴

Secondly, the clergy acted as an evangelising element because only the clergy had the moral authority to criticise or approve proposed reforms. If the clergy did not comply with Catholic social doctrine, it was the clergy's duty to identify shortcomings and defects, and suggest remedies to perfect them, and generally provide constructive help to the State and society. In so doing, it would depend upon the collaboration of select minorities, which the clergy would direct.

Of all the select élites, the clergy's role with the working class élites was of the utmost importance. Acting as intermediaries between property and the workers, the clerical function included the defence of workers' interests. They could defuse tense situations, resolve conflicts,

⁴¹Speech of 19 March 1948, in *ibid.*, 379-81.

⁴²A. Herrera Oria, *op. cit.*, p 746.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 771.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 353.

prevent possible abuses, and "destroy the network of vested interests and break the web of the powerful."⁴⁵ They were to be defenders of the rights of the workers, but also "moderators" of working class impetus and curtailers of working class passions, teaching workers to "enlighten and moderate their ideas, which are perhaps a little simplistic."⁴⁶ Radicalism and the class struggle was always paramount in Herrera's mind; hence he insisted that the instruction given to the workers by the social clergy, apart from its more obvious objectives, was also to "moderate [the working classes'] demagogic excesses."⁴⁷

The clergy played a critical role in controlling possible excesses, and in orienting the defence of legitimate interests along lines and using strategies acceptable to the dominant oligarchies and consistent with the maintenance of a strict public order. In time, it was supposed that adequately instructed and spiritually mature leaders from the working classes themselves would take the lead in the defence of the interests of their peers, subject of course, to the appropriate clerical supervision.

Herrera's plans for the incorporation of lay people into the ordinary apostolate of the Church constituted an important change in pastoral style. Nevertheless, the lay people were subject to clerical supervision and guidance. The clergy were heirs of the apostolic tradition, and they enjoyed a chosen status, exercised a divine authority, and were blessed with a special grace. As mediators between the mundane and the divine, they alone were entrusted to proclaim, defend, and teach the Revealed Truth. In 1958, Herrera declared "... the priesthood.... belongs to a different and unique category; not human, but divine. There is no profession comparable with it."⁴⁸ Ecclesiastical authority was holy, and personal; that is to say, subject only to a higher ecclesiastical authority. Obedience to one's superiors was obedience to God. In Herrera's words, "... he who does not strive at the orders of the pope and bishops works against Jesus Christ;"⁴⁹ or "For a humble and submissive Catholic, what the hierarchy decides is always correct and his obligation is to comply."⁵⁰

⁴⁵A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. VI, 332.

⁴⁶Ibid., 332-3.

⁴⁷A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo*, vol. IX (Madrid, 1957), 762.

⁴⁸A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 801.

⁴⁹Ibid., 683.

⁵⁰A. Herrera Oria, letter to Ramón Ramírez Alba, dated 10 May 1966, excerpt quoted in J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 311.

Hence the relationship that Herrera maintained with his clergy -and the flock in general- was based on the maintenance of a strict and formal hierarchy, and absolute submission of the inferior to the superior. Herrera regarded the Church as a quasi-military organisation, an analogy which he frequently drew.⁵¹ The lay Catholics were therefore the soldiers of this army, who owed, above all, a sacred duty to obey faithfully. By comparing modern apostolate to the organisation of an army, there was no room for individual reflection, conscience, or initiative. Submission, obedience, unity; these were the dominant values. Applying this military frame of reference, anything to the contrary was tantamount to mutiny. The individual was not of significance; only the team was significant. In a homily given in 1960, Herrera praised the virtue of obedience in the exercise of the modern apostolate, which he described as indispensable. As in modern warfare, he declared, the apostolate was universal and needed a hierarchal organisation and an officer corps to direct operations: "And afterwards, in the practical execution, the team is indispensable, like in any sport."⁵²

Herrera was unusual among the hierarchy for his emphasis on the participation of lay people in the apostolate, but as we can see, this participation was very much limited to being the infantry of the officer class. His ecclesiological thinking is perfectly summed up when he calls the lay people "a prolongation of the hierarchy itself."⁵³ While denying that the role of the lay people was purely passive, his definition of the role of the lay apostolate consisted of prayer, penitence, sacrifice, the living of a truly Christian life, and the pronouncing of the word of God, "with prudent authorisation of the priests."⁵⁴ This was part and parcel of the deep distrust felt by the clergy towards the subjective and personal experiences of lay people, which were always regarded as being highly susceptible to human error, and contaminated by worldly values. Liberty and plurality were values which in Herrera's worldview, existed only in relation to the truth. The only liberty permissible, therefore, was that which existed within the confines of orthodoxy imposed by Catholic doctrine and tradition.⁵⁵

Herrera placed great emphasis on the preaching of homilies. In Herrera's first speech to his new diocese of Málaga, he made the instruction of the clergy and the formation of a clerical

⁵¹A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 681; see also 478-81, 756, and 766.

⁵²Homily given in 1960, in *ibid.*, 655-6.

⁵³Speech given 29 June 1933, in *ibid.*, 479.

⁵⁴Sermon pronounced in the cathedral of Málaga in 1961, in *ibid.*, 693.

⁵⁵Homily given 10 June 1962, in *ibid.*, especially 627-8.

select élite his first priority.⁵⁶ He therefore announced the establishment of a new school to train clergy in social issues, in a two year course after completing their seminary studies. Herrera shared the traditional allergy to modern ideologies; but not to the application of modern methods, disciplines, techniques, if these were consistent with orthodoxy and served the cause. His plans involved a great modernisation in the Church's usual style of training in the seminaries, to prepare the clergy for new challenges and a radically more active role in society.

The new school -the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal* [Social School of the Priesthood]- was formally established by Decree on 19 February 1948.⁵⁷ Instruction was based on three disciplines never before seen in Spanish clerical studies: economics, civil law and sociology. Sociology was understood to be, not the positivist science, but the study, interpretation and application of Catholic social doctrine to concrete situations. Modern languages, principally English, were also taught. The Social School was to be the launching pad for those interested in social issues to further their studies, at university, or in other institutions, including overseas -hence the necessity of studying modern languages.

In the decree that established the school, Herrera clearly illustrated the line of research that he expected the school to adopt, and indeed, what results he expected to see. The study of economics, for example, was not to be undertaken for its own sake, or for mere love of knowledge. All these studies had their concrete objective. In the case of economics, Herrera believed that these studies would help in the diagnosis of economic problems and their appropriate reform. The highly trained select clerical minority would be in a position to analyse existing problems, and indicate the possible negative results arising from an overly reckless or precipitate reform project. Herrera also declared that the social clergy would be able to indicate when social injustice had been caused by grave economic inequality, and when it was the result of technical or economic factors, such as inadequate production of wealth, climactic problems, etc.⁵⁸

True to traditional Catholic doctrine, Herrera's comments not only exclude the possibility of class tension and the unjust distribution of wealth as a possible cause of "the unrest of the workers and employed," but go further to suggest that the real causes might well lie, not in the

⁵⁶Speech given 12 October 1947, in *ibid.*, 741-69.

⁵⁷The full text is reproduced in J. Sánchez Jiménez, *El cardenal Herrera Oria*, 267-77; also in *Ecclesia* (6 Mar. 1948), 5-7. As for the subjects being studied at the seminary, see *BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1947), 360-8.

⁵⁸J. Sánchez Jiménez, *op. cit.*, 269.

dominant élites, but in the workers themselves. In many cases, the lack of productivity of the working population was the source of its own disgrace. He argued that the lack of productivity, the excessive reduction in working hours, or the demoralisation of the workers, "offspring of subversive propaganda," led to diminished creation of wealth. The role of the social clergy here was to "make the guilty party see... that a triple duty obliges them to change conduct; the need to comply with a contract freely entered into; the common good of the Motherland, and the interests of the worker's own family."⁵⁹

This attitude deflected attention away from structural defects as a field of study. Rather than investigate the abuses of the social economic and political oligarchies and the responsibility of these for the social and economic situation of the workers, Herrera appeared to be more attracted to studying to what extent the oppressed were responsible for their own oppression. The school would therefore constitute an educational and cultural entity which based its investigation on the premise that there was no class conflict and that patient work and reform from the top down would restore social and economic harmony. The clergy, through their homilies, would assume responsibility for evangelising the dominant sectors of society, who were evidently guilty of abuses; but these sectors would not be the direct subject matter of the sociological and economic studies carried out in the school. The school's curriculum would therefore in no way threaten the interests of the dominant élites or the status quo.

The legal studies comprised the study of labour law, including detailed coverage of *Fuero de los Españoles*, or Labour Charter. A great deal of attention was dedicated to communism: "No social priest can be ignorant of what communism is." It was studied both in theory and in practice, particularly in Russia. Herrera believed the study of communism would demonstrate its philosophical errors and why it was incompatible with Christianity. This was part and parcel of the traditional education received in seminaries, which studied modern philosophies and sciences as a series of errors which needed to be identified. By intensively studying Russia, -for example, the relations between Russia and the Third International- it was hoped that the Spanish working classes would draw the appropriate conclusions; that is, that they were not supporting a defender of the international working classes, but merely an imperialist force which sought the death of their own Motherland.⁶⁰ Finally, the study of modern languages, principally English, would permit the students to keep up with modern developments in the social sciences

⁵⁹Id.

⁶⁰Ibid., 270.

that they were studying. Modern communications and propaganda techniques were also of great relevance.

When the school had just been established, all students of the seminary in their fifth year of Theology were to be part of the new school, in two different groups. Some would do the full two year course; the others would study only homiletics (preparation of homilies) and the social doctrine of the Church. External students were also admitted. Herrera organised lectures, inviting specialists from all over Spain to speak on various topics.⁶¹ Two special residences for clergy were established, one in Ronda, and another in Antequera. These were intended for the common life and team preparation of the ministry by the clergy in the rural zones.

By 1952, the study of homiletics was incorporated into the study programme from the very first year of theological studies; by the fourth year, they were expected to be able to prepare their own guidelines for homilies. Finally, in the fifth year of studies, the students were to deliver homilies, under the supervision of an experienced priest. During this same year, the students were sent to a clerical residence or parish outside the seminary, where they dedicated themselves entirely to practical pastoral duties every weekend.⁶² As part of their social apostolate, they were assigned a parish, factory, workshop, syndicate, or other place where there were working people. As a result of this apostolate, special projects were organised to deal with urgent problems like housing, schooling, rural schools, etc. The objective was that seminarians not live too separated from the world, because an exaggerated isolation might cause difficulties. They were prepared gradually for the change and introduced to apostolic work under the guidance of their superiors.

The insistence on study and apostolate was a revolution in the traditional training of the Spanish seminary. To begin with, the clergy were far from isolated from the world, and secondly, their intellectual pursuits went far beyond the traditional confines of seminary training. Nevertheless, Herrera was no less suspicious of the mundane than the rest of the hierarchy and insisted on the distinct and superior nature of the clerical state. The clergy belonged to a different sphere: "... the Lord retired us from the world and in a way has even removed us from the natural laws in order to situate us between mankind and God in the supernatural order."⁶³ The specialised clergy had to cultivate their spirituality with particular care, because otherwise "... he

⁶¹*Ecclesia* (6 Mar. 1948), 5-7.

⁶²A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 774-5.

⁶³Speech given 12 December 1961, in *ibid.*, 607.

runs the risk of losing the spirit and lapsing into a kind of intellectual laicisation.... to convert the priest into sociologist would be a disastrous exchange. We want exemplary priests, of an intense and vigorous priestly spirit."⁶⁴ In order to prevent this laicisation of the clergy, an important part of the school's activities were devoted to contemplation and prayer, to spiritual reading and exercises, particularly those of St. Ignatius, and acts of piety and devotion. On no account did Herrera differ from the traditional attitude on the superior state of grace enjoyed by the clergy and on the necessity of withdrawing from the world. The clergy

... live in the world and are not of the world, so as to order the world according to God's laws. An extremely dangerous mission, because who can guarantee they will not be contaminated by the same contagion that they are purporting to combat?⁶⁵

Two days a week were dedicated to the ministry and there was daily preparation for the Sunday homily. In the second year, the students also began to study St. Ignatius' spiritual exercises, and participate in meditation exercises. They also learnt to compose both spiritual and meditation exercises. After all, the adequate preaching of the word of God depended on both study and prayer: "More fruitful is the preacher short on words, but assiduous in prayer, than the wise theologian, abandoned and cold in his everyday intimate dealings with God."⁶⁶

The methodology adopted for instruction in the preparation of homilies differed from the traditional pedagogical methods applied in seminaries. Whilst firmly anchored in traditional authorities, Herrera's strategy was based on the necessity of team work. Therefore, the teaching was done in groups, and not according to the traditional system, whereby the teacher read out notes and dictated norms and concepts to the students, to be duly learnt off by heart for the examination. In the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal*, there was a discussion on the homily which was to be prepared, and which began with the Gospel, every night. Then, reading matter relevant for the elaboration of the homily was distributed among the students. This was drawn from a small group of classical and modern commentators. The students then prepared an outline of the homily, using these texts to support the biblical texts. Of all the authorities, the greatest importance was attached to the words of the popes. Contemporary theologians and scholars did not exist for Herrera -not even the words of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were taken into consideration, if these were not compatible with Herrera's interpretation of the traditional

⁶⁴The decree establishing the school is republished in J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 276.

⁶⁵A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 755.

⁶⁶Ibid., 743.

authorities. On one occasion, he advised the Catholic journalist and Propagandist Aquilino Morcillo:

What you have to do is follow the line of the pope, because then you know you are right. If you know it, that is well and good; if you do not, you will have to work it out, but always in that line. This or that bishop agrees with you? So much the better. This or that bishop does not? That is a pity, but do not let that change your mind.⁶⁷

Accordingly, the homilies were saturated with references to all kinds of papal writings, principally, but not exclusively, with the encyclicals. Furthermore, there were references from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church -St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Theresa of Avila- and great mystics, such as St. John of the Cross. The most eminent theologian was St. Thomas Aquinas. These great figures of the Church "are a long way ahead of the others, without excluding the others."⁶⁸ Of the Spanish Saints, he favoured St. Thomas of Villanueva for his work on homilies, St. Ignatius' spiritual exercises, and St. Louis of Gonzaga, founder of the Marian Congregations. Of foreign theologians, Herrera opted for Bossuet, arguing that Bossuet had remained fresh and relevant because he had based his writings on scriptures, on the popes, on the great theologians and "quite a bit on the great Spanish masters of the XVI century." In comparison, declared Herrera, some eloquent French orators of the 19th century had faded away, unlike their predecessors Bossuet and his more illustrious contemporaries.⁶⁹

The search for security and certainty led Herrera to ignore recent theological or pastoral trends; new forms of spirituality were irrelevant, if not actually dangerous. The reliance on human reason, if not solidly based on the most orthodox and traditional authorities, ran a grave risk of error. The French origin of the new theological trends was another cause for suspicion. Spanish Catholics were deeply soaked in the belief that the French Church consistently disobeyed the Roman authorities, was proud, fickle, capricious and inconstant, affected by trends and fashions of all kinds, which often verged on the heretical. The Spanish Catholics, since the Council of Trent, had prided themselves on being the guardians of the strictest Catholic orthodoxy; "more papist than the pope." For this reason, Herrera, like his contemporaries in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, ignored the new theological and pastoral developments. Hence, the theological orientation born in France in the 1940's and known as *nouvelle theologie*, was simply

⁶⁷J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 399.

⁶⁸A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 772.

⁶⁹Ibid., 772-3.

irrelevant to him.⁷⁰ Similarly, the "worker priest" phenomenon, simply did not exist. The French origin of both rendered them particularly suspect. Herrera sought certainties, not doubts. Theology constituted the application of known truths to the real world. He warned his clergy to preach the gospel,

With certainty, without vacillation, with assurance, categorically... like a truth that encloses the definitive solution to life's problems.... The Gospel proceeds by definitive, emphatic, absolute affirmations.... not wrapped in vain phraseology. Nor misread by means of subtle reasoning.⁷¹

The importance attributed to doctrinal security precluded the emergence of developments in theology. Doctrine was not a means to an end, but the end itself. The unquestioning fidelity to doctrine guaranteed security and avoided the necessity of having to raise uncomfortable questions. Herrera denied that there was any problem in existence that the Catholic Church did not have guiding principles for. The Catholic Church had been entrusted with the Truth of the Revelation; only the Catholic Church, through its hierarchies and clergy, was entitled to interpret and safeguard it. The Truth was one, it was total universal and definitive, not subject to passing fancies or fashions. This inflexible mentality was so entrenched in Herrera's mind, his necessity of security and his horror of change so deeply ingrained, that all his life he remained fixed in the same beliefs and attitudes that he had maintained since he was in his twenties. The intellectual quest necessarily introduced the element of doubt; therefore, Herrera was committed to avoiding "intellectualism" in his clergy, and he discouraged any intellectual exploits that were not directly aimed at the transmission of the Word of God and of Catholic social doctrine. To his seminarians, he urged that sermons be principally theological, "avoiding useless disputes and omitting that which merely nourishes curiosity and does not foster the true doctrine and solid piety."⁷² In the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal*, the study of homiletics would be guided by "unassailable masters." He limited the texts which he distributed amongst his students for comment to the highest authorities: "The normal arsenal of the preacher must comprise the sacred texts and half a dozen of the great masters."⁷³

His school was not to be a haven of intellectual vanity. On the contrary,
... it will flee from vain erudition, indigestible and dangerous insofar as it can

⁷⁰On nouvelle theologie and the principal contributors to this current, see A. Orensanz, op. cit., 59-68.

⁷¹A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 746-7.

⁷²Ibid., 748.

⁷³Ibid., 772.

substitute or smother the creation and expression of one's own thought. The school intends that the students elaborate for themselves, acting directly on papal texts, their own personal thoughts *within the immense camp of what is open to a variety of opinions*, and probe the pope's thoughts by continual meditation on his words, and by relating the different papal documents to each other. (emphasis added)⁷⁴

The group style analysis adopted as teaching method was certainly an advance on the traditional system, which was based on prepared manuals and which did not encourage the direct study of the scriptures. With Herrera, it was possible to read St Thomas Aquinas directly, and not the interpretation of St. Thomas in a manual. Nevertheless, this did not mean that any greater pluralism was permitted in how St. Thomas was interpreted.

The same caution was applied to profane reading, which was regarded as inadvisable unless carried out for religious purposes. Herrera advised his clergy not to read many newspapers, and especially not novels, but only scripture. Things that were necessary to read for study purposes or in order to be informed of what was happening in the world were excepted; but not for its own sake or out of enjoyment or curiosity.⁷⁵

Herrera's plans for the formation of a "social clergy" went far beyond the confines of his diocese. In order to improve the level of sermons being given by the Spanish clergy in general, the outlines for homilies which had been prepared in groups were worked up and turned into a massive ten volume collection entitled *La Palabra de Cristo* [The Word of Christ].⁷⁶ Based on the liturgical year, it constituted a guide for all clergy in the preparation of their Sunday homilies. The objective was that homilies be energetic, well prepared, clear, and effective in communication. In the prologue to the collection, Herrera expressed his opposition to improvisation, to the recital of other people's homilies by heart, and to excessively "scientific" or rhetorical homilies. On the contrary, he advocated that homilies be concise, simple, orderly, delivered with conviction and inspired by meditation on the scriptures.⁷⁷ In short, he sought to instil in the clergy a great many of the professional virtues he had manifested in his time as journalist and editor of *El Debate*.

Yet one of the many paradoxes that characterised Herrera's life, also affected this

⁷⁴J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 271.

⁷⁵Speech given 12 December 1960, in A. Herrera, op. cit., 611.

⁷⁶A. Herrera Oria (dir.), *La Palabra de Cristo: Repertorio orgánico de textos para el estudio de las homilias dominicales y festivas*. 10 vols. (Madrid, 1952-1958).

⁷⁷A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 770-7.

monumental work. *La Palabra de Cristo* was undoubtedly a valuable contribution to Spanish homiletics -the necessity of such a work in mid 20th century Spain speaks for itself. Yet its last volume was published in 1958, shortly before Pope John XXIII convened the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council. The Second Vatican Council's first session took place in 1962, and *La Palabra de Cristo* "was out of step with the liturgical reform promoted by the Second Vatican Council..."⁷⁸ Even worse, the entire theological and doctrinal basis of the work was fundamentally undermined by the important changes of mentality manifested during the Council, changes which neither the other bishops nor Herrera, for all his dependency on, and faithfulness to Rome, were able to assimilate.

Herrera also sought to encourage his fellow bishops to send him their best students to study at the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal*, or to imitate his example setting up similar schools or establishing short courses on Catholic social doctrine. In August-September 1948, Herrera gave a series of lectures all over the country on "The clergy and the social question," in which he repeated the now familiar arguments on the importance that the clergy understand, apply and teach social doctrine.⁷⁹ Herrera also wrote to the Spanish bishops, stressing the importance that priests be instructed in Catholic social doctrine, and inviting "worthy" candidates from outside Málaga to attend his school.

Curiously, despite Herrera's considerable efforts to transmit and apply his educational model in other Spanish seminaries and institutions, the ecclesiastical superiors showed notable reserve towards Herrera's innovations. Certainly, the first students of the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal* were largely from outside the diocese; in the first year of the school, there were between 14-20 students from all over the country. Some had received scholarships personally arranged by Herrera, others received grants from their bishops to cover expenses.⁸⁰ At the same time, Herrera reached an agreement with the Bishop of Vitoria, and established another clerical

⁷⁸Testimony of Fr. Manuel Díez de los Ríos Gutierrez, Personal Secretary to Herrera for twenty years, in J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 227.

⁷⁹He divided clerical instruction in three different groups: firstly, the normal seminary studies, where students should receive solid doctrinal and social studies; the second group would receive additional instruction, to make of them directors of select minorities. They were to be trained in the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal*, and receive practical experience in the social sphere, before working as seminary teachers, directors of study circles, assessors of enterprises, university teachers, etc; the third group would receive extra studies in social theology, social policy, economics, etc. This group would constitute the intellectual élites of the nation, including the politicians. *BOOM* (Oct. 1948), 303.

⁸⁰J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 195-6, 291 (on Herrera's letters to the Spanish bishops); in the first year at the school, there were about 14 students; Cardinal Benavent declares that, at this stage, there were not more than 20 (see p. 189).

school, which functioned for one month every summer. In 1948, similar schools were established in Valencia and Oviedo, and even the Pontifical Universities of Salamanca and Comillas began something similar, somewhat timidly, in the form of summer courses.⁸¹ Apart from these initiatives, the Spanish seminaries did not revolutionise their methods on the model established by Herrera; indeed, Hermet argues that "...it was necessary to wait until November 1961 before the teaching of Catholic social doctrine became an obligatory subject in the seminaries."⁸²

In the short term, however, the support given to Herrera and his projects came from the civil authorities and private enterprises, which permitted Herrera to expand his educational initiatives much further afield than Málaga. Thanks to his contacts in political, economic, financial and administrative circles, Herrera was able to boast that Spain was again a world wide example of "the perfect union between both powers, ecclesiastical and civil, working for the common good."⁸³

With the help of the Minister of the Exterior, Martín Artajo and the Propagandist and Ambassador to the Holy See, Ruiz Giménez, Herrera was granted double residence in Málaga and Madrid in 1957, and an auxiliary bishop was named to help him with the burdens of diocesan affairs.⁸⁴ Almost as soon as the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal* was established -by its second year of existence- the possibility of moving the school to Madrid was already being mooted, given that there was no University and therefore no culture of superior education in Málaga.⁸⁵ The project received support from the Papal Nuncio, Cardinal Tedeschini, and Herrera received promises of assistance from the Ministries of the Exterior, National Education, and from the Institute of Hispanic Culture.⁸⁶ By 1950, the new school was moved from Málaga to Madrid. This was to be Herrera's greatest pride and joy, and one of the few of Herrera's institutions that would survive his death: the *Instituto Social León XIII* [Social Institute Leo XIII]. It was the national version of the *Escuela Social Sacerdotal* of Málaga.⁸⁷ At both, and indeed at all the other institutions

⁸¹J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 125; and J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 294.

⁸²G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 49.

⁸³A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 685.

⁸⁴J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 134.

⁸⁵J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 196.

⁸⁶J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 133.

⁸⁷On the *Instituto Social León XIII*, and the collaboration between Church, State, and civil institutions of all kinds in its construction and maintenance, see *ibid.*

established by Franco, Herrera's objective was to preserve the status quo, and collaborate faithfully with the dictator. There were many eulogies for Franco, with whom Herrera maintained excellent personal relations.⁸⁸ Herrera advocated prudent reform, taking great care not to undermine public authority:

The existing social régime cannot be defended as the ideal to any Catholic. One cannot, on the other hand, criticise it in such a way that one damages the prestige and authority of the State; on the contrary, one must fortify civil authority on principle; because of self-interest, and out of gratitude. What tactic should one follow?... That which the Church has always followed. Depend on what is already there. Collaborate intelligently and constructively with what is established, and try to improve it with good sense by reconciling it with the archetype.⁸⁹

The recatholicisation process which the clergy was to direct and lead, therefore, was intimately connected with the policy of collaboration with the Franco régime and with the maintenance of, and possible prudent evolution of, the status quo.

2. TRADITION VERSUS PROPHECY: COLLABORATION AND DISSENT IN THE SEMINARY.

Despite the undoubtedly backward and ultraconservative nature of postwar Spanish seminaries, a dissident spirit did begin to develop. Sectors of Spanish Catholicism began to seek a synthesis of the faith with the challenges of modern life, and which was not based on collaboration with an authoritarian and oppressive State. The younger clergy, and some other progressive clergy, sought new forms of pastoral practice which satisfied the needs of their flocks, and a new spirituality which was less anchored in conformism and complacency and more anchored in human solidarity and understanding. The dichotomy between faith and reason began to break down.

The personal religiosity of the 1950's was characterised by a new spirituality, by a different ecclesiology, new pastoral forms and modern liturgy, influenced above all by the rejection of the dogmatism, security and indifference to human problems which had characterised the triumphalist Church. The new spirituality sought to return to more authentic Christian values, a moral renovation and a return to the spirit of the Gospel which had been lost. Relations

⁸⁸See some of the bishop's enthusiastic praise of Franco in 1963 in A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 222; see also J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 234.

⁸⁹J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 325.

between clergy and the faithful and between the community at large and the ecclesiastical hierarchy were discussed, and a more fraternal, less verticalist structure was sought. Reunions and meetings were central to this new spirituality, in which the members shared their experiences and opinions in a non clericalised atmosphere. Lay people were conceded much more independence and responsibility. Sincerity was prized over hypocrisy, the ongoing search for the truth over security, innovation and participation over routine, self criticism over defensiveness, and pluralism over intolerance.

The development of a more personal and intimate spirituality were manifested in such developments as the International Catholic Conversations of Gredos, the *Cursillos de Cristiandad* [Christianity Courses], in the work of certain Catholic intellectuals, both lay and clerical. Reflection on moral and religious issues did not take long in being translated into political dissent. In Málaga, this dissent crystallised in the seminary, in the differences between the bishop, and one of the canons of the cathedral, and professor at the seminary, José María González Ruiz. José María González Ruiz was a nephew of a former Bishop of Málaga, González García, and had studied at the Seminary of Málaga while his uncle had been bishop. González Ruiz was ordained by his uncle in 1939. On refusing Archbishop Segura's offer of work in the Roman Curia, he was duly despatched to a parish in Huelva for two years, and then, at the age of twenty-nine to Triana, a populous working class suburb of Sevilla from 1945 to 1948. Here, he witnessed the realities of life of the working population first hand, with all its brutal contradictions and injustices.

Shortly after the consecration of Angel Herrera as Bishop of Málaga, González Ruiz became *Canónigo Lectoral* [Lectoral Canon] of the cathedral of Málaga, a post which had been vacant for many years. As lectoral canon, he was obliged to preach a certain number of homilies at the cathedral every year, and was therefore a specialist in biblical studies and in homiletics. In the same year, he began giving classes on scripture at the seminary, and at the clerical social school established by Herrera, he was entrusted with homiletics. At the beginning, he felt somewhat out of place amongst students who were often infantile and at the seminary for the wrong reasons. In the 1950's, the mentality of the seminary students appeared to undergo a change, and González Ruiz noted that the students were less clerical, had a better general culture, were more mature, more aware, and with a much better social conscience.⁹⁰

González Ruiz felt supported and valued by his students during the 1950's, but Herrera

⁹⁰J. M. González Ruiz, op. cit., 46-7.

disagreed with many of the canon's theological interpretations, and suspected him of actively undermining authority. González Ruiz began to be submitted to an inquisitorial treatment which undermined his health. On some occasions, Herrera asked to see the topics of his classes at the seminary. The contents of these classes were questioned both by Herrera, and even by the papal nuncio. The material which González Ruiz had prepared for the homiletics classes was not used due to Herrera's objections.⁹¹ Relations with Herrera became quite cold -to such an extent that González Ruiz's doctor advised him to suspend or cut down his activities in Málaga and establish himself in Rome. In 1951, he joined a group of researchers in ecclesiastical sciences in Rome and reduced his teaching activities at the seminary to one semester in order to dedicate various months of every year to his studies.

The tension in Málaga caused by the contrasting opinions and mentalities of the bishop and González Ruiz continued to build throughout the 1950's. In October 1960, González Ruiz was informed that there was a list of charges -he was accused of twenty-seven heresies- ready to be sent to Rome. Some of these were theological questions, others were attacks on his mentality or attitude rather than on strictly doctrinal or theological considerations. He was accused, for example, of having a "tendency towards the most progressive doctrines as a result of an urge to be original, modern and in with the latest," or "Fostering unconformism amongst the students and giving too much value to risk taking. Imitating one's superiors is equated with being a turncoat.' And, finally, cultivating the "'leftist' group and making them suspicious of the 'rightist' or 'traditionalist' group." ⁹² The students were forbidden to speak to González Ruiz outside of class times; those who dared to disobey were expelled from the seminary.⁹³ As González Ruiz puts it, "my best students were coldly eliminated in an aseptic climate of white terror."⁹⁴

González Ruiz prepared his defence, highlighting the fear of advances in the biblical sciences, the evident anti-intellectualism, the incapacity to distinguish between a total and a partial error, and the exaggerated importance given to the personal holiness and infallibility of the hierarchy, and the claim to monopolise all matters of the spirit, which characterised the attacks

⁹¹Ibid., 35-6.

⁹²Ibid., 51-2.

⁹³In these cases, the students went to finish their studies in another seminary, such as that of Granada. Interview Rafael Gómez Marín, conversation held in Málaga, 25 May 1991.

⁹⁴J. M. González Ruiz, op. cit., 56.

against him.⁹⁵

Herrera appeared to be inclined to shelve the question of the heresies, on the condition that González Ruiz continue his work in biblical studies in Madrid and Rome, and confine his teaching of exegesis at the Seminary of Málaga to a prepared outline, avoiding the disputed or sensitive questions -a condition which González Ruiz could not accept. Herrera's powers over the canon were limited -he had no direct authority over the canons- but he did everything within his power to encourage González Ruiz to leave. González Ruiz was obliged to give up his classes at the seminary.⁹⁶ On medical advice, González Ruiz decided to abandon Málaga indefinitely, rejecting Herrera's offer of a monthly stipend. He began to earn a living independently, as translator and interpreter. In 1962, he was informed that the nuncio in Spain was preparing a list of the "most dangerous" biblical scholars, on which he was included.

The work of González Ruiz was profoundly disturbing to the ecclesiastical establishment because it undermined the solid block of political-social-religious values which formed the ideological foundation of the régime. He rejected the pessimistic view of humankind maintained by the clergy, and the defensive attitude adopted by the institutionalised Church, and did not share the traditional cosmology of the Church as a fortress under siege, or as the City of God surrounded by sin and by the enemies of the Church. This division led to the excessive emphasis on preparation for the afterlife in detriment of this life, and to a personalist spirituality which was insufficiently oriented towards the prophetic and the missionary.

The shift away from personalist spirituality towards a sense of communal and prophetic mission was accompanied by a rejection of the invaluable support that the Church had wittingly or accidentally given to the economically dominant classes. The faith was rooted more in the correct observance of dogma than in the observance of social justice and fidelity to the spirit of the Gospels. The Church had lost its prophetic mission, and had become the administrator of spiritual goods. In the opinion of González Ruiz, the biblical message had been perverted for years. Good intentions were not enough; the authentic Christian was obliged to commit him or herself to the cause of the downtrodden.⁹⁷

⁹⁵Ibid., 52-5.

⁹⁶Fr. Eguaras Iriarte, former Personal Secretary to Angel Herrera, denies that this was initiative or decision of Herrera, acknowledging however that Herrera offered him "un puente de plata," to pursue his specialised studies in Rome. See J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 255.

⁹⁷J. M. González Ruiz, *El Cristianismo no es un Humanismo* (Madrid, 1966), and *La Iglesia a la intemperie: Reflexiones postmodernas sobre la Iglesia* (Santander, 1986), especially 93-104.

González Ruiz accepted the truth of some of Marx's declarations on the alienating role of religion. The vast hierarchical power structure and bureaucratic apparatus that characterised the Church was a reflection of secular society, with which the Church maintained close relations with a view to maintaining its influence and privileges. Insofar as the Church maintained this structure, and insofar as it sought privileges which only the State could concede, it was forfeiting its prophetic role, and compromising its liberty to denounce injustice in all its manifestations. González Ruiz rejected the attitude that treated the revealed truth, not as an act of grace, but as an instrument to use against its supposed adversaries, and which made Christians purport to assert a dominance and monopoly of social, spiritual cultural and political life which did not correspond to them.⁹⁸ González Ruiz noted Christ's relationship with the established powers of his times,⁹⁹ and argued that a Christian must always be situated against the powers that be if these are oppressive; this led him to criticise the capitalist power structure.

Furthermore, the Church's purported indifference to social and political affairs, on the grounds that it was devoted to transcendental questions, constituted a false political neutrality. In reality, the purported neutrality of the religious leaders favoured the status quo. The civil powers did not hesitate to speak in name of the Church and of Christianity, whilst the religious leaders were unable to denounce this abuse, because of the Church's dependence on the civil authorities.

González Ruiz became one of the most outspoken progressive theologians of Spain, particularly noted for his defence of dialogue with marxists and atheists. His ideas had been developing throughout the 1950's, but he had quickly aroused the suspicions of Herrera, and the circulation of these ideas was limited to a very small circle of ecclesiastical specialists. In 1956, a progressive publishing house published González Ruiz's theological analysis of St Paul, *San Pablo al Día*¹⁰⁰. This was followed by *La Dignidad de la Persona Humana en San Pablo* in 1958. When the Second Vatican Council was called in 1959, González Ruiz found much to his surprise, a great deal of the concepts that which he had been studying were attracting the attention of sectors of the bishops. González Ruiz participated in the DO-C, an information office established by the Dutch episcopate for the use of the Council, which collected and translated documents and relevant information. The Vatican Council dedicated a considerable amount of time and energy to the preparation of a pastoral constitution, on the Church in the

⁹⁸J. M. González Ruiz, *¡Ay de mí, si no evangelizare!*, 82.

⁹⁹J. M. González Ruiz, *La Iglesia a la intemperie*, 119-32.

¹⁰⁰J. M. González Ruiz, *San Pablo al Día* (Barcelona, 1956).

modern world, which was known as Scheme XIII. The preparation, writing, and content of this scheme was particularly conflictive and time consuming. At the second reading of the scheme, the Archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal Meyer, noting that the scheme lacked a "theology of the world," incorporated aspects of José María González Ruiz's work on this question. González Ruiz had prepared a paper entitled "¿Una Nueva Cristiandad?" which Cardinal Meyer used, on the 19 October 1964, in his speech opening the debate on Scheme XIII. The new contributions to the theology of the world -which would be incorporated into the new pastoral constitution on the Church in the modern world (*Gaudium et Spes*, 1965)- included matters which had shortly before been questioned as heresies by the Bishop of Málaga.¹⁰¹

González Ruiz's work was given great stimulus in the years during and after the Second Vatican Council. His ideas flourished and were widely published in the 1960's, years of tremendous social and cultural ferment in Spain. In 1966, he published his biblical study on poverty, which according to one theologian "... has exercised a considerable influence on the Latin American liberation theologians."¹⁰² In 1968, he attended a reunion of Christians and Marxists organised by the Ecumenical Council of Churches of Geneva; after this experience, he published *Marxismo y Cristianismo frente al Hombre Nuevo*. He continued to expound his ecclesiological reforms in his 1970 publication *Dios Está en la Base*, as well as other publications.¹⁰³ González Ruiz posed important challenges to both Spanish clergy and lay Catholics. To the clergy and hierarchy, the challenge was to restore the sense of service in ecclesiastical vocations, and recover the Church's prophetic mission. González Ruiz rejected the institutionalisation of the Church -that is, that the Church be integrated into the system of customs and institutions of society, becoming an integral part of it, imitating its structures and organisation. The Church, as an organised community, had to be organised against all kinds of power structures, and not act in collaboration with them. Christ's kingdom was not of this world, he argued, and therefore the Church could not aspire to create perfection on earth, establishing itself as a rival of the State in the construction and regulation of society. On the contrary, the Church had to maintain its religious liberty in order to maintain its capacity to act

¹⁰¹J. M. González Ruiz, *¡Ay de mí, si no evangelizare!*, 68-9.

¹⁰²J. Lois, *Teología de la Liberación: Opción por los Pobres* (Madrid, 1986), 29. The liberation theology was developing simultaneously, and in different conditions, to those which existed in Spain. The influence of González Ruiz was indirect, as part of a trend towards a theology which reflected the needs of the oppressed faithful, and did not exercise a direct influence on the liberation theologians.

¹⁰³J. M. González Ruiz, *Dios está en la base* (Barcelona, 1970).

prophetically.¹⁰⁴ Above all, the Church had to defend human dignity and rights.¹⁰⁵ The challenge to the ideology of National-Catholicism could not be more direct.

The challenge to the Spanish Catholic layman was also formidable. González Ruiz called upon Catholics to reject pharisaic, routine, and paternalistic Catholicism and abandon the traditionally comfortable and secure religiosity, typically characterised by bureaucratic clericalism, negativist morality, and a lack of empathy for human problems. It was necessary to take risks, recover the Church's visionary and ecstatic character, abandoning the contradiction between security and mission. He criticised the triumphalist spirituality which identified the kingdom of God with a cultural, political, artistic and economic system and with a concrete historical moment. He argued that Christianity was not a humanism, that is, it was not "a particular way of being human, with all its social, cultural, economic and political consequences."¹⁰⁶ Similarly, he rejected the concept of the world as a kind of gigantic waiting room, in which the faithful patiently -and passively- prepared their way to the after life.¹⁰⁷

González Ruiz was a keen participant of conferences which promoted dialogue between Christians and Marxists. González Ruiz accepted some of the criticisms launched by Marxists as legitimate; but he rejected the marxist hypothesis that the acceptance of God signified the negation of man, stating that "God never appears as rival of humankind."¹⁰⁸ Belief in God was not a brake on human progress, nor was religion necessarily an alienating phenomenon. The Marxist interpretation was based on a spirituality which González Ruiz rejected: the transcendental spirituality which made the maintenance of the established order a kind of idol. González Ruiz urged its substitution for a spirituality based on commitment and human solidarity. Belief in God, far from being a brake on humanity, ought to be a powerful stimulant of the same.

Many of the young clergy were profoundly influenced by these ideas, and during the

¹⁰⁴J. M. González Ruiz, "Tres Iglesias que Jesús no Quiso: Democrática, Institucionalizada, Ideal," in J. M. González Ruiz et al, *La Iglesia que Jesús no quiso*. See also J. M. González Ruiz, *La Iglesia a la intemperie*, especially 55-92; and "Génesis de las Comunidades de Bases y Contexto Eclesial," in *La Iglesia Hoy (Colección de conferencias y Artículos)* (Málaga, 1971).

¹⁰⁵On the question of the Church and human rights, see J. M. González Ruiz, *La Iglesia a la intemperie*, 159-64.

¹⁰⁶J. M. González Ruiz, *Creer es Comprometerse* (Barcelona, 1968), 63.

¹⁰⁷J. M. González Ruiz, *Dios es gratuito pero no supérfluo* (Barcelona, 1970), 73-6.

¹⁰⁸J. M. González Ruiz, *¡Ay de mí, si no evangelizare!*, 69; also *ibid.*, 42-4.

1960's, the young clergy began to shed the conformism and xenophobia that had characterised their elders. Increasingly, they sought new ideas and methods. Their greater willingness to adopt a new prophetic role and actively denounce injustices, which resulted in no few clergymen being fined or otherwise sanctioned for their homilies. They were also prominent in demonstrations, participated in, or permitting the holding of clandestine meetings in churches and parish centres, they organised petitions and wrote letters. González Ruiz was largely absent from Málaga except for brief periods, but he never lost touch with the diocese, and maintained a flat there where his brother also resided. On occasions, the brothers permitted their flat to be the meeting place for young Catholics who were militants in the HOAC, JOC, or other organisations. González Ruiz was also one of those sanctioned for his homilies. In February 1968, the republication of one of his articles for the HOAC caused him to be put on trial charged with "publication of dangerous information." The article had previously been published in a clerical magazine with permission of the Bishop of Vitoria and of the Provincial Delegation of Information and Tourism. He was defended by Joaquín Ruiz Giménez, and absolved on the grounds that a condemnation would contradict the doctrine of the Church, and therefore the tribunal would contradict the established laws of the State. González Ruiz's line of thinking was in no way inconsistent with Catholic social doctrine as it had been espoused after the Second Vatican Council, and even the Francoist judges were unable to find otherwise, and he was acquitted. However, this would not be the last time that González Ruiz would have problems with the authorities.¹⁰⁹

Meanwhile, Herrera continued to enforce orthodoxy. In his relations with his clergy and seminary students his authoritarian, uncompromising, and demanding nature was not softened with the passing of the years and the changing style of pastoral relations.¹¹⁰ Herrera was fixed in

¹⁰⁹He was charged again in 1971, and then fined 100,000 pesetas in 1974, for a homily that had irritated the authorities.

¹¹⁰One unfortunate priest remarked in a speech to a *cofradía* that everyone had a particular whim or peculiarity [*manía*], and that for example, the Bishop of Málaga had "una manía por lo social." For this relatively innocuous comment, Herrera had the priest sent away from the diocese. On another occasion, the unfortunate victim was the elderly parish priest of Marbella. In about 1954-1955, the local parish priest of Marbella found himself besieged with complaints about the semi-clad tourists at the beach. Due to the bishop's frequent absences, he was unable to transmit the protests of the faithful. When the harrassed priest was finally able to speak to Herrera, he reported that the parishioners were complaining that the bishop never paid them any attention. Herrera demanded to know what the parish priest had replied, and on not being satisfied with the answer, flew into a rage and decided to have the elderly parish priest removed from the parish for not having defended the bishop appropriately. To this end, he entrusted one of the canons of the cathedral to prepare the necessary paperwork. The canon in question was Manuel González Ruiz, the brother of José María González Ruiz. He believed that the bishop was overreacting, and hoped that he would calm down in time, so that he ignored the bishop's request. As a result of this act of disobedience, Herrera had the canon removed from all his official posts in the diocese, except from that of canon, over which he had no authority. Both anecdotes from a conversation with Manuel González Ruiz, held in

an outdated pastoral style which valued obedience above all; in 1960 Herrera manifested his disapproval of the dissident elements within the ecclesiastical world referring to the

... sad fate of those undisciplined and restless priests who 'for hidden reasons or impelled by the winds of pride'... did not wish to be docile to the orientations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. I have dealt with no few of these unfortunates -some of them of great worth- in my long life of action. They arrested their sense of prudence, sterilised extraordinary gifts, and embittered their lives, by being ineffectual and rebellious to all discipline.¹¹¹

Similarly, he was alien to the pastoral and theological novelties, which he was simply incapable of digesting. Herrera had expected the Vatican Council to reaffirm traditional doctrines. In his homily before departing to participate in the first session of the Council, Herrera evidently expected the Vatican Council to constitute a triumphalist ceremony which would consolidate the Church in the eyes of its enemies. Amongst its objectives, Herrera predicted that it would provide great spiritual fruits, strengthen the ties between the faithful and their bishop, and provide a forum for the bishops to evaluate modern and progressive ideas, adopting, modifying, or condemning aspects of modernity as necessary. As the pope had established a special commission to study the question of lay apostolate, Herrera expressed the hope that the Council would establish guidelines for a more active role for lay people. Finally, the Council would be "a manifestation of truth and unity in a world that is disoriented, divided and struggling..." and serve as "an apology of the Catholic Church."¹¹² Herrera did not attend the general sessions of the Ecumenical Council, which began in 1962, due to his poor health; but in any case, his attitude to the event and the course it was taking can easily be deduced by the fact that he sent his Auxiliary Bishop, Benavent, to the opening of the Council, only to withdraw him a few days later.¹¹³

Herrera had already experienced some discomfort after the publication of Pope John XXIII's two encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963), which used the vocabulary of human rights, democratic values, and dialogue. Herrera insisted that these two encyclicals were faithful to traditional doctrine and of *Pacem in Terris* for example, asserted that

Málaga, on 28 June 1991. See also the testimony of Fr. Angel Berna, in J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 197.

¹¹¹Homily given 6 November 1960, in A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 685-6.

¹¹²Homily 8 September 1962, in *ibid.*, 727-8.

¹¹³J. M. García Escudero, *op. cit.*, 294.

"it does not set any new principles."¹¹⁴ When commenting on and explaining the encyclicals, Herrera was attracted to those sections of the encyclicals which reflected his own neo-Thomist conceptions, sometimes using papal words out of context, and bolstering his own arguments with abundant reference to traditional authorities, which sometimes occupied more space than the references to the encyclicals themselves. The direct quotes from the encyclicals themselves were sparing, unless they were qualifications. Qualifications made in the encyclical were highlighted and extensively commented, usually in order to argue that the general principles espoused were subject to the particular circumstances and conditions of every community, and concretely, that they were not applicable to Spain.

The differences between the pope and Herrera were patent in the latter's interpretation of *Pacem in Terris* on the question of democracy. Pope John's open defence of democracy and of the separation of powers was minimised by Herrera, who asserted that "on this important topic nothing new in the philosophical order is established. The outcomes which modern times demand are drawn from the old principles."¹¹⁵ Herrera firstly was careful to define what was meant by "democracy," and rejected that democracy be identified with parliamentarism: "The term democracy cannot be confused with parliamentarism. That sovereignty reside exclusively in a chamber elected by direct universal suffrage is an extreme form of democracy." Real democracy did not mean that the source of political authority derived from the people, but that political authority was exercised on behalf of the people, and especially *on behalf* of its weaker members. The language used by Herrera -the citizens were referred to as "the governed" or "subjects" and the civil authorities as "governors" or "the superior"- clearly manifests the monarchical orientation of Herrera's political thought.¹¹⁶ He argued that democracy "Rarely or never has existed in its pure form in history;" it had not taken root in France, was probably unsuitable for the Germanic peoples, and was inappropriate for the particular psychology of the Latin peoples. The only modern democracy which appeared to meet with his approval was the British, because in this case, "it is tempered by other institutions which participate in the exercise of sovereign power."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 161.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 151.

¹¹⁶The utilisation of this essentially medieval language is abundant in Herrera's writings; these expressions are taken from "El Magisterio Político de la Encíclica 'Pacem in Terris'," in *ibid.*, 153.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 152.

The differences were no less great with respect to ecumenical and ecclesiological questions. Pope John XXIII, with his open and plural acceptance of the modern world and of human experience, believed that Catholics could learn much from non-Catholics. He also emphasised the necessity of working for world peace and justice, collaborating actively with all men of good will to this end.¹¹⁸ Without diminishing the traditional doctrine that the Church was guardian or deposit of the Truth, he was careful to distinguish the error from the person who committed it, and also distinguished between false theories and philosophies, and those social, economic, cultural or political currents derived from these.¹¹⁹

Herrera, however, interpreted the pope in the sense that the evangelisation of the world and the achievement of spiritual peace in Christ was the necessary condition for the achievement of world peace; "The achievement of perfect peace is not the problem of the human order nor of this life. Perfect peace can only be achieved in God," he wrote.¹²⁰ Completely ignoring all papal references to the arms race, the United Nations, and other international organisations, Herrera deduced, in flat contradiction with the words of the encyclical, that "Peace will be brought to the earth by men who believe in Christ..."¹²¹ Herrera also deduced that what really mattered to the pope was "the union, firstly, of all believers in Jesus Christ, united with the supreme pastor. The extension, subsequently, of the Kingdom of Christ to all the earth."¹²²

Naturally, the superior and condescending attitude adopted by many Catholics with respect to non-Catholics, and which was completely absent in Pope John XXIII, tinged Herrera's writings on ecumenical questions. Non-Catholics were referred to as "dissident brothers," or "ignorant or strayed."¹²³ Herrera did not believe that the Christian Churches would unify as a result of the Council, but the Council would create a climate, of charity, and especially of understanding. In a sermon in 1962, Herrera referred to

... what is traditionally called ... the merciful judgement... Love your brother, and after loving him listen to or study the disposition or ideas of your brother... And even though he is wrong, if he erred, perhaps you will note that he erred in good faith, you will soften the severity of your judgement, and you will be

¹¹⁸Encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961), in *Ocho grandes mensajes*, paras 239, 164.

¹¹⁹Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963), in *ibid.*, para 159.

¹²⁰A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 157.

¹²¹*Id.*

¹²²*Ibid.*, 160.

¹²³*Ibid.*, 731, 161.

disposed to fraternally draw him away from his error, and he, noting your benevolence, will be well disposed to receive your exhortations.¹²⁴

If this was how Herrera reacted to the ecumenical question, his reaction to the possibility of dialogue between Christians and Marxists was even more hostile. To begin with, he was unable to understand the freedom of initiative conceded to the lay people and the lay apostolate, free of clerical supervision and direction. Pope John XXIII declared that lay people "can draw upon their daily experiences in order to educate themselves better," and recognised that human, subjective experience was validly applicable in the Christian apostolate.¹²⁵ Herrera's analysis of the pope's words, however, consisted of the exposition of his own ideas as to the training of specialised élites, and specialised clergy, and the importance of a Christian education and State assistance in religious matters of this kind.¹²⁶

Herrera's attitude was founded on his pessimistic view of human nature, which he believed was always prone to be led into error. In *Mater et Magistra*, Pope John XXIII requested that Catholics collaborate faithfully with "people who have a different conception of life.... in the realisation of those works which are good by their very nature, or, at least, which can lead to good."¹²⁷ Citing only part of the paragraph out of its original context, Herrera interpreted it as a call to collaborate with the social and political order, converting a plea for cooperation between citizens of different ideological orientations into the justification of collaboration with the Franco régime.¹²⁸ As to the question of dialogue with marxists, Herrera seized upon every reference in the encyclicals which might possibly be interpreted as a criticism of Marxism and commented upon them at great length, bolstered by the usual traditional authorities - despite that the fact that these references were only implicitly a reference to Marxism, and were applicable to many other kinds of régimes apart from the Marxist.¹²⁹

¹²⁴Ibid., 731-2.

¹²⁵On the lay apostolate, see e.g. *Mater et Magistra*, paras 231-41. The quote is taken from para 233.

¹²⁶A. Herrera Oria, *Obras Selectas*, 352-6.

¹²⁷*Mater et Magistra*, para 239.

¹²⁸Herrera cites merely the words "Loyal collaboration with everything that is good by its very nature or, at least, can lead to good," and goes on to consider the papal authorities on the question of the duty of accidentalism (*acatamiento*), inappropriately identifying these words of Pope John XXIII as confirming the long line of papal authority on this question. See A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 362-4.

¹²⁹Para 217 of *Mater et Magistra* read as follows: "In all, the folly that most characterises our era consists of establishing a solid and beneficial temporal order, without basing it on its most indispensable foundation, or, what is the same thing, doing without God; and wanting to exalt the greatness of mankind stifling the source from which it flows and is nourished, that is, hindering, and if possible, annihilating the innate

Curiously, some foreign press interpreted some of Herrera's comments in the epilogue to the *Comentarios a la 'Pacem in Terris'* as a critique of the Franco régime.¹³⁰ In response to *The New York Times* (28 October 1963), which spoke of discrepancies between the Bishop of Málaga and the Franco régime, Herrera tried to make *The New York Times* rectify, declaring that:

In my commentary I expressly distance myself from the publicists that give the encyclical a concrete and current political meaning. Even less in my writings is there anything that purports to judge the politics of the Spanish Government... It cannot be said that the Spanish Government is indifferent to the needs of the people. It is only just to affirm all the contrary. The policies of the Government tend to raise the position of all classes of people.¹³¹

The debates on the new pastoral constitution also constituted a new source of alarm for the Bishop of Málaga. To begin with, it was an episcopal, and not a papal document; Herrera was incapable of understanding the move away from the monarchical, and towards a collegial form of government. Secondly, he believed that there was no need to formulate Catholic social doctrine, because it had already been formulated: "What is more: there is an entire Catholic social science already elaborated by the scholars."¹³² In the debate on the Church and the modern world, he expounded his ideas on the necessity of reform in four sectors: the workers, the employers, the civil authorities, and Church, maintaining his emphasis on hierarchical values, on limited rights and extensive duties, on the importance of select minorities and of an extensive Catholic instruction. The only novelty -at least in the Spanish context- was his defence of

tendency of the soul to move towards God. The events of our era, nevertheless, which have cut many hopes down and drawn tears from many people, confirm the truth of Scripture: if the Lord does not build the house, in vain do the builders work."

The comment could be applied to many different types of régimes, including those who proclaimed to be Christian. Herrera, however, interpreted this to be an unequivocal condemnation of communism, and a plea for the establishment of a universal Catholic civilisation. This was commented at great length, going so far as to suggest that world peace was frustrated by the mistrust between Heads of State because of the existence of atheist régimes: "There are those who totally deny the existence of this universal, permanent, transcendental and absolute order that all must accept. Let us say the ultimate cause: the idea of God is absent from international life. We are intelligent and free beings, and we need someone who will govern our intelligence and our liberty. Universal and eternal principles, which only God can dictate, are necessary." "Reconstrucción de las Relaciones de Convivencia," commentary to paras 212-64 of *Mater et Magistra*, originally published in *Comentarios a la 'Mater et Magistra'*; republished in A. Herrera Oria, op. cit., 347.

¹³⁰ Above all, *The New York Times*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, and *Avanti*. This was probably due to a superficial impression derived from a summary of the epilogue prepared for *YA*, and not on a reading of the epilogue itself. J. Sánchez Jiménez, op. cit., 114-5.

¹³¹ Quoted in V. M. Arbeloa, *Aquella España católica* (Salamanca, 1975), 263.

¹³² J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 305.

taxation and fiscal policy as a means of redistributing wealth.¹³³ Herrera attended all the reunions of the Council Commission for the Lay Apostolate, which was summoned three or four times between the general sessions. In the fourth, he gave two speeches, including one on capitalism.¹³⁴ Herrera's interventions were radically outdated and contrasted sadly with the spiritual and theological renovation which resulted from the Council. Herrera believed little time had been dedicated to social questions, both during and after the Council. In one letter, Herrera commented: "Well I would have desired that the Council probe more into the topics that I dealt with in my speech. I believe that there were many things to discuss."¹³⁵ Despite this, he believed his concept of social doctrine to have been confirmed.

The pastoral constitution on the Church and the modern world, *Gaudium et Spes*, was promulgated on 7 December 1965. The Constitution stated that "The Church, although it has an eschatological end, lives also in time and goes through earthly vicissitudes."¹³⁶ Its theological basis was the intrinsic and inalienable dignity and equality of all human beings, based more on the principle of human nature and not so much the concept of natural rights. It rejected discrimination of any sort. It encouraged solidarity, the just distribution of production, and implicitly abandoned the affirmation that private ownership of the means of production was a natural right. The Constitution also encouraged mutual respect and dialogue within the Church, fraternal collaboration with "our separated brothers," and declared that "Dialogue does not exclude anybody, not even those who are opposed to the Church and persecute the Church."¹³⁷ The Constitution supported participation in public life, and condemned régimes that repressed civil liberties and used their power in benefit of one sector of society only. Authority that violated natural rights was inhuman.¹³⁸ Furthermore, it defended the separation of Church and State.¹³⁹ Finally, the Constitution condemned total war, criticised the arms race, and called for a

¹³³Later, Herrera would inform the Spanish Minister of the Treasury (*Hacienda*) that he had been influential in the drafting of para 30 of the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, which reminded Catholics of their social obligations, including not evading tax. See *ibid.*, 308.

¹³⁴J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 254.

¹³⁵Letter to Manuel Tapia, 13 October 1966, extract cited in J. M. García Escudero, *El pensamiento de Angel Herrera*, 308.

¹³⁶Pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, in *Ocho grandes mensajes*, para 40.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, para 92.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, paras 73-5.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, para 76.

community of nations, international economic cooperation and the presence of the Church and of Christians in the institutions that build international peace.¹⁴⁰ Another important innovation that appeared as a result of the Vatican Council, was that the liturgy was also modernised, to permit the utilisation of native languages in mass, instead of Latin, and permitting the clergy to say mass facing the congregation.

Herrera did not have time to publish any extensive comment on the new pastoral constitution before his death, although it is difficult not to agree with the conclusion of the Catholic journalist and Propagandist Mariano Sebastián Herrador, when he states that Herrera "Thought that [the Council] had overdone it."¹⁴¹ Consistent with his idea that universal evangelisation was the only way to achieve true peace and prosperity, he insisted on his mission of reform and creation of evangelising select minorities. In 1964, he had declared that "The scheme does not correspond -in my opinion- with what the world expects of the Council." Repeating his now familiar theories on the necessity of urgent reforms, based on the already established social doctrine of the Church, he concluded, "I modestly propose that special importance be given to that part of the scheme given over to the social question: that it be written up in a more direct style, clear and exacting..."¹⁴² Herrera also manifested his uneasiness with the concept of the collegiality of bishops, believing that the Church could only have one leader, and that could only be the Bishop of Rome.¹⁴³ One of Herrera's most faithful disciples, Fr. Gutierrez García, also believes that Herrera was reticent about the second part of the Constitution which dealt with concrete economic, social, and cultural issues, seeing in this part "aspects that are excessively optimistic, debatable, which the Council ought not to have touched upon...."¹⁴⁴

Many other sectors of the Catholic world did not share his negativism and reticence. After the Second Vatican Council, the Church shed some of its suspicion and fear of the modern world, and the need for change was taken on board; indeed, "Now the very word is taken on

¹⁴⁰Ibid., paras 79-90.

¹⁴¹J. M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones sobre Angel Herrera*, 481.

¹⁴²*BOOM* (1964), 768.

¹⁴³Testimony of Archbishop Emilio Benavent and Fr. Echamendi, in J. M. García Escudero, op. cit., 191 and 237, respectively.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 315. On the reaction of the Spanish episcopate in general to the Second Vatican Council, and their contributions to the same, see G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. II, 324-6, who situates the Spanish bishops in the most conservative wing, along with the Poles.

board as a key to interpretation and becomes a part of the vocabulary of the Church in its own documents."¹⁴⁵ After the Second Vatican Council, Catholic theology underwent considerable change. It maintained greater contact with Protestant theologians, and therefore integrated biblical theology into dogmatic theology; Thomism was no longer the foundation of theology, which assumed a more anthropocentric nature. Consequently, human existence, experiences, and human sciences, were therefore given greater value. Finally, the theology of the temporal was no longer founded on the dichotomy between the natural and the supernatural.¹⁴⁶ The Spanish Catholic world was more oriented towards what was happening in Europe. The new publishing houses began to publish the great theologians of the Vatican and pre-Vatican period -Chenu, Congar, Rahner, De Lubac, Schillebeeckx, Danielou, etc.-, who had largely been ignored up to then. Spanish Catholicism came into contact with Catholic novelists like Bernanos, Mauriac, Graham Greene, with the political philosophers Maritain and Mounier, with other scholars, biblical specialists, and new forms of spirituality. New Catholic publishers appeared, specialised in pastoral, laboral, or educational questions, and the consumption of religious books went from being principally Spanish authors to the massive consumption of foreign works. Sociological works on religiosity began to appear.¹⁴⁷ After 1968, the *Comunidades de Base* or grass roots communities, began to flourish, to the horror of the traditionalists.¹⁴⁸ The Second Vatican Council put an end to the facility with which the Franco régime purported to be a Catholic régime.

Herrera did not live to witness the crisis years of Spanish Catholicism, nor of the régime. In fact he had lost contact with events some years before. As a result of the Ecumenical Council, a retirement age of seventy five years had been set for bishops. Herrera was then nearly eighty, and accordingly offered his resignation to Pope Paul VI; to his great surprise, it was accepted on 27 August 1966. Herrera died in Madrid on the 28 July 1968, some say of sadness due to the loss of his diocese, which he had not expected and which he was unable to get over. On his death, all his great institutions and works, either disappeared or adopted an orientation which

¹⁴⁵F. Urbina, op. cit., 42-3.

¹⁴⁶X. Chao Rego, *La Iglesia en el Franquismo*, 464.

¹⁴⁷A. Orensanz, op. cit., 65.

¹⁴⁸The *Comunidades de Base* were Christian parish communities, which began to appear from 1965-1968, and especially after 1968. They sought a more authentic spirituality which recovered some of the charisma and values of the New Testament Church: a sense of community, of solidarity, more egalitarian, democratic and which stimulated participation and responsibility.

had little or nothing to do with the orientation that Herrera had given them. Herrera's conception of the modern apostolate and of pastoralism in 20th century Spain died with him.

The backwardness of the Spanish clergy seems never to have been acknowledged by Santos Olivera. Herrera Oria, in contrast, was a much more informed and worldly man; yet his reforms did not imply any criticism of the objectives of the recatholicisation project, or of how it was carried out. Herrera Oria fully accepted National-Catholic ideology, and was merely working towards its more effective and efficient implementation. Herrera Oria wanted increased clericalisation of society, and not less. To this end he sought to train his select minorities, amongst them, the "social clergy," to implement and advise on social reform and act as intermediaries between classes, and between the people and government. Herrera Oria's theory necessarily gave the clergy a vital political and social role.

Certainly, Herrera Oria undoubtedly fostered the development of a social conscience amongst Spanish Catholics including the clergy, and did much to foster the social apostolate and study amongst priests. Nevertheless, dogmatism is what most characterised the theological universe of the bishop of Málaga. Doctrine was an end in itself rather than the means to an end. To some extent, Herrera Oria's own projects were essentially contradictory. For example, they forced clergy into the world and made them crucial agents in the running of mundane and temporal affairs. At the same time, Herrera Oria was as preoccupied with the risk of being contaminated by exposure to worldly impurity and decadence. He urged the priests to further their intellectual development, while firmly anything short of the most ultra conservative orthodoxy and rejecting the principles of plurality and intellectual freedom as mere pathways to error.

Paradoxically, Herrera Oria's work was an element which helped modernise Spanish Catholicism, even while during the last decade of his bishopric he became one of the most conservative bastions of the established order. In the 1950's, Herrera Oria's teaching on the inadequacies of the Spanish social conscience and on the necessity of social and economic reform caused him to be regarded as a Red by many members of the hierarchy and of Málaga's élites. Ten years later, the theological justification for his collaboration with the Franco régime was challenged from within his own diocese by one of his canons, an eminent theologian and biblical specialist whose own theology appeared to receive the support of the Second Vatican Council. Herrera Oria, who had remained unswervingly faithful to the ideas and principles that had guided him since his youth, ironically became both engine house and brake upon the process of modernisation of Spanish Catholicism.

V. NATIONAL-CATHOLICISM AND WOMEN. THE RETURN TO PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY.

1. MECHANISMS AND AGENTS OF INDOCTRINATION.

The central premise of National-Catholic doctrine was that Hispanic culture was Catholic. Those elements of national culture which were at odds with Catholic orthodoxy were not interpreted as evidence that not all Spain was Catholic, but on the contrary, were interpreted as being foreign perversions or corruptions. The perceived decline in family life, and the liberalisation of gender relations and sexual values had aroused the alarm of the ecclesiastical hierarchy for many years before the war. In the postwar period, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities built up an extraordinary range of repressive powers over the family, exercised primarily through the feminine population. The objective was to secure the consolidation of patriarchal values, for which purpose women were subjected to an intense process of socialisation. By restoring a moralistic environment, enforcing compliance with Catholic moral and sexual norms, and above all, by eradicating competing views and values, the ecclesiastical authorities believed Catholic morality, which they equated with traditional morality, would become hegemonic in society. In reality, the idea of the consubstantiality of Catholic and traditional culture which the bishops defended was a great simplification of the complexities of popular culture, as the struggle over the recatholicisation of moral and sexual values would demonstrate. Furthermore, the bishops would ironically depend upon the mobilisation of women in order to proceed with the mass indoctrination of the female population. Thus, the ecclesiastical hierarchy would involuntarily foster to some degree the emancipation of women. This process was greatly boosted as a result of the economic and social policies adopted by the Franco régime in its final two decades, the practical effects of which completely contradicted the official ideology on the role and standing of women in Spanish society.

Indeed, official rhetoric insisted upon the subordination of women. In many ways, the new political order was dependent upon gender subordination. To begin with, the patriarchal family was the paradigm of a hierarchical social organisation. Furthermore, orthodox Catholic doctrine on the family and on feminine virtues emphasised a series of qualities which suited the needs of the new régime admirably such as humility, obedience, conformism, resignation, and passivity. But as well as being submissive themselves, women -in their role as mothers, and perhaps as teachers- were also transmitters of values, and as such they constituted a key agent in the socialisation of the young. Apart from their role socialising the young, women were also able

to exercise considerable control over the lives of their husbands. The Franco régime also manifested the same obsession with the procreative role of women as the Fascist and Nazi régimes, born of the identification of population growth with economic/political and military power. The control of feminine labour was also of great relevance to a régime which had to deal with the dramatic social and economic consequences caused by the destruction of the Civil War, and with the high unemployment level.

For all these reasons, the Franco régime sought and obtained the virtually absolute submission of women, and a return to the discrimination that had characterised their lives from time immemorial. All this was done under the guise of "saving" her femininity and ensuring that women fulfilled their innermost and natural desires, primarily maternity.¹ The indoctrination of women was given great impetus by the two women's organisations of the Franco régime: the Women's Section of the *Falange*, and the Women's Branch of Catholic Action.

In Málaga, the number of members of the Women's Section of the *Falange* shot up immediately after the entry of the Nationalist troops along similar lines to those experienced by the Party. Before 8 February 1937, there were 66 affiliates of the Women's Section in Málaga, and their surnames -Werner, Löring, Fórmica, Gross, Miró, Lamöthe, Rein, Garret, Lopera, McKinley, Sell and Crooke- are sufficiently indicative of their social origin. Their places of residence and the quotas paid by the members monthly (which could reach 25 pesetas every month) confirm this point. The first President of the Women's Section in Málaga was Ana Maria Hurtado, who was substituted by Carmen Werner Bolín, and subsequently by Mercedes Werner Bolín, all of whom reached important posts in the National organisation of the Women's Section.

After the Nationalist entry into Málaga in February 1937, there were 2,333 affiliates of the Women's Section in Málaga from all over Málaga, although those from the the workers'

¹The bibliography on gender relations and stereotypes in Spain, and on the discrimination of women under the Franco régime, is abundant. See, e. g. *Actas del II Congreso Historia de Andalucía. Tomo II: Las Mujeres en la Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba, 1994); *Nuevas perspectivas sobre la mujer. Actas de las Primeras Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria*. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1981); *Actas de las Segundas Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria: La mujer en la Historia de España (Siglos XVI-XX)* (Madrid, 1990); J. M. Riera and E. Valenciano, *Las mujeres de los 90: El largo trayecto de las jóvenes hacia su emancipación* (Madrid, 1991); M. D. Ramos Palomo (coord.), *Femenino plural. Palabra y memoria de mujeres* (Málaga, 1994); M. T. Vera Balanza, "Literatura religiosa y mentalidad femenina en el franquismo," in *Baética*, no. 14 (1992); P. Ballarín and T. Ortiz (eds.), *La mujer en Andalucía. 1er Encuentro Interdisciplinario de Estudios de la Mujer*. 2 vols. (Granada, 1990); M. J. González Castillejo, *La nueva Historia. Mujer, vida cotidiana y esfera pública en Málaga (1931-1936)* (Málaga, 1991); G. Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1974)* (Madrid, 1976); and G. di Febo, *Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España 1936-1976*.

neighbourhoods of La Trinidad, Perchel and El Bulto are the minority.² By December 1942, there were 2,946 affiliates to the Women's Section in Málaga, although most were inscribed in February and March of 1937. The Women's Section carried out a vital socialising role of adult women who were already beyond the school system, principally through the Women's Social Service [*Servicio Social de la Mujer*], which was introduced on 17 October 1937.³ This instruction had two ends; the first was of a political nature and aimed at instructing women in elementary political doctrine of the new régime. The second was ideological-cultural, and aimed to socialise women to conform to the model of womanhood presented by the régime as traditional and patriotic, and to accept their destiny as wife, mother, or daughter. Instruction consisted of the following subjects: religion, political instruction, social relations [*convivencia social*], domestic economy, cooking, dressmaking, hygiene, domestic medicine, manual jobs such as washing and ironing, history, family and social instruction, childrearing and physical education. Despite being a requisite for many things, according to Eiroa San Francisco's study of this issue, in 1939-1942 only 1900 women did social service, out of a total feminine population of Málaga of 126,980 in 1940 of which 35.08% were of age to do social service.⁴ Social service appears to have reached its peak in Málaga in 1939, and after 1941 the number of women that complied with it began to decline progressively. It is interesting to note that the number of women who did social service but were not members of the Women's Section outnumbered those who were, and this tendency increased over the years.⁵

The women who did social service were destined to work for the Party itself, in the municipal or provincial administration, in military bodies or charitable organisations, or workshops. They worked as nurses, secretaries, cooks, teachers, dressmakers, telephone

²E. Barranquero Texeira, "La Sección Femenina. Análisis del trabajo realizado durante la guerra," in M. T. López Beltrán (coord.), *Las mujeres en Andalucía. Actas del 2º Encuentro Interdisciplinar de la Mujer en Andalucía*, vol. II (Málaga, 1993), 292.

³On the Women's Section and the social service generally, see M. T. Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, Falange y franquismo* (Madrid, 1983); and R. Sánchez López, *Mujer Española. Una sombra de destino en lo universal. Trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange (1934-1977)* (Murcia, 1990). On the Women's Section in Málaga, see E. Barranquero Texeira, op. cit.; L. Cuadra Quintana, "La beneficencia 1937-1939," in *III Congreso del Andalucismo Histórico* (Granada, 1987); M. Eiroa San Francisco, "Falange. Su implantación en la Málaga del primer franquismo," in *IX Congreso de Profesores-Investigadores. 'Hespérides'* (Almería, 1991); and M. T. Becerra López, "La Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS en Málaga (1937-1939)," in *Jábega*, no. 58 (1987).

⁴M. Eiroa San Francisco, "Trabajo asistencial: El servicio social de Sección Femenina," in M. T. López Beltrán (coord.), *Las mujeres en Andalucía*, 308.

⁵Ibid., 308-9.

operators or in laundries. Undoubtedly, the social service constituted an important source of unpaid labour which proved of considerable benefit to the régime.

Women might also receive instruction from other sources, such as the City and Country Brotherhood [*Hermandad de la Ciudad y del Campo*], which organised courses for rural women on agrarian matters, hygiene, mothercraft, religion, and general culture, as well as providing medical assistance such as delousing and vaccinations. Young girls were encouraged to join the youth organisation, in which they received political/social/religious instruction combined with leisure activities, such as in summer camps for girls. The leisure activities were combined with manual work appropriate for their gender. The *Flechas* were accepted into the *Falange* from the age of seven onwards, and received, above all, a religious instruction. The religious component of the instruction given to the young girls was of no less importance than their political instruction. The members of the Women's Section frequently acted as spiritual godfathers for children; indeed, the newspapers were full of news items of mass baptisms of children in the homes run by the Women's Section, with headlines such as the following: "Nine little girls and three little boys from the 'Blue Home' were baptised yesterday." Comrades of the *FET y de las JONS* acted as godparents."⁶ The women were instructed to encourage the girls to receive the sacraments, and instructed on how to do so properly.

The Women's Branch of Catholic Action also assumed an important role in socialising women. Catholic Action was reorganised after the war, and great importance was attached to the establishment of branches in all the parishes of Málaga. The Women's Branch comprised married women, or all women over thirty. Its apostolate was fourfold: religious, defence of the family, defence of public morality, and charity. The Women's Branch manifested a particular interest in the recatholicisation of the working classes. It was divided into the following secretariats: *Religion, Family, Propaganda, Teaching, Morality, Charitable-social, Matrimonial, Children of Catholic Action, Press, and Female Workers.*⁷ The young women's branch was also divided into secretariats. In the parishes, the secretariats were called sections.

The Women's Branch helped to teach catechism, run workers' schools, propaganda campaigns, and missions, under the supervision of the bishop. Prayer meetings, study circles, speeches and retreats were organised, and printed and oral propaganda prepared on topics such as feminine modesty, woman and the Crusade, or religious sentiment in the history of Spain.

⁶*Sur* (14 Oct. 1937), 8.

⁷*Ecclesia* (21 Dec. 1946), 13.

Special weeks of propaganda were also organised annually on certain themes, such as "Mothers' Week." A special edition of a magazine was published on the following themes: the Immaculate Virgin, patron of Spain and Captain of the Spanish Armies; the Spanish woman in times of war; heroic acts of great women, women as mothers of martyrs and wives of heroes.⁸

The Women's Branch was especially entrusted with the moral reform of other women. By 1945, the Women's Branch activities included assisting parish priests in the religious preparation of those about to be wed; the running of spiritual exercises for mothers; the promotion of "Centres of Saint Marta for the Feminine Domestic Service;" the establishment of "Matrimonial Secretariats" to "regularise" the relations of unmarried couples, and the posting of critiques on public spectacles, notably films, in the churches of the diocese.⁹ The Women's Branch of Catholic Action ran a school called "School for Family and Social Formation," which was to produce social workers [*asistentas sociales*], who were to work in close contact with the workers, "where their work in continual contact with the families of the workers will serve to evaluate and orient us as to their needs..."¹⁰ Purely practical subjects related to the household were taught, leading to the concession of the diploma of "Housewife" [*Ama de Casa*]. One photograph of students cleaning published in *Ecclesia* was headlined: "The complicated details of domestic cleaning are learnt and carried out in this domestic hygiene class." It is notable that the school did not appear to have attracted much attention. At the closing ceremony of the first academic year, there were curiously more invited guests than students graduating; the graduation of three students receiving the diploma of *Asistenta Social* and of two receiving the *Diploma de Ama de Casa*, was witnessed by the nuncio, and an important group of representatives of the Women's and Youth branches of Catholic Action.¹¹

The Christian concept of the family was much diffused by the Women's Branch of Catholic Action, on explicit instructions from the bishop. The first norm was that special dedication was to be given to promoting religious instruction on the mutual duties and rights of parents, children, and servants.¹²

The particular interest of Catholic Action in the working classes is manifest in the

⁸*BOOM* (Aug. 1937), 238-40.

⁹*Ibid.* (May 1945), 336-45; *Ecclesia* (21 Dec. 1946), 13.

¹⁰*Ecclesia* (1 Feb. 1941), 8.

¹¹*Ibid.* (15 July 1941), 27.

¹²*BOOM* (1945), 343.

specialised schools and courses it ran, such as the Female Workers' Night School [*Escuela Nocturna de Obreras*], whose express object was to give poor girls moral and religious instruction, help them obtain honourable work, and exercise "a very important moralising role amongst young women workers... whose most important quality must be humility."¹³

Membership of the Women's Branch of Catholic Action, was elitist and comprised members of the local bourgeoisie. From 1941 on, the members had to pay an annual fee of 12 to 25 pesetas, from which it could reasonably be deduced that the members had to be relatively well off, firstly, in order to be able to pay, and secondly, in order to dedicate time to the propagandistic and apostolic tasks entrusted to them.¹⁴ Vera Balanza, who has studied the Women's Branch in Málaga, has described it as "a spiritual aristocracy."¹⁵ The majority were young or single; married women usually abandoned the organisation.

Bishop Santos Olivera pinned great hopes on Catholic Action as secular arm of the recatholicisation, and he spurred it on energetically. Evidence of the importance attached to Catholic Action in Málaga was the establishment of a new order of female religious in February 1944 -*El Instituto de las Hijas de la Iglesia*- whose ministry was the training and education of the members of the Women's Branch of Catholic Action, as well as the teaching of catechism and other work. To this end, they ran courses, conferences, retreats, meetings, and other cultural and religious acts. Although formed in Málaga, it was envisaged that the order spread throughout Spain.¹⁶

The socialisation of the population in National-Catholic virtues was carried out even via the charitable activities of the women's associations. The Women's Section followed the integrist orientations of the Spanish Catholic Church and transmitted them in turn.¹⁷ Political and religious instruction was given in the very kitchens where food was distributed. These kitchen/dining rooms were a common facet of life in the postwar. In Melilla alone, Catholic Action ran three,

¹³M. T. Vera Balanza, "Un modelo de misioneras seculares. Las mujeres de Acción Católica durante el franquismo," in P. Ballarín and T. Ortiz (eds.), *La Mujer en Andalucía*, vol. I, 529.

¹⁴On numbers of members of the Women's Branch, see G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 224.

¹⁵M. T. Vera Balanza, op. cit., 529.

¹⁶*Ecclesia* (6 July 1946), 14.

¹⁷G. di Febo and M. Saba, "La condición de la mujer y el papel de la Iglesia en la Italia fascista y en la España franquista: Ideologías, leyes y asociaciones femeninas," in *Ordenamiento jurídico y realidad social de las mujeres: una aproximación histórica. Actas de las Cuartas Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria* (Madrid, 1986).

which daily fed 1000 people, all of whom received "the material assistance of food and the spiritual bread of good counsel." Apart from the food, those assisted were taught to practise "the true morality" and learn the true significance of the family, and how each person ought to behave in his or her relationships.¹⁸ By 1952 in Málaga, there were seven homes run by religious communities, four for boys and three for girls -numbering about 600 children- in which all the children received some kind of religious instruction every day, either a mass, or rosary, and instruction was given by radio to those who were ill. In the eight children's dining rooms of the capital and five of the province -feeding a total of 637 children- all received catechism class before every meal. Finally, in the dining room for new mothers, eighty women did spiritual exercises.¹⁹

In the case of the poor who did not attend the dining rooms and other institutions established for them, the bishop devised another scheme. The Secretariats of Charity were authorised to make a register of poor families with their personal details and their necessities, which was to be passed on to the bishop. The bishop, via his deacons, then tested the veracity of the claims. This process was supposed to provide an ideal opportunity to uncover moral dangers in the household, and to carry out acts of "mercy and of apostolate." The bishop urged the creation of the Secretariats of Charity and Centres of St. Vincent de Paul in every parish.²⁰ The secretariats worked hand in hand with the State welfare system. Their stated objectives were to help the poor, to promote the resolution of social problems via the application of papal doctrine on charity, and the direction and counselling of the faithful as to the benefits available under the social welfare system.²¹ It could also offer practical assistance such as finding employment or schools for those in need; but "Above all it will try to rescue children and young people from moral and material poverty within the bosom of their families, if possible, or by interning them in formative educational or reformist institutions."²²

In order to carry out their mission, the secretariats organised home visits in collaboration with the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul. Evidently the secretariats could play a highly

¹⁸*BOOM* (Aug. 1938), 528.

¹⁹*Resumen de la Labor Religiosa Realizada por la Obra de Auxilio Social durante el año 1952* (Málaga, 1953), 159-60.

²⁰*BOOM* (Oct. 1944), 627.

²¹*Ibid.* (May 1945), 344.

²²*Ibid.* (Oct. 1944), 650-2.

intrusive role on family life. The women of the Charitable-Social Section of the Women's Branch in Málaga were entrusted with the secretariat of charity, and were responsible for carrying out the visits. The poor who needed assistance were to go to the secretariat, where their names, addresses and petitions were noted, after which the visits were carried out. Alongside the file of poor people, another file on collaborators, subscribers and contributors would also be maintained.²³

The final mechanism of indoctrination of women were the school system at all levels -primary, secondary and tertiary. At school, girls were taught subjects "suitable" for their gender and destiny, and were taught to emulate the great feminine role models of Spain's Golden Age, such as Saint Theresa of Avila and Queen Isabella I.²⁴ Legislation was rapidly enacted to limit the nature, scope and content of female education.²⁵ It was considered useless, and indeed dangerous, to foster intellectual activity in women. Education for women was therefore geared towards the acquisition of practical domestic skills and a certain level of basic literacy, within the strictest confines of Catholic tradition. The attendance of women at University was regarded with suspicion; but, should tertiary studies be undertaken, women should take humanities degrees, which were more suited to the feminine character.

From the 1950's on, there was a notable improvement in the number of women who did primary or secondary studies in Málaga. As a result of the primary school building programme undertaken by Herrera Oria, especially in the rural areas, many women received basic literacy skills which they totally lacked before. Many more women prepared their baccalaureate in Málaga, and this improvement is even more notably in the 1960's, due to the social and economic changes in Spanish society which accompanied the consumer-society oriented reforms of the technocratic governments. If the average number of female students preparing the baccalaureate from in the capital during 1943-1948 was 863.2, in the years 1948-1954, the average was 1270.5 female students.²⁶ In the years 1954-1962 -years which encompassed the educational reforms of Ruiz Giménez and the construction of the rural schools in Málaga- the

²³*Fuego. Organo de Acción Católica (Suppl. al BOOM)*, no. 15 (15 June 1945), 5. See also *BOOM* (Feb. 1945), 120.

²⁴See G. di Febo, *La Santa de la Raza. Un culto barroco en la España franquista* (Barcelona, 1988).

²⁵See M. I. Pastor, *La educación femenina en la posguerra. El caso de Mallorca* (Madrid, 1984).

²⁶J. F. Jiménez Trujillo and M. Burgos Madronero, *Los Institutos de Bachillerato de Málaga*, 153.

average went up to 2323.6 female students.²⁷ Admittedly, the real takeoff was subsequent to Herrera Oria's period as bishop; there were only three public high schools in the province of Málaga until 1961.²⁸ The total number of female students preparing the baccalaureate in 1962-1963 is 4,057. Ten years later in 1972-1973 the total had reached 10,626, in 1982-1983 it reached 14,882 and in 1989-1990 it had reached 21,414.²⁹ While the number of women receiving an education gradually improved, the discrimination to which they were submitted did not. The basic perception was that women were inferior for certain jobs and lacked certain skills; pedagogical methods and orientations were still differentiated according to gender, and educational options for women continued to be geared towards those areas which were considered to be an extension of the feminine maternal instinct.

Paradoxically however, the Women's Section and the Catholic apostolic organisations did constitute the beginnings of feminine emancipation, even though this was not intended either by the régime or by the ecclesiastical authorities. By virtue of the greater demand for feminine labour over the years, and of the semi-missionary role assigned to women by the bishop, Herrera Oria, a greater number of women were educated for longer. The State desired fertile mothers; but its own economic policies undermined rural culture, taking urban values and standards into the countryside and undermining the authority of the patriarchal family which it purported to defend. Whilst defending tradition, the State introduced modernity, and prepared women to assume a more public role in life.

This process has been analysed for the rural community of Istán by Badillo Baena. The rural teacher of Istán was an ardent Falangist, who taught the girls the elementals of political doctrine, ladylike comportment, and filled her students with terror about sex and men. But she also encouraged female students to be more ambitious in life. She urged them not to think about marriage as the only option, to study more, and postpone marriage until studies were over. She also introduced concepts which were non-existent in agrarian society -productive time, timetables, competition, examinations, prizes, and punishments. Local values were undermined by the practice of using the girls' real names, instead of their nicknames, as is traditional in rural

²⁷Ibid., 156.

²⁸The three public high schools were Vicente Espinel (Málaga capital), Barahona de Soto (Archidona) and Sierra Blanca (Marbella). In 1961 and 1962, public high schools were opened in Vélez-Málaga and Ronda respectively. In 1964, one was opened in Sierra Bermeja and, in 1967, another was opened in Campillos. In contrast, eleven new high schools are opened in the province in the 1970's, and in the 1980's. See *ibid.*, 200-1.

²⁹Ibid., 187.

Andalusia. Ironically, then, the teacher, who was received with absolute submission and respect by the local population, introduced urban values into the community, whilst the socialising power of the traditional patriarchal family was correspondingly diminished.³⁰

2. RECATHOLICISING THE INDIFFERENT, THE LAX, AND THE HOSTILE.

When women did not strictly confine themselves to their domestic role, the ecclesiastical response was to try to draw them into Catholic Action, either on an individual basis, or by entire professions and trades within the specialised apostolate, such as the Brotherhood of Office Workers of Catholic Action [*Hermandad de Oficinistas de Acción Católica*] in 1947.³¹ It proved to be difficult to attract working class women into the specialised apostolic movements, and in 1944, the national board of Catholic Action approved the a motion whereby the apostolate was exercised by way of economic assistance, cultural and recreational services to needy women, whilst not overlooking the necessary spiritual formation. When these "marginal works" had attracted a sufficient number of women, select groups were to be established from the larger group. These would receive special training under the guidance of the Catholic Institute, the *Instituto de Cultura Religiosa Superior*.³² Subsequently, it was envisaged that these women would assume an apostolic and missionary role amongst their peers, spreading the message of Christian love and fraternity, and solidarity between classes.

As a means of making the purely maternal role more attractive, the Church was supported by the State, which introduced a wide range of subsidies, loans and benefits for those who were raising large families.³³ A system of loans for newly married couples, and bonuses for numerous families, was instituted. The measures were designed to encourage women to abandon their jobs. Applicants were to be unmarried workers, who were eligible to receive interest-free loans of 2,500 to 6,000 pesetas. The maximum rate was payable to female workers who agreed to leave their jobs and not take up another one. Generally sixteen loans were offered per province, eight of them exclusively to women who accepted the condition of giving up their jobs. The loans were meant to be used for the purchase or establishment of a home, and applicants had

³⁰R.M. Badillo, "La formación del pensamiento a través de la transmisión oral. Estudio sobre un colectivo de mujeres en Istán (Málaga)" in P. Ballarín and T. Ortiz (eds.), op. cit., vol. I.

³¹*Ecclesia* (20 Dec. 1947), 7-8.

³²*Ibid.* (6 May 1944), 10.

³³See *BOE* (19 July 1938); *Ecclesia* (1 Oct. 1941), 12; *Ecclesia* (11 July 1942), 42.

to justify that they would spend the money in this fashion. These loans were awarded after great publicity and conceded amongst great pomp and ceremony, in the presence of the public authorities.³⁴ As part of the "Victory Day" celebrations of 1 April 1941, 12,000 of these loans were conceded, 288 of these in Málaga.³⁵ In 1941 in Málaga there were 6,312 applications made by men, and 1000 applications made by women.³⁶

Other incentives included the granting of cash prizes of 1000 pesetas each month in every province, and one national prize of 5000 pesetas conceded to the marriage with the greatest number of children. Loans were also offered to numerous families; the amount increased according to the number of children, and could be accompanied by a prize, namely a small house with workshop and vegetable garden.³⁷ In May 1941, 45 married couples of Málaga, with a total of 528 children, applied for these loans, which was conceded to a couple with eighteen children.³⁸ Nevertheless, despite the considerable efforts to promote marriage and maternity, the proportion of weddings with respect to the population in Málaga was lower than the national average, and in fact, the number of marriages celebrated in Málaga after 1940 decreased, despite the sharp rise which occurred immediately after the Nationalist victory.³⁹ Similarly, there was no dramatic increase in the birthrate. In 1943, the authorities noted an alarming decline in the national birthrate which was attributed to the conscious decision not to have children.⁴⁰ In Málaga, mortality rates exceeded the birth rate. The low point in natality was reached in 1941, and did not improve much throughout the 1940's.⁴¹ Despite the official rhetoric on the maternal instinct and the Christian and patriotic duties of women, there were also cases of abortion and

³⁴Norms for the concession of loans to newly weds are in the *BOE* (11 Mar. 1941), republished in *BOOM* (Apr. 1941), 290-3.

³⁵M. Eiroa San Francisco, "Mujer y política social en los primeros años del franquismo: Málaga 1941," in P. Ballarín and T. Ortiz (eds.), op. cit., 399-400.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 400.

³⁷See *BOE* (7 Mar. 1941), republished in *BOOM* (Apr. 1941), 287-90; and *BOE* (22 Mar. 1941), republished in *BOOM* (Apr. 1941), 293-5.

³⁸M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 400.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 401.

⁴⁰*Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad: Informe Correspondiente al año 1942* (Madrid, 1943), 46-50.

⁴¹M. Eiroa San Francisco, op. cit., 402.

infanticide, although it is impossible to know how many.⁴²

As part of their campaign in defence of the Catholic family and moral values the bishops were obliged to deal with the issue of illicit sexual relations, the prevalence of which led many of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to despair. The issue of sexual vice became a virtual obsession for some.⁴³ The population was submitted to a process of moral regeneration in which repression and intrusion into private life was the norm. The bishop of Málaga took steps to "disinfect" or "vaccinate" the population against the moral perversions, seeking to stimulate conformity with Catholic moral doctrine. One of the issues that most affronted the bishop was the number of relationships and civil marriages contracted during and before the Second Republic, as well as the *amancebamientos*, or cohabitations, which produced many children were born outside of wedlock. According to one source, in Málaga in 1931, 17,014 children were born in wedlock, and another 1,318 were born outside of wedlock. That is to say, 7.2% of children born that year were illegitimate according to the tenets of the Catholic Church.⁴⁴ The bishop undertook the onerous task of "regularising" all these "illicit" "abnormal" and "anti-Catholic" unions, and administering the sacraments with the close collaboration, as always, of the civil authorities. A special secretariat of the Women's Branch of Catholic Action was set up in 1937 to investigate these cases and help these people to "normalise their Christian lives." The secretariat was present at the missions, sought out unmarried couples and arranged to have them married and their children legitimated.⁴⁵ The secretariat, which worked with "enthusiasm and extraordinary zeal," was apparently overwhelmed with work. In January 1938, there were 859 individual files open in the central register [*vicaría*] and another 356 in the parishes; 712 marriages had been held, plus 417 baptisms of adults, and 579 baptisms of children.⁴⁶ The process continued throughout the 1940's, in declining numbers. In 1943, 81 children and 50 adults were baptised, and 422 marriages were "legalised," of which 410 already had children. A total of 605 children were

⁴²*Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad*, 151. The police report included in this annual report suggests there was an average of three to four cases of infanticide and four to six abortions annually in Málaga.

⁴³On the ecclesiastical hierarchy's almost obsessive crusade against sexual vice, see F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos*, 80-9.

⁴⁴M. J. González Castillejo, op. cit., 193.

⁴⁵*BOOM* (May 1942), 393.

⁴⁶*Ibid.* (Jan. 1938), 51.

legitimated. These people were requested to take part in spiritual exercises.⁴⁷ In the report presented to the X Assembly of Catholic Action in Málaga in 1946, the results were less spectacular but the process was still underway: 216 marriages were held, and 58 were pending, while 456 children had been legitimated, and 8 adults and 17 children baptised.⁴⁸ The following year, people were encouraged to legalise their position by offering them a three month period of grace in which they could marry or baptise free of charge.⁴⁹ This was an important concession because religious services implied costs. The figures given distinguished Málaga, Antequera and Archidona, which suggests that the activities of the Secretariat possibly did not go beyond the larger urban nuclei. Certainly, as we will see, the rural population of small isolated villages continued to practise its traditional indifference to complying with religious norms well into the 1950's and 1960's.

The role of the women of the secretariat was a highly intrusive one. Apart from its role of detecting "illicit unions" and "public scandals," it was also to offer religious instruction to the future spouses, and to "look after cases that are difficult because of the danger of there being scandalous unions."⁵⁰ They were the eyes and ears of the bishop, subject to his continual supervision. Two were appointed at parish level. One was the Delegate of Married Couples [*Delegada de Matrimonios*], and the other the Catechist of Married Couples [*Catequista de Matrimonios*]. They were trained by their immediate superiors, delegates appointed by the bishop at diocesan level. The catechism instructor was entrusted with giving the couple the necessary level of religious instruction, and signed a special form to this effect when instruction was completed. The couple then took this form to the Delegate, who introduced the couple to the parish priest, and, on their wedding day, accompanied them in preparations for the hearing of confession and the reception of communion. As befitting public sinners, they could only be married in the sacristy, at odd hours, and with few witnesses; the women were not permitted to wear white.⁵¹

⁴⁷Results of the VII General Diocesan Assembly of Catholic Action in Málaga, in *Ecclesia* (4 Dec. 1943), 10.

⁴⁸*BOOM* (Dec. 1946), 784-5.

⁴⁹*Ibid.* (July 1947), 176.

⁵⁰*Ecclesia* (23 Jan. 1943), 8-9.

⁵¹M. E. Nicolás Marín and B. López García, "La situación de la mujer a través de los movimientos de Apostolado Seglar: La contribución a la legitimación del franquismo (1939-1956)," in *Mujer y sociedad en España (1900-1975)*, 2nd edn. (Madrid, 1986), 372.

The wedding was to be just the first contact between the Church and these families. Women were regarded as an important means of winning over entire families. To this end, a special organisation, the Brotherhood of the Christian Home [*Hermandad del Hogar Cristiano*], was established in the parish of San Juan in 1938, and subsequently in other parishes "to secure the fruits of the work already realised."⁵² Its mission was to follow up the work already done by Catholic Action and to "maintain contact with those recently established Christian homes, which are so much in need of the warmth of an apostle, if they are not to turn back to the glacial life of those who are totally distanced from the Church." The pressure brought to bear on these women appears to have been intense: "No means at all are to be grudged in order to achieve the objective that all the sisters hear mass on Sundays, listen to catechism every week, and every year at least, comply with the obligation of going to confession and receiving communion."⁵³ Close contact was maintained with these families on holy days, such as Saints' Days or at Easter, when a little "Feast of the Christian Home" was held. The members of the *Hermandad* were exhorted to bring their husbands with them, so that both spouses might confess and take communion. Medals were awarded to distinguished members and visits made to the ill. Those who had recently given birth also received visits, and friendly chats on the significance of baptism. At Christmas and the Epiphany, the poorer members received visits from the others, "in order to get to know their necessities and wants, to help them, give them some Christmas gift, toys to the children, etc."⁵⁴

The Women's Branch of Catholic Action ran courses, conferences, and study circles to make women understand the noble, dignified, and patriotic nature of motherhood. The object of this ideological instruction was the working class. Every year, the Women's Branch of Catholic Action held a "Mothers' Week," which culminated in the "Christian Mothers' Day" dedicated to "the not easy task of teaching women to be good Christian mothers."⁵⁵ The highlight was the concession of special diplomas and prizes to various mothers, "proposed by every one of the parishes of the capital as poor mothers, exemplary in their Christian conduct and in the Christian education of their children."⁵⁶ According to *Ecclesia*, the women of Catholic Action reached the

⁵²*BOOM* (Jan. 1938), 52.

⁵³*Ecclesia* (23 Jan. 1943), 8-9.

⁵⁴*Id.*

⁵⁵*BOOM* (Nov. 1939), 633.

⁵⁶*Ibid.* (Nov. 1939), 634.

poorest and most distanced suburbs of the capital "to talk to the children about their duties and to the mothers about their dignity, and to offer donations to the latter, filling their simple hearts with feelings never known before..." The benefits of this type of apostolate were immediate: "Women alienated from the Sacraments take communion, sometimes after thirty years since the last time; many illicit unions are sanctified, and the offspring legitimised."⁵⁷

The parish priest played a significantly repressive role in rural areas by writing reports on the state of public morality and sending them to the Civil Governor and the bishop. As is typical in Málaga, the enormous destruction and neglect of documents has resulted in the loss of an extraordinary quantity of primary sources. On the activities of some parish priests, however, there are a few extant letters to the Civil Governor, Luís Julve, denouncing the local women in no uncertain terms.⁵⁸ Indeed, the Civil Governor sent a circular to the parish priests, asking them to report elopements and cases of unmarried couples with great urgency. One such letter was written by the parish priest of the parish of San Lorenzo in the Valle de Abdalajis, Francisco Barragán, on 3 June 1957. In the letter, the parish priest informs on the immorality that prevailed in the village. He asserted: "I am not exaggerating: this village is very corrupted; there is so much evil, that it is rare to find a house where there has not been a case of immorality." And what was worse, the situation was not diminishing; on the contrary, "it is pitifully on the increase. Only about 20% go to mass on Sundays." The parish priest described a number of scandalous cases, and added: "What is more, they are public, without a doubt." In his campaign in favour of the moralisation of the village, the parish priest generously provided the authorities with a complete list of recent cohabitations, with the names of the parties, their addresses, and an opinion of each one. Many were described as being "rebellious" for refusing to marry, including very recent cases amongst "the already great number that exist in the village." Not all was failure; the priest had managed to marry two couples according to canon law, albeit only after "renouncing my own fee, and after considerable effort." But he added, "if others are to be sanctioned, so should these two be, as they have caused the same degree of scandal." He obligingly also sent a list of twentyfour purported prostitutes ("I am only sending a few of the many that exist in this village, despite its small size") arranged in order of "evilness and corruption," with the names and addresses, and sometimes the age. He also added notable characteristics, for example if they

⁵⁷*Ecclesia* (1 Jan. 1941), 15.

⁵⁸All the following documents related to the denouncing of unmarried couples are loose letters/reports contained in a box entitled *Prostitución. Amancebamiento. Adulterio. Malos tratos familiares. 1939-1980*, in the *Archivo del Gobierno Civil* (hereafter AGC) of very recent creation in Málaga.

were married or had children; one was described as very beautiful -presumably therefore she was especially dangerous. These women were denounced because they went in search of men, or sent messages to the cafés.

Diego Cano Espinosa, parish priest of Benamargosa, also sent a letter dated 10 May 1957, in which he alleged that the practice of "abducting" (that is, eloping with) women was very much established in his area. He had been unable to control it despite his best efforts. He recommended that the public natality grants -which everyone applied for- be denied in these cases.

There are numerous other revealing reports, this time from the Civil Guard and Mayors of villages to the same effect. The Civil Guard collected reports on the young couples that were living as man and wife in the home of one of the parents, or who ran away together. After receiving the reports from the Civil Guard the couple was cited to see the Civil Governor and they were instructed to marry within 15 days, and to report it to the Civil Governor; if not, they could be cited to see the Civil Governor again and arrested. Not everyone was willing to comply; according to one Civil Guard report dated 26 June 1958 from Montejaque, one group of couples had been cited to go, but they refused to go, declaring they could not see why some couples should be made to go and not others.

It is clear that there was a considerable difference between what the rural population considered immoral or indecent, and what the Church and the civil authorities considered immoral or indecent. It must be noted that elopement was a common feature in rural life in Málaga. As very few people had sufficient money to marry and construct a home, it was very typical for a young couple to simply run away together. After a few days they returned, and in view of the *fait accompli*, a quick wedding was organised the whole affair settled. According to the Civil Guard of Montejaque, there were cases where elopements and "immoral relationships" were approved of, and even aided. This occurred with frequency and was treated with normality. It did not constitute a cause for public scandal. What did constitute a cause for public scandal were cases of adultery. Hence, one report dated July 1947 from the Civil Guard of Puesto de Casares notes that one man had taken up living with a married woman with children, "for which reason he is the cause of more commentaries and scandals in this locality..." whereas another two were living with unmarried women whom they eventually planned to marry; in this latter case, there were no commentaries about them. Another report dated 16 June 1958 from Alcarbate stated "The parents of both appear to be indifferent to the case, due to their lack of instruction and to the fact that no importance is given to the cases in this region."

Reports were also received from Mayors, such as one from the Mayor of Valle Abdalajís, dated 7 February 1958, asking the Civil Governor to condemn an elopement that had taken place with maximum vigor, "so that these cases which prejudice and contradict the honesty and Catholic principles of this village are not repeated." Accordingly, the couple was cited to see the Civil Governor.

The information collected by the Civil Governor appears to have been duly passed on to the bishop. This much can be implied from the existence of some reports from the Civil Governor to the bishop. One dated 30 April 1960 reads as follows: "I am honoured to send to Your Grace the list of people from the suburb from Valdeaneja to the council area of Moclinejo who currently, or in the last two years, have cohabited." The trials and tribulations of the parish priests, the bishop, and the civil authorities appear not to diminish; the cases of "abductions" and cohabitation continued throughout the 1960's; in one such case, a note in the margin of the report ominously reads "to the Bishopric, so that the parish priest will take the appropriate measures."

Marital and family relations, then, left much to be desired in Málaga. Another vexed question was that of feminine dress norms. Santos Olivera had a very dim view of feminine chastity and modesty in Málaga. He described Málaga as "one of the most indifferent in Religion, one of the most licentious, and of greatest general ignorance."⁵⁹ Dress norms were all important because of the presumption that women were responsible for provoking the moral transgressions of men. In 1945, Bishop Santos Olivera solemnly warned the female members of his flock that when they were "impudently dressed," perhaps without even realising, "you are setting infernal fire to the hearts of straw that you pass." Women, he argued, were made more chaste by God in order to quell masculine concupiscence.⁶⁰ The bishop valued simplicity and austerity in women above all else, and was mortified to see how women entering churches "like carnal goddesses, seeking the looks of their adorers and provoking the sensuality and the passions of men..."⁶¹

To prevent this sacrilege, Santos Olivera had had a special poster prepared for exhibition in churches as early as 1937, warning women that anyone who went to church leaving arms totally or partially uncovered, or who did not wear stockings, or who exhibited an indecent bustline, would be invited or obliged to leave the church, and on no account were to receive

⁵⁹*BOOM* (Aug. 1943), 504.

⁶⁰*Ibid.* (June 1945), 409.

⁶¹*Ibid.* (June 1945), 408.

communion.⁶² He also began a campaign entitled "Pro Austerity and Modesty," which included the publication of a pastoral on morality.⁶³ The campaign was intense: all kinds of devotional and liturgical acts were held and heavily promoted in bulletins, centres of Catholic Action, etcetera. Lectures and conferences were held in Universities, colleges, cultural centres, and publications and posters widely distributed. According to the bishop, even Moslem women were more chaste and modest than their Christian counterparts. Indeed, feminine decadence was such that students of religious colleges had been breaching dress norms, thus obliging the bishop to reprove the female religious on more than one occasion.⁶⁴ The female religious were ordered to explain dress norms to their students at the beginning and end of every school year, and a poster was to be in full view of them at all times, with the norms of feminine modesty printed on it.⁶⁵ Forbidden garments including close fitting dresses, low necklines, dresses that did not cover the knees, or sleeves that did not at least reach the elbow. Teachers of female students -and especially the female religious- were instructed not to admit girls inadequately dressed to the colleges, or to have them expelled.

Along with dress norms, the ecclesiastical hierarchy concentrated a great deal on leisure activities, which they regarded as a important potential source of vice. The three great dangers were the beaches, the cinema, and dances. Compliance with ecclesiastical norms with respect to swimming, the cinema, and dancing were made an indispensable condition for membership of Catholic Action or any other pious organisation. Those who did not comply were to be expelled.⁶⁶ Santos Olivera was frankly horrified by what he witnessed on the beaches of Málaga. The bathing suits and the mixing of genders were matters that obsessed the bishop. He warned the faithful that it was a sin to go to the beach with what he termed "people who lived a bad life," or those who were "too liberal" in their dress sense or conversations. It was a grave sin to seek entertainment in conversation with members of the opposite sex whilst still in bathers. One of the most alarming things was that supposedly pious people were engaging in such immoral activities. He declared that one could understand that such scenes might occur "in those awful years of irreligion and impiety;" but that they should occur within the current national context, "is

⁶²Ibid. (Aug. 1937), 217.

⁶³Id.

⁶⁴Ibid. (June 1945), 402.

⁶⁵Ibid. (Aug. 1943), 509.

⁶⁶Ibid. (June 1945), 411-2.

inconceivable, nor can it be in any way tolerated."⁶⁷

In practice, however, the prelates could little more than harangue the faithful and urge the civil authorities to take action. A Civil Governor's order of 11 September 1939 had designated certain beaches as swimming zones, and ordered that people change in the huts provided and not on the beach. If they lived nearby, they could come to the beach in a swimming costume, provided they were covered by a bath-robe, which was to be left at the water's edge and put on again immediately upon emerging from the water. A fine of 250 pesetas was payable on the first offence, and 500 pesetas for subsequent offences.⁶⁸ The ecclesiastical war against indecency at the beach was a perpetual one, however. In the 1960's Herrera Oria was obliged to deal with the same issues, plus its modern innovations, such as the appearance of the bikini thanks to the ever increasing number of foreign tourists.⁶⁹

Another issue that aroused clerical hostility was dancing. Dancing allegedly provoked licentiousness and sin. Santos Olivera took measures against modern dance in 1946, when he published the *Circular dictando Normas Prácticas acerca de los Bailes Modernos* [Circular dictating practical norms on modern dances], insisting these norms were strictly obligatory.⁷⁰ There were four norms. Firstly, dances were declared to be "a danger to Christian piety," and those who attended them were deemed not to be in conditions to take daily communion. Secondly, the pious Catholics could not take on the responsibility of organising dances for whatever reason -even dances in favour of charities were absolutely prohibited. Thirdly, members of Catholic Action who attended dances would be expelled. Finally, the Catholic press was forbidden to publicise dances, including society dances. The bishop of Málaga also published a prohibition decreed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, forbidding the holding of theatrical events involving actors of both sexes in order to raise money for religious purposes, or even plays or short performances involving children of both sexes.⁷¹

The final adversary of honourable Christian leisure was the cinema. The State film censorship boards included a representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who had a right of

⁶⁷Ibid. (June 1940), 377-9.

⁶⁸Ibid. (Oct. 1939), 547-8.

⁶⁹Ibid. Supplement (May 1959), 149-63.

⁷⁰Ibid. (June 1946), 358-60.

⁷¹Ibid. (June 1946), 377.

veto over any film.⁷² Nevertheless the bishops occasionally banned a film despite its having been passed by the official censors. Various Catholic associations -such as the Association of Heads of Families and the Marian Congregations established their own mechanisms for the classification of films.⁷³ The bishop of Málaga was unequivocally hostile to the cinema and, and he expressed his hostility in no uncertain terms. In one long and bitter condemnation of one film published in 1946, the bishop of Málaga vented his spleen, and then candidly confessed that in fact, he had not seen the film and had no intention of seeing it, on the grounds that "For every good film there are a thousand bad ones and two thousand even worse ones."⁷⁴

With the passage of time and the evolution of the social and economic conditions in Málaga, a new moral threat to the family and to orthodox values appeared, in the form of emigration. As the diocesan bulletin noted, emigration implied loss of contact with one's roots, including with the moral guidelines that usually guided human action, and also implied prolonged contact with philosophies that were possibly quite different from or opposed to Catholic orthodoxy.⁷⁵ In response to this new threat, the Church established its own migration commission, the *Comisión Católica Española de Emigración* [Spanish Catholic Commission on Emigration], with a diocesan delegation in every diocese, and in some parishes.⁷⁶ Particular attention was devoted to women; on the one hand, on the grounds that women were the guardians and trustees of traditional values; secondly, because they were regarded as being especially vulnerable to foreign ideas and practices. Apart from handling the paperwork, the principal role of the delegation was to prepare the migrants for life overseas, offering, for example, extensive courses for girls travelling to Germany or Switzerland, in language, geography, and local customs and lifestyle. Migrants were reminded that "The Church does not abandon her children who are far from the maternal home, surrounded by danger and

⁷²The *Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica* was created by Decree of 28 June 1946.

⁷³*Ecclesia* (19 Jan. 1946), 69. Also, on 17 February 1950, the *Comisión Episcopal de Ortodoxia y Moralidad* set up the *Oficina Nacional Permanente de Vigilancia de Espectáculos*, which included representatives of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. On the scant attention paid to ecclesiastical recommendations on cinema by young people, see *Ecclesia* (2 June 1951), 15.

⁷⁴*BOOM* (June 1946), 402.

⁷⁵See *ibid.* (Jan. 1961), 53; and *ibid.* (Feb. 1962), 164.

⁷⁶The two State-run emigration organisations were the *Oficina de Colocación y Encuadramientos de Sindicatos* and the *Delegación del Instituto Español de Emigración*.

abandoned."⁷⁷

It was calculated that in 1961, between four to five thousand people left Málaga for overseas, of which about half were assisted by official or Catholic organisations.⁷⁸ The migrants who requested assistance were put on file, and the parish priests were advised of the arrival of individuals or parties, so that a close eye could be kept on the migrants after they had left through the parishes where they were destined. The diocesan offices had to have the departure date of the migrants on record, as well as personal information on his or her moral, religious and social circumstances. Priests were urged to be enthusiastic and zealous in the maintenance of relations with departed migrants. These measures were regarded as absolutely essential "in order to defend family, religious, cultural values etc."⁷⁹ The home parish also had to keep records of where the migrants were destined in order to correspond with them, or send them religious publications, to remind them of their traditional practices and beliefs.⁸⁰ The diocesan delegation of migration was to distribute "Interior Migration Cards," which were to be filled in by the parish priest, and sent to the parish priest of the migrant's new parish so that he would be fully informed about the newly arrived migrant.⁸¹

The day of departure provided a good excuse for the parish to give a special farewell, at which migrants received presents including crucifixes, rosaries, and religious books. They were accompanied to the train. After the departure, the parish priests' duties included visiting all the families in which a member of the family had emigrated, and be informed on their current necessities and "relationships that they are currently maintaining."

Special measures were adopted for women, who were migrating in significant numbers. In England alone, there were between 12,000 and 20,000 Spaniards working, not including students, of which the majority were women. Only in 1960, 6,000 Spanish women had arrived in London to work.⁸² The ecclesiastical authorities were preoccupied by the fact that some migration agencies, working within the strictest legality, were nevertheless agencies run on a purely commercial basis and were totally uninterested in the girls' religious and moral problems.

⁷⁷*BOOM* (Feb. 1961), 165.

⁷⁸*Ibid.* (Feb. 1962), 164.

⁷⁹*Ibid.* (Jan. 1961), 38.

⁸⁰*Ibid.* (Jan. 1961), 55.

⁸¹*Ibid.* (June 1961), 535.

⁸²*Ibid.* (Mar. 1961), 255.

Hence, the ecclesiastical bulletin published the addresses of religious residencies in London so that parish priests could direct young women there directly.⁸³

For those considered to be the most degenerate sectors of society, special "protective" and "regenerative" mechanisms were applied. These mechanisms were protective of society, by isolating the individual concerned, and then sought to win the individual over to Christ and to Catholic morality. The *Patronato de Protección de la Mujer* [Board for the Protection of Women] was established by decree of 6 November 1941. Its first President was Alberto Martín Artajo, distinguished Propagandist and head of Catholic Action. The objective of the *Patronato* was the "moral dignification of women, especially of young women, in order to prevent exploitation, distance them from vice, and educate them in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic religion." The *Patronato* had very extensive powers. Its protective jurisdiction permitted it to adopt "protective measures in favour of women who live in a dangerous environment, and stimulate social interest in favour of morally abandoned women, especially minors." Secondly, the *Patronato* was entrusted with vigilance over the possible commission of crimes, such as abuse of minors, as well as with denouncing immorality, such as obscene publications. Thirdly, it had jurisdiction over minors that might fall into its hands. Finally, it was to defend Catholic doctrine and morality at national level. It was empowered to propose legislative reforms, seek possible sources of income, train personnel and foster the creation of whatever institutions were necessary, with particular interest in female inmates. Provincial councils were established in all provinces and local councils whenever it was deemed necessary.⁸⁴

The repressive character of this institution is notable merely from its composition; after amendment in 1942 (BOE 4 July 1942), it comprised a representative of the bishop, the health authorities, the military, the police, the Movement, the President of the *Tribunal Tutelar de Menores* [the Tribunal for the Protection of Minors], plus three members of each gender and two vice-presidents.⁸⁵

The *Patronato* relied directly on reports received from civil or ecclesiastical authorities, including priests. Martín Artajo himself published a letter in the ecclesiastical bulletins requesting

⁸³Ibid. (Feb. 1961), 170; and *ibid.* (Mar. 1961), 255.

⁸⁴*Redención* (22 Nov. 1941), 1.

⁸⁵BOE (4 July 1942), republished in *BOOM* (Aug. 1942), 663-4.

the assistance of parish priests. The *Patronato* was preparing a hostel for young women, especially for those who could not find work in the cities, and who therefore risked falling into a life of vice. Martín Artajo asked parish priests to prepare a list of those girls who had moved from their parishes and were in a situation of moral danger, or who gave the priest cause for concern, and those girls -especially if they were minors- who had left the village and whose conduct aroused the suspicion of the priest. Santos Olivera heartily endorsed this request and urged the assistance of his parish priests on behalf of "so many hapless women."⁸⁶ As usual in the case of Málaga, documents relating to the activities of the *Patronato* are virtually non-existent, except for a few letters and reports which have survived in the Civil Governor's Archive. This handful of documents indicates that the *Patronato*, indeed, the civil authorities, were frequently utilised in order to forcibly resolve personal problems and family crises. There is an aberrant number of letters from wives denouncing their husbands for being unfaithful; there was even a letter to this effect dated 6 September 1957 and addressed to General Franco himself. This woman asked the authorities to have her husband's lover exiled from Málaga and Madrid, where her husband worked and where both adulterous parties met.⁸⁷ In another letter, a daughter denounced her father for bringing his lovers home, despite the presence of his wife.⁸⁸ Yet another wife denounced her husband's infidelity -he was actually living with another woman although his wife was pregnant- and the *Patronato* found the husband, sent him to court accused of abandonment, while the wife was sent to the hospital until she gave birth.⁸⁹ Another woman denounced her neighbour for turning the hallway of the apartments "into a real brothel."⁹⁰ In some cases reported, when the *Patronato* sent these "fallen" women to the religious congregations, and if they proved to be incorrigible, they were sent to prison.

The more sinister and repressive side of the *Patronato* is manifested in one letter from the Provincial Council of the *Patronato* to the Civil Governor dated 19 December 1947, in which the talent which some its members showed for espionage is patent. The letter referred to the denouncing of three local women who maintained "fairly suspicious correspondence

⁸⁶*BOOM* (Jan. 1944), 66-7.

⁸⁷Letter dated 6 September 1957, in AGC, in a box entitled *Prostitución. Amancebamientos. Adulterio. Malos tratos familiares. 1939-1980*.

⁸⁸Letter dated 3 May 1956, in *ibid*.

⁸⁹Letter dated 14 June 1947, in *ibid*.

⁹⁰Letter dated 24 April 1947, in *ibid*.

indicating illicit relations with eminent North African Moslems..." Having proven the veracity of the information, it was passed on to the Civil Governor in case he should wish to prohibit the issuing of passports and travel permits to these women.⁹¹

In other cases, the only reason for collecting information appears to have been merely a taste for gossip. In one letter of 3 September 1947, the *Patronato* gave the Civil Governor a full report on the case of one woman who had denounced her husband for abandonment and adultery, even though the family was now reunited and reconciled.⁹² It must be noted that the *Patronato* and jealous wives were not the only parties implicated in these reports, but zealous citizens were also keen to participate. There was one letter from a citizen addressed to the bishop, denouncing homosexuals that perverted children in public places, and another denouncing the existence of brothels.⁹³ The parish priest of Peñarrubia also wrote denouncing the local army sergeant for apparently maintaining a relationship with an alleged prostitute.⁹⁴

If the vigilance exercised over the "morally suspect" was intrusive enough, the fate of prostitutes was evidently worse. Prostitution proliferated in the postwar, and was tolerated by the régime to a considerable extent. Prostitution was regarded as a necessary evil. Legislation was only enacted and enforced in so far as it was necessary to protect public health and maintain a certain level of discretion. Prostitutes were registered by the police and subjected to periodical medical checks; only clandestine, or unauthorised prostitution was repressed.

The *Patronato de Protección de la Mujer* had jurisdiction over prostitutes, and generally sent them to special prisons or to reside in a convent for a minimum of six months. Until the *Patronato* had its own buildings, women were systematically placed with religious congregations. By an agreement of 1 August 1942, the *Patronato* paid 4 pesetas daily for every woman interned, and 2 more for each child. Usually the women went to the *Adoratrices*, the *Oblatas del Santísimo Redentor*, or the *Religiosas del Buen Pastor* for especially difficult cases.⁹⁵ On emerging, the *Patronato* helped them to find accommodation and an "honourable" way of making a living, presumably using the skills taught them by the nuns. However, in order

⁹¹Letter dated 19 December 1947, in *ibid.*

⁹²Letter dated 3 September 1947, in *ibid.*

⁹³Letters dated September 1955, and 4 November 1955 respectively, in *ibid.*

⁹⁴Letter dated 23 October 1941, in *ibid.*

⁹⁵P. Navarro Jiménez, "Fundamentos y organización del Patronato de Protección a la mujer," in M. T. López Beltrán (coord.), *Las mujeres en Andalucía*, vol. II, 338.

to be released, they had to appear before a tribunal composed of various professionals and functionaries as well as a priest, which assessed the case and decided (after considering the inmates' behaviour, work, means of earning a living, home environment, health, and other factors), "whether it is appropriate to concede liberty, or whether to prolong the stay in the establishment for another three months, which can be extended by periods of three months up to a maximum of two years."⁹⁶

That is, the sentence could theoretically be extended unless the prostitute could prove that she had been reformed. *Redención de penas*, or the reduction of the sentence or of time to be served, was expressly not available under article 5, although hard work and repentance were taken into account in granting release. Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that women often underwent startling changes of attitude. The Catholic press delighted in stories of redemption, in which jubilant confessors spoke of miracles of grace.⁹⁷ In some cases, the reconversion to a virtuous life was genuine, product of an intense process of recatholicisation. The *Adoratrices* -whose apostolate consisted of assisting prostitutes and other defenceless women- was one of the religious orders most entrusted with this work.

A typical day with the *Adoratrices* went as follows: a quarter of an hour was spent every day dedicated to silent prayer, half an hour of vigil before the Sacred Host, half an hour of reading on spiritual themes, and individual examination of conscience. Rosary and *trísagio* were held every day, confession was heard weekly, and communion was taken whenever it was recommended by the confessor.⁹⁸ A day's retreat was held every month, and ten days of spiritual exercises every year. As to education, they received "that which is appropriate to their sex and class and is considered to be necessary or useful to them for the style and condition of life to which they might be called," that is, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, some history and geography, and dressmaking. In addition, they were taught domestic tasks and "the skills that can be useful to them to earn a living honourably."⁹⁹ The important role that this one community had in the recatholicisation of women can be inferred from the figures published in *Ecclesia*: in 1900-1917, the *Adoratrices* had had 15,300 girls in their care, whereas at the moment of writing

⁹⁶*Redención* (22 Nov. 1941), 1.

⁹⁷See e.g. *Ecclesia* (15 Dec. 1941), 12; and *ibid.* (21 Mar. 1942), 9.

⁹⁸*Trísagio* is a ritual prayer which goes as follows: "Santo Dios, santo fuerte, santo inmortal, libranos Sr. de todo mal." It habitually used to be said in emergency situations such as in storms, to free the person from danger. It was presumably said by these women to seek preservation from moral danger.

⁹⁹*Ibid.* (29 Aug. 1942), 8.

in 1942, there were more than 80,000 girls in their care.¹⁰⁰ When an interned woman was deemed apt to be returned to her family, a social worker called a *celadora* had to write up a report on the religious and moral conduct of the family, and the family would be visited by a *visitadora*, who as her name suggests, made visits of inspection on behalf of the *Patronato*. This woman had maximum authority to intern the woman again.¹⁰¹ The woman and her family continued to receive visits after being placed in liberty.

Girls could also be placed under vigilance of the *Patronato* without actually being placed in an institution. The *Patronato* employed *celadoras*, whose work was to reform girls, if possible without interning them. These women were placed under conditional liberty. The *Patronato* sent a *celadora* to collect information on the family environment and visit the women as often as necessary. The women were put to work in workshops, and the *celadora* was obliged to be in contact with the boss to inform herself on the conduct and attendance of her charges. These workshops could be public or private and were of many different types. There were carpet workshops, or workshops with the *Adoratrices*, who dedicated themselves to the more traditional sewing and embroidery. The *celadoras* were also to guide the women morally, teach them the fundamentals of Catholicism, orient them professionally and help them find work, and any other measures "which will improve their homes," including "legalising their family situation," that is, encourage the woman to marry her partner. The *celadora* was to periodically inform the *Patronato* of the conduct and necessities of the woman, "until said young woman is granted definitive liberty or is interned in a reformatory."¹⁰² The *celadoras* were also obliged to denounce any scandals or immorality, and also personally accompanied woman to reformatories, colleges, hospitals etcetera. The training given to the *celadoras* is indicative of their socialising role: they received 48 hours of religious/ moral instruction, and 110 hours of psychological/ medical/ legal instruction.¹⁰³

Whilst great efforts were made to regenerate prostitutes, the belief that prostitution was inevitable and to a certain extent necessary, affected even the thinking of the very *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer*. In its 1943 report on public morality, the *Patronato* made proposals on

¹⁰⁰Ibid. (29 Aug. 1942), 9.

¹⁰¹*Patronato de Protección de la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad*, 25-6.

¹⁰²*Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. La moralidad pública y su evolución: Memoria correspondiente al bienio 1943-1944* (Madrid, 1944), 405-6.

¹⁰³*Patronato de Protección de la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad*, 20.

public morality which did not include the prohibition of prostitution.¹⁰⁴ Instead, it proposed a long list of essentially repressive measures which were designed to tolerate official prostitution while ruthlessly suppressing any other breaches of public morality. Amongst the recommendations were: the arrest and internment of clandestine prostitutes and of "women of evil lives who cause scandal with their attitudes in public places:" the strict policing of streets, cafés and gardens: strict vigilance of public dances and dress norms: strict censorship of films: and the prosecution of pornography. It suggested a special study and vigilance be carried out of the special feasts typical of each region, such as the *romerías* of Andalusia, in which the profane celebrations often led to excesses. Other recommendations included: sending propaganda to parents outlining their educational duties vis à vis their daughters; the moral instruction of all civil servants, the avoidance of mixing genders in offices; and the establishment of a special apostolate in anti-venereal hospitals. However, it accepted that prostitution be strictly controlled, and the women should regularly submit themselves to police identification and medical examination. Whilst the case histories indicated that poverty and loss of a male protector -partner, husband, father, or brother- was often the cause of prostitution, the *Patronato* preferred to focus on the symptoms of the malady rather than the cause, and prescribed a Catholic education as the only remedy for the problem of prostitution.

It is virtually impossible to know how many prostitutes there were in Málaga, or indeed, any other region of Spain. According to the police statistics, in Málaga in 1942, there were 120 authorised brothels and 850 authorised prostitutes as well as a number of clandestine brothels and a great quantity of clandestine prostitutes, both married and single. Málaga appears as one of the provinces with most brothels and prostitutes in the nation.¹⁰⁵ An unsigned report on the problem of prostitution in the Civil Governor's Archive would corroborate that the problem in Málaga was indeed a major one. According to the anonymous author, prostitution was widespread and visible on the streets.¹⁰⁶ There was also "a never-ending list of hotels, boarding houses and private houses where they lodge."¹⁰⁷

The recommended solution was to drive prostitutes from the streets of Málaga and

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 150.

¹⁰⁶"El Problema de la Prostitución en Málaga," (Feb. 1950), in AGC, box 1939-1980, *Prostitución. Amancebamiento. Adulterio. Malos tratos familiares*, 1.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 2.

seclude them in brothels on the outskirts. If they were minors and susceptible to regeneration, they would be sent to a religious community or educational centre, or to their relatives, or be liable to ninety days arrest. If the women, of whatever age, were so corrupt as not to be susceptible to regeneration, it would be recommended that they be interned in the Women's Reformatory of Alcalá de Henares. Brothels in the city centre would be moved and all houses of ill repute closed. Internment in brothels would be permanent. The women would only be able to leave "for justified reasons and subject to the prior authorisation of the relevant police authority..." The prostitutes were to submit to medical checks. The author recommended that someone study how to move them to the clinics when there was little traffic on the streets, and if that was impossible, transport the prostitutes discreetly by car. Breaches would be sanctioned with fines, and if repeated, with arrest. Finally, the new service, to be called *Servicio de Vigilancia y Represión de la Prostitución* [Service for the Vigilance and Repression of Prostitution], was to be assigned a certain number of police and municipal guards in civilian clothes.¹⁰⁸

Finally, the author also recommended taking steps, in the interests of the elimination of sexual vices, against "the fiancée problem," that is, the problem of unmarried women engaged in a relationship with a man. If the relationship were with a married man, "we should be inflexible," and if the infidelity were proved, the woman ought to be sanctioned by jail sentence, internment or expulsion from the locality.¹⁰⁹ If the relationship were with an unmarried man, greater tolerance was required, especially if the couple had children and were planning to marry, although making the local Catholic associations or the parish priest participants in the moral preparation of the couple.¹¹⁰ As the report is unsigned and has no letterhead, and is unaccompanied by any other clarifying documents, it is unfortunately impossible to know if, and how many, of these extraordinary recommendations were actually carried out in practice.

The regeneration of fallen women implied the active collaboration of policemen as vigilantes of public morality, a role for which many were not prepared and were clearly uncomfortable with. The *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer* sent questionnaires to the police on the state of public and private morality in all the Spanish provinces. The questionnaires and

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 4-6.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 3.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 3.

police summaries from all the provinces of Spain were published.¹¹¹ In 1943, the *Patronato* sought information on all aspects of morality, including whether there were unmarried couples cohabiting; if so, how many; if these were public; and if they were accepted socially. The questionnaire also asked about "fallen single women," abandonment of seduced women, and asked whether contraception was practiced. There were questions headed "General Observations on the Fundamental honesty of Women" related to marital fidelity, and which included the question "Is the concept of feminine honour getting stronger or laxer?" To all of the questions, the police were also asked to comment on "measures which ought to be adopted."

Many of the police gave very brief answers to these questions. Some of the questions received no answer at all. The police of Málaga did not appear to be enthused with their role as moral guardians of the population and gave terse, laconic replies. In apparent contradiction with the Civil Guard reports which were sent to the Civil Governor, the police report on Málaga asserted that cohabitation "did not abound" and was socially unacceptable, and that the concept of feminine honour was "totally maintained."¹¹²

The recatholicisation of family life was also carried out through children. There was a serious problem with abandoned children in Málaga. According to the 1943 police report to the *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer*, from forty to sixty unmarried pregnant women received assistance every year. Given that they obviously had no family support, they may have been prostitutes. The report also noted a great number of abandoned children -68 at that moment- and calculated that about 60% of the infantile population did not attend school, which was attributed primarily to parental neglect.¹¹³ Children which were removed from the parents' custody were often interned in religious colleges. The *Tribunal Tutelar de Menores* [Guardianship Board for Minors] was established to deal with children. In Málaga, the Provincial Board for the Protection of Minors was established in 1937, and its Guardianship Board by *BOE* of 15 July 1942.¹¹⁴ A subsequent decree gave the ecclesiastical authorities representation in the *Consejo Superior de Protección de Menores* [Superior Council for the Protection of Minors] and in its provincial and local boards.¹¹⁵ The tribunals had a protective jurisdiction which empowered them to warn, jail,

¹¹¹*Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. La moralidad pública y su evolución.*

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 103-4.

¹¹³*Patronato de Protección de la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad*, 151.

¹¹⁴See *Sur* (10 Nov. 1937), 10; and *BOOM* (Aug. 1942), 664, respectively.

¹¹⁵*BOE* (9 Oct. 1943), republished in *BOOM* (Dec. 1943), 836.

or place any adult under conditional liberty if it was deemed that they exercised a negative influence on children. The tribunals were financed by a 5% levy on entertainment. In 1942, it was decreed that the Provincial Boards use whatever local institutions were suitable, often those already established by religious communities, and pay the costs.¹¹⁶ In Málaga, the operation of this institution was strongly limited by the lack of funding. The strong economic crisis which affected the province, especially in 1949, led to the closure of various theatres and cinemas.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the province of Málaga, which had one of the worst problems of homeless youth of the nation because of the benevolence of the climate, was completely unable to fund suitable establishments to look after these children.¹¹⁸

Psychological and social evaluations of the causes of juvenile delinquency generally class the children of Málaga as coming from harmful families [*familias nocivas*], or from families that were deficient, both morally and economically.¹¹⁹ According to the *Reseña Estadística de Málaga* of 1956, the acts that most impelled the intervention of the tribunals in 1950-1954 were crimes of dishonesty, typically illegal pasturing of animals and thievery.¹²⁰ These children once detained, were overwhelmingly placed in a religious institution; in 1954, about 345 were placed in 17 religious colleges or institutions, as opposed to 25 under special observation and 125 in the care of families or the authorities.¹²¹ The *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer* acknowledged that poverty, corruption by elders, and abandonment were overwhelmingly the causes of juvenile delinquency.¹²² Nevertheless, the offender was sanctioned with all severity, whatever the motive of the crime may have been. The question of reforming the status quo was avoided by attributing the causes of social problems to the moral, psychological, and spiritual weaknesses of its victims. Poverty, and the delinquency it inspired, was treated as being intimately related to moral degeneracy. The Minister of Justice, Esteban Bilbao, argued that the children under the

¹¹⁶*Ecclesia* (14 Feb. 1942), 1.

¹¹⁷*Revista de la Obra de Protección de Menores* (hereafter ROPM), (4th trim. 1949), 50.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.* (4th trim. 1950), 146-50.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.* (4th trim. 1946), 40-67; *ibid.* (4th trim. 1947), 75-100; and *ibid.* (1950), 61-103.

¹²⁰*Reseña Estadística de Málaga* (Madrid, 1956), 495-6.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 497. It is not possible to give the exact number of children in religious colleges because in the case of a couple of the institutions listed, it is impossible to know whether the colleges were run by religious communities or not. In any case, the preponderance of religious communities in this kind of work is clear.

¹²²*Patronato de Protección a la Mujer. Informe sobre la moralidad*, 57.

tutorship of the tribunals needed surgery to cut out "the rotten members," and that it was necessary to "fill classrooms with the immortal breath of the faith and save young people through charity..."¹²³ Juvenile delinquency, the Minister argued, was not just a judicial problem; each delinquent represented a soul to be saved from ignorance and corruption.

Hence, the reformatories were given an expressly religious and moralising role, in which the young offenders would learn moral and religious virtues. An article published in 1946 declared the objective of the reformatories as being to situate minors in a moral environment where they could straighten out their bad habits and evil inclinations.¹²⁴

The boys in reformatories underwent three stages of socialisation. The first was the so-called "Section of Hope," where everything was ordered and organised for them. Absolute obedience and discipline was expected of the minors. In the next section, the "Section of Perseverance," the minors received some privileges provided their conduct was good. Finally, they passed to conditional liberty," in which a job was found for them, and where they worked under the supervision of the Tribunal, using skills learnt in the reformatory. The principal concern of the reformatory was:

Religious and moral instruction, an intense and deeply felt spiritual life, frequency of sacraments and pious practices, scientific organisation of work, technical skills, a broad education and culture, a healthy body and a healthy soul...¹²⁵

The instruction received was intended to produce honourable men, accustomed to work, who loved humility and domestic life, and who "felt in their hearts that the secret of happiness does not consist of doing great things, but in carrying out their daily obligations with enthusiasm and perseverance."¹²⁶

The women who worked for the *Patronato de Protección del Menor* were called *visitadoras sociales*, and they were to be "the eyes of the Board." These women's discretionary powers were expressly wide; they were instructed to follow the spirit and not so much the letter of the law when complying with orders.¹²⁷ They also had wide powers to intervene in family life.

¹²³*Ecclesia* (13 June 1942), 8.

¹²⁴*ROPM* (2nd trim. 1946), 4.

¹²⁵*Ibid.* (2nd trim. 1946), 8.

¹²⁶*Id.*

¹²⁷*Ibid.* (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 67.

Indeed, this kind of work was expressly entrusted to women because it was regarded as an extension of their maternal instinct.¹²⁸ All families with a child under the jurisdiction of the Board had a file drawn up by the *visitadora*, which noted all the negative circumstances that affected the minor, and its causes. Secondly, she was charged with reconstructing and reorganising the domestic life of those whose parents were deemed incapable of resolving acute family problems. Her powers ranged from providing social assistance for the family, to interning a member of the family in a hospital or institution.¹²⁹

Once the minor was released into the custody of his or her family, the *visitadora* was responsible for finding the minor a college or a job. She would also visit the family home and check that the moral standard had not dropped, and counsel parents with respect to their duties vis a vis the child. Finally, "she will demand that the minor be accountable for the instruction received in the institutions of the Board," which evidently implied that the minor was to continue to live up to the same moral and religious standards.¹³⁰

Families moved by the Boards had to be assisted by the *visitadora*, for example, in finding accommodation, so that even the liberty of deciding where the family should live could be denied them. They could veto families from living near other relatives and close friends given that it would give them an important network of support and a strong sense of social solidarity and identity, but which could foster an ideological current opposed to the régime. The power to "assist" in finding accommodation can be interpreted as part of an attempt to prevent the creation of human networks and an attempt to isolate ideologically dangerous elements.

Visitadoras also supervised the minors' activities in workshops, institutions and workplaces run by the boards. They had to know everything about the minor, including "the environment of the minor during work hours, behaviour and productivity at work or at the workshop, hours of entry and exit, as well as overtime at work, amount of earnings, and bonuses..."¹³¹

The *asistentas sociales* [social workers] who worked for the tribunals¹³² carried out

¹²⁸Ibid. (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 68.

¹²⁹Ibid. (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 69-70.

¹³⁰Ibid. (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 70.

¹³¹Ibid. (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 72.

¹³²The women who worked for the *Tribunal Tutelar de Menores* were called *delegadas*. Those who worked for the *Patronato de Protección a la Mujer* were *celadoras* and those in individual firms were *auxiliares* or *asistentas sociales*. The *auxiliar* was an inferior position to the *asistente social* who had to have at least

similar repressive functions. As soon as the offender was caught, the *asistent*a drew up a report on the the offender's background, and on the immediate and more remote causes of the crime. During the term of the prison sentence, she was to see to the material and moral welfare of the prisoner and his or her family, and once the prisoner was released, she was to exercise "a prudent guardianship over the individual, helping him to readapt to the family and to society."¹³³ Her reports were of vital importance before the tribunals and in deciding the course of "re-educational training" that was most appropriate in each case.

Particular vigilance was exercised over the sectors of the female population which were overtly, or were presumed to be, hostile to the new régime. These women were subjected to an especially dehumanising treatment. Republican women were considered to be even more degenerate than the men, because they were psychically inferior to men, more akin to infants and animals than humans. The relationship between delinquency and moral/spiritual degeneracy was taken for granted. "Red" women were ostensibly completely dissolute in their private lives, and demonstrated no respect for the most elemental norms of Catholic morality. The relationship between psychological/spiritual illness and delinquency was given scientific support by a psychological study carried out in 1939. This study was based on a survey carried out on female political prisoners in the jail of Málaga, entitled "Psychic nature of Marxist Fanaticism. Psychological Investigation of Delinquent Female Marxists."¹³⁴ The study based itself on the suppositions that women in general, and "red" women in particular, were physically and psychically inferior to men; that the manifestation of "red" ideology in women was a medical, not a political problem; and that "red" women in Málaga were criminal delinquents.¹³⁵ A close relationship was drawn between sexuality and delinquency. Indeed, the sexual life of the women was of great interest to the doctors, who were careful to ascertain how many were married, and whether they were married according to canon or civil law; how many were prostitutes; how many cohabited with their partners; how many were virgins; and in the case of their not being virgins, at what age they had lost their virginity. It was found that the cause of their "illness" lay

three years' training in special schools. *Ibid.* (1st/2nd trim. 1947), 66.

¹³³*Ibid.* (3rd trim. 1946), 19.

¹³⁴The study was carried out by Doctor A. Vallejo-Nájera and Doctor Eduardo M. Martínez, who occupied eminent posts as psychiatrists for the Army and for the province and the prison of Málaga respectively. Their report is analysed by Nadal Sánchez in "Experiencias psíquicas sobre mujeres marxistas malagueñas. Málaga 1939," in *Baética*, no.10 (1987).

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 366.

in the innate psychological deficiencies and weaknesses of women, in this case, exacerbated by the absence of social controls. The doctors declared in their report that when women's infantile and animalistic qualities were out of control and women followed their natural instincts, "then the instinct of cruelty awakens in them and exceeds all imaginable cruelty, precisely because women lack the inhibitions born of intelligence and logic."¹³⁶ Children were also utilised in the official propaganda to represent the forces of order and of chaos. The press was full of stories of exemplary patriots, who contributed their pocket money or their gold medallions to the National cause; on the other hand, there were the incorrigible children of the "reds" who were invariably violent, antisocial, cruel, and full of vices such as smoking.¹³⁷

The regeneration of these evidently infected individuals was carried out at various levels. In the case of the most dangerous elements, the regeneration and socialisation was carried out in prisons. As anti-Catholic or anti-patriotic ideologies were regarded as a spiritual infection, the most advanced cases, those which were considered to be beyond repair, could not merely be released into the population, because they would infect society at large. Women were not spared torture, nor the death penalty in all its forms.¹³⁸ Various women in Málaga were either shot or garrotted by the Nationalist forces. Nadal gives a total of 70 women executed in Málaga between 16 February 1937 and 1940.¹³⁹

The female members of the families of Republican prisoners were regarded as politically suspect and received special vigilance. The smallest manifestation of political dissidence or sympathy with the losing side was sanctioned without hesitations of any kind. Even the expression of grief and loss was not politically neutral. Unlike the womenfolk of heroes of the Nationalist movement, Republican women could not mourn their losses in public.¹⁴⁰ A woman's loyalty to her husband and his political ideology was taken for granted, and hence the aura of criminality that surrounded the Republican prisoners also affected his family. The ambiguity which characterised Nationalist justice affected women as much as men. Hence, one of the accusations levelled against women in Córdoba included "being influenced by her husband's

¹³⁶Ibid., 373.

¹³⁷E. Barranquero Texeira, "Los niños que hicieron la guerra."

¹³⁸There is a small extant fragment of a list of those condemned to the death sentence in Málaga conserved in the *Archivo Díaz de Escobar* in Málaga, which includes the names of various women. See box 318 (2) 1937, 25-2; and box 316 (4) 1938, 15-4.

¹³⁹A. Nadal Sánchez, *Guerra Civil en Málaga*, 217-38.

¹⁴⁰F. Moreno Gómez, *Córdoba en la posguerra*, 64.

ideas, or married to a leftist."¹⁴¹

The exact number of female inmates in the first decade of the Franco régime is unknown, although Giuliana di Febo suggests at least 30,000.¹⁴² The tremendous increase in the prison population called for rapid adaptation of buildings and facilities, and many convents and other Church buildings were converted for the purpose. In Málaga the *Adoratrices* were responsible for the running of the women's prison. Up until 1954, 85% of the women in the jail of Málaga were housewives. The remainder were qualified workers, artisans, rural workers, servants, in commerce, or prostitutes. Of these women, 49% were there for political crimes related to military rebellion, aiding the Republican forces, complicity with the Republicans, or crimes against the security of the State. Many of these women were distanced from their native region; 78% of the female prisoners that left in 1939 were moved to Amorebieta in the Basque Country; in 1940, many went to the Provincial Prison of Pamplona.¹⁴³ Presumably, those who were allowed to stay in Málaga did not constitute as great a political threat as the others.

Female prisoners benefitted from the *redención de penas* scheme, but the work carried out by women had to be "appropriate" for their condition, and therefore consisted of sewing, laundry or embroidery. The *Escuelas del Hogar* [Domestic Skills Schools] of the Women's Section were set up in prisons after 1943, and became compulsory for all inmates under thirty years of age.¹⁴⁴ The Women's Branch of Catholic Action participated in the running of these schools. The classes consisted of domestic tasks, lectures on the family, the nation, and religion. Manual labour carried out by female inmates was carried out in worse conditions than in private enterprise, and was unpaid unless the woman had dependent children or in other limited circumstances.¹⁴⁵ In theory, the inmates were permitted to distribute some of the clothes that they made amongst their families.¹⁴⁶

Women were especially vulnerable to socialisation insofar as they were mothers.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 111.

¹⁴²G. di Febo, *Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España*, 22.

¹⁴³A. Castillo Noguera and P. Fuertes de Estéfani, "Prisión de mujeres de Málaga. Una aproximación a su estudio: 1937-1954," in M. T. López Beltrán (coord.), *Las mujeres en Andalucía*, vol. II, especially 318, 320, 322, 325, 328.

¹⁴⁴G. di Febo, op. cit., 45.

¹⁴⁵*Redención* (3 July 1943), 3.

¹⁴⁶*Ecclesia* (1 Feb. 1941), 28. One ex-inmate interviewed by di Febo denies that this was the case, however. See G. di Febo, op. cit., 46.

Children of inmates were to be brought up in a moral atmosphere; in cases where this was considered not to be the case, the tribunals could remove children from their parents and intern them in institutions usually run by religious communities. Children could be forcibly interned in these institutions in various circumstances, "especially if there is a danger of contagion from the adults who live with the children, or from the children themselves," and in "urgent cases of moral destitution produced by the irregular life of the mother, immoral or pernicious ideas of the members of the family who live with the children, etc."¹⁴⁷ In these cases, preference was to be given to children from large families. Mothers could also forfeit the remuneration earned for them under the *redención de penas* scheme. Under the terms of the legislation, when wives of inmates "ceased to comply with their family obligations," -including the obligation of fidelity to the spouse and the duty of care of the children- the remuneration destined to her would be reserved for the children, and would be administered by "an honourable person, whether relative or neighbour, designated by the Board."¹⁴⁸ There is no evidence of how this measure was applied in practice, but it is evident that the legislation fostered the adoption of a strictly conformist attitude with respect to the prevailing moral norms, for fear of the possible intervention of the State, possibly motivated by vengeful or avaricious attitudes on the part of one's own neighbours or relatives.

The Women's Branch of Catholic Action or members of the Local Board of *Redención de Penas* who visited these families could also recommend that the parents lose custody of the children. The only entry requirement for access to an institution was that the children be baptised, but even this was waived in cases of dire necessity, in which case they could be interned the same day the application was made. Ironically, although the children were purportedly sent to a religious college rather than a special institution "so that the children would never feel the weight of their misfortune," they were accompanied to the college by two female prison officers. Women of Catholic Action also accompanied the children to the prison once a month to visit their parents.¹⁴⁹

Those children who remained in the custody of their parents might in any case be sent to religious colleges, subsidised by the State, either as day students or boarders. This was a measure much promoted by the régime. It guaranteed an ideologically sound education for the child, and

¹⁴⁷*Redención* (25 Jan. 1941), 1, from *BOE* (11 Jan. 1941).

¹⁴⁸Order of 14 December 1942, article 11.

¹⁴⁹*Redención* (26 Apr. 1941), 1.

through him or her, a measure of influence over the activities of the family. The colleges appear to have been, above all, an instrument of indoctrination of the children. This much can be inferred from the order of preference that was established for the admittance of children. Seventy five percent of vacancies were allotted to children of inmates guilty of "marxist rebellion," and twentyfive percent were allotted to the children of common criminals.¹⁵⁰

3. CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND THE CULTURAL CODE: THE FALLACIES OF NATIONAL-CATHOLICISM.

We have seen that, despite the ecclesiastical efforts to instil Christian moral and sexual values, there were frequent cases in which the populace appeared to diverge from the tenets of established doctrine. This was notably the case with respect to the importance given to canonical marriage. The bishops had taken for granted that the revival of Catholic hegemony of ideology and customs would be synonymous with the return to the old ways. Yet the attempts to consolidate the traditional patriarchal family, subordinate women, and instil an essentially puritanical moral code of conduct were only partially successful. The general population appeared to assume the principles of feminine subordination and the patriarchal family readily enough, but resisted the sexual ethics of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In reality, there were two codes of conduct: one was the traditional cultural code, more or less influenced by Catholic ideology but not synonymous with it, as the National-Catholic ideologues purported; the other was the Catholic code of conduct, with required compliance with Catholic doctrine. In general terms, the subordination of women was part of the traditional cultural code, which relegated women to a secondary and domestic role. On the other hand, Catholic moral and sexual values were too often ignored or treated with a certain amount of pragmatism.

In Spanish society in general, the subordination of women had been traditional, but Andalusian culture in particular manifested a particularly severe form of gender subordination which was readily distinguishable from other parts of Spain, notably the small peasant communities of the North such as Galicia.¹⁵¹ Andalusian values are closely related to the traditional sexual values of the Mediterranean basin, where the concepts of feminine virtue,

¹⁵⁰Ibid. (23 Oct. 1943), 1.

¹⁵¹For an anthropological study of gender relations in Galicia, see H. J. H. Kelley, *Competition vs Cooperation: Female Self-Image in a Coastal Galician Community* (Ann Harbor UMI, 1988) -unpublished doctoral dissertation.

femininity, masculinity, and personal and family honour are closely related.¹⁵² In these societies, gender relations form part of the construction of the system of moral values and condition the way in which individuals are integrated within the community.

In recent years, the question of Andalusian sexual values has been studied by a number of anthropologists, whether directly or as part of a larger study of Andalusian society. The classic study of Andalusian anthropology is Julian Pitt-Rivers' *The People of the Sierra* (1954), based on the small village of Grazalema, which is situated in Cádiz, near the border with Málaga, and which actually belongs to the ecclesiastical province of Málaga.¹⁵³ The field work was carried out in the 1940's, when the symbiosis between Church and State was at its peak and one would expect an intimate relationship between autochthonous and Catholic values. The two key concepts in Andalusian sexual values identified by Pitt-Rivers are those of *vergüenza* and of masculine honour. *Vergüenza*, which can be very loosely translated as the capacity to feel shame, is defined as

... the regard for the moral values of society, for the rules whereby social intercourse takes place, for the opinion which others have of one, but this, not purely out of calculation. True *vergüenza* is a mode of feeling which makes one sensitive to one's reputation and thereby causes one to accept the sanctions of public opinion.¹⁵⁴

The capacity to feel *vergüenza* was what made the individual part of human society and of the civilised world, unlike animals, -or gypsies, who were identified with the natural order and beyond the reach of civilised society. Gypsies were regarded as being inherently lacking in *vergüenza*, because they broke the social norms that preserved *vergüenza*, that is, they had no sense of shame, or of propriety, at least, in the non-gypsy understanding of the word. The subjection to a cultural code, to a set of socially accepted norms, this sensitivity to public opinion, seriously constrained the actions and behaviour of the individual. According to the concept of *vergüenza* and its corresponding concept of honour, neither the individual's

¹⁵²See, e. g., J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: a Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (Oxford, 1964); J. Davis, *People of the Mediterranean* (London, 1977); Peristiany, J. G. (ed.) *El concepto del honor en la sociedad mediterránea* (Barcelona, 1968); and J. Pitt-Rivers, *Antropología del Honor o política de los sexos. Ensayos de antropología mediterránea* (Barcelona, 1979). Important qualifications are made in D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*. Special publication of the American Anthropological Association, no. 22 (Washington, 1987), which nevertheless accepts that the Mediterranean basin may be treated as a distinct and identifiable cultural/moral community.

¹⁵³J. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*. 2nd edn. (London, 1971).

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 113.

evaluation of his or her own actions, nor the dictates of the individual conscience, are relevant, because the social identity of the individual is constructed by the community. Therefore, the individual might believe that his or her actions are innocent and not transgressions of the cultural code, and be perfectly at ease with his or her own conscience, but the community may nevertheless deny that individual's right to dignity, ostracising and humiliating him or her. The concepts of *vergüenza* and honor are a means whereby the individual preserves his or her right to a certain status in the community, and which permit him or her to enjoy a public reputation, and to demand respect for individual dignity and pride. The preservation of *vergüenza* is dependent upon good public opinion, which is continually being revised, and which depends on the many prying, inquisitive eyes, especially of women, and on the gossip which circulates in the bars, in the markets, in the streets. As Gilmore has noted, "shame requires a social context, an audience of alert, hypercritical others, people who watch and who cast a collective judgement."¹⁵⁵ And indeed, the destructive capacity of this criticism cannot be underestimated, and many compelling examples are given by Gilmore himself.¹⁵⁶

There are many forms of conduct which lead to the loss of *vergüenza*, regardless of gender; others, however, are dependent on gender. Sexual norms differ according to gender, and breaches of sexual norms are the principal source of loss of *vergüenza* in women. A woman who is sexually impure, loses her *vergüenza*, whereas a man does not. Sexual purity is the basis of the woman's *vergüenza*, whereas masculine virtues such as authority, defence of family reputation, and capacity to provide for the material needs of the family, are the basis of the man's honour. It is the man's obligation to provide for and defend the family. If he should fail to do so he would be ridiculed and symbolically castrated; he has failed in his duty as a man, and his virility would be much questioned. The man's honour is therefore intimately related to the preservation of his wife's (and his womenfolk's) *vergüenza*. If he is unable to exercise his authority so as to prevent blemishes to feminine *vergüenza*, his own honour, and that of the entire family, would be permanently damaged. A woman was the repository of the entire family's *vergüenza*; it was thought that children inherited their *vergüenza* from their parents, but principally from their mother, who was repository of the family honour and reputation. A woman's behaviour therefore

¹⁵⁵D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community. Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (Yale, 1987), 163.

¹⁵⁶Gilmore argues that gossip is a form of ritualised violence, which obliges compliance with the cultural code without recourse to more aggressive forms of behaviour, which Andalusians deplore. It includes many examples of how breaches of sexual/moral norms have resulted in the virtual verbal torture of the breachers, resulting in some cases in public ridicule, ostracism, and isolation. See, e.g., the dramatic case of Manolo, *ibid.*, 65-6.

had to be exemplary not only for her own sake. As Pitt-Rivers notes,

It is highly significant that the more serious insults which can be directed at a man refer not to him at all but to a female member of his elementary family and in particular to his mother. Personal reproach, while it refers to a man's character or actions, is answerable, but when it concerns a man's mother then his social personality is desecrated.... The essence of his shame will be seen in his heredity... And therefore a reflection upon his mother's shame is far more vital than a reflection upon his own conduct. By extension, any reflection upon his sister's shame is important to him since it derives from his mother's. The whole family is attained by the shamelessness of one of its female members.¹⁵⁷

Pitt-Rivers argues that the concepts of masculine honour and feminine *vergüenza* are complementary and serve to protect the family unit, which derives its identity from the paternity of the children. Thus feminine fidelity must be protected in order to guarantee the paternity and the integrity of the family unit. Pitt-Rivers defines this as protection against "anti-social sex," that is, sexual relations that undermine the social identity of the family. It also preserves the man's right to feel pride in his virility and not become an object of ridicule within the community. His honour would be degraded by suggestions such as that he was unable to exercise authority over socially inferior beings -wives and children- or that he was not able to satisfy the sexual demands of his wife. There is nothing so risible within Andalusian culture as the cuckold or *cornudo*. An infinity of jokes testify the masculine terror of being ridiculed as a result of the infidelity of their wives.¹⁵⁸

The defence of family honour and feminine *vergüenza* requires great effort and the exercise of strict authority, given that women were regarded as innately deceitful, highly charged sexually, and often resentful of, and vindictive towards, their husbands.¹⁵⁹ Husbands also need to fear the virility of other men whose sexual predation is expected as an innate part of masculine nature. Hence, strict rules of sexual segregation were observed to prevent danger to sexual chastity arising. Corbin and Corbin record one such anecdote in which a sixty year old widow insisted that her more elderly cousin sleep in the car in order to preserve the rules of propriety.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷J. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., 115.

¹⁵⁸One such joke is as follows: One day, Saint Joseph and Jesus Christ were shooting, when suddenly the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, appeared flying overhead. Saint Joseph immediately took aim, and Christ, alarmed, began to scream, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!" Replied Saint Joseph, with a grim expression on his face "Some things aren't forgotten so easily."

¹⁵⁹The negative image of women is very well dealt with by S. H. Brandes, *Metáforas de la masculinidad. Sexo y estatus en el folklore andaluz* (Madrid, 1991), 131-44.

¹⁶⁰J. R. Corbin and M.P. Corbin, *Urbane Thought: Culture and Class in an Andalusian City* (Aldershot, 1987), 53.

Every human being is regarded as potentially a sexual danger after puberty, and therefore it would not be licit for two people of the opposite sex to be alone together, even if the age difference or other circumstances makes the union unlikely *prima facie*. Not even the most innocuous is to be trusted. Brandes, in his study of Andalusian masculine values, argues that Andalusian men greatly fear the strong and limitless sex drive and the capacity of seduction that women purportedly have, and live under the constant threat of being deceived: "In daily life men behave on the assumption that their wives wish to betray them, and in fact will betray them at the slightest opportunity."¹⁶¹ A common expression heard in the mouths of men even today is that "todas las mujeres son putas" [all women are whores]. Another widespread fear noted by Brandes is that the man might be a cuckold and not even know it. The popular expression is that "El cabrón es el último que se entera" [the cuckold is always the last to know]. Brandes argues that the women's power to make cuckolds of their men deprived them of their precious masculinity, and converted them symbolically into a woman. This power to degrade gives women a terrifying power.¹⁶² The deeply rooted nature of these fears is obvious to the ordinary traveller in Andalusia. Popular proverbs, the lyrics of popular songs, jokes, all abound in themes of betrayal, deceit, seduction and adultery. Comedy programmes almost invariably include men dressed up as women; this is itself regarded as hilarious.¹⁶³

Hence the necessity to segregate the sexes in order to safeguard feminine chastity and prevent illicit relations is obvious. This necessity led to the construction of the long courtship rituals described by Gerald Brenan in which the confinement of women is strongly reminiscent of traditional Islamic culture.¹⁶⁴ The segregation of men and women continued even after marriage between husband and wife, both in time and space. The men had defined work hours, and the rest was dedicated to friends and colleagues in bars and clubs. Women, on the other hand, were always to be available to their families at whatever moment. Once married, the women were to adopt the maternal role, be preoccupied exclusively with their homes and families, and confined themselves to the domestic sphere and not the street. The popular expression "La mujer honrada,

¹⁶¹S. H. Brandes, *op. cit.*, 113.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁶³This is a facet of Spanish life observed directly by the author, based on the typical television comedy and varieties programmes.

¹⁶⁴See G. Brenan, *Al sur de Granada* (Madrid, 1974), 292-308 for Brenan's own experiences and perceptions of courtship, matrimony, and sexual values. For courtship rituals and matrimony in Málaga in the years of the Second Republic, see also M. J. González Castillejo, *La nueva Historia*, 162-75.

la pata quebrada y en casa" [the honourable woman is one who is barefoot and in the kitchen] is highly indicative of this mentality.

As women belong to the home, so men must be in the *calle* [street], that is to say, in public places, drinking, arguing, showing off, playing cards, smoking. To remain at home is to manifest a most ridiculous effeminacy. Brandes found that most men found the home to be inherently antimasculine, telling him that "the house is for sleeping and eating; the rest of the time, the man must be out, working, or wasting time with friends."¹⁶⁵ Masculine sociability has also been studied by Henk Driessen, who demonstrates how masculine identity is forged and consolidated in the *calle*, in bars and clubs, via a series of social rituals.¹⁶⁶ Corbin and Corbin associate masculine sociability with the need to assert masculinity by testing his views and influence in the company of other men in public. "Men who are not in the 'calle' cease to be politically contentious." The ability to debate public issues, makes ones presence felt, demonstrate knowledge, earn public respect, influence public opinion and generally "seek to establish their reputations as men of note" is central to Andalusian culture. It separates the civilised human sphere from that of the inferior, inarticulate and subordinated animal world, distinguishing the autonomous male identity from that of the subservient and inferior female world.¹⁶⁷

The cultural norms on gender and sexual relations are consistent with Catholic doctrine insofar as they demand the subordination of women to men, the subordination of sexual relations to procreation (with the necessary caveats), the maternal role of women, and the patriarchal family.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, there are aspects of Catholic doctrine which contradict the cultural code.

¹⁶⁵S. H. Brandes, op. cit., 218-9.

¹⁶⁶H. Driessen, "Sociabilidad masculina y rituales de masculinidad en la Andalucía Rural," in J. Prat, et al, *Antropología de los pueblos de España* (Madrid, 1991), 710-8.

¹⁶⁷J. R. Corbin and M.P. Corbin, op. cit., 57 and 53, respectively.

¹⁶⁸Reproductive sex, or the subjugation of sexuality to procreation is considered proper. Men and women who do not, or are not able to have children, are regarded in some way as anomalous. Corbin and Corbin go so far as to suggest that, although an unmarried mother is to some degree "subhuman" or reduced to the level of the wild beasts, "at least women who conceive outside marriage are still doing what women ought to do, even if they are not doing it properly. Unmarried women who renounce motherhood as well as virginity, who focus on copulation instead of procreation, are regarded as totally shameless and are likely to be called whores." In the case of men, "Unproductive sex is improper even if it occurs between husband and wife." However, because of the emphasis on male sexual aggressivity, the paradox arises that, although in theory non productive sex is frowned upon, the sexual adventures of men, including married men, are regarded with indulgence as part of the natural order of things. These relations may produce children. The stain on the man's *vergüenza* may be avoided if the man is able to support the children of different families, as what is prized as true masculinity is sexual interest in women, the capacity to father children, and to provide for and protect them. Adulterous relations are therefore accepted by many women with resignation and not as a

The relationship between sex and procreation and the necessity to guarantee paternity constrained sexual relations to a certain degree, especially for women; yet there was no perception that sex outside marriage was always inherently sinful. A woman who had relations before marriage might prejudice her chances of marrying on the grounds that a suitor might doubt her fidelity after marriage. On the other hand, if two young people had a relationship which resulted in pregnancy, and they began cohabiting and formed a stable home, the relationship was regarded as being a marriage, despite the lack of formal papers. Pitt-Rivers noted that there were unmarried mothers living in the community when he was doing his field work (again, we insist, during the late 1940's when National-Catholic ideology was in its most integrist form), and these were not regarded as a moral threat or danger, except by the ladies of Catholic Action who appeared from time to time to "regularise" unions. Even the elopement of young couples was taken pragmatically, as long as both were unmarried.¹⁶⁹ We have already seen how the Civil Guard reports were rife with stories of unmarried couples cohabiting, of young couples eloping and subsequently setting up house and of apparent parental complicity; actions which completely contradicted orthodox Catholic doctrine on matrimony, the family, and sexual relations. To the despair of the bishops, many couples did not marry until the first child was old enough to receive its ration card, for which the parents had to be legally married and the child registered as a legitimate child of the marriage. It is highly significant that, of 832 marriages arranged by the Secretariat of Marriages in 1942, 254 of the couples already had children.¹⁷⁰

According to traditional values, sexual relations outside of marriage undermined the social order when adultery was involved; but in many situations, sexual relations outside of marriage were accepted without public scandal, and sexual relations regarded, not as something sordid or immoral *per se*, but as part of the human essence. Men were supposed to be sexual predators -at least in intention, if not in deed-, if they were really virile. Women were expected to be chaste, but also to make themselves attractive and desirable. Women were there to be appreciated and looked at. The cultural code valued women who were beautiful, seductive, dangerous, even while distrusting them. But this, in any case, was a problem for the menfolk of her family -and for the bishops, who so unsuccessfully grappled with the problem of female dress standards and vanity.

great threat. See *ibid.*, 36-40.

¹⁶⁹J. Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, 109-11.

¹⁷⁰*BOOM* (May 1942), 409.

The existence of these traditional cultural norms, which overlapped but were not synonymous with Catholic doctrine and custom, were evident both before and during the years of the Second Republic.¹⁷¹ The old gender archetypes could not be eliminated in a matter of weeks or months. While undoubtedly progress was made during the Republican years, traditional attitudes were still entrenched in both men and women. In the postwar, it was relatively simple to revert to essentially medieval status for women merely by reference to language, imagery and iconography that was consistent with the traditional cultural code. The Republican women were identified, as we have seen, with everything that was frivolous, cruel, denaturalised, and decadent. Women readily returned to their subordinate and secondary role. Rebellion was virtually impossible because of the legal restrictions imposed, but above all perhaps, because it implied abandoning all right to demand respect for one's dignity, because by losing those qualities which defined womanhood and femininity, one's *vergüenza* was lost. Rebellion was a form of social suicide which implied being marginalised or ostracised from the community.

Moreover, the recatholicisation of women was much easier than that of men because, as Brandes notes, the cultural code supports and coincides with religious doctrine to a considerable degree, "whereas for the men the two codes are diametrically opposed."¹⁷² In the cultural code, men are expected to be promiscuous, and the suppression of sexual passion is only appropriate to women. Sexual competitiveness between men has been suggested as one at least partial explanation of the differences between female and male attitudes to religious observance. It is notable that the hostility shown by men towards the Church is principally directed against the clergy, who are accused of being sexual predators of the women of the flock, especially via the abuse of confession.¹⁷³

Symbolically, the church is also the House of God, and this was an extension of the domestic sphere for women. In contrast, the masculine presence is demeaning, because of the symbolic domesticity and because of the attitude of submission that is required before the priest.

¹⁷¹There is considerable work done on feminine role models and stereotypes in republican Spain and the impact of the Second Republic's reforms and of the Civil War. See M. J. González Castillejo, op. cit.; G. Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea*; M. Nash, *Mujer y movimiento obrero en España, 1931-1939* (Barcelona, 1981); F. Lannon, "Women and images of woman in the Spanish Civil War," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. I (1991); M. D. Ramos Palomo (coord.), *Femenino plural*; M. A. Capmany, *El feminismo ibérico* (Madrid, 1970); and M. Eiroa San Francisco, "La participación de la mujer en la Guerra Civil en Málaga," in *III Congreso del Andalucismo Histórico* (Granada, 1987).

¹⁷²S. Brandes, op. cit., 216.

¹⁷³Ibid., 209-36; and W. A. Christian Jr., *Person and God in Spanish Valley* (New York, 1978), 170-1.

The feminising nature of church services is therefore avoided. Men attend baptisms, marriages and other rites of passage, and may go to Easter services or the feast day of the Patron Saint or Virgin; but typically they stand outside the church during the service, smoking and chatting, or stand uncomfortably at the back. The old tradition of kneeling to receive communion -posture associated with feminine submission- is avoided by leaving one leg stretched straight out behind.¹⁷⁴

In comparison, women felt more at home in church. William Christian argues that women are content to attend church because they are continually made to feel dirty and impure.¹⁷⁵ Attendance at church helped to preserve chastity and curb the sexual instincts. Scanlon suggests that many men preferred that their wives be devout Catholics, even if they themselves were not, because this guaranteed their virtue and put a brake on their passions.¹⁷⁶ Brennan also noted that, while many men were supposedly anticlerical, they were happy for their wives to be pious.¹⁷⁷

The argument that religious and traditional values were identical was a fundamental aspect of National-Catholic ideology. The lack of correlation between religious and traditional values where sexual and moral standards were concerned was all too readily attributed to the perverse effects of anti Catholic ideologies such as Marxism. The pressures brought to bear upon women to conform to Catholic orthodoxy were intense, and the conditions of postwar Spain were ideal insofar as the nation was isolated from the rest of Europe. Yet the evidence does not suggest any dramatic change in the cultural norms during the 1940's and 1950's. In the following decades, social changes came thick and fast, but not in the direction that the ecclesiastical would have liked. Women were incorporated into the labour force, availed themselves of the greater educational opportunities being offered, and were increasingly influenced by European standards in dress, lifestyle, feminine role models, and sexual values. The ecclesiastical authorities were to witness the decline of the classical feminine role model represented by the Virgin Mary.

Certainly, women tended to go to church more, and generally were more pious than men. The reasons why are explicable with reference to the specific cultural code that regulated

¹⁷⁴S. Brandes, *op. cit.*, 222.

¹⁷⁵W. A. Christian Jr., *op. cit.*, 171-80.

¹⁷⁶G. Scanlon, *op. cit.*, 215.

¹⁷⁷G. Brennan, *op. cit.*, 303-4.

how individuals react to each other and the wider community. The Church was one institution -and a particularly powerful one- within the community, and contributed to the construction of the cultural code. However, it was not able to supplant it entirely. Like social and gender relations, religious beliefs and practices were also coloured by factors extraneous to Catholic doctrine and practice. These factors gave religiosity in Andalusia its particular characteristics, which occasionally came into sharp conflict with established orthodoxy. As we will now see, these factors also conditioned the differing attitudes that the genders had with respect to the clergy, with respect to religion and religious observance, and with respect to the Church in general.

VI. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND BELIEF. EVALUATING THE RECATHOLICISATION OF MALAGA.

1. "TOTAL" RELIGIOSITY.

Religiosity during the Franco régime, and especially during the triumphalist first decade, embraced not only a purely spiritual function, but also a highly politicised and propagandistic function. The limits between the religious and the patriotic were imperceptible. The mass rituals of the postwar in which nationalist rhetoric, symbols and imagery were prominent alongside the strictly pious and religious imagery, constituted the continuance of war by other symbolic means. Religiosity became a symbolic weapon, reaffirming the group solidarity of the victors, acting as a instrument of humiliation, and thus of punishment and vengeance on the vanquished.

Religious observance also became identified with a classist cultural code due to the ecclesiastical hierarchy's identification of orthodoxy and traditional religious practice with Castilian tridentine spirituality and baroque forms of worship. This was an essentially bourgeois spirituality, alien to the more informal and communal spirit of the humbler classes. This spirituality was imposed on the rest of the social classes and on the rest of the provinces. The objective was to enforce uniformity and conformity, implicitly if not explicitly rejecting pluralism or tolerance in religious life. Religiosity, then, was highly politicised and highly classist, and its politicisation obscured the reality, which was that religious belief and practice was no less polarised and no less diverse than other social, cultural and political beliefs and practices in pre Civil War Spain.

Religious life in the postwar period was based on the reconstruction of a social, political, and cultural ideal, steeped in the glories of the confessional past. Religious rituals were unequivocally used to lend support to the new régime. They also created an atmosphere of penitence, and of collective reparation for the past transgressions against God, and of submission to clerical authority.¹ The maximum pastoral ambition was the return of the masses to the temples; the new mysticism was that of Crusade, and the armed defence of traditional values. The critical conscience of the faithful was discouraged in favour of the search for security in the already known. Religious practice was thus based on the repetition of easy formulas geared towards personal salvation, and impregnated by the fear of Divine wrath.

The religious ceremonies and practices consisted of mass missions, mass administration of sacraments, the restoration of traditional images and patron saints, visits to sanctuaries,

¹A. Orensanz, *Religiosidad popular española*, 9-22.

spiritual exercises, and the creation or reappearance of *cofradías*, or religious brotherhoods. The civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities appeared together at the many open air masses and processions, where religious practice was combined with patriotic and military slogans and songs, and with the fascist salute. In religious ceremonies, the rhetoric was steeped in xenophobia, prayers and masses were offered for the victory of the Army, and for the preservation of the new régime. The symbols and rituals were impregnated in Crusade ideology, with its mixture of militarism, nationalism, and Catholic triumphalism. In 1938, for example, the bishop offered the "The Day of the Crusader," as a day of prayer "for the great national cause." He urged his faithful to pray, offer sacrifices, and receive communion so that "the true Christian spirit be fostered and grow in every Spanish soldier who fights for the Nation..."²

Pastoral relations were oriented towards the recovery of the lost sheep. Those who were not reincorporated into the fold were irretrievably lost, for "outside the Church no salvation is possible, just as outside of Noah's Ark it was not possible to be saved from the Universal Flood."³ It was necessary to administer the sacraments urgently, for many people had not received the sacraments in many years, and their souls were therefore in great danger. Preaching heavily emphasised personal preparation for the afterlife, and especially the concepts of sin, guilt, Divine wrath, the perils of the Final Judgement, God's mercy, salvation, and of course, the ten commandments.⁴

In this period of total religiosity, "the boundaries between Church and society are imperceptible."⁵ The demands placed upon the State by the Church were justified with reference to the doctrine of the perfect society.⁶ Absolute submission to the clergy is expected of the flock. Santos Olivera went so far as to declare that, all that was comprised within the ordinary teaching of the bishops, the teaching of catechism, and in the ordinary practice of worship was also infallible.⁷ The divine nature of the bishop's authority was also made perfectly clear. As bishop, Santos Olivera declared to his flock, "When one sees the Bishop, one must think of Jesus

²*BOOM* (30 Nov. 1938), 727.

³*Ibid.* (Mar. 1946), 190.

⁴A. Orensanz, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁵*Ibid.*, 17.

⁶J. M. Rovira, "'Sociedad Perfecta' y 'sacramentum salutis': dos conceptos eclesiológicos, dos imágenes de Iglesia," in *Iglesia y Sociedad en España (1939-1975)*, 321.

⁷*BOOM* (Mar. 1946), 165.

Christ,"⁸ and "The Pope and the Bishops constitute the hierarchy in the Church, they are the representatives of God; they speak and order in his name; to disobey their laws is to disobey God himself. He who spurns them, spurns God."⁹

Hence, the manifestation of any form of heterodoxy or inconsistency with the viewpoint of the bishop virtually identified one with heresy and with the enemies of the religious community. Bishop Santos Olivera made this painfully clear, declaring that he who did not humbly accept the Church's teaching as espoused by the pope and bishops, "ceases to be Christian, ceases to be on the path of salvation... he must be taken to be a stranger, profane, and an enemy of the spiritual society of the Church."¹⁰ Another equally revealing declaration was that, if anyone were not to listen to or obey the Church, that person was to be considered to be, not an imperfect Christian, but an apostate, or "a pagan who never knew religion, like a publican and public sinner who dishonours religion."¹¹

Those fallen on the insurgent side were eulogised and sanctified as Christian martyrs and as great patriots.¹² Those considered to be outsiders or traitors to the national and religious community were treated as the equivalents of agents of the antichrist. An example is that of the disgraced clergyman, Francisco González, who was publicly humiliated for offences unknown. In May 1937, he published a public apology in the diocesan bulletin, entitled "Retraction of a Strayed Priest." The letter was a recantation of "all those words, acts or omissions which may have been the source of scandal and which I renounce at this moment with all the sincerity of my soul."¹³ This document was followed on the next page by the habitual list of names of those who had renounced freemasonry. These individuals had therefore had the order of excommunication lifted, thus "reintegrating themselves in the bosom of the Catholic Church."¹⁴ Other symbolic acts that served to create the Crusade mentality included the special purification rites carried out in those places "profaned" by the reds, which normally included acts of atonement. Similarly,

⁸Ibid. (Mar. 1946), 176.

⁹Ibid. (Mar. 1946), 172.

¹⁰Ibid. (Mar. 1946), 165.

¹¹Ibid. (Mar. 1946), 170.

¹²See, e. g. Bishop Santos Olivera's funeral speech in 1938 for Calvo Sotelo.

¹³*BOOM* (May 1937), 79.

¹⁴Ibid. (May 1937), 80.

those victims of the "Red terror" which had not been given a Christian burial were subsequently exhumed, in order to do so. In Málaga, a special commission called the *Comisión Pro Víctimas del Marxismo* was established precisely for this purpose. The adversaries of the Nationalists, on the other hand, were referred to by the bishop as "fools," "imbeciles," and "denaturalised and bastardised sons."¹⁵ If their apostasy was public and notorious, if they had been married in a civil service, or if they had carried out scandalous or impious jobs -such as organising immoral entertainment, or were editors of immoral or irreligious newspapers- they were to be denied a Christian burial.¹⁶

One of the great priorities of the postwar was the reconstruction of churches, images, etc., damaged or destroyed during the war. Until the restoration of public funding for the Church on 9 November 1939, the Church was obliged to actively seek public assistance for this purpose. The material needs were great and Santos Olivera put an enormous amount of pressure on his clergy to raise funds. Special collections were ordered in 1937, and measures were taken to set up special committees in all parishes to order records and render accounts.¹⁷ A special duty on all ecclesiastical documents was imposed.¹⁸ In January 1938, the bishop offered a range of indulgences in exchange for the purchase of a papal bull. The clergy were instructed to sell all of them and not send any back.¹⁹ The clergy were instructed to read the bishop's letter on the question to the congregation, and publicise the bull as much as possible, in homilies, catechism classes, private meetings, and "asking the obligated if they complied with this duty in the confessionary." The bishop's intention was that 10% of the faithful buy a bull. His efforts appear to have been in vain: a year later, although there had been an improvement, the sales had fallen very short of the mark.²⁰

Despite the ecclesiastical calls for support, the flock was apparently unwilling or unable to contribute to the diocesan coffers. Santos Olivera was very critical of the contributions made to the upkeep of the Church, alleging that: "We cannot understand how it is that there are still families and entire villages who completely overlook their duty of economic collaboration at least

¹⁵Ibid. (Apr. 1937), 39.

¹⁶Ibid. (Mar. 1939), 139-45.

¹⁷Ibid. (May 1937), 64-6.

¹⁸Ibid. (May 1937), 70-2.

¹⁹Ibid. (Jan. 1938), 25.

²⁰Ibid. (Jan. 1939), 11.

for the maintenance of their priest, of their church, of their worship."²¹ The bishop calculated that the diocese comprised about 700,000 people, or about 140,000 families, half of which did not contribute to the maintenance of the Church, either due to their poverty or their hostility or indifference to the Church. In fact, the bishop believed that a more realistic calculation of the number of families that contributed to the upkeep of the Church was more like 50,000.²² Santos Olivera calculated that with only one peseta a month from each family, the diocese would have 50,000 pesetas a month, which was the entire budget previously conceded by the State.

Santos Olivera blamed the the priests themselves for not being sufficiently zealous in raising funds.²³ Be that as it may, the bishop argued that it was not just to concede equal treatment to the faithful who contributed financially and those who did not. Accordingly, he decreed that those who did not contribute to the collection "Pro Worship and Clergy" should pay an extra 10% on the normal tariff charged for the administration of the sacraments. The bishop reorganised the Diocesan Boards "Pro Worship and Clergy" in October 1937, and warned that: "Those parishes which, being able to contribute, do not do so, or do so with a sum that is so meagre as to be risible, will be the first to be deprived of permanent parish priests, to our great sorrow."²⁴ The following year, in 1938, Santos Olivera again gave those "lax" sectors of the clergy another thorough tongue-lashing, referring to the "negligence and inexplicable passivity of many priests, who are nevertheless those who most benefits derive from the diocesan coffers," without omitting a reference to the ignoble nature of the faithful whom he accused of "apathy and pettiness."²⁵ The Bishop of Málaga reminded his clergy that "if the passive resistance of some of our beloved collaborators continues, we will have no other remedy but to apply sanctions..."²⁶ Nevertheless, in 1939, the bishop was still complaining about the lack of money; indeed, some parishes were not contributing anything at all.²⁷ The pressure did not disappear until the re-establishment of State funding, although even then, Santos Olivera warned that it

²¹Ibid. (Oct. 1937), 325-6.

²²Ibid. (Oct. 1937), 327.

²³Ibid. (Oct. 1937), 330.

²⁴Ibid. (Oct. 1937), 338.

²⁵Ibid. (Apr. 1938), 197-8.

²⁶Ibid. (Apr. 1938), 198.

²⁷Ibid. (Aug. 1939), 403-5.

would be insufficient for the needs of the Church.²⁸

While some members of the faithful were somewhat lax in their contributions to parish coffers, others were unscrupulous enough use religious images and symbols to raise funds for the Army. The utilisation of religious images for political or military purposes annoyed the bishop. One town was roundly chastised because its Town Council had expropriated a small religious image in order to raise funds for the Nationalist cause.²⁹ Another episode involved the looting of the riches that belonged to the shrine of the Virgin Mary by the townspeople. The town had just been "liberated," and the enthusiastic townspeople sought to raise money for the Army. Subsequently, a procession to celebrate the victory of the Army was held, in which an image of the Virgin Mary was carried in procession through the streets, without the permission of the parish priest.³⁰

Naturally, given the confusion between the secular and the religious sphere, there were moments of excessive zeal in which intrusions were committed on what was jurisdiction of the religious authorities. On these occasions, the bishop manifested his discontent with the civil and military authorities. On one such occasion, Santos Olivera expressed his concern over the military field masses, or *misas de campaña*, which were being used for evidently propagandistic purposes. These masses could only legitimately be said in the open air when the Army was too far away from a church to be able to attend mass. Apparently, however, some of the clergy had overlooked this condition, obliging the bishop to impose his authority.³¹

The bishop also manifested his concern over the tone being given to religious processions by the military:

A religious procession... is not a military, profane or patriotic parade, but is a manifestation of faith, of piety... Must the same salutes and tributes that today take place before the symbols or authorities of the Motherland also take place before sacred images as a sign of respect and religiosity?... These greetings and tributes... which we all do -the Church the first of all- as a demonstration of our patriotism and firm allegiance to the current state of affairs, *are out of place*

²⁸Ibid. (Nov. 1939), 644.

²⁹Ibid. (May 1939), 245-8. The image was traditionally passed from house to house, and each recipient contributed financially for the privilege of housing it for a period of time, before it was passed on to a neighbour. The bishop esteemed that the Town Council had employed the contributions made to the image for honest and patriotic purposes, but not religious ones.

³⁰Id.

³¹Ibid. (1940), 388.

when applied to purely religious acts. [Italics in the original]³²

In general terms, however, the relationship between civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities in Málaga was mutually satisfactory.

Along with the reconstruction of churches and the raising of funds, one of the priorities of the bishop was the mass administration of sacraments to the faithful of Málaga. Whether due to ignorance, hostility, indifference, or lack of clerical attention, the situation in Málaga as far as reception of sacraments was concerned was certainly negative. In his 1938 pastoral letter on communion, Bishop Santos Olivera lamented: "What frightening statistics we receive from the different parishes of our beloved diocese!" The number of faithful who received communion, especially amongst the men, was "extremely low and risible and it would appear that the concept of religious obligation has disappeared." There were frequent cases of people wishing to marry who had never received their first holy communion; and there were parishes of thousands of souls where only five or so men received communion, or even none at all. The bishop asked:

How can we remedy such a great evil? How to definitively end with the senseless and overwhelming absurdity of Christians who do not serve Christ, of Catholics who do not obey the Church and spurn her authority, and live practically as if they were heathens?³³

The answer to this question was to organise mass missions all over the diocese, which the bishop personally attended. Even before the fall of the capital to the insurgents, the Bishop of Málaga had announced his intention of carrying out a pastoral visit to the parishes, and a campaign of parish missions in order to

... make the sleeping souls awaken, illuminate them with the splendours of the revealed truth, inflame them in the holy love of our sacrosanct religion, and impel them to live a truly Christian life always and throughout life.³⁴

The bishop's intention was to carry out missions in every parish, and lists of statistics were to be kept, on the number of people who received sacraments, on mass attendance, etcetera. These statistics were published according to place of celebration, time and gender.³⁵ These details were kept as though they were medical statistics referring to the vaccination of the population against contagious disease, which is doubtless a reflection of the attitude taken to this process. Indeed,

³²Ibid. (May 1939), 241.

³³Ibid. (Feb. 1938), 97-8. For an analysis of religious practice in the immediate postwar, see also F. Blázquez, *La traición de los clérigos*, 126-7; and F. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 9-35.

³⁴*BOOM* (Nov. 1937), 436.

³⁵See, e. g. *ibid.* (Jan. 1938), 57.

the ecclesiastical vocabulary of the time made frequent references to the words "contamination," "contagion," "disinfection," and "purge." The missions were carried out in villages, in parishes, in jails, factories, and official institutions of all kinds. In the first instance, the missions had an undoubtedly propagandistic and triumphalist air. Hundreds of people were mobilised to receive sacraments, many for the first time in their lives. This was done with much pomp and ceremony and was accompanied by the typical Crusade rhetoric and symbolism of the period. By 1942, the missions were more organised and efficiently run. In the first pastoral allocution of the year, the bishop urged his population to attend these missions.³⁶ Mission activity was targetted at different sectors of the population -at workers, students, teachers, the military, personnel of the aerodrome, patients in hospitals and homes, and even the hairdressers.³⁷ Missions were also held in the countryside. These appear to have totalled around 140 in 1941-1942.³⁸

The missions were organised by a special committee and specialised commissions set up by the bishop. The commissions -drawn from the Women's Branch of Catholic Action- were responsible for: the reception and care of the missionaries: press, radio, and the distribution of propaganda; the teaching of songs and hymns in order to create an appropriate spirit; the organisation of processions; the vigilance of mission centres; donations; the marrying of unwed couples; and the secular apostolate. The latter consisted of sending out women of Catholic Action visit homes to fill out the *Hoja Padrón Parroquial* [parish register]. This register contained as much information on the family as possible, including their behaviour in general, or whether or not they received sacraments or went to mass. Another part of their job was to take families to the missions, "in order to achieve as high an attendance as possible;" once there, they were to "take care of order and behaviour inside the temple during the mission acts." Finally, they were responsible for keeping statistics on attendance, on the numbers who did or did not receive communion or other sacraments; and they had to help prepare people to receive the sacraments, teaching them how to confess, etcetera.³⁹ There was a total of 75 missionaries, of different orders, who had given 139 missions by May of 1942.⁴⁰

³⁶Ibid. (Jan. 1942), 3-10.

³⁷Ibid. (May 1943), 399.

³⁸Ibid. (July 1942), 580-5.

³⁹Id.

⁴⁰Id.

There were special missions for the children and young people in 23 centres.⁴¹ In these cases also, details were scrupulously kept, presumably with the objective of proving the astonishing success of the missions. Special missions were also held for the authorities, and the elderly. In the case of the latter, only 625 men attended the missions, in comparison with 2,994 women.⁴² As at May 1942, there was a total of 90 mission centres, and a total attendance of 49,379 people.⁴³

The statistics kept on the missions indicate an interesting difference in attendance figures depending on the nature of the parish. The populous working class parishes register less attendance than the middle class parishes; therefore the working class parish of San Felipe registered a mean attendance of 99 men and 751 women; that of San Patricio 67 men and 310 women, that of La Malagueta, 97 men and 277 women, and that of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 228 men and 342 women. In comparison, in the parish of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, 330 men and 1,037 women attended; in the parish of San Juan, 492 men and 1,250 women attended; and in the cathedral, 682 men and 998 women attended.⁴⁴ All of these parishes are situated in the centre of the capital, in the residential zone of the bourgeoisie.

Despite the evident differences in attendance, the bishop was gratified and overwhelmed by the success of the mission. In his view, all Málaga, irrespective of age or class, had been living days of intense religious emotion and fervour:

Our churches, full and overflowing up to three times: first with children, then with young people, now with elderly people, and then it will be with soldiers and armed people, apart from the thousands of workers who listen to the word of God in their own factory and industrial centres.

Who would have said so, or even would have dreamed this half a dozen years ago!⁴⁵

The undeniable propaganda value of these missions is clear from the tales of miraculous conversions to the faith. The diocesan bulletin speaks of many edifying cases in which conversions were made amidst tears, and "sincere recantations," and speaks of "... exemplary conversions of entire families in which all the members have passed from indifference or a

⁴¹Ibid. (May 1942), 397-8.

⁴²Ibid. (May 1942), 400-1.

⁴³Ibid. (May 1942), 409.

⁴⁴Ibid. (May 1942), 402.

⁴⁵Ibid. (May 1942), 404-5.

paganised life to a life full of fervent piety...."⁴⁶ One such example was the case of two elderly people, of 78 and 74 years of age, blood relations who had lived together all their lives and had had children, but who were neither baptised nor married. Appropriately instructed by a priest and various assistants, they were baptised and received holy communion on the same day, along with their 42 year old daughter, and their union was "sanctified."⁴⁷ Detailed figures were kept of the sacraments administered. In 1938, 71 missions were held in villages and parishes by various religious congregations, mostly Redemptorists, Jesuits, Capuchins, and Members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.⁴⁸ A special incentive was offered to those who went to the bishop's pastoral visit. Anyone who attended on any day of the bishop's pastoral visit, and also attended confession and received communion, received an indulgence that conceded the remission from sins and a plenary indulgence.⁴⁹

Intense propaganda campaigns were carried out in the press, on the radio, in public conferences, etc, to encourage people to go to mass and receive the sacraments.⁵⁰ Whether out of prudence or conviction, the fact is that many people attended the missions and received the sacraments. The ecclesiastical and Catholic press of this period was full of stories of fervent conversions to the faith, sincere repentance, and promises to live a new life of devotion and piety. In May 1938, the diocesan bulletin alleged that there had been 10,983 confirmations celebrated in the last days of 1937 and up to the moment of publication in April.⁵¹ Similarly, in May-June, in twelve parishes, another 3,615 people were confirmed.⁵² In June-July, in seven parishes, another 2,213 people were confirmed.⁵³ In 1939 the diocesan bulletin gave a total of the confirmation statistics, according to which the bishop had confirmed 14,369 people in 1935-1936; 4,945 in 1937; and 19,496 in 1938.⁵⁴

⁴⁶Ibid. (May 1942), 409.

⁴⁷Ibid. (May 1942), 410.

⁴⁸Ibid. (1938), 56-8.

⁴⁹Ibid. (Jan. 1938), 25.

⁵⁰Ibid. (Oct. 1942), 779-81.

⁵¹Ibid. (Apr. 1938), 253.

⁵²Ibid. (June 1938), 376. These comprised 1,609 men and 2,006 women.

⁵³Ibid. (July 1938), 475. These comprised 827 men and 1,386 women.

⁵⁴Ibid. (1939), 52-5.

In the first years, the confirmations took place in religious buildings, at the seminary, in religious communities, and various parish churches. By 1942, a great cycle of missions was organised, this time in factories, workshops, offices, the Hospital, the port etc. Again, detailed records of baptisms, confessions, marriages, first holy communions, and confirmations were kept, including the number of individuals who had attended out of the total population, divided by gender. As the missions were also held in factories, workshops, etc., the bishop decreed that the religious services be held in the local churches, so that the workers would not feel any pressure to attend. Despite this diplomatic gesture, few dared not to appear at the religious service, and attendance was notably high.⁵⁵

The campaign "Pro-Sanctification of Holy Days," aimed at encouraging the population to attend religious services, was run by Catholic Action in 1943-1944. Conferences, homilies, radio programmes and printed material were prepared as part of these national campaigns. A national campaign was launched to foster the observance of Sunday rest, which included a study on the numbers that attended regularly or not.⁵⁶ Santos Olivera also ordered an intense campaign of oral and written propaganda in defence of Sunday rest. The Diocesan Council of Catholic Action was called upon to denounce infractions on behalf of abused workers, to prevent personal enmity from arising between employers and employees. Catholic Action was requested to collect "detailed and *exact* statistics [italics in the original] of all persons in every locality who hear mass on holy days." A special prayer "Pro Sanctification of Holy Days" was written, and one hundred days' indulgence offered by the bishop for every time the prayer was said.⁵⁷

The cultural forms of religious expression were also guided by the ecclesiastical hierarchy's conception of what was authentically Spanish, orthodox, and traditional. Bishop Santos Olivera's taste proved to be austere and in direct contradiction with the aesthetic values of the local population. He did not approve, for example, of mixed male and female choirs, nor of profane singers. In 1946, he published the decree "Establishing choirs of singers in Málaga on an interparish basis in order to foster liturgical singing." The bishop wanted a young all male choir drawn from Catholic Action, and a children's choir. However, he absolutely prohibited the

⁵⁵The diocesan bulletin asserted that the bishop's sensitivity on this question was so great that he refused to administer the sacraments in the workplace. Only speeches were given there, and those who wished to receive sacraments had to go to a church, despite which the reception of sacraments was very high. Ibid. (May 1942), 399-409.

⁵⁶*Ecclesia* (22 Apr. 1944), 5-6.

⁵⁷*BOOM* (Jan. 1944), 4-8. Legislation on obligatory Sunday rest had been passed by the Civil Governor of Málaga in 1939. Ibid. (3 Apr. 1939), 269.

participation of women in choirs, except for female religious *in their own chapels*. And he expressed the desire that female choirs and profane singers disappear from the capital.⁵⁸

Santos Olivera acknowledged that the population was ignorant of the Church and its ceremonies, but he attributed this to "the decline of splendour in ceremonies and the neglect of the clergy itself." He therefore urged the clergy to return the ceremonies to their past grandeur.⁵⁹ The bishop was convinced that if the religious ceremonies were returned to the majesty of old and were carried out with due solemnity and correctness, the congregations would flock to the churches. Therefore, he prohibited the adorning of the altar with flowers at funerals; the playing of the organ or orchestra during the offertory or between the mass and the final responses; and the substitution of the final response "Libera me Domine de morte aeterna" for "Memento Mei," which was shorter. He threatened to impose sanctions if any of his prohibitions were ignored.⁶⁰

The bishop also adopted the role of watchdog of aesthetic standards. In February 1937, the bishop forbade the faithful to commission altarpieces or altars, images or paintings in "bad taste" or excessive in number. In order to prevent this happening, Santos Olivera ordered that plans and budgets for altarpieces and other works of art be sent to him for his approval.⁶¹ Artistic expression was to recuperate the idealised past, the prominent styles being Gothic, Baroque, Renaissance and Neoclassical, and rejecting absolutely all styles of art and architecture that proliferated outside Spain. Modern painting, sculpture, and architecture, were unacceptable as "foreign" and "protestant."⁶²

2. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND BELIEF IN MALAGA.

The recatholicisation of the diocese supposedly constituted the reimplantation and consolidation of preexisting Catholic norms and values. As the official rhetoric repeatedly declared, traditional values and Catholic culture were consubstantial. Catholic culture was an intrinsic and inseparable part of Hispanic culture and of the national essence. Nevertheless, there were evident differences between the religious practices of the clerical world, and those of the

⁵⁸Ibid. (Feb. 1946), 152-3.

⁵⁹Ibid. (Apr. 1939), 170-1.

⁶⁰Ibid. (May 1937), 69-70.

⁶¹Ibid. (Mar. 1937), 6-10.

⁶²F. Sopena, *Defensa de una generaci3n*, 102.

faithful. Catholic doctrine demanded compliance with certain minimum forms of religious observance, and compliance with clerical norms, both with respect to orthodoxy of belief and to the correct execution of rituals and ceremonies. At a minimum, those who identified with this form of religiosity complied with the duty of attending mass regularly, and receive certain sacraments. "Official" religiosity was thus heavily dependent on the clergy, who monopolised the liturgy, the administration of sacraments, and were predominant in the organisation of ceremonies such as the rosary. The faithful were largely relegated to a passive and receptive role.⁶³

In dramatic juxtaposition with this individualist and highly clericalised form of religious behaviour, the so called "popular religiosity" consisted of traditional rites, practices, celebrations, symbols, which were part of a deeply rooted historic oral and communal heritage. Although they were undoubtedly of a Christian nature, they often sat ill at ease with the doctrine and liturgy of the Church. On occasions, bishops were obliged to intervene to prevent the carrying out of rituals or ceremonies which crossed the line of the theologically admissible.

The community expressed this religiosity spontaneously, and independently of the direction and mediation of the clergy and the "official" Church. These manifestations of popular religiosity include pilgrimages, processions, worship of images, and vigils. Unlike mass attendance and reception of the sacraments, they did not constitute part of the religious obligations imposed by the Church. The vital element in this form of religiosity are the *cofradías*, or brotherhoods, which stored and looked after the Holy images and the floats [*pasos*]. On the feast day, the *cofrades*, or members of the brotherhood, organised and participated in the procession of the Holy Images. The parish priest might participate in the procession, but the real protagonists were the lay people, who organised the entire event.

The Holy Week processions, particularly those of Seville, provide the most dramatic example of traditional religiosity. No one who has ever witnessed a Holy Week procession in Andalusia can have failed to be impressed or overawed by the extraordinary amount of human effort and feeling poured into them. Other processions include Corpus Christi, and the local processions in honour of the local patron saint, or advocations of the Virgin or of Christ. In Málaga (capital) in Holy Week alone, there are up 52 *pasos* and 29 different processions.⁶⁴ The names of the *cofradías* are sufficient indication of the intense and emotionally charged

⁶³It must be borne in mind that, in this period, the clergy said mass with their backs to the congregation. The lack of participation of the congregation in the focal point of religious life could hardly be more acute.

⁶⁴J. Cruces Pozo, "Málaga," in *Temas Españoles*, no. 150 (Madrid, 1955), 19-20.

atmosphere.⁶⁵

The processions depart from a particular church or suburb, and patiently weave their way along a predetermined route, usually identical from year to year, bearing the heavy and elaborately decorated and dressed image of the Virgin, saint, or Christ. Each *cofradía* or *hermandad* begins its particular route on a particular day at a particular time. Previously, the *cofrades* will have prepared the gigantic *paso*, dressing the image, preparing the floral arrangements, etc. Depending on the wealth and prestige of the members, the clothes that the image will wear will be more or less expensive. Some of the more elaborate shawls worn by the Virgins are embroidered in gold, and in Málaga it is said of one such Virgin that the shawl is worth two million pesetas. The Catholic lay intellectual Alfonso Carlos Comín noted that "The wealth that is exhibited is considerable... the value of the artistic treasures of the brotherhoods of Holy Week in Málaga are calculated to be more than fifty million pesetas and have been acquired in their entirety in the last twentyfive years."⁶⁶

The *cofrades* will also have arranged to contract and pay for the *costaleros*, who are responsible for carrying the enormous image on their shoulders. Sometimes, platforms or chairs are set out along the route, which the spectators must pay a charge for in order to watch the procession. The other spectators form a large crowd along the route, or watch from the balconies of their homes, from which they have hung embroidered shawls, or even colourful or embroidered quilts, to add colour and atmosphere to the street. At the procession itself, the local civil and military authorities are usually present,⁶⁷ often accompanied by brass bands, police on horseback, and little girls dressed in the frilly *flamenco* costume. The *cofrades* themselves are

⁶⁵For example, one of the most important of the *cofradías* of Málaga's Holy Week is the *Real Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Santo Sepulcro y Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. Other even more vivid names are: *Venerable Hermandad de Culto y Procesión del Santísimo Cristo de la Agonía y María Santísima de las Penas y Santo Domingo de la Calzada*; *Ilustre y Venerable Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Pasión y María Santísima del Amor Doloroso*; *Muy Ilustre, Venerable y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Sentencia y María Santísima del Rosario en sus Misterios Dolorosos*. On Holy Week in Málaga, see J. Castellanos Guerrero (coord), *Semana Santa en Málaga: Vida cofrade y entorno de las cofradías malagueñas* (Málaga, 1989).

⁶⁶A. C. Comín, *España, ¿País de Misión?*, 126.

⁶⁷During the dictatorship, the civil and military authorities, as well as representatives of official bodies such as the police force were present in the procession, as befitted a régime which declared itself to be confessional. Currently, the presence of the mayor of each locality depends on the individual in each particular case, although in general terms, socialist mayors have on the whole been present in their capacity as representatives of the people at religious processions, whatever their own feelings might be. Conversation with Rafael Contreras, journalist and specialist on Catholic associations, *cofradías*, and *hermandades*, for *Diario 16 Málaga*, and member of the *Real Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Santo Sepulcro y Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, held in Málaga, 4 September 1995.

dressed for the occasion, in the colours of the *cofradía*, wearing special crosses or medals and ribbons, and bearing a special staff. Solemnly organised in rows, the *cofrades* are prominent in the procession. In some processions, long continuous columns of faithful walk in single file along the route on both sides of the processions, bearing candles on their way to the church where mass is said at the end of the procession. Some walk in bare feet as an act of penitence. Much more dramatic as far as acts of penitence go are the *nazarenos*, who wear special tunics and cover their faces with sinister looking pointed hoods.

The movement of the *paso* itself is the most dramatic and emotional part of the procession. The incredible weight of the *paso*, which is carried sometimes by anything from one hundred to two hundred men, impedes normal walking. The men are obliged to shuffle from side to side in order to move the *paso* forward. A certain rhythm is maintained by the continual and somewhat sinister tapping of a staff on the ground, or by drums. The suffering *costaleros* shuffle forward some distance, and the image sways from side to side. From time to time the *costaleros* stop. The image is hoisted upon metal rods so that they can rest, and then the shuffling begins again. At certain balconies, a singer may launch into a *saeta* to the image,⁶⁸ and enthusiastic cries can be heard. To all effects, the image is cheered and praised as if it were alive.

The procession is accompanied by eating and drinking, in a generally intense but festive atmosphere. The processions are immensely slow, and can go on all night, especially if the procession incorporates elements which are not strictly religious. In Málaga, for example, Comín noted that

When the procession is coming to a close, the two floats greet each other. The greeting consists in the two floats approaching each other and moving away again, backwards and forwards, over and over again, to see who holds out longer. The people urge and encourage them with shouting and clapping. It is a matter of pride to see who holds out longer. Sometimes this goes on until three, four and even up to six o'clock in the morning.⁶⁹

The lack of specifically religious content in some of the rituals and practices associated with these processions, the generally festive atmosphere, and the stubborn independence of the *cofradías* with respect to the bishops was a traditional source of tension between the *cofradías*

⁶⁸A *saeta*, rooted in flamenco song forms, is normally sung at the Holy Week processions. Usually, a singer is contracted to await the passing of the image in a balcony along the route along which the image will pass. The *saeta* is specially written for the occasion. When the image passes, the singer breaks out in passionate praise to the image. On the history and nature of the *saeta* in Málaga, see E. Rioja Vázquez, "La saeta en Málaga. Las saetas malagueñas," in *XII Congreso de Arte Flamenco. Ponencias y Comunicaciones* (Estepona, Málaga, septiembre 1994).

⁶⁹A. C. Comín, *España, ¿País de Misión?*, 127.

and the clergy. In Málaga, the *pasos* are particularly large and heavy, so much so that the majority of them cannot be wedged in and out of churches -as they are in other parts of Andalusia-, or, as they say in Spanish, they are unable to *salir de dentro*. They have to be dismantled, stored, and reassembled in time for the procession. This meant that the images were not kept in churches, but often in warehouses or wherever there was space to put them in. On the day of assembling, the *paso* was put together in the street, often under a makeshift cover. There is an ongoing debate as to whether the *pasos* are so big because they were not allowed into the churches by the clergy, or whether they were ejected by the clergy because they were so big.⁷⁰

Santos Olivera made his first attempt to reimpose a certain measure of ecclesiastical control shortly after his return to the diocese in 1938, when he imposed a set of strict rules for the *cofradías*. Under the new statute, the bishop controlled the number of *cofrades* that could be admitted, the method of election to the *cofradía*, and demanded certain particular personal qualities of those elected for the ruling committee. The *cofradías* were prohibited from organising any public ceremony with the aim of raising money, and the number and nature of the ceremonies were regulated by the bishop. Instructions were given for Holy Week, which allotted a maximum time for the procession, which limited participation to the members of the *cofradía*, and which obliged strict observance of the allotted route, in order to avoid the "disorganisation" and "other abuses" of the past.⁷¹ The "disorganisation" referred consisted of deviations from the original route, and excessively long and slow, which, on having to cross paths with others covering different routes, caused immense delays which resulted in the population being out in the street all night. The profane nature of the spectacle was evident when *nazarenos*, who were supposed to be undergoing an act of penitence, were to be seen chatting or smoking cigarettes. Evidently, the atmosphere was far from being one of great piety.

Hence, one of the great preoccupations of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the clergy was that religious ceremonies and rituals not be reduced to mere profane or folkloric spectacles. One year, the bishop's displeasure with the *cofradías de pasión* of Málaga was so great that the *Cofradía de la Misericordia* was punished with not being permitted to go out in procession in the Holy Week of 1945.⁷² In the summer of the same year, the Bishop of Málaga published a

⁷⁰Nazareno Verde, *Lenguaje Cofradiero de Málaga* (Málaga, 1982), 154-6: "Salir de Dentro."

⁷¹*BOOM* (Aug. 1938), 499.

⁷²P. Sánchez Domínguez, *50 Años de Málaga en sus Pregones de Semana Santa (1935-1984)* (Málaga, 1994), 33. *Cofradías de Pasión* include all those who go out in procession in Holy Week, whereas those

circular in the diocesan bulletin, asserting that the religious ceremonies held on the eve of feast days of local patrons were declining in number, as was the devotion and piety with which they were held. Too often, the event was tainted by irreverence, if not sacrilege. Often a public dance would substitute the vigil, and few families complied with the obligation of fasting or abstinence:

Little by little, profane festivities are gaining ground on the religious ones, to such an extent that attention and devotion are fixed on the former, more than on the latter, turning the principal into something secondary; and finally in many cases, the feast day of patron saints are a pagan bacchanal, and far from being worship of God, they serve to multiply the offences against his Divine Majesty.⁷³

What was even worse was that many of the abuses were being organised by the very *cofradía* entrusted with the cult of the patron saint. For this reason, Santos Olivera adopted another series of norms to regulate the situation. Amongst the measures to be adopted, the parish priests were ordered to appropriately instruct the faithful, "explaining the liturgical meaning of the feast and the most practical way of celebrating it." The *cofrades* were ordered to limit their activities to the organisation of the purely religious rites, but not profane activities, and to look out for "moral sense and good customs in pagan feasts." Religious processions outside the churches were prohibited if there were profane celebrations underway.⁷⁴

However, the *cofradías* were not so easily intimidated. In 1949, Bishop Herrera found himself obliged to issue yet another decree which restructured the *cofradías*, and which prohibited the creation or reorganisation of any *cofradía*, in order to maintain the number then in existence. If there were too many with few members in it, the bishop reasoned, they could attract extraneous elements to the processions, warping the religious sense of the procession, turning it into a festival, and making it difficult to keep control of it.⁷⁵ All those who wished to occupy posts on the ruling committee of the *cofradías* were subjected to an intense scrutiny including reports from the police and the Movement, which covered all aspects of the individual's private and public life and ideology. Most candidates were approved, but not always. One individual was described by the police as being "always ...of left-wing ideas and of bad moral, public and private conduct."⁷⁶ Another individual manifested a politically correct ideology, but "He is of bad public

devoted to the worship of a patron saint, Virgin, etcetera, are called *Cofradías de Gloria*.

⁷³*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1945), 565.

⁷⁴*Ibid.* (Aug.-Sept. 1945), 567-8.

⁷⁵*Ibid.* (May 1949), 113-6.

⁷⁶"Informe Cuerpo General de Policía, Comisaría de Málaga," 3 May 1943, no. 8105. AGC, box 2, under section *Málaga Hermandades 1928-1978*, "Hermandades y Cofradías de Málaga Capital." The individual in

and private repute, being addicted to alcoholic drink, having been arrested for pretending to be a policeman, and for scandal and drunkenness."⁷⁷

Standards of morality and piety were equally alarming among those who watched or participated in the processions. In an anonymous report sent to the Civil Governor, and dated 1952, one commentator insisted on the problem caused by the *cofradías* that failed to comply with their timetables and arrived at the church late, arguing that it was necessary to avoid falling back into the old days in which the mob, enlivened by the sound of trumpets, drums, and *saetas*, began to take over the streets for their own entertainment.⁷⁸ The typical rests enjoyed by the *costaleros* had been abolished two years earlier in order to eliminate the typical delays in which *costaleros* rested for hours, "enlivened by the excessive ingestion of alcohol, whose calamitous consequences for Christian fervour are easy to imagine." The writer recommended that *cofradías* that did not keep up with their timetable be fined and banned from participating in the procession the following year if the performance was repeated. He also criticised the stroll that the *nazarenos* took before the procession began, and even more, the drinks, eating, cigarettes, and food consumed in public places after the event, and the uncovering of the face, smoking, or chatting with members of the public during the procession itself. The writer believed that a minimum age for participation in the procession should be imposed, given that the young appeared to be particularly responsible. Equally, the *costaleros* should be obliged to disrobe after the procession, and behave correctly when robed. Naturally, the writer was not impressed by the example set by one *costalero* of the *Santo Sepulcro*, who, "At ten o'clock on Holy Saturday, was seen in the centre of the city, totally inebriated." Many of the penitents, also, had dubious reasons for participating in the procession: "...they go ... for a lark, checking out the public who are watching the passing of the procession, or so that some friend or neighbour will see them." They were to be seen in company of boyfriends, smoking, eating and chatting. The writer recommended that the penitents be obliged to process with their faces masked.⁷⁹ Finally, the

question, Antonio García Sánchez, was applying for admission as member of the *junta* of the *Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo de la Agonía y María Santísima de las Penas* (Church of San José).

⁷⁷"Servicio de Información e Investigación, FE: Delegación Provincial del Málaga, 20 enero, 1944." AGC, box 2, *Málaga Hermandades 1928-1978*, "Hermandades y Cofradías de Málaga Capital," folder for years 1897-1943, "Hermandades Fusionadas de Azotes y Columnas, Santa Vera Cruz y Sangre de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y Animas de Ciegos (Parroquia de San Juan) y Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Exaltación."

⁷⁸"Semana Santa de 1952. Juicio Crítico Negativo de sus Desfiles Profesionales. Málaga. Abril," 2. AGC, "Asociaciones," box 1, *Málaga Hermandades 1928-1978*. "Hermandades y Cofradías de Málaga capital: Agrupación de cofradías, Pollínica, Humildad, Gitanos, Pasión, Cautivo."

⁷⁹"Semana Santa de 1952. Juicio Crítico Negativo de sus Desfiles Profesionales. Málaga. Abril," 4. AGC,

writer also protested about the habit of singing *saetas*, recommending that those who sing them and the owners of bars, taverns where they were sung, be severely punished.

By 1953, the *Agrupación de Cofradías de Semana Santa* -the ruling organisation and representative of all the Holy Week *cofradías*- was setting up three control commissions, "by the superior mandate of the Prelate,... in order to achieve the most precise compliance with times and itineraries for the processions." The *Agrupación* sought the active collaboration of the Civil Government to work alongside the commissions set up by the *Agrupación* and the bishop's representatives in order to secure this end.⁸⁰ In 1956, Herrera again turned his attention to the religious processions, criticising their irreverence, the slowness of their progress through the streets which kept the faithful out until all hours, and the "deplorable street scenes, which constitute an authentic profanation of Holy Days." In order to remedy the situation, Herrera designated no less than a commission of ecclesiastics, presided over by his auxiliary bishop, to propose a definitive plan for the *cofradías* for 1957.⁸¹ By 1957, the bishop had established the Holy Week Board, which studied the times and routes of the processions, and prepared "the religious acts that are celebrated on Holy Saturday with particular care."⁸²

The processions were by no means the only manifestation of popular religiosity that irritated the bishops. Other rituals or ceremonies were also criticised for neglecting the purely religious elements, and being reduced to a merely profane celebration, in which excesses of all kinds were usually present. In 1939, Santos Olivera began his assault complaining about the practice of placing photographs at the foot of the statue of the Virgin Mary, which he believed made the shrine look more like a bazaar than a shrine.⁸³ In 1940, he turned his attention to that most typical expression of Andalusian religiosity, the *romería*.⁸⁴ The festive nature of these

"Asociaciones," box 1, *Málaga. Hermandades 1928-1978*. "Hermandades y Cofradías de Málaga capital."

⁸⁰Letter from the *Agrupación de Cofradías de Semana Santa* to the Civil Governor, 21 March 1953, in AGC, *Málaga. Hermandades 1928-1978*, "Hermandades y Cofradías de Málaga Capital: Agrupación de cofradías, Junta de Gobierno de 1953- Varios."

⁸¹*BOOM* (supp. Feb.-Mar. 1956), 67.

⁸²*Ibid.* (1957), 41.

⁸³*Ibid.* (May 1939), 247.

⁸⁴The *romería* is essentially a pilgrimage to a shrine in celebration of the feast day of a patron saint or Virgin. They are joyous occasions, accompanied by singing and dancing on the road, and the bright festive dress typical of the south of Spain. For a complete analysis of traditional Andalusian feasts and celebrations, and their social-cultural role, see S. Rodríguez Becerra, *Las fiestas de Andalucía. Una aproximación desde la antropología cultural* (Sevilla, 1985).

events was exactly what irritated the bishop. The *romería*, he declared, had degenerated into "profanity and scandalous licentiousness." Rather than being a spiritual experience, it was closer to being a bacchanal. The feasting, dancing and profane singing, "are a synonym for revelry and diversion, and the devotion and worship of the image or mystery being venerated, and which is used as the pretext for the feast, is the least important." The bishop expressed his agreement with the popular proverbs which alleged that only the frivolous and superficial went to *romerías*.⁸⁵

The next attack was on the traditional popular feast called *Las Cruces de Mayo*. *Las Cruces de Mayo* were crosses which were adorned with flowers, ceramic objects and copper knick knacks. They were set up in a local public place, principally in the *patio de vecinos*. The locals gathered around the cross, where the accordion, guitar, and lute players played for the popular dances that went on all night. The young women would put on manila shawls and do up their hair in preparation for the dances, under the sharp eyes of their mothers. A vigil was kept during the Eve by some of the neighbours, who would keep watch while drinking hot chocolate and eating buns. On the day itself, a common lunch was shared, including certain ritual foods. There was music, dancing, and the townspeople received visits from villagers from other villages.⁸⁶ It is speculated that *Las Cruces de Mayo* had a pagan origin, and certainly its role facilitating contact between the young people of both sexes, in a society which segregated them as far as possible, gave the festival a socio-cultural role which went beyond the purely religious.

Santos Olivera did not seem to object to the cult of the cross itself, but he firmly opposed its more profane aspects. The cross was adorned in houses, squares, and according to the bishop, in unsuitable places such as theatres and recreational centres. For this reason he warned that "it is not licit to mix the sacred with the profane, lighting ... one candle to God and another to the Devil." The authorities of Seville had already prohibited the celebration of *Las Cruces de Mayo* as they were then being celebrated, while the Civil Governor of Granada had prohibited all dancing and profane activities in front of the cross.⁸⁷

Even in the purely Catholic rituals which were not in any way related to pagan rituals, the bishops found themselves struggling to control the typically Andalusian tendency to combine the purely religious ritual with profane elements, and usually incline the balance towards the

⁸⁵ *BOOM* (Apr. 1940), 234(a)-234(c).

⁸⁶ On *Las Cruces de Mayo* in villages of Granada, see P. Gómez García, *Religión popular y mesianismo. Análisis de cultura andaluza* (Granada, 1991), 40-1.

⁸⁷ *BOOM* (May 1942), 356.

latter rather than the former. With some religious celebrations -such as first holy communions- it was difficult to ascertain where the religious part ended and where the profane celebration began. Santos Olivera was a typical representative of Castile and was steeped in Castilian religiosity: stark, intensely spiritual, austere. In comparison, the Andalusian celebrations were characterised by exuberance, colour, and gaiety. All the senses came into play; music, food and drink, and elaborate visual displays were an intrinsic part of the event. Santos Olivera found the Andalusian style of religious expression to be excessively trivial and frivolous. In his "Circular on First Holy Communions," the bishop asked his clergy and the teachers to exhort parents to celebrate the first holy communion, "but not with profanities and lavish ostentation ...to the point of taking the children, in their First Holy Communion clothes, to profane and improper spectacles."⁸⁸

Despite the complaints of the bishops, the traditional religious practices, both mass celebrations -such as the processions, *Las Cruces de Mayo*, etc- and the private personal celebrations -usually associated with the traditional rites of passage: baptism, first holy communion, etc.- continued to maintain strong roots in the community. Some became more or less popular depending on the social and political circumstances. *Las Cruces de Mayo*, for example, began to decline at one point because they had traditionally been held amongst neighbours; when the local communities began to be affected by emigration, the custom began to lose force. The changes that occur arise out of the external circumstances of the community, and not as a result of ecclesiastical pressure.

In comparison, "official" religiosity apparently experienced very little improvement. Despite the efforts of the bishops, the clergy and religious communities, and Catholic Action, the population had not returned to religious services in great numbers. The reception of sacraments had not dramatically increased. Catholic Action remained a numerically insignificant organisation, which attracted only certain members of the dominant classes. The optimism of Bishop Santos Olivera was such that he had expected that the population would have poured into religious services *en masse* as soon as the province had been "liberated." A year after his return to the diocese, and in seemingly genuine astonishment, he lamented the religious apathy that he was still encountering.

That this should occur in times of rabid laicism, of determined persecution of the Church, of mockery and ridicule of sacred people and things..., might be explicable, although never justifiable. But that in our day and age and under the new state of things, under a Christian régime which is totally deferential to the Church, after the tremendous lesson that the past has given us, and seeing the

⁸⁸Ibid. (May 1946), 284.

profoundly religious reaction that has spread throughout the real Spain..., it is truly inconceivable and inexplicable.⁸⁹

Barely five years later, in 1943, the bishop confessed his embarrassment on having had to send a questionnaire to the Vatican on local mass attendance and compliance with obligatory religious observance. Only holy days, approximately 15-20% of the women attended mass. Of the men, only about 5% attended, and about 50% of the children. Approximately the same proportion, if not less, complied with religious obligations at Easter. The bishop noted that these figures only constituted the provincial average, and that there were even greater differences between individual parishes.⁹⁰ What is perhaps more striking, given Santos' optimistic nature, is the fact that the bishop suspected that not all the faithful who attended mass were there for purely spiritual reasons. In 1942, he complained that

There are many... who attend [mass] passively, with the lack of interest and the apathy of those who comply with an annoying and boring duty out of routine or respect, without understanding the real significance and importance of the Mass, without realising what is going on on the altar, without opening a pious book, without saying a prayer or taking part in liturgical singing.⁹¹

Santos Olivera's suspicions were also aroused by the fact that there were also faithful who went to mass, and then spent the rest of the day occupied with "dangerous entertainment" or in "clearly sinful activities."⁹²

The response of the bishops to this manifestly unsatisfactory situation was to increase the number and intensity of missions. In 1948-1950, now under Herrera, the rural missions were inaugurated, and were intensively carried out throughout 1951.⁹³ In 1950, an important series of missions were also held in the capital under the slogan "The suburbs for Christ." As usual, the missions constituted intensive indoctrination of the "ignorant," taking advantage of the presence of the clerical instructors to administer sacraments and "rectify" immoral circumstances. These events were also accompanied by the usual paternalistic acts of social and religious welfare, such as the construction of churches, schools, sports fields, medical clinics, public dining rooms, etc.,

⁸⁹Ibid. (Feb. 1938), 97-8.

⁹⁰Ibid. (Feb. 1943), 71.

⁹¹Ibid. (Oct. 1942), 778.

⁹²Id.

⁹³The references to missions and pastoral visits are particularly intense in the diocesan bulletin of 1951. See *ibid.* (1951), 67-72, 90-4, 182-7, 322, 387-9. There were 33 mission centres scattered over the province in this year; the mission in the capital went from 30 January to 4 April 1951.

in the working class suburbs of the capital. The Catholic publications expressed great optimism as to the positive effects of the missions. "How easily the sinners have surrendered to grace and how rapidly the good souls have improved, and have embraced perfection!," declared one commentator in the diocesan bulletin.⁹⁴ The missions continued in 1951, in which year Bishop Herrera personally undertook missions throughout the province. This function was taken over by the Auxiliary Bishop Benavent during Herrera's frequent absences.

The Spiritual Director of the *Seminario Menor* [Junior Seminary] had decided to attack the problem in the countryside by creating a "Centre of missionary irradiation" in Antequera. The idea was to station a group of clergymen there, exclusively dedicated to missionary activities. In this centre there would be adequate means of communication and information available for the task. By 1954, between 28 February and 11 April, 43 missions were held, involving 103 missionaries, which constituted half of the clergy available in that year. The sacrifice and enthusiasm was considerable. The participants paid for their own expenses, and the seminarians, who also joined in, renounced their summer holidays in order to be able to participate.⁹⁵ The missions and pastoral visits appeared to be particularly intense in the last years of the fifties, and in the early sixties.⁹⁶ Apparently alluding to the traditional alliance between clergy and bourgeoisie, it was acknowledged that

Ignorance is not the worst enemy of the rural missionary.... The worst enemy is the prejudice with which priests are received. That is why it is very important to assure the independence of the missionary, so that he does not look, to suspicious eyes, like a man under someone else's influence, or an emissary or friend of anybody's...⁹⁷

The preeminent role given to the clergy in the recatholicisation constituted an insoluble problem, at least in the short term. The population demonstrated an appalling ignorance of the most basic elements of Catholic doctrine. One priest had examined one hundred rural children and found only six who knew the ten commandments. The missionary sent to Barranco del Sol was asked if he was a teacher, "and on seeing the missionary's crucifix, sad it is to say, they

⁹⁴Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 115.

⁹⁵Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 119-22.

⁹⁶In 1957-1958. the auxiliary bishop assumed the burden of pastoral visits, carrying out an extensive programme of rural visits. See *ibid.* (1958), 49-55, 78-81, 114-21, 150-62, 195-204, 235-43, 388-93, 444. See also *ibid.* (1959), 34-7, 104-10; and *ibid.* (1960), on missions in Ronda.

⁹⁷Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 121-2.

thought it was a pistol."⁹⁸ Another reported that no one attended his church except for two old ladies. There were villages where Easter attendance did not reach 7% of the population.⁹⁹ There was no prospect of improving religious vocations until the population had received a thorough instruction and had been won back to the church.

Yet without clergy to direct the instruction, administer the sacraments, and supervise public morals and customs, it was impossible to expect dramatic changes in the spiritual preparation of the faithful. The capital ought to have had 30 parishes, but had only 19. The parishes were enormous in all Málaga, and chronically understaffed.¹⁰⁰ The shortage of clergy had remained as acute a problem as it had been in the days of Santos Olivera. In 1947, Bishop Angel Herrera stated that there were only 200 clergy for a population of 600,000, and parishes in the capital with more than 30,000 souls attended to by one priest.¹⁰¹ In 1955, on average, there was one priest to every 100,000 souls in the parishes of the capital.¹⁰² At that date, there were 215 diocesan priests, 26 of whom lived as students at the seminary, and another 40 were occupied in work in the cathedral or for the diocesan curia; others were retired or chaplains. Excluding the 18 religious dedicated to pastoral work and the administration of sacraments, a population of one million was being attended to by barely 150 secular clergy. As a result, in the capital, there were parishes of 40,000 people attended by one parish priest, possibly in failing health, and one coadjutor; there were parishes of 15,000 people with no coadjutor at all; and there were parishes of 2,000 with no resident priest. Most parish priests were responsible for various parishes, with no coadjutor to assist them, and obliged to cover enormous distances in perilous conditions (usually on donkeys) in order to see to their pastoral duties.¹⁰³ The principal remedy was that of promoting vocations to the seminary, but as we have seen, a great proportion of those who entered abandoned before being ordained, and there was no revolution in the number of vocations in Málaga.

Other solutions included saying Sunday mass in the afternoons, instead of the morning. This was possible due to the Apostolic Constitution *Christus Dominus* of 6 January 1953, which

⁹⁸Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 121.

⁹⁹Ibid. (May 1952), 142-3.

¹⁰⁰Ibid. (May 1952), 141-7.

¹⁰¹A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 764.

¹⁰²Ibid., 815.

¹⁰³*BOOM* (Apr. 1955), 116-7.

authorised the saying of afternoon mass. This permitted the few clergy of Málaga to say their regular Sunday morning mass and head out to say mass in the villages, suburbs, and latifundist estates in the afternoon. The clergy were supported by various Catholic lay and religious organisations, including the inevitable female branches of Catholic Action. Their apostolate consisted of the organisation of catechism, reading and writing classes, sewing classes, regional dance and music, religious singing, and various social services, such as the distribution of foods and medicines, or the preparation of necessary paperwork -"for baptisms, marriages, military service, etc."¹⁰⁴

Over time, in the interest of improving pastoral care, greater attention began to be paid to the question of compiling statistics and information in general on religious practice in the diocese. To this end, Bishop Herrera established the *Oficina de Estadística de la Iglesia* [Church Office of Statistics] in the 1960's. At the same time, other studies were being carried out for similar purposes in other parts of Spain. Far from painting a bright picture, they tended to confirm the fact that religious observance in Spain continued to follow the same pattern that had existed in the 1930's and well before. That is to say, that Catholic religious observance was still, "a characteristic of the north rather than the south, of property owners rather than manual workers, of the better rather than poorly educated, of women rather than men."¹⁰⁵

When the first sociological studies of religiosity and frequency/regularity of official religious observance began to appear in the late 1950's and 1960's, Andalusia ranked at the bottom of the rest of the nation.¹⁰⁶ In the late 1950's, the Bishop of Málaga began to show an interest in carrying out studies on the state of religious practice in the diocese. On Sunday, 11 February 1962, a survey was carried out on mass attendance and reception of communion in the parishes of the capital of Málaga. The diocesan bulletin was able to declare with evident satisfaction that in Málaga, every Sunday 28.5% of the population -excluding children of under seven years of age- attended mass, and 7% of the population -that is, one in four of the congregation- received communion. The total number at mass on that date was of 71,905.¹⁰⁷ The result was regarded as positive: "The sum we believe to be frankly consoling after the

¹⁰⁴Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 118.

¹⁰⁵F. Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 18.

¹⁰⁶Spanish religious practice is extensively analysed in R. Duocastella (ed.), *Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español*.

¹⁰⁷*BOOM* (June 1962), 574-81.

excessively pessimistic hypotheses of very scarce Sunday compliance in all Andalusia (at most a 15% or 20%), which frequently have been suggested."¹⁰⁸ This relatively positive result "manifestly reveals the considerable number of Christians in grace..."¹⁰⁹

The disparity between the religious observance of men and women remained constant. Only 17% of men over fourteen years of age attended, in comparison with 28.5% of women. This disparity is noticeable even among those less than fourteen years of age: 49% of boys attended, in comparison with 52% of girls.¹¹⁰

It must be noted that the survey was only carried out in the capital, and in the capital, attendance was concentrated in ten churches, that is, the parish churches of the more affluent suburbs, and the Cathedral. It was impossible to evaluate what proportion of the parishioners of each parish attended mass, for strictly practical reasons. For example, many people attended mass in parishes other than their own, and others came to the capital from the countryside to attend mass, so that it was impossible to come to any conclusion. However, the statistics on reception of communion are complete. Examining the figures carefully, it would appear that the statistics on reception of communion are susceptible to a far less positive interpretation, because the masses said in the seminary, the religious congregations, and the Catholic colleges of the capital "artificially" inflated the percentage of population receiving communion.¹¹¹ To take one example, in the parish of La Victoria, 2,072 people attended mass, of which 258 received communion, a percentage of 12% of those attending. Nevertheless, within the parish there was also a chapel in the military hospital, and congregations of male and female religious (*Adoratrices*, Capuchins, and Carmelites). There were also two schools, as well as the diocesan seminary. These constituted a total mass attendance in the parish of 3,043. Between them all, except for the military chapel, where no one received communion, the rate of reception of communion was raised to a healthier 31%.¹¹² Other parishes showed very similar results. In the small working class suburbs, where there were no religious congregations or Catholic colleges, the panorama was very much bleaker than the average of the capital would indicate. In the working class parish of San Pablo, reception of communion was of 13% of the congregation; in

¹⁰⁸Ibid. (June 1962), 574-5; see also *ibid.* (Nov. 1962), 973.

¹⁰⁹Ibid. (Nov. 1962), 973.

¹¹⁰Ibid. (June 1962), 575.

¹¹¹Ibid. (June 1962), 580.

¹¹²Ibid. (June 1962), 656.

Santo Domingo, 16%; and in San José, 11%.¹¹³ The parish of Espíritu Santo, where only 39 men and 112 women attended mass, the reception of communion was a more positive 23%.¹¹⁴ In other working class parishes, the presence of religious institutions elevated the overall percentage of reception of communion. In the parish of La Purísima, the initial figure of 25% went up to 31% due to the presence of a Catholic girls' college. Another curious fact is the parish of La Sagrada Familia, where the Provincial Prison was situated. In the prison, 210 men attended mass, (the percentage of mass attendance as a percentage of the total population of inmate is not given), but not one received communion.¹¹⁵ Subsequently, another survey was carried out, on the nature of active participation in the liturgy -participation in the prayers, the ceremonies such as the procession,etc. Here it was noted that 55% of masses included some kind of direct lay participation, whilst 45% excluded all such participation.¹¹⁶

Another indicative sign of the strength of "official" religiosity in Málaga was the state of the religious press. The Spanish Church's office of information and statistics compiled a guide of the Church, its organisations, schools, publications, etc., which provides some useful information on the different dioceses. In 1957, it included a list of all the Catholic publications available at that time, classified in 28 different categories, and where they were situated. Málaga only boasted eight religious magazines in 1957, in a population of 676,000, and these sold a total of 34,600 copies. One was the diocesan bulletin; the remaining seven were Catholic college magazines for former students.¹¹⁷ There were twenty other categories of religious publications in which the province of Málaga did not produce a single publication. These included the categories of "Social Action," "Charity," "Bulletins of Religious Orders," "Clergy," "Teaching," "Training Secular Apostolate," "Missions," and "Vocations."

If the situation had not changed radically in the capital, what was the state in the countryside? A peculiarity of Andalusia was that, unlike the rest of Spain, religious observance was higher in the cities than in the countryside. This has been explained with reference to the economic and social structure of the region. The cities of Andalusia were not generally industrial

¹¹³Ibid. (July 1962), 660-1.

¹¹⁴Ibid. (July 1962), 670-1.

¹¹⁵Ibid. (July 1962), 660-1, 670-1.

¹¹⁶Ibid. (Nov. 1962), 976-7.

¹¹⁷*Oficina General de Información y Estadística de la Iglesia en España. Guía de la Iglesia en España. Suplemento de 1957*, 311-6.

cities, with the concentration of working class suburbs that this implies. On the contrary, they tended to concentrate the bourgeoisie, which was very respectful of religious observance. The countryside, on the other hand, was dominated by artisans, small peasant proprietors and a landless rural proletariat, much distanced from the Church.¹¹⁸

An interesting source of information on the state of religious feeling and observance in the rural sphere is available from the reports of the seminarians who were sent out on rural missions in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The reports reveal a curious panorama ranging from absolute indifference or even hostility, to warm reception and participation in the missions. The missions were based on localities where there were rural schools. The seminarians visited people in their homes, taking notes of their particular conditions. They organised catechism for the children, nightly chats for the adults, masses, and other religious ceremonies such as processions. During visits, the missionaries distributed rosaries, scapularies, and pamphlets on prayer, the sacraments, the Virgin, the education of children, etc. In many cases, instruction had to be carried out by other means because the faithful were totally or substantially illiterate. To this purpose, Spanish classical plays were adapted and performed, as well as parables from the Gospel.¹¹⁹ Sacraments were administered, if anyone happened to be in need of them, but there was no mass administration of sacraments as in the missions of the 1940's, nor any evidence whatsoever of any pressure being put on the local population.

As a general rule, it might be said that the seminarians were received with respect, but the people's interest in religious observance left a great deal to be desired. In Viruenda, (Antequera), a village of about 300 families, mostly small proprietors or leaseholders, only three men attended mass, along with seventeen to twenty young people and women. The night meetings had to be cancelled due to the lack of attendance.¹²⁰ Something similar applied in Chinchilla, a village of about 140 inhabitants, comprised of largely literate small leaseholders and proprietors. Here, one man, three women, five young women, six boys and six girls attended Sunday mass. The four or five people who attended the religious chats stopped going and they had to be cancelled. As for the reception given to the seminarians, "it has been cold and full of indifference. Some returned visits merely out of courtesy."¹²¹ In Las Tosquillas, "The reception

¹¹⁸R. Duocastella (ed.), *op. cit.*, 49-53.

¹¹⁹*BOOM* (Aug.-Sept. 1959), 280-90.

¹²⁰*Ibid.* (Mar. 1961), 276.

¹²¹*Id.*

given to the seminarians has been acceptable. Many people, however, absented themselves from their homes when they expected the seminarians to visit."¹²² Other villages reacted in very similar fashion.

Some villages reacted much more favourably. In Cañada Pareja (Antequera), "Only those truly unable to attend did not come to Holy Mass and other religious acts." In other villages, too, the overwhelming majority attended mass -90% of the population in Fuente del Fresno (Archidona), 85% in Saladillo (Archidona), and 74% of men and 70% of women in Cortijuelo (Villanueva del Trabuco).¹²³ Some villages gave the seminarians an excellent reception, completely in contrast with the indifference of others, even if mass attendance was lower than the villages mentioned above.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, the seminarians themselves were not fooled by the warmth of the reception. They noted,

A good disposition of the neighbours towards the priest is common, although rarely founded on supernatural motives. Generally they see him as a public functionary, influential, of pleasant character, with whom it is not unhelpful to get on well.¹²⁵

The material conditions of these villages were amply described by the seminarians. In general terms, the lives of the villagers were characterised by ignorance, and extreme poverty. In many cases, everyday existence was entirely dedicated to the quest for survival. In those sectors dominated by large estates and with families dependent on working on them, the typical problems included abusively low wages, insufficient food, the substitution of (cheaper) female labour for male labour, obligatory work on Sundays, extensive working hours (from sunrise to sunset), and absence of social security. These circumstances -no different to those which had existed in the Republican period - caused undernourishment in many families, and forced emigration. There were also the familiar complaints that large landowners deliberately left land untilled.¹²⁶ In Cañada Pareja, the isolation and poverty of these villages is made painfully clear. There was little access to information because illiteracy was high, and there were only three radios. There was no medical assistance, and the ill had to be taken elsewhere, such as Antequera, on horseback. There was no electric light due to the simple lack of a transformer, and

¹²²Ibid. (Mar. 1961), 283.

¹²³Ibid. (Mar. 1961), 277, 280-1.

¹²⁴Such was the case, for example, of La Parrilla (Archidona); *ibid.* (Mar. 1961), 283.

¹²⁵Ibid. (Oct. 1962), 837.

¹²⁶Such was the case in Chinchilla and Cañada Pareja (Antequera); *ibid.* (Mar. 1961), 276-9.

the nearest water was half a kilometre away, because the general public was not permitted access to the water that was closer. Many rural poor lived in huts. In Fuente del Fresno, where the majority were landless labourers, the water fountain was actually polluted, causing illness among the population. Communications with the nearest villages were difficult at best, and impossible in winter. In Carboneras, where the majority of the workers were unemployed more than half the year, the village was completely cut off in winter, inaccessible even to beasts of burden. Products had to be brought in by donkey, thus raising the price of these products. Due to the lack of emergency medical service, a one month old child had died after having been carried by her mother to Archidona. According to the seminarian's report, "They die without assistance. That a doctor come to their homes costs what they cannot afford."¹²⁷ A particularly unjust situation was lived in Las Tosquillas, where in the winter, the inhabitants had to walk sixteen kilometres to get to their jobs every morning, even though their workplace was only 200 metres away, because the river had no safe crossing.¹²⁸ Another considerable problem was the shortage of schools, which Bishop Herrera's rural schools programme had not remedied entirely.

A subsequent mission carried out in Vélez Málaga in 1962 gave very similar results.¹²⁹ That is to say, extreme ignorance, dire poverty, isolation, indifference or apathy with respect to "official" religiosity, or a good reception, but for reasons which were not necessarily spiritual. The services -roads, water, electricity, bridges, schools, medical- were in equally dismal conditions. In 1955, it was estimated that over 200,000 citizens of Málaga lived in small and highly dispersed populations of this type.¹³⁰

In short, over the years, the efforts made to recatholicise did not seem to have made much headway. Bearing in mind the circumstances in which many of these rural villagers lived, it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that it was virtually impossible to comply with religious observance, for the simple reason that the people had to work, either in the fields, or doing the innumerable domestic tasks that were complicated so greatly by the absolute lack of infrastructure and services of any kind. It seems likely that the economic, cultural and social backwardness of the rural population was a bigger obstacle for its recatholicisation than the anticlerical propaganda of earlier years, although there had been a few episodes which seemed to

¹²⁷Ibid. (Mar. 1961), 280.

¹²⁸Ibid. (Mar. 1961), 283.

¹²⁹Ibid. (Oct. 1962), 872-81.

¹³⁰Ibid. (Apr. 1955), 119.

be anticlerical attacks. In 1941, Bishop Santos Olivera issued a circular warning against the circulation of impious propaganda. A leaflet, apparently reproving the worship of images, criticising the clergy, and announcing a day of vengeance against Christianity and its total destruction, had been extensively distributed throughout the capital and various villages.¹³¹ In 1945, the bishop was again obliged to take measures against a pamphlet being sold, allegedly with ecclesiastical licence, entitled "Devotion to the drops of blood spilled by our loved redeemer Jesus." The pamphlet was not in fact authorised, and according to the bishop, was theologically incorrect. Probably this case constituted opportunism rather than anticlericalism.¹³² During the period of Herrera, another pair of disagreeable events took place. In 1947, the collection boxes of one church were robbed, and the contents of the sacristy spilled everywhere.¹³³ In 1949, a robbery took place in a village church, in which the robbers only stole one of the chalices, which they had previously filled with the Host.¹³⁴

Yet these were isolated cases. The most that could be said was that the official Church was regarded with indifference. Meanwhile, the religious feeling of the population continued to be expressed in the form of popular religiosity, and this is apparent in the villages visited by the seminarians. Despite their apparent indifference to the seminarians, the villages had *cofradías*, which organised the local processions of the patron saints, Virgins, etc., which attracted great devotion. In Archidona, for example, there was great devotion to the *Virgen de Gracia*. In addition to this, one village -Huertas del Río (Archidona)-, boasted a *Cofradía de San Isidro* of 300 members. And yet, according to the seminarians' report, religious observance on Sundays consisted of fifteen men, twenty women, twenty-five young people, and forty children!¹³⁵

From what has been expounded, it is obvious that Andalusian religiosity was, and is, a highly complex phenomenon. The bishops treated the phenomenon of Andalusian religiosity, with its lack of orthodoxy and its anticlericalism, as being a manifestation of popular ignorance which would disappear when cultural levels improved. The clergy's pastoral role was therefore oriented towards safeguarding orthodoxy and guaranteeing adequate religious instruction.

¹³¹Ibid. (Feb. 1941), 148-9.

¹³²*Ecclesia* (30 June 1945), 7.

¹³³*BOOM* (Aug. 1947), 337-9.

¹³⁴The robbery took place in the parish of Valle de Abdalajis. Ibid. (Dec. 1942), 384-5.

¹³⁵Ibid. (Mar. 1961), 278.

In reality, the vigour of the popular forms of religiosity were not merely a question of ignorance. The popular forms of religiosity were never entirely consistent with clerical norms, because they responded, apart from mystical or spiritual considerations, to complex psycho-social, cultural, and even political needs, either directly or symbolically. The social sciences -sociology, anthropology, history, psychology- are increasingly being applied in order to reach an understanding of the complexities of Andalusian religiosity. As a result of this work, many theories have arisen as to the social-cultural role of popular religiosity.

Undoubtedly the most important distinguishing characteristic of Andalusian religiosity is the role and importance of the *cofradías*. The atomised and adversarial nature of Andalusian society has been noted by the anthropologist David Gilmore.¹³⁶ In many villages, the *cofradía* was the only private association in existence, and as such they formed the only organised channel of male sociability. The *cofrades* were statute bound to provide charitable assistance for other members in need, and in some cases, were obliged to carry out charitable works at community level in general. Therefore, they also served an important function in fomenting group solidarity.¹³⁷

Anthropologists have assessed the rituals organised by the *cofradías* as being powerful sources of symbolic group cohesion and identification. The nature of membership -or the nature and degree of exclusivity- determined the group. Some *cofradías* had very high entry conditions, which required that the members belong to a particular profession, or social group. In some cases, the position of *cofrade* is passed on from father to son, or there is a long waiting list. In these cases, the admittance of a new member is dependent upon the death of one of the existing members. Other *cofradías* were vertical, and affirmed the collective consciousness of an entire community, cutting across class lines, and even including those who are not religious. This symbolic integration of individuals within a particular social group, whether according to neighbourhood, occupation, social class etc, is, according to the anthropologist Isidoro Moreno, one of the most important functions of the *cofradías* of Andalusia.¹³⁸

The clearest example of this situation is the case of the feasts of the local patrons of villages and towns, where the local *cofradía* is often the the only association in the community. The image is cared for by the members of the *cofradía*, who also organise and run the

¹³⁶D. Gilmore, *Aggression and Community*, 38-9.

¹³⁷I. Moreno, *Cofradías y hermandades andaluzas. Estructura, simbolismo e identidad* (Seville, 1985), 32.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, 33.

procession, and these may constitute -either principally or totally- the social élites of the community. Nevertheless, all the members of the community participate in one way or another, all those who belong to the social and cultural world of the community -whether resident there or not- identify with the image, symbol of their community. The annual celebration of the feast day constitutes an act of reaffirmation of belonging, and on no few occasions, the members of the community resident in other parts of Spain return to participate in the festivities. On many occasions, the patrons are identified with a critical moment in the history of the community -a saint which saves the community from a natural catastrophe, assists it in a critical battle, a Virgin which appears to a member of the community, etc. In other cases, the advocacy of the Virgin or Christ refers to a local geographical feature -Our Lady of the Valley [*Nuestra Señora del Valle*], or The Virgin of the Rock [*La Virgen de la Roca*], for example.

The worship of the patron is therefore identified with a local characteristic that distinguishes the community symbolically and spatially from other communities. Often the sanctuaries are on the outskirts or limits of the community, and serve as a kind of geographical boundary. The nature of the ritual confirms the fact that the image is symbol and representative of the whole community as such, and not merely the symbol or patrimony of a particular group. On many occasions, the shrine is situated outside the limits of the community, on a hill top, near a waterfall, in the local woods. Thus the worship of the image is closely associated with the forces of nature, and is in "neutral" territory, "physically distanced from the daily social universe of the community, which is precisely where the internal divisions operate...." Otherwise, the image will be in the principal church, as long as this is not symbolically associated with any particular local group.¹³⁹ Furthermore, in the rural sphere, the parish is not merely a religious unity, but is also a geographical and administrative unity. Religious feast days are civic as well as religious ceremonies, thus giving the event a meaning that goes beyond the mere expression of belief of the religious group.¹⁴⁰

The religious ritual -usually the feast day of the local patron- is often used as a form of social integration and self assertion in the face of other rival groups, for example, other local villages. The spirit of animosity between neighbouring villages in Andalusia is a notable characteristic of cultural values.¹⁴¹ The religious ceremony, therefore also constitutes an act of

¹³⁹Ibid., 109.

¹⁴⁰G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. II, 54-5.

¹⁴¹J. Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, 8-13.

territorial delimitation.¹⁴² The same process can be observed in a modern urban context, except that the "rival" group is no longer a neighbouring village which needs to be reminded of the territorial limits, but an alien -and spatially and territorially identifiable- group which provides a symbolic threat to the local community. Such is the case in the Malagan coastal town of Mijas, where the thousands of tourists who visit the town every year physically "take over" the social space. The annual fair and its accompanying religious procession has been interpreted as a symbolic "recovery" of the social space "lost" by the local inhabitants, who impose their own tastes, traditions, and customs, usually adapted to the tastes and needs of foreigners during the rest of the year.¹⁴³

On other occasions, popular religiosity served (and serves) to enhance group solidarity between members of a larger community, in opposition to other members of the same community. The *cofradías* of the working class suburbs of La Trinidad and Perchel, for example, spring from, and represent, the popular classes of Málaga, and no one with social status or pretensions would be even remotely interested in either joining the *cofradía* or participating in the processions. The celebration of Corpus Christi in La Trinidad, for example, dates back to 1923, when the *Hermandad Sacramental de San Pablo* was established. The sacrament is taken *bajo palio* to be administered to all the ill and disabled of the neighbourhood. In the afternoon, the young take the *Virgen de la Trinidad* out in procession. The festivities -which begin two days before and end two days after the feast of Corpus Christi- are accompanied by bands from different villages which come to play. Many *cofradías* are composed of manual labourers and are not socially prestigious, while others are dominated, entirely, or at least at the top of the pyramid, by members of the dominant élites. Hence, they are a reflection of social class, identifying and consolidating the group, and serving different interests and tastes. In the case of the *cofradías* of La Trinidad and Perchel, the processions and rituals take place independently of the participation of the dominant sectors of the population, and there is no direct conflict, either real or symbolic, involved.

In other cases, however, a religious ceremony serves to ritualise class conflict or act as a symbolic representation of popular protest and resistance, and a kind of safety valve for the

¹⁴²See J. A. González Alcantud, "Territorio y religión popular en Andalucía oriental," in C. Alvarez Santaló, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez Becerra (coords.) *La religiosidad popular (I): Antropología e Historia* (Barcelona, 1989).

¹⁴³J. C. Lisón Arcal, "Religiosidad popular y reconstrucción simbólica de la comunidad: el caso de Mijas," in C. Alvarez Santaló, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez Becerra (coords.) *La religiosidad popular (I)*.

manifestation of opposition, of hostility and rebellion to the dominant forces.¹⁴⁴ Equally, it could represent the triumphalist victory of the victors of the war over the Republicans. One such ritualised manifestation of social/political conflict in Málaga is the procession of a mutilated image of Christ known as the *Cristo de los Mutilados*. The statue was mutilated during the anticlerical attacks of the 1930's, when both its feet were knocked off. In 1937, a *cofradía* was established -the *Cofradía Nacional del Santísimo Cristo Mutilado*- comprised entirely of mutilated ex-military men. It was taken out in procession for the first time in 1939, constituting an annual blow in the face of all ex-Republicans and sympathisers of the vanquished régime, as well as a form of constantly reviving the old division between the "two Spains." So much so that, after Franco's death, under ecclesiastical pressure, the *cofradía* was persuaded, in the interests of national reconciliation, to abandon its practice of taking the image out in procession, and the image is now revered in the parish church where it is housed.¹⁴⁵ Whereas these ceremonies may in effect be manifestations of ritualised class conflict, Isidoro Moreno has also demonstrated how some religious rituals and *cofradías* actually act to impede the formation of class consciousness.¹⁴⁶

Another notable characteristic of Andalusian religiosity is its extraordinarily deep attachment to the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁷ This phenomenon has been explained with reference to psycho-social and historical factors.¹⁴⁸ The suggestion that traditional religiosity possibly fulfills a complex psycho-socio-cultural role goes some way towards explaining why many of the population who were completely oblivious to the doctrines and religious obligations imposed by the Church, were nevertheless fervent devotees of the local patron, indefatigable participants of the processions, etc. There are compelling reasons of a social, cultural political or psychological nature that give traditional forms of religiosity a vitality that is notably absent in the clerical forms of religious observance.

¹⁴⁴An excellent example of this is reported in Níjar (Almería), by D. Provansal and P. Molina, "Rituales religiosos y tensiones sociales en Andalucía oriental," in C. Alvarez Santaló, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez Becerra (coords.) *La religiosidad popular (III): Hermandades, romerías y santuarios*, 452.

¹⁴⁵Conversation with Rafael Contreras, 4 September 1995.

¹⁴⁶J. Moreno, op. cit., 69-95.

¹⁴⁷D. E. Brisset Martín, "Patronos, fiestas y calendario festivo: una aproximación comparativa," in C. Alvarez Santaló, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez Becerra (coords.), *La religiosidad popular (III)*.

¹⁴⁸C. Domínguez Morano, "Aproximación Psicoanalítica a la Religiosidad Tradicional Andaluza," in P. Castón Boyer (coord.), *La religión en Andalucía. (Aproximación a la religiosidad popular)* (Seville, 1985).

If there are compelling reasons of a psycho-social or cultural nature than explain why popular religiosity flourished, equally, they also exist to explain the relative unpopularity of clerical forms of religious practice. Some anthropological studies suggest possible conflicts between the cultural code and Catholic practice and rituals which would explain the ambivalent attitude of many to religion. Sexual values, as we have seen, constituted a point of divergence in thinking. The Catholic virtues of submission, humility and meekness [*mansedumbre*] fly in the face of the Andalusian man's idea of pride, honour and self esteem. The emphasis placed on virtues which implied passivity and meekness implied the adoption of characteristics that were demeaning to any Andalusian man, because it implied the adoption of values associated with women. A man who adopted these values was figuratively emasculated and humiliated.

The identification of the Church as the House of God was also contradictory to the male ethos. The woman's sphere was limited to the home and domestic duties, with very limited exceptions as might be the olive harvest, where in any case, labour was divided according to gender. The expression "House of God" connoted a domestic space, tranquillity from the hustle and bustle, which appealed to women. It was inconsistent with the masculine ethos of avoiding the domestic sphere and everything domestic.

The rites carried out in the church "involve symbolic submission to God and his representative, the priest." For this reason, men who are enticed to religious ceremonies, especially when these also constitute rites of passage, manifest their indifference or rejection by remaining outside the Church smoking and chatting with other men, or remain standing at the back of the church. Male participation in religious events that take place in churches is generally low, whereas the opposite happens in outdoor religious services where the clerical control is minimal.¹⁴⁹ In the processions priests exercise little or no authority, and the great efforts of the men who carry the floats gives them all the protagonism, and the opportunity to show off their physical strength and manifest their narcissism. Brandes has even detected a euphemism for ejaculation in the prevalent use of rockets at the traditional processions and ceremonies.¹⁵⁰

Another source of conflict was the Church's insistence on sexual purity. The Andalusian male fully accepted this point of view for the womenfolk, but it was completely inconsistent with the masculine ethos which was based on sexual predation as proof of virility. There is abundant

¹⁴⁹H. Driessen, "'Elite' versus 'Popular' Religion. The Politics of Religion in Rural Andalusia, an Anthrohistorical Perspective," in C. Alvarez Santaló, M. J. Buxó, and S. Rodríguez Becerra (coords.), *La religiosidad popular (I)*, 95.

¹⁵⁰S. H. Brandes, *Metáforas de la masculinidad*, 234.

anthropological evidence on the importance of demonstrating sexual aggressivity as affirmation of virility and suggesting that men did not consider any form of sexual activity as being sinful, immoral or contrary to religious norms.¹⁵¹ The importance of manifesting virility and avoiding anything symbolic of femininity has also led Brandes to identify a possible conflict between the traditional sexual values of the population and the clerical norms, which could have some bearing on the well known masculine rejection of communion. This is based on the fact that traditionally communion was received while kneeling, a position which is regarded as essentially feminine, and closely identified with feminine submission and passivity. This symbol of submission, inferiority and humiliation constitutes a symbolic emasculation for men, which some manage to avoid by kneeling only on one knee and leaving the other one stretched out straight behind them.¹⁵²

Another potential problem was the common -albeit mistaken- belief that it was necessary to go to confession before receiving communion. The role of the clergy as confessors, and especially as confessors of women, was a much contested issue. The clergy occupied an uncomfortable position in the world of popular sexual values and beliefs. Spanish popular sayings are full of allegations against the hypocrisy of the clergy, and one of the most notable of the allegations made against them is that of hypocrisy in sexual matters. In Andalusia -as in the rest of the country- the clergy were regarded as being red-blooded males, with sexual urges which did not disappear as a result of ordination.¹⁵³ Many people are willing to express the conviction that the clergy enjoy active sexual lives.¹⁵⁴ This perception evidently made the clergyman a potential sexual threat. Indeed, he was the only man whose company women could legitimately seek, in order to receive spiritual guidance, or the sacraments. The possibility that these contacts be the beginning of a relationship that was not merely spiritual is reflected in

¹⁵¹See the works of D. Gilmore, op. cit.; and S. H. Brandes, op. cit., especially 111.

¹⁵²S. Brandes, op. cit., 118-23, 222.

¹⁵³G. Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge, 1990), 49.

¹⁵⁴The popular jokes involving the sexual life of the clergy are also abundant. An indicative example involved a religious community which decided to castigate one of its members, whose language was foul. It was agreed that the next time he uttered a foul word, the other members of the community would bolt away, leaving him abandoned, as a sign that his vulgar behaviour was not fit for civilised ears. Later, they all sat down to dinner, and after a while, said priest remarked that a new whorehouse had just opened down the block. Immediately, as planned, all his fellow priests got up and bolted from the table. "Hold on a moment," called out their colleague, "it doesn't open until 8 o'clock."

Spanish literature.¹⁵⁵

The sacrament of confession was therefore a source of tension. There is a widespread belief that the clergy were not interested in confession from the purely spiritual point of view, but that they were motivated by morbid curiosity, in particular of everything related with the sexual life of the faithful, which they lived vicariously.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the revelation of intimate matters to another man gave that individual a degree of power and control over the domestic life of another family which was unacceptable to the Andalusian male. In effect, if the clergyman "rules" over the mind of the head of the household, the woman, he therefore has an important influence over the rest of the family, perhaps more so than the head of the family, which would make him look ridiculous. For these reasons, the Andalusian male could not help but be resentful of, and on guard against, the clergy. The existence of evidently honourable and well respected clergymen in many different parishes did not do away with the general impression that the clergy were not to be trusted.¹⁵⁷

Finally, the work of the cultural anthropologists J.R. Corbin and M.P. Corbin suggests that the cosmology of Andalusia is one in which the role of the Church as institution is to provide a means of courting supernatural power, but it is not regarded as being an absolutely necessary intermediary between the supernatural world and the natural.¹⁵⁸ According to their analysis, the Andalusians court the grace of God -something which "can be sought but cannot be willed. Grace is not reward for effort or intrinsic merit; it is a free gift, a welcome but arbitrary disposition of superior power."¹⁵⁹ Grace is legitimately courted as part of a cosmology which does not incorporate an element of personal liberty and responsibility with respect to relations with the supernatural. The Church is treated as the producer of symbolic goods but there is no concept that salvation has to be "earned," nor that the Church is the necessary channel that the individual must follow in order to "earn" it.

Andalusian religiosity, then, can be interpreted as being characterised by elements which serve a complex web of communal needs. Popular rituals served to forge collective

¹⁵⁵For example, in the famous novel *La regenta* (1884), by Leopoldo Alas Clarín.

¹⁵⁶S. Brandes, op. cit., 219-21.

¹⁵⁷The resentment that men felt towards the sacrament of confession, and the sexual competition of clergy with women was something visible in all Spain, and even amongst men who were otherwise pious. See W. A. Christian Jr., *Person and God in a Spanish Valley*.

¹⁵⁸J. R. Corbin and M. P. Corbin, *Urbane Thought*, 66-8.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 68.

consciousness, either vertically or horizontally, serve collective psychological necessities, and reject aesthetic values and clerical norms which were inconsistent with those of the community. Religiosity is thus adapted to the moral framework and the cosmology of the community. The rejection of "clerical" or "official" religiosity can also be interpreted as a rejection of the Church as institution, as an unspoken yet clear manifestation of opposition, not to religion, but to the institution and to its ministers. Spanish anticlericalism has a long history, and many of the accusations made against the clergy and the Church in general relate to the abandonment of the Gospel virtues, and to its hypocrisy in general. The Church preached fraternal love and solidarity; but it nevertheless allied itself with the rich and powerful. The clergy, it was said, did exactly the opposite of everything preached. They were alleged to be ignorant of the value and dignity of work, while preaching it for everyone else. They excelled in preaching humility and service whilst being themselves proud, arrogant, demanding, intriguing, and overly attached to power and influence. They did not serve the general population, but only the wealthy and influential, and dominated society by virtue of their intrigues and wily manoeuvres. In their personal lives, they advocated the avoidance of things of the flesh and sources of temptation. In reality, they were held to be greedy, lustful, mean, lazy, and dedicated to their material comforts.¹⁶⁰ The authenticity of their faith was not visible in their actions.

The continued vigour of popular religiosity, standing alongside the apparent indifference to clerical or official forms of religiosity, should have alerted the hierarchy to the weakness of the relationship between the flock and the institutional Church. It should also have indicated that there was sometimes considerable divergence between the cultural code of the Church and that of the natural community. This contradicted the basic premise of National-Catholic ideology, that is, that traditional Spanish culture and Catholicism were consubstantial, and indissolubly linked.

The objective of the bishops was that the faithful develop an authentic and personal relationship with God, and assimilate religious values as part of their own value system. The sociologist of religion, Marcos Alonso, has called this form of religious behaviour the clerical ideal, [*catolicismo eclesial*].¹⁶¹ The religious motivation of the individual would thus be of a transcendental and spiritual nature. It might be expected that individuals who have assimilated religious values into their daily lives would also be visible at religious rituals, would voluntarily

¹⁶⁰V. M. Arbeloa, *Aquella España católica*, 34-45.

¹⁶¹J. A. Marcos Alonso, "Hacia una tipología psicosocial de la identificación religiosa en el catolicismo Español," in R. Duocastella (ed.), *Análisis sociológico del catolicismo español*, 130-2.

participate in all aspects of religious life, and comply with religious obligations. In Málaga, those who complied with the external obligations of the faith were the élites; yet Herrera, as we have seen, was especially sensitive to the defective religious motivation of Malaga's élites, which combined external piety with a lack of understanding of how to apply Christian principles to their everyday lives.¹⁶² According to Marcos, what characterised the religious mentality of groups such as the bourgeoisie of Málaga was a form of religious motivation which he called "cultural catholicism" [*catolicismo cultural*].¹⁶³ It is characterised by the confusion between religious norms and cultural norms of a natural group -ethnic, national-, so that the former becomes an identifying element of the latter. Psychologically, conformity with the religious norms permitted membership of the natural group, and affirmed and safeguarded its social and cultural norms, and thus its unity and solidarity. A violation of these norms, in comparison, would imply detachment from the natural community, social sanctions and loss of standing. The mere outward compliance with certain obligated norms of the religious community -attendance at religious services, for example-, would suffice to guarantee membership of the group and preservation of its collective cultural identity. Religiosity was "compartmentalised," that is, limited to public acts and ceremonies in which usually the affirmation of religious and group values was intermingled and confused. The religious values of the religious group were not reflected in other aspects of life. The stereotyped model of the wealthy industrialist or large landowner who occupied the front pews at Church on Sundays and was a much publicised patron of the Church's charities on the one hand, but paid starvation wages and relied on blackleggers to break strikes on the other, is fully consistent with this psychological portrait. National-Catholic ideology, firmly subscribed to by the bishops, served to consolidate this mentality, which was radically opposed to what the bishops themselves sought to foster.

As for religious motivation in the rural areas in particular, Marcos has characterised it as being of a pragmatic and utilitarian nature, based on a concept of God as being an irrational and punitive force, identified with the forces of nature. As the relationship between God and the individual is essentially impersonal, this form of religiosity depends merely on the correct carrying out of certain rituals and rites which seek to appease hostile forces. Other rites and practices were related to the cycle of life and rites of passage -birth, death, marriage- or to the agricultural year, or to community or social relations. According to this mentality, there was no

¹⁶²A. Herrera Oria, *Obras selectas*, 520.

¹⁶³J. A. Marcos Alonso, *op. cit.*, 124-8.

incompatibility between religious indifference or even anticlericalism and a fanatical devotion to a saint, patron, or *cofradía*.¹⁶⁴ From a psychological point of view, doctrine is of very little relevance, and therefore the manifestations of religious feeling may contain theologically incorrect elements.¹⁶⁵ Religious belief may take on a less mystical and more humanistic tone, which, without abandoning the basic core of Christian values, manifests rejection or indifference to the Church as an institution, and to the clergy as intermediaries between this world and the next. This view is often accompanied by "religious relativism," which suggests that religion and religious values are important, but that *which* religion is irrelevant. Marcos defines this type of religious conduct as "non institutional Catholicism" [*catolicismo no institucional*].¹⁶⁶

It is easy to see that this kind of religious motivation is not close to the ecclesiastical ideal, and unlikely to become so. It was also easily disrupted by changes in life circumstances, principally, by migration away from the countryside to the cities, which is precisely what began to happen in the 1950's, radically altering social and economic life in Málaga. By removing spirituality from its usual communal context, distancing it from the icons and shrines and religious festivals that normally marked out the spiritual frame of reference, religious observance was undermined in many individuals who left the rural areas for the largely impersonal and indifferent cities.

For the Church to have brought these doctrinally imperfect forms of religious motivation closer to the ecclesiastical ideal would have implied a greater self analysis and self criticism; it would have implied the abandonment of National-Catholic ideology, so that religious norms were not used as identifying hallmarks of a natural group. It would have implied the acceptance of different forms of spirituality in Spain, acknowledging that spirituality varied from region to region and from class to class. It would have implied understanding that religious motivation was often coloured by factors of a purely human, and not mystical or transcendental nature. It would have led to the acceptance of a greater plurality which was completely inconsistent with the ethos of National-Catholic ideology. It would have implied the abandonment of inflexible, archaic mentalities and intellectual traditions.

Instead, the ecclesiastical hierarchy used religiosity to define the boundaries of a natural group, confusing religious and cultural norms so that the former defined the latter. Universality

¹⁶⁴Ibid., 112.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 121-2.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 128.

and uniformity became the ultimate values; in defining what was universal, the hierarchy referred to a spirituality and a code of underlying values that satisfied the needs of the established élites and served to entrench the status quo. Spiritual life and religious observance was therefore centred on extreme personal piety, an intimist spirituality, paternalism, a high level of ritualism, and a great dependence on hierarchy and clergy. As a result of both its clerical and classist nature, clerical religiosity was rejected by the masses. Clerical religiosity also failed to meet the complex psycho-social role that often came to play a part in popular religiosity.

The masses were not won over to clerical religiosity. Despite the best efforts of the régime and the hierarchy to impose an authoritarian, clericalised, uniform and universal model of religious observance, popular practices continued to escape ecclesiastical control. Clerical religiosity continued to be an overwhelmingly urban bourgeois phenomenon in Málaga. As we will examine in the conclusion, probably the most definitive evidence of the failure of the recatholicisation project to change the religious motivation of the masses was the destruction of traditional rural religiosity, as a result of the enormous social and economic changes and the laicising influences from Europe, which began to penetrate Spain as a direct result of the régime's industrialisation policies.

In practice, religiosity had been manipulated by the régime for its own propagandistic purposes with the consent of the Church in the years of triumphalism, as proof of the "Catholicity" of the nation, and to justify the régime's reactionary policies. When it was deemed necessary to modernise, the effects of the modernisation of the nation upon the social and cultural system were not of overwhelming concern, so that considerable damage was done to value and belief systems. The bishops suddenly found modernity thrust upon them, and were defenceless against its effects.

CONCLUSION.

The spiritual reconquest of postwar Málaga was carried out by close collaboration between civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and was based on coercion and by the perpetuation of Civil War rhetoric and social divisions. The social and economic causes of the Civil War, and of religious apostasy, were underestimated, when not ignored or rejected altogether. The "social question" was reduced to being a question of personal ignorance and spiritual immaturity. Consequently, the solution to the social question, once the necessary repressive measures had been adopted, was to subject the population to a process of intense indoctrination. In the prisons, this was a relatively simple process. The socialisation of the Republican sectors of society was also carried out, on entire classes (namely the rural and urban working classes), via the educational system, and through women.

The ideology imposed assumed that there was such a thing as an identifiable and homogeneous "Spanish" culture, which comprised an amalgam of religious, spiritual, political, social, and cultural values, and which was the purest expression of Catholic orthodoxy in existence. It purported to restore a cultural model based a glorified, idealised past, and an essentially tridentine spirituality, rejecting modernity and all its social, philosophical and political values.

In reality, the homogeneity of Spanish culture proved to be a myth. It is clear that the traditional values were not as consubstantial with Catholic doctrine as had been supposed by National-Catholic ideologues. To suggest that Catholicism permeated Spanish culture is not the same as to assert that Catholicism *was* Spanish culture. In many ways, perhaps most notably in the case of sexual values, the people of Málaga demonstrated that there was an identifiable popular cultural code which was distinguishable from the ecclesiastical cultural code. Whilst maintaining their intense manifestations of religious belief, the people of Málaga did not rush back into the temples, and remained impervious to the Constantinian political philosophy of their bishops. Many participated in the pro-democracy movements and worked to undermine the dictatorship. These movements began to assume great force in the years immediately after Herrera's resignation in 1966, and culminated in the establishment of the parliamentary democracy after Franco's death in 1975.

Nor was Spain immune to the changes derived from its own social and economic progress or to international events. The economic changes that took place in Málaga from the late 1950's on had the effect of transforming social and economic life whilst leaving unaltered the

inequalities and injustices that had characterised the history of the province. The paradoxes are considerable. Migration destroyed traditional village life as vast numbers of peasants left for the cities; yet it also relieved the pressure for employment on the great landed estates, which continued to exist and prosper as they had before. The demand for a skilled labour force obliged the régime to address the issue of education for the masses. This education, according to the standards of the time, had an intensely religious and moral component. Nevertheless, the increase in educational possibilities for both men and women must be considered in the context of the massive displacement caused by migration, which severed the individual from the traditional beliefs and practices, including religious beliefs and practices, and the traditional cosmology, which even if unorthodox, was unreservedly religious. It must also be assessed in the light of the cultural changes caused by the massive influx of tourists and the impact of modern mass communications, which opened the rest of the world up to Spanish citizens.

Changes taking place outside of Spain also had a massive impact. Like the rest of the industrialised world, after the Second Vatican Council, the clergy experienced a profound crisis which saw numbers in seminaries decline dramatically during the course of the 1960's and early 1970's. The same trend took place in Spain, where the crisis of vocations is especially notable after the "inflation" that took place in the two decades after the end of the Civil War.

The impact of these economic, social, cultural and spiritual changes in Málaga were necessarily negative for the recatholicisation project, which depended upon a return to a secure past and not a leap into the uncertain and changeable future. The effects of the penetrating social and economic changes were already been noted by researchers in the late 1960's and early 1970's, whose findings indicated that religious and spiritual life in Málaga, as indeed in most of Spain, left much to be desired, and was possibly worsening. A pastoral study of the diocese of Málaga was published in 1972. It was prepared by the *Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas*.¹ The study throws some light on the belief system and the religious practice of the population, at least in the sense of revealing the general tendency of previously identified phenomena, such as the state of mass attendance. It also provides interesting information on the general state of values, such as the opinion on sexual mores, and state of knowledge of Church doctrine. To some extent, it permits the researcher to evaluate to what degree the recatholicisation process altered the pre existing beliefs and religious practices.

The study was based on a series of questionnaires distributed among 5,000 parishioners.

¹*Instituto de Sociología y Pastoral Aplicadas (ISPA), El fenómeno religioso y sus condicionamientos socioculturales. Estudio sociorreligioso de la Diócesis de Málaga (Madrid, 1972).*

One first conclusion drawn by the investigators was that religious observance was still notably deficient. When asked about the frequency with which they attended mass, over 50% declared that they attended regularly.² Nevertheless, as the interviewers themselves acknowledged, the methodology used (of direct interview) resulted in an inflated rate of mass attendance. Rates of mass attendance continued to be higher for women than for men. In general terms, it tended to be higher for the very young and the very old, although the rates depended considerably according to gender and zone. In Antequera, Colmenar, Campillos, and Archidona, the decline in mass attendance began after childhood, and continued to decline thereafter. The exact age brackets at which people began to neglect mass attendance also varied. Compliance with Easter obligations, however, was significantly higher (the diocesan average was 90.8%).³ This was attributed to the social and cultural role that Easter festivities implied, which gave Easter the role of social, rather than strictly religious ritual.

In comparison, other rites and practices gave lower rates of participation.⁴ As for the reception of communion, the diocesan average for the reception of communion was of 21.1% for men and 28.8% for women -much lower than the rate of mass attendance, and much as it had been in the surveys carried out in the capital in the 1960's.⁵ There was a direct relationship between religious practice and the level of education or professional status. The higher one's studies, the higher the rate of mass attendance and reception of communion. Conversely, the lower the level of education of the interviewed, the laxer the compliance with both -although the greater the tendency to comply with traditional customs and hold firm to traditional beliefs and mores. With respect to professional status, there was a notable tendency amongst the peasantry to comply with the observance of regular mass and Easter obligations, more than participate in acts of personal devotion like receive communion, family prayer, etc. A similar phenomenon is clearly visible among the urban and rural proletariat, although these show higher rates of non observance.⁶

The researchers noted that there was considerable confusion between cultural and religious motivation. The majority of people related membership of the religious community with

²Ibid., 172-9.

³Ibid., 173-4.

⁴On the reception of the last rites and family prayer, see *ibid.*, 171-81. Also R. Duocastella (ed.), *op. cit.*, 61.

⁵The rural smallholding region of Ronda-Gaucin stands out as having rates well above the diocesan average; it gives a rate of 48.9% for men and 55% for women; ISPA, *El fenómeno religioso*, 180-1.

⁶Ibid., 182-4.

their membership of the family or of the nation, whereas only 30% identified being Catholic with making a voluntary and free decision to belong to the religious community.⁷ The potential danger was that people removed from their traditional rural environment and the values that govern it, might abandon the traditional beliefs and practices once they were uprooted from those factors that served to keep them alive in the traditional environment. In the case of rural migrants who migrated to cities, belief in God might consist of a diffuse deism, but without any external religious observance or practice.⁸ This process has been observed by Duocastella in the working class suburbs that surround big industrial cities like Bilbao and Barcelona, which attracted a considerable influx of migrants from Andalusia. He has noted that the religious observance of these people, now distanced from their native communities, and without the communal frame of reference that gives their religious practice its sense, is fairly weak, and many abandon religious observance altogether.⁹ This was also noted in Málaga, where the researchers noted the the predominance of a deist attitude characterised by a somewhat confused and ill defined concept of God.¹⁰

An overwhelming proportion of the population manifested a total ignorance or disinterest in the Church as institution, and in its decisions.¹¹ Well over half of those interviewed either did not know what the Second Vatican Council was, or had heard of it but had shown no interest in it whatsoever. The interviewed were asked to name which of the papal encyclicals was, in their opinion, the most important. A full 76.7% of those interviewed either did not know what an encyclical was, or knew what it was, but were unable to name one.¹² As to relations with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, there appeared to be a curious willingness to accept the authority of Church dogma, but somewhat less disposition to accept the authority of the Pope, and even less of the bishop.¹³

Sexual mores appeared to be basically conservative, although possibly more influenced

⁷Ibid., 200.

⁸The researchers noted that as only 40% of the population had a theologically orthodox concept of God, the rest of the population had to be deemed to manifest an interpretation of God which was not specifically Christian, even if not irreligious; *ibid.*, 192-5.

⁹R. Duocastella (ed.), *op. cit.*, 49-53.

¹⁰ISPA, *El fenómeno religioso*, 200.

¹¹Ibid., 201-9.

¹²Ibid., 206.

¹³Ibid., 206-8.

by the traditional norms of the natural community than by ecclesiastical norms. A considerable proportion of the interviewed expressed a poor opinion of the moral standards of foreigners, and manifested their opposition to sexual relations outside marriage. Moral and sexual values were predominantly traditional and conservative.¹⁴ Attitudes towards divorce, and to the use of contraceptives, were less clear cut. The researchers manifested their surprise that only 51% of the population was rigidly opposed to divorce, despite the general conservatism shown towards sexual and family values.¹⁵ The reaction to the question on contraceptives was even more ambiguous.¹⁶ This seems to reflect the classically ambivalent attitude to the Church's norms on sexual matters.

Relations with the clergy appeared to be relatively good, and there was no sign of anticlericalism. It is notable that, when asked they would react if any of their sons decided opted for clerical vocations, only 8% declared they would be displeased or opposed; over half expressed indifference.¹⁷ The perception of the role of the clergy was essentially conservative. The majority of the interviewed believed that the clergy were entitled, or were obliged, to intervene in questions of an economic or social nature.¹⁸ It was also believed that the clergy could carry out their ministry amongst the workers. The majority of those interviewed believed this was necessary or was useful for the work of the clergy.¹⁹ On the other hand, answering the question of whether the clergy should denounce cases of social or political injustice, nearly half responded that a priest should not be involved in politics.²⁰

In short, traditional relations between the faithful and the ecclesiastics did not appear to have experienced great changes. The population appeared to expect the clergy to comply with their classical role as administrator of spiritual goods, instructor of Catholic doctrine, and support mechanism for the poor, but did not appear to expect them to carry out a prophetic or political role. To this extent, the population manifested an essentially traditionalist and conservative attitude.

¹⁴Ibid., 97-120.

¹⁵Ibid., 114.

¹⁶Ibid., 115-7.

¹⁷Ibid., 224-5.

¹⁸Ibid., 216-7.

¹⁹Ibid., 219-21.

²⁰Ibid., 217-9.

The faithful appeared to link their religious affiliation with their family or their nation. When the surveyed were asked why they considered themselves to be Catholic, the majority of the surveyed -61.8%- seemed to identify their faith with an accident of birth or the weight of tradition, -having been born in Spain, or having Catholic parents.²¹ Nevertheless, the integrist mentality which identified being a good patriot with being a good Catholic was not prevalent. When asked if a Spaniard who is not Catholic could be a good patriot, only 38.4% accepted this proposition; over half rejected it. The sectors of the population with at least primary, or secondary/tertiary studies were more likely to manifest religious tolerance.²² Finally, just over half of those surveyed believed that Protestants should have the same rights as Catholics. Again, the tendency was for those with higher studies to be much more favourable to tolerance for Protestants.²³

The survey was designed in order to ascertain and see to the pastoral needs of the diocese of Málaga, and cannot be taken as conclusive proof of the practices and beliefs of the faithful. Nevertheless, certain tentative conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the results of the survey, interpreted in the light of other evidence and in the light of historical events, seem to confirm the suspicion that the diocese was far from the clerical ideal of religious behaviour. Many factors could come into play in determining the nature and extent of religious behaviour. In the minority of cases, religious adherence was based on a free and voluntary decision. In many others, tradition, custom, and a series of cultural and social factors conditioned religious life. Whether mass attendance increased more or less is therefore not particularly relevant except to pastoralists. The fact remains that, in general, the population remained firm in its traditional practices, whilst registering amongst the lowest rates of official religious observance of the nation.

Similarly, the diocese manifests little change in its ecclesiology. There is no evidence of anticlericalism as such, but there is also little evidence of a new spirituality, which would imply a greater consciousness and sense of responsibility among the lay people. Indeed, when asked what they thought the modern mission of the priest consisted of, 44.9% "gave very vague replies, such as 'what they have always done'."²⁴ It is possible to interpret an approximation to

²¹Ibid., 196-9.

²²Ibid., 199-200.

²³Ibid., 199.

²⁴Ibid., 213-5.

or greater respect for the clergy, but not a significant change in the nature of relations between faithful and clergy. Similarly, the efforts to educate the population in Catholic doctrine do not appear to have borne great fruit, except amongst the élites, given the number of replies which are not consistent with orthodox Catholic teaching.

The faithful appeared to cling firm to traditional beliefs, practices, customs, and morality, except in areas of great migration, social and economic change, and especially in the urban areas. The conservative nature of sectors of the population, especially the rural, may be attributable to conformism or fatalism born of the fear of challenging the existing social and economic order.²⁵ Nevertheless, whilst accepting traditional social and religious norms, the evidence suggests that the efforts to impose the political-religious amalgam that constituted the ideology of National-Catholicism was not successful in any sphere. That is to say, the attempts of the rhetoricists and ideologues to make traditional culture synonymous with Catholic culture, and Catholic culture synonymous with the values of the Counterreformation and the Crusades, failed. It failed in part because it was based on the mistaken assumption that "Spain is Catholic." As González Ruiz noted, an entire people or nation cannot be Catholic, but Catholicism can be more or less present in society. He asserted that "the proposition 'Spain is Catholic' is purely academic and always has been;" an assertion which Herrera Oria would have regarded as nothing less than heretical.²⁶

Herrera's own role in the recatholicisation project was a paradoxical one. He was unreservedly devoted to the cause of resolving the "social problem." His contribution to the development of pastoral practice and apostolate consisted in the idea of training people, both clerical and lay, in modern techniques and strategies, but within the philosophical framework of the tridentine Church. It is possible to argue that Herrera helped promote the modernisation of the Spanish Church insofar as he helped foster social consciousness and stimulated a greater professionalism amongst lay workers and religious alike. On the other hand, economic and social changes made many of his reforms and ideas irrelevant to modern conditions. His rural schools in Málaga were soon superseded by the rural exodus. The great agrarian reform was still-born. Herrera's attempts to prevent the class struggle from reappearing failed; the first communist-led worker's movements were being established even while Herrera was still alive, and would burgeon after his death. The social school at the seminary was soon overtaken in importance by the *Instituto Social León XIII* established in Madrid; but this too did not fulfill Herrera's expectations. In 1960, Herrera had sought to have the Vatican concede the Institute status as an

²⁵Ibid., 185.

²⁶J. M. González Ruiz. *Otra Iglesia para otra España: Diario de un Protagonista* (Bilbao, 1979), 31.

independent faculty of Sociology at the Pontifical University of Salamanca. After many delays and an apparent lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Vatican, in 1964 Rome conceded the Institute recognition as part of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University, not the separate faculty that Herrera desired. With the lapse of time, the emphasis placed on spiritual, doctrinal and apostolic formation was lost, and it became an academic centre like others, reflecting the move away from confessionalism in education and the secularisation of society.²⁷

The other educational institutions established in Madrid suffered a similar fate. The *Colegio Mayor Pío XII* was obliged to relax the severity of its academic/apostolic programme of studies, and after Herrera's death became nothing more than a student residence. Similarly, the courses offered at the Valley of the Fallen did not last long in the strict and demanding academic format that he had envisaged.²⁸ Amongst the association of Catholic propagandists that he had helped establish, by the 1960's there were increasing signs of dissent within its ranks, some of whom were arguing for a liberalisation of the régime and a more plural political life.²⁹ Herrera's life work largely disappeared with him, or changed its nature to such an extent that it no longer reflected the mentality and intention of its founder.

The recatholicisation had been intended to stem modernity and recover the traditions and values of an idealised past; but the régime was unable to immunise Spain from changes derived from its own social and economic progress, or isolate Spain from the effects of international events. What is more, it would appear that the traditional values of the Spanish were not as consubstantial with Catholic doctrine as National-Catholic ideologues had supposed. As a result, the recatholicisation project failed to secure the changes it had envisaged.

Despite thirty years of socialisation, it appeared that the population had not been cured of the materialist, classist virus. Economic exploitation continued as before, the élites continued to be entrenched in the defence of their vested interests, and during the 1960's onwards, the workers began to mobilise again in defence of their own class. Political life after Herrera Oria was dominated by the reconstruction of Communist, Socialist, and other parties and movements, and by the forging of a mass anti-Franco political platform.

On the theological plane, the two contrasting spiritualities and cosmologies which dominated post war European Catholicism were personified in the neo-Thomist Bishop Angel

²⁷J. Sánchez Jiménez, *El Cardenal Herrera Oria*, 223-64.

²⁸J.M. García Escudero, *Conversaciones*, 252-3, 294-5, 348-9, and 411.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 182-4, 242-3; and G. Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*, vol. I, 254, and vol. II, 396-411.

Herrera Oria, and the Canon of the Cathedral, José María González Ruiz. The intellectual influence of both on the Spanish theological arena ran parallel with the events of the Second Vatican Council, which as we have seen, tended to corroborate the thinking of theologians like González Ruiz who sought to integrate the Church into modernity and the temporal world.

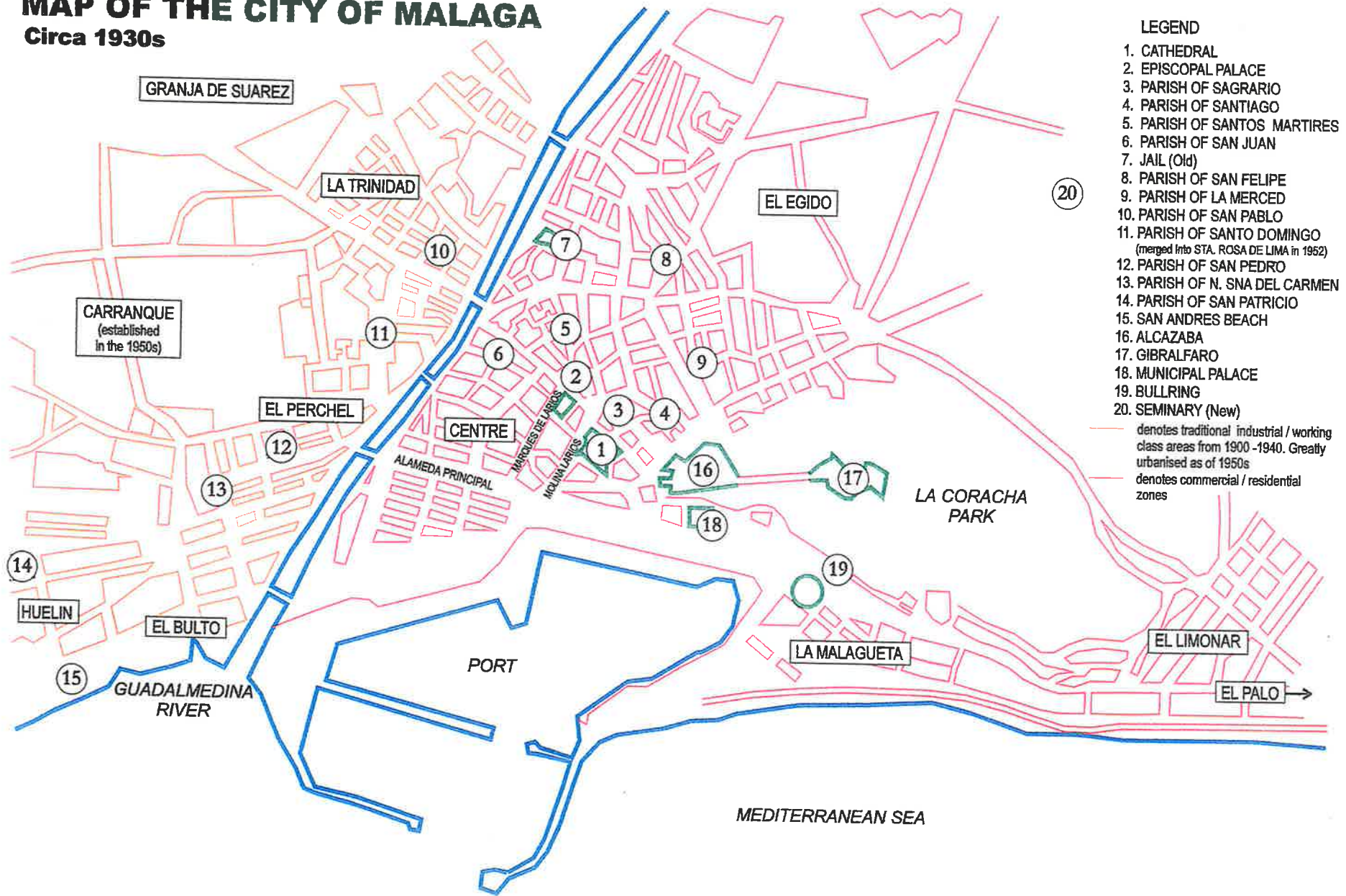
After thirty years of intense instruction of Catholic doctrine, the bishops might have legitimately expected at least an improvement in public morals and an increase in religious observance. Yet this was not the case either. Religious and moral practices and beliefs were often determined more by peer pressure than by voluntary adhesion to the requisites of the religious community, and peer standards suffered great changes during Spain's drive for economic modernisation.

It is possible to identify the absence of anti-clerical violence, or even of anti-clerical feeling in Málaga. Nevertheless, this can be attributed to factors other than the recatholicisation project *per se*, primarily to the repressive character of the Franco régime. The clergy were perhaps no longer the hated class enemies they had been during the Second Republic; but nor were they the moral and ideological reference point of the community either. Indeed, while hostility did not tend to be manifested, indifference to clerical affairs and to the clergy was extended.

It is clear that, by "recatholicisation," the intention of the bishops of Málaga had been to implant Crusade ideology and National-Catholic values -anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-modern- within the context of a highly clericalised society. According to these criteria, they unreservedly failed.

MAP OF THE CITY OF MALAGA

Circa 1930s



BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

NOTE ON PRIMARY SOURCES.

The search for primary source material in Málaga is greatly complicated by a number of factors, some of which are national and some of which are particular to Málaga. In the case of the former, researchers of postwar Spanish history are limited by the *Ley 16/1985 del Patrimonio Histórico Español*, which decrees that documents containing personal facts of a police, judicial, clinical or any other nature and which affect the person's security, honour, privacy or image cannot be publically consulted without the express permission of the parties, or until 25 years have passed since their death, if it is known, or 50 years from the date of the document if the date of death is not known. At the time that archival research was being carried out in 1991-1992, therefore, documents more recent than 1942 were automatically excluded from scrutiny. Public functionaries are required to sift through all public documentation in order to sift what is accessible from what is inaccessible to the general public, which implies delays in accessing whatever relevant documentation survives this process. Furthermore, some public organisms, such as the Ministry of Justice, also insist on personally approving every application for consultation of its documents, also adding to the delay in obtaining access to materials.

Difficulties of a more local nature can also vex the researcher. The province of Málaga has suffered years of neglect, during which unknown quantities of source materials have been irretrievably lost. This apart from the wilful destruction caused after the death of the dictator, so that potentially compromising papers would not be released by political opponents after the restoration of democratic government. During and after 1991, efforts were being made to establish archives (such as that of the Civil Governor, non existent until then) or to properly organise and catalogue others (including ecclesiastical archives and libraries). Since 1991, when much of the primary material for this thesis was collected, much work has gone on at the seminary of Málaga, which now probably houses much of the material which was formerly housed at the small library at the *Oficina de Medios de Comunicación Social*, in C/Santa María, 20. All references to the "diocesan library" refer to this library as it was then. Specific comments on the difficulties with particular archives experienced by the author have been noted under each heading on archives.

It should be noted that access to other archives -these include the archive of the Provincial Prison of Málaga and the archive of the cathedral of Málaga- is conceded to the researcher at the

discretion of the relevant authorities, which so far have been impervious to requests from the author, as well as to requests from most other historians.

1. UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

Archives.

Díaz de Escobar Archive (Málaga).

Contains documents and press cuttings of the Republican period, up to 1939.

Archive of the Civil Government of Málaga Province (Málaga).

Correspondence and reports to the Civil Governor. It is of very recent establishment and contains what is left of official correspondence after years of conscious and unconscious destruction and neglect. Its contents are very patchy.

Archive of the Institute of Hispanic-American Cooperation (Madrid).

Contains periodical publications of the Movement, Ministries, Catholic publications, the syndical organization, judicial and semi-judicial and penal organizations, and of the National Institute of Statistics. The material is varied, and collected without reference to any particular criterion or unifying theme.

Archive of Comisiones Obreras (Málaga).

Clandestine shop-floor, union, and party leaflets, bulletins of the labour movement, reports and propaganda for elections, anti-régime leaflets, etcetera.

General Archive of the State (Alcalá de Henares).

Archive of papers, reports and correspondence of various Ministries and the Administration. All documentation is comprehensively vetted before access can be given to the researcher.

Provincial Archive (Málaga).

Unpublished documents of the Movement, especially of the Women's Section, and Youth organizations.

Diocesan Archive (Málaga).

In 1991, situated in the diocesan building in C/Santa María, it contained the *BOOM*, miscellaneous pamphlets and unpublished documents, including reports on the social and economic situation, apostolic activities, Bishop Herrera Oria's educational reforms; as well as a small collection of monographs. It was in state of complete disorder due to the building reforms being carried out both there and at the seminary, which may now house its contents. Not to be confused with the cathedral archive which contains the documents of the diocesan curia, and which the researcher did not obtain access to.

Municipal Archive (Málaga).

Contains publications of College *San Estanislao de Kostka*, of local Movement publications, and of its institutions, and local press.

The Herbert Rutledge Southworth Collection of the Spanish Civil War.

Vast private collection of original documents available on microfilm, including e.g. Fr. Villalain's memoirs of his activities as chaplain in the Prison of Málaga.

Libraries and Newspaper Reading Rooms.

Seminary Library (Málaga).

The seminary library was in disarray in 1991 because of the building works and changes in organisation of ecclesiastical resources taking place. Access to the library was not conceded to the researcher in 1995, and it may no longer be open for consultation to lay people.

The National Library (Madrid).

Contains some publications of interest; its newspaper reading room (*Hemeroteca Nacional*) contains some of the *BOOM*.

Hemeroteca Municipal (Madrid).

The principal newspaper reading room in Spain, contains an excellent range of national and provincial publications.

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Almudena (Sor) -Librarian and member of the Congregation of María Assumpta, Madrid. Conversation held in Madrid, on 25 April 1991.

Camaño Gómez, Antonio -militant of CCOO in Málaga in the 1960's, and now in *Secretaría de Relaciones Sindicales de CCOO de la Provincia de Málaga*. Conversation held in Málaga, on 20 September 1995.

Concepción (Sor) -Member of the Order of Adoratrices, Málaga. Conversation held in Málaga, on 16 May 1991.

Contreras, Rafael -journalist and specialist on Catholic associations, *cofradías* and *hermandades*, for *Diario 16 Málaga*, and member of the *Real Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Santo Sepulcro y Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. Conversation held in Málaga, on 4 September 1995.

Echamendi, Francisco (Fr.) -student of the Seminary of Málaga under Herrera Oria. Conversation held in Marbella (Málaga), on 26 May 1991.

Fernández, Inocencio -disciple and friend of A. C. Comín. Conversation held in Málaga, on 21 September 1995.

Fernández Casamayor, Alfonso (Fr.) -Former Rector of the Seminary of Málaga at the time of interviewing; disciple of Tomás Malagón, co-founder of the HOAC. Conversation held in Málaga on 11 June 1991.

Fraser, R., *Mijas. República, Guerra y Franquismo en un pueblo andaluz* (Barcelona, 1985).

García, Tomás. -former communist, writing under the name Juan Gómez. Conversation held in Madrid.

Gómez Marín, Rafael (Fr.) -student of the Seminary of Málaga under Herrera Oria. Conversation held in Málaga, on 28 June 1991.

González Ruiz, José María -Canon of the cathedral of Málaga. Conversation held in Málaga, on 21 May 1991.

González Ruiz, Manuel -Canon of the cathedral of Málaga. Conversation held in Málaga, on 28 June 1991.

Josefa (Sor) -Mother Superior of the Order of Adoratrices, Madrid. Conversation held in Madrid, on 2 May 1991.

Juárez, Pepe -former-member of the HOAC in Granada, and President of the Andalusian HOAC in 1970. Conversation held in El Palo (Málaga), on 22 September 1995.

León, Miguel (Fr.) -ex counsellor in charge of the HOAC in Málaga in the 1970's. Conversation held in Málaga, on 29 June 1991.

Pilar (Sor) -Mother Superior of the Order of the Adoratrices in Alcalá de Henares. Conversation held in Madrid, on 1 May 1991.

Puche, Francisco. -former collaborator and friend in Málaga of Alfonso Carlos Comín. Conversation held in Málaga, on 22 September 1995.

Ruiz Muñoz, José Antonio -ex-member of the JOC and CCOO in Málaga. Conversation held in Málaga, on 28 June 1991.

Sánchez Pérez, Jesús (Fr.) -Auxiliary and parish priest in various parishes in Málaga. Conversation held in Málaga, on 11 June 1991.

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