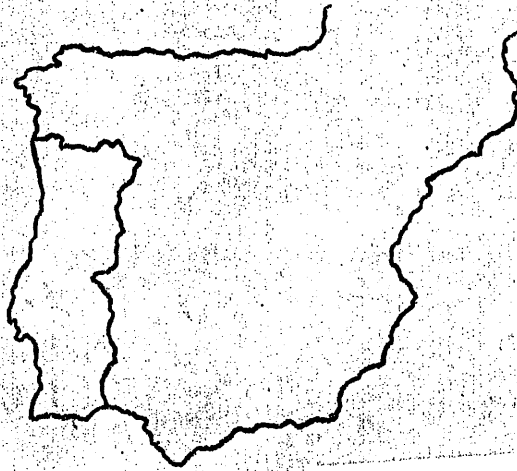




Murray D. Kirkwood

SPAIN: GENIUS, FAITH, GLORY



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We give the following details about its author also taken from the same number of the above mentioned periodical.

The article on Spain, which appears in this issue, is the eighteenth in a series of historical essays written for the International Review by one of its editors, Murray D. Kirkwood. Mr. Kirkwood's personal history is as varied as that of the countries about which he writes. He holds degrees from 4 colleges and universities, including Oxford, which he attended as a Rhodes Scholar from 1934 to 1937. He circled the globe in 1937, then taught government for a while at Harvard University. He is an experienced mountaineer and skier. Pearl Harbour found him mining gold in Alaska. He joined the Fourth Infantry as a private, and rose to the rank of major in the 1st SSF (a parachute commando unit) within 20 1/2 months. He received his majority during the Aleutian campaign of 1943. After a period of hospitalization, he served for a time as Director of Battle Courses at Camp Croft before his discharge for permanent disability in 1944. Accepted by the Department of State for the post of "country expert," he resigned the appointment in order to join I. T. & T. in the summer of 1944. He is married to the violinist, Viviane Bertolami.

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The proud destiny of Spain has been to contribute vitally to three worlds and to discover, colonize and civilize a fourth. To the classical world of the Roman Empire, Spain gave great men; to the oriental world of Moslem and Jew, Spain gave great inspiration; to the rise of Christian civilization in Western Europe, Spain gave great leaders and institutions; and, to the New World of the Americas, which Spain discovered, she gave her all.

Some of Rome's best emperors were Spaniards - Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Theodosius among them. Spanish also were the leaders of science and letters during Rome's Age of Silver - the two Senecas, Quintilian, Lucan, Martial, Pomponius Mela, and Columella.

The Moslems achieved in Spain the finest flowering of their culture in art, architecture, music, letters, history, philosophy, and science. Much the same can be said of the Jews, who flourished in Spain as they had not elsewhere since the dispersion.

Spain was the first nation of modern Europe to achieve unification. The result was a splendid series of creative efforts that set the style for the 16th century "... in religion, intellect, art, politics, and manners... The style of the Church, which was definitively fixed in this epoch by the Spaniard Lovola and the Council of Trent which he spiritually dominated; the style of politics, to which the war-technique of Spanish captains, the diplomacy of Spanish cardinals, the courtly spirit of the Escorial gave a stamp that lasted till the Congress of Vienna and, in essential points, till beyond Bismark; the architecture of the Baroque; the great age of Painting; ceremonial and the polite society of great cities -- all these (reflected the pre-eminence of Spain)."

*Splenger, Oswald: "Decline of the West," Volume 1, page 148, (English edition).

The climax of this creative outburst took place in the Americas, where a new world was discovered, explored, colonized, civilized, and ruled in greater part by Spain between 1492 and 1824. Colonial competitors soon invented and put about a Black Legend of Spanish cruelty and incompetence which, in some quarters, may still be heard. But the plain fact is that not one of Spain's critics did so well as she. The Spanish colonial system had the faults of its day; but it also had more virtues than any other, both in theory and in practice. That is why the original inhabitants of the Americas in appreciable numbers only survived in areas ruled by Spain; and why the Spanish American colonial empire, founded over a century earlier than the British, remained loyal nearly half a century later.

What is the nature of this Spain, whose influence upon the world has been so great?

The land itself is the most difficult in Europe. Its average altitude (2,000 feet) exceeds that of every other European country except Switzerland -- which stands upon the shoulders of its neighbors, whereas Spain rises directly from the sea. Some of Europe's highest mountains are in Spain, where they stand like guards at the borders, barring entry from the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, France, and Portugal. Moreover, the central plateau is cross-hatched by yet other mountains, so that travel by land is hampered even there. Finally, although Spain is one of Europe's largest countries (194,947 square miles), more than two-thirds of its area is either arid or semiarid, and much of what remains is too mountainous for cultivation. Evidently, Spain was designed to encourage tenacity, resourcefulness, individualism, and independence among its inhabitants.

Who the first inhabitants of Spain were, and whence they came, are questions still discussed. But no one questions their artistic genius. Twenty thousand years ago, Spaniards were decorating the walls of their mountain caves with marvelous colored paintings which, for realism and technique, were unrivalled by contemporaries anywhere in the world. The identity of this gifted people was lost among invaders who over-ran the greater part of Spain before the historic era. But it may be true, as some allege, that present-day Basque mountaineers in the western Pyrenees, speaking a language unlike any other known, maintain a relative purity a remnant of the ancient racial stock which, with more or less admixture, is basic to all Spaniards. The theory, if proved, would afford additional insight into the best-known trait of Spanish character: stubborn individualism, a quality for which the Basque is renowned, even in Spain.

The first historical evidence of outside contact with Spain concerns Phoenician merchants who may have traded

along the southern Spanish coast as early as the 11th century B. C. Their principal colony was at Gades, facing the Atlantic Ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Today, the city is known as Cadiz, and Spaniards claim for it the longest unbroken continuity of name and history in Europe.

Except for Gades, no really important Phoenician settlement appears to have existed anywhere in Spain at that time -- only trading posts where Phoenician merchants could bring their wares by sea, and exchange them for local products such as copper, fish, wool, and esparto grass (from which ropes were made). This probably explains why the Phoenician culture exerted so little influence upon that of Spain.

It was different with the Greeks, who began to found settlements along the Spanish Mediterranean coasts in the 6th century B.C. These were genuine colonies, built for permanence and oriented upon Spain, not Greece. As a consequence they were able to survive loss of contact with their native land, and to make a deep and lasting imprint upon the land of their adoption.

However conquest of the Spanish interior was first undertaken by the powerful Phoenician colony of Carthage, in North Africa, as a result of its death-struggle with Rome. Carthage, had taken over Phoenician interests in Spain as early as the 6th century B.C.; and the vigor of its leadership still echoes in the name of Cartagena. But the traditional Phoenician policy of trade, as opposed to that of conquest, was maintained by Carthage until Rome won Sicily in the First Punic War (264-241). Loss of this colony left Carthage in desperate straits, for alternate sources of supply; hence the campaign of conquest in Spain, opened in 236 by Hamilcar Barca and continued by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son, Hannibal, with such effect that most of the peninsula south of the Ebro and Douro rivers was in Carthaginian hands by 219. A notable exception was the east-coast city of Saguntum, claiming Greek descent and Roman support. Notwithstanding the latter, Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum and carried it, so precipitating the Second Punic War (218-202). Carthaginian armies were driven from the peninsula in 206; and the treaty of peace confirmed the loss of Spain by Carthage forever.

Rome undertook the subjugation of its new possession in 201 B.C. Little opposition was encountered in the south and east, where long contact with alien rule had weakened the will of Spaniards to resist. But the situation was otherwise in the center, west, and north of the peninsula, where opposition continued to flare furiously, if sporadically, for almost two centuries. Before pacification was complete, Rome had been forced to employ some of its best legions and generals (including Julius Caesar), and to equip its infantry with the short two-edged sword of the Iberians.

The Iberians were one of the three races whom the Romans found in possession of the country. So far as can be determined, they were a Mediterranean type that probably had overrun the peninsula from North Africa as early as 3000 B. C. They were a gifted race, both artistically and commercially; but they were driven from all of Spain except the south and east by a series of Celtic invasions from northern Europe, probably between 1200 and 500. Thereafter the Celtic tide receded to the north and west of the peninsula, leaving the central plateau in the hands of a mixed race of Celtiberians.

The end of Spanish resistance to Rome meant, also, the end of internecine strife among Spaniards. Roman legions, roads, and law advanced together; and Spain, possibly for the first time in her history, knew peace. But Rome was not content with mere repression. She provided outlets for the constructive self-expression of Spanish individualism and initiative by adapting to her needs the ancient Iberian institutions of local self-government, and applying them to all of Spain at both the municipal and provincial levels. Agriculture, industry, and commerce were encouraged. New towns were founded, and old ones improved with public works, some of which, like the aqueduct in Segovia and the bridges in Cordoba, Caceres, and Salamanca, are still in use. Disbanded Roman soldiers were encouraged to settle and marry in Spain, so as to hasten general acceptance of the Latin tongue and Roman civilization. The program was a complete success. Spain in the last century A. D. became one of the most flourishing provinces of the Roman Empire, and, next to Italy, the most thoroughly Romanized.

Peace, security, and a large measure of self-rule; unity of government, law, and language; access to the intellectual and material riches of civilization; proud membership in an empire that included most of the then-known world -- such was Spain's magnificent heritage from pagan Rome. Then, in the reign of Constantine the Great (324-337 A.D.), Rome officially accepted Christianity, which thus gained time to organize along imperial lines before the Roman Empire of the West was swept away by internal decay and barbarian invasion. The fall of Rome destroyed the fact, but not the ideal, of temporal unity in the western world. The Roman Catholic Church embraced that ideal as the logical corollary of its own splendid vision of spiritual unity. The key to the subsequent history of Spain is her unswerving loyalty to this Roman-Christian tradition.

The barbarian tribes that burst the Rhine frontier of the Roman Empire in the winter of 406-407 A.D. reached Spain in 409. There was nothing but the Pyrenees to stop them. Four centuries of peace had made the thought of war incredible in Spain. No important Roman army was garrisoned there, and local improvisation of defense was crippled by the decay of self-government under the later Roman emperors. Bureaucracy was

corrupt. Taxation, rising to crushing heights during the 3rd and 4th centuries, had drained Spanish resources, ruined Spanish smallholders, and forced many a Spanish freeman to exchange his precarious liberty for the security of serfdom upon the estate of a powerful neighbor. Indeed, the opinion seems to have been widespread in Spain, that life under the barbarians could not be worse and might be better. It was a grievous error.

The invasion of 409 was led by the Vandals, whose name was to become a synonym for wanton destruction. They and their allies, the Suevi and Alani, gave an appalling demonstration of how easy it is to destroy an old and complex civilization. Simply by cutting the arteries of trade and the nerves of administration, they paralyzed the whole peninsula and thrust it back into conditions like those prevailing before the Roman era.

A somewhat more civilized race, the Visigoths, invaded Spain in 414. They would dominate its history for the next 3 centuries, but fail to repair its shattered unity. For one thing, they were Arian Christians and, therefore, heretics to their Athanasian (Roman Catholic) Spanish subjects. When King Reccard accepted the Athanasian confession (587) in an effort to close this breach, he merely opened another within the ruling class itself. Powerful Visigothic families refused to abandon their ancient faith; and the Visigothic throne, already unstable because elective, was weakened further by a new and fertile source of disputed succession. In 710, the candidate of the nobles, Roderic, overthrew by force of arms the duly-elected candidate of the Church, Witiza; whereupon, the defeated faction sought to regain power with the help of Moslem troops from North Africa. The Caliph's governor there, Musa by name, sent an army of picked men under his best general, Tariq. The invaders landed at Gibraltar* in 711; their power in Spain would not be finally broken until 1492.

Tariq met and defeated Roderic on July 19, 711. Then, brushing aside the adherents of Witiza, he set about conquering the rest of Spain for the Caliph in Damascus. The entire peninsula was in Moslem hands within 6 years, excepting only isolated pockets of resistance in the northern mountains. But the speed of the conquest was a measure of Spanish weakness far more than of Moslem strength.

*A corruption of the Arabic name, "Jebel Tariq" (Mount Tariq) given to the European Pillar of Hercules by the Moslems in honor of their leader.

The invaders are known to literature as Moors from which the casual reader is apt to assume a degree of unity that never existed among them. In fact, they were Arabs, Syrians, and Berbers; mutually suspicious, never very numerous, and held together more by mutual gain from conquests than by common faith in Islam. When the Austrasian Franks under Charles Martel stopped the forward impetus of this Moslem coalition at Poitiers in 732, it promptly dissolved. The Arabs and Syrians first joined forces to defraud the Berbers of their rightful share of Spain, then fell out among themselves over the distant Abbasid-Omayyad struggle for the Caliphate in Damascus. The Abbasid faction won Damascus; but Abd ar-Rahman, an able prince of the house of Omayyad, escaped to Spain in 758 and, after nearly 30 years of civil war, succeeded in founding the independent emirate which, in the 10th century, became the Caliphate of Córdoba.

MOSLEM RULE IN SPAIN

The Moslems found it easier to rule their Spanish subjects than themselves. They were greatly aided in pacifying the country by their policy of toleration which, with a few exceptions, they steadily applied until the decline of their own power and the rise of Spanish Christian states brought invasion by fanatical Berber sects: the Almorávides in 1086 and the Almohades in 1146. Until then, the conquered Christians and Jews alike, as "people of the Book" (i.e., believers in the Bible, which Moslems look upon with deference as a forerunner of their own Koran), were allowed to keep their religion, laws, customs, and even their property in most cases, on condition of paying a 20-percent tax. This tax was less than many Spaniards had paid before; but, if they wished to escape it, they might do so by accepting Islam. Serfs and slaves of Christian masters might gain their freedom in the same way. Needless to say, converts were numerous among both high and low. They were looked upon as renegades by the faithful; but they performed a useful function as intermediaries.

In the course of time, even those Spaniards who remained loyal to their Christian faith began to adopt the speech and other characteristics of their Moslem neighbors. The Moslems called them Mozárabes, from the Arabic words for "would-be Arabs." On the other hand, the Moslems steadily became more Spanish. Quite apart from the renegades, all of the original invaders who settled in Spain had married Spanish women; and this original 50-percent dilution was carried further by each succeeding generation. Amalgamation with Spanish Jews also went on apace.

As a consequence of the interchange of blood and ideas with their Christian and Jewish subjects, Spanish Moslems

achieved a level of civilization that surpassed all others of its day. Its material base was relative peace and prosperity. Agriculture was encouraged by irrigation and the introduction of new crops (rice and sugar cane among them). Stock-raising was improved by new breeds, mining by new methods, and industry by new products. Moslem control of the Mediterranean encouraged the rebirth of seaborne commerce. Cities flourished, and all classes of the population prospered. Annual public revenues of the Caliphate in the 10th century may be reckoned at \$20,000,000, at today's values. Private wealth was on a corresponding scale. The capital city of Cordoba had paved streets, a water system, 200,000 houses, 600 mosques, 900 public bath houses, a library with 400,000 volumes and a population of half a million at a time when London and Paris were as inconsequential as they were squalid. Among European cities of that era, Byzantium alone could compare with Cordoba.

But the finest products of Moslem civilization in Spain were intellectual. The invaders of 711 included many who had first-hand knowledge of Egypt, India, Persia, and Byzantium, where echoes of ancient cultures might still be heard. They and their descendants were careful to maintain contact with Islamic centers of learning in Alexandria, Cairo, Antioch, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Mecca, and Damascus. Their contacts with Byzantium acquainted them with the masters of ancient Greece and Rome -- Aristotle, above all others. In this way, the learned men of Moslem Spain built upon the best available thought in mathematics, astronomy, geography, botany, chemistry (alchemy), medicine, lexicography, grammar, history, jurisprudence, and philosophy. Long before learning was revived in Italy and Northern Europe, it was leading an active life in Spain. Indeed, Spain was the channel through which much of Europe gained access to eastern learning and even to its own Greco-Roman inheritance, as we shall presently see.

The written works of the great Spanish Moslems and Jews of that era are now appreciated only by specialists. But it is unlikely that any educated man, though he may never have visited Spain, can be wholly ignorant of such artistic masterpieces as the Alhambra of Granada, the Giralda of Seville, and the Great Mosque of Córdoba; or even of such lesser products of genius as the glass mosaics, glazed tiles, arabesques, damascene, jewelry, leather work, and silk and woolen textiles at which the craftsmen of that day excelled; or the haunting music that still lingers in many an Andalusian melody.

Notwithstanding its brilliance and its wealth, Moslem Spain was essentially unstable. Islam is a free fellowship of believers rather than an organized church; and Moslem states rest directly upon the individual rather than upon organized groups and institutions. Moslem law concerns itself with defining the individual's right and duties under the Koran

rather than as a member of organized society. No church, no guilds, no local self-government evolved in Moslem Spain, whose destiny, therefore, was one with that of its rulers. Great rulers, such as Abd ar-Rahman I (758-790), Abd ar-Rahman III (912-961), Hakim II (961-976), and al-Mansur (981-1002), raised the Caliphate of Córdoba to glory; but when inspired leadership suddenly dissolved into anarchy in 1009, so did the Caliphate. In its place, there appeared some 20-odd independent principalities whose continued existence required united action against the Christian states, but whose jealousies made united action impossible. Military aid from fanatical Moslem sects in North Africa postponed the day of reckoning for about two centuries, although at the price of Berber domination. When Berber power was broken by the Christians at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the doom of Moslem Spain was sealed. The only Moslem state surviving after 1248 was Granada -- and it was tributary to Castille.

THE RECONQUEST

The Christian states of Spain emerged victorious from their long eclipse because they had developed in high degree the very institutions whose lack proved fatal to the Moslems. Their tradition of local self-government was the longest in Europe and, possibly, the world-stretching back in unbroken continuity to the Iberians, several thousand years before. This tradition gained new life as the rulers of Leon, Castile, and Aragón began their southward expansion. They needed volunteers to people the desolate and dangerous frontier marches. The only way to attract them was to grant new privileges and immunities of self-government.

These "fueros" (municipal charters of Spain were in advance of anything known elsewhere in Europe, both as to extent of self-government permitted, and as to individual liberties recognized. Spain also led the way in developing self-government at higher levels. Representatives of the free municipalities sat on a footing of complete equality with representatives of the clergy and nobility in the "cortes" (parliaments) of Castile as early as 1188 -- exactly 77 years before Simon de Montfort made history in England by taking the same "revolutionary" step in 1265, and 107 years before the "Model Parliament" summoned by Edward I in 1295. As a matter of fact, there is good reason to believe that de Montfort got his idea from Spain by way of southern France, where he had previously spent several years.*

*Salt, E. M.: "Political Institutions: A Preface," chapter entitled "Representation."

The "fueros" and "cortes" of the Spanish Christian states go far towards explaining their superior tenacity and resilience against attack from without, even when combined with occasional spells of bad leadership within. But something else is needed to account for the survival within them all -- notwithstanding isolation, jealousy, and frequent civil war -- of a common faith, speech, law, culture, and ideal of union and empire. For that, we must turn to an institution: the Roman Catholic Church; and to a memory: the Roman Empire. Together, these two forces kept green the seeds of future greatness until, in the kingdom of Castile, Spain found the leadership necessary to achieve her destiny.

The significance of the Reconquest -- the term applied by Spaniards to the history of their Christian states between 711 and 1492 -- lies not so much in the struggle for physical unity through force of arms as in the struggle for spiritual unity through the pursuit of a great ideal. That is why Ruy Diaz de Bivar, better known as El Cid (c. 1043-1099), is more important as the hero of a great epic poem written in Castilian Spanish and known to Spaniards everywhere, than for his battles with the Moslems in real life.

The victory of Castilian Spanish -- the language of the central plateau -- over the competing forms of "Romance"* spoken in west-coast Galicia and Portugal, and in east-coast Catalonia and Valencia, occurs in the 11th century. At the same time, Castile emerges as the foremost kingdom of Spain, notwithstanding her subservience to Leon only a century before. It is necessary to account for this.

Castile, more than any other part of Spain, had known the unending wars that are the fate of border regions. But those wars had done more than dot her countryside with the castles from which her name derives; they had also refined and intensified within her people the resolution, tenacity, resourcefulness, and vision, that distinguish all Spaniards. Furthermore, as Castile expanded to include the greater part of the central plateau, she found herself in possession of a more nearly balanced racial and cultural heritage than any other Spanish kingdom. Therefore it is not strange that the unification of Spain was brought about by the speech and people of Castile. Castile absorbed the more ancient Kingdom of León (including Galicia and Asturias) as a result of the union of their crowns in 1230; Castile absorbed the Kingdom of Aragon (including Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Sardinia and Southern Italy) as a result of the marriage of Ferdinand with Isabella

*A name given to any amalgamation of Latin with local speech, if distinctive enough to qualify a separate language, not merely as a dialect.

in 1469. With the conquest of Granada in 1492, we may regard the physical unification of Spain as complete.*

Only in Portugal did localism win permanent victory. Reconquered from the Moslems by Leon in the 11th century, Portugal proclaimed herself an independent kingdom in the 12th and made good that claim against Castile in the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385). Except for 59 years of Spanish rule between 1581 and 1640, she has been independent ever since. Spaniards have always believed that, had it not been for English encouragement and aid, Portugal would have neither desired nor been able to resist the Castilian dream of unity for the whole Iberian peninsula.

However, the unity that Spain achieved under Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 deserves the name only by comparison with the anarchic past. Spain now had one crown; but her governments continued to be many. Each kingdom, country, and even town retained its former rights, privileges, customs, taxes, and administrative structure. Castilian Spanish was now the recognized medium of communication among persons of importance everywhere in the country; but the old, regional dialects and languages continued to flourish among the common people. Next to the Crown, the most important unifying force in Spain was the Church; but its influence was limited by the fact that, at the close of the Reconquest, possibly no more than half of the people in Spain were Christians, the rest being either Moslems or Jews. In these facts, we shall find the explanation for what is undoubtedly the least understood Spanish institution -- the Inquisition.

THE SPANISH INQUISITION

The Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1480, by Ferdinand and Isabella, has identified Spain with intolerance through-out a great part of the world. And yet, from early in the 11th century until late in the 14th, few parts of the world were as tolerant as Christian Spain. It is true that the Church kept up its war on heresy among professing Christians during all this time; but there was almost no interference with professing Jews and Moslems, who enjoyed a degree of freedom and security altogether remarkable. That is why the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085 made that city a refuge for Moslem and Jewish scholars for the next century and a quarter, when Almorávide and Almohade persecution stifled learning in Moslem Spain. Freedom of thought and intercourse among these exiled scholars and their Christian colleagues in Toledo made that city the acknowledged

*Actually the Kingdom of Navarre was not annexed until 1516.

center for Latin translation of Arab-classics, through which Western Europe made contact with oriental learning and regained contact with much Greek and Roman learning. Several kings of Castile set noteworthy examples in this regard, especially Alfonso X "the Learned" (1252-1284) who surrounded himself with the ablest scholars of his day, irrespective of faith. The schools of philosophy and language that he founded in Murcia and Seville were open to and staffed by Moslems and Jews as well as Christians, and the former was directed by the Arab philosopher, Muhammad "el Ricoti." The religious temper of the age may be judged from the fact that, in the 13th century, the church of Santa Maria la Blanca in Toledo was used by Christians on Sunday, Moslems on Friday, and Jews on Saturday. It is recognized that the golden age of Spanish Jews came under Christian domination between the 11th and 14th centuries.

This era of Spanish toleration cuts the ground from under those who would explain the Spanish Inquisition by reference to bigoted churchmen, unscrupulous monarchs, and ignorant masses. For it is not apparent why 4 centuries of toleration and enlightenment, buttressed by growing peace and prosperity, should have left Spain worse off in these respects than she had been at the start; nor is the paradox resolved by those who advance it.

The truth is both more simple and complex. Toleration appeared in Spain at a time when the feudal age was dominant. Feudalism, with its fragmentation and balance of power, was in close harmony with Spain's almost incredible diversity of race, religion, and culture. Therefore, under feudalism, Spanish diversity constituted no problem. It was otherwise when the age of nationalism began to take shape in Europe during the 15th century. Under nationalism, greatness would be the destiny of nations that were united, impotence or anarchy the doom of those that were not. Ferdinand and Isabella understood the choice before them. They knew that they could unite Spain territorially by marriage and conquest; but how should they go about creating spiritual unity from the notorious diversity of Spaniards? There was only one answer: unite the physical power of the State with the spiritual power of the Church, and so make Spain a Catholic nation. This was done. In 1502 unbelievers were given the choice of conversion or expulsion; and the Inquisition -- established throughout Spain after 1480 -- undertook the task eradicating heresy from among the converts.

Spain's era of toleration was at an end; but the critics who blame the Inquisition for this fact forget that toleration was also at an end elsewhere in Europe. The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation brought on a series of European wars (fought nearly everywhere except in Spain) lasting until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Insofar as there was a difference among the nations in their treatment of heretics at that time, it was all in favor of Spain, whose Inquisition at least

offered the advantage of a duly constituted tribunal, carefully regulated. But the chief claim of the Inquisition to the respect of the impartial observer is that, by saving Spain from civil war during the Reformation, it preserved the nation for her imperial destiny in the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe.

The creative powers of united Spain found full expression in the New World, discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus under commission from the Spanish Crown. Within a scant half century, all of North America south of a line from San Francisco (California) to St. Augustine (Florida), all of Central America and the Caribbean Islands, and all of South America except Brazil (which fell to Portugal in consequence of the Treaty of Tordesillas), had been discovered, explored, and in key points occupied by Spaniards. This was the work of the "conquistadores" (Cortes, Pizarro, Balboa, Quesada, Almagro, de Soto, Coronado, etc.), whose exploits become more incredible, the more one learns about them.

EMPIRE IN AMERICA

Contrary to widespread belief among Anglo-Saxons, the Spaniards in America did more than search for gold and silver. They brought with them such useful novelties as horses, oxen, sheep, pigs, hens, dogs, wheat, sugar cane, grape vines, and mulberry trees (complete with silk worms). Some brought wives from Spain; more settled down with native women; almost all engaged in some useful activity, whether farming, manufacturing or mining. Naturally, they exploited native labor wherever possible; but here they found themselves under sharp surveillance by Church and State.

Spanish sovereigns customarily referred to "these kingdoms" when they meant Spain, and to "those kingdoms" when they meant the Indies (as Americas then were known). The terminology is important. It signifies that the Americas were regarded as potentially equal to Spain, not as colonies of Spain. Equality would come with Christianization and civilization. Hence the intense activity of the Church and, more especially, of the various religious orders, to achieve those ends. Hence, too, the elaborate laws, regulations, and administrative machinery established by the State meanwhile, so as to protect the native population from undue exploitation during its period of tutelage. Slavery was prohibited altogether (except for cannibals or tribes resisting evangelization), and forced labor was permitted only for restricted periods, stipulated wages, and on condition that the laborers be educated.

This was more than a paper-program. So vigorous was its execution, in fact, that Spanish colonists in Peru,

resenting what they regarded as unwarranted interference with their rights, were in open revolt between 1544 and 1548. Such opposition was bound to qualify success. "Those kingdoms" never achieved the destiny that Spanish kings had dreamed of. But the dream itself, and the energies devoted to its realization, were not wasted. By protecting the natives from exploitation so far as possible, by teaching them useful trades and the Spanish tongue, and by lifting up their spirits to the ideals of Christianity, Spain enabled several million persons of Indian blood to adapt themselves to a dominant alien culture, and so to survive.

Equal care was lavished upon the welfare of the Spanish colonists. Towns and cities had to be located and built in accordance with elaborate regulations calculated to ensure beauty, utility, and the best possible climate. It is probable that there were more primary schools in the Americas than in Spain, and universities were founded in Santo Domingo (1538), Mexico City (1551), Lima (1551), Córdoba (1613), Sucre (1623), Cuzco (1692), Caracas (1721), Havana (1728), Santiago de Chile (1743), and Quito (1787). There were also numerous colleges founded by religious orders.

While Spaniards were thus feverishly occupied in the Americas, they were also discovering (1521) and occupying (1565) the Philippines, where the Spanish genius for transmitting faith, speech and culture to backward peoples would again be shown. Even earlier (1509-1510), Spain had begun to expand her Empire in Northern Africa by attacks on Oran, Algiers and Tripoli. Then, with the accession of the Hapsburg Charles V (Charles I of Spain, son of Philip of Burgundy and Juana of Castile) to the Spanish throne in 1516, Spain enlarged her holdings in Europe (which already included Sicily, Sardinia, more than half of the Italian mainland, and the Roussillon in southern France) by what is now Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, considerable parts of what is now northeastern and southeastern France, and the Hapsburg group of states in Austria. Altogether, this was the most extensive empire that the world had seen till then; and, for a time, it appeared that Spain might be the agency through which the whole Europe would be united.

Charles V ruled Spain until 1556, when he abdicated in favor of his son, Philip II, who ruled until his death in 1598. Both were able monarchs, unselfish and hard-working. They found in Spain a source of armies that had no match in Europe until 1643, of navies that controlled the seas until 1588, and of colonies that poured forth gold and silver in fabulous and seemingly endless quantities. But Charles, by securing his election to the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519, incurred the undying enmity of Francis I of France, and involved himself in the affairs of Germany on the eve of the Reformation. Charles' attempt to reconcile Lutheranism with Catholicism won him the enmity of both Lutherans and Pope. His loyalty to Catholicism

and the House of Hapsburg brought conflict with the Ottoman Empire. Relations with England, always strained in the reign of Charles, broke completely in the reign of Philip, who also added to the feuds inherited from his father two more with Portugal and the Low Countries...Such, in roughest outline, are the roots of the wars that Spain would wage almost continuously until 1659.

In the beginning, there was no lack of victory. In 1526, Francis I of France was defeated at Pavia and taken prisoner to Madrid. In 1527, Rome was sacked and Pope Clement VII made prisoner. In 1532, Ottoman Turkish armies were driven back from Vienna and down the Danube valley toward Istanbul, whence they had come. In 1535, Tunis was captured from the Berbers. In 1548, the German Lutherans were brought to terms. In 1571, with the aid of allies, the Turkish fleet was destroyed at Lepanto. In 1581, Portugal and all her far-flung empire, except Brazil, was annexed to the Spanish Crown...But in 1588, Spanish sea-power was broken by the elements and England (the Great Armada); and in 1643, Spanish land-power was broken by France (Rocroy); and from these blows Spain never recovered.

How did it happen that the sum of so much success was failure? This much is certain: the defeats were proof, not cause, of Spain's decline. One is tempted to argue that, if Charles and Philip had aimed at the actual subjugation of Europe or the Ottoman Empire, instead of at a balance of power, their wars would have been fewer and their victories more lasting. And yet, their loyalty to the aim of Christian unity in Europe involved Spain in many wars that might otherwise have been avoided. The simplest explanation is best: Spain had destroyed the foundations of her strength in the pursuit of great ideals. This nation of less than 10 million inhabitants, with an economy based on manual labor and a communications system based on mules and sail-boats had dedicated herself to the impossible task of exploring, peopling, civilizing, and Christianizing the New World, while upholding the Catholic Church against the Reformation and the Ottoman Empire in the Old. In so doing, Spain sacrificed a quarter of her population before the end of the 16th century. Her economy was shattered. Most serious of all, her leaders began to fail at the very time that her need for able leaders was greatest. For Spain's fundamental diversity is so deep-rooted that, when leadership fails, anarchy threatens. The wonder is not that Spain, at the close of the 16th century, sank back exhausted from her efforts, but that she still had strength for high cultural achievement in the years to come.

THE GOLDEN AGE

In the realm of national and international power, the flame of Spanish genius had burned now high, now low; but in

the realm of mind and spirit, that genius had maintained a steadier light. We have already observed that Spain, in the 12th century, produced one of the world's great epic poems: the "Poem of the Cid." She also produced the finest sculpture of Christian Europe and, in the Cathedral of Leon, a masterpiece of Gothic architecture. In the 13th century, a Spaniard named Domingo de Guzman (St. Dominic) founded one of the great Catholic religious orders. In this century, also, Alfonso the Learned directed the first great work of modern history: the "General Chronical" of Spain. In the 14th century, a Spaniard named Juan Ruiz, who was Archpriest of Hita, wrote the "Book of Good Love," a series of rollicking tales not unlike those that Chaucer would write in England a generation later. The fine Gothic cathedrals of Cuenca, Burgos, Toledo, Barcelona, and Palma de Mallorca with their magnificent wrought iron and stained glass, are Spanish creations of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

Fifteenth-century Spain produced Europe's first vernacular grammar as well as its first collection of popular proverbs. Moreover, in the anonymous "Celestina," published in 1499, Spain produced one of the most widely-read of early European ventures into the literary form of the novel. Some credit for its success may be due to the widespread development of printing in Spain, where it had been introduced during the third quarter of the 15th century -- several years before its introduction to England.

The number of universities in Spain grew steadily from the beginning of the 13th century until 1619, when there were 32 in all. One of the greatest was founded by Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros at Alcala de Henares in 1508. Its 42 professors edited and published the first polyglot Bible to appear in Europe.

In Luis Vives, Father Mariana, Francisco de Vitoria, and Francisco Suárez, 16th century Spain produced philosophers equal to any in the world; in Father Sahagun (who lived in Mexico and wrote in the Aztec language,) the foremost historian of his day; and, in Tomas Luis Victoria, a composer surpassed only by his master in Italy: Palestrina. Other Spaniards at this time concerned themselves with science -- especially those inquiries having direct application to empire (geography, Cartography, navigation, naval engineering, ballistics, mining, metallurgy, hydraulic engineering, medicine, and the natural sciences). The circulation of the blood was discovered by Miquel Servet in 1546 (73 years before its discovery in England by Harvey).

To the non-Hispanic world, however, Spanish culture reduces itself to literature and painting. Spaniards do not represent this greatly, because they have in Cervantes (1547-1616) the author of what is generally acknowledged to be the greatest novel of all literature: Don Quixote; in Lope de Vega (1562-

1635) and Calderon (1600-1681), two of the world's foremost dramatists; in Gongora (1561-1627) and Gracian (1601-1658), a poet and an essayist of incomparable grace and subtlety; and, in El Greco (c. 1542-1614), Ribera (1588-1656), Zurbaran (1598-1663), Velázquez (1599-1660), Murillo (1617-1682), and Goya (1746-1828), a galaxy of painters second to none.

EXHAUSTION

Except for the painter, Goya (mentioned above), who belonged to the 17th century in spirit if not in time, and the composer, Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), who was Italian born, there is scarcely a Spaniard of international reputation in any field of cultural endeavor for two centuries after Spain's Golden Age. It is true that the flame of her culture survived by at least a century the furious blaze of her political glory. But the fires of genius are not indefinitely self sustaining, even in Spain.

The black night that envelopes Spanish culture from the last quarter of the 17th century to the last quarter of the 19th century is an accurate measure of the economic paralysis, military impotence, political futility, and spiritual desolation that then prevailed in Spain.

The Bourbon succession to the Spanish throne in 1700 (the Hapsburg line having become extinct) was finally confirmed by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, after a war in which England, France, and Holland participated actively, while Spain was a helpless onlooker. The treaty took from Spain her dominions in Italy and the Low Countries, the Island of Minorca, and Gibraltar. The Bourbon kings brought administrative reorganization to Spain, but at the price of many of her ancient local rights and privileges.

THE 19th CENTURY

The Industrial Revolution passed Spain by. Not so, the French Revolution, which overran the entire peninsula in its Napoleonic phase, and placed Joseph Bonaparte upon the Spanish throne in 1808. This indignity aroused the fury of the Spanish people and, more important, gave them a common goal for action; namely, expulsion of the usurper and restoration of the Spanish king (Ferdinand VII). But when the goal had been attained, Spaniards found themselves even less united than before. The reason for this is that the War of Independence had revitalized the Spanish tradition of popular self-government; whereas Ferdinand, when he returned to the throne in 1814, re-established Bourbon absolutism, notwithstanding a prior promise to accept

the Constitution of 1812. All Spaniards then were monarchists; but, thenceforward, they would be divided between absolutist (Conservatives) and constitutionalists (Liberals). Spanish public opinion had taken the first step along the road of progressive fragmentation that would lead to anarchy.

Within 6 years, the disappointed Liberals joined forces with an Army faction led by Col. Riego, in order to bring back the Constitution. The Conservatives countered 3 years later with help from France. A disputed succession in 1833 produced schism on both Right and Left. The conservative supporters of Ferdinand's daughter, Isabella, and her Queen-Regent mother, Maria Cristina, accepted a mild Constitution in order to gain Liberal aid against the arch-Conservatives adherents to Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos. The Carlist Wars immediately ensued -- and lasted intermittently until 1876. For their part, the extreme Liberal factions also turned to force, and so gained a Constitution more to their liking in 1837, and other legislative victories in 1841. Still another combination of Liberal factions, by still another pronunciamiento (a declaration of policy backed by force) drove the Queen-Regent into exile and proclaimed Isabella II of age (she was 13) in 1843. Naturally, the Conservatives (as distinguished from the Carlists) and the Moderates (a variety of Conservative) also used the technique of the pronunciamiento whether to alter the Constitution, as in 1845, or simply to change ministries under it. There is no need to follow developments in detail. Isabella was expelled in 1868, a new Constitution was promulgated in 1869, a new monarch (Amadeo of Savoy) put on the throne in 1870, and -- when he abdicated in 1873 -- a Republic declared. Chaos ruled until 1875, when Isabella's son was proclaimed King Of Spain as Alfonso XII.

The restored Bourbon monarchy was not absolute. The Constitution of 1876 was a compromise between that of Isabella (1845) and that of the Republic (1869). Although ministries changed too frequently for stability, and not always for parliamentary cause, the pronunciamiento as an instrument of government went out of fashion. The Constitution was well enough established by 1885 to survive the death of the King in that year, as well as the long regency exercised by his Queen during the infancy of the heir to the throne, who was not born until 6 months after his father's death. But in this period of relative calm at home, Spain's empire abroad came to its stormy end.

The greater part of the Spanish Empire had been lost as a result of Napoleon's intervention in Spain, which cut the ties that had bound those kingdoms to the Spanish Crown for more than 300 years. Only Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Americas, and the Philippines in the Pacific, remained. Unhappily for Spain, her distraction at home permitted conditions to arise in Cuba which led, ultimately, to intervention by the United States of

America. The war fought in 1898 was short and final and tore from Spain not only Cuba and Puerto Rico but the Philippines as well. The empire that had been without equal in the world ceased to exist.

The shock of this fact had an unexpectedly favorable reaction in Spain. Spaniards quietly put aside their dreams of imperial glory, which had been a shield against reality for so long, and looked about them. They were surprised to find that certain of their countrymen had been urging them to do this very thing for years. They looked...they listened...and they went forth to do battle with reality. Once more Spain produced great men.

The Generation 1898, as the men of the new age came to be known, properly includes all who prepared the way. Foremost among them was Don Francisco Giner de los Rios (1839-1915), who deserves to be reckoned among the ablest educators of all time, if judged by results, not theories. His FREE INSTITUTION FOR EDUCATION leavened the entire Spanish school system by the force of a great example. A literary precursor of exceptional importance was Benito Pérez Galdos (1843-1920), who strove to portray the Spain he knew in a series of powerful historical novels. Two other important precursors were the philosophers, Joaquin Costa (1846-1911) and Angel Ganivet (1862-1898), the one preoccupied with the importance to Spain of the European tradition, the other with the importance to Europe of the Spanish tradition.

This same difference of emphasis marks two philosophers of the new generation, whose names are much better known to the world at large: Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) and Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1937). Less well known abroad, but equally important to the development of thought in Spain, was Dor Ramiro de Maeztu (1875-1936).

Naturally there were Spaniards of this generation who worked other fields; the essayist, Azorin (1874-); the novelists Vicente Blasco Ibañez (1867-1928) and Pío Baroja (1872-); the poet, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (1870-1936); the dramatist, Jacinto Benavente (1866-1954); the literary historian Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912); the philologist, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-); the historian, Rafael Altamira (1866-); the neurologist, Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934); the painters Joaquín Sorolla (1863-1924); Ignacio Zuloaga (1870-1945), Pablo Picasso (1881-), and Salvador Dalí (1904-); the composers, Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), Enrique Granados (1867-1917), and Manuel de Falla (1876-1946); and the instrumentalists, Pablo Casals (1878-), and Andrés Segovia (1894-), whose great precursor had been Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908).

There is no denying the brilliance of Spain's cultural revival after 1898. But there is reason to believe that, like the still more brilliant 17th century, solid economic and political foundations were lacking. The foreign commerce that had begun to flourish under free trade between 1868 and 1892 was crippled by protection thereafter. Domestic commerce was severely handicapped by inadequate communications. Agriculture was dormant. Industrial development where it existed at all, was slow, uneven, and mainly evident from strikes and the growing strength of socialism, Marxism, syndicalism, and anarchism. The fragmentation of the Left was matched by fragmentation of the Right and Center. The growth of regionalism (Catalan, Basque, Galician, etc.) cut across all party lines, thus adding to the confusion. Parliamentary government became almost impossible as a result of constantly shifting blocs. Under the Conservative government that held office from December, 1902, until July, 1905, there were 5 prime ministers; and under the Liberal government that lasted from July 1905, until January 1907, there were 7 cabinets and 4 prime ministers. Such was the setting for the reign of Alfonso XIII.

Alfonso XIII was crowned King of Spain on May, 17, 1902: his sixteenth birthday. Even his critics admit that Alfonso was able. That he was also independent appears from his choice of wife: Victoria Eugenie, whose Protestant upbringing aroused unfavorable comment among staunch clericals, notwithstanding her conversion to Catholicism. In the course of time, Alfonso became adept in every move of the intricate Spanish parliamentary game -- and wholly disillusioned with it. Crisis followed crisis; but no party had either the strength to act by itself or the patriotism to permit action by others. The king must have decided that his country's welfare required, above all else, a government that could act. There was only one possible foundation for such a government in Spain at that time: the Army. Therefore, when the Captain-General of Catalonia, General Primo de Rivera, led an armed rising against the government on September 13, 1923, the King took no action against him. Instead, he invited him to assume the government. The change was effected two days later without bloodshed and virtually without protest.

General Primo de Rivera abandoned the Parliamentary machinery established under the Constitution of 1876, replacing it with a military directorate headed by himself. The Directorate was designed for action, and produced it. In Morocco, longstanding Spanish difficulties with the Riff were brought to a victorious and permanent conclusion. In Spain, the monies released by this success were applied to railways, highways, and public works. Private industry flourished, encouraged alike by policy and peace. Spanish communications are a case in point: a nationwide program of rehabilitation gave Spain one of the best telephone systems in the world, and went far toward making

Madrid the international center for communication between Europe and South-America. Other advances were made all along the line, from aviation to coal-mining. And, in 1928, the Spanish budget was balanced for the first time in many years.

Notwithstanding this impressive record of material achievement, the Directorate lost ground steadily with important segments of the Spanish public. Neither General Primo de Rivera nor anyone else had troubled to provide an ideological foundation for the regime. In the absence of a positive philosophy, the Directorate's reliance upon censorship probably did more harm than good. By the end of the 20's public opinion as a whole was alienated. When General Primo de Rivera also alienated vital Army backing by certain reforms in 1929, he suddenly found himself isolated. He resigned on January 28, 1930, and died in Paris two months later.

Alfonso XIII was now in an untenable position. He could not go backward to parliamentary government, because its adherents were advocating a republic. He could not go forward with the development of authoritarian government, because the necessary leader had not yet appeared. He could not stay where he was, except at risk of open revolution. After a year of futile search for some way out of his dilemma, Alfonso authorized municipal elections for April 12, 1931. When the returns showed that sentiment was running heavily toward republicanism, the King accepted the verdict. On the night of April 14, Alfonso XIII left Spain without signing a formal abdication. He would not return.

The Second Spanish Republic was the prelude to civil war. Why? Because, while giving expression to and encouraging the development of nearly every decisive force within the Spanish nation, it failed to provide the necessary counterbalance of great leadership and the unifying force of a great ideal. The Left, which dictated the new Constitution and dominated government under it in the first and last phases of its 5-year life, was itself united only in what it wanted to destroy; there was no agreement regarding what it wanted to build. How could there be, when it included a Republican Left and a Republican Union. Socialists both moderate and extreme, Marxists loyal to Trotsky and to Stalin, as well as Syndicalists and Anarchists? There were leaders among these men who frankly proclaimed their intention of using the Republic to bring about revolution. But the revolution they sought was for the benefit of their own particular group, or clique within that group; never, for Spain as a whole. Probably that is why the Left encouraged regional autonomy for Catalonia, the Basque provinces, and Galicia: a fragmented Spain would be easier to conquer. Certainly the plague of strikes, riots, and assassinations that accompanied the Republic was in accord with accepted principles of revolutionary procedure. In the first four months after the victory of the

Popular Front in the elections of February, 1936, there were 113 general and 218 partial strikes; successful firings of 170 churches, 69 clubs, and 10 newspaper offices; and attempts to fire 284 other buildings, 251 of which were churches.

Reaction was inevitable. Spanish traditionalists, dissatisfied with the quiescent, even fearful, course pursued by the Conservative parties in parliament, began to consider meeting force with force. In the mountains of Navarre, the Carlist "Requetés" began to drill once more. Clericals organized "Accion Católica" and "Accion Popular". A son of General Primo de Rivera, José Antonio, organized the "Falange." Most significant of all, the powerful U.M.E. (an organization of Spanish generals whose Commander-in-Chief was named Francisco Franco) began to consider whether the Spain they had sworn to defend was not dissolving before their eyes.

CIVIL WAR

On July 13, 1936, Calvo Sotelo, who had been finance minister under General Primo de Rivera, was arrested and assassinated in Madrid, supposedly in retaliation for the previous murder, by parties unknown, of a Communist lieutenant in the Government's shock troops. Four days later, the Army garrison at Melilla, in Spanish Morocco, mutinied. General Francisco Franco flew from his post in the Canary Islands to take command on the following day. Within 48 hours, all Spain was gripped by civil war.

General Franco gave the name of Nationalist to the forces he directed, thereby revealing his sure grasp of the fundamental issue: unit versus anarchy. Much of Spain rallied to his support: in the south, Seville, Cordoba, Granada, and Cadiz; in the north, all of Galicia, most of Leon, part of Asturias, and Burgos, Salamanca, Valladolid, Segovia, Pamplona and Saragossa. These regions were united by the fall of Badajoz in mid-August, thereby permitting a drive upon Madrid which almost certainly would have been successful, had it not turned aside to relieve the Nationalist garrison beleaguered in Toledo's Alcazar. The relief was effected on September 27th; but, when the Nationalists reached Madrid on November 6th, they found that the International Brigade -- inspired, financed, recruited, and directed by Communist Russia -- had entered the city before them. As a result, the civil war in Spain would last for 28 months more.

It is true that General Franco sought and accepted help from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. He did so for the same reason that Great Britain and the United States later sought and accepted help from Communist Russia. And there is this essential difference between the help given by Russia to

the Republic, and that given by Germany and Italy to the Nationalists: the Nationalists were strong, but the Republic was weak. Therefore, Nationalist Spain was not at the mercy of her allies at any time; whereas, after November 6, 1936, the Republic was continually at the mercy of the Kremlin.

The civil war in Spain ended on March 28, 1939, after two years and 254 days of unprecedented fury. There was scarcely time to bury the dead and survey the ruins before World War II began. Nationalist Spain was deeply shocked by Germany's pact with Russia and subsequent invasion of Catholic Poland. General Franco has expressed the Spanish view of Russia once and for all: "Yesterday, today, and tomorrow, for the countries of Europe there exists only one danger -- Communism." That statement would arouse less unfavorable comment now than when it was made (July 18, 1942); but it explains why both the Allies and Hitler found Spain aloof for as long as their alliances with Russia lasted. In point of fact, Spain was a disappointment to both camps during World War II -- as any neutral is bound to be. What Allied critics forget is the very different effect of Spanish neutrality upon the Axis and themselves: for the Allies, it meant the possibility of victory; for the Axis, the probability of defeat.

In any case, Spain had had her war, and now desperately needed peace in which to bind her wounds, which were all but fatal. There were 192 cities, towns, and villages in which destruction exceeded 60 percent. These were "adopted" by the nation, and a Department of Devastated Regions was organized to plan and supervise their restoration. Labor was found by allowing prisoners of war and certain classes of convicts to cancel two days of their imprisonment by one day of labor, in addition to extra cancellations for good conduct, overtime, and outstanding proficiency. To find building materials, transport, and construction machinery was not so easy. Here, as in every other field -- and they were many -- in which the nation depended upon imports, Spain was hampered by the fact that she was hampered by the fact that she was building in a world at war.

The devastated regions have now been repaired, as have been the most vital bridges, roads, railroads, and public utilities. Desperately needed industries have been repaired or created, and the nation's farms are able once more to sustain her. These victories have been won by unremitting effort and self-sacrifice, and at the cost of the little fat remaining upon the skeleton of Spanish economy. There is a dire need of re-equipment and expansion. and yet, the maximum output of existing equipment is barely enough to satisfy the requirements of a most spartan life. Therefore no surplus for expansion exists.

Estimates of capital needed to break the principal bottlenecks of the Spanish economy range from 200 to 800 million

U. S. dollars, to be expended over a period of several years. Spain's resources are great and her record for fulfillment of international obligations is excellent. The Nationalist Government has repaid not only its own debts, incurred during the civil war, but also those of the Republic, incurred prior to 1936.

Notwithstanding material weakness, Spain is one of the world's Great Powers. For greatness is not to be reckoned in material terms alone, by Spain least of all. The great achievements of Spain have always been spiritual, never material. Spain's Golden Age stressed spiritual values even in its material conquest. For that reason, Spain today is the spiritual center of a great empire that includes all nations to whom she gave her language, her culture, and her faith.