# THE COLLEGE

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# The College

*Front Cover:* Portrait of Philip II (ca. 1575) by Alonso Sanchez Coello (1531/32-1590), Prado, Madrid. *Inside Front Cover:* McDowell Hall, Annapolis; sketch by Daniel Sullivan, Class of 1971. *Back Cover:* Harrison Health Center, Annapolis; drawing by Dundin, photograph by Richard D. Bond, Jr.

*The College* is a publication for friends of St. John's College and for those who might become friends of the College, if they came to know it. Our aim is to indicate, within the limitations of the magazine form, why, in our opinion, St. John's comes closer than any other college in the nation to being what a college should be.

If ever well-placed beacon lights were needed by American education it is now. By publishing articles about the work of the College, articles reflecting the distinctive life of the mind that is the College, we hope to add a watt or two to the beacon light that is St. John's.

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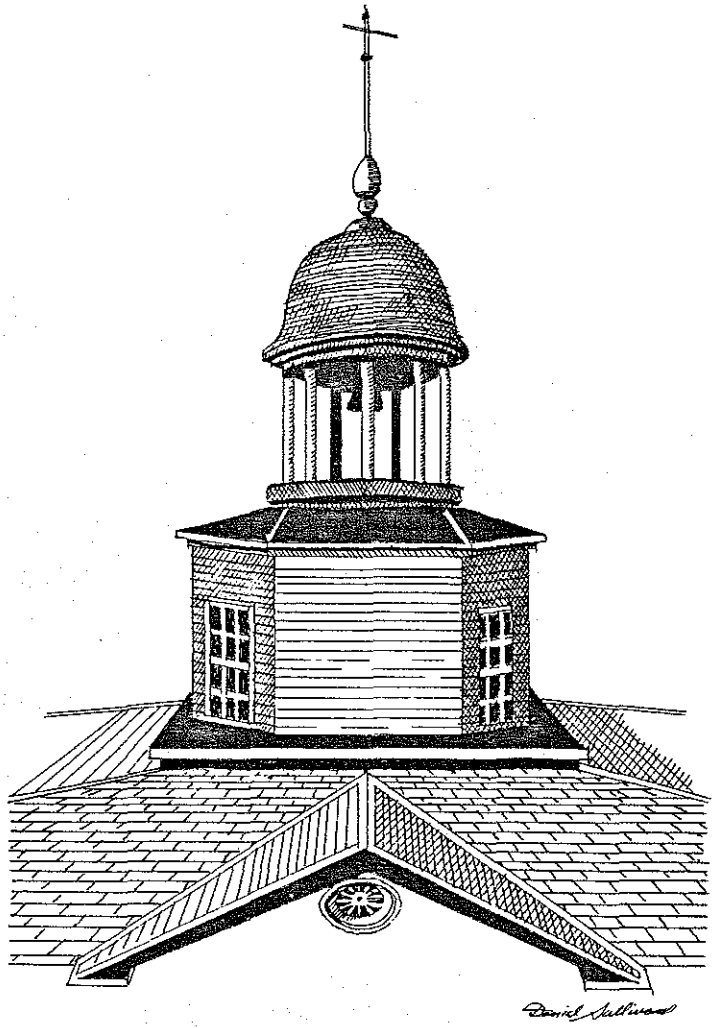

In the April Issue:

# The Ontological Argument*

by Robert A. Neidorf

For quite a little while, philosophers have been fascinated by the thesis that some things can be known to be true of the world by reasoning alone, without reliance on empirical data. The motives are not hard to understand. Empirical data come and go, and do not seem to be appropriate foundations for grand universal truths about the whole of reality; if, then, there are leading principles that underlie an ordered universe, and these are accessible to men, it seems that they should be accessible through the exercise of a power itself not dependent upon the contingencies of concrete sensory experience. Again, if there are principles or forces in the universe that do not flow *from* concrete events limited in space and time, but underlie and shape such events, then the human faculty which grasps such principles should be commensurate with what it grasps, and similarly independent of the limitations and contingencies that surround concrete experience via the senses. Reason suggests itself as such a faculty.

Another motive can be drawn from ordinary cognitive experience. There are truths to which we are all committed that seem independent of experience. Certain propositions of arithmetic constitute ancient and honorable examples. 7+5=12 seems to be true for all time, and true independently of the evidence of the senses. If this is so, the lure is dropped, and one wonders what else can be established in the same way.

The sense in which a proposition like 7+5=12 is said to be *independent* of experience must be qualified. No one (at least no one that I am currently prepared to take seriously) believes that a man born without sensory equipment would come to know simple arithmetic truths. It is not in this way that 7+5=12 is claimed to be a priori; that is, no one claims that it is discoverable in the absence of all sensation. What is claimed is that the proposition once discovered is then held without reference to experience as *justification*. Imagine 7 eggs placed in a basket, then 5 more; then the basket is dumped out (the eggs are hardboiled) and the contents are counted. Such an experiment might be used to *illustrate* the proposition 7+5=12. But if 11 or 13 eggs were found in the basket, no one, or at most very few people, would entertain the notion that 7+5=12 had now been shown to be false; I believe we would all prefer recourse to any other theory, even if necessary the theory implicit in having recourse to a psychiatrist. Thus the experiment, while it illustrates the proposition, and may aid a learner in grasping it for the first time, is no part of the evidence for the proposition—is not part of its *justification*. Thus what is meant by saying that a proposition P is known a priori—known independently of experience—is that reference to experience does not constitute the justification for P. Whether or not 7+5=12 is truly known in this way is not part of my present concern. But 7+5=12 *is* very unlike "All swans are white." The latter is easily overturned by experience, showing that its justification rests directly on experience. The former is not so easily overturned by experience, and perhaps cannot be overturned by experience at all; it is therefore very indirectly justified by experience, and perhaps not justified by experience at all. It is plausible on the face of it to regard 7+5=12 as something known independently of experience in just that sense.

In the eleventh century A.D. St. Anselm of Canterbury endeavored to show that "God exists" is a proposition that can be known independently of experience. His argument, usually referred to as "the ontological argument," has been discussed, refined, refuted, revived, discussed again and so on repeatedly in the intervening centuries. In recent times it has been revived and seriously considered among English-speaking philosophers largely because of the writings of two Americans, Charles Hartshorne and Norman Malcolm. The former is a Christian metaphysician, the latter a so-called analytic philosopher very much influenced by Wittgenstein. Much of what I have to say about the ontological argument is derived from these two sources.[1]

* Delivered as a lecture on February 11, 1972, at St. John's College in Santa Fe.

[1] Cf. Charles Hartshorne, *Man's Vision of God* (Harper & Row: New York, 1941) and *Anselm's Discovery* (Open Court: Chicago, 1965); Norman Malcolm, "Anselm's Ontological Arguments," *The Philosophical Review*, LXIX, 1960. Malcolm's article and a selection from Hartshorne's *Vision* are reprinted in Alvin Plantinga (ed.), *The Ontological Argument* (Doubleday: New York 1965).

# I

In truth there are two ontological arguments, appearing in Chapters II and III of Anselm's *Proslogium*. Let me look first at the argument of Chapter II, which I present in a paraphrase according to my understanding of it. It goes something like this:

> The term "God" is meaningfully used. It means a being of maximally perfect character, i.e. an entity with such a nature that no entity could be conceived which is more perfect than it is. Suppose now that one tries to form, as a meaningful expression, the statement "God does not exist." Since the term God is meaningfully used, God certainly exists in the mind of the person forming the statement, and such a person is presumably thinking of a God that exists in his own mind and perhaps in the minds of others, but not in reality. But now it is possible to think of a second God having all of the properties of that first God, plus the property of existing in reality as well as in the mind of men. This second God is clearly more perfect than the first one, the one that was being thought of in the proposition "God does not exist." Consequently, that first God is not a maximally perfect entity at all, and the statement "God does not exist" cannot consistently be entertained. Since the term "God" does have a meaning, and since "God does not exist" is self-contradictory, it follows that God exists.

I believe that this argument is ultimately unsound, but its lack of soundness is not to be established by insult. Let me review several objections that may be advanced against it.

1) Concede for the moment that "God does not exist" is meaningful but self-contradictory, and that its denial, "God does exist" is therefore conceptually necessary. That is, assuming "God" is a meaningful term, "God exists" is a necessary claim or thought for human beings. Still, it may be objected, a necessity of thought does not entail a corresponding necessity in the things thought about. Hence, although we may be forced to *think* that God exists, he may nevertheless not exist.

I believe that this objection is based on a confusion. It amounts to saying that a state of affairs which I *must* think to be true I can also think *not* to be true, which is self-contradictory. The objection can be sustained only by denying all contact between thought and reality. Such a denial, which amounts to radical scepticism, is certainly possible; but it cannot be defended, because any defense would involve claims about thoughts, claims that the defender would be advancing as thoughts of his own to which a reality (other thoughts) corresponds. Because I have a taste for defensible positions, I set aside this objection.

2) It is a dogma of modern philosophy that no a priori reasoning can issue in conclusions about matters of fact—about matters of real existence. For example, reasoning independent of experience can show that if there are 7 of something and 5 of the same things, then the two heaps taken together constitute 12 of those things; but a priori reasoning can never show that there are any of those things; for that, experience is required. Again, perhaps Euclid has shown that if there is a triangle then the sum of its angles is equal to two right angles; but he has not and cannot show by a purely logical process that there *is* a triangle. Since Anselm's argument purports to show that something exists by a priori reasoning, it cannot be valid.

This objection rests on the general rule that no a priori considerations can yield existential conclusions. To treat it properly we should have to examine the grounds for the general rule. I will turn to that task later. For the moment, I will try to hold off the objection by two considerations. In the first place, there are indeed pieces of a priori reasoning that yield conclusions of a sort about matters of fact. For example, logical considerations show that the concept "round square" is self-contradictory; we usually do not hesitate to infer that *no* round squares exist. If a priori considerations can yield negative existential conclusions, it is hard to see why in principle they cannot yield positive ones. In the second place, if Anselm's argument or any other argument that yields existential conclusions from non-empirical premises is sound on its own merits, it is questionable procedure to reject it on the basis of a general rule; it is more in accord with customary principles of open-mindedness to ask whether the argument shows that the general rule is not so general after all. I conclude that we cannot escape examination of the argument on its own merits.

3) On its own merits, I believe that the argument of *Proslogium* II is not so good. Anselm has asked us to compare two conditions of God, God *without* the quality of real existence (existing only in the mind) and God *with* the quality of real existence (existing outside the mind). He then asks us to agree that the second condition is better or more perfect than the first. But what is the relation between the quality of real existence and the subject—God—to which it is attached?

Presumably all qualities attach to their subjects either essentially or accidentally. An essential quality is one that the subject must have in order to be what it is; e.g., a bachelor is essentially single. An accidental quality could be detached from its subject without changing the essential nature of that subject; e.g., a bachelor is accidentally white. Now for Anselm real existence cannot be attached to God accidentally; for to admit that would be to admit that God can be thought of without the quality of real existence, and this is just what Anselm wants to deny in

the very heart of his argument. Hence real existence must, for Anselm, be regarded as an essential quality of God. But in that case, when he asks us to compare God without real existence against God with real existence, he is not asking us to compare two conditions of the same thing, but two quite different things. The meaning of the term "God" has shifted in the course of his argument, and the logic of it is no longer clear.

Someone could argue that a man with the quality white is better or more perfect than the same man without the quality white. I would not agree with him, but I would understand what he is saying because the meaning of "man" is kept unchanged when "white" is put on or taken off. But if he argues that a single bachelor is better than one who is not single, I get confused. I cannot hold before my mind any notion or image of a married bachelor in order to compare it with the single kind. The argument has slipped away.

4) If Anselm's argument has slipped out of focus, it may yet be brought back by some ingenious interpretation. I now bring to it a fourth objection which, like the third, was suggested by Kant.[2] I think it puts *Proslogium* II beyond the possibility of salvation. Anselm's argument turns on the notion that existence is a quality that can be attached to or detached from subjects much like other qualities, whether essential or accidental. But existence is not, I think, a quality at all.

To see why, consider an example. Suppose the Dean were asked to draw up a list of qualities that the ideal Tutor should have. He might list such things as learnedness, articulateness, ability to work long hours, and so forth. But if he added to the list the statement that the ideal Tutor should also exist, we would regard him with suspicion. At the very least, it is hard to see what information he has added to the original list by adding "existence" as if it were a property alongside of other properties.

It is certainly true that from a grammatical point of view "existence" can function in sentences in a manner analogous to ordinary predicate-words. We may say "Teddy is still existing" just as we may say "Teddy is still running" or "Teddy is still white." This formal analogy may lead us to think that the meaning of "Teddy is still existing" is analogous to the meaning of the other sentences. But if we try forming the denials of the sentences the analogy quite breaks down. If someone tells me "Teddy is not any longer white" I have an image of the same Teddy with whiteness gone and some quality contrary to whiteness having taken its place. I can even form a new affirmative sentence that describes the new situation: "Teddy now has the quality of non-whiteness." If now I am told that "Teddy is no longer existing" I have no similar image; Teddy has simply been wiped out. If, indeed, I try to force the analogy by forming a new affirmative sentence I get something like this: "Teddy now has the quality of non-existence," which is surely absurd.[3]

I am not prepared to give an analysis of the statement "Teddy exists." But I am persuaded that it is not like "Teddy runs," because "exists" is not a predicate. Insofar as the argument of *Proslogium* II treats "exists" as if it were a predicate, I think the argument must be rejected.

# II

If Anselm's argument is not sound so far, it has at least suggested an enticing way of describing God. We have been asked to agree that God is the sort of being in which existence is bound up with its very nature. Whatever the failings in Anselm's handling of the logic of the term "existence," he has not, in so describing God, made any very outrageous suggestion. God is after all thought of as an entity that cannot snap in or out of existence as other entities may. This is just a way of saying that God's existence is necessary, not contingent. Or, to put it another way, existence is connected to God essentially, not contingently or accidentally.

For the moment, let us assume that the notion of a being whose existence is necessary—a being immortal in its very nature—is a possible notion. When we think about something under the mode of necessity, we usually associate with it a proposition said to be itself necessary. Bachelors are necessarily single. The proposition "Bachelors are single" is then said to be true necessarily. It is a common and plausible view to interpret this condition—that "Bachelors are single" is true necessarily—as meaning that the denial is inconceivable, i.e. "Some bachelor is married" is inconceivable.

Apply this view to the notion that God exists necessarily. The corresponding proposition, "God exists," is then necessarily true. If, then, we can form the notion of a being that exists necessarily, the proposition expressing its existence is necessarily true. To recapitulate from another direction: The condition expressed by the proposition "God does not exist" is inconceivable, because "God" means that which exists necessarily from its own nature. The opposite proposition—"God exists"—is therefore true necessarily. Hence God exists.

This, I believe, is the nerve of a fresh argument that Anselm offers in *Proslogium* III. I believe it is a strong argument, although perhaps it does not show quite what Anselm thought it did.

Let me review the new argument a third time. Any fact or state of affairs described in meaningful propositions falls presumably into one of three categories, and only one. Either it is necessary, or possible, or impossible; either it must be so, or it may be so, or it cannot be so. Most of what we are interested in falls into the middle

[2] *Critique of Pure Reason*, A592-602, B620-630.

[3] Cf. G. E. Moore, "Is Existence a Predicate?" *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, XV, 1936; reprinted in Plantinga.

category. Whether the man in the bed is to live or die, whether there will be a sea-fight tomorrow in the Bay of Bengal, whether unicorns exist—these are all contingencies, things that may be but may also not be; and whether they will or will not can be found out only with the help of experience. It is characteristic of such things that their being so and their not being so are equally conceivable. I can conceive of the man living or dying, of the sea-fight taking place or not, etc. Anselm is arguing in *Proslogium* III that the existence of God does not belong in this middle category. If it did, it should be possible for me to think of God as not existing in the same way that I can think of unicorns as not existing. But I cannot so think of God, claims Anselm, because "existing" is a necessary part of the meaning of the term "God." Hence, if the concept of God as a necessary being is formed at all, then there is such a being.

1) The first objection is very old. The claim is that by defining God as that which *exists* necessarily, Anselm has already presupposed God's existence; i.e. he has presupposed that which he sought to prove. But this objection simply ignores the nerve of the argument. Anselm claims that we have a concept of God as a necessarily existing being, and that unlike other concepts this one commits he who entertains it to the conclusion that there is such a being. One can surely raise questions as to whether any concept can function in that way, and questions as to whether Anselm's concept of God is a concept at all. I will soon raise such questions. But to accuse Anselm of arguing in a circle because he sets forth a supposed concept which entails the existence of something, is merely to *presuppose* the answers to other questions in the theory of meaning; it does not meet his argument where it deserves to be met—on its own ground.

2) The second objection is that Anselm is again asking us to think of "existence" as a property or quality of an object, and we have seen that it is no such thing. But the advantage of his new argument in *Proslogium* III is that it does not rest on the notion of existence as a quality, but on the notion of *necessary* existence as a quality. Whether or not existence taken simply is a quality, I think necessary existence just may *be* a quality. If the Dean added to his list of qualities for an ideal Tutor that he should exist necessarily, we would regard him as unusually optimistic, but we would understand what he means and sympathize with it. Who wants a Tutor who is subject to fatigue and death? Clearly we would like to have Tutors who are indefatigable and immortal, and this not by chance, but by nature.

3) This example leads to a deeper objection. If we understand what the Dean is saying when he expresses the desire for a Tutor who exists necessarily, there must be such a concept. Consequently, on the model of Anselm's own argument, the concept of such a Tutor as *not* existing is self-contradictory or absurd. Therefore, there is such a Tutor. Only where is he? This objection was first raised under different terms by a contemporary of Anselm.

Anselm himself was rather contemptuous of it. He argued that the concept of a necessarily existing thing of any sort except God himself, is absurd. Tutors, islands, unicorns, are all limited entities; by their very nature they are subject to decay and destruction. I think he is right about this. Any object thought of as extended in space is also conceivably divisible. If the idea of reducing a unicorn, an island, or a Tutor to scattered particles is a conceivable one, then nothing of this sort can exist necessarily.

So the argument is saved—almost. If there is truly no concept of a Tutor existing necessarily, how did we understand the Dean when he asked for one? I suggest that when he asked for one he was not asking us to form the concept of such a one, but was only expressing his regret that no Tutor does or can exist necessarily. I am maintaining that while "necessary existence" may be a quality, it is not a quality that can be added to objects arbitrarily; yet its absence can perfectly well be noticed and communicated. Let me try to sum up the situation by comparing three pairs of sentences.

"There is a man who is white."

"There is a man who is not white."

I understand both sentences clearly, and the same man could at different times be the subject of *each*.

"There is a man who exists."

"There is a man who does not exist."

I understand the first sentence but not the second, because simple existence is not a quality at all.

"There is something that exists necessarily."

"There is something that does not exist necessarily."

I understand both sentences, but the same entity can never be the subject of each. For the subtraction of the quality "exists necessarily" changes the nature of the subject just as surely as the subtraction of "single" changes the nature of a bachelor.

Finally, then, I claim that there is no concept "Tutor existing necessarily," but there is a concept "Tutor not existing necessarily." Formal logicians will not like this view, but I believe it is consistent with ordinary usage and common sense, and therefore takes precedence.

4) While I am not about to dismiss the notion of necessary existence because of the strictures of certain formal logical systems, there is a view which denies on reasoned grounds that "necessity" can be a characteristic of anything real. Briefly stated, the theory claims that necessity is a quality of propositions or sentences but not of existent objects or real relations. For example, "All

bachelors are single" is a necessary proposition. That it is necessary is a consequence of the way we use words or concepts; it reflects a decision to use the word "bachelor" to refer to the combination of two other concepts, "male" and "single." It tells us nothing whatever about existent entities. On the other hand, under this theory, any proposition having existential significance, any statement about what is going on in the world, is contingent. Whatever happens could conceivably not happen; whatever comes to be could conceivably not come to be (for there was a time when it was not); in brief, whatever *is* is contingent and any proposition expressing what is is itself a contingent truth that cannot be established a priori.

This theory may be called positivism. Although it goes back to Hume, it is both important and exciting. It is important because it is very widespread. It is seen in the current doctrine that every scientific account of the world is provisional and uncertain—i.e. not necessary—because reason can always conceive alternatives to what science describes; while, on the other hand, the certainties of logical deduction bring forth only rearrangements of symbols or concepts but no new knowledge of what is. And it is exciting because it opens the door to a *dis*proof of the existence of God. For if one acknowledges with Anselm that the only concept of God worthy of the name is the concept of a being that exists necessarily, and if necessity cannot be a character of any being, then there can be no God.[4]

There is, however, something paradoxical about positivism. Let me denote the class of true propositions about matters of fact by the letter E. Consider the claim that all E-propositions are contingent, or probable, or not necessary. Is this claim true of such propositions necessarily or contingently? If it is true contingently—if it is, say, an empirical generalization—then the possibility exists that there may yet be found an E-proposition which is *not* contingent, and Anselm's argument may be exhibiting just that proposition. On the other hand, suppose the claim about E-propositions is true necessarily. Then E-propositions are themselves a kind of thing in the world, although a very complex kind, and there *is* something in the world about which a necessary truth can be known.

This difficulty is apparent in Hume's own exposition. In the early pages of the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* he argues on the basis of general experience that there are no ideas in the mind which have not been furnished by antecedent sensory impressions. This amounts to saying that all our notions about matters of fact are derived from sensory experience and share the qualities of that experience, notably the quality of contingency. So far, the doctrine is advanced as a probable or contingent claim. After noting a tiny exception, Hume later elevates the doctrine to the status of a necessary truth, and uses it as a principle to destroy the objectivity of the concept of causality (necessary connection among events in the world). He discovers that there is no sensory impression of necessary causal connection among events, and concludes that there can be no idea thereof because there cannot be an idea that has no sensory antecedent. He starts by claiming that there *is* no such idea, and ends by claiming that there *cannot* be. It begins to look as if the claims of the positivist position do not themselves fit easily into the account about *all* propositions that positivists give.

Against this criticism the positivist has a likely reply. He may say that he is only speaking about concrete things in space and time, and claiming that *those* are through and through contingent, both in their existence and in their relations to each other. Any attempt to turn his doctrine onto itself by considering propositions or concepts as entities in their own right he will resist, on the ground that propositions and concepts do not have any clearly discernible concrete existence in space and time; what they are may be a problem, but they are probably not things or beings at all. Consequently, he may say, necessary truths about propositions or concepts do not in the least tend to show that there can be necessary truths about matters of fact.

But we must note that Anselm's concept of God is not the concept of a being located in space and time, for then it could not exist necessarily. For Anselm and indeed for most theologians from Plato onward, whatever functions as a fundamental ordering principle governing what is, and what is worthy, is not itself located in the world in the same way that other things are. The issue between Anselm and the positivist then becomes a controversy over what counts as a thing or being. The positivist would likely refuse to acknowledge propositions or a "necessary being" as beings; the more platonically-minded would insist upon it. What I am suggesting is that the positivist attack on Anselm's argument is based ultimately on a theory of being and not on a theory of meaning. The attack amounts to saying that there can be no such thing as God in Anselm's sense, and Anselm's argument is not really examined on its own merits.

Are there "things" that are not located in space and time? It is easy to see the case for a negative answer: things existing in space and time seem more accessible to us and relatively less puzzling than the notion of a being which is above or below or alongside of space and time. But we cannot settle this question by coolly dismissing the candidates for such stature as "mere abstractions," for that just hides the issue under a term that is itself puzzling.

There are, on the other hand, plausible grounds for an affirmative answer. A melody inhabits a sequence of notes, and at first glance one is tempted to say that the melody is sharply located in time. But this view will not stand

[4] J. N. Findlay, "Can God's Existence be Disproved?" *Mind*, 1948; reprinted in Plantinga.

up easily under pressure. How many notes can be taken away without changing the melody? At what moment in the playing of the notes does the melody come to be? We speak of playing the "same" melody over again at a different time, and we think we can play it any time we choose:—at *any* time we choose. How, then, can the melody be regarded as located *in* a certain region of time? All of this suggests that a melody, whatever it is, is not quite as concrete an entity as a single note played at a certain moment. One might claim that the melody is a mere arrangement of notes, and that it recurs whenever the same arrangement recurs. But this will not quite suffice, for there is a peculiar relation between the melody and the particular notes that it inhabits. Namely, from a certain point of view the melody *governs* the notes; it gives them a noticeable significance that they would not have in isolation; it provides a context that alters and shapes the significance of individual notes; and in some cases one produces notes in search of a melody that is vaguely grasped, but beckoning. Even if all this be granted, why should one say that the melody *is* something? Because, I think, it governs or beckons; it would be odd to regard that which governs or beckons as an abstraction or dependent thing taking its existence in some peculiar way *from* that which it governs or beckons; it would be still more odd to say that it is nothing at all.

It will be objected that this example is drawn from a highly artificial or psychological realm. I think this objection counts for nothing, because things artificial or psychological are not on that account nothing. More importantly, it will be objected that however difficult it may be to pin down a melody to a certain time, melodies nevertheless do exist in time in general. Perhaps so. But the peculiar claims that I have been making about melodies—that they govern the particulars associated with them—can also be made about the logical forms that govern mathematical demonstrations and the so-called laws of nature that govern the universe of particulars. I would not know quite what it means to say that these things exist in time or space "in general," and I find it no more awkward to regard them as existing "outside" time and space, governing that which exists "in" time and space.

I do not pretend for a moment to have "proved" that such things exist, or to have laid to rest the many respectable theories that try to reduce laws of thought and laws of nature to the realm of concrete individuals. However, Hume was fond of saying, " 'Tis a principle generally received in philosophy that everything in nature is individual."[5] And Hume himself never criticises or defends that opinion; he just receives it. I think I have shown that however widely received, it is certainly contestable and may be wrong.

Let me now review the state of the argument so far. Anselm has proposed that the concept of God is the concept of a being such that no more perfect being can be conceived. This leads to the notion that the concept is of a being that exists necessarily. If, then, one has such a concept, the notion that God does not exist is impossible to entertain, i.e. God cannot be conceived not to exist. Hence he exists. The chief objections to the argument rest on two doctrines: that necessity cannot be a property of any existing thing; that anything which exists is a concrete particular. I have tried to show that the first doctrine in turn rests on the second, and that the second is contestable. During the course of the discussion I have been suggesting somewhat vaguely that we do have a concept of a necessary being, and that Anselm's argument may therefore be perfectly sound. I turn finally to a last objection.

5) The term "God" has been defined in two ways, as that which is more perfect than anything conceivable, and as that which exists necessarily from its own nature. The first definition probably entails the second. The difficulty is that both definitions are rather austere or vague, so lacking in specific content as to raise the question whether we really have such an idea after all or are merely playing with words.

That the difficulty is a real one may be seen from historical examples. Aristotle, in trying to elucidate the concept of "pure actuality," or that which has no grain of contingency and therefore exists necessarily, decides that it must be eternal, uncomplex, unchanging, utterly unconcerned with any particular being, and entirely incapable of being affected by them; its sole activity is a thinking on thinking. This is not acceptable to Christian theologians for obvious reasons. Anselm struggles with the problem by arguing that qualities like compassion are not "literally" in God, but somehow properly attributable to him from a human and hence defective point of view.

A whole medieval tradition of so-called negative theology was based on the notion that God can be understood as that which lacks all defects, even though no positive concept of the corresponding perfections could be nailed down. Hartshorne argues that God is not worshipped for the defects he does not have, and suggests that the difficulty be removed by substituting a new theory of the meaning of necessary being. He claims that a being existing necessarily may be thought of as a being totally open to the impact of concrete events, completely susceptible to being affected by them, constantly changing, only in such a way that no possible event or change could threaten his existence. This opens the door to thinking of a necessary being as compassionate, loving and creative. It also makes it possible to understand how the necessary being could act *in time*, creating a universe or a gift of incarnation, whereas the classical concept of Aristotle and others entailed that there was not and never could be a moment of creation or of divine activity directed towards the lives of creatures. But then the notion

[5] E.g., *Treatise of Human Nature*, Bk. I, Pt. I, Sec. VIII.

of divine *creativity* runs afoul of the logical dictum that one cannot give what one has not got, and we are turned back to the classical notion of a God who has and is everything that he will ever give.

These controversies rest on the difficulty of trying to supply further content for the concept of necessary existence. It is a difficulty that I have already run into. Usually, we explore an unfamiliar concept of a quality by—so to speak—trying it on for size. We imagine it attached to various kinds of objects to see if the attachments make sense, or we imagine it combined with other more familiar qualities to see if the combinations make sense. In Plato's *Republic* Glaucon, who is having trouble with the concept of justice as a quality, asks Socrates to show him the *other* qualities of a just man. But when I conceded that there is no positive concept of a necessarily existing Tutor, or of a necessarily existing thing of any sort except God himself, I was conceding that the quality of necessary existence cannot be moved around like a checker in the game of logical exploration.

Necessary existence is a very strange quality indeed. It parades itself as a quality that cannot be attached to any ordinary object, even tentatively, because the attachment would alter radically the nature of the object itself. And if Anselm is right, it cannot be considered in isolation from the notion of a unique being that has that quality and has no other qualities with which we are familiar. Yet the phrase "necessary existence" seems to be meaningful in some way, if for no other reason than the fact that the phrase "contingent existence" is clearly meaningful.

In such ways is the mind poised over the notion of necessary existence—which is no other than the notion of divine existence or absolute perfection. Is there such a notion?

My answer at this time is: Yes and no. The concept cannot be fingered, nailed down and held before the mind like other qualities; the logic of its use is elusive, precisely because it cannot be examined in isolation from questions of real existence. Yet in some ways the mind requires it, and acknowledges it. Men do *not* exist necessarily; we know that, we understand it, we often regret it. How could we say with such confidence that all particulars exist contingently had we no notion at all of some other mode of existence? There are other examples, more mundane. At various times, and however illogically, little billiard balls were regarded by many as necessary beings, immortal, unbreakable, the fundamental ground for the regularity and order of the universe. No one has expounded the attractiveness of this notion better than Lucretius. Contrary to the very meaning of its name, the atom gets broken, the necessary beings turn out to be contingent after all. This should have been no surprise because, as extended in space, they could no more exist necessarily than Tutors can. Still, the notion of that which is necessarily, as an ultimate ground for the intelligibility and existence of everything else, governs the mind and beckons to it.

It has often been maintained, especially in America, that the pursuit of ultimate grounds is childish, and should be given up by grown men. Yet if I am to take such claims seriously I must be persuaded; evidence and argument must be offered. And then I suspect that he who offers evidence and argument is in that very act himself governed or lured by the flickering image of that which *is* so in an unqualified sense; not contingently so, or possibly so, but necessarily so; that in which one can rest a case without fear of its eventual destruction; in short, that which is necessarily. And if once again I am told that what is necessarily, is only a proposition or a truth and not a thing, I must still wonder how that which is a lure or a governor can be denied existence.

There is a passage in the *Republic* where Plato puts these words into the mouth of Socrates:

> Not only being known is present in the things known as a consequence of the good, but also existence and being are in them besides as a result of it, although the good isn't being but is still beyond being, exceeding it in dignity and power.[6]

Glaucon, who has been listening, is both attracted and horrified. He says, "Apollo, what a demonic excess." Now Glaucon, as he appears in the dialogue, is not the smartest of men. But I sympathize with him.

# III

It will surprise no one to see that I have not settled the question whether God exists, or whether Anselm's argument is finally sound. But let me close by stating some conclusions of which I have been persuaded by Anselm and his sympathetic commentators.

First, the question of God's existence cannot be settled by straightforward deductive logic. That God does not exist cannot be proved by customary logical means, because the statement, "A necessarily existing being does not exist," is on close scrutiny either meaningless or self-contradictory. Neither can God's *existence* be proved by ordinary logical routines. Anselm's argument is the only one I know of or can presently imagine that attempts to set forth something resembling the usual forms of logical proof and ending in the conclusion, "God exists." But the attempt to analyze his argument raises too many unresolved problems in the nature of logic itself. The argument defies conventional modes of formal analysis and testing, and when considered on its own merits it calls into question many of the logical canons that are employed confidently for more routine kinds of arguments.

[6] Stephanus 509b.

Perhaps the genius of his argument is its ability to force reflection upon the implicit commitments of logicians.

Second, the question of God's existence cannot be settled by recourse to empirical experience. Perhaps this has always been known; certainly eyebrows are always raised at the notion of a direct empirical experience of God that could be known to be just that in the same way as, say, direct experience of a brick wall or a black swan. But I think Anselm has pointed the way to a fundamental reason for this suspicion. Anyone who endeavors to establish or test a proposition by observation or experience makes two claims implicitly. He claims that the proposition, say, "X is so," is conceivable to him. And he claims that the denial, "X is not so," is also conceivable. Otherwise the recourse to observation would either tell him nothing or it would only tell him what he already knows. Anselm has, I think, shown that the proposition, "That which exists necessarily does not exist," is self-contradictory or meaningless. And therefore neither it nor its opposite can be established empirically.

Let me finally try to say where I am in this tangle. It was Anselm's conviction that the statement, "That which exists necesarily does not exist," is absurd because the subject, "that which exists necessarily," is perfectly clear and cannot be combined with the notion "not-existing." I wonder whether it might be absurd because the subject, "that which exists necessarily," is itself without meaning. To put it another way: Anselm has convinced me that "God does not exist" is meaningless. But the remaining question, which I cannot answer, is whether "God exists" is meaningful.

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# The Spanish Civil War*

By DOUGLAS ALLANBROOK

It is distressing to study wars but necessary. It is doubly distressing to look at a civil war. It would be of some comfort if one could think of them as momentary sicknesses, as abnormal growths which science, good sense, or noble passion could cut out of the body politic. I don't think it is possible to regard them as such. Wars between nations are perhaps easier to stomach or at least sometimes seem easier to understand. Civil wars, however, bring different difficulties and lead often to blacker pessimism. Civil wars in particular force upon our attention facts which are not political, facts which cannot be understood or grappled with in terms of monarchies, republics, democracies, oligarchies, class struggles alone or economic drives. Neither political economy nor political science can deal directly with these facts. History can describe them from any number of points of view. There are no simple rational explanations of them. It is for this reason that both religion and psychology attempt to deal with them.

The science of geology offers a certain analogy. Here is the surface of the earth spread before us, with its plains, mountains, deserts, and sparkling oceans. Looking at it descriptively, one plots rivers, maps mountain ranges, classifies rocks, and measures the depths of the waters. From an aeroplane one is dazzled by the prospect and grasps certain great configurations of systems of rivers, mountains, and plains. It is a great and noble panorama. Looking with still more attention at the surface of this earth, one sees and then theorizes about the rise and fall of the Rocky Mountains or the lofty Himalayas. The patient and seemingly infinite work of the rivers in carving out their beds, the long sculptural work of the wind and the rain, plunge one into the midst of a process of work being done. Glaciers move up and down our map which now has a fourth dimension of time. One really underlying fact keeps forcing itself upon our attention,

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volcanoes. Something under the surface of this earth keeps erupting. This happens sporadically in all geological time. All rocks are, if traced back far enough, of igneous origin. This becomes a primal fact in the hard look at the earth. All volcanic eruptions are studied with intense interest. Geologists describe great volcanic periods as revolutions, borrowing a term from politics. What the middle of the earth is like can be to some degree postulated, though with little real clarity. After all we are still on the surface and can only try to be as profoundly superficial as it is possible to be. The dear and cherished configurations of our bays and inlets, our necessary and even noble maps and geologic surveys, are now viewed not with skepticism, but with wonder.

Civil wars are like volcanoes. They reveal the reality which is under civil life and tend to make us suspect that most of it is virtually unknowable. They should make us cherish whatever grasp we do have on order and to realize what a tenuous hold we have on civilization. They also, lest we get overly pious, give us glimpses of splendour. It is fatuous and inhuman not to admire courage and daring in the face of death, even if we are not in sympathy with the faction which brought forth the action, or the dogma which seems to cloak the action.

Officially the Civil War in Spain began in the summer of 1936 and ended in the spring of 1939. In reality there had been a kind of civil war in Spain since 1812. While the battlefields of this war were in Spain, directly or indirectly every nation in Europe or America was involved. It was a cataclysm whose end signalled the beginning of a vaster and still bloodier cataclysm. A conservative figure of 600,000 dead is generally to be accepted. It is hard, of course, to distinguish between those dead in a battle, those beaten to death in a street-fight, or those who perished of tuberculosis in a crowded prison. Added to this figure would be, of course, as far as loss to Spain is concerned, the large number of refugees who fled their native soil at the approach of Franco's armies. This war was fought with more ferocity than most wars between nations. Thirteen bishops and 7,000 priests were murdered. The victors at the end showed no mercy. It is estimated that two million people had passed through the prisons and concentration camps of Nationalist Spain by 1942. It is also estimated that perhaps 100,000 were executed in the months following the war for crimes ranging from church burnings to merely having served in the administration of the losing side. I have chosen this war partly because it is still close to us; its only victor on either side, General Franco, still rules in Spain. Also its dimensions, while reverberating throughout the world, are still fairly small. It stirred the conscience of the world and still should. One should still say firmly that the wrong side won, without necessarily implying that the side which lost was not an almost hopeless muddle. The fact that it was a Spanish war does not dismiss it from being worthy of our closest attention, any more than the fact that *Don Quixote* is a Spanish book, written in Spanish by a Spaniard about Spaniards removes it from our view. I cannot believe that Spaniards are essentially different from anyone else, though they like to think so. What is striking is their intransigence in front of many experiences we all have. Their honesty takes the form of following either pleasure or ideals. Everyone who visited Spain during the war got his fingers burned. Those who had an active role in it from the outside were puzzled. The war seemed to prove no points of dogma for any dogmatist. Its very extremities teach us something about the civil war which is in and around every one of us. In a less sweeping way it pinpoints and delineates the characteristics of the general civil war of the West, which has gone on since Scholastic Theology was introduced. Aspects of this inner and outer revolution we spend over half of our time studying here at this College.

Now we must look at a map. The Pyrenees separate Spain from Europe. In the middle there is a high, rocky, and sparse tableland, semi-desert in many places. This is the austere land of Castile. Around the edges it is richer, in Catalonia and in the Basque provinces. They point towards Europe and are the most prosperous and European provinces. They each have their own language. The Basques are an ancient people of unknown origin. Galicia in the North, though poorer than the Basque countries, also feels itself an entity. In the South is Andalusia, ancient center of the Moorish civilization. It has a population of serfs who have been in bondage since the days of the Roman empire. The land is somewhat richer but needs to be irrigated in common if it is to flourish. The poverty is appalling. The majority of the peasants are hired as day laborers during half the year only. They live in large villages and not in farms on the land. The land in Castile yields grudgingly a sparse crop of wheat. It is generally not owned by those who work it. It is the most frugal and dignified province of Europe. In the North with much more rainfall peasants are better off and do usually have enough to eat. In Navarre they are all owners of their small farms in general and pass the property from father to son. They are a Spartan people and own the grazing lands in common from time immemorial. The Basques are industrial with a large city, Bilbao, with factories and important banks. Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, is a splendid and throbbing Mediterranean port, one of the great cities of the inland sea, the Mediterranean. Madrid was originally an artificial city, planted dead center in the middle by an autocratic king, built from nothing to be the administrative center of the country. Castile is in the middle and Madrid is in the middle of Castile. Every part of this peninsula separates itself fiercely from every other part. Portugal by accident happens to be independent. Catalonia always fought to be, and it is the perpetual running sore of Spain. There is always a fight between Barcelona and Madrid. The greatest emperor of the West since Charlemagne,

Charles the Fifth, emperor over Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, and the Low Countries and most of America, had to spend great and delicate energy assuaging the local rights and charters of countless Spanish provinces, cities, regions and municipal communes. Though proudly feeling themselves Spaniards and always tending to regard the rest of the world as barbarians, they were seldom ever a Nation, in any of the usual senses of the word. It may recall to you the affairs on that famous little peninsula on the other end of the inland sea, Greece.

I shall now undertake a brief sketch of the political parties which were important in the years immediately preceding the war. I shall not label my columns Communist and Fascist and only with some hesitation label the two columns Left and Right. Both sides have sinister aspects.

CEDA—(Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Autonomas) Catholic Party
JONS—(Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista) Fascists and the Falange
UME—(Union Militar Espanola)
CARLISTS—(Traditionalists)
UGT—(Union General de Trabajadores) Socialist Trade Union
POUM—(Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista) Troskyites
PSUC—(Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluna) Communists
CNT and FAI—Anarchists

*The CEDA.* It was a reflection of the general Catholic Action movement in Europe. It was an attempt to found a Christian Democratic party of the type that has had success in Italy since 1945. Rigid laws had been passed by the Republic in 1931 limiting the powers of the Church. This party then tried to reconcile many points of view that were not to the left. It had to get along with rich men upon whom it depended for funds, and also to try to keep the middle classes from becoming out and out defenders of the kings who had been deposed by popular mandate in 1931. It became the most powerful party for a brief period in 1933. Its leader was a slippery and ambitious man called Gil Robles. He flirted with Fascism and liked to be addressed as "jefe," a translation of "Duce" or "Fuehrer."

*The JONS or Fascist Party.* The program of this party as announced in 1931 included denunciation of class war and the "implacable examination of foreign influences in Spain." The program also included penalties for those "who speculated with the misery and ignorance of the people" and demanded the "disciplining of profits." Catholicism embodied for them the "racial" tradition of the Spaniards. They opposed the CEDA as reactionary. They trained and drilled on Sundays. In universities they fought with the left-wing students. Another party soon merged with them and to some extent swallowed them up. This was the "Falange Espanola," its name being taken from the Macedonian unit of battle responsible for the destruction of the remnants of democracy in Greece in the fourth century B.C. Its leader was a handsome young man named Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, the son of the dictator of Spain during the twenties. He often sounded like a glib but not unintelligent undergraduate who had taken too many courses in political theory. To quote: "The state is founded on two principles—service to the united nation and the co-operation of classes." His favorite poem was Kipling's "If" which he would often read to his followers before a street demonstration. I shall read to you another of his speeches. His followers were generally high-spirited and longed for direct action.

> Paradise is not rest. Paradise is against rest. In Paradise one cannot lie down; one must hold oneself up, like the angels. Very well; we, who have already borne on the road to Paradise the lives of the best among us, want a difficult, erect, implacable Paradise; a Paradise where one can never rest and which has, beside the threshold of the gates, angels with swords.

It must be noted also that the Falange was interested in far-reaching economic reform, which it called "revolution." To quote again from Jose Antonio:

> When we speak of capitalism we are not talking about property. Private property is the opposite of capitalism: property is the direct projection of man on his possessions; it is an essential human attribute. Capitalism has been substituting for this human property the technical instruments of economic domination.

This young man was imprisoned and later shot by the government in the opening year of the war.

*CNT and FAI*—I shall quote certain words of Bakunin, the Russian who founded the Anarchists movement. "I shall die and the worms will eat me, but I want our idea to triumph. I want the masses of humanity to be really emancipated from all authorities and from all heroes past and present." This Russian aristocrat had a feeling for simple and independently minded people. He offered them a vision of heaven on this earth. He thought men not good by nature but good enough to live in a completely free society. His theories have many analogies in peasant villages where things are organized locally. In 1868 a man named Fanelli appeared in Madrid. Up to that time in Spain no socialist movement had taken hold. Fanelli was a comrade-in-arms of Garibaldi and a passionate admirer and disciple of Bakunin. He spoke no Spanish and addressed a group of perhaps ten men, most of them printers. By 1872, only five years later, there

were 59,000 followers of Bakunin in Spain. The great new truths proclaimed may be summed up again: The State, based on ideas of obedience and authority, is morally evil.

Instead of this State there should be self-governing bodies, whether they be municipalities, professions, or other groupings, all of which would make voluntary pacts with each other. Criminals would be punished by public criticism. I will quote from a speech made by Jose Garcia Oliver, one of the leaders of the movement. In 1937 he was the Minister of Justice in the Spanish Republic. This must be one of the most extraordinary statements made by any minister of the law.

> Justice must be burning hot, justice must be alive, justice cannot be restricted within the bounds of a profession. It is not that we definitely despise books and lawyers. But the fact is that there were too many lawyers. [It may be noted that in 1937 after a year of war, perhaps 127 legal functionaries were dead. D.A.] When relations between men become what they should be, there will be no need to steal and kill. For the first time, let us admit here in Spain that the common criminal is not an enemy of society. Who is there who says he dare not go out and steal if driven to it to feed his children and himself? Do not think that I am making a defence of robbery. But man, after all, does not proceed from God, but from the case, from the beast. Justice, I firmly believe, is so subtle a thing that to interpret it one has only need of a heart.

This movement was and is religious in character. It had no intention of waiting on or trusting in the historical means of production. Competition was a base instinct to it as it had always been to the Spanish Catholic Church. It is another of the cutting ironies that this war evinces that the Church, which was to suffer so cruelly from the Anarchist movement (their truly Satanic hatred, the Pope was to say), encouraged the very beliefs which the Anarchists clung to with such moving and impossible devotion. Theory, devotion, passion, and blood seem more often a thing of ethos and character than of political dialectic. This Anarchist movement obviously never followed the ways of Marx, the materialist. Education was one of their keynotes. Groups of Anarchists travelled in the early days of the movement like mendicant friars. Peasants were taught to read in night-schools. They were also often taught to be faithful to their wives, to avoid alcohol and coffee. In two contrasting regions of Spain they were strong and powerful. In Andalusia they would organize the "pueblos" into co-operating self sufficient communes. Pueblo also means People. The middle and upper class could then be thought of as not "people." This seemed a perfectly air-tight inference to the movement. In Catalonia the Anarchists attempted to organize the workers of factories into self-sufficient committees which would then deal on a level of parity with other workers' committees on questions of food, lodging, or even entertainment. They had no faith in prolonged bargaining. They had no strike funds. They believed in brutal, violent action. It is notable that even in 1936 there was not more than one paid official in the whole union. Their hatred and increasing separation from the middle classes often led them to include anyone in their ranks who protested. These would include, obviously, common criminals. When the secret organization, the FAI, was organized in 1927, it meant that there was a secret army of shock troops in a state of perpetual war against the rest of Spain. They seemed to believe every word they read. If they murdered the Archbishop of Saragossa and attempted to assassinate King Alfonso, they were probably, with what they called the propaganda of the deed, applying literally certain words of Bakunin suggesting that the new world would be gained when the last king was strangled in the guts of the last priest. The idea of becoming a "political party" in any sense whatsoever was repugnant to them. They were not common criminals but religious dreamers. They numbered two million in 1936. Barcelona was their headquarters.

**Civil wars should make us cherish whatever grasp we do have on order and to realize what a tenuous hold we have on civilization.**

*The UGT.* This party or union seemed often the type one sees in certain Scandinavian countries. It also has a Fabian side to it. It was centered in Madrid and was always in rivalry with the Barcelona-based Anarchists. It broke with the Bolsheviks in 1920. It was generally respected by the middle classes. Its two leaders were great

rivals. One was Largo Caballero, an ex-plasterer who had been a conscientious and hard-working member of the Madrid City Council and of the Union's board. He learned to read at the age of twenty-four. He even served briefly under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera perhaps because of his morbid fear of the Anarchists. His rival was Indalcio Prieto, who was bald, fat, intelligent and rich. His genuine qualities of mind are perhaps revealed by his following words which he wrote after examining papers left by Jose Antonio in his jail.

> Perhaps in Spain we have not examined with serenity our respective ideologies in order to discover the coincidences which were probably fundamental, and measure the divergences, probably secondary, in order to determine if the latter were worth being aired on the battlefield.

This union, like the Anarchists, was also dedicated to education. From 1908 on they built countless "casa de pueblo," a sort of combined union office, free lending library, and a cafe. A typical small town square would now have in it a church, the barracks of the Civil Guard, the town hall and the Socialists' "casa del pueblo." It must be remembered that in Spain the number of free public libraries, apart from these, never exceeded four or five in the whole nation.

*The POUM.* This was a Troskyite party, important in Catalonia. They believed in permanent revolution abroad and working class collectivism at home. In Spain at the outbreak of the war they outnumbered the Communists. They also hated them. By theory they were also opposed to the Socialists whom they described as "social fascists." Being forced by circumstance to ally themselves with someone, they would for tactical reasons often have dealings with the Anarchists. Their leader, Andres Nin, was imprisoned and later killed by the Communists under ghastly conditions during the war.

*The Communist Party.* The Communist Party in Spain was deemed so unimportant in the twenties that the dictator of that epoch, Jose Antonio's father, did not even take the trouble to ban them officially. Yet their increasing importance up to the outbreak of the war and their enormous influence during the war is not to be attributed to numbers. It must be clearly borne in mind that they were in Spain, by no means, a revolutionary party. As a matter of brute fact, during the war they put an end to revolutionary activity and constantly and with success enforced a policy that there ought not to be a revolution but a defence of a legal government, whatever the metaphysical jargon on identity with the proletariat may have said to the contrary. This will become clearer when we turn to the actual events of the war. In this preliminary stage it will be sufficient to recall that they were a party of perhaps only 3,000 members in 1933.

It is incorrect to think of the Church and the Army as parties, just as we had the same difficulty with the Anarchists. The Army was a perpetual source of power. Throughout the nineteenth century there was one "pronunciamento" after another. General succeeded general in the same sickening pattern which we are so acquainted with in the history of the republics to the south of us. In the decades preceding the Civil War, the Spanish Army had shown few signs of even competence. It is perfectly obvious that it was not a force intended to fight foreign wars but rather to enforce order within the borders. Its defeat in the war with this United States in 1898 lost it much of its prestige. It also suffered defeats of great humiliation in its wars with the Moroccans. However, the very comradeship of defeat gave its officers a common heritage.

The Church in Spain in the 1930's numbered nearly 20,000 monks, 60,000 nuns, and 31,000 priests. There were around 5,000 religious communities of which 1,000 were male and the rest female. It was estimated by Catholics that perhaps two-thirds of the Spaniards at this time were not practicing Catholics. In some villages of the South perhaps one per cent of the men attended mass. As has been already noted, Anarchism, another faith, had in many regions taken the place of church. It must not be forgotten however that Spain once was the greatest empire since Rome. In this period it was the Church that held all together. Its theologians preached an egalitarian relation between the Sons of God on this earth. These doctrines were also economic. I quote from Father Juan de Mariana, writing in 1599.

> It is a duty of humanity for us to open to all men the riches which God gave in common to all, since to all he gave the earth as a patrimony, so that all without distinction might live by its fruits. Only unbridled greed could claim for itself this gift of heaven, appropriating as its own the foods and riches which were intended to be the property of all. . . . God wishes then, and it is laid down by his laws, that now that human nature, corrupted as it is, has proceeded to a partition of common goods, they should not be monopolized by a few, and that a part should always be set aside for the consolidation of the people's infirmities. . . . In a Republic in which some are overstuffed with riches and others lack the very necessities, neither peace nor happiness is possible.

This just and compassionate man of God was in no sense speaking contrary to the thought of the Spanish Church in its great period. This Spanish egalitarianism was spiritual; it detested the bonds of commerce and trade. It resisted the material forces of this world and in certain respects it is a loftier concept of "democracy" than is ours in this country. Their understanding of democracy is impractical, I stress entirely impractical. However, impracticibility does not imply impossibility. This understand-

ing of democracy scorns the use of the word "progress" and finds "technology" uninteresting. One must be careful of the use of the word democracy; this Spanish understanding is not ours, and ours is not the same as People's Democracies. The understanding of the uses of this word is one reason for this lecture.

In 1837 the Liberals in Spain succeeded in confiscating many of the lands of the Church. These liberals were entranced with the new ideas of Europe and wished to introduce the notions of Adam Smith. The result was to sell the lands to profiteers and speculators. Partly as a result of this, the Church began consolidating its money into banks and commercial undertakings. Rome was also interested in keeping at least one nation in Europe free from liberal atheism. Much building went on. "Money is very catholic" became a common saying. Two quotations from the Spanish Church's catechism of 1927 may indicate the character of at least part of the Church. The question "what kind of sin is committed by one who votes for a liberal candidate" was answered by "Generally a mortal sin." The answer to "Is it a sin for a Catholic to read a liberal newspaper" was "He may read the Stock Exchange News." The shooting of priests and the burning of churches was most often done by working class people infuriated by a priest's flagrantly contradicting Christ's teachings on poverty and hypocritically showing himself to be a respecter of well-born persons. The decline of the Church snuffed out not one iota of the uncompromising intensity it had instilled in the souls of its communicants. What the Pope called "satanic hatred" is by the same token a harvest of the faith. In the French Revolution one is struck by the courage and integrity of the priests. Time and time again they would risk their lives to bring the sacraments to the people. In Spain this was sadly lacking. The notable exception to this was in the Basque provinces. Indeed Franco found it necessary to exile or imprison Basque priests for their loyalty to his enemies. Sixteen of them were executed by the Rebels. At the end of the war Franco received a telegram from the new Pope Pius XII saying "Lifting up our heart to God, we give sincere thanks to your Excellency for Spain's Catholic Victory." Despite this, it must be noted that the Vatican did not condemn the Basque priests as heretics, which was Franco's ardent desire that they should.

There remains one other party to talk of, the *Carlists*. Their stronghold was in the Pyrenees' valleys of Navarre. The modern had penetrated not at all to this region. The king they sought was a pretender, not even the king that had been recently deposed. Their ideas on politics were rudimentary. The leader of this party in the Cortes (Count Rodenzo) was once asked who would be Prime Minister if the king returned. "You, or one of these gentlemen," replied the Count, "It is a matter of secretaries." "But what should you do?" "I," said the Count, "I should stay with the King and we should talk about hunting." Their motto was "Dios, Patria, e Rey." However there was nothing fraudulent about their deep religious disavowal of the modern world. Their sincerity is no more to be doubted than that of the Anarchists. They fought with classic Spartan heroism during the war. There would sometimes be three generations of the same family on the front.

One must be careful of the use of the word *democracy;* this Spanish understanding is not ours, and ours is not the same as People's Democracies. The understanding of the uses of this word is one reason for this lecture.

Let us trace as briefly as possible the course of events from 1931 to the outbreak of the war in 1936. There were three sets of elections, 1931, 1933, and 1936. Primo Rivera, the dictator from 1923 to 1930, had been deposed and he was succeeded by a year of tight-rope walking by that giddy but not unintelligent king, Alfonso XIII. Elections were forced upon him for a variety of complex reasons and his followers were defeated despite an enormous amount of dirty work at the polls. His last words publicly to his people were as follows:

> Sunday's elections have shown me that I no longer enjoy the love of my people. I could very easily find means to support my royal prerogatives against all-comers, but I am determined to have nothing to do with setting one of my countrymen against another in a fratricidal civil war. Thus, until the nation speaks, I shall delib-

erately suspend the use of my Royal Prerogatives.

The import of this message is somewhat puzzling though undoubtedly serious.

This new Republic was in part the creation of the generation of '98. Many of them were men of deep seriousness and intelligence. They often made speeches and then accused men and Fate because what they said had little effect. The elections were won simply through a defect and disruption of all of the old powers of Church, Army, and Civil Service. All of the conservative forces would have accepted it if it had changed nothing except the form of the government, in other words if it did nothing. This was impossible. Things were too badly disrupted. It must be remembered also that the Anarchists by theory resisted government. The people themselves, in all of the deep misery of their poverty, rightfully expected something from an election in which they had put a government in power. This "government" as constituted was not socialist. Both Caballero and Prieto were ministers but they were satisfied for the time being with reforms to be accomplished by the process of law. No program of agrarian reform was instituted immediately. Instead the government turned immediately to the obsession of the Liberals, the separation of Church and State. This action only alienated sections of the country and avoided the deep and glaring questions of the peasants and the land. Soon there were outbreaks all over the face of the country. At the same time the Anarchists burned some churches. The government naturally called on the Guardia and the Army. There were some minor massacres and much blood. Part of the pre-election agreements had included provisions for granting Catalonia virtual autonomy. This exasperated every centralist who wanted Spain to be one. With an incredible indifference to what was appropriate, they introduced drastic reforms into the Army and the Civil Service. They retired many generals at full pay, giving them adequate means and time to plot against the regime.

New elections were called for in 1933 and they swung the government in the other direction. The CEDA, which I previously talked of, now comes to the fore. They won a sweeping victory at the polls. They won because the workers and the peasants were disgusted that nothing or not enough had been accomplished by the previous government. Ladies had the vote because of the reforms of the previous government and mostly voted as their confessors instructed them. The separation of Church and State was repealed. The Army was increased. Any agrarian measures already passed were castrated. In early October of 1934 a kind of revolution was declared. The UGT called for a general strike in Madrid. The Anarchists, their enemies, did not participate. The government put it down and the socialist leaders were in prison by nightfall. In Barcelona the opportunity was taken to proclaim a more independent Catalonia. The Anarchists held themselves aloof here also. This was also put down by the government. In the mining region of the Asturias, however, the rising had enormous temporary success. It was carefully prepared by tough-minded and well-organized miners. There were arms and dynamite and committees. Timidity gave way suddenly to violence, traversing no middle ground. Workers' soviets were organized. It was a heroic moment for the working class. The amount of co-operation surprised everyone and even caused the Anarchists to stop and consider untheoretically for once the possible uses of organization. Anarchists, Socialists, and Troskyites got together under the slogan of UHP (Union de Hermanos Proletarios.) (Union of Working Class Brothers.) Even the Communists were involved through you may recall their number was very small. A bishop's palace was burned and several priests shot. There was enormous public excitement and enthusiasm. The government took severe measures. Generals Goded and Francisco Franco were made chiefs of staff. These two generals asked for the African Foreign Legion and certain Moorish troops. They were immediately successful. After fifteen days it was all up. One of the conditions of the surrender was that the Moors and the Foreign Legion be withdrawn. They were not, and behaved as if they were a conquering army living off suffering. One thousand three hundred thirty died and 30,000 were wounded on the civilian side. There were few casualties on the side of the Moors and the Legion. Indignities and bestial tortures were common. It may also be interesting to recall that the Asturias was the only section of Spain never to have been conquered by the Moors when they overran the Peninsula in the seventh and eighth centuries.

It was at this time that Caballero in prison began reading Marx. He began to envisage himself as a Spanish Lenin. He was almost seventy, a man up till then noted for his caution and respect for legitimate reform. Prieto, the other leading Socialist, had fled to France, having disapproved of the rising against the government. After the Asturias revolt, civil war seemed inevitable to many. To have prevented it would have called for genius and energy which rarely, if ever, can be found.

A great public scandal involving a new type of roulette wheel called the "straperlo" now erupted. Vast profits had been promised to government ministers. The American Ambassador in Madrid at that time reports that at a certain moment in a debate at the Cortes, Jose Antonio leaned over a balcony, aflame with mischief and youthful disgust with corruption and yelled "viva Straperlo." You might imagine this better if you were to conceive of a long and exhausting session of the Maryland Legislature being interrupted by one of its youthful members crying, "Hurrah for Slot-Machines," and if in addition the young man was the head of youthful and increasingly violent groups of street gangs.

The government fell. It was the twenty-sixth govern-

ment crisis since 1931. Seventy-two ministers had served in one or other of the cabinets. The feeling towards democracy was perhaps something like that of the French in 1958 after fifteen years of the Fourth French Republic. In February 1936 new elections were held. The "Frente Popular" won. This Popular Front was an alliance between liberal Republicans and Socialists, Anarchists, and Communists. It was clearly understood that all groups would be free again once the election was over. Part of the victory may be attributed to the Anarchists giving up part of their dogma. Up to now they had by theory abstained from participation in elections. The Asturias revolt had taught them the value of co-operation. With the possibility of power in their nostrils, practicality entered to some degree. The Communists were behind the Popular Front also. They had previously, in defiance of principles, co-operated with the Anarchists, next with the Socialists, and now even with the Republican liberals. The previous August in Moscow, Dimitrov, a Bulgarian who was general secretary of the Comintern, defined the aims of world communism in the face of the threat posed by Hitler to the Soviet Union. I quote:

> The formation of a joint People's Front providing for joint action with the Social Democratic parties is a necessity. Cannot we endeavor to unite the Communist, Social Democratic, Catholic, and other workers. Comrades, you will remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. The attacking army was unable to achieve victory until, with the aid of the Trojan Horse, it penetrated to the very heart of the enemy camp. We, revolutionary workers, should not be shy of using the same tactics.

This was a policy which gave a cheap Machiavellian thrill to many persons at that time and now. One could have one's cake and also be clever. In Spain, however, the Communists were still too insignificant for their actions to be important. The Spanish Popular Front would have won easily without them.

The new government was formed again of liberals. The working class parties began immediately to fight among themselves. Caballero, intoxicated perhaps by Communist flattery, talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat. His rival in the party, Prieto, was in violent opposition. Peasants in many parts of the country began expropriating the land of absentee landlords and dividing it up amongst themselves. Generals began to get together and plot, especially Generals Mola and Franco. Franco was sent to the Canary Islands as governor. The older party of the right, the CEDA, seemed increasingly powerless and Calvo Sotelo, a handsome and ruthless Monarchist, emerged as a polarizing leader. Four months after the election there seem to have been 160 churches burnt and 269 political murders; sixty-nine political centers had been wrecked. There had been 113 general strikes and ten newspaper offices had been sacked. All kinds of groups were out drilling on Sundays. The Falange, which seemed to have been an enthusiastic group of upper class boys under the guidance of a handsome fellow who liked poetry and political theory, became increasingly violent.

It was outlawed by the government and some of its leaders imprisoned. The generals had already begun a flirtation with the Falange. It seemed the part of expedience to have some party dedicated to violence with which to meet the increasing violence of the Left. The older members of the Falange did not like the alliance. Were not the Army and the Church and the old forces of sterility the very forces which the new unified and strong Spain should abhor? Again chances for action easily overpowered both ideas and ideals, or at least left them smouldering under the surface. Jose Antonio wrote a letter to a general quoting as usual from a book, this time Spengler: "After all, in the last resort, it has always been a platoon of soldiers who have saved civilization."

The Republic failed because it could not from both ineptitude and inability and principle compromise or walk a middle ground between Right and Left. The President of the Republic, Azana, an austere and eloquent man who in other times and places would have been a writer, from the reaches of the Presidential palace reflected that the Spanish working classes were "raw material for an artist." To one journalist he remarked that the Cortes was one big cafe. To another journalist he remarked: "Sol y sombre. Light and shade; That is Spain."

What the Pope called "satanic hatred" is by the same token a harvest of the faith.

It is to be noted that seats in Spanish bull rings are named either Sol or Sombra, according to whether they are shaded on not.

On July 13, Calvo Sotelo, the Monarchist leader, was shot by members of the official troops of the government in reprisal for the shooting of one of their members by the Falangists. It, with reason, seemed to the right, and perhaps not only to the right, that the government could not control even its own agents. On the 17th of July the generals began their rising and the civil war began.

There was a big surprise in store for the generals. The workers, small people and peasants who may have quarrelled among themselves when their government was unchallenged, rose in fury when it was challenged. What the Socialists and the Anarchists by themselves could not achieve, was accomplished in one day by the revolt of the generals.

North Africa was immediately under the control of the Rebels and Franco flew in from the Canary Islands to take charge there. In Spain itself General Mola had immediate success in a much smaller area than envisaged—roughly Burgos, Salamanca, Navarre, and Saragossa. Seville was taken with great bloodshed by a bragadoccio of a general, Queipo di Llano. The Basque provinces remained loyal and found themselves an island surrounded by rebel territory. Andalusia was plunged overnight into the most violent of revolution, as was Catalonia. The revolt failed completely in the greatest cities of Spain—Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao.

Neither side really had either proper equipment, material, or soldiers to fight a long war. Both sides immediately sought for help from abroad. Franco and Mola had at least the Foreign Legion, Moorish troops, about two-thirds of the Guardia Civil and a good part of the regular army. The Moors and the Legion were, however, for a while, the only effective troops. The government had some of the regular troops. It was forced by the people in the first days of the revolt to give arms to the Anarchists and the Socialists. It was loath to do so and its delay was nearly fatal. The government had in its hands the only two industrial centers of importance, Bilbao and Barcelona. It had also the gold reserve of the Bank of Spain which, interestingly enough, was the sixth largest reserve in the world. Much or all of this later went to Soviet Russia as payment for arms. The government had practically no reserves of arms. The equipment was dangerously antiquated. There were few trained technicians on either side. The air force on both sides was in a parlous state.

The chapter of this war on how much and under what conditions foreign aid was received on both sides is of fantastic complexity. Let it suffice to say at this point that Franco almost immediately received aircraft and equipment and pilots from both Hitler and Mussolini. He was able to transport across the straits from Africa the only crack troops existing. It must also be noted that from the beginning of the revolt until the end of the war he was given unlimited credit by the Texas Oil Company.

The head of the Popular Front government in France, Leon Blum, was immediately in sympathy with the government and wished to send airplanes and material in abundance. Members of this government were opposed to any embroilment and the English, France's most reliable ally, were in general opposed. The English were involved in a delicate dance with both Hitler and Mussolini which culminated in Munich. A diplomatic minuet, entitled a Non-Intervention Pact, was set up by all interested parties. This group of diplomats continued to meet throughout the war. In practice what happened was that both Italy and Germany shipped increasing amounts of aid and men to Spain and blatantly ignored or effectively reduced to talk any non-intervention on their own part. Russia was in a tight bind, and was a member of the Pact. Allied to France, on the one hand, out of fear of Hitler, and with the spectacle of a genuine revolution on the other, she finally began to ship increasing amounts of war material to Spain. The Russians instructed their agents to carefully curb the revolution and to make every effort to preserve parliamentary democracy. The Russians then could claim to be the only foreign government which aided Spanish democracy. Stalin probably calculated that to send enough to win the war would have embroiled him in a general war with Germany and Italy, and the Germans and the Italians probably felt the same. It is in a way the spectacle of neither Russia on the one hand nor the Germans and the Italians on the other really wanting their side to win. They did want to prevent their protegees from losing, however. "Yes, my darling daughter, hang your clothes on a hickory limb, but don't go near the water." After Munich, however, this changed. Germany found it could get away, quite literally, with murder, and Russia moved towards an alliance with Hitler. The policy of talk, talk, talk, on the part of England and France proved nearly disastrous for them; especially as the opponents were doing more than talking. This situtation was reflected internally in the political sketch I gave of Spain in the years preceding the war—namely the liberal parliamentarians of the Spanish Parliament could neither muster the strength nor effectively promulgate any program which would curb the rising tides of violence.

The first great action in the war was Franco's march north and east to the gates of Madrid. The northern troops under the command of Mola struck south down through the heights of the Guadaramma where they were stopped. By September 3 Franco had taken the last town of any consequence before Madrid. Rather than describing in detail many battles, it is now of interest to see as closely as can be seen from the most dispassionate eyewitnesses to these events, what the war and revolution was like in towns and countryside on both sides.

Let us begin in Barcelona and Catalonia. The An-

archists took over effective control almost immediately. While the government of Catalonia remained, effective control was taken by the people directly. Almost every church was burnt. One eye witness reports that this was done sometimes in an almost pious way. It was a duty to be fulfilled and a fire engine was waiting circumspectly at the scene to prevent the fire spreading to neighboring buildings. All owners of factories were either killed or fled. Hotels, banks, stores, street-car lines were all requisitioned or closed. Managing committees of former workers or technicians were in charge. No one in the streets wore a necktie, and Spain is generally in its large cities almost offensively elegant and dandy-ish. Orwell speaks of barber shops with signs solemnly announcing that barbers are not slaves. Prostitutes were urged by large colored posters to stop being prostitutes. The CNT ordered all of its workers to work. The middle classes were amazed at the sense of responsibility. It certainly was the only time in history that Anarchists controlled a great city. The party had radio stations, newspapers, and endless periodicals. Certain of the Anarchists saw this as a decay—their leaders were sullying the purity of the movement by becoming interested in power.

By the following March everyone who visited the city noted an immense change. It was a city of terror. The Anarchists were losing control. The POUM was being persecuted, a civil war within a civil war was raging. On the streets the people again wore elegant suits and neckties and the prisons were full, not of prisoners from the front, but of political prisoners. The Communist party was assuming more and more power.

In the countryside of Catalonia the Anarchists took over as they had in Barcelona. They wanted to organize the land in common, to try to abolish the use of money (an unclean thing), and to procure the objects needed from the outside world by direct exchange with the trade unions of the city. However, there was in theory no central control and the regular Catalan government was not prepared to initiate such a policy, and certainly not the increasingly powerful Communist party. Every village had its own committees, however, and guarded fiercely its newly won liberties. Generally the priest and his strongest adherents, the lawyer and his son, the squire and the richest peasants, stood a good chance of being shot. Women and children were almost never shot and a husband's guilt was never imputed to his wife. One village abolished the greeting "A Dios" because, as they said, "there is no more God in Heaven."

A story of this time which proves no political point except perhaps the fundamental one is that of a young girl who after the burning of her convent had to find a more suitable garb than a nun's habit. She found a dress covered with sparkling sequins which fitted her. On arriving back at her village, many miles from the city, she was stoned to death by the villagers as her dress obviously seemed to be that of a prostitute.

The revolution in Andalusia was, if anything, even more brutal and extreme. The rebel armies were in several of the large cities. A kind of urgency for blood was evidenced. The villages were isolated from one another. The lines of the two sides were irregular. In some villages the puritanism of the Anarchist movement had such effect as to not only abolish money, but went so far as to close the village bar and to prohibit tobacco. Franz Borkenau upon visiting such a village comments that their hatred of the upper class was far less economic than moral. "They did not want to get the good living of those they had expropriated, but to get rid of their luxuries, which seemed to them so many vices."

However, here as in many other parts of Spain, the gap between ideals and reality was enormous. The putting into effect of one's good intentions had sometimes nothing to do with the satisfaction felt in merely having such intentions. It must also be said that often the schemes worked remarkably well. Peasants would voluntarily cooperate and raise more food than ever raised. Many factories in Barcelona improved production. This is by no means to be explained away by the euphoria of the first months of the war. Something seemed to well up which was native to the customs and instincts of the people.

Madrid looked differently than Barcelona. It seemed on the surface an ordinary city in time of war. It was rebellious rather than revolutionary. It must be remembered that Madrid is the center of the Socialist party, which had long habits of working legally and with a central committee. There was perhaps more hidden terror and accusations and counter-accusations than in Barcelona where the enemies had at first been so quickly and ruthlessly dealt with. There were no beggars on the streets of Barcelona whereas Madrid was full still of both beggars and

In order to persuade, you would need what you lack: Reason and Right in the struggle.

rich. The militia was much better organized here and the Communists had already formed their famous and courageous Fifth Regiment.

Another aspect evidenced particularly on the Republican side, might be called an absence of pathological excitement. There seemed to be no great upheavals in the sex life of the country, such as is often noted in other wars. Women, for example, for almost the first time in Spain, participated on the Republican side in all kinds of activities, even as far as fighting with the militia. They were almost universally respected. There was a lack of any psychological crisis. This is perhaps another of the things which cause us to pause and reflect on the nature of this civil war. Whether we phrase this in the classic terms of "idion" and "koinon," the individual and the common thing in politics, or in terms of psychological adaptation, we are merely looking at two aspects of the same and perpetual problem of man as social. Despite the fact of a dreadful and bloody civil war and centuries of unbelievable mis-government and insult, dignity was not destroyed, nor was poise of individuals. Ethics remained. Courage, honour, and a resurgent honesty were not blotted out.

Those who find in these words merely excess, or merely propaganda, or who can with obvious facility destroy the meaning with logic, can never hope to understand politics.

The character of the rebellious half of Spain, henceforth to be known as Nationalist Spain, was completely military. The lowest of corporals had things easier. Martial law took over the complete administration of justice. Everyone was investigated, especially administrative and judicial officers. They had, obviously, to be completely pliant to the will of the military. One heard such taunts constantly as "Those who don't wear uniforms should wear skirts." Only two movements or parties were allowed, the Falangists and the Carlists. All members of Popular Front parties, all members of Masonic lodges, all members of trade unions, and even in many regions all who had voted for the Popular Front, were arrested and many of these shot. A strike was punishable by death. The number of executions was enormous, though it seemed to vary somewhat according to the desires of the local commanders. Certainly every provincial governor or official, if appointed by the Popular Front, was executed. Atrocities were much more common than on the other side. Wives and daughters of offenders were sometimes raped or had their heads shaved. Bodies were often left exposed for days to the public gaze. The working class had to be terrorized before any general could creep into bed at night and sleep with any sense of security. The Church insisted merely that those killed should be allowed to confess. One priest on Majorca said "Only ten per cent of these dear children refused the last sacrament before being despatched by our good officers." Occasionally a more kind-hearted official would arrange to have a good supply of wine on hand so that those about to die might drown their despair in drunkenness. Often prisoners dug their own graves before being shot in them. It is certain that General Franco gave orders that no appeals for mercy were to reach him until after the execution of the sentence. General Mola, after a while, declared himself inconvenienced by the bodies on the roadside and the executions then occurred more discreetly.

The Falange seemed not so given to such works, but rather they were the doings of the generals or of the old parties of the right. It must not be thought that the Falange was in power, however, despite the fact that everyone for a variety of reasons clamored to join its ranks. Willy Messerschmidt, a German aircraft manufacturer visiting Spain in August, commented that the Falange seemed to have no particular aims or ideas. "They seemed merely young people for whom it is good sport to play with firearms and round up Communists and Socialists."

The cities in Nationalist Spain were strangely silent. Posters of the Falange covered whole sides of buildings saying "The Falange calls you, now or never. There is no middle course. With us or against us." The Carlists had also large posters which announced: "Our Flag is the only True Flag. The Flag of Spain, always the same." As a matter of fact it was a big issue as to whether the flag should be that of the Monarchy or that of the Republic. The Falange became increasingly Catholic. It become obligatory for the regular Falangist to attend mass, confess, and take Communion. The propagandized ideal became for men, half-monk, half-warrior, and for ladies a

kind of combination of Saint Teresa and Isabella, the Catholic Queen. This was a marked change from the earlier character of the Falange. Only one bishop, the Bishop of Vitoria, showed any reluctance in supporting the movement. Some priests actually fought and the chief of Nationalist propaganda was the fanatical Fr. Ysurdiaga.

It should not be forgotten that the Inquisition had only been abolished in Spain in 1837, and that it was one of the aims of the Carlists to restore it. Their periodicals had described it as: "That most august tribunal, brought down by angels from heaven to earth." It is also to be noted that Franco would often give propaganda-like positions to Falangists so that they might feel the image of power without having any. Carlism looked only to the past. It wanted neither glory and certainly not prosperity. They promised only "order" and respect for "hierarchies." The Falangists, on the other hand, as we have seen from Jose Antonio's speeches, were exuberant and drunk on future glory. Supreme order in the past or supreme order in the future and reality and present fact, namely General Franco, very much in the present. We have then a civil war within a civil war also on the right. Obviously reality won this war. Franco finally formed a party with the jaw-breaking title of the "Falange Espanola Tradicionalista Y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista." The title included both the Falange, the Carlists, the old JONS. It satisfied no one while paying lip-service to all. Jose Antonio's teachings, such as they were, were gradually sluffed off and he was made into the Saint, the martyred saint of the Nation. This young man's bones were taken, after the war, from a common graveyard in Alicante where he had been shot, and after a torchlight procession of three hundred miles they were interred in the Escorial, the austere palace of Philip the Second and the tomb of the Spanish kings. His body, his photographs, and his memory became official symbols. An earnest, strong, and even honest man, Hedilla, was the last independent leader of the Falange. He showed resistance to Franco. After some months of sordid intrigue which can interest only those with debased Machiavellian tendencies, Hedilla was removed from office and Franco was proclaimed "jefe" or chief of the party. Hedilla was placed in solitary confinement in the Canary Islands and had no one to talk to except his Jesuit confessor. It was hoped he might rot to death. His wife went insane during this period and ended her days in an asylum. Hedilla resisted. He was a strong man, and in 1941 he was moved to comfortable quarters.

Most of the most prominent intellectuals of pre-war Spain were on the Republican side. They were mostly of the famous "Generation of '98" and had assisted at a revival, and a genuine revival, of thought and integrity in Spain. They signed a manifesto supporting the Republic. The violence of the early days and the increasing influence of Communists caused many of them to flee the country. They had all had much to do with the foundations of the Republic in 1931. Unamuno, the most noted Spanish philosopher, stayed on the Rebel side in what he called "its struggle for civilization against tyranny." He was the author of a book which some of you may know called *The Tragic Sense of Life*. I shall quote from the opening of this book. He says he is interested in:

> The man of flesh and bone—the man who is born, suffers and dies, the brother. There is another thing which is called man and he is the subject of not a few elucubrations more or less scientific. He is the legendary featherless biped, the Zoon politikon of Aristotle, the social-contracter of Rousseau, the economic man of the Manchester economist, the homo sapiens of Linnaeus, or if you like, the vertical mammal. A man, in brief, who is only an idea. That is to say, a no-man. The man we have to do with is the man of flesh and bone—I, you, the reader, all of us who walk solidly on the earth. And this concrete man is the supreme object of all philosophy. Man should be better defined as an affective or feeling animal. It fits better than to call him a rational animal. More often have I seen a cat reason than laugh or weep.

Man has immortal longings and finds them real; they are the necessities of the heart and the will. His book ends with the words "And may God deny you peace, but give you glory." He tries to solve the problem which cannot be solved—man's agonized desire to be assured of personal immortality. There is no such assurance, but out of the agony comes the energy of our soul.

By October Unamuno had changed his mind. On October 12 there was a great ceremony held in the hall of the University of Salamanca. In the chair was Unamuno, in his position as rector of the University. Also present was the provincial governor, Mrs. Franco, the Bishop of Salamanca, and Milan Astray, a much-wounded, violent and somewhat pathological man who was head of the Foreign Legion. He led off the proceedings with a violent attack on Catalonia and the Basque provinces, calling them "cancers in the body of the nation. Fascism, which is Spain's health-giver, will know how to exterminate both, cutting into the live healthy flesh like a resolute surgeon free from false sentimentality." Someone at the back of the hall piped up with "Viva la Muerte" or "hurrah for death," which was General Astray's motto. Then there followed the usual clenched fists and cries of Spain—One. Certain people saluted the sepia portrait of Franco which hung behind the podium. Unamuno rose and spoke as follows. I quote:

> All of you are hanging on my words. You all know me and are aware that I am unable to remain silent. At times to be silent is to lie. For silence can be interpreted as acquiescence. I want

> to comment on the speech—to give it that name—of General Milan Astray, who is here among us. Let us waive the personal affront implied in the sudden burst of vituperation against the Basques and the Catalans. I was myself, of course, born in Bilbao. The Bishop [and Unamuno here pointed to the quaking prelate at his side], whether he likes it or not is a Catalan from Barcelona.

Obviously there was a silence as of the tomb. No one had raised his voice in such a manner in Nationalist Spain. He went on:

> Just now I heard a necrophilous and senseless cry: "Long Live Death." And I, who have spent my life shaping paradoxes which must have aroused the uncomprehending anger of others, I must tell you, as an expert authority, that this outlandish paradox is repellent to me. General Milan Astray is a cripple. Let it be said without any slighting undertone. He is a war invalid. So was Cervantes. Unfortunately there are all too many cripples in Spain just now. And soon there will be even more of them if God does not come to our aid. It pains me to think that General Milan Astray should dictate the pattern of mass psychology. A cripple who lacks the spiritual greatness of a Cervantes is wont to seek ominous relief causing mutilation around him.

General Astray could not hold himself back at this point and shouted out another of his slogans "Abajo la Inteligencia" [Down with Intelligence]. Much public support and hand-clapping in the audience. Unamuno went on.

> This is the temple of the intellect. And I am its high priest. It is you who profane its sacred precincts. You will win, because you have more than enough brute force. But you will not convince. For to convince you need to persuade. And in order to persuade, you would need what you lack: Reason and Right in the struggle. I consider it futile to exhort you to think of Spain. I have done.

This was his last lecture. The professor of Canon Law had the courage to go out arm in arm with his rector, and interestingly on the other arm was Mrs. Franco. He remained under house arrest until his death of a broken heart on the last day of 1936.

With Franco's armies at the gates of Madrid, the Republic seemed doomed. The early revolutionary success and the heroic work of people's militias was not sufficient to fight the Rebels who were being increasingly armed by Hitler and Mussolini. A revolutionary movement had fought well as guerillas (a Spanish word, you may note). Their greatest mistake was in not consolidating the revolution in the country. If the peasants had been assured of any real policy of land tenure or as was necessary given the nature of the land, effective collectivization, the revolution would have been clinched and Franco would have had the solid resistance, the continued resistance of the villages. This program was fudged. The socialists still disliked the anarchists, the liberals were afraid, and even one realized that the only nations they could hope to gain aid from, would be frightened by the prospect. As it was, given the farce of the non-intervention pact, only Soviet Russia helped and it was by no means a revolutionary country any longer. Help they did, however, and the whole world was galvanized by the defence of Madrid.

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In the end the mask of reality and the present fact of power conquered.

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Franco had already made up his lists of those to be shot and had trucks of food ready to feed the civilian population. The Radio in Lisbon had already broadcast a description of Franco's entrance into Madrid on a white horse. In such a crisis the working class leaders entered the government with no surprise on anyone's part. Even the Anarchist, Garcia Oliver, whose speech I read to you earlier. The Anarchists' paper spoke of it as "the most transcendental day in the political history of the country." A wise Anarchist father, whose daughter had assumed the portfolio of Minister of Health, told his daughter that this meant the liquidation of Anarchism. "Once in power you will not rid yourselves of power." The government itself, under the leadership of Caballero, decided it would be safer in Valencia, which indeed it was and the Communists remained, confident, resourceful and courageous. That extraordinary woman known as La Passionaria broadcast daily on the radio.

A fantastic battle ensued. On the rebel side was a well

equipped modern army of only about 20,000 troops, mainly Moors, and the Foreign Legion. They were backed by German and Italian tanks and aircraft. On the other side was the populace of Madrid. It must not be said that the battle was gained by the entrance of the International Brigades. It would have been lost without them and they fought with the greatest of heroism. But it was the victory of the people of Madrid. A Republican deputy on the night of November 8, proclaimed on Madrid Radio:

> Here in Madrid is the universal frontier that separates Liberty and Slavery. It is here in Madrid that two incompatible civilizations undertake their great struggle: love against hate, peace against war, the fraternity of Christ against the tyranny of the Church—this is Madrid. It is fighting for Spain, for Humanity, for Justice, and, with the mantle of its blood, it shelters all human beings. Madrid, Madrid.

Those who find in these words merely excess, or merely propaganda, or who can with obvious facility destroy the meaning with logic, can never hope to understand politics. It might be further said that they are not worthy of understanding such affairs which deal with life and with death.

A fierce battle was waged within the University City, a group of new buildings which had been one of the prides of King Alfonso. There were fights with no quarter given. Often one found the International Brigades, with all their babel of tongues, fighting in these halls the Foreign Legion, the slogan of whose founder was "Down With Intelligence." (Durutti, the fanatical leader of the Anarchists in Catalonia in the early days, was killed near the University City. He had preached a new doctrine in the last months of "the discipline of indiscipline"—in other words, participation in government. It is sometimes thought that he may have been killed by one of the "uncontrollables" who wished to retain the pure faith of anarchism.) Franco said that he would rather destroy the city than leave it to the "Marxists" and the German Condor Legion of aviators was anxious to study the reaction of civilian populations to carefully planned bombings. They concentrated, as far as possible, on hospitals and telephone headquarters. Such calculations often have different effects than those planned for. The bombardments increased the will to resistance, as was sometimes to be noted during the Second World War on both sides of the fence. The battle eventually stalemated and the fierce fighting was limited often to bloody attempts to regain roads leading into Madrid. The rest of the enormous front had much the character that Orwell describes in Catalonia and Aragon. There would be knots of dirty, shivering men gathered around flags on a hillside. Across the valley would be another such group. Stray bullets would occasionally whistle back and forth.

In the spring of 1937 the process of revolution was everywhere being slowed down by Caballero's government. The local committees of political movements in the villages were being replaced by regular municipal councils. Nationalization of foreign firms was stopped completely and the other factories were being harassed which were still under workers committees. The Communists became the heart and soul of the resistance to Franco. It must be granted to them the organization of a skillful army and more effective centralization. The war could not have been fought without them and no other nation helped. They demanded the suppression of many parties and Caballero could resist only to a point. The POUM or Troskyites were thrown to the lions and their leader Nin was assassinated in prison. It must be remembered that in the Soviet Union at this time the most far-reaching bureaucratic purges were being carried on. The Communists were entirely totalitarian in spirit—their appetite for power was insatiable and they were unscrupulous. One writer compares their actions to that of the Jesuit missionaries in China during the seventeenth century, who, the better to convert the Chinese, suppressed the story of the Crucifixion. There were no ideals in their program and everything was to be leveled to a dead level of obedience and devotion. The country was flooded with secret police and the vitality and splendour of the two great parties, the Anarchists and the Socialists, was drained away. (There was obviously a foreign Pope also, if one wishes to keep up the analogy with the Jesuits.) Despite all of this one must note that the government was moving towards a somewhat better Spain. There were 60,000 teachers in Republican Spain as opposed to 37,000 in all of Spain in 1931. Industries connected with the war had increased production by thirty to fifty per cent. Tenant farmers and landless laborers disappeared. Typhoid, diptheria and smallpox inoculations were made compulsory. This was all done in the midst of a war.

The great battle of Gualalajara took place in March. It was an attempt by the Rebels to encircle Madrid. They lost, though in many ways the battle was a stalemate. The Italian troops suffered a particularly ignominious defeat and Mussolini was angry. The Republicans thought that the blatant and obvious use of whole army corps under foreign direction would have some effect on the famous non-intervention committee. It did not.

The rest of the conflict is long, sad, dreary, and noble. Towards the end the Russians began to withdraw their help. It became clear that Stalin would eventually send no more help and the Communists' influence began to wain. Caballero was replaced by Juan Negrin, a man of enormous appetites and abilities. The foreign powers sent him no help, while the Germans in the last year of the war sent increasing material to Franco. The Basques fell in 1937. The Republic still mounted offensives of surprising gallantry and strength. The Republic was cut in two on the Aragon front, however, and after that Barcelona, that

great and pulsing revolutionary city, was taken. Hundreds of thousands of refugees fled to the borders of France knowing they could expect no quarter from the Rebels. Their situation in France was lamentable. Madrid fell inevitably not long after amid scenes of enormous confusion. Finally it was some generals on the Republican side who surrendered.

Franco telegraphed to Neville Chamberlain on February 22, 1939, assuring him that his patriotism, his honour as a gentleman, and his generosity were the finest guarantees of a just peace. He later said that reprisals were alien to the Nationalist movement. Britain soon afforded him recognition, as did France which quickly sent General Petain as its ambassador.

If we turn back briefly to our original list of parties and movements we can now sum up various things. On the side of the left the great workers parties, the Socialists and the Anarchists, took over the reigns of power and effected a revolution. They could never agree and the Communists became the only efficient, organizing group. Towards the end, a moderate man, Negrin, took over the reins and of necessity worked with the Communists. The liberal and enlightened men of the Republic seemed unable to do anything, though Azana remained as president to the end. Efficiency was needed and it was bought at the expense of the revolution, which if carried out in any degree as far as land rights and collectivization might have strengthened the Republic. On the other side the various parties were all reduced to impotence and at the end there was only a bureaucracy of greatest corruption and inefficiency but guided by a shrewd man. Neither the old orders of the Carlists nor the new orders of the Fascists were given any more than lip-service. Throughout the war on both sides every visitor noted a hatred of foreign ideas. Both the Anarchists and the Church spoke the language of Faith. The Anarchists spoke of it as a living force of humanity and the Church spoke of it in the dead language of convention. The sincerity exhibited and the passionate blood spilt were done so by all in the name of Spain. Soon many people sacrificed reality to an idea—but the idea seemed to them part of their blood. In the end the mask of reality and the present fact of power conquered. The Communists perhaps understood too well that the revolution had nothing to do with progress or materialistic theory. The Falange never could institute itself on the basis of modern totalitarian progress. Such ideas were rejected as anathema and heresy. There were civil wars within the civil war on both sides as a result. The country wished to be what it was and is, anti-technical, anti-progress and the evils of progress. It wished to retain honour, individuality, and community in its essential meaning.

I shall quote from a speech given by President Azana at the height of the war.

> When the torch passes to other hands, to other men, to other generations, let them remember, if ever they feel their blood boil and the Spanish temper is once more infuriated with intolerance, hatred, and destruction, let them think of the dead, and listen to their lesson: the lesson of those who have bravely fallen in battle, generously fighting for a great ideal, and who now, protected by their maternal soil, feel no hate or rancor, and who send us, with the sparkling of their light, tranquil and remote as a star, the message of the eternal Fatherland which says to all its sons: Peace, Pity, and Pardon.

If Franco had made any kind of wise and merciful use of his victory a war-weary country would well have been behind him. He did not. His entry into Madrid was the signal for what can only be called a stupendous proscription. At least a million men and women were herded into prison and thousands were executed. The population lived for years on the verge of starvation. Spain was forgotten in the bloody years of the greater conflict of the general European war. This foxy and unattractive little man played his cards well and still remains as ruler of Spain. He is building himself one of the biggest and most durable tombs of modern times, carving it at immense expense out of the living rock. It, if nothing else, may remain as a memorial to him, as he seems to have had the fortune to live until the age of eighty, unloved, inglorious, and shrewd. No one in Spain gained from this revolution and civil war, not the Church, not the people, not the middle class, and certainly not the Falange, which is still kept up as a kind of ideological front, to be used as a scapegoat or a shield whenever the Church or the Traditionalists make some abortive movements towards action. One wonders if at his death, his great new tomb prepared, Franco will have the greatness of Philip the Second, one of his illustrious predecessors in the rule of Spain. Philip's tomb was his own palace, the grey and dreadful Escorial. Towards the end he would be brought down on his cot each day to gaze at the high altar. He had all the crimes of an enormous empire on his head and was ulcerous and swollen, rotting with gangrene. Few seemed able to stand the stench. "I had meant to spare you this scene," he said after partaking of the sacrament, "but I wish you to see how the monarchies of the earth end."

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*Douglas Allanbrook*, a Tutor at St. John's since 1962, recently performed his own works, "Five Studies in Black and White," at a harpsichord concert in Annapolis. A graduate of Harvard College in 1948, he was a Fulbright Fellow and a Traveling Fellow of Harvard University. From 1955 to 1957 he taught composition and theory at the Peabody Conservatory of Music. In 1971 he received an Addison E. Mullikin Tutorship. He recently was elected to the Corporation of Yaddo, an artists-writers colony, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., and has been serving as a member of the advisory board of the Maryland Arts Council.

# NEWS ON THE CAMPUSES

## John Gaw Meem Named "Honorary Fellow"

St. John's College and the citizens of New Mexico paid special tribute in February to John Gaw Meem, a member of the Board of Visitors and Governors. The veteran architect was a Santa Fe leader in the local effort to persuade St. John's to establish its western campus there, and he and his wife donated 225 acres for the campus in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains.

The round of salutes began Friday, February 18th, at the Board meeting in Santa Fe, when President Weigle announced that the Faculty and Board had voted to appoint Meem an Honorary Fellow. Only three other persons have received this honor from the College—Mark Van Doren, Paul Mellon, and Richard F. Cleveland.

Governor Bruce King proclaimed Sunday, February 20th, as "John Gaw Meem Day" in the state in appreciation for his successful efforts to conserve and promote New Mexico's unique Spanish-Pueblo style of architecture during the past 50 years.

A public reception was held that Sunday to honor Mr. and Mrs. Meem and to open the College's exhibition of "A Selection of Churches and Public Buildings by John Gaw Meem, Architect." Hundreds of his friends came to express their affection and respect and to see the display of photographs and drawings. At the reception, the Governor's proclamation was presented to Mr. Meem by Mrs. Louise Trigg McKinney, a member of the St. John's Board and also chairman of the New Mexico Commission on the Arts. Finally, the minister and parish council of the Cristo Rey Catholic Church gave him a certificate of appreciation for his designing of their monumental adobe edifice. They also delighted the life-long Episcopalian by naming him a "perpetual honorary member" of the parish.

The citation appointing Mr. Meem as an Honorary Fellow of St. John's cited "his understanding of and his devotion to the liberal arts, his commitment to the active participation in the program of liberal education at St. John's College, and his personal achievement and special distinction in his chosen profession of architecture and in his avocation of service to his fellow citizens."

John Gaw Meem

LAURA GILPIN

## Board to Increase Membership

The Board of Visitors and Governors voted at its February meeting in Santa Fe to amend its Charter and the Polity to enlarge its membership from 40 to 48. The purpose of the larger body is to provide for a wider geographical representation and to strengthen attendance at the quarterly meetings of the Board.

The President, the Provost, the Deans, and the Governors of Maryland and New Mexico will continue to serve as *ex officio* members. Of the remaining 42 members, 36 shall be elected by the entire Board (instead of 28 as at present) and six shall be elected by the Alumni of the College.

The Board also voted to raise total student fees for tuition, room and board in 1972-73 to $3,900 to keep in line with increasing costs of education and administration. The current annual total fee is $3,600. It was noted that St. John's designates a sizable share of its budget to student aid.

The next meeting of the Board will be May 12-13 in Annapolis.

## St. John's Holds Seminars for Los Angeles Doctors

When a group of Los Angeles doctors decided they would like to start a series of "great books" seminars, they sent to St. John's in Santa Fe for someone to lead them.

Tutors Samuel E. Brown and Robert A. Neidorf flew to the west coast January 21st with airline tickets provided by the host group. In three days they met in four seminars to explore some of the ideas found in Sophocles' *Anti-*

gone, Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *Discourses*, De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and the American Declaration of Independence. The "students" included six doctors, a dentist and an attorney.

Mr. Neidorf also is director of the College's summer Graduate Institute in Liberal Education, which offers an advanced curriculum centered on readings in books which have helped to shape Western civilization. One of last year's Institute students was Dr. Norman Levan, a department chairman with the University of Southern California Medical School at Los Angeles. It was Levan's enthusiasm for St. John's and its seminar approach to learning which prompted his friends in the professions to become interested in having their own seminars with teachers from St. John's.

## New Infirmary in Annapolis

St. John's in Annapolis is constructing Harrison Health Center, a new infirmary, on the north side of the campus near King George Street, between the historic Charles Carroll Barrister House and Randall Hall, the College's dining facility and dormitory.

The two-story building was designed by James Wood Burch and William H. Kirby, Jr., Associated Architects, to blend harmoniously with the Barrister House. The slate roof will be steeply pitched, similarly to the Barrister House roof. The building will be in the shape of a Greek cross, giving maximum space of 4500 square feet without overpowering the elegant proportions of the Barrister House. The exterior walls will be of Oxford handmolded brick, made by Alwine Brick Company of Hanover, Pennsylvania.

The interior will house an infirmary with isolation ward and small kitchen on the first floor, and nurse's quarters and a faculty apartment on the second floor. These apartments will each have a living-dining room combination, two bedrooms, a bath and kitchen.

Floors will be of sheet vinyl, ceramic tiles, brick, and carpeting. There will be painted walls and ceilings.

Structural consultants are Greene and Seaquist, Engineers; mechanical and electrical consultant is Wallace S. Lippincott, P.E.; landscape architect is John P. Gutting, Jr.; and general contractors are Stehle, Beans, and Bean.

Plans for the Harrison Health Center were approved by the Annapolis Historic District Commission on December 22nd. The building replaces Pinkney House, the College's former infirmary, purchased by the State of Maryland.

The new structure is the gift of Mrs. John T. Harrison of Green Farms, Connecticut, in memory of her late husband, a St. John's College alumnus of the Class of 1907.

Projected completion date is midsummer. An artist's rendition of the exterior appears on the back cover. A drawing of the interior appears below.

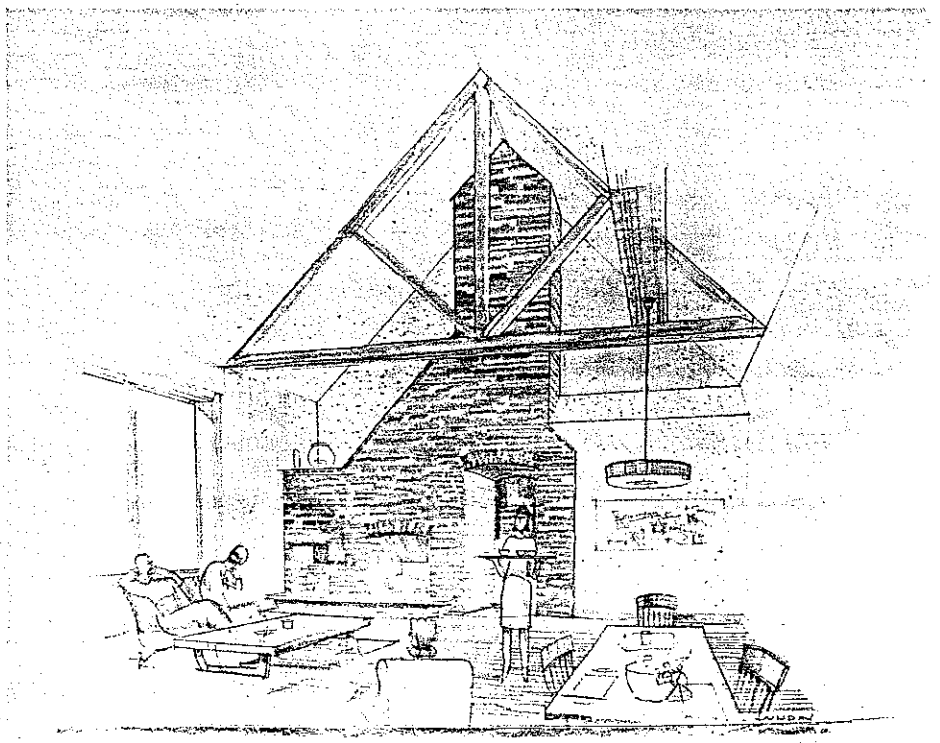
## Washington Lawyer Elected to Board

Mr. J. Anthony Moran, Washington attorney, was elected a member of the Board of Visitors and Governors of the College at its December 4th meeting in Santa Fe.

Mr. Moran received LL.B., LL.M., and J.D. degrees from the George Washington University School of Law and an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Alliance College in Pennsylvania. He has been admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court; the U.S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit; the Maryland Court of Appeals; and the U.S. District Court, District of Columbia.

He formerly served as legal and legislative consultant to various federal agencies, departments and commissions, and Congressional committees. From 1960 to 1964 he was Consultant and Special Advisor to President Lyndon B. Johnson and Mrs. Johnson.

The interior of the nurse's quarters and the faculty apartment in the new Harrison Health Center in Annapolis will have a living-dining room combination, cathedral ceiling, and a fireplace.



RICHARD D. BOND, JR.

From 1966 to 1968 he served as Special Advisor to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

Mr. Moran is presently engaged in private practice in Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Pennsylvania. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar Association and the American Bar Association, the Delta Theta Phi Legal Fraternity, and the Washington Board of Trade.

He is the author of several papers, most recently an article entitled "Legislative Counsel: His Washington Role" which appeared in the *New York Law Journal*.

## Santa Fe Library Associates Donate Books and Recordings

The Library Associates Committee of St. John's in Santa Fe has donated 99 volumes of books and a collection of recordings of classic French drama to the College Library. These library gifts were made possible by receipts from the four Book and Author Luncheons sponsored by the committee last year.

The committee gift included 14 volumes of *Medieval Science Series*, 16 volumes *The Complete Works of Henry Fielding*; 26 volumes Hegel's *Samtliche Werke*, 15 volumes *The Art of Mankind*, 17 volumes *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 11 volumes *Tudor Church Music*, and a collection of classic French drama recorded by Le Théatre National Populaire and La Comédie Française.

The 1972 spring series of programs will be held this year on April 14th and May 12th.

## LBJ Sends Autographed Book to Library

The Library in Santa Fe has received an autographed copy of former President Lyndon B. Johnson's book, *The Vantage Point*. Santa Fe businessman A. J. Tony Taylor, brother of Lady Bird Johnson, is chairman of the St. John's College Board of Associates in Santa Fe.

## Two Seniors Win Watson Fellowships

The College recently learned it has two winners of the coveted Thomas J. Watson Fellowships for 1972-1973. In Annapolis Miss Christel Stevens, daughter of Mrs. Walli Stevens of University Park, Maryland, and in Santa Fe Jonathan David Krane, son of Mr. and Mrs. James Krane of Los Angeles, California, were each the recipient of $6,000 awards.

The Fellowship program enables college graduates of unusual promise to engage in an initial postgraduate year of independent study and travel abroad. The Foundation is most concerned with such qualities as integrity, creativity, leadership capacity, and potential for humane and effective involvement in the world community. Seventy Fellows were designated for the forthcoming year from among 140 outstanding candidates nominated. The participating colleges and universities had previously made their nominations from approximately 1200 seniors.

The two students applied for the Watson Fellowships by writing a letter to the St. John's College Instruction Committee, explaining their plans for the awards if received. After Committee approval, they applied to the Foundation and were interviewed at the College during December. The awards were announced March 15th.

Miss Stevens intends to study Indian classical dance at Kalakshetra University of Fine Arts in Madras, India. She has been studying this dance, a combination of drama and dance, at the College with a modern dance group, and for two summers in New York City with Miss Georgia Cushman. She has been a member of the Delegate Council, and co-chairman in 1970 and chairman in 1971 of Reality, a spring weekend at the College. She has been director of the Syndicate of Bacchus, an organization responsible for College social activities, and has performed in and directed several dramatic productions in Annapolis.

Mr. Krane is interested in international law and plans to use his grant for travel in England, France, and Spain, investigating by observation and interviews the legal systems of those countries, studying their ideals and realities, and comparing their differences. After his travels he hopes to enter law school. Mr. Krane was the 1971 winner of the Duane L. Peterson Scholarship.

## St. John's Appoints New Development Officer in Annapolis

Mr. Russell Edwin Leavenworth has been appointed Director of Development at the Annapolis campus. His appointment, effective last January 1st. was approved by the College's Board of Visitors and Governors at its December 4th meeting in Santa Fe.

Mr. Leavenworth had been serving as Associate Director of Development in Annapolis since July. He has filled a position that was vacated by Mr. Julius Rosenberg, Class of 1938, who has become affiliated with the Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund, Inc., in Baltimore. Mr. Rosenberg had been a member of the College staff since September 1968. He will remain with St. John's as a consultant and will return to serve on the Board of Directors of the Alumni Association.

A native of Oak Park, Illinois, Mr. Leavenworth was formerly a professor at Fresno State College in California. where he was Chairman of the English Department and Assistant to the Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences. In addition he was a member of the library, curriculum, graduate, campus planning, college reorganization, and higher education committees at Fresno State.

Mr. Leavenworth served as a lieutenant with the U.S. Army Infantry from 1942 to 1946 in Europe. A graduate of Hanover College in 1947, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Colorado. He has taught at the University of Colorado, at Texas A&M University, and at Trinity University.

Among his publications are *Interpreting Hamlet* (Chandler, 1960), *Poems from Six Centuries* (Chandler, 1962), "The English Poets" in *College and Adult Reading List* (Washington Square Press, 1962), and *Logic for Argument* (Random House, 1968).

He is married to the former Ann Millis of Carmel, California, who is a graduate of Swarthmore, the University of California at Berkeley, and the University of Colorado. Mrs. Leavenworth received her master's degree in public administration and her doctorate in American history. She was elected to two four-year terms on the Fresno City School Board and served one term as its president.

The Leavenworths have three children: Natalie, a sophomore at St. John's in Santa Fe; Jean, a sophomore at The Key School; and Stuart, a sixth-grader at The Key School.

## Photo Contest in Annapolis

The Admissions and Public Information Offices on the Annapolis campus of the College have been sponsoring a photography contest. Phase I of the contest has been completed; winning photographs were exhibited the last week of February in the Key Memorial Hall.

The judges awarded prizes in five categories—students, faculty, buildings, activities and functions, and miscellaneous.

Phase I winners were students Charles Post, Phil Rosenberg, Deborah Ross, and Lee Zlotoff, and Chris Sparrow, son of Edward Sparrow, Tutor.

The contest is open to all members of the St. John's College community in Annapolis. Prizes are: first, $50; second, $25; third, $10; and honorable mention.

The judges are Stanley Stearns, Marion Warren, and Stuart Whelan, noted photographers in Annapolis.

Phase II of the contest is now in progress. Awards will be made in May with an exhibit of the winners to be held near the end of the school year.

## Campus Notes

*Douglas Allanbrook*, Tutor in Annapolis, has been serving on the advisory board of the Maryland Arts Council for the past two years. In addition he was recently elected to the Corporation of Yaddo, a writers-artists colony in Saratoga Springs, New York.

He presented a premiere performance of his own works entitled "Five Studies in Black and White" during a harpsichord concert at the College in Annapolis on January 14th.

"The Lecture Method in Mathematics: A Student's View" by *Michael W. Ham*, Director of Admissions and Tutor in Annapolis, has been accepted for publication within the year by the *American Mathematics Monthly*.

*Edwin Hopkins*, Tutor in Annapolis, expects to receive his Ph.D. degree in philosophy from Duke University in June.

*Matthew Mallory*, an Annapolis senior, has filed as a Republican candidate for delegate from the newly created fourth district in Maryland to the national convention in San Diego in August. The primary will be held May 16th.

Santa Fe Tutor *Harvey Mead* received his Ph.D. degree in December from L'Université Laval in Quebec. His thesis, "The Middle Science of Astronomy," was a study of Ptolemy's methodology within the context of the Aristotelian philosophy of science.

*Paul D. Newland*, Provost in Annapolis, recently addressed a meeting of the Annapolis chapter of the Military Order of World Wars at the Officers' Club at the U.S. Naval Academy.

*Beverly Ross*, Registrar for the Graduate Institute in Liberal Education at Santa Fe, is teaching an adult education class on writing feature articles at the College of Santa Fe.

*William Kyle Smith*, Tutor Emeritus in Annapolis, obtained a Th.M. degree from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1971.

*Robert L. Spaeth*, Annapolis Tutor, reviewed C. P. Snow's book, *Public Affairs*, in a new magazine, *Perspective*, subtitled "Weekly Reviews of New Books on Government, Politics, and International Affairs."

In his role as an alderman of the City of Annapolis, Mr. Spaeth spoke at the Greater Annapolis Kiwanis Club meeting on the city-county tax differential. His speech was reproduced in the city's daily newspaper, the *Evening Capital*.

*Richard D. Weigle*, President, attended the Education Symposium at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at The University of Texas at Austin January 24-25 at which time the 250,000 papers on education written during the Johnson administration were made public. Former President and Mrs. Johnson participated in the two-day series of meetings on "Educating a Nation: The Changing American Commitment." About 300 educators from throughout the country attended the sessions.

Mr. Weigle spoke on the College and its curriculum as well as about his recent trip to Africa, Russia, and England at a meeting of the Naval Academy Women's Club on February 1st.

## Students Train for Rescue Operations

St. John's College boasts one of the few college search and rescue units in the country. Fifteen students on the Santa Fe campus train for and take part in search operations for people lost in the vast wilderness areas of New Mexico.

The group, under the guidance of Herb Kincey, a Santa Fe businessman, is one of three units which make up the New Mexico Search and Rescue Association. James Carr, business manager on the Santa Fe campus, is the current president of N.M.S.A.R. and was the College unit advisor before being elected to his present position.

The St. John's unit meets for training sessions once a week and takes an excursion into nearby wilderness areas almost every weekend. Since the be-

ginning of the current academic year, the group has been mobilized for searches eight times.

## Santa Fe Enjoys Winter Music Season

The winter music season at St. John's in Santa Fe offered a variety of concert opportunities for the College community. It started with the St. John's Chamber Orchestra's 275th Anniversary Concert on December 4th and continued through March 3rd with a special program with New York oboist Henry Schuman.

Neither snow nor cold could keep Santa Fe music lovers from the Anniversary Concert, which featured Tutor Samuel E. Brown as guest conductor and conductor Richard Stark as piano soloist. The program by the musical group included Beethoven's "Overture to the Ballet 'Prometheus,' Op. 43"; Haydn's "Symphony in D Major, No. 104," and Mozart's "Piano Concerto in E flat Major, K 271."

On Sunday afternoon, December 12th, mezzo-soprano Mary Neidorf (wife of Tutor Robert A. Neidorf) and pianist Gillian McHugh of Santa Fe presented an exciting program of piano classics and vocal numbers ranging from American folk songs and German lieder to two compositions by Annapolis Tutor Elliott Zuckerman. Mr. Zuckerman came to Santa Fe in January to present a lecture "On a Measure in Mozart" on the 21st and a week later another Annapolis Tutor, Douglas Allanbrook, gave a harpsichord concert, including his own composition "Five Studies in Black and White."

The February calendar of musical events included the Pomona College Glee Club on Saturday evening the 5th; the Colorado Academy Chorus after lunch on the 10th and a Sunday afternoon program of Beethoven by Jack Brimberg of Locust Valley, New York, on the 13th. The Friday evening lecture on February 18th continued the theme with Robert Parr, former Santa Fe Tutor, speaking on "Competing Principles in Music." During that same month, Tutor Charles G. Bell gave Part II of his illustrated lecture on "The Gothic Arts," which included the use of recordings.

The final event before spring vacation was Henry Schuman's visit the first week in March, climaxed by an informal evening of chamber music on the 3rd. Mr. Schuman, founder and director of Our Bach Concerts in New York, spent several days at Santa Fe working with the orchestra and smaller ensembles.

## St. John's Fencer Wins State Championship

Edith "Kit" Callender, a Santa Fe junior, won the Women's Fencing Championship of New Mexico in February. Freshman Frank Skee placed second in the Men's Under-19 Foil Competition, and sophomore Roberta Faulhaber and freshman Jonathan Teague won third prize in the women's and men's sections respectively of the championship fencing tournament held in Farmington, New Mexico. Their coach is István Fehérváry, Director of Student Activities.

## February Freshman Class in Annapolis

A February Freshman Class of 21 began on the Annapolis campus on Friday, January 28th. There were eleven men and ten women. They came from Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, and Texas. One was a Vietnam veteran.

Four students were early entrants, coming to St. John's before graduating from high school. Ten had attended colleges elsewhere—including Antioch, Bennington, Carleton, Harvard, and Shimer Colleges.

Two students were National Merit Scholars, two were Finalists, and one received a letter of commendation. Sixty percent of the incoming class were in the top fifth of their high school class.

The February Freshman Class is designed to permit students to complete their college education within a four-year period. The new St. Johnnies will take their first semester of the curriculum during the spring, and finish their Freshman year during the summer. This enables them to join the Sophomore Class on an equal status and to graduate a year earlier than if they had waited until the fall semester of 1972 before coming to St. John's.

## College Names Dorms to Honor Western Benefactors

The Board of Visitors and Governors has voted to name several of the student houses in Santa Fe in honor of New Mexico and Texas benefactors:

New Mexico—Mr. Robert O. Anderson, Roswell; Mr. Donald R. Kirby, Albuquerque; and Mrs. Margaret W. Driscoll, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar B. Huffman, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall McCune, Mr. Robert M. McKinney, Mr. and Mrs. John Gaw Meem, and Mrs. Sallie Wagner, Santa Fe area.

Texas—Bishop and Mrs. Everett H. Jones, San Antonio; and Mr. John D. Murchison and Mr. Clinton Murchison, Jr., Dallas.

## Iola R. Scofield

Iola R. Scofield, Tutor Emeritus in Annapolis, died on Monday, March 27th.

A native of California, Mrs. Scofield held degrees from the University of California at Berkeley, where she was an instructor in English and assistant in philosophy. She taught at New York University and at the University College of The University of Chicago before becoming a Tutor at St. John's College in 1954.

Her dominant characteristic as a teacher was her devotion to the individual student in her classes. She was always ready to devote her time and her energy to helping a student with a problem or question which he confronted.

A service in Mrs. Scofield's memory is being planned in Annapolis for a date in April.

# ALUMNI ACTIVITIES

## A Call for Alumni Support

By the end of January, as Chairman Jack L. Carr's appeal letter went out, the Alumni Annual Giving Campaign was already 38% toward its goal. This running start is due in large measure to an unrestricted bequest which we applied to operating needs. Each day's mail brings more gifts, and this could be a banner year for alumni giving of all sorts.

But it will not be unless more of us take a truly realistic view of our responsibilities to St. John's. The expression "give 'til it hurts" has been vastly overworked, to be sure, but that is really what Mr. Weigle was asking in his letter of last November. You are being asked to give more money this year than you think you can afford.

An average gift of $32, which is what we achieved last year, should be compared wtih the all-college national average of $75. While *any gift* is always welcome, we must come closer to the national average if St. John's alumni contributions are to make a real impact on the needs of the College.

## Homecoming 1972

Do you like to drink beer to the accompaniment of rag-time jazz? Do you enjoy stimulating discussion? Would you like to see football return to the back campus? Are you willing to counsel with students about what they might expect in graduate schools? Or do you delight simply in seeing old friends and making new ones?

If your answer to one or more of the above is "yes," then you really should plan to come to Annapolis on October 13 and 14. That's Homecoming time, and the activities listed are just a few of those planned for that weekend. And if yours is a reunion class—1912, 1922, 1932, 1942, 1947, 1952, 1962, or 1967—then you have even more reason for planning now for a short autumn vacation in Annapolis.

The 1972 Homecoming Committee, under the energetic leadership of Julius Rosenberg '38, started planning in January. The Committee's capacity for hard work is exceeded only by its ingenuity, so Homecoming weekend promises to be a memorable one. See you there.

## Chapter News

The regular Tuesday luncheon gathering of downtown Baltimore alumni has a new meeting place. The Two-Oh-Three Restaurant, 203 Davis Street (just north of the Post Office and east of the Court Square Building) is the new location. If you like tall stories, jokes *a là* Alexander, or just good fellowship, then join the gang at the 203.

## What's In A Name?

"Over my dead body!"
"How about Scott Buchanan College?"
"Never!"
"If you have to change, I suggest King William's College."

Several months ago an alumnus suggested that, since St. John's is often confused with church-related colleges and those with prominent basketball teams, the task of admissions workers and fund raisers might be easier if the College were to change its name.

A committee of Visitors and Governors was appointed to study the proposal; a recent questionnaire to all alumni has elicited the responses which appear above. And reactions continue to pour in, piling up evidence for the committee to study.

It would be improper to reveal the trend of the responses, other than to say that they are both for and against: St. Johnnies have very firm opinions on any question. We await with interest the action by the Board of Visitors and Governors in May.

## CLASS NOTES

**1904**

*Randall C. Cronin* and his wife celebrated their 60th wedding anniversary a year ago in January. Our thanks to *E. Earl Hearn* '06 for this information, and our belated congratulations to the happy couple.

**1926**

*W. Dorsey Hines* of Chestertown, Maryland, was appointed last October to a four-year term as a member of the advisory board of the Department of Natural Resources of Maryland.

**1928**

*Louis L. Snyder* is the author of two more books published last fall, *The Dreyfus Affair*, a Focus Book (Franklin Watts, New York) and *Great Turning Points in History* (Van Nostrand-Reinhold, New York). Professor Snyder was invited in December by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation of the Bonn Government to be its guest on a two-month tour of German universities throughout the Federal Republic.

**1929**

Frank Katz, son of *Francis A. Katz*, had a one-man exhibit of oil paintings, drawings, and sculptures at the College during February.

**1932**

*James F. Campbell* in September was named Assistant Administrator for Administration of the Agency for International Development. Mr. Campbell joined AID in April of last year after 35 years with Esso affiliates of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. His last position was as chairman and managing director of Esso Standard of South Africa.

**1943**

As a follow-up of the report last July about the fire at *Ogden Kellogg-Smith's* Bay Country School, we can report that Mr. Kellogg-Smith has embarked on a new venture, the Bay Country Institute. He seeks to train students as water pollution monitors, to meet a need created by federal and state environmental legislation. Mr. Kellogg-Smith has applied for a

federal grant, and plans to start training students at three public high schools and the Baltimore Experimental High School.

*Edward H. Grubb* in December sent a long and very welcome letter, bringing us up to date on his life. The high points are: he married in December, 1969, after "many years of living alone and not liking it particularly," to a girl he met in Alaska. He and wife Cynthia have a red-headed daughter Debby, whose beauty is evident from her picture. Mr. Grubb owns and operates The Mountain Shop in downtown San Francisco, catering to back packers, rock climbers, and ski tourers.

1944

In helping us locate "lost" alumni, *Vernon E. Derr* writes that *Henry R. Freeman III* is making films for WHA-TV in Madison, Wisconsin, an educational television station.

1946

*Samuel Sheinkman* and Florence Marie Peters, a director of dance workshops in New York City, were married on December 31st in that city. Dr. Sheinkman is a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst in New York.

1956

*Joseph P. Cohen*, a Tutor at the College in Annapolis, is spending his sabbatical year as a visiting research fellow at Yale Law School.

1961

Annapolis Admissions Director *Michael W. Ham* is teaching a section of freshman mathematics, Euclid and Ptolemy, this semester. Mr. Ham says that the experience is most interesting and challenging, especially since some of the students in the tutorial were "signed up" by him.

*Stephen Morrow* sent us a new address for *Paul M. Matsushita*. The latter lives in Tokyo, where he is a professor of law at Sophia University. After leaving St. John's he earned a Ph.D. degree in jurisprudence from Tulane University, and then a Ph.D. degree in law from Tokyo University. Both of his dissertations were about anti-trust regulations in the United States, and he is considered a ranking scholar in these matters.

*David P. Rosenfield* visited the College in Annapolis last fall with his wife. He informed us that he received a B.S. degree from the Wharton School of Finance after leaving St. John's, and that he is very happy working as a carpenter in Miami.

Apologies for late congratulations to *Mary (Horton) Sagos* and husband *Christ* '59 on the birth of Master Adam Sagos last August 13th.

1964

*Peter H. Crippen*, who works for the Agency for International Development, has been transferred from Calabar to Enugu in Nigeria.

A December news release from Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, announces that *Dennis G. Glew* has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor of history and classics. Mr. Glew earned an M.A. degree in 1966 and a Ph.D. degree in 1971 from Princeton University. At Moravian he is a member of both the history and foreign language departments.

1965

A note from *Thomas G. Eaton* reveals that he will complete his course requirements for a doctorate in American history this year. He is studying at the State University of New York at Albany. His wife, *Florence (Campbell) Eaton* '64, has received her master's degree in English literature.

1966

*James R. Mensch*, who studied at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, after St. John's, is now a doctoral candidate in philosophy and theology at the University of Toronto. He is currently living in Innsbruck, Germany, working on his dissertation.

1967

*B. Meredith Burke* graciously sent a long letter to help offset the "paucity of news in the last alumni bulletin." We are pleased to learn that she has earned an M.A. degree from the University of Southern California. She taught economics last year at Southern California, and is now in Cambridge, Massachusetts, planning to teach in a local community college this spring. Ms. Burke is thoroughly committed to the work of the National Organization for Women, and hopes to resume work on her Ph.D. degree next fall.

*Michael S. Feinberg* informs us that he is now out of the Army and is a full-time premedical student at New York University.

1968

*Rebecca (McClure) Albury*, in writing to Miss Strange during the winter, remarked, "In addition to producing two daughters since leaving St. John's, I received a B.S. degree from The Hopkins last June." She is the wife of *William Randall Albury*, a doctoral candidate in the history of science, also at The Johns Hopkins University.

*Luther Blackiston* completed his work at the University of Maryland Law School in January, and planned to take the Maryland Bar examination in February. Concurrently, he was working full-time as a law clerk in the Baltimore Legal Aid Bureau's Prison Project, thus fulfilling, he writes, "the dual purpose of meeting my Civilian Alternate Service obligation and of making the world safe for 'criminals'."

*Donald* and *Marilynne (Wills) Schell* (SF) are now living in Lake Charles, Louisiana, where Mr. Schell is working at the Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd. Mrs. Schell writes that their daughter, Sasha, was two in February.

1970

*John R. Dean* writes that his work in comparative literature at the University of Massachusetts continues to go well. Last semester he taught "a sort of basic introduction-to-literature course," and is now teaching Chinese Mysticism and Modern European literature. Mr. Dean hopes to study abroad again this summer, either in England or Germany.

1971

*Jane Sarah Goldwin* and Don Bandler in January announced plans to be married in Paris on March 24th. The bride's mother and father (*Robert A. Goldwin* '50, dean in Annapolis) planned to attend.

*Daniel J. Sullivan* is apparently doing very well in his work with a Toronto, Canada, advertising agency, according to Annapolis Tutor Harry Golding. Mr. Sullivan successfully managed the reelection campaign of the Minister for Tourism of Canada, and is co-founding a space institute in Iceland.

# In Memoriam

1913—Dr. Robert V. Hoffman, Carmel, Cal., January 2, 1972.

1916—Emerson T. Harrington, Jr., Cambridge, Md., January 17, 1972.

1916—J. Irvin Heise, Bethesda, Md., January 1, 1972.

1920—James A. Longan, New York City, January 20, 1972.

1925—Col. Francis R. Dice, Pikesville, Md., January 15, 1972.

1926—Levi H. Dice, Satellite Beach, Fla., January 15, 1972.

1926—Jack R. Fouts, Tuscumbia, Ala., December 3, 1971.

1929—Carl F. Ivarson, Drexel Hill, Pa., August 23, 1971.

1931—Wilbur R. Dulin, Annapolis, Md., March 14, 1972.

1931—Albert H. Moore, Baltimore, Md., March 11, 1972.

1934—Clarence K. Anderson, Salerno, Fla.

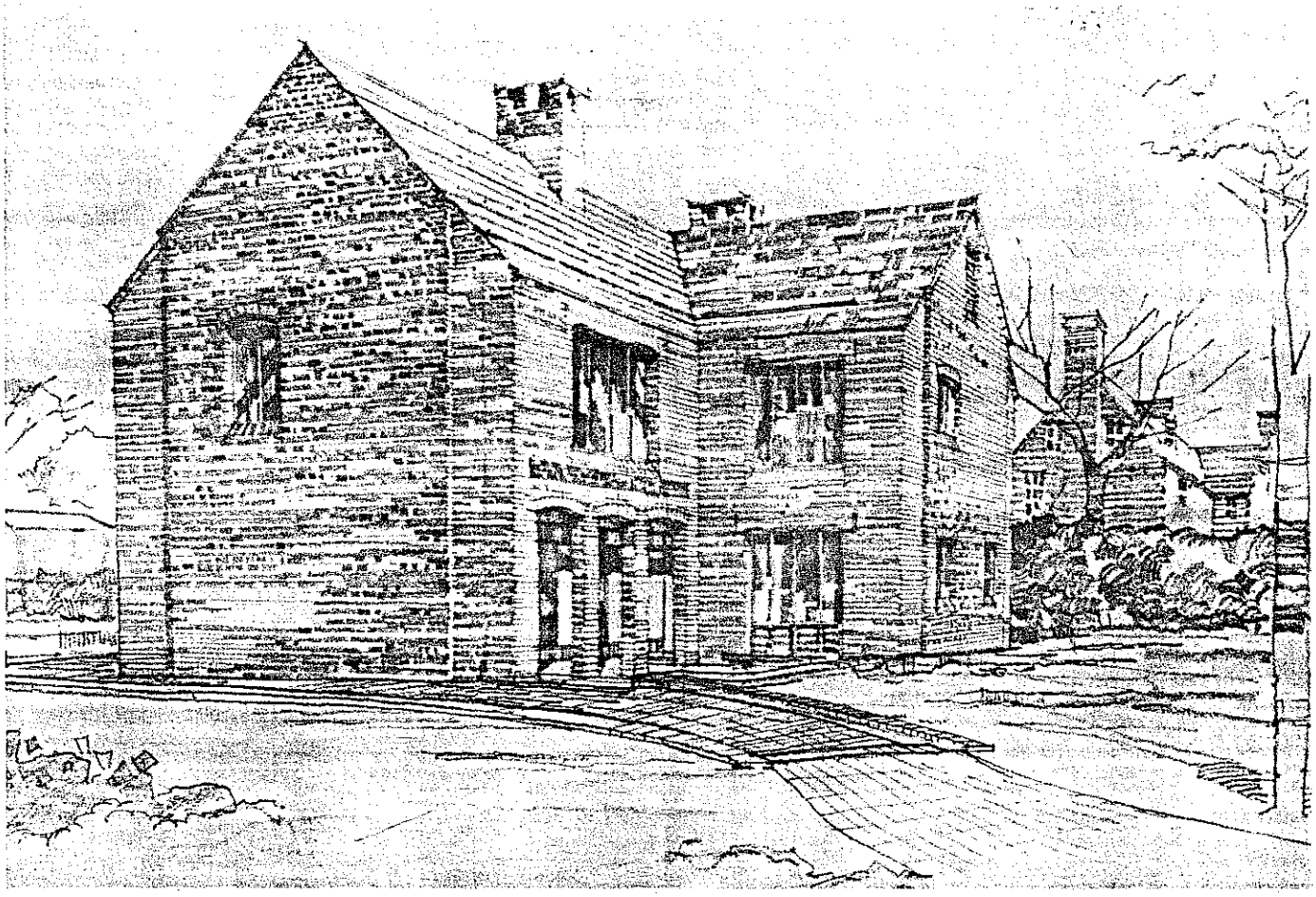
1935—Dr. L. David Fusco, Phoenix, Ariz., September 13, 1971.

1935—Col. James L. Hays, Phoenix, Md., December 11, 1971.

1938—Theodore Williams, Baltimore, Md., December 3, 1971.

1963—Elliott A. Rosenberg, Los Angeles, Cal., February 8, 1972.

Our most sincere apologies to the parents of the late *Stuart R. Deaner* SF '71 for misspelling their son's name in the *In Memoriam* column of the December issue.



RICHARD D. BOND, JR.

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