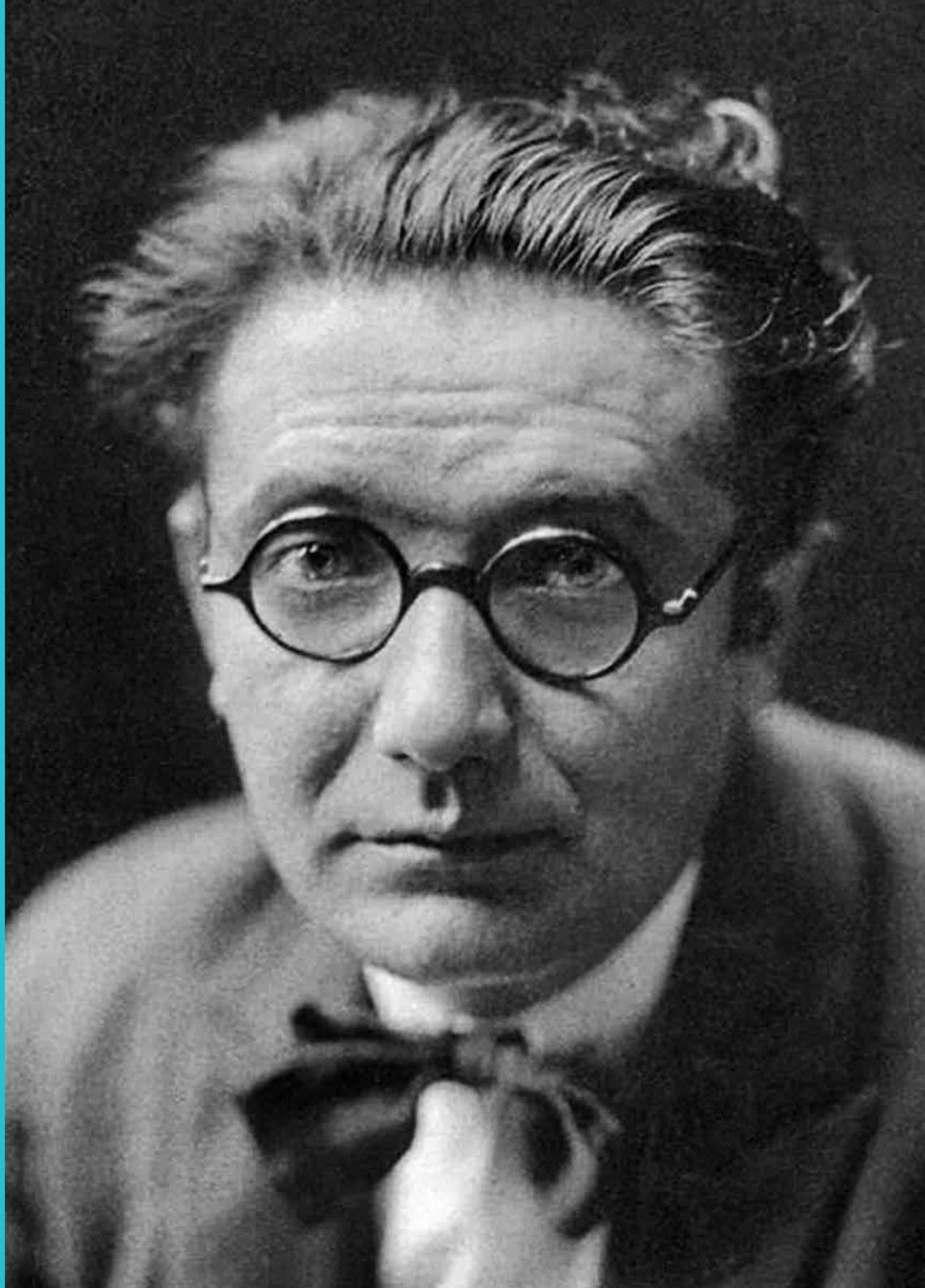


POLITICAL LIVES
#03

CASTELAO

1886 • 1950



Buenos Aires, March 10th, 1944

Castelao delivering a speech at the presentation of *Always in Galicia*.

MUSEO DE PONTEVEDRA



A HUMANISTIC LIFE FOR GALICIA'S RIGHTS

1886-1950

This edition is a summarized biography of Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, **a Galician patriot, political democrat, and activist in favour of freedom of his people**, in the first half of the twentieth century who was exiled in America after the victory of fascism in Spain in the spring of 1939.

Trained as a physician, his vocation and passion led him to become a **caricaturist, illustrator, visual artist, journalist, writer, dramatist...** but first and foremost a man that was committed to the 'Galician Cause' during the Spanish II Republic and in exile, until his passing in 1950.

A great speaker and organiser who —together with other figures such as Alexandre Bóveda, during republican times, or Antón Alonso Ríos, during their exile— united around himself thousands of Galicians in favour of a Free Galicia.

As political essayist he wrote ***Always in Galicia (Sempre en Galiza)***, a seminal work for many generations of Galician sovereignists, even to this day.

EDITOR JOSEP VALL

HISTORIAN UXÍO-BREOGÁN DIÉGUEZ CEQUEL

ENGLISH VERSION IRIA TAIBO & MATTHEW NEWTON

Argentina, circa 1900

Castelao's family. From left to right: Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao, mother Xoaquina Castelao with sister Teresa, and father Mariano Rodríguez with sister Josefina.

(A NOSA TERRA IN EXILE)



A GALICIAN FAMILY IN ARGENTINA

1886-1900

Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao was born on 29th January 1886 in the town of Rianxo, on the Arousa Estuary. The son of a seaman, who a few years after the birth of his older son went **to South America, where hundreds of thousands of Galicians had already emigrated**—and emigrated afterwards, in a drain that afflicted, and still does, a rich country, exploited to serve Spanish centralism— looking for a future to create a quiet life for his family.

This exodus had impressed Castelao since he was a teenager, and it was in fact a key factor for his political involvement, in Galician national terms; it was a constant throughout his graphic and written work. **Castelao's father, Mariano Rodríguez, settled in Argentina's La Pampa**, a mainly agrarian and fertile region, like an inland Galicia, establishing a restaurant business.

Young Castelao lived in Rianxo, soaking up the Galician culture and language. **In 1895, he travelled to Argentina with his mother, Xoaquina Castelao, to be reunited with his father.** Castelao's sisters, Josefina and Teresa, were born in La Pampa and their lives revolved around the family business.

Despite being thousands of kilometres away from his country, Castelao remembered that, in those times, **he was speaking the same language he used to speak**

with his mother when he was a child, Galicia's own language. During the five years he spent in La Pampa, his early youth—as for many other Galician children on the other side of the ocean, or throughout Europe some time later— would be purely Galician.



Pontevedra, circa 1915

Castelao and his wife

Virxinia Pereira.

MUSEO DE PONTEVEDRA

TIME OF UNIVERSITY, LOVE AND PAIN

1900-1928

In 1900, Castelao returned to Galicia with his family.

He was fourteen and was starting secondary school. Castelao's parents had left Galicia without any studies, apart from very basic training, that they tried to develop self-taught. This training allowed Castelao's father to become mayor of Rianxo between 1907 and 1909.

From the very beginning, **Castelao's parents wanted their son to study Medicine.** This took place from 1903, and was their way of ensuring a future for him far from the hard work and fatigue they had to go through, and were still enduring. **The university lectures** on the work of the Galician economist Alfredo Brañas, as well as from the politician and philosopher Juan Vázquez de Mella, particularly on the organization of the countryside, **helped shape his Galicia consciousness.**

Castelao combined this training with the festivities and fun in a city ruled by religiousness. He was a tuno—the leader of a group of university students in traditional university dress who play traditional instruments and sing serenades—and **worked for newspapers** that delighted the emigrants on the other side of the ocean, **in the shape of caricatures and humoristic drawings.** He even had a certain guilty conscience because of this, as he stated, because the humour—mockery, even—exceeded the social and political criticism that later were to be the focus of his work.

Leaving the fun behind, the Castelao that finished his Medicine degree in 1909 was already a mature man. Whilst at the university of Santiago de Compostela **he had met Virxinia Pereira Renda**, from the village of A Estrada and daughter of a remarkable lawyer who used to be a provincial deputy in Pontevedra. **They start a long relationship that led to their marriage in October 1912.**

The priest and galicianist poet Antonio Rei Soto, a close friend of Castelao, officiated the wedding. Two years later, Alfonso Xesús Rodríguez Pereira, **son of the couple, is born**, and their parents would go to great lengths for him. Health was not on his side—**his nickname was "Seedy" ("Pachucho")— and he died in 1928, at the young age of 14.** Castelao and Virxinia, who didn't have any more children, never overcame their son's death; **a deep pain that lived with them for the rest of their lives**, as Castelao acknowledged on several occasions.

**Santiago
de Compostela,
circa 1910**

Castelao (left)
with Emiliano Balás
and Ramón Garaboa
at a play
in Galician language.

(VIDA GALLEGA)



WORK AND DEVOTION

1903-1916

Despite Castelao having trained at the University of Santiago de Compostela **to become a doctor, he avoided the practice of a profession he didn't like.** He stated that he studied Medicine due to his love for his parents, but that he had decided not to practice Medicine due to his love for Humanity, as he revealed to his friend Xosé Núñez Búa during his exile. **Once he finished his Degree in Medicine, Castelao moved to Madrid.** He had the idea of taking his PhD in the Spanish capital, but he never achieved it because he devoted more time to **his great passion: painting and drawing,** which he had practised since he was a child and perfected during his university years.

Over time, his prints and drawing would become a great study of the structural problems in Galicia. Meanwhile, before his galicianist militancy, in 1908 **he exhibited his artistic production for the first time, in Madrid,** at barely 22 years old, with the assistance of his close friend from childhood in Rianxo, Eduardo Dieste. In 1909 **he was published in the recently created illustrated magazine Vida Gallega,** and in 1910, when he returned to Galiza, he collaborated in his hometown and with Dieste himself, on the *El Barbero Municipal* newspaper, where he often published drawings, caricatures and texts. In this conservative weekly journal some words devoted to him by Gedeón newspaper in Spring 1912 were published, stating that Castelao was "Galician in the marrow and the cortex.

[drawing] with a wild independence". That same year he again exhibited his pictorial work in Madrid, and also started giving lectures, in Vigo, Ourense, Mondariz, Pontevedra and other Galician villages, as well as Madrid in 1915, about the art of caricature. Castelao's work in *El Barbero Municipal* lives alongside conservative, catholic political criticism and fragments from the work of **Galician writers that reclaimed our language in literature and with a deep political content,** such as Rosalía de Castro, Manuel Curros Enríquez, Valentín Lamas Carvajal and Manuel Murguía, that would be read by Castelao himself, **completing his galicianist education.**

In late 1915, Castelao took a new direction in his life. He decided to take the exam to **become a civil servant from the Spanish Geographical Statistic Institute,** and he passed it. At the beginning of 1916, Castelao put an end to his last stay in Rianxo and set up residence **in the city of Pontevedra, where he was a civil worker for the State.** Castelao and his wife lived in this city until 1936.



1915
Self-portrait of Castelao.

A NOSA TERRA

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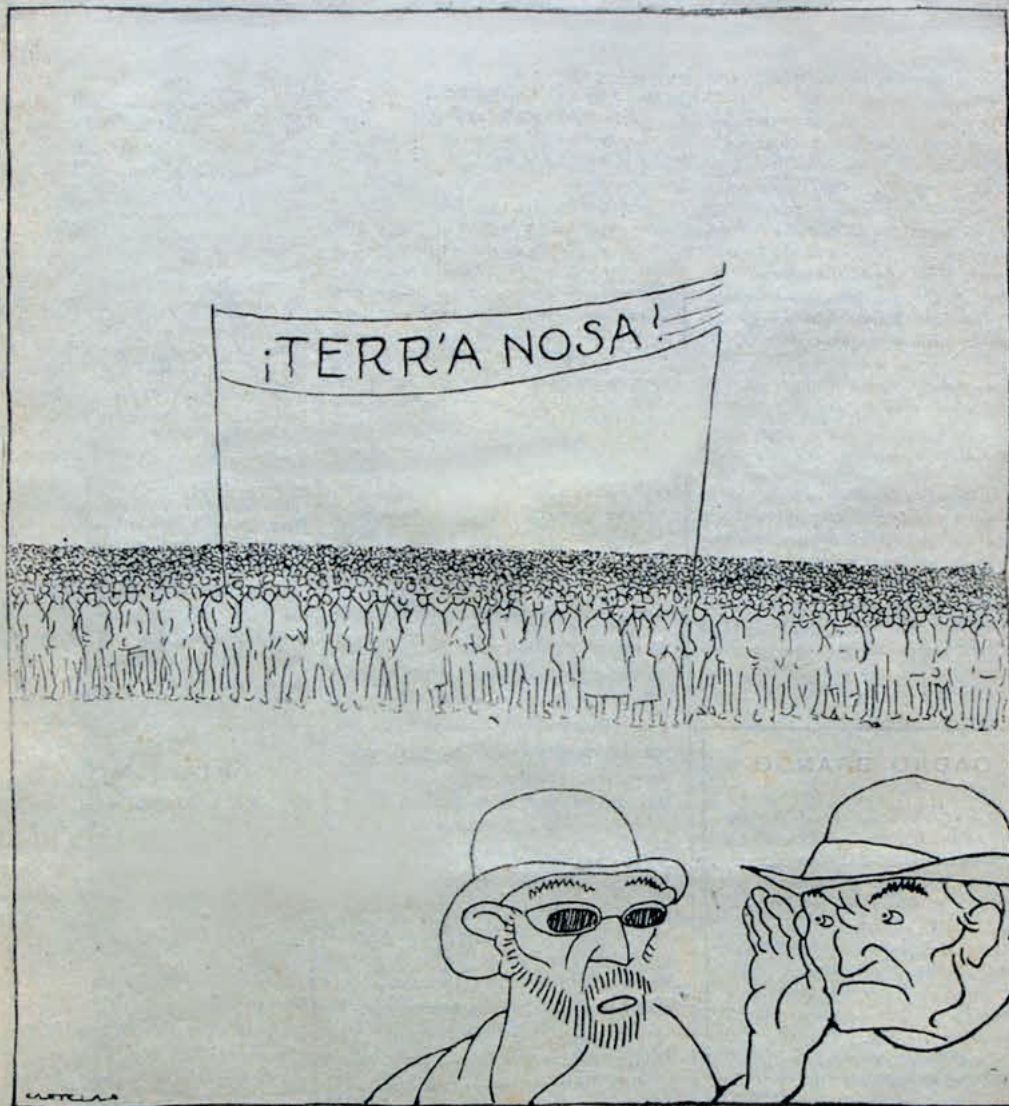
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Número 60

A CRUÑA 10 DE XULIO DE 1918

OS DERRADEIROS CEGOS E XORDOS, por Castelao



July 10th, 1918

"The last blind and deaf ones" ("Os derradeiros cegos e xordos"), Castelao criticizes those who ignore the growing support for Galician rights.

Demonstrators' banner "Our land" ("¡Terra nosa!").

"The blind man: —What's coming?"

The deaf man: —I hear nothing".

("O cego: —¿Qué é iso que ven por ehi?")

O xordo: —Non oyo nada").

O CEGO.—¿Qué é iso que ven por ehi?
O XORDO.—Non oyo nada.

CASTELAO
EJEMER-CORUÑA

POLITICAL COMMITMENT

1916-1930

In May 1916, the **Brotherhoods of the Language (Irmandades da Fala)** was founded in A Coruña, in the headquarters of the Galician Royal Academy. The most prominent Galician intellectuals answered the call of the writer Antón Vilar Ponte, in defence of the proper language and culture of Galicia, demanding autonomy for the country. Castelao didn't participate in the foundation, but he soon enthusiastically joined the initiative and **collaborate in his weekly A Nosa Terra (Our Land)**. Numerous Brotherhoods of the Language, as they became known, were organised throughout Galicia.

In 1916, having recently settled in Pontevedra, he worked as a civil servant for the Spanish Geographical Statistic Institute. **In 1918, he took part in the I Galician Nationalist Assembly**, hosted by the Irmandades da Fala. In that year, he became an adjunct professor of Drawing at the local High School after passing new entrance exams. There, **he got to know the distinguished Antón Lousada Diéguez**, lecturer of Psychology, Logic and Ethics from that school. Castelao became involved in the gatherings that centred around Perfecto Feijoo, a pharmacist, and the galicianist lecturer Lousada Diéguez in the Café Moderno in the City of the Lérez river. He was involved in the creation of the local Brotherhoods of the Language in 1916. At a national level, **he contributed to the innovative Galician cultural monthly review called Nós (We)**,

being an editor and responsible for the artistic section. Furthermore, in the newspaper of the Brotherhoods of the Language, he started including stories, that would be the basis for the two volumes named *Things (Cousas, 1920s)*, and *Retrincos*, (1930s). In between, **he published several works**, such as *A glass eye. Memories of a skeleton (Un ollo de vidro. Memorias dun esquelete, 1922)*, *Fifty man for ten cents (Cincoenta homes por dez reás, 1925)* and *The Stone Crosses in Brittany (As cruces de pedra na Bretaña, 1930)*, **becoming a powerful presence in the media, through his articles and interviews.**

In Pontevedra, Castelao fully entered into the cultural life of the city, taking part in the choir Aires da Terra (Moods of the Land), and, some years later, co-founding, together with Lousada Diéguez, the Polyphonic Choral Society of Pontevedra around 1925. In this context he met a young man, just arrived in Pontevedra, who was the head of the accounts section in the provincial headquarters of the State Treasury. He was **Alexandre Bóveda, almost twenty years younger than him, who Lousada Diéguez and Castelao immediately tried** —successfully— to incorporate him into the **galicianist group of the city of Pontevedra**. These three went on to become the leaders of the group, until the death of Lousada in 1929, which deeply affected Castelao and Bóveda, and leaves them running the galicianist movement in Pontevedra.

Vigo, July 25th, 1930

Lunch of the Barxa during the Galician National Day.

In the picture, Castelao, Alexandre Bóveda, Valentín Paz Andrade, Ánxel Casal and Víctor Casas, leaders of Galicianism of the first third of the 20th century.

MUSEO DE PONTEVEDRA



REPUBLICANISM AND THE GALICIANIST PARTY

1930-1931

In January 1930, the dictatorship led by Miguel Primo de Rivera, supported by the monarch Alfonso XIII falls. The possibility of a new, republican-favourable political scenario started to emerge. Before that context, in 1929, members of Brotherhoods of the Language, together with republicans from A Coruña, create the **Galician Autonomous Republican Organisation (ORGA)**. Santiago Casares Quiroga was the public figure who represented ORGA.

In August 1930 there was a veritable **reactivation of Spanish republicanism**, giving rise to the **Pact of San Sebastián, where Catalanism also took part**. That commitment was signed with the clear goal of bringing down the monarchy in order to establish a new Democratic Republic. However, present at that meeting was the Galician representative Casares Quiroga, Castelao and most of the galicianists from the Brotherhoods of the Language; they thought that it was not productive, in terms of Galicianism, so they committed to designing a political dynamic that would result in an **autonomous status for Galicia within a federal republican framework for the Spanish State, acknowledging national diversity**.

After the municipal elections in April 12th, 1931, and the rise of the republican candidacies, **the Spanish monarch fled Spain. The Spanish Republic was proclaimed on the 14th**, and Galicianists, just like those

in Catalonia and the Basque Country, **saw a chance to achieve their self-determination agenda**. After the call for the Republican Constituent Assembly, **Castelao presented himself as a candidate on behalf of Galicianism and was elected as a deputy**.

People from Brotherhoods of the Language, led by Castelao, Alexandre Bóveda, Víctor Casas and Ánxel Casal, agreed to create a national assembly. This was the **7th Galician Nationalist Assembly, held in December 1931**. At this meeting they agreed upon the creation of **a new political party**, after determining that ORGA was not suitable for their political goals: **Galicianist Party (Partido Galeguista, PG)**. This political party had 700 affiliates at the time of its foundation, and five years later would have 5,000. Castelao and Alexandre Bóveda—who will be secretary general of the PG— will lead the party.

As an active deputy in favour of Galician Autonomy, Castelao stands out by denouncing the marginalized state his country is suffering at the hands of the State.

Madrid, July 25th, 1931

Café Regina. Meeting of Galician members of Spanish Parliament to plan measures to promote the Statute of Autonomy. From left to right: Ramón Suárez Picallo, Daniel Vázquez, Alejandro Rodríguez Cadarso, Castelao, Roberto Nóvoa Santos, Antón Villar Ponte, Joaquín Poza Juncal, Ramón Otero Pedrayo, x and Antón Alonso Ríos.

(CRÓNICA)



GROWING GALICIANISM

1931-1936

Between 1931 and 1936, Castelao and the Galicianist Party as a whole were focused on adding activists and gaining social support for their political project. This was **focused around the demand for a Statute of Autonomy for Galicia**. Before the proclamation of the Spanish Republic, the PG advocated Galicia to be a "free State within the Spanish Federal Republic". However, this formula wasn't accepted by the Spanish State, but it did open a door to a decentralisation that allowed a framework for Autonomy: **with a parliament and administration of its own, the recognition of Galician language...**

Legally, the process in favour of that Autonomy started with the open **Assembly of Galicia's Councils in Favour of the Statute**, held in Santiago de Compostela in December 1932. The event was championed by Castelao from the Spanish Parliament and in the media, and attended by Alexandre Bóveda on behalf of the PG. The results were excellent for the "Galician cause", as **three quarters of the municipal representatives voted in favour of Autonomy for Galicia** and of the articles for the Statute.

Castelao's strong activism didn't prevent him from producing artistic work. That same year 1932, **he published *Álbum Nós***; in July 1933 he was appointed a full member of the **Galician Royal Academy**. He received tributes and, together with Alexandre Bóveda, he **be-**

came a great and undisputed figure of Galicianism of the time.

On July 25th, 1933, Galician National Day (Día da Patria Galega), Castelao took part in the Pact of Compostela and the creation of **Galeuzca, that brought Galician, Basque and Catalan national movements together** in support of their political claims.

In the elections of **November 1933, he doesn't get to be a Deputy**, in a period when the most dogmatic **Spanish nationalism came to govern the Republic**. Due to their political activism, **Castelao and Alexandre Bóveda were expatriated at the end of 1934**, receiving new enforced assignments as State civil servants to Badajoz and Cádiz, respectively. Even then, they would both still be pivotal to the PG.

In September 1935, their expatriation was ended, and **both activists returned to Galicia**; they were received back with a great tribute.

Lira, Muros, 1936

Castelao at a pro-autonomy rally organized by the youth branch of the movement, the Galicianist Youth Federation (Federación de Mocidades Galeguistas).

MALVAREZ / MUSEO DE PONTEVEDRA



FROM THE STATUTE OF AUTONOMY TO WAR TIMES

1936

Castelao and the other members of the direction of the PG devoted the following months to designing the campaign for the **general election to the Spanish Parliament, in February 1936. Castelao was again elected as a deputy**, and the PG reached an agreement with the Spanish left parties, prior to the election, under a tactical convergence in exchange for a plebiscite for **the Statute** articles that **had been approved in Galiza in 1932 in favour of autonomy**. The victory of this agreement, the Popular Front, gave rise to a **date for the plebiscite: June 28th, 1936**.

That day, with 75% participation, the Statute of Autonomy received 993.351 votes in favour, versus 6.161 against and 1.451 blank votes. **The overwhelming victory was the result of the tireless work of the Galicianists.**

A few days later Castelao, together with Ánxel Casal, galicianist mayor of Santiago de Compostela, led a Galician delegation in Madrid. On the 14th July, this Commission met the President of the Parliament, Diego Martínez Barrio, in order to hand him the articles of the Statute, and on the 17th with Manuel Azaña, President of the Republic. **The military coup on the 18th July 1936 truncated this process, initiating a war** that would result in the **military occupation of Galicia**, in which more than **five thousand people were murdered**, as was the case of **Alexandre Bóveda**, who came

to symbolize the **Martyr for Galicia**. Castelao escaped being murdered because he was stuck in lands that were favourable to democracy, participating in the anti-fascist resistance.

→
Castelao's poster:
"Make our land ours indeed.
Vote the Statute"

↓
Castelao's poster:
"Let's end this shame.
Vote the Statute"

↓
Carlos Maside's Poster
"Women who work like men;
Vote the Statute like men"



AO PASO DO TEMPO

A sorte das tiranías

Un país asoballado, por moitas promesas que lle fagan, e por moitas virtudes que se atribúan os que o maltratan, é un país en constante revolta, aínda que esta non se faga visible a toda hora e teña que s'agachar nos peitos e cobrirose de silencio.

Si as hipotéticas virtudes, pregoadas pol-os mesmos mandaríns e por alabeiros a soldo, son desmentidas pol-os feitos; e, en fin, si os feitos, en fala popular non poden locir outros nomes que os que se dan ás valentías dos cobardes e ao furor dos idiotas, non haberá terrorismo sistémico, por moito que descenda pol-os declives da inominia, que poida aniquilar o pulo da rebeldía. Ataíegan o lume, pero botan leña, e non poderían matar o rescoído que ha de faguel-a arder, si non-o arman todo, como a palma da man, para quedaren eles sós a viviren do seu traballo — cousa inverosímil; e aínda d'aquela rematarían aseñándose uns aos outros.

O feixismo en coiro

A verdade é que no caso dos feixistas non é mester contrastar es ditos cos feitos. Cos ditos teñen d'abondo para se acreditaren d'argallantes e energúmenos. Nin fai falla tampouco agardar para xuzgalos a ver si cumpren ou non o que prometen, porque despois de moitas voltas non se lle tapa oso nin carne ao que prometen. Todo o que din quédase en flato, e xa é lonxe fede a mentira ou a sepulcro. Así, ¿qué povo non castrado poderá ter sosego onde eles manden?

Aínda hai «patriotas» (no estranxeiro) que din da Hespania asoballada: «¡Aquello sí que é Hespania! ¡Alf sí que hai paz e unidade!»

¡Non saben o agravio que fan aos homes das terras mergulladas na noite feixista! Si alf houberse paz todo estaría podre. Mais non é así. A rebeldía contra os tiríns non deixa de se manifestar na parte da península que ten a desventura de sufrilos.

Disde que naceu — si se pode chamar nacemento ao intre en que xurde unha malatía — o feixismo está apodrecendo. Mellor dito: apodrece o seu disíraz, deixando zo descuberto a lepra que pretendía agachar. Según vai fracasando, deixa a unha banda os ornamentos e mostra en coiro a súa verdadeira natureza. O seu espírito de dominio refórtese impotente e saca a reloir os seus resortes patolóxicos. Así o feixismo

vaise virando cada día mais frénético, torto e aldraxante. E por si aínda lle faltasen «atributos», as dercitas hespaníolas remataron de compeñelo. Non é doado a fantasía doente faguer conta de todos os seus crimes nin dos exemplos da súa estupidez.

Mais o povo; e unha gran parte do exército, sintense cada día máis cohibidos polo terrorismo feixioso, aínda que iste medre, a escomenza a responder aos aldraxes d'unha rebeldía franca e organizada. A indifinición chegou ao límite e manifestábase xa con oustinado coraxe, sin que valan supliços para evitar o seu desbordamento.

Presaxios d'unidade...

Son aínda confusas as noticias do gran desorden que está a cun-

dir no campo feixioso, pero sábese que non todo se reduce a disensións de xefes que promoven revolta por custión de mandos. Os feitos teñen mais fonda significación. En parte acreditan a mutua desconfianza dos feixistas, vendo como a ambición de uns matina contra a ambición dos outros. Esto ven sucedendo disde o comenzo do levante militar. Pero agora o semblante é outro, aínda que aquel feito ante mesturado.

O povo aproveita as discordancias militares e insubordinábase pol-a súa conta, ou ben súmase ás tropas sublevadas cando coincide con elas nun motivo xusto e liberal. Exemplos, Málaga e Motril. Gran parte do exército xa non soporta os privilexios dos invasores. Exemplo: Granada. Por uns motivos ou por outros, que non tardarán en ser plenamente coñecidos, en poucos días multiplicáronse as sublevacións e sostivéronse en todos os frentes gran-

des batallas. Por non referir episodios que recolleron todos os xornazes, abonde lembrar os nomes das cidades, vilas e lugares en que se combateu derradeiraamente: Málaga, Motril, Granada, Ceuta, León, Teruel, Toleado (cercañas), Sierra Elvira, Albolote, Pinos Puente, Torriente, Alto de la Mata, Zaragoza, etc. Os mortos e feridos cóntanse por milleros. Todas as armas entraron en combate, fusiles, ametralladoras, cañóns, aeroplanos...

O tingulido feixista desbarátase. No medio do remuíño estanse unido xa traballadores e soldados. Un novo fronte antifeixista organizábase alá... Axiña, d'entremedio de todas as confusións, xurdirá decantado, puxante, defuido, o gran levante popular, que alá está xermolando, a outra metade — e non a menos viva — da revolución hespaníola. A «unidade», e non de estilo feixista, anúnciase por mil agoiros.

QUIZAIS...

...os tempos son chegados

Non é doado ver por onde poden rematar as tiranías. Vendo por fora a solidez do seu aparato represivo non parece que se poidan lañar e derrubarse. Onde a dignidade está penada coo morte e con supliços, onde as paredes escoitan e até as pedras se acellan cómplices da policía, onde «todo é medido e sinalado para que non agome a mais pequena rebeldía sen ser aplastada, o espírito coído contemplar ao mesmo tempo que a brutalidade a mais incommovible fortaleza. A fame, o medo natural a unha morte aldraxante, parecen os cimentos mais firmes, para o que dispón do pan e das armas, para fundal-o poderío.

Pero o que temos certa esperencia histórica — e neste caso estamos todos os hespaníoles, descontando os nenos — sabemos como foi caendo na Hespania, e moi á presa nos derradeiros anos, todo o que non tiña outro fundamento.

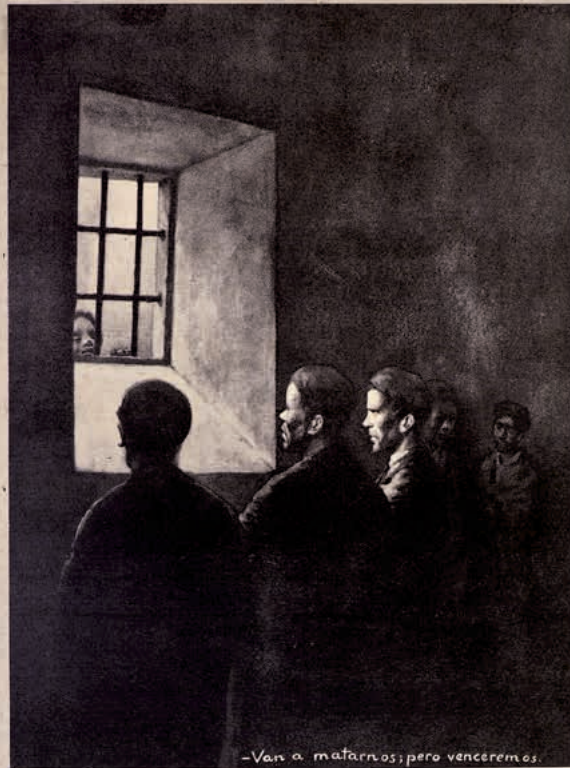
A ditadura primorriverista parecía afincada para moitos anos — diríase para sempre — cando escomenzaron as premeiras revoltas de obreiros e estudantes... Galiza distinguese nas premeiras iniciativas, aínda vagas, que escomenzaron a crebar aquela ditadura. E non sabemos ben que día, todo o respecto aos dictadores estarcíase como un soño. A audacia foi crecendo, e a cada hora as cadeas, como enferruxadas, cedían por si mesmas. A liberdade recobraba o seu pulo. Arriscábase todo. Parecía un milagre.

Sin lembrar outros exemplos, que non fan falla, queremos agora sinalar o crecente coraxe con que a xente escomenza a se ispresar na nosa terra. A indifinición e o desprezo aos feixistas franqueábase de día en día. Os homes xuzgan, comunícanse, van rompendo a reserva, entregan ao ar da rua o que non hai moito marmulíbase en segredo. As mulleres amenanzan aos falanxistas co intre da nosa victoria, para que se contenten... A conduta dos soldados faise equívoca para os mandos. Hai un troque de ambiente, en suma, que a ninguén pode pasar inadvertido.

Nas oficinas da Segredaría Galega recíbense constantemente, desde a súa fundación, mensaxes e visitas de evadidos que dan conta de episodios, grandes ou pequenos, e reflexan as suas impresións da nosa terra. Si o mesmo es testimonios que as caras dos visitantes houberan quedado rexistrados nun film, ou si fose posible rexistrar n'unha gráfica, como as temperaturas, as paula-

DA GALIZA MÁRTIR

por Castela



-Van a matarnos; pero venceremos.

-Van a matarnos, pero venceremos

September 1st, 1937

Nova Galiza bulletin.

Cover picture

by Castela reads:

"They are going to kill us;

but we will be victorious"

("Van a matarnos; pero venceremos").

This drawing would be

part of the album

"Galicia mártir".

RESISTANCE DURING WAR TIMES

1936-1939

Before the July 1936 military coup against the II Republic, Castelao kept working in favour of Galicia's national freedom and democracy. As he remained stuck in Spain's capital at the outbreak of the war, **he put himself at the service of the Republic and Galicia in Madrid**, as an intellectual and political activist.

In Madrid, he collaborated with the journal *Nueva Galicia. Portavoz de los antifascistas gallegos (New Galicia, the Voice of Galician Anti-Fascists)*, published by the Galician group of the Communist Party; and between Valencia and Barcelona he co-founded and directed, together with Rafael Dieste and with Ramón Suárez Picallo, *Nova Galiza, Boletín Quincenal dos Escritores Galegos Antifeixistas (New Galicia, Fortnight Bulletin of the Galician Anti-fascist Writers)*, created in 1937 at the initiative of members of the PG. It was common to see his collaborations in both publications, both texts and drawings. Castelao tried, through his paintings, to show the fascist horror in Galicia, and highlight the armed resistance against fascism, producing thirty prints that were grouped together as **the "war albums"** named *Galicia mártir* (1937), *Atila en Galicia* (1937) and *Milicianos* (1938).

Castelao travelled to the USSR, in the spring of 1938, with his pictorial and oratory art, in an international campaign in favour of the Republic and against fascism. As part of an official commission from the re-

publican government, he took part in the commemorative events of May Day, together with his wife, Virxinia Pereira, **presenting his "war albums" in Moscow**, and returning to Barcelona afterwards.

With the same intention, Castelao travelled after to **France**, through the **USA and Cuba**. Creating awareness among the international community in favour of the Republic was needed, as well as raising funds for the fight against fascism. As he had in the USSR, he travelled with his wife, Virxinia Pereira, but also with the communist and galicianist Luís Soto, who acted as a secretary. **In the USA, he held various exhibitions and participated in more than sixty rallies**, closely watched by an infiltrated member from the Military Information Special Services, some time later the CIA.



Buenos Aires, August 17th, 1945

Castelao poses next to Alexandre Bóveda's bust at Centro Ourensán on the occasion of the launching of his painting "The Teacher's last lesson" ("A derradeira leición do mestre"). The event was attended by prominent members of the Galician society of Buenos Aires, as well as the Galician Brotherhood (Irmandade Galega) and the Council of Galicia (Consello de Galiza). In the foreground, dressed in a traditional Galician dance costume, the artists Fernando Iglesias "Tacholas" and Maruxa Boga. Bust was sculpted by Galician sculptor Domingo Maza Calvo.



ALWAYS IN GALICIA DESPITE EXILE

1939-1947

After a siege on the city of Barcelona that lasted more than one year, on the January 26th, 1939, the rebel troops took the Catalan capital. **Castelao**, like other democrats with political significance —**like Spanish, Catalan and Basque Governments— that were living in the city, escaped into exile.**

Since the summer of 1940, Castelao was **exiled in the capital of Argentina**, where he established his residence and lived until the end of his life. **Buenos Aires was home to the largest Galician colony outside Galicia, with a large network of societies, mostly galicianist and republican.** From the very beginning, Castelao tried to reassemble all the exiles under a sole organisation, promoting Galician Brotherhood (Irmandade Galega, IG). It would be the Galicianist Party in exile. The IG re-published *A Nosa Terra*, which had been the Galician sovereignist newspaper between 1916 and 1936, so that the exile movement had a means of communication that linked all the exiled galicianists.

In 1944 he wrote ***Always in Galicia (Sempre en Galiza)***, a seminal work for many generations of Galician sovereignists, even to this day. It combines journalistic articles, thoughts that appear as if taken from a diary and autobiographical notes, as well as a history of Galicia and political critique to design the roadmap to liberate his country of spanish fascism.

He also created a Galician government in exile, deriving its legitimacy from the process in favour of the Statute of Autonomy and the elected deputies in the republican election of 1936. This was known as the **Council of Galicia (Consello de Galiza)**, formed in 1944 and presided over by Castelao himself. The main task for that government was **the approval of the Galician Statute of Autonomy**, successfully plebiscited in June 1936. To that end, it was necessary that it should be debated **in the Spanish Parliament in exile.** Galicianist deputies from the Council of Galicia, travelled to Mexico on the October 1st, 1945, once the republican Parliament was convened. **It was approved in the session of the November 9th**, despite the objection of a large number of Spanish republicans.

The working capacity and support of galicianism in exile, as well as the crisis that the exiled Spanish republican government was undergoing, made the president, José Giral, appoint Castelao as a **minister without portfolio.** He held this post, in Paris, from March 1946 until he left the government in July 1947, in absolute disillusionment.



**Montevideo,
April 29th, 1945**

Castelao, in exile,
delivers a public speech
in tribute to the people
of Gernika
—on the 8th anniversary
of the bombing that
devastated the town—
and advocates
to relaunch Galeuzca.



GALEUZCA: AGREEMENT OF THREE NATIONS

1941-1959

In the context of the **Second World War**, the Galician, Basque and Catalan national movements in exile relaunch the pact that had united them since July 1933, named **Galeuzca**, an acronym of the first syllable of the three nations: **Galiza**, **Euzkadi** and **Catalunya**. Castelao would be central to the new stage of this project, with the help of the Basque President José Antonio Aguirre, with whom he would maintain a close relationship.

On May 9th, 1941, in **Buenos Aires**, representatives of the **three countries would repeat that sovereign unity pact**, agreeing to: **fight for democracy in the world**, alongside the allied powers led by Great Britain; **denounce the Francoist dictatorship** and national oppression against the institutions, languages and cultures of their peoples; and defend a **future articulation of Spain as a plurinational state**. The agreement was led by Castelao, the Basque Ramón María Aldasoro and the Catalan Manuel Serra i Moret. This agreement would also lead to an agreement in **Mexico City**, on December 22nd, 1944, where the representatives of Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia **proclaimed the right of their peoples to self-determination**.

From August of 1945 this pact would count on a publication, the **Galeuzca magazine**. Until July 1946, he would publish twelve issues in twelve months. The year of life of the magazine would be the reflection of the

most critical moment of said pact. The march of Castelao to Paris in 1946, as well as José María de Lasarte and Manuel Serra i Moret, among other animators of the Galeuzca in exile, would lead to the eclipse of that initiative.

Even so, in the years **after the death of Castelao**, **this project would continue to exist**, in the exile, with Antón Alonso Ríos representing Galicianism. Even in 1953 a young Galeuzca would be encouraged. In 1958 it would be reactivated in **Buenos Aires**—driven by Ramón Suárez Picallo, Joaquín de Gamboa and Pere Cerezo— with the organization of various events and the drafting of some documents. And finally in 1959 it would be in **Caracas**, where the last of the agreements of Galeuzca in exile would be signed.



Buenos Aires, Autumn, 1949

Last known picture of Castelao was taken at the Library of the Centro Ouren�án. He is sited with a Galician table flag.

MUSEO DE PONTEVEDRA



FINAL YEARS AND DEATH

1947-1950

Castelao returned from the French capital to Buenos Aires, feeling that his time as a minister in the government of José Giral had been a truly disappointing experience. Aged sixty, and having almost completely lost his sight, Castelao had received a hard blow seeing that the Spanish government was languishing and, thus, so too were republican freedom and any possibility for a freed Galicia.

Then, **Castelao committed himself to the exiled galicianist movement in Argentina and Uruguay**. After his return to Buenos Aires, he tried to draft what should have been the second volume of *Always in Galicia*. But his strength failed. **A medical examination revealed he had a cancer** at a very advanced stage... Castelao and those close to him tried not to make the illness public, but he didn't appear publicly often, an exception being his presence and participation in the event held by the Galician Center (Centro Galego) for the Galician National Day in 1948. During 1949 **he was almost totally confined to his apartment** in Buenos Aires, that he and his wife, Virxinia Pereira, had made their home in the exile.

Castelao was hospitalized on the January 2nd, 1950, in the Sanatorium of the Galician Center, under the care of the galicianist and masonic doctors Gumersindo Sánchez Guisande and Ramón Rey Baltar. Guisande and the doctor Miguel S. Pastor performed a complex

surgery, from which Castelao didn't wake up. **He died on the January 7th, 1950**. The Galician media in exile, as well as Basque and Catalan ones, paid their final respects to the Galician leader, and sent condolences to his widow, Virxinia Pereira.

For his funeral, Castelao's body was wrapped in the Galician flag the exiles had given him before his trip to Paris, before accepting to be a Minister; this flag had become "a historical relic for our Homeland" for the Galician exile. His body remained in the Galician Center for a wake where thousands of Galicians paid their last respects. **The galicianist coffin left towards the cemetery** of Chacarita, in Buenos Aires, between two lines of nurses from the institution, and **carried by hand by his brothers in militancy** of the Council of Galicia and the Brotherhoods of the Language.

2018

The Council of Galician Culture celebrated Castelao's 1948 iconic speech "Dawn of Glory" with an exhibition titled "Dawn of Glory. The speech 70 years after" ("Alba de Gloria. O discurso 70 anos despois").

"Dawn of Glory" was written in memory of Alexandre Bóveda and the Galician martyrs, murdered by fascism after the military coup of July 1936.

An animated cartoon of Castelao was created for the exhibition curated by Manuel Gago.

ILLUSTRATION:

PABLO APARICIO

/ CONSELLO DA CULTURA GALEGA



BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND THE RECLAMATION OF HIS FIGURE 1950-2019

Castelao's death was a hard blow for the Galicianists in exile, but it also served to relaunch his vision, calling to a new generation of Galicians. **Franco's dictatorship tried to silence the death of the Galician leader**. Still, the significance of Castelao and everything he represented meant that the news of the passing of the sovereigntist politician and artist appeared in various publications.

Castelao was still an iconic figure after his passing on both sides of the ocean, and his physical disappearance meant a turning point in Galicia's political history. **The Francoist authorities were afraid that Castelao's death would mean a reactivation of Galician national movement**. Together with some obituaries in the press, some masses were held in his memory, the only public events that were allowed.

A few years later, steps could be taken in order to reclaim his personage. **At the height of Francoism**, Galician sovereigntists proposed dedicating the Day of Galician Literature (Día das Letras Galegas) to him in 1964, then in its second edition; meanwhile, **clandestine copies of *Always in Galiza* were arriving**.

Inspired by this work, the new Galicianist organizations created in 1960s, such as the Union of the Galician People (Unión do Pobo Galego) and the Galician Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Galego), spread

Castelao's status and ideas. Some parts of *Always in Galicia*, and analysis of it, could be read, in *Terra e Tempo (Land and Time)* and *Galicia Socialista* bulletins. From 1975, after the falling of the Francoist dictatorship, the Galician National-Popular Assembly (Asemblea Nacional-Popular Galega) **popularized, the works of the Galician sovereigntist leader** and gradually reclaimed the memory of his exile and the republican times.

In 1984, in a clear case of manipulation, Castelao's remains were brought back from Argentina to Galicia and taken to the **Pantheon of Illustrious Galicians** in Santiago de Compostela. There were various acts of repudiation and demonstrations, led by the recently created Galician Nationalist Bloc (Bloque Nacionalista Galego) who wanted it to be remembered, in the capital of Galicia, that Castelao wished that his remains wouldn't rest in Galicia as long as it wasn't a liberated Homeland.

Since Castelao's death, many publications have re-asserted, in any case, the memories and ideas of this emblematic Galician activist, deputy and president of the Council of Galicia, as well as a creator who was committed to his people. **Thanks to the constant work of Galician national movement, in both the political and cultural areas, his figure is alive today**; many monuments honour him and many streets in Galicia and the diaspora are named after him.

"With the death of Castelao —I say with deep commotion— Galicia lost its most representative man, his hero, difficult to replace for many generations."

Manuel Rodrigues Lapa
Portuguese writer

