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"Most Catholic Spain": British Evangelical Protestant Views of the Spanish Civil War and its Legacy

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"Most Catholic Spain": British Evangelical Protestant Views of the Spanish Civil War and its Legacy

A thesis presented in Candidacy for Departmental Honors in
History
from
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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May 3, 2024

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Introduction

In November of 1945, the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickcliffe Preachers' Messenger* (CMWPM), a monthly publication of the London-based Protestant Truth Society (PTS), an evangelical advocacy group, declared,

It must by now be plain to all the world that Protestantism spells freedom while Catholicism spells slavery... If Spain is labelled Most Catholic then Britain would be labelled by others as Most Protestant. Yet all Britons know that very few people in our beloved land ever enter a church or acknowledge God in their affairs. Nevertheless, such is the influence of Protestant Christianity, that it has permeated the whole of society. Our laws, our customs, our Government, our Press, our history, have all been affected by the righteous principles and the freedom-loving character of true Christianity.¹

To the PTS, even a secular Britain was fundamentally Protestant, as ordained by God. Moreover, God had tasked the PTS with defending this way of life, driving it to frame its activities as a war against the influence of the evils of Catholicism. During the 1930s, Spain served as the perfect antithesis to Protestant Britain, as Spain contended with her Catholic past in the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic and during the Spanish Civil War. If Britain's national identity had been constructed through Protestantism, then Spain's had been constructed through Catholicism. Using these associations to its advantage, the PTS utilized the idea of Spain to galvanize support for its anti-Catholic crusade.

A defining characteristic of British evangelicalism across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was anti-Catholicism.² Described as “an all-encompassing passion” in its nineteenth-century form, anti-Catholicism remained at the core of evangelical thought through the first half of the twentieth century.³ To evangelical Anglicans, Catholicism was fundamentally

¹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Spain's Critics,” *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickcliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1945), 105.

² John Maiden and Andrew Atherstone, *Evangelicalism and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century: Reform, Resistance and Renewal*, Studies in Modern British Religious History, Volume 31 (Suffolk, England; The Boydell Press, 2014), 136, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781782043065>.

³ James C. Whisenant, “A Fragile Unity: Anti-Ritualism and the Division of Anglican Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century,” *Studies in Evangelical History and Thought*. (Carlisle, Cumbria, UK; Paternoster Press,

incompatible with Protestant life, representing “doctrinal falsehood and spiritual poison... despotism, censorship, and anarchism.”⁴ Moreover, evangelical Protestants believed that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, led by the pope, sought to destroy Protestantism both politically and theologically, “simultaneously a false religion, a political organization seeking world domination, and the Antichrist of biblical prophecies.”⁵ The PTS stood at the center of British evangelical anti-Catholicism as one of its strongest voices in the twentieth century.⁶ Perceiving Protestant values to be under threat from Rome, the PTS constantly proclaimed the evils of Catholicism and its danger to the British people with a “level of bellicosity [which] exceeded that of conservative evangelicalism.”⁷

If Catholicism captured the attention of the PTS evangelicals, then one nation had to become the focus of their cries. Between 1930 and 1945, the CMWPM mentioned Spain 429 times, approximately fifty percent more than it mentioned Germany and thirty-five percent more than it mentioned Italy in the same period.⁸ Spain, however, is far from the only nation with a Catholic past, so why did the CMWPM label Spain as the Most Catholic foil to Protestant Britain? Beginning in the late nineteenth century, conservative forces within Spain worked to solidify a Catholic political identity which, in turn, contrived a narrative of Spanish development that was intrinsically Catholic. Francisco Franco, dictator of Spain from 1939 to 1975, deepened

2003), 1; David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones, eds., *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 151.

⁴ Martin Wellings, “The First Protestant Martyr of the Twentieth Century: The Life and Significance of John Kensit (1853-1902),” ed. Diana Wood, vol. 30, *Studies in Church History 30 (Martyrs and Martyrologies)*, Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 352–53.

⁵ Wellings, 352–53.

⁶ David Bebbington, “Martyrs for the Truth: Fundamentalists in Britain,” ed. Diana Wood, vol. 30, *Studies in Church History 30 (Martyrs and Martyrologies)*, Oxford: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 440.

⁷ Bebbington and Jones, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, 160.

⁸ These figures were produced through searching “Spain,” “Germany,” and “Italy” within all CMWPM editions published between 1930 and 1945. Over the same period, the search terms “Hitler” and “Mussolini” were mentioned twice as much as “Franco”.

this idea of a true Catholic Spain to claim a continuity with imperial Spain and to paint the Spanish Civil War as a valiant reconquering of Catholic Spain. Under Franco, to be Spanish was to be Catholic. Any form of difference was silenced.

Through the investigation of the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickcliffe Preachers' Messenger*, the main monthly publication of the Protestant Truth Society, I will argue that the PTS imagined, engaged, and criticized Spain all in an effort to articulate the risks that Catholicism, fascism, and communism posed to the British people between 1930 and 1945 and to draw support for its efforts. This fifteen-year span encompassed a period of modern Spanish history marked by transformation and violence, as Spain experienced monarchy, republicanism, civil war, and dictatorship, all pointing to a period of extreme political instability. Within Britain, these years saw religious demographic change, intense theological and political anxiety for different groups, and material consequences of global war.

The chapters of this thesis reflect the major transitions within twentieth-century Spain. The first will assess, between 1930 and 1936, the PTS's conceptualization of an old and new Spain demarcated by the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic. Spanning the years of the Spanish Civil War, 1936 to 1939, my second chapter will contend that the CMWPM both defined and assigned meaning to the Spanish Civil War for their own purposes, namely, to emphasize the danger of Catholic fascism to the British people, while rationalizing anticlerical violence to suit the PTS's unwavering anti-Catholic worldview. The final chapter will explore the political and theological ramifications of the World War II era between 1939 and 1945, arguing that the CMWPM sought to undermine Franco's independent authority in an effort to tie Spain to the Vatican as well as Hitler and Mussolini to lessen the blow of a Catholic victory in the Spanish Civil War. But, to the CMWPM this period also held spiritual ramifications as the

CMWPM perpetuated the belief that World War II was the biblical Battle of Armageddon finally come to pass, so the CMWPM worked to link together Spain, the Vatican, and the Axis powers so that Catholicism could be finally defeated by Protestantism. Instead, after years of bombardment and bitter fighting, the British looked to rebuild and recover, and Spain, though never a declared combatant in the war, emerged with Europe's last fascist dictator. As it became clear that the Axis was not going to win the war, Franco was forced to publicly pivot towards the United States and Britain in order to access a seat at the table without Mussolini and Hitler, joining the two democratic nations in the fight against communism.

The Protestant Truth Society

In 1889, John Kensit founded the Protestant Truth Society (PTS), a single-issue, fundamentalist Anglican interest group. The PTS was dedicated to opposing and diminishing the influence of ritualism and Catholicism within the Anglican Church and Britain as a whole. Ritualism was a trend within the Church of England that had grown out of the Oxford Movement in which more elaborate ceremonial elements were added to the liturgy and sacraments, in the style of the Catholic Church.⁹ The Oxford Movement, or Tractarianism, was a theological movement born out of the academic environment of the University of Oxford and generally considered to have begun with John Keble's National Apostasy sermon on July 14, 1833, at the University Church of St. Mary in Oxford.¹⁰ The Oxford Movement developed at a time when liberalizing forces were creating space between the Church of England and the British government. This left some theologians to ponder the identity of the Church as an independent entity from the state as well as from other Protestant traditions. John Henry Newman, one of the

⁹ John Howard, "The Making of a Martyr' Reactions to John Kensit's Death in 1902," *Theology* 105, no. 827 (2002): 348, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0040571X0210500504>.

¹⁰ George Herring, *What Was the Oxford Movement?*, Outstanding Christian Thinkers (London ; Continuum, 2002), 3-4.

most prominent Tractarians, argued that Apostolic succession, the belief that all priests have been blessed through the laying of hands in a continuous line going all the way back to Jesus, gave authority to the Church of England.¹¹ This placed a greater emphasis upon the role of an ordained priesthood and sacramental rights which conflicted with the evangelical emphasis on the Bible alone.¹² In form, the Oxford Movement shifted the Anglican Church towards Catholicism, which many British evangelicals found reprehensible.

Kensit acquired the *Churchman's Magazine*, which would become the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* in 1903, at the same time that he founded the PTS.¹³ The *CMWPM* provided to its readers commentary on international and domestic politics, reports of the PTS and its activities, theological discussion and prayer, and other reflections from Anglican evangelicals. The rhetoric espoused in the *CMWPM* was fiercely anti-Catholic and often utilized the memory of religious violence against Protestants to connect with their readership. For the most part, the *CMWPM* published the writings and articles of members of the Protestant Truth Society which included many evangelical preachers, though not exclusively.¹⁴ Some of these writers included members of the Kensit family, including the elder Kensit's daughter Edith Warlters, as well as prominent members of the PTS like C. Leopold Clarke, an instructor at the Kensit Memorial College, and Albert Close, who served on the Protestant Truth Society executive council after joining the organization in 1930.¹⁵ Most information can be

¹¹ Herring, 29.

¹² Herring, 30.

¹³ Wellings, "The First Protestant Martyr of the Twentieth Century," 350. While biographers of Kensit agree that he acquired the magazine, they fail to mention what the history of this publication was before Kensit's ownership.

¹⁴ Further research should explore the mechanics of the *CMWPM*'s activities in detail. Within the scope of this project, it was difficult to assess the operations of the *CMWPM* which would require deep archival research. Many of the records of the *CMWPM* and the PTS are kept at the London Metropolitan Archives.

¹⁵ "Death of Albert Close," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1956), 45; "Kensit Educational Prize Scheme," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, 1930), 30.

gathered about these individuals through the CMWPM itself. The CMWPM enjoyed featuring work from authors who had converted from Catholicism to Protestantism, like Juan Orts González who had been a Catholic priest in Spain until a visit to New Orleans in 1909 caused him to become an evangelical Protestant.¹⁶ The CMWPM also published the work of prominent evangelical Protestants not directly involved with the PTS. One of these was Rev. T. Christie Innes who served as the general secretary of the American Tract Society, an evangelical publishing organization, in the 1940s.¹⁷

Unlike other anti-ritualist movements, the PTS chose to do more than just organize meetings and distribute literature.¹⁸ Kensit led his followers in the active disruption of church services across England that included too much ritualism for their liking.¹⁹ Kensit was assisted by the Wickliffe Preachers, the young ministerial arm of the PTS trained by Kensit to militantly oppose ritualism, who, in 1903, numbered about thirty.²⁰ Though a small group, these men were highly efficient; in 1903 alone, they “visited 441 places, held 2,561 meetings, and distributed 200,000 pamphlets.”²¹

In the twentieth century, leadership passed from Kensit to his son, J. A. Kensit after the older Kensit’s murder. On September 25, 1902, a disgruntled Catholic threw a metal file at Kensit as he exited a meeting in Birkenhead, causing Kensit to suffer a serious head wound.²²

¹⁶ “Juan Orts Gonzalez (of Spain): Formerly Roman Catholic Priest,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1934), 193–94.

¹⁷ “PASTOR GOING TO LONDON; Rev. T.C. Innes to Attend National Conference on Evangelism,” *The New York Times*, May 5, 1946, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1946/05/05/archives/pastor-going-to-london-rev-tc-innes-to-attend-national-conference.html>.

¹⁸ G. I. T. Machin, “The Last Victorian Anti-Ritualist Campaign, 1895-1906,” *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 3 (1982): 285.

¹⁹ Machin, 285.

²⁰ Machin, 285.

²¹ Machin, 285.

²² Howard, ““The Making of a Martyr’ Reactions to John Kensit’s Death in 1902,” 350.

Thirteen days later, on October 8, Kensit died from resulting pneumonia.²³ Kensit's followers immediately proclaimed Kensit a martyr, and the November 1902 issue of *The Churchman's Magazine* lamented, "[t]he terrible weapon of a poor deluded youth was permitted to scar the noble forehead that Christ might crown him with a martyr's crown. Oh, how inscrutable are the ways of God!"²⁴ Kensit's death stirred up considerable attention. His funeral service was highly attended in Liverpool, and afterwards, 20,000 people watched as the body was transported from the church to the railroad station for a second packed funeral in London.²⁵ Kensit's death galvanized support for his organization, and the Protestant Truth Society was able to quickly raise ten thousand pounds for a training institution for Wickliffe Preachers which opened in October of 1905 as the Wickliffe Preachers' Training College.²⁶

The Protestant Truth Society continued under the leadership of J. A. Kensit, John Kensit's son, who was also a fierce Protestant polemicist.²⁷ During this period, the CMWPM continued to espouse fervent anti-Catholicism while the PTS worked to grow the scope of the CMWPM and the number of the Wickliffe preachers. In some years, the PTS disclosed their income for the year in the summary of their annual meeting, typically held in May. This figure was available in the CMWPM each year from 1932 to 1940.

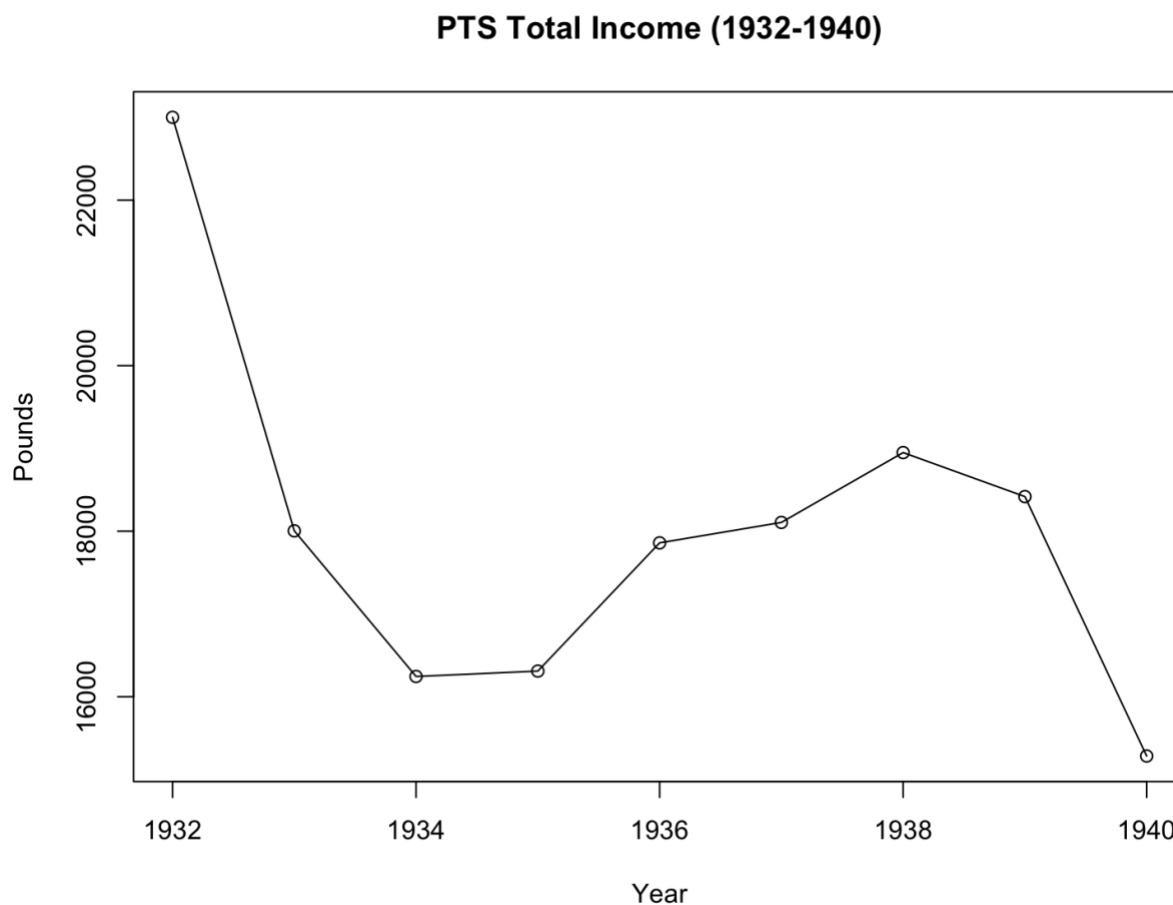
²³ Howard, 350.

²⁴ Howard, 350.

²⁵ Wellings, "The First Protestant Martyr of the Twentieth Century," 348.

²⁶ Howard, "The Making of a Martyr' Reactions to John Kensit's Death in 1902," 354.

²⁷ Howard, 354.

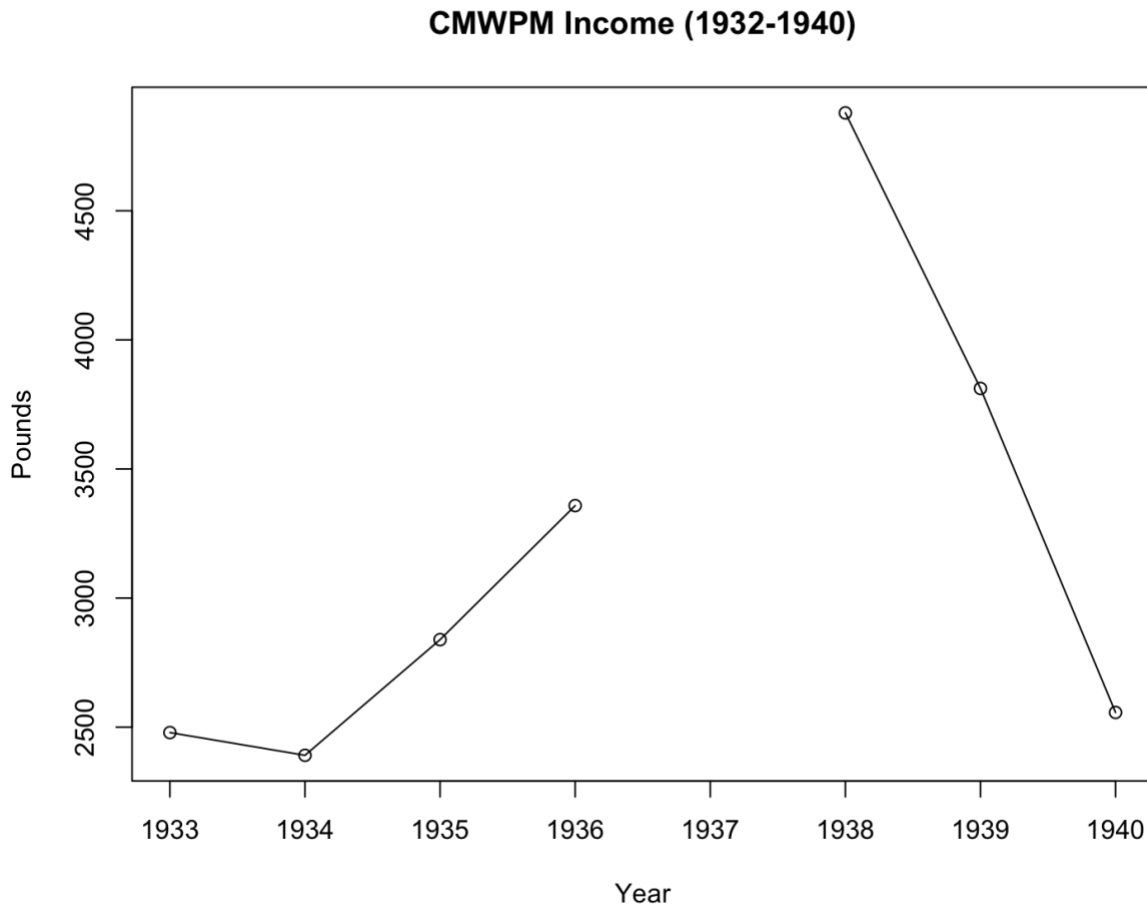


This data suggests that the PTS was most successful in 1932, earning £23,000, which would amount to £1,328,984.44 in 2024.²⁸ Between 1935 and 1938, donations to the PTS increased after a period of decline. The PTS saw a reduction in its income as World War II began, only bringing in £15,284 (£708,260.33) in 1940.²⁹ After 1940, the PTS called for donations for its wartime ministries but no longer published income figures.

Along with their total income, the PTS released the income of the CMWPM specifically between 1933 and 1940, except for 1937.

²⁸ “Our Annual Meetings,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, July 1933), 189.

²⁹ “Our Annual Meetings,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, June 1940), 103.



From this data, the CMWPM was increasing in readership between 1934 and 1938, but World War II likely disrupted this distribution efforts. The price of the CMWPM to readers was almost never mentioned in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1939, however, the CMWPM issued a two-line advertisement calling for readers to pay for a British soldier to receive the CMWPM for a year.³⁰ This subscription cost two shillings, six pence, or £4.92 in 2024 currency.³¹ In 1948, however, the April edition of the CMWPM included a membership renewal form that listed

³⁰ “Why Not Subscribe for a Copy of This Magazine to Be Sent Monthly throughout 1940 to One Serving in the National Cause? Subscription Is 2/6 Post Free...,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, December 1939), 302.

³¹ “Why Not Subscribe for a Copy of This Magazine to Be Sent Monthly throughout 1940 to One Serving in the National Cause?,” 302.

annual membership fees to the PTS.³² On this form the price of a twelve-month subscription to the CMWPM was four shillings.³³ Using these two prices to estimate upper and lower bounds and assuming that the income of the CMWPM was from sales of the magazine exclusively, the CMWPM sold between approximately 24,000 and 39,000 subscriptions in 1938, the year in which the CMWPM made the most money for which there is data.³⁴

Historiography

This work's place at the intersection of twentieth-century Spain and twentieth-century British evangelicalism means that its subject matter has received little attention from other scholars. My thesis seeks to contribute to two major gaps in the historiography: the religious dimension of the transnational consequences of the Spanish Civil War within Britain and a more complete analysis of the PTS as a major voice of twentieth-century British evangelical anti-Catholicism. Further, this thesis strives to combat several trends within the historiography. First and foremost, the history of the PTS has almost exclusively been explored through the martyrdom of John Kensit or as an example of extreme anti-Catholic action during the early twentieth century. As of yet, no scholar has discussed the specific world view of the Protestant Truth Society in depth. Further, no one has investigated the role that twentieth-century Spain played in British evangelical thought. Almost all analyses of British religious thought in response to the Spanish Civil War and associated periods have focused on British Catholics and their support of Franco. The PTS stands out as a religious organization that openly supported

³² "Membership Renewal Form," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1948).

³³ "Membership Renewal Form."

³⁴ Though readership numbers for large daily newspapers are available, I was unable to find these statistics for magazines like the CMWPM during this time period, considering that the CMWPM was a monthly, subscription-based religious publication.

Republican Spain, despite popular anticlerical violence within Republican Spain in the early days of the Spanish Civil War.

Twentieth-century Spain itself is a relatively small field; its historiography is bolstered by historians who focus on the wider transnational consequences and contexts of the Spanish Civil War and Franco regime.³⁵ In the case of Britain specifically, historians have discussed the political and social influences of the Spanish Civil War in considerable depth, but the religious aspects remain almost entirely untouched. Additionally, twentieth-century Spanish historiography is largely defined by periodization, creating large divides between scholarship on the Second Spanish Republic, the Spanish Civil War, and the Franco regime. Few works illustrate the continuity between these periods, especially those looking out from Spain to the wider world, so this work hopes to contextual British responses to the Spanish Civil War as components of larger trends that began earlier than and extended past the civil war era.

Seminal scholarship of the impact of the Spanish Civil War on Great Britain includes Kenneth W. Watkins' *Britain Divided. The Effects of the Spanish Civil War on British Political Opinion*, published in 1963. Writing only twenty-four years removed from the conflict, Watkins concluded that "probably not since the French Revolution had a 'foreign event' so bitterly divided the British people."³⁶ This assertion has remained the prominent interpretation within the

³⁵ Because of the censorship of the Franco Regime, the academic study of Spain in the twentieth century has been dominated by British and American Hispanists. Paul Preston is one of the most renowned historians of this period. His works on the Spanish Civil War, including *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War* (1978) and *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (2007) are vital as is his deep investigation of Francoist violence, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (2012). Helen Graham's book *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century* (2012) looks out from Spain to place the Spanish Civil War in the context of broader European development. For the religious aspects of modern Spain, Mary Vincent and Frances Lannon are essential reading. See: *Frances Lannon, Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1975* (1986) and Mary Vincent, *Catholicism in the Spanish Second Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930-6* (1996).

³⁶ K. W. Watkins, *Britain Divided; the Effect of the Spanish Civil War on British Political Opinion* (London: T. Nelson, 1963), vii.

historiography as to the importance of the Spanish Civil War to British society though the reasons for such a result have been debated. Speaking generally about British opinions of Spain during the Civil War period, Watkins argues that the narratives produced by the Nationalists and Republicans influenced the British public more than any understandings of British interests.³⁷

Tom Buchanan built upon Watkins' work with numerous publications. In 1997, Buchanan published his general history, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*.³⁸ In agreement with Watkins, Buchanan asserts that "of all foreign conflicts of the twentieth century in which Britain was not directly involved, the war in Spain made by far the greatest impact on British political, social, and cultural life."³⁹ Buchanan theorizes that the British public became so invested in the conflict because the war seemed to take on an almost universal significance in connection to the growth of fascist regimes across Europe.⁴⁰ Buchanan further argues that many Britons saw that war as representative of significant ideological divides.⁴¹ Those who supported the Republic saw the war as a fascist attack on democracy, and the pro-rebel camp interpreted the coup that began the war as a defense of Catholicism against communism.⁴² Buchanan added to his work in 2007 with *The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain: War, Loss and Memory*, a collection of both new and previously published articles that extend Buchanan's analysis of the Spanish Civil War to include the influence of the later Franco regime on British society and politics.⁴³

Enrique Moradiellos, a Spanish historian born in Spain under the Franco regime, specifically points to Watkins and Buchanan as the main authorities on the significance of the

³⁷ Watkins, 13.

³⁸ Tom Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³⁹ Buchanan, 1.

⁴⁰ Buchanan, 2.

⁴¹ Buchanan, 2.

⁴² Buchanan, 2.

⁴³ Tom Buchanan, *The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain: War, Loss and Memory*, Sussex Studies in Spanish History (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2007).

Spanish Civil War to British political opinion in the late 1930s.⁴⁴ He emphasizes the widespread academic consensus on the topic but articulates that there is no such unanimous opinion on the reason that the Spanish Civil War received such attention within Britain.⁴⁵ In his article, “The British Image of Spain and the Civil War,” Moradiellos explores the causes of this phenomenon and asserts that the British looked to Spain because it served as a mirror to wider European tensions between democracy and fascism that directly affected Britain as well as an analogy for the European crisis of the interwar period.⁴⁶ While Moradiellos’ analysis is similar to Buchanan’s, Moradiellos places too great an emphasis on the Second World War. His argument is clouded by his knowledge of events to come.

Across the field, few scholars have explored how religious Britons engaged with the Spanish Civil War. Buchanan acknowledges that the religious aspects of this topic have been paid the least attention in the historiography.⁴⁷ Some, like Moradiellos, fail to acknowledge the complex role of religious ideology in British public opinion, but most, like Buchanan and Brian Shelmerdine devote at least a chapter to religious questions. In his wider analysis of British opinion, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War*, Shelmerdine actually disagrees with Buchanan and Watkins’ established argument, contending that the majority of the British public never fully engaged with the Spanish Civil War and instead saw the conflict in terms with a sort of detachment, understanding Spain as a country with little relevance to Britain.⁴⁸ Religion, however, unites Buchanan and Shelmerdine, as both acknowledge the diversity and fervency of British religious thought on the Spanish Civil War. Ben Edwards, with *With God on Our Side:*

⁴⁴ Enrique Moradiellos, “The British Image of Spain and the Civil War,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 2002): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1386/ijis.15.1.4>.

⁴⁵ Moradiellos, 4.

⁴⁶ Moradiellos, 5.

⁴⁷ Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*, 228.

⁴⁸ Brian Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 2.

British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War, remains the main author to have explored the views of British Christians of the Spanish Civil War in a major standalone work.⁴⁹ Even, Edwards, however, focuses on Catholic responses, devoting much less analysis to Protestant interactions with the Spanish Civil War.

Broader histories of the transnational consequences of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime are helpful in supplementing the literature that focuses on Britain and in providing a more complete picture of international trends, especially those relating to the Catholic Church's global policy during this period. In 2020, Giuliana Chamedes published a concise roundtable article on the development of transnational scholarship on the Spanish Civil War. Chamedes asserts that the study of the Spanish Civil War has always included efforts to situate the conflict in an international context and that the first works on the Spanish Civil War from an international perspective focused on either the involvement of international actors, like Nazi Germany, in the conflict or the international volunteers, material support, and attention that the war received.⁵⁰ One of these international histories, *A New International History of the Spanish Civil War*, by Michael Alpert, extensively explains the strategic decisions of international actors in intervening, or not intervening, in the Spanish Civil War.⁵¹ On the other hand, Chamedes observes that newer scholarship has dedicated itself to three tasks: understanding that the Spanish Civil War is tied to imperialism, asserting that the conflict served as a stage for competing international organizations, and investigating the influence of the war abroad beyond the actions of foreign governments.⁵² David Brydan belongs to this newer camp, and argues in his 2019 book,

⁴⁹ Ben Edwards, *With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

⁵⁰ Giuliana Chamedes, "Transnationalising the Spanish Civil War," *Contemporary European History* 29, no. 3 (August 2020): 261, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777320000223>.

⁵¹ Michael Alpert, *A New International History of the Spanish Civil War*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁵² Chamedes, "Transnationalising the Spanish Civil War," 262.

Franco's Internationalists: Social Experts and Spain's Search for Legitimacy that Franco sought multiple and innovative paths to engage with the international community through international organizations and to market Spain on the global stage.⁵³ Chamedes concludes that new scholarship on the international context and impact of the Spanish Civil War furthers the position that Spain, instead of being the backwards exception to European history, exemplifies larger trends of European development as well as many of the main tensions of the twentieth century.⁵⁴ Chamedes also speaks to how cooperation between the Catholic Church and the Franco regime was a component of broader Vatican strategy. In her book, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe*, Chamedes explores the Spanish Civil War as a stage for competing internationalisms and focuses in on how the Spanish Civil War and Franco regime functioned as an element of the Vatican's fight to extinguish communism within Europe through a "cultural crusade."⁵⁵ Brydan also speaks to the role of the Franco regime in this Catholic internationalism but emphasizes the ways in which such an arrangement was beneficial to the Franco regime.⁵⁶

Twentieth-century British evangelical history is also a relatively small field. British evangelical history tends to focus on the Victorian era while evangelical history as a whole favors American evangelicalism. Within British evangelical history, David W. Bebbington is one of the premier voices. His landmark work, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, posited a definition of evangelicalism which has become known as the "Bebbington quadrilateral" and has since provided a stable foundation for the scholastic

⁵³ David Brydan, *Franco's Internationalists: Social Experts and Spain's Search for Legitimacy* (Oxford: University Press, 2019).

⁵⁴ Chamedes, "Transnationalising the Spanish Civil War," 263.

⁵⁵ Giuliana Chamedes, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 5.

⁵⁶ Brydan, *Franco's Internationalists*.

discussion of evangelicalism.⁵⁷ Bebbington contends that evangelicalism is characterized by four core beliefs: “*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and...*crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.”⁵⁸ Other prominent historians in this field are David Maiden, Andrew Atherstone, and Martin Wellings. Though often collaborators, these authors have each worked to advance particular dimensions of British evangelical history. Maiden is predominantly interested in Protestant anti-Catholicism and mentions the impact of the PTS in this area in his chapter, “Fundamentalism and Anti-Catholicism in Inter-War English Evangelicalism,” of *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century*, edited by Bebbington.⁵⁹ While Wellings is an expert in Methodist fundamentalism, Wellings is also one of the only historians to have devoted an article to any portion of the PTS exclusively. His conference paper, “The First Protestant Martyr of the Twentieth Century: The Life and Significance of John Kensit (1853-1902),” discusses the immediate declaration of Kensit as a martyr in the aftermath of his death.⁶⁰ While histories of British evangelicalism and fundamentalism touch on the PTS as an example of fierce anti-Catholicism, it seems that no authors have explored the history of the PTS in a standalone work.

Informed by these works and many others, this thesis seeks to contribute to the scholarship of both the transnational history of twentieth-century Spain and twentieth-century British evangelicalism by arguing that the PTS constructed a shifting narrative of the nature of Spain within the CMWPM between 1930 and 1945 in an effort to articulate its fears about

⁵⁷ Bebbington and Jones, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, 2.

⁵⁸ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London ; Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203359907>.

⁵⁹ Bebbington and Jones, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, 95.

⁶⁰ Wellings, “The First Protestant Martyr of the Twentieth Century,” 347.

Catholicism, fascism, and communism within Britain and beyond. Further the PTS used this imagining of Spain to emphasize the dangers of Catholicism to Protestant Britons and to galvanize active support for its mission.

Chapter I

The Promise of the Republic, 1930-1935

Reflecting upon the first few months of the Second Spanish Republic, *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (CMWPM) proclaimed its hopes for a new Spain in its June 1931 issue, exclaiming,

In this atmosphere of liberty, fraternity, equality emblemised by the flag of the Republic, new life should come to the country. Let us pray and let us do what we can so that, through the free proclamation of the Gospel, Spain may become what she was in the early years of the Christian dispensation, Protestant in principle and finally become a Protestant nation.¹

These words illustrate far more about the views of the Protestant Truth Society (PTS), the publishing organization of the CMWPM, and the attitudes of interwar British evangelicalism than about Spain itself. The establishment of the Second Spanish Republic was never a Protestant question, but it could have been seen as a rejection of an older form of Spanish Catholicism that was closely intertwined with the state. To the PTS, these two things were one and the same. The CMWPM utilized Spain as a vehicle through which to discuss its fears about religious and political strife within Britain at a time when British evangelicals felt under threat from Catholicism and Anglo-Catholicism.

For the CMWPM, the establishment of the Republic coincided with a period of uneasiness for many British Protestants because they perceived that Catholicism was growing in Britain while Protestantism was declining. These Protestants tended to be more evangelical, and their anti-Catholic sentiments drew them together, making anti-Catholicism a defining characteristic of British evangelicalism during the interwar period.² Anglo-Catholicism was

¹ Alexander Stewart, "Spain: Past and Present," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, June 1931), 148.

² David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones, eds., *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 150.

becoming more prominent within the Church of England, and British evangelical Anglicans felt that their religious lives were under attack. On the other hand, Spain had just shed its Catholic monarchs in favor of republicanism which the CMWPM depicted as a Protestant victory against Catholicism. The CMWPM utilized the Black Legend, a reductive view of Spanish development, to contend that Spain was emerging from a dark, superstitious past, which it frequently referenced in describing the evil influence of Catholicism and the Vatican, into the bright freedom of Protestantism.

In touting the promise of the Republic, the CMWPM struggled to reconcile the existence of Spanish communism within its religious worldview. It labeled communism a middle step in the natural progression of a nation from Catholicism to Protestantism but also argued that communism was entwined with the Vatican in a global conspiracy and labeled communism an existential threat to Britain along with Catholicism. In disseminating this narrative of the growth of Protestantism in Spain, the CMWPM articulated its hope for Britain. If “Most Catholic” Spain could fall, then Catholicism stood no chance of overcoming a nation as strongly Protestant as the United Kingdom as long as British citizens held fast in their rejection of Catholic influence within the Church of England and British society as a whole.

Trouble at Home

Whether it was happening or not, some British Christians perceived, with great fear, that Protestantism was losing ground to Catholicism within England. The CMWPM argued that the British Protestant way of life was under imminent threat. In 1934, the CMWPM alleged that the Catholic Church was “fighting to regain and enslave our emancipated land,” in response to

claims from Catholic periodicals that conversions to Catholicism were increasing.³ The CMWPM almost exclusively espoused anti-Catholic views, having been founded with the explicit goal of opposing the influence of Anglo-Catholicism within the Church of England. To the Protestant Truth Society, Catholicism was an evil influence, seeking to destroy the Protestant Churches and Britain as a whole. Conversely, Protestantism was the true Christian faith and the embodiment of liberty and goodness and synonymous with the British state: “this country has attained its freedom and moral status only because it is Protestant from top to bottom.”⁴ Further, attacks upon the state were attacks upon Christianity itself: “We must not forget that British law, British institutions, and even British administration are all based on Christian principles and approach nearer to Christianity in practice than anything the world has ever seen. Are we wrong in saying that there is at least a presumption that these blows, blindly aimed *apparently* at British rule are really at Christianity?”⁵

Whether Catholicism was actually gaining prominence is difficult to assess. There is no one way to measure the size and religiosity of Christian denominations within Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Birth, death, marriage, communion, ordination, census, and many other records all shed light on the religious makeup of Britain but are most informative when interpreted in conversation with one another. Britain as a whole was becoming more secular in the twentieth century.⁶ In the 1920s, over sixty percent of Britons identified as Anglican, fifteen percent as members of the Free Churches, and only five percent as Catholics.⁷

³ A. W. Martin, “‘Catholic Action’ and Roman Converts: Is Rome Re-Conquering England?,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1934), 98.

⁴ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1935), 130.

⁵ “Sinn Fein and Prophecy,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, October 1, 1920), 369.

⁶ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990*, 3rd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1991), 226.

⁷ Hastings, 40.

As an overall trend, the English Churches declined during World War I but stabilized during the 1920s.⁸ Those who had typically defined British religion in the past, a Protestant, middle-class laity, were leaving, while Anglo-Catholics, Catholics, and evangelicals stayed, giving the impression of a strong Catholic Church in the face of declining Protestantism.⁹ At the same time, the British Catholic Church was greatly bolstered by Irish immigration.¹⁰ Using records from the *Catholic Directory*, Edward Norman estimates that the British Catholic population was approximately 1.7 million in 1912 and 2.4 million in 1939, a thirty-eight percent increase.¹¹ Adrian Hastings explains that this growth was only possible through the influx of Irish immigrants from the 1840s onwards.¹² Similarly, the number of priests in Britain grew to support this population from 3,800 in 1914 to 5,600 in 1939, a forty-seven percent increase.¹³ Approximately 12,000 individuals were converting to Catholicism each year by the 1930s.¹⁴ Most demographic data, however, is available on the local or parish level, collected from diocesan or individual church records. In Liverpool, a survey found that between 1902 and 1912 attendance at the Anglican and Free Churches decreased by fourteen percent, and attendance at the Catholic churches in the area increased by eight percent.¹⁵ On the other hand, Anglican baptisms, confirmations, and Easter communions increased between 1885 and 1920.¹⁶ When viewed together, these pieces of data suggest that the Church of England and other Protestant

⁸ Alan D. Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society* (London: Longman, 1980), 77. This statistic refers to the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, and non-Anglican Protestant churches within England, excluding Wales and Scotland.

⁹ Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, 42.

¹⁰ Hastings, 134.

¹¹ Edward Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 108–9.

¹² Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, 134.

¹³ Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England*, 109.

¹⁴ Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, 277. Norton also reports this statistic but includes the caveat that while conversions might have seemed substantial to contemporaries and could have contributed to a perception of Catholic proliferation, the conversions themselves were not statistically significant.

¹⁵ Hastings, 39.

¹⁶ Hastings, 35.

Churches were experiencing moderate decline at the beginning of the twentieth century, while British Catholicism was experiencing mild success.

Alongside demographic growth, some Protestants also felt threatened by the Catholic Church in Britain because of “catholicizing trends” born out of the Oxford Movement which reached its peak during the interwar period.¹⁷ Prominent elements of these trends included the Malines conversations, a series of discussions on church unity between representatives of the Catholic Church and the Church of England held from 1921 to 1926.¹⁸ Evangelical Anglicans were further distressed by Anglo-Catholic reforms to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer as well as discourse surrounding the Oxford Movement’s centennial in 1933.¹⁹ Protestant authorities also lashed out at Catholics; a committee of the Church of Scotland investigated Irish Catholic immigrants in 1923, believing that they had come to Scotland to steal the country for the Catholic Church and would ultimately seek to convert England as well.²⁰

Old Spain

Feeling a threatening Catholic presence at home, the CMWPM latched onto pre-Republican Spain as the perfect example of how Catholicism and papal influence ruin a country. The CMWPM often referred to Spain using the descriptor “Most Catholic,” and argued that “no nation has so persecuted the Saints of God with an organization so devilish and so complete.”²¹ The CMWPM viewed the Catholic identity and thus the degradation of Spain as beginning “[d]uring the reign of King Phillip II. (1527-1598) [when] Spain began to visibly decay,” despite

¹⁷ Bebbington and Jones, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, 151.

¹⁸ Ben Edwards, *With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 3.

¹⁹ Bebbington and Jones, *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, 151–52.

²⁰ Edwards, *With God on Our Side*, 4.

²¹ “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls: New Freedom for Protestantism,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1931), 115.

this period often being looked to as part of Spain's "Golden Age" of art, culture, and empire.²² To the CMWPM, the next three hundred years of Spanish development emphasized Spain's cruel and violent nature. The violence of Catholic Spain in particular served as a cautionary tale for Britain within the pages of the CMWPM, which contended "bloodshed and unrest exist everlastingly in Papal lands, and not in Protestant countries, it ought to make the Romanisers in our National Church realise the wrong they are doing to peaceful Britain even though they do not see that they are acting dishonourably to Christ's cause."²³ Every part of Spain was corrupted by the evil of Catholicism in the mind of the PTS. The PTS presented pre-Republican Spain as inherently and quintessentially Catholic to its British Protestant audience. The CMWPM also viewed Catholicism as integral to the Spanish government in its pre-Republican form: "If, as in Spain, the State is "Most Catholic," then the Church is at one with the State but in opposition to all that is true and righteous."²⁴

By omission, the CMWPM even dictated to its readers the nature of Catholicism within Spain by ignoring regional differentiation in its discussion of Spain and Spanish Catholicism, emphasizing the role of a cohesive and singular Spanish Catholic identity. The Basque and Catalan Churches were distinct from the Spanish, or Castilian, Catholic Church and held divergent views. The Basque Church opposed "wider forms of imperialism that oppressed indigenous cultures."²⁵ While the Castilian Church "encouraged a crusading fervor, the Catalan tended instead towards tolerance and even indifference."²⁶ Both alternative expressions of

²² Stewart, "Spain," 147.

²³ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1935), 67.

²⁴ W. H. P., "Fruits of Papal Education," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, January 1931), 20.

²⁵ Peter Anderson, *Friend or Foe: Occupation, Collaboration and Selective Violence in the Spanish Civil War* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2016), 131.

²⁶ Frances Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 36.

Catholicism were ignored by the Protestant Truth Society in a similar manner to Spanish Catholic politicians who would work to explicitly erase multiethnic identities from Spanish culture and religion. A singular narrative is easier to control. In recognizing other forms of Catholicism, the CMWPM would have had to prove why each one was equally as evil as all the others. This introduces the possibility that one form of Catholicism might be interpreted as not quite as bad when this difference did not exist to the CMWPM, and it could not stomach any form of Catholicism with redeeming qualities.

The CMWPM evoked the memory of the Black Legend, an interpretation of Spain as different from the rest of Europe, backward and superstitious, and its people as “lecherous, deceitful, and cruel.”²⁷ Though the premise dates back centuries, the term “Black Legend” was coined by Spanish journalist Julián Juderías in 1912 to describe the stereotype of Spain as “the home of ignorance and bigotry, an intellectual wasteland incapable of taking its place as a modern nation.”²⁸ Juderías argued that the Black Legend in England and the Netherlands emerged as a Protestant reaction to Spain’s preeminence during the Catholic Renewal Movement.²⁹ Historian José M. Sánchez discusses how Spain was a prime target for European disdain because of how peculiar it was to other Europeans:

One way of explaining the Spanish Church was to romanticize it. Spaniards were depicted as picturesque, somewhat backward Europeans with quaint ways and violent tempers, folk who never did things halfway. They lacked moderation and the spirit of compromise this enabled them to produce great saints as well as great sinners. One could not expect the same behavior from Spaniards as from other, more civilized Europeans.³⁰

²⁷ William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971), 3.

²⁸ Maltby, 3.

²⁹ Maltby, 4.

³⁰ José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, Ind: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 172.

The permeation of the Black Legend cultivated the belief that Spain was fundamentally different from the rest of Europe, a curiosity for more civilized nations to behold. The CMWPM perpetuated the Black Legend by characterizing Spain and Spaniards as backward, superstitious, and devious. The CMWPM even found the manner in which Spain expressed its Catholicism to be objectionable, beyond it simply being Catholicism; the publication viewed Spanish Catholicism as inherently perverse and superficial: “its piety rises no higher than religious performances, processions and idolatry.”³¹

One of the main motifs of Spain connected to the Black Legend that the CMWPM published was of Inquisitorial Spain. To the CMWPM, the Inquisition was exclusively a regressive, tyrannical, and violent period, and equating Inquisition Spain with modern Spain served to perpetuate the Black Legend. The publication spoke of the Inquisition so often that the reader might assume that modern Spain was no different. At times, this view was overtly stated, as in the May 1931 edition which said, “[t]he groans from the poor victims in the dens of the Inquisition resound in many hearts, yet the persecutions are not merely of ancient date; many have been under the regime of the dispelled King.”³² In 1930, a news bulletin in the CMWPM claimed that construction workers discovered a hidden room within a church in Cuenca that contained skeletons of individuals that had been “buried alive in the days of the Inquisition,” emphasizing a material connection between contemporary and Inquisitorial Spain.³³ In 1931, the magazine published Irish Protestant preacher H. Grattan Guinness’ account of a trip to Spain in

³¹ Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1934), 126.

³² “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls,” 115.

³³ “Our News Mirror: The Prohibited Degrees,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1930), 343.

early 1870 in which Guinness wrote lines of poetry to describe a place where “Spanish martyrs” were allegedly burned:

Ye layers of ashes black, and half burnt bones,
 Ye monuments of martyrs’ stifled moans,
 Of human agony and dying groans,
 Cry out till every ear has heard your tones!
 Cry till the Murderess trembles, through her brain
 Is drunken with the blood of millions slain.³⁴

The CMWPM frequently used words like *blood*, *bone*, *cry*, *agony*, and *martyr* to construct a narrative of Spanish suffering. Similarly, an article from December 1931 recounted this story:

In the sixteenth century, when Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente was proclaiming the pure Gospel of Christ in the Cathedral of Seville, Spain came within an ace of adopting the principles of the Reformation. The best elements of the population were then favourable to the Protestant cause; and Spain would now be a very different country if they had succeeded. But the hateful Tribunal of the Inquisition managed to prevent it by the wholesale slaughter of true believers, by drenching the country with the blood.³⁵

To the CMWPM, the memory of the Inquisition was a confirmation of Spain’s greatest failure – an inability to accept the truth of the Reformation:

The martyr fires which lighted in England in the 16th century, instead of burning out Protestantism, burnt it into the very nerves and fibres of the religious convictions of the people; the reason being that already God’s Word—the great standard of Light, had been erected amidst papal darkness. There can be no doubt that had the Bible been given free circulation in Spain at the time the Inquisitors were doing their fell work, the results would have been the same throughout the Iberian peninsula.³⁶

These words were intended to pull at the heartstrings of British Protestants, to make tangible this memory of pain and suffering. In the case of the CMWPM, evoking the suffering of Protestant martyrs during the Inquisition to rouse opposition to ritualism within the Church of

³⁴ H. Grattan Guinness, “They Have Shed the Blood of Saints and Prophets,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1931), 100.

³⁵ Rev F. de P. Castells, “Away from Rome in Spain,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, December 1931), 317.

³⁶ “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls,” 116.

England equates these two periods, creating mortal consequences for Anglo-Catholicism. The CMWPM argued that in succumbing to the evils of Catholicism at the crossroads of the Reformation, Spain was overcome by the Inquisition and subsequently doomed to pain and suffering.

The CMWPM also directed its ire towards members of monastic orders within Spain, especially the Jesuits, which it contended were the worst agents of superstitious, regressive, and insidious Vatican control. One of the Protestant Truth Society's complaints was that monks were greedy, having "amassed enormous wealth; some financial experts estimate it at one-third that of the whole country."³⁷ The Protestant Truth Society additionally believed that this economic drain posed an international threat:

[The Spanish people] have said that it looks as if the monks were determined, under the cloak of religion, to strip them of all their possessions; and if this process were to continue, it would never be necessary to light bonfires or to burn the bodies of men. By such tactics, the world could be dominated, whole nations could be enslaved, the human conscience could be subjugated, and even reduced to mere automata.³⁸

The CMWPM asserted that members of monastic orders had long infiltrated the government to assert their will: "the Jesuits in particular have engaged in many political intrigues, and have been the chief supporters of Alfonso in his resistance to the reform of abuses and to ameliorative measures for the general good of the country."³⁹ When the Catholic Church was constrained under the Republic, the CMWPM alleged that monastics were actively plotting against the Spanish Republic, a view that would become common in anti-Nationalist propaganda during the Spanish Civil War: "This sounds strange, but already the Governor of Vittoria has discovered in a monastery a store of arms, revolvers and machine-guns, which were to be

³⁷ Castells, "Away from Rome in Spain," 316.

³⁸ Castells, 317.

³⁹ "Rome Losing Spain: Moving Events," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1931), 199.

distributed to several convents when they should be forced out.”⁴⁰ These anti-Jesuit conspiracy theories were not unique to Spain and had been prevalent in Europe since the early seventeenth century when a disgruntled priest was refused further progression within the order and composed the *Monita privata*, a fabricated expose of the Jesuits.⁴¹ The *Monita privata* spread the belief that the Jesuits sought to manipulate Europe’s leaders with their ultimate goal being “to take over the world.”⁴² As the Spanish fascist party gained momentum in the Republic, the CMWPM implied that Jesuits were controlling these politicians: “Our remark that the end justifies the means reminds us how like the methods of Jesuitism are the methods of Fascism.”⁴³ The CMWPM centers controversy over monastic orders and the Jesuits within Spain, and in doing so, the CMWPM further engrains the Black Legend view of the Spaniard as greedy and manipulative.

While the CMWPM was constructing a narrative of a Spain connected to its past, predominately political forces within Spain were also using the memory of Spain’s imperial past to craft Spanish identity. The way in which the CMWPM fused Spanish identity with Catholicism while silencing any notion of a multiconfessional and multiethnic Spanish people is similar to efforts amongst Spanish conservatives to create a political Catholic identity, though these narratives were employed with opposite aims. There is no doubt that Catholicism was an important component of Spanish culture, but the idea of the one Catholic Spain is a myth, especially in the modern era. Even during the idealized era of Spanish Catholicism, the sixteenth century, the Spanish Church was not all-encompassing, struggling with “alternative cosmologies, private skepticism, and garbled versions of itself.”⁴⁴ In the nineteenth century, Marcelino

⁴⁰ Castells, “Away from Rome in Spain,” 316.

⁴¹ Beth Ann Griech-Polelle, “Jesuits, Jews, Christianity, and Bolshevism: An Existential Threat to Germany?,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5, 2018, no. 1 (2018): 37–39, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00501003>.

⁴² Griech-Polelle, 38.

⁴³ Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1934), 205.

⁴⁴ Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 9.

Menéndez y Pelayo, one of the most prominent Spanish historians of the time and a conservative politician, proclaimed, “Spain, evangelizer of half the globe; Spain, hammer of heretics, light of Trent, sword of Rome, cradle of Saint Ignatius... that is our greatness and our unity: we have no other,” in one of the best examples of the idea of an inseparability between Catholicism and Spanish identity.⁴⁵ Across centuries, political and religious actors have worked to construct this coalescence between the Spanish Church and Spanish culture and nationalism. The strength of the Counter-Reformation or Catholic Revival movement within Spain set the tone of Spanish religious life for the next five hundred years.⁴⁶ In fervently opposing Protestantism and purging the Iberian Peninsula of disbelievers, Spain’s modern identity was drawn together through the often violent exclusion and elimination of religious pluralism and heterodoxy.⁴⁷ In the centuries following, both the Church and Spanish governments strove to connect to an idealized glorious Catholic and imperial Spain, thereby entrenching the idea of Catholicism as a fundamental component of the Spanish state and political identity.

When the monarchy was restored in 1874, Alfonso XII issued a new constitution that proclaimed Catholicism the religion of the state.⁴⁸ Article 11 of the 1876 Constitution required all education in Spain to be Catholic, prohibited citizens from the public practice of other religions and denominations, and monetarily supported priests.⁴⁹ Despite these protections for the Church, many Spanish Catholics were dissatisfied with or even furious over the new constitution because it still allowed other religions to be practiced in private.⁵⁰ Pope Pius IX wrote to Cardinal Moreno of Toledo opposing the document in April 1876 with the expectation

⁴⁵ Frances Lannon, “Modern Spain: The Project of a National Catholicism,” *Studies in Church History* 18 (ed 1982): 567, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400016363>.

⁴⁶ Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 9.

⁴⁷ Lannon, 9.

⁴⁸ Lannon, 119.

⁴⁹ Lannon, 119.

⁵⁰ Lannon, 119.

that his letter would be published. In 1876, many Catalan bishops proclaimed that Catholics were unable to vote for candidates who supported Article 11.⁵¹ Two years later, however, Leo XIII diverged from his predecessor and called for Catholic unity within Spain and the acceptance of the 1876 Constitution.⁵² Though some traditionalist Catholics spoke out against any validation of religious pluralism, the Spanish Church held an incredibly privileged position within the state. At any one time, at least nineteen seats in the Cortes were ecclesiastically controlled; even so, Church leaders hoped to gain even more control under the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera.⁵³

During his dictatorship that lasted from 1923 to 1930, Miguel Primo de Rivera intended to create a National-Catholicism, a political identity that united “all Spaniards regardless of social class or background.”⁵⁴ To do so, Primo restricted regional Catholic expression and imposed constraints on the Catalan and Basque Churches.⁵⁵ The dictatorship banned preaching in Catalan and Basque and interfered with episcopal appointments from these ethnic groups: “The use of local vernaculars symbolized a wider acceptance of cultural pluralism that made it clear that, even under a nationalizing, dictatorial regime, there was still more than one way of being Catholic.”⁵⁶ The Primo dictatorship also made Catholicism synonymous with conservatism.⁵⁷ Primo created a mass party, the Unión Patriótica (UP), which required members to be Catholic, and the Somatén, the national militia, integrated religious ceremony and symbolism into its

⁵¹ Lannon, 120–21.

⁵² Lannon, 123.

⁵³ Lannon, 132.

⁵⁴ Mary Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (New York, NY): Berghahn Books, Incorporated, 2017), 125, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4873531>.

⁵⁵ Vincent, 126.

⁵⁶ Vincent, 126.

⁵⁷ Vincent, 127.

proceedings.⁵⁸ The mobilization of political Catholicism continued in the Republican period., and “the clamorous insistence that the defence of religion was also the defence of order, property, the family, and the fatherland” became the only acceptable Catholic political opinion.⁵⁹ In 1930, politician José María Gil Robles organized conservative Catholics in a new mass political party, the Acción Popular, which became the Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA) after 1933.⁶⁰ The CEDA articulated that its purpose was “to defend religion, the fatherland, the family, order, work, and property.”⁶¹ Falange Española de las JONS, the fascist party in Spain, also viewed Catholicism as fundamental to Spanish identity and political stability, so heterodoxy became akin to treason: “The hyper-nationalism of fascism was translated into a hyper-Catholicism, threatened not only by anti-Spain but also by anti-Christ.”⁶²

The Republic

The CMWPM viewed the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic as an important departure from its contemptible past, arguing “The undeceived Spaniard is daily showing how fully alive he is to the real cause of his nation’s backwardness, and hitherto lack of true freedom.”⁶³ In May of 1931, the CMWPM announced the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic to its readers with the headline “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls: New Freedom for Protestantism.”⁶⁴ This article proclaimed that the “first act of the new Republican Government was to declare freedom of conscience, and equality of rights for all creeds and religions in Spain.”⁶⁵ The election of the Republican government, however, was by no means a

⁵⁸ Vincent, 125.

⁵⁹ Vincent, 127.

⁶⁰ Vincent, 129.

⁶¹ Lannon, “Modern Spain,” 588.

⁶² Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 129.

⁶³ “Rome Losing Spain,” 199.

⁶⁴ “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls,” 115.

⁶⁵ “Spain’s Roman Catholic Throne Falls,” 115.

rejection of Catholicism. In fact, Catholic Republicanism was a prominent voter identity in 1931 and many Catholics, such as Niceto Alcalá-Zamora who served as prime minister and then president of Spain, were elected to positions of power.⁶⁶ In 1931, however, liberal forces within the Republic did seek to eliminate the Church's dominant influence on the state.⁶⁷ The Republican Constitution, ratified in December 1931, ended "state financial support for the clergy and religious orders," allowed divorce and civil marriage, restricted the public roles of members of religious orders, dissolved the Jesuits, and deconfessionalized the state.⁶⁸ These separations between Church and state threatened the Church's ability to govern the lives of all Spaniards.

Beyond the separation of Church and state, the liberal Republican government sought to implement democratic and economic reforms to modernize Spain.⁶⁹ This coalition of progressives comprised of slightly left-leaning republicans as well as the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) pushed back against conservative forces, striving to unravel dominant systems of power within Spain.⁷⁰ Because of this, the Republic carried the hopes of many Spaniards from disadvantaged socioeconomic groups yet struggled to meet these expectations, finding the demands of governance very different from reform in the abstract.⁷¹

The CMWPM continued to celebrate Republican Spain in the year following its establishment: "The Spanish people have enjoyed one year of freedom...And now, thank God, all can worship God in freedom, but the Vatican may no longer interfere with the liberties of the

⁶⁶ Vincent, "Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain," 127.

⁶⁷ Mary Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca 1930-1936*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: University Press, 1996), 136, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198206132.001.0001>.

⁶⁸ Paul Preston, *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1994), 54; Vincent, *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic*, 175–78; Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy*, 181.

⁶⁹ Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 23.

⁷⁰ Graham, 23.

⁷¹ Graham, 24–26.

citizen.”⁷² As time went on, however, the CMWPM became less optimistic about the future of the elimination of Catholic control over the Spanish state. By early 1934, the CMWPM expressed doubt over whether genuine and lasting change was occurring within Spain, asserting “the swing of the pendulum appears to have taken place in Spain but whether there is a change of heart in regard to the Monarchy and the Church remains to be seen.”⁷³ On the eve of the Spanish Civil War, the CMWPM viewed the outbreak of violence as inevitable and eminent, and as always, saw such violence as the direct responsibility of the Catholic Church and papal influence within Spain: “There will be turmoil and bloodshed once again in Most Catholic Spain...If only the influence of the Vatican could be removed and the people allowed to manage their own affairs then we might expect to see that backward nation come into line with those who threw off the Papal yoke at the time of the Reformation.”⁷⁴

The CMWPM espoused an unorthodox view of communism that was inherently contradictory because of the CMWPM’s need to reconcile communism with its anti-Catholic worldview, considering that the Spanish Socialist Party played a large role in Republican Spain.⁷⁵ To the Protestant Truth Society, communism reflected an atheistic result of papal influence that explained the Republic’s failure to immediately transform into a Protestant nation. While the CMWPM acknowledged the rejection of religion within Spain, it understood such a trend as part of the natural transformation from Catholicism to Protestantism, regretfully remarking, “[u]nfortunately atheism is rampant, but that is the usual aftermath of the Papal

⁷² Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1932), 121.

⁷³ Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, January 1934), 11.

⁷⁴ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1936), 71.

⁷⁵ Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939*, 23.

blight.”⁷⁶ But, the CMWPM also asserted that a conspiracy existed between Catholicism and communism, despite the ideological incompatibility of the two: “The political hand of Rome is now seen in Spain where the Church is determined to get back into power even at the cost of much bloodshed... The sudden appearance of Communists, working hand in glove with Papists is certainly suspicious, even though Communism is repudiated by Rome.”⁷⁷ Generally speaking, the Protestant Truth Society understood communism as a religious threat to Britain: “In order to suppress Christianity the Bolsheviks have called a conference of atheists to organise all atheists and unite them for this purpose.”⁷⁸ Further, this conspiracy was a global effort to destroy Protestant Christianity. The CMWPM expressed distrust of internationalisms including the League of Nations:

The agitation emanating from two well-known sources--Papal and Bolshevik--rampant to-day within the Empire for the disintegration of the Empire (and finding such fervent expression in every one of the of the Dominions without exception) is sufficient to warn us that there are powers which may operate within the League itself to destroy the Empire and the League of Nations as constituted under the Covenant.⁷⁹

The CMWPM thus seemed to suggest that communism was simultaneously a middle ground between Catholicism and Protestantism and the Vatican’s partner in a global conspiracy to destroy Protestantism. The CMWPM also perpetuated the Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy, blaming Jews for “this conspiracy against British influence and power,” the conspiracy being communism, and alleging that “certain evil minded Jews are plotting for the overthrow of that same beneficent Power.”⁸⁰ Far from invented by the Protestant Truth Society, the Judeo-

⁷⁶ Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, October 1932), 270.

⁷⁷ Historicus, “Current History,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, February 1933), 42.

⁷⁸ “Our News Mirror: Malta,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1, 1929), 234.

⁷⁹ Howard Elliott, “The League of Nations: Will It Bless or Curse the Empire?,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1, 1921), 196.

⁸⁰ “Sinn Fein and Prophecy,” 369.

Bolshevik conspiracy is a common antisemitic myth that contends that Jews invented communism and were responsible for spreading it throughout Europe.⁸¹ After the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy was used to justify widespread anti-Jewish violence and ultimately the Holocaust.⁸²

Conclusion

Though demographic data from the early twentieth century makes it difficult to determine the validity of the concern, some British Protestants believed that Protestantism was declining and Catholicism growing in the interwar period. Further, the Anglo-Catholicism introduced to the Church of England through the Oxford Movement had reached a peak, causing British evangelical Anglicans in particular to feel that their place in British society was under threat. To the Protestant Truth Society, Spain served as a metaphor through which to address domestic religious and political fears. The CMWPM constructed a vivid imagining of Catholic Spain in the manner of the Black Legend to warn British Protestants of the dangers of Catholicism and Anglo-Catholicism within Britain. This narrative was similar to the construction of Spanish political identity by conservative Spanish actors in the early twentieth century, but unlike the Protestant Truth Society, these conservative politicians believed that Catholicism was the key to societal stability and prosperity. These two groups both conflated Catholicism and Spanish national identity in an ahistorical manner at the expense of any acknowledgment of a multicultural Spain to achieve their goals. The founding of the Second Spanish Republic, however, presented the PTS with an opportunity to illustrate the rewards of opposing Catholicism, so they embraced this new Spain as a promise of Protestantism reborn from the darkest of Catholic deceptions. Seeing, however, the more complex realities of Republican

⁸¹ Paul Hanebrink, "A Specter Haunting Europe. The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism," *S: I.M.O.N* 8, no. 1 (2021): 106.

⁸² Hanebrink, 106.

Spain, the CMWPM moderated its endorsement of the Second Spanish Republic and incorporated communism into its understanding of Protestant utopia, arguing that atheistic communism was a natural step between the rejection of Catholicism and the acceptance of Protestantism. At the same time, the CMWPM additionally claimed that any atheism in Spain was the result of communism which was really the fault of the Catholic Church because of a global conspiracy between communism and Catholicism.

Chapter II

Civil War and its Meanings, 1936-1939

In the September 1936 “Critical Chronicles” column, an analysis of contemporary domestic and international news, the CMWPM declared,

Those unthinking Englishmen who find themselves wishing success to the Rebels should know that the fight in Spain is really a fight to the death between Romanism and Democracy—the Church *v.* the People. Certainly on the side of the People there are Communists, Socialists and Liberals, as well as patriotic Conservatives; while on the side of the Rebels are Fascists, Monarchists and Clericals.¹

To the CMWPM, the Spanish Civil War was a conflict born from the Catholic Church’s desire to overthrow the Republic and install a fascist theocracy in Spain. This publication also saw the war as a “vast plot which is really in the first round of the Fascismo versus Democracy world war.”² Within Spain and internationally, different groups articulated their own narratives for the causes, development, and overarching meaning of the Spanish Civil War. The Protestant Truth Society (PTS) was no exception. However, the CMWPM furthered an understanding of the war as primarily a religious conflict. This approach was uncharacteristic of pro-Republican groups, who were usually motivated by their political or social ideology. While there was no one opinion of the Spanish Civil War, different camps within Britain generally took on specific views of the larger meaning of the war. Those Britons who preferred the government of the Second Spanish Republic, like members of the Labour Party, mainly viewed the conflict as a fight between democracy and fascism, and those who believed in the rebel cause, like many British Catholics, conceived of the fighting as atheistic communism versus Christianity, in the

¹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1936), 238.

² Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, October 1936), 266.

same fashion as Francoist propaganda.³ These different understandings of the civil war also shaped how different groups within Britain understood and rationalized violence that targeted specific groups within Spain.

The Spanish Civil War

In 1963, British academic Kenneth Watkins asserted, “[p]robably not since the French Revolution had a ‘foreign event’ so bitterly divided the British people.”⁴ Historian Tom Buchanan echoed this sentiment in 1997 when he claimed that “of all the foreign conflicts of the twentieth century in which Britain was not directly involved, the war in Spain made by far the greatest impact on British political, social, and cultural life.”⁵ The Spanish Civil War had a profound effect on the British people, leading them to support their preferred side through activism, donations, and volunteering in the conflict itself. The Spanish Civil War was also one of the first events for which some quantitative public opinion data is available. The First World War had brought foreign affairs into the popular sphere, and at the same time as Britons became more expressive of their foreign policy opinions, British politicians became more concerned with how their constituents viewed foreign policy positions and decisions.⁶ Opinion columns in major newspapers served as both a reflection and shaper of British political thought, and governmental institutions as well as private organizations sought to understand what British citizens thought about different domestic and international issues through referendums and polling on an unprecedented scale.⁷ Early opinion polls collected data on how Britons perceived the Spanish

³ Enrique Moradiellos, “The British Image of Spain and the Civil War,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 2002): 5–8, <https://doi.org/10.1386/ijis.15.1.4>.

⁴ K. W. Watkins, *Britain Divided; the Effect of the Spanish Civil War on British Political Opinion* (London: T. Nelson, 1963), vii.

⁵ Tom Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

⁶ Buchanan, 21–22.

⁷ Buchanan, 22–23.

Civil War with considerably pro-Republican results.⁸ In January of 1937, the British Institute of Public Opinion found that fourteen percent of respondents were in favor of the statement that “Franco’s *junta* should be regarded as the legal government of Spain,” and eighty-six percent were opposed.⁹ In March of 1938, fifty-seven percent of respondents supported the Republic, thirty-six percent held no opinion, and only seven percent considered themselves pro-Franco.¹⁰ The last poll, held in January of 1939 saw seventy-one percent of respondents now supporting the Republic and ten percent supporting Franco.¹¹

Buchanan theorizes that the British public became so invested in the conflict because the war reflected what he isolates as two significant contemporary ideological divides: fascism versus democracy and Catholicism versus communism.¹² Generally speaking, British Catholics interpreted the war as an attack on Christian values by atheistic communism.¹³ In the 1930s, the Vatican feared that Catholicism was under threat from communism believing in the possibility of an “imminent European-wide Bolshevik revolution.”¹⁴ To protect itself, the Vatican called on loyal Catholics to defend its interests, and these Catholics responded by traveling to Spain “to fight what they understood as the battle for Christian civilization against Bolshevik barbarism.”¹⁵ On the other hand, British communists did not view the Spanish Civil War as an attack on their ideology by Catholicism. Rather, the Communist Party, which took charge in shaping the intellectual responses of leftists to the war, had felt that the Republic was a legitimate government dedicated to guiding Spain out of its backwardness into modernity that had been

⁸ Buchanan, 23.

⁹ Buchanan, 23.

¹⁰ Buchanan, 23.

¹¹ Buchanan, 23.

¹² Buchanan, 2.

¹³ Buchanan, 2.

¹⁴ Giuliana Chamedes, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican’s Battle to Remake Christian Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 194.

¹⁵ Chamedes, 194.

attacked by fascist forces.¹⁶ Additionally, the Communist Party took a leading role in organizing international volunteers for the Republican cause.¹⁷ These volunteers were not all communists, but many identified with leftist politics and wished to aid the Republican war effort to combat the influence of fascism within Europe.¹⁸

The CMWPM held that the Spanish Civil War represented both of these ideological divides and, further, that the war had implications for British society. Towards the end of the Spanish Civil War, in July of 1938, the CMWPM asserted that “By this conflict the world’s eyes have been opened to the fact that we are all in one ship. If one nation suffers no one can say: ‘It is no concern of ours.’ Not only has this war proved to be an exhibition of man’s inhumanity to man but also an example of what Fascism is capable when it sets its mind on a certain object.”¹⁹ To the CMWPM, a fascist victory in the Spanish Civil War represented a threat to British society and to the CMWPM’s mission to oppose Catholic influence in Britain. According to the CMWPM, the Spanish Civil War was started by the Catholic Church in her efforts to “override the ballot box and reconquer her lost territory,” and the inclusion of fascist and military leaders was at the Church’s invitation. Though the hierarchy of the Spanish Church did express its support of the coup d’état that began the conflict through a pastoral letter addressed to all Catholic bishops, the Spanish Church played no formal role in the action, and further, the prominent generals that organized and led the coup did not cite religious causes for their actions.²⁰

¹⁶ Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*, 146–47.

¹⁷ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), 174.

¹⁸ Preston, 175.

¹⁹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, July 1938), 180.

²⁰ Julio de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution: On Atrocities against the Clergy during the Spanish Civil War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 359; Frances Lannon, “Modern

These leaders, chief among them General Emilio Mola, began their preparations after the Popular Front emerged victorious in elections held in February of 1936.²¹ The coup leaders were dissatisfied with social reform and modernization occurring under the Republican government and no longer believed their goals could be achieved through the parliamentary structure of the Republic.²² While final preparations for the insurrection were taking place, Falangist gunmen killed a Republican officer, Lieutenant José del Castillo, on July 12, 1936.²³ Associates of Castillo sought to avenge his death and assassinated Calvo Sotelo, a prominent conservative politician, on July 13.²⁴ That evening, a group of socialists and communists called on the Prime Minister to arm workers before the military could rebel against the government which put pressure on the generals to carry out their plans.²⁵ The coup began in Morocco on July 17th and encountered little resistance, before moving to the southern Spanish mainland.²⁶ Over the next few days the rebels took control of Galicia, Navarre, Old Castile and Seville while the Republic retained control of Barcelona and Madrid. Over the next two years, Nationalist forces eroded Republican territory in Northern and Eastern Spain. In January of 1939, the Nationalist advance into Catalonia accelerated and captured Barcelona by the end of the month.²⁷ By the end of February, Britain and France had recognized the Franco Government, and President Manuel Azaña had left in exile for France.²⁸ Uninterested in any kind of armistice agreement, Franco

Spain: The Project of a National Catholicism,” *Studies in Church History* 18 (ed 1982): 586, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400016363>.

²¹ Frances Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 198; Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 81–82.

²² Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 1–3.

²³ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 98.

²⁴ Preston, 99.

²⁵ Preston, 99.

²⁶ Preston, 100.

²⁷ Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939*, 396.

²⁸ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 295.

rejected Republican efforts for peace and took Madrid and achieved victory by the end of March.²⁹

In viewing the Spanish Civil War primarily as a religious conflict, the CMWPM also defined the participants in the conflict for its British Protestant audience. To the CMWPM, the Spanish Civil War was “not that of Reds versus Anti-Reds, but Church versus People.”³⁰ Spanish historians traditionally use the terms “Nationalists” and “Republicans” to describe these two groups, respectively. The Republican camp was more left-leaning, and consisted of socialists, communists, anarchists, and liberal republicans, as well as Catalan and Basque nationalists. Members of the coup called themselves *nacionalistas*, which is typically translated as Nationalists in English, but this title more closely means “the only true Spaniards,” illuminating how the Nationalists viewed themselves and their role in the Spanish Civil War.³¹ The Nationalist were politically conservative and included fascists, the Catholic right, and monarchists. To the CMWPM, the Nationalists were tools of the Church, “the temporal arm of the Papacy;” however, this view erases the ways in which both the Catholic Church as well as Nationalist leaders used each other to accomplish their goals.³² For the Vatican, the Spanish Civil War broke out during a period in which it was working to eliminate the influence of communism internationally.³³ In emphasizing a view of the war as a fight against atheistic communism, the Vatican saw the Spanish Civil War as a microcosm for this global goal. The Nationalists, especially under the leadership of General Francisco Franco, utilized the symbols and rituals of

²⁹ Preston, 298–99.

³⁰ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1937), 236.

³¹ Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 102–3.

³² Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, July 1937), 181.

³³ Giuliana Chamedes, “Transnationalising the Spanish Civil War,” *Contemporary European History* 29, no. 3 (August 2020): 262, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777320000223>.

Catholicism to control and unify the Nationalist force.³⁴ Further, Franco depicted the Spanish Civil War as a crusade against communism, a *Reconquista* of Spain, in an effort to present himself as the natural inheritor of the legacy of imperial Spain.³⁵

The CMWPM also repeatedly sought to downplay the idea that the Spanish Civil War was a fight to rid Spain of communism, undermining both the Nationalist and Vatican position, and articulated a complex and contradictory view of communism because it had to support the Republican cause against the Nationalists but found communism generally threatening as a secularizing force. The CMWPM labeled the view that the Nationalists were fighting against communism as propaganda, arguing “[t]his cry of ‘Communism’ is getting played out and people of all parties and creeds now see that it is a part of Fascist propaganda used to justify the crushing of Democracy and religious freedom.”³⁶ The CMWPM did not support communism, finding “[t]here is nothing to choose between Communism and Fascism. The methods of both are brutal and both in the end lead to the suppression of the individual and the deification of the State.”³⁷ At the same time, the CMWPM accepted communism as a necessary evil and a product of what the CMWPM saw as fascist violence imposed by the Catholic Church: “That there are Reds among the Spanish people is not to be denied but the defenders of the Fatherland are no more Red than English people would be under such circumstances.”³⁸ Despite these efforts to

³⁴ Lannon, “Modern Spain,” 588.

³⁵ Alejandro García-Sanjuán, “Rejecting Al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 130, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2016.1268263>. Franco’s *Reconquista* will be discussed further in the third chapter of this thesis in connection to the construction of the Francoist state.

³⁶ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, January 1938), 8. The article goes on to connect fascist rhetoric in Spain to an international fascist plot: “The Berlin-Japan Pact against Communism is seeking other partners. Italy, as might have been expected, has joined and other Fascist countries will sign as soon as they can safely do so. All those who do not take sides with Fascism’s pretended fight against Communism will be labelled as friends of Godless Moscow. For our part we must more earnestly pray that a fair field for the Gospel may be fully established in the old land of the Inquisition and that all its enemies may fall.” Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” January 1938, 8.

³⁷ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” October 1936, 267.

³⁸ Historicus, 267.

differentiate between and assess fascism and communism, the CMWPM also found the two ideologies much less discernable at times. In 1938, the CMWPM argued that “Communism just paves the way for Fascism, and in 1937 that “[t]hrough the bogey of Bolshevism is used by them to make war without declaration, or even genuine negotiation, it is now clear that the spirit of Bolshevism has permeated the ranks of Fascism. Fascism is more Bolshevist than Russia.”³⁹

Both ideologies, communism and fascism, were reasons to call together Protestants to defend Britain, and the CMWPM issued the call to action that “Christians need to be more vigilant than ever to safeguard the liberties we have enjoyed in this Protestant land and which will, if Romanism, or Communism or Fascism get their way, take away from us all that we hold dear.”⁴⁰ But fascism was of particular concern, and the CMWPM found the potential of a fascist Spanish state threatening to Britain in the sphere of international relations: “Whilst we may not be happy at the thought of Communism gaining the upper hand in Spain we should be menaced much more by a Fascist-Vatican control in that land. That Fascism is the enemy of Democracy no one will deny, and that the Vatican is Britain’s eternal enemy history plainly proves.”⁴¹

Fascism was also a domestic threat to the CMWPM. The CMWPM felt “[t]he dangers of Communism in liberty-loving England, remote as they are, are as nothing compared with the dangers of Fascism,” and that these dangers consisted of the Vatican using fascism as “the most powerful weapon ever formed to crush all liberty and to remove all opposition to the Church of

³⁹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, February 1938), 43; Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1937), 295.

⁴⁰ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1936), 239.

⁴¹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, June 1937), 154.

Rome's teaching."⁴² The CMWPM likely also found fascism to be particularly threatening because of the high number of Catholics within the British Union of Fascists (BUF), the British fascist party.⁴³ In May 1935, a conservative estimate placed the number of Catholics in the BUF leadership at twelve percent.⁴⁴ Further, the BUF sought to recruit Catholics to the party with the hope of growing its influence by writing about the similarities between fascism and Catholicism, emphasizing "national patriotism, anti-communism, and respect for family life" in the fascist press.⁴⁵

Anti-Clerical Violence

One of the main components of the Spanish Civil War that captured the attention of religious Britons was the killing of priests, and other members of the Catholic hierarchy, especially in the summer and fall of 1936 when approximately ninety-five percent of anticlerical violence occurred.⁴⁶ While religious Britons expressed many opinions on the situation ranging from horror to polite sympathy veiling indifference, the CMWPM argued that anticlerical violence was the natural result of the misconduct of the Spanish Catholic Church. In September 1936, the CMWPM described how when "the man-in-the-street" learns of "the utter selfishness of the Church of Rome," he "burns down churches, convents and monasteries and brutally ill-treats priests and nuns."⁴⁷ The CMWPM identified two components of anticlerical violence

⁴² Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, December 1936), 319; Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," February 1938, 43. The February 1938 edition includes another example of the CMWPM considering communism to be preferable to fascism: "While Communism rightly gives concern to all Christian people it should not be regarded as any greater danger than Fascism." Historicus, 43.

⁴³ Tom Villis, *British Catholics and Fascism: Religious Identity and Political Extremism between the Wars* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 9.

⁴⁴ Villis, 10. This number was published in the *Blackshirt* newspaper in an attempt to reassure Scottish fascists, who were predominantly Protestant, that there were not too many Catholics in the party, so the number is mostly likely an underestimate.

⁴⁵ Villis, 12.

⁴⁶ de la Cueva, "Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution," 359.

⁴⁷ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," September 1936, 238.

within Spain: church-burning and the killing of clergy members. The pattern of Spanish church burning emerged during the Tragic Week, a period of riots in Barcelona in 1909, and was repeated in times of transition like during the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁸ This destruction represented “a sustained and coordinated attempt to drive religion—that is, Roman Catholicism—out of Spain,” because of the sustained effort required.⁴⁹ As discussed in the previous chapter, Spanish conservative politicians and representatives of the Church had worked since the Restoration to construct a political Catholic identity. Priests and other members of the Catholic hierarchy became representative of the Right and wealthy elites as well as “responsible for the suffering of the people.”⁵⁰ As a result, an estimated 6,832 Catholic clergy members, including bishops, priests, seminarians, monks, friars, and nuns, were killed within the Republican zone during the Spanish Civil War.⁵¹ Many of the actual murders were carried out by local proletarian or revolutionary committees which were typically “spontaneous-organized groups” who contributed to the post-coup terror by executing those deemed anti-Republican like “conservative politicians, employers, landlords, priests, and laymen.”⁵² Ordinary townspeople also participated in the violence either directly or by identifying priests and other religious leaders.⁵³

⁴⁸ Mary Vincent, “Church Burning: Desecrating and Recreating Sacred Space in Twentieth-Century Spain,” *The Journal of Modern History* 94, no. 3 (September 2022): 564–65, <https://doi.org/10.1086/721419>; José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, Ind: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 4.

⁴⁹ Mary Vincent, “The ‘Martyrdom of Things’: Iconoclasm and Its Meanings in the Spanish Civil War,” *Royal Historical Society (London, England). Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (December 2020): 143, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440120000079>.

⁵⁰ Mary Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (New York, NY, UNITED STATES: Berghahn Books, Incorporated, 2017), 130, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4873531>.

⁵¹ de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution,” 355.

⁵² Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 130; Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 15.

⁵³ Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 130.

Many in Britain were outraged after hearing reports of murdered priests. Anticlerical violence and the religious question of the Spanish Civil War were particularly important to British Catholics. Historian José M. Sánchez argues that British Catholics might have identified with Spanish Catholics because of their history of persecution in England while also looking down on the Spanish because “[the British] had endured centuries of persecution as the price of maintaining that Faith, and now it was the turn of the Spaniards.”⁵⁴ *The Tablet* was the most read Catholic publication in Britain, and it set about to passionately defend the Spanish Church and drum up British Catholic support for the Nationalist cause from very early on in the war.⁵⁵ The support of British Catholics for the Nationalist cause had political consequences. The Labour Party was forced to moderate its position on Spain because in the 1930s British Catholics were predominantly working class.⁵⁶

British Protestant perspectives were far more disparate, ranging from the polemic language of the CMWPM to the strict neutrality of the Anglican hierarchy, and included the voices of prominent British intellectuals. Upon returning to England from Spain in 1937, George Orwell famously wrote of his village priest that “he cheered up a lot on hearing that they were only Roman Catholic churches” after listening to Orwell’s account of church burning in Spain.⁵⁷ The Anglican publication the *Church Times* spoke out against the Spanish Church and Nationalist forces both accusing the Spanish Catholics of supporting fascism and blaming Spanish clergy for the anticlerical violence inflicted upon them.⁵⁸ Others sided with the Nationalist cause not out of sympathy for the Spanish Church and in support of their supposed

⁵⁴ Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 173.

⁵⁵ Sánchez, 175.

⁵⁶ Moradiellos, “The British Image of Spain and the Civil War,” 12.

⁵⁷ Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*, 169.

⁵⁸ Buchanan, 177; Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 175.

crusade but because they believed that religion was under attack from communism on a global level.⁵⁹ Others were resigned to impartiality. Cosmo Lang, who served as Archbishop of Canterbury from 1928 to 1942, supported the British government's position of nonintervention in the Spanish conflict and rejected popular views of the war as a battle between fascism and communism or religion and secularism.⁶⁰ During the 1930s, the Church of England was closely tied to the Conservative Party, so a deviation from the government's position would have had political consequences for Lang since the Archbishop of Canterbury is both a religious and political position.⁶¹ Even so, much of the Anglican hierarchy had no objection to Lang's position, and generally speaking, the Church of England considered the plight of Protestants in Nazi Germany to be a more pressing issue than anticlericalism in the Spanish Civil War.⁶²

The CMWPM repeatedly expressed its indifference for the plight of Spanish priests. The CMWPM blamed priests for their own murders, arguing "these happenings were occasioned by the conduct of the unfortunate men concerned," and the publication contended that anticlerical violence was the natural result of a people long oppressed by the Spanish Church.⁶³ In the view of the CMWPM, had the Church not "blocked all attempts at reform," the situation would not have become violent seeing as "the fight for religious and political freedom ha[d] been in existence for years."⁶⁴ In 1931, the CMWPM wrote, "There is always a great danger of the Bolshevics [sic] gaining the upper hand in Spain, Italy and other so-called "Catholic" countries. If this ever happens, the Romish priests will be butchered, in the same manner as the Roman

⁵⁹ Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*, 175.

⁶⁰ Buchanan, 170.

⁶¹ Buchanan, 170.

⁶² Buchanan, 169–70.

⁶³ "The Spanish Conflict," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1939), 67.

⁶⁴ "The Spanish Conflict," 67.

Catholic priests of old butchered the poor Protestants.”⁶⁵ Even before the Spanish Civil War, the CMWPM was ready to understand anticlerical violence through the lens of religious memory which predisposed the publication to react less sympathetically when violence did occur. Further, the CMWPM felt no need to critique leftish anticlerical violence because it did not view Catholicism as a form of Christianity. In November of 1936, the CMWPM remarked, “The Church and the *Daily Mail* would have us believe that the Insurgents are fighting for Christianity. That they are fighting for the Church is plain enough but as the Church has never represented Christianity or the Spirit of Christ there can be no particle of truth in the statement.”⁶⁶ While discussing statements made by the Catholic press, the CMWPM emphasized that Catholic publications “talk of the anti-Red fight for Christianity, as though Spain were a Christian country.”⁶⁷ This line of reasoning was extrapolated to justify anticlerical violence. In March of 1937, the magazine published an article claiming, “[t]here is a strong anticlerical movement but no anti-God movement in Spain.”⁶⁸ The CMWPM failed to see anticlerical violence as an attack upon God because they saw Catholic priests as in no way representative of God.

Additionally, the CMWPM imparted components of Republican propaganda to its British audience. Republican propaganda, especially early in the war, justified the murder of priests by claiming that members of the clergy had fired shots from bell towers and stored weapons in churches and convents.⁶⁹ These accusations of active participation in the Spanish Civil War,

⁶⁵ “Will Romanism Collapse?,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1931), 291.

⁶⁶ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1936), 292.

⁶⁷ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” October 1936, 267.

⁶⁸ “Religious Conditions in Spain,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1937), 58.

⁶⁹ de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution,” 358; Vincent, “The ‘Martyrdom of Things,’” 148; Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 24.

though unsubstantiated, erased priests' status as noncombatants in the minds of many Republicans, allowing the murders to proceed. This narrative began within the CMWPM in January of 1937 with the declaration that "Senor Enrique Moreno, Lecturer in Spanish studies at Oxford, and a Roman Catholic, speaking at a National Peace Council's meeting at Friends' House (17/11/36) said he had seen, at the beginning of the rebellion, soldiers of the Republic being fired at from churches."⁷⁰ Over the next two years, the publication repeatedly asserted that "[i]t was not unknown for a priest himself to operate a machine gun from his tower in order to overawe his parishioners"⁷¹ and "some of the churches and convents have been used to store munitions for the Rebels, and—as we know from impartial eye-witnesses—firing on the crowds took place from them."⁷²

The CMWPM also reported on how violence was perpetrated by both sides during the war.⁷³ In November of 1936, the CMWPM asserted, "As to atrocities in this atrocious war it is clear enough by now that atrocities have occurred on both sides and if there be any virtues neither side has the monopoly."⁷⁴ In the Republican zone, clergy members were often killed very brutally though not necessarily all in the same fashion.⁷⁵ Secular clergy were more likely to be killed individually while monks were often murdered in groups because of their communal living.⁷⁶ Clergy were shot after mock trials, on sight, on roadsides, or in cemeteries.⁷⁷ Priests were also killed via hanging, drowning, suffocation, burning, or burying.⁷⁸ Torture was

⁷⁰ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, January 1937), 13.

⁷¹ "The Spanish Conflict," 67.

⁷² Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1937), 92.

⁷³ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," October 1936, 267.

⁷⁴ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles," November 1936, 292.

⁷⁵ de la Cueva, "Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution," 356.

⁷⁶ de la Cueva, 356.

⁷⁷ de la Cueva, 356.

⁷⁸ de la Cueva, 356.

exceedingly common, and many victims were subjected to being stripped naked as well as “beating, cutting, skinning and mutilation” especially of their genitalia reflecting “the age-old anticlerical obsession with the clergy’s sexuality.”⁷⁹ The bodies of clergy were often publicly displayed and further desecrated after being dragged through the streets.⁸⁰ But, as the CMWPM articulates, violence occurred on both sides of the conflict. Brutality was also not confined to the Republican zone. Nationalist forces utilized mass executions, often on feast days, the public exhibition of corpses, and the burning of corpses to enforce social and political control.⁸¹ Nationalist violence also targeted women, and rape and the public humiliation of female prisoners were common.⁸² Nationalist forces were also responsible for murdering some members of the Church hierarchy, not necessarily because of their occupation but because of perceived anti-Nationalist sentiment. Much of the Nationalist anticlerical violence was individual, targeted, and used to accomplish larger goals. Father Andrés Ares Díaz was killed by Falangists in the Nationalist zone on 3 October 1936 for withholding money collected for a religious festival from rebel forces, not for expressing pro-Republican thought.⁸³ Before his death, the Nationalists forced Díaz to offer his confession to Father Antonio Casas, the parish priest of Barallobre, who had worked to halt the Nationalist repression in Barallobre.⁸⁴ The Nationalists believed that hearing Díaz’s confession as he faced his execution might distress Casas into admitting he had aided Republicans.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 130; de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution,” 356.

⁸⁰ de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution,” 356.

⁸¹ Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939*, 118.

⁸² Graham, 118–19.

⁸³ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (London: Harper Press, 2012), 213.

⁸⁴ Preston, 213.

⁸⁵ Preston, 213.

The notable exception was in the Basque country, where Nationalist forces targeted the Basque clergy specifically, killing sixteen priests in total.⁸⁶ The Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) had worked to maintain a Catholic yet Republican identity that was distinct from both sides in the Civil War.⁸⁷ Anticlerical violence was never prominent amongst Republicans in this region, though forty-six clergy members were still killed by members of the Left in the Basque provinces.⁸⁸ Nationalist leaders viewed the Basque Country as a dangerous problem because alternative national identities represented an ideological challenge to the Nationalist view of a single, uniform Spanish identity. The Basque priests were considered to be too involved with and sympathetic to the PNV and the Republican cause, and they were also widely regarded as “the very best Catholics in Spain” because of their theological knowledge and charity.⁸⁹ Even the CMWPM acknowledged that the Basque clergy possessed “the respect and affection of their people because of the manner in which they considered their temporal and spiritual welfare and devoted their lives to a proper performance of their clerical duties.”⁹⁰ Further, the Basque Country possessed the highest percentage of practicing Catholics in Spain.⁹¹ Nationalists suggested that good Catholics could not support anyone but the Nationalists and their crusade, so for the best Catholics to support the Republicans undermined the Nationalist message. Rebel leaders sought to purge the clergy of Guipúzcoa in 1936, resulting in “twenty-four priests expelled from the province, thirty-one exiled from Spain, thirteen transferred and forty-four imprisoned.”⁹² In total, 414 Basque clergy members were targeted by Nationalist forces in some

⁸⁶ Preston, 431.

⁸⁷ Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 131.

⁸⁸ Vincent, 131; Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 75.

⁸⁹ Peter Anderson, *Friend or Foe: Occupation, Collaboration and Selective Violence in the Spanish Civil War* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2016), 131; Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 70.

⁹⁰ “The Spanish Conflict,” 69.

⁹¹ Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” 131.

⁹² Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, 432.

way be it executed, tortured, imprisoned, or exiled.⁹³ Nationalists justified their actions against the Basque Church by arguing that any repression of Basque priests was for political reasons not because of their religious occupation.⁹⁴

The CMWPM also utilized the memory of the Inquisition and historical religious violence to justify its position on the Spanish Civil War and anticlerical violence, a strategy suited to its British Protestant audience. Historian Brian Shelmerdine confirms this methodology, arguing that some people drew on the memory of the Inquisition to attract British Protestants to the Republican cause.⁹⁵ He articulates that these people viewed anticlerical violence as springing naturally from Spanish history because the perpetrators were the “victims of the Inquisition” and only acting to restore justice after the evil of the Inquisition.⁹⁶ Invoking the memory of cruel violence and the Inquisition is also a component of the Black Legend as discussed in the previous chapter. Just as the CMWPM had constructed an image of a dark backwards Spain in the 1920s and early 1930s, it continued this effort during the Spanish Civil War, asserting “It seems from the time of the Holy Inquisition that that unhappy land has been noted for cruelty” and “[i]ntolerance seems to be in the blood of the Spaniard and that, probably accounts for the lack of political compromise so necessary in a democratic country.”⁹⁷ The CMWPM further argued that Protestantism was the ultimate solution to all of Spain’s problems. First, the publication asked “[w]ould it not be true, then, to say that the Inquisition has set an example of cruelty to the nation which cannot be eradicated without a change of heart?”⁹⁸ Then, it followed

⁹³ Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 80.

⁹⁴ Sánchez, 81.

⁹⁵ Brian Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 89.

⁹⁶ Shelmerdine, 89.

⁹⁷ W. H. P., “Spanish Cruelty,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, April 1937), 94.

⁹⁸ W. H. P., 94.

with the declaration that “Spain will need a change of religion in order to get a change of heart, for the old religion has damned every country dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.”⁹⁹

Speaking of a potential Nationalist victory, the CMWPM proclaimed,

[I]t will be a Clerico-Fascist Dictatorship which will give no liberty to those outside the Church of Rome. The Religion to be set up is the same religion that makes it lawful to put to death and persecute heretics. It is the religion that put to death the Huguenots at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and has persecuted Christians ever since the time of Christ. It is the same religion that sets up the awful Spanish Inquisition which helped in its turn to breed the class of Spaniard who will murder his brother for the good of the Church.¹⁰⁰

To the CMWPM, a victory for the Nationalists just served to reinforce the legacy of violence of the Catholic Church, and the publication emphasized this idea to its audience by centering religious memories of violence against Protestants.

Conclusion

In every issue of the CMWPM, there existed a singular cause for the Spanish Civil War, anticlerical violence, and any other problem within the country: the Spanish Catholic Church and, by extension, the Vatican and the Pope. While communism might have been a major concern of groups within Spain as well as in Britain, the CMWPM rejected this understanding of the conflict. The CMWPM articulated this worldview most fully in April 1937 when it declared,

[t]he undeniable truth is that the Church of Rome is at the bottom of the Civil War and the Jesuits are trying to throw dust in the eyes of the world by the cry of the ‘Red Terror.’ Most Spaniards know that their enemy is not in Moscow but in the Vatican City. That is why there is a bitter anti-clericalism in ‘Most Catholic’ Spain such as is only known in Roman Catholic lands.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ W. H. P., 95.

¹⁰⁰ W. H. P., “Babylon the Great,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1937), 246. Another example from the same author predates this one by five months and references Franco directly: “Therefore with this evidence of the Church’s culpability in regards to the cruelty of the Holy Inquisition and that of the bull-fight we find it hard to believe that General Franco’s success is ever likely to “Christianise” Spain, because his success only means more power to the Church’s elbow.” (W. H. P., “Spanish Cruelty,” 1937).

¹⁰¹ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” April 1937, 92.

The CMWPM considered the Catholic Church to be the ultimate danger to British interests and religious life and argued that the Church was seeking to infiltrate the British nation through fascism both at home and abroad. While communism was of some concern, the CMWPM found fascism far more threatening, perhaps because of the prominent influence of Catholics within the BUF. This alliance of fascism and Catholicism also explained Spanish anticlerical violence, a phenomenon the CMWPM viewed as a natural response to historic Catholic repression of the Spanish people. While other corners of Protestant Britain lamented anticlerical violence because of the suffering of religious people, despite their Catholicism, or were indifferent, the CMWPM found priests at fault for their own murders because of alleged immoral conduct. Further, because the CMWPM viewed Catholicism as inherently un-Christian, they saw priests as in no way representative of God, so they also believed that killing them could not be considered anti-religious. The CMWPM's understanding of what the Spanish Civil War meant set the framework for how the publication explained all the events that occurred in Spain during that period, especially anticlerical violence. It also shaped the CMWPM's view of events to come, adding theological consequences for Franco's Catholic victory.

Chapter III

The Last Battle, 1939-1945

In its first edition since the Spanish Civil War ended in April 1939, the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (CMWPM) articulated its disappointment that Francisco Franco's Nationalists had emerged victorious from the conflict:

The whole world wishes to see Spain embark on a period of peace and plenty but now that a 'Catholic victory' has been secured we fear there is less chance of this than ever. The shadow of the priest will now fall more heavily upon the unhappy land than it has done for the past four centuries. Only the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ can save Spain.¹

Up to and during the Spanish Civil War, the CMWPM depicted Spain as the totalitarian, "Most Catholic" antithesis of democratic, Protestant Britain. To the CMWPM, the civil war itself served as a rehashing of the Protestant Reformation in Spain in which they hoped that Protestantism would finally overcome Catholicism, though the Republicans in no way represented a Protestant cause. Faced with the excruciating reality of victorious Catholicism, the CMWPM strove to undermine the Franco regime by articulating a memory of the Spanish Civil War that stressed the international intervention in the conflict. Further, the CMWPM emphasized that the civil war was the first battle in a larger war against an international Catholic plot for world domination. World War II posed an additional challenge for the CMWPM because it saw the conflict as representing the main fight against international Catholicism, but Spain declared its neutrality, and the Vatican failed to fully endorse Nazi Germany. This geopolitical situation forced the CMWPM to weave together Franco, the Vatican, and Hitler in an intricate web that did not represent the actual relationships between these actors. Additionally, the CMWPM still believed that Spain was winnable for the Protestant cause, so the publication strove to separate

¹ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles: The Papacy," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1939), 120.

the Franco government from the Spanish people, still seeing Spain as a potential Protestant nation and eroding Franco's claims to have the support of all Spaniards within a homogenous Spain. The CMWPM utilized each element of this narrative to support its campaign to rid the Church of England of Anglo-Catholicism, remind Protestant Britons of the threat that international Catholicism posed to Britain, and garner support for the Protestant Truth Society's efforts to proselytize at home.

International Catholicism

The CMWPM worked to construct the narrative that the Spanish Civil War was a foreign imposition upon the Spanish people and not a civil war in an effort to rhetorically recover from a Catholic victory in the war and undermine the Franco regime. In the last few months of the civil war, the CMWPM began to emphasize the role that Italy, Germany, and Spanish-occupied Morocco had played in the conflict, proclaiming “[s]hould success eventually crown the efforts of Franco it will have to be admitted that it was not done by efforts of the Spanish people, but by the engineering of the Vatican and the powerful military aid of Moors, Italians and Germans.”² As Nationalist victory was assured, the CMWPM placed the feat on international shoulders, considering Franco only a supporting character: “[w]ith the fall of Barcelona and Figueras it seems clear that at long last the Italians and Germans, assisted by General Franco, have conquered Spain territorially.”³ In the aftermath of the conflict, the CMWPM characterized international material support of the Nationalists as a conquest of Spain by outsiders acting on the orders of the Vatican. Just three months after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the CMWPM reported that,

² Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Most Catholic Spain,” *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, February 1939), 36.

³ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Britain and the Vatican,” *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1939), 64.

Now that the foreign troops have returned to their native lands—and left their arms behind them—the Dictators seem to have been suddenly smitten with the need for telling the truth, or some of it, in regard to their part in the crushing of Democracy in Spain. We now know that the Vatican, Italy and Germany were in the conspiracy from the beginning, by their own admissions... That is was a conspiracy of three Dictators—the Pope, the Duce and the Fuehrer—is plain from the fact of their common suppression of the truth at the time in regard to their actual intervention.⁴

In May 1940, over a year after the conclusion of the civil war, the CMWPM claimed that “[t]he truth is that Spaniard was not fighting Spaniard but 80,000 Italians and 12,000 well-equipped Germans.”⁵ Further, this article claimed that the civil war was a hostile conquest of the Spanish people: “No sooner was Mussolini successful in Abyssinia than he invaded Spain with 80,000 men in alliance with Germany.”⁶ As usual, the CMWPM saw the main cause of this invasion as the Vatican, and in August 1942, continuing to use the rhetoric of invasion, conquest, and occupation, the CMWPM contended that “[t]he re-conquest of Spain by the Vatican with Axis aid opened the eyes of many Roman Catholics, and ‘Most Catholic Spain’ is now in a sorry plight—far lower in the scale than in Alphonso’s time, in spite of the adoption of Fascism.”⁷

While international actors were involved in the Spanish Civil War, the conflict was still inherently domestic, and the Nationalist cause was not a proxy for Italian or German objectives.⁸ In addition to the CMWPM, other members of the international press emphasize foreign involvement in the Spanish Civil War, influencing how many outside of Spain understood the war.⁹ During the Spanish Civil War, Hitler held a view of Spain that was heavily influenced by

⁴ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Royal Visit to Canada and U.S.A.,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, July 1939), 181.

⁵ Rev J. S. Bevan, “Rome and Our Foreign Policy,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1940), 84.

⁶ Bevan, 85.

⁷ “HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES: Babylon Is Falling,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1942), 77.

⁸ John F. Coverdale, *Italian Intervention in the Spanish Civil War*, Princeton Legacy Library 1285 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), xiv, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400867905>.

⁹ Coverdale, xiv.

the Black Legend and was largely unconcerned with Spain.¹⁰ Hitler found the Spanish Civil War most useful as distraction for the rest of Europe from German rearmament, and as a result, Hitler wished for the war to drag out with an eventual Franco victory.¹¹ Over the course of the war, Germany provided military equipment and supplies but otherwise left Mussolini to take the lead as Franco's main international ally.¹² Mussolini considered a Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War important for his goal of dominating the Mediterranean.¹³ Italy's support of the Nationalists increased as the Spanish Civil War went on, reaching a peak in 1937. Until November 1936, the Italians provided military instructors to the Nationalists and avoided larger intervention.¹⁴ From November 1936 to March 1937, Italy increased its support considerably, sending combat troops in specified Italian units as well as weapons and supplies.¹⁵ During the last period of the war, Italy maintained its military presence in Spain but slowed its deliveries of war materials.¹⁶

On the Republican side, international support looked very different, significantly comprised of foreign volunteers. Fearing the possibility of being drawn into another international war after the horrors of World War I, the British and the French used policies of non-intervention to avoid supporting the Republicans.¹⁷ Further, many British conservatives sympathized with the rebels, fearing that the more left-leaning supporters of the Republican cause would interfere with British commercial interests within Spain.¹⁸ The Soviet Union became the Republican's

¹⁰ Stanley G. Payne, *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 20.

¹¹ Payne, 26–27.

¹² Payne, 26–27.

¹³ Payne, 26.

¹⁴ Coverdale, *Italian Intervention in the Spanish Civil War*, xvi.

¹⁵ Coverdale, xvi.

¹⁶ Coverdale, xvii.

¹⁷ Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution and Revenge* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007), 136–37.

¹⁸ Preston, 138–39.

main ally though even this support was minimal, only coming about after decisive action from Germany and Italy.¹⁹ Stalin wished to prevent the rise of a new fascist power without stirring up reactionary conservatism within France.²⁰ Despite their own governments' inaction, many individuals from around the world traveled to Spain to fight for the Republicans, feeling a calling to challenge fascism and Hitlerism.²¹ These volunteers, called the International Brigades, hailed from fifty different countries and numbered as many as sixty thousand.²²

This memory of the Spanish Civil War supplemented the CMWPM's argument that Franco was a puppet of the Vatican, helping the CMWPM to delegitimize the Franco regime by undermining Franco's autonomy and authority. On no occasion did the CMWPM acknowledge Franco as the leader of Spain, instead repeatedly emphasizing his role as a figurehead for the Pope. In 1940, the CMWPM stated that "[a]s Franco is still in control, on the Vatican's behalf, one can quite believe that there is little or no liberty for the people."²³ In 1941, the publication reaffirmed this sentiment, this time contending, "[w]hile it may not now be strictly correct to call Spain, 'Most Catholic,' to give it the Papal label, yet it is still under the thumb of the Vatican."²⁴ In fact, the relationship between the Vatican and the Franco regime was extensive but strategically utilized by both parties. In the 1930s, the Vatican believed that the greatest threat to the international Catholic Church was communism, and as a result, the Vatican was sympathetic

¹⁹ Preston, 150.

²⁰ Preston, 149.

²¹ Preston, 6.

²² Preston, 293.

²³ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles: Most Catholic Spain," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1940), 86.

²⁴ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles: The New Disorder," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1941), 160–61. The CMWPM repeated the same argument in 1942 when it remarked that Spain "is now suffering on account of the Vatican's will exercised through General Franco" (Historicus and His Critical Chronicle: Christian Unity, *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger*, October 1942, 97).

to Franco's proclaimed crusade against communism, despite the Vatican's hesitance to publicly condone the Nationalists.²⁵

Franco viewed Catholicism as an essential component of his ideological domination of Spain, but it was always a tool that Franco intended to use on his own terms. During the Spanish Civil War, Franco depicted the war as *Reconquista*. *Reconquista*, a product of nineteenth-century nationalism, was a remembering of Spain's past which describes the rebirth of the Spanish nation out of the complete rechristianization of Muslim Spain in the Middle Ages and was "based on the principle of the indissoluble unity between Spanish national identity and the Catholic faith."²⁶ In actuality, al-Andalus, a Muslim kingdom, flourished in Iberia for eight centuries.²⁷ Conservatives in the nineteenth century utilized positions in politics, academia, and education to erase al-Andalus from historical memory while furthering the invented tradition of Spain as the glorious united Catholic nation.²⁸ Drawing upon this narrative of *Reconquista*, Franco utilized symbols of the Spanish monarchy and the Catholic Church, such as "the Eagle of Saint John and the yoke and arrows in the new national coat of arms," to cement his regime as the natural continuation of the Spanish empire.²⁹

Under the Franco regime, the political Catholicism that developed after the Restoration grew into National Catholicism. William Callahan defines National Catholicism as a religion aligned with Spanish nationalism which "rejected liberalism and secularism, and exalted Franco as a providential savior of faith and nation."³⁰ Angela Cenarro draws fascism into her definition,

²⁵ Giuliana Chamedes, *A Twentieth-Century Crusade: The Vatican's Battle to Remake Christian Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2019), 194.

²⁶ García-Sanjuán, 128.

²⁷ García-Sanjuán, 127.

²⁸ García-Sanjuán, 129; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

²⁹ García-Sanjuán, 130.

³⁰ William J. Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain: 1875-1998* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 382.

arguing that National Catholicism “was born out of a well-worn Catholic-Fascist hotchpotch of ideas, whose main tenets were the identification of the essence of Spain with the Catholic religion, and of Catholicism with a typically Spanish kind of fascism” characterized by “national unity and the idea of the empire.”³¹ Cenarro’s definition speaks to the magnitude of National Catholicism as something both fundamental and national and far more than an alliance of Church and state. In total, National Catholicism was the political utilization of Catholicism by the Franco regime in a fashion that built upon the Spanish Catholic political tradition and aligned the memory of the Church with a Spanish nationalism that excluded divergent religious, political, and ethnic identities.

Beginning during the Spanish Civil War, National Catholicism was constructed using extensive Catholic iconography as well as the hierarchy of the Spanish Church, which participated in public ceremonies and pressured its congregations to support Franco. The familiar liturgy and symbolism of the Church was employed to unify rebel forces composed of monarchists, Carlists, Falangists, Catholics, and other conservatives.³² Further, the clergy themselves lent their support in the form of “pastoral letters, sermons, radio broadcasts, sophisticated argument, and simple propaganda” because “the clergy with few exceptions saw the Spanish Civil War as a ‘duel to the death between the Church and the revolution’ in which ‘the cross and the sword again come together and form a single weapon ready to realize the most brilliant triumphs.’”³³ Right after the end of the Civil War, during celebratory festivities, Franco approached the royal church of Santa Bárbara in Madrid on 20 May, 1939 with the “sword of

³¹ Angela Cenarro, “Elite, Party, Church. Pillars of the Francoist ‘New State’ in Aragon, 1936-1945,” *European History Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1998): 472, <https://doi.org/10.1177/026569149802800402>.

³² Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco, “Before the Altar of the Fatherland: Catholicism, the Politics of Modernization, and Nationalization during the Spanish Civil War,” *European History Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (April 1, 2018): 248, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265691418760169>.

³³ Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain*, 1.

victory” which he presented to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, head of the Spanish Church.³⁴ Upon accepting the sword, the Cardinal proclaimed the gift as “elegant testimony of the faith of our Catholic people so worthily represented by their *Caudillo* in this culminating and transcendental moment of our nation’s [history].”³⁵ In the Franco period, religious ceremonies and services involved “a glorification of the Church, the military, and the conservative, propertied classes in which it was extremely difficult to see where one ended and other began.”³⁶ Perhaps the most striking symbol of National Catholicism is the *Valle de los Caídos*, or the Valley of the Fallen, which Franco designed as a monument to the Nationalist cause and served as his tomb, though his body was disinterred in 2019. Crowned by a one-hundred-and-fifty-meter cross, the site consists of a basilica and a monastery and is adorned with religious sculptures.³⁷ Republican prisoners were forced by the Franco regime to work on the construction of the Valley of the Fallen, and the site is a mass grave of both Francoist and Republican remains.³⁸ The Valley functions as a chilling emblem of political and religious power connected to the invented tradition of Spain’s glorious past.³⁹

World War II

The CMWPM saw World War II as the ultimate global confrontation between Catholicism and what the CMWPM viewed as Protestant democracy. To the CMWPM, World

³⁴ Callahan, 1.

³⁵ Callahan, 1.

³⁶ Frances Lannon, *Privilege, Persecution, and Prophecy: The Catholic Church in Spain 1875-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 34.

³⁷ Andrea Hepworth, “Site of Memory and Dismemory: The Valley of the Fallen in Spain,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 16, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 469, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2014.975948>.

³⁸ Mary Vincent, “Religion: The Idea of Catholic Spain,” in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas (New York, NY, UNITED STATES: Berghahn Books, Incorporated, 2017), 132, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=4873531>.

³⁹ Hepworth, “Site of Memory and Dismemory,” 469.

War II took on the significance of an apocalyptic event, the final battle before the end times. In August 1939 during the opening notes of the conflict, the CMWPM proclaimed,

Few people seem to realise that the world is already at war... The war is one between Autocracy and Democracy and it is not difficult to see who are the aggressors and who are the defenders. The one plain fact arising out of it all is that the Prince of the Power of the Air seems to have let himself go for his final throw against humanity. Now is the time to dust our Bibles and to see the final overthrow of the Evil One and the reign of the Prince of Peace.⁴⁰

In arguing that the war between totalitarianism and freedom had already begun in 1939, the CMWPM saw continuity between the Spanish Civil War and World War II. In addition to the war being a political battle, the CMWPM contended that World War II had spiritual ramifications as the battle of Armageddon mentioned in the Book of Revelation, aligning Satan with the Axis powers and Jesus with the Allies. The application of Revelation to historical events is known as historicism and is one of the four main schools for interpreting the Book of Revelation within Christian eschatology.⁴¹ The first historicist, Joachim of Flora, a Christian mystic living in the twelfth century, saw the proceedings of Revelation aligning with historical and contemporary events.⁴² Since the Reformation, historicism has been popular among Protestants, especially fundamentalists, because Joachim's followers grew more radical and began to further anti-papal views of Revelation, aligning the pope with the antichrist and the Vatican with the prostitute that rides astride the beast.⁴³

⁴⁰ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles: The Pope Again," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1939), 205. The Prince of the Power of the Air is a name for Satan used by Paul in his letter to the Ephesians in which he warns, "[a]nd you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins; Wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others" (Ephesians 2:2-3).

⁴¹ David L. Barr, ed., *Reading the Book of Revelation: A Resource for Students* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 3–5.

⁴² Barr, 3.

⁴³ Barr, 3.

The CMWPM also adopted this view of the Catholic hierarchy and applied it to World War II. In August 1942, the CMWPM declared,

Readers of Revelation will remember how the doom of Rome Papal is foretold in the words: 'Babylon is fallen.' Although that stage in the Vatican's history has not yet arrived there are certainly signs that the fall of Babylon is not far off. It has been obvious for some years past that the power of the Church is not what it was. At one time the Pope's word was law, by today his word creates little interest even among his own followers.⁴⁴

Further, the CMWPM argues in the same article that World War II will bring about the fall of Rome: "[w]hen Fascism and Nazism fall, then the Vatican will have lost her last hope... Therefore it is reasonable to hope that when the war ends the doom of Babylon will be in sight."⁴⁵ Revelation describes a woman sitting astride "a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns." On the woman's forehead was written "mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the Earth." Among historicists, the seven heads of the beasts represent Rome, making the woman symbolic of the pope, the Vatican, or the Catholic Church generally. Referring to the Catholic Church or the Vatican as Babylon was not unique to the CMWPM, and this narrative had been employed by Protestant thinkers since the days of the Reformation to foment anti-Catholicism.⁴⁶ As opposed to other Protestants, however, fundamentalists like members of the Protestant Truth society were more willing to overtly align elements from Revelation with images of the Catholic Church.⁴⁷ The Protestant Truth Society was also a strong supporter of premillenarianism, the idea that the world must move through a period of tribulation before the second coming of Jesus Christ.⁴⁸ British

⁴⁴ "HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES," August 1942, 77.

⁴⁵ "HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES," 77.

⁴⁶ David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones, eds., *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 162.

⁴⁷ Bebbington and Jones, 162.

⁴⁸ Bebbington and Jones, 162.

millenarians as a whole were almost exclusively fiercely anti-Catholic and perceived the growth of Catholicism within British society and the influx of Irish immigrants as a sign of worldly decay and the proximity of the second coming.⁴⁹ Viewing World War II through the lens of the apocalypse created spiritual consequences for the war. Protestantism had to defeat Catholicism in the form of an Allied victory over the Axis Powers, otherwise no believing Protestant could achieve eternal salvation.

On September 4, 1939, Franco asserted Spain's "strict neutrality" in the developing war between Nazi Germany and Britain and France.⁵⁰ This stance, however, posed a problem for the CMWPM because the publication had framed World War II as the final confrontation in the fight against international Catholicism and depicted Spain as the Catholic Church's chosen nation. For heaven on Earth to be realized, the "Most Catholic" nation needed to participate in the Battle of Armageddon so that Protestantism could finally vanquish international Catholicism. The CMWPM repeatedly undermined Spanish neutrality to link Franco Spain to the Axis Powers to fit their apocalyptic worldview. Considering the assistance that Hitler had provided to Franco during the Spanish Civil War, Franco was oriented towards Nazi Germany in 1939.⁵¹ Though struggling with a lagging economy and a population ravaged by war, Franco saw the war as an opportunity to expand and gain economic benefits as well as recognition militarily.⁵² Hitler was less keen for Spain to enter the war, fearing Spain would be a burden on their war effort. On September 28, 1940, Hitler remarked that "he was not convinced that Spain had 'the same

⁴⁹ Ernest Robert Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism; British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 17.

⁵⁰ Wayne H. Bowen, *Spain During World War II* (Columbia, United States: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 25, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cwm/detail.action?docID=3570890>.

⁵¹ Bowen, 21. During the spring and summer of 1939, Franco took steps to endorse Nazi Germany without an explicit endorsement. In March, Franco signed a secret agreement of cooperation with Hitler. In April, Spain entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact, a non-binding international agreement opposing communism, and in May, Spain withdrew from the League of Nations (Bowen 21).

⁵² Bowen, 16.

intensity of will for giving as for taking” in a conversation with Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister.⁵³ The CMWPM doubted Spain’s neutrality on numerous occasions. The publication argued that Franco was indebted to the Axis powers for aid rendered during the civil war, and as a result, Spanish neutrality could not be trusted. In May 1940, the CMWPM stated, “Franco owes much to Germany by the assistance Hitler gave in the prosecution of the Civil War. Therefore Spain needs to be watched and prevented from giving help now to Hitler.”⁵⁴ In other issues, the CMWPM indicted all neutrality in World War II because of the deep ideological meaning the publication had assigned to the war, arguing “[n]o one, of course, can be neutral in this great conflict...we know that Spain, as far as the Franco Government is concerned, is at heart with Hitler. But their economic plight compels them to remain outside.”⁵⁵

In addition to undermining Spain’s neutrality, the CMWPM linked Spain to the Axis powers through a false narrative of ideological development. The CMWPM argued that “Fascism was started by a Roman Catholic in Most Catholic Spain.”⁵⁶ The CMWPM then claimed that fascism was “adopted by Roman Catholic Italy and staged managed by Benito Mussolini, a lapsed Papist who later on professed his return to the faith. From beginning to end it had the support of the Vatican.”⁵⁷ Believing that all evils stem from Catholicism, the CMWPM

⁵³ United States Department of State, *The Spanish Government and the Axis; Documents. March 1946.*, Its Publication 2483. European Series, 8 (Washington: U.S., Govt. Print. Off., 1946), 19. Mussolini articulated similar concerns through Count Ciano in the same conversation: “Italy also had not forgotten the experiences of the Spanish Civil War. At that time Franco had declared that if he received 12 transport planes or bombers, he would have the war won in a few days. These 12 airplanes became more than one thousand airplanes, 6 thousand dead, and 14 billion lire. With all due sympathy for Spain, this had upon reflection proven in fact to be right, and now again the Duce feared that many sacrifices would be demanded of Italy and Germany without return” (US Dept. of State, 19).

⁵⁴ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” May 1940, 86.

⁵⁵ “HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES: Churchill in North America,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, February 1942), 15.

⁵⁶ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: The Great Invasion,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, July 1944), 66.

⁵⁷ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Thanks Be To God,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, June 1945), 57.

further remarked on how fascism fit into the Church's quest for world domination in its June 1945 issue, contending "[c]omplete domination over the bodies and souls of all people is the aim of the Church of Rome. Thus Fascism, about which the well-informed Vatican knew so much, was just the system needed by the Church to gain her ultimate ends."⁵⁸ While totalitarian systems of government are far from new, modern fascism was constructed by Mussolini in the years following World War I, and in 1919, Mussolini founded the Fasci di Combattimento, the first fascism movement.⁵⁹ In articulating this narrative of development, the CMWPM sought to intertwine Spain with Italy by arguing that Mussolini's fascism arose from Franco's, despite Mussolini's use of the word fascism predating Franco's regime. Further, the CMWPM contended that both dictators were acting under the orders of the Vatican in an effort to bolster its apocalyptic interpretation of World War II.

Just as the CMWPM had to narratively link Spain to the Axis powers so that Catholicism could be vanquished by Protestantism, the CMWPM also had to include the Soviet Union in its definition of Protestantism because of its alliance with Britain.⁶⁰ To accomplish this, the CMWPM contended that the Soviet Union was open to Protestant proselytizing. The CMWPM argued in November of 1941 that, on account of World War II, "[t]here is good reason to believe that the once closed door in the U.S.S.R. against Christianity is likely soon to be opened."⁶¹ Despite communism's emphasis on secularism, the CMWPM believed that contact with the Christian people of Britain would convince the Soviet government to grant religious freedom to all.⁶² Further, the publication pronounced that the Soviet government would welcome Protestant

⁵⁸ *Historicus*, 57.

⁵⁹ Patricia Knight, *Mussolini and Fascism*, Questions and Analysis in History (London; Routledge, 2003), 16, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315015392>.

⁶⁰ Though the CMWPM takes great steps to paint the Soviet Union as a sort of Protestant Nation, the magazine never addresses that not all members of the Axis powers were Catholic.

⁶¹ *Historicus*, "Critical Chronicles," November 1941, 160.

⁶² *Historicus*, 160.

missionaries: “Since the Government of the U.S.S.R. hold friendly feelings towards the British people there is no reason to suppose they will put any barrier in the way of Evangelical teaching.”⁶³ The CMWPM even attempted to cast Joseph Stalin as a friend of Protestantism through a common hatred of the Jesuits. In September of 1941, the CMWPM asserted that “The Russian dictator Stalin was intended for the priesthood, and was educated by the Jesuits. He tells us that he learned spying, subtlety, cruelty, and diplomacy from them, and knowing Hitler’s papal upbringing will try to be more than a match for him.”⁶⁴ While Stalin was educated at a seminary, he had no contact with the Jesuits, and the seminary was associated with the Georgian Orthodox Church.⁶⁵ The CMWPM also articulated that Protestantism was experiencing some success within the Soviet Union. Towards the end of the war in March of 1945, the CMWPM concluded that “[t]here are at last definite signs that religion in Russia is to be officially recognized... The Roman Church and the Protestant Church have some sort of footing there and it is to be hoped that Protestantism may be able to make the headway.”⁶⁶ Having a secular ally in World War II undermined the CMWPM’s ability to paint the war as this apocalyptic religious conflict, but in painting the Soviet Union as open to Protestant conversion, the CMWPM hoped to circumnavigate this inconsistency in its world view.

During World War II, the CMWPM viewed fascism as an eminent threat to Britain that was imperative for Protestant Britons to stand guard against. The circumstance of World War II spurred the CMWPM to reemphasize to its British Protestant audience the danger posed by fascism. In December of 1944, the publication asserted that “[o]ur recent hints that Fascism is

⁶³ “HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES: The Moscow Charter,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, December 1943), 112.

⁶⁴ A. M. Adams, “Is the Pope Actually Our Ally?,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1941), 132.

⁶⁵ Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Young Stalin* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 53.

⁶⁶ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: The Last Chapter,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, March 1945), 29.

being revived is backed up by happenings in all parts, even in liberty-loving England.”⁶⁷ In

February of 1945, the CMWPM added to the sentiment by stating,

We in Protestant England may think we are safe from Papal aggressiveness. But since the time of the Spanish Armada the Vatican has not ceased to plot against Britain as the hub of Protestantism. Up till now it has failed because of the vigilance of Protestant Societies and the wariness of some statesmen... More than ever it is needful for Protestants to be on their guard⁶⁸

In evoking the memory of the Spanish Armada, an older strategy of the CMWPM intended to conjure the memory of violence against Protestants in the minds of its readers, reminding them that this violence could reoccur in the form of Vatican-backed fascism. Further, the Protestant Truth Society used this memory as well as its discussions of the dangers of Catholic influence in international politics to garner support for the Protestant Truth Society. At this time, the CMWPM included advertisements intended to attract new missionaries to the Protestant Truth Society’s Wickliffe Preachers training program at Kensit Memorial College which called for young men passionate about “Protestant defence and Evangelistic endeavour.”⁶⁹ Additionally, at the end of every issue, the CMWPM included a list of all donations received by the Protestant Truth Society in the past month. These lists included the name of the individual as well as the amount of their donation and, at times, the specific activity that the money supported. During the years of World War II, the Protestant Truth Society emphasized its ministering to “Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen.”⁷⁰

The Spanish People

⁶⁷ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Eire and Peace,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, December 1944), 109.

⁶⁸ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: Retribution,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, February 1945), 20.

⁶⁹ “Advertisement: Keen Young Men Wanted as Recruits for the Wickliffe Preachers,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1939), 239.

⁷⁰ “Our Resources,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, November 1940), 199.

Despite what it viewed as a Catholic victory in the Spanish Civil War, the CMPWM believed that Spain could still be transformed into a Protestant nation. The CMWPM worked to differentiate between the Spanish government and the Spanish people to argue that all Spaniards were anti-Franco, anti-Catholic, and anti-Axis powers. First, the CWMPM differentiated between the Spanish people and the Francoist government in support of self-determination: “[b]y the interference of the Vatican with Spain’s political affairs that most unhappy land has been in a turmoil for centuries. If the people had been left alone after the fall of Alphonso XIII, Spain by now would have been our all and on the road to prosperity.”⁷¹ The CMWPM also contended that there were political differences between the Spanish people and the Spanish government. In May of 1940, the publication stated,

While the Spanish people appear to be pro-Ally, as it is in their interests to be, the Press, according to the *Catholic Herald*, is mostly pro-German. Seeing that the Press is under Government control and that the Vatican is supposed to be anti-Nazi, this is indeed difficult at first sights to understand.⁷²

In August of 1941, the CMWPM clarified that when it referred to Spain it meant “Roman Catholic Spain, meaning, of course, the Franco Government and not the people, plainly pro-Nazi.”⁷³ In all iterations, the CMWPM contended that the Spanish people and the Franco government were distinct entities, meaning that Franco lacked the support of the people and that the people were being kept from their true desire to become Protestant. The CMWPM believed that fascism was the Vatican’s tool to suppress the people, who, left to their own devices, would choose Protestantism for themselves arguing, “Fascism is kept alive in Spain because the Church

⁷¹ “HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES: The Spanish Throne,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, May 1943), 43.

⁷² Historicus, “Critical Chronicles,” May 1940, 86.

⁷³ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: The Turning Point,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, August 1941), 124.

fears the people, as she does in most R.C. countries.”⁷⁴ While it is unclear how the CMWPM proposed to know the true feelings of the Spanish people, in portraying their interests as distinct, the CMWPM maintained the hope that they might convert all Spaniards to Protestantism, while undermining any claims that the Franco regime represented the will of the people.

The CMWPM discussed the Spanish people in terms of their political affinities while ignoring the greatest distinction between state and citizen: the immense suffering inflicted upon the Spanish people by the Franco dictatorship. After the massive loss of life during the Spanish Civil War, the Francoist repression imposed further horrors on the Spanish people. The CMWPM spoke about the Francoist repression rarely. In September of 1939, the CMWPM reported that “Large numbers have been put to death since the war... It is now the turn of the Spanish people to become Fascist slaves.”⁷⁵ In May of 1943, the CMWPM added that, “The Franco regime is responsible for the fact that over one million people are under lock and key,” remarking upon the imprisonment of Spaniards for perceived political dissent.⁷⁶ The CMWPM spent relatively little time discussing the devastation of the Francoist repression because to the CMWPM the greatest horror was living under Catholicism, which it spoke about frequently. To the CMWPM, Protestantism was synonymous with political freedom and Catholicism with totalitarianism and oppression. In its own way, the CMWPM communicated the suffering of Spain to its readership through the discussion of life under Catholic rule. Franco was determined to exterminate Republicanism while punishing anyone he deemed to have been associated with it.⁷⁷ Some have argued that the Francoist repression constituted a genocide, arguing that

⁷⁴ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: The New Year,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, January 1944), 7.

⁷⁵ Historicus, “Critical Chronicles: The Irish Gangsters,” *The Churchman’s Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers’ Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, September 1939), 241.

⁷⁶ “HISTORICUS AND HIS CRITICAL CHRONICLES,” May 1943, 43.

⁷⁷ Julius Ruiz, “A Spanish Genocide? Reflections on the Francoist Repression after the Spanish Civil War,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 2 (2005): 172.

instructions for the repression illustrate plans for a “systematic destruction of national, racial, religious, or political groups.”⁷⁸ During the Francoist repression, the regime executed an estimated 50,000 individuals, and many more were held as political prisoners.⁷⁹ The regime admitted that by November of 1940 Francoist jails contained 280,000 inmates in total, but the real figure likely exceeds that.⁸⁰ Franco maintained martial law until 1948, and thousands of Spaniards were tried in military tribunals for “military rebellion.” The ordinary Spaniards discussed by the CMWPM had larger problems than deciding their allegiance in a war fought beyond their borders. The Francoist repression disproportionately targeted the working-class and millions suffered due to a famine caused by the Franco regime and largely forgotten by European history.⁸¹ In conservative estimates, 200,000 Spaniards died due to starvation between 1939 and 1945.⁸²

Conclusion

When the first shots of World War II rang out, the CMWPM knew that the final days had arrived. Perhaps the Spanish Civil War had been the herald, Franco’s Catholic victory the final indication of the world’s descent into depravity before the Battle of Armageddon represented by the fight between Protestantism and Catholicism that the CMWPM saw in World War II. Using a historicist reading of the Book of Revelation, the CMWPM aligned figures and events of the war with images from Revelation. To the CMWPM, the Allied powers represented the spirit of Protestant truth and the Axis represented the evils of Catholicism, despite neither force being exclusively comprised of the assigned denomination. While the CMWPM failed to reconcile

⁷⁸ Ruiz, 175.

⁷⁹ Ruiz, 171.

⁸⁰ Ruiz, 171.

⁸¹ Ruiz, 182; Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco’s Spain, 1939-1975*, (Chichester, U.K ; Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 57.

⁸² Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 60.

non-Catholic axis identities, the publication did argue that the Soviet Union was becoming Protestant. This interpretation of World War II produced spiritual consequences for anything less than a “Protestant” victory and intensified the CMWPM’s warnings to its readership to stand guard against the influence of fascism and Catholicism in Britain. Though the CMWPM was striving to solidify its apocalyptic view of World War II, the publication remained deeply uncomfortable with Franco’s success in the Spanish Civil War as well as his regime’s Catholic character. Just as Franco sought to manipulate the memory of the Spanish Civil War to legitimize his regime and claim continuity with imperial Spain, the CMWPM crafted a narrative of the war which subordinated Franco to his international allies and the Vatican. The CMWPM remembering of the Spanish Civil War and Franco regime also strictly separated the Spanish people from the government in an effort to maintain its belief that the Spanish people still be converted to Protestantism and further undermine Franco’s claim to have the support of the people, though failing to discuss the Francoist repression.

Conclusion

In October of 1945, the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preacher's Messenger* (CMWPM) reflected upon the end of World War II,

The last shot in this most terrible of wars has been fired and all the world breathes freely once again in an outward atmosphere of peace. From all appearances it is reasonable to assume that peace may last for a long time to come. Although the spirit of the war has not been removed the will to fight has been crushed for those mostly concerned. The human spirit remains what it was and the human heart is as depraved as in the time of the Garden of Eden. The change of heart has not come and will not come until Christ reigns.¹

At a time when many across the world were celebrating the end of the war, the tone of the CMWPM was solemn. The Protestant Truth Society's hope for the Apocalypse to come about through World War II had failed to come to pass, despite the victory of the Allied powers. The CMWPM claimed that this was most evident through Spain's retention of its "Most Catholic" moniker proclaiming, "[t]hat piece of Papal territory is again, as of yore, a land of unrest and slavery."² In the mind of the PTS, salvation was impossible until Vatican-backed fascism was well and truly vanquished, and the survival of Franco's Spain proved that that goal had not yet been achieved.

In 1930, the future of the Protestant way of life seemed bleak to many British evangelicals as Protestant churches across Britain faced secularization and the Catholicizing influence of the Oxford Movement. To the Protestant Truth Society (PTS), Protestantism was not simply under threat. It was at war. During the first half of the twentieth century, the PTS fervently spoke out against Catholicism through its publication, the *Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preacher's Messenger*, in a prime example of the intensity of British evangelical anti-Catholicism and anti-Ritualism at this time. While the PTS's imagining of Spain shifted as Spain

¹ Historicus, "Critical Chronicles: End of the War," *The Churchman's Magazine and Wickliffe Preachers' Messenger* (London, United Kingdom: Protestant Truth Society, October 1945), 95.

² Historicus, 95.

underwent political changes and civil war, the PTS repeatedly employed the idea of Spain as a way to communicate its fears about both domestic and international political and religious conflict, especially the influence of fascism and Catholicism. Further, the PTS utilized its discussion of Spain to impart the importance and urgency of these fears to its readership with the goal of attracting support, monetary and otherwise, for its anti-Catholic crusade.

Between 1930 and 1936, a period mainly characterized within Spain by the Second Spanish Republic, the CMWPM perpetuated two images of Spain—an old Spain, a backwards, superstitious land in line with the Black Legend, and a new Spain, a Protestant nation born with the Republic. The advent of the Second Spanish Republic represented a break from Spain's dark past and the potential for a Protestant utopia, a rehashing of the Protestant Reformation in which Spain was finally emerging on the correct side. Both of these interpretations incorrectly presented the development of Spain, reducing the diversity of Spanish belief and experience to simplistic motifs to accomplish political goals. The CMWPM used this old and new Spain to articulate its fear that Catholicism and Ritualism were becoming more prominent within Britain, threatening Protestantism. As the CMWPM moved beyond the immediate establishment of the Republic, however, it saw that the Republic contained prominent communist political groups, which it found difficult to consolidate within its worldview. The CMWPM's response to this problem was to argue that communism was both a natural response to the historical oppression of the Catholic Church as Spain supposedly transitioned to Protestantism and an indicator of a conspiracy between the Church and communists across the globe, an inherently contradictory explanation.

During the Spanish Civil War, a conflict between pro-Republican and rebel forces fought within Spain between 1936 and 1939, the CMWPM blamed the Catholic Church for the war,

claiming that the Church was using the fascist rebels to reclaim Spain for Catholicism. Like many sectors of British society, the CMWPM presented the Spanish Civil War in a certain way to discuss the topics most pressing to them and to argue what the war “meant.” To the PTS, the Spanish Civil War represented the active attempts of the Catholic Church to spread fascism internationally, an existential threat to British freedom and democracy. This interpretation additionally shaped the PTS’s understanding of anticlerical violence perpetuated within the Republican zone in the early months of the war. Instead of an attack upon nonbelligerent men of God, these killings represented moral retribution against the evil, corrupt nature of the Catholic Church and its emissaries.

The success of Franco’s Catholic forces in the Spanish Civil War struck a blow to the PTS’s narrative of triumphant Protestantism. In an attempt to undermine Franco’s new regime, the CMWPM preached that Franco’s victories were not his own. Instead, the CMWPM perpetuated a remembering of the Spanish Civil War that emphasized German and Italian support for the Nationalists and reduced Franco’s agency in the conflict. At the same time, the PTS was grappling with the beginnings of World War II, a conflict it saw as the final battle between Protestantism and Catholicism, the biblical Armageddon bringing about the second coming of Jesus Christ. In continuity with previous warnings, the CMWPM emphasized that in the face of this apocalypse Britons must remain strong against the influences of fascism and Catholicism.

The exploration of British evangelical anti-Catholicism begun by this thesis would benefit greatly from further research. The CMWPM was not the only evangelical anti-Catholic organization in Britain during this period. For instance, the Church Association is often mentioned in conjunction with the PTS as an example of fierce anti-Catholic rhetoric. It would

be interesting to examine a range of British evangelical publications from the interwar period to identify the treatment of Spain across this demographic and explore wider trends in British evangelical anti-Catholicism. Analyses of British religious understandings of Spain are greatly underrepresented in the historiography. Future investigations of this field should look beyond top-down discussions of the views of the Anglican and Catholic churches to illuminate the actions of grassroots religious organizations which illustrate the diversity of British religious thought. This research can also be extended temporally. Europe as a whole underwent significant changes in the aftermath of World War II, as the continent worked to rebuild, and communism became a pressing geopolitical concern. Further, Franco's Spain emerged from the war years as a partner for the United States and Britain in the fight against the Soviet Union and global communism. In a longer work, one could go on to explore how the PTS addressed these developments and how it grappled with the Cold War as the West's focus shifted from fascism to communism. The PTS continued to publish the CMWPM until the 1990s, and the PTS still exists as an anti-Catholic evangelical interest group and registered charity within the United Kingdom.

Ultimately, uncovering some of the ways in which Modern Spain has shaped history is vital to changing our answer to one question—does Spain matter? The answer has frequently been no. Any discussion of Spanish history beyond the colonization of the Americas, especially Spain in the twentieth century, has been written off by historians, left out of curriculums, and generally disregarded. Spain has been labeled as other, different, and irrelevant, and our collective knowledge has suffered because of it. Spain has struggled to confront her own history and has only recently begun deconstructing the obfuscation and silence forged under Franco's dictatorship due to the unyielding labor of committed advocates, dedicated to bringing justice to hundreds of thousands of victims and their families. When it comes to Spain's effect on Britain,

historians have begun to tell this story, but it remains incomplete, having only scratched the surface of British religious interpretations of Spain. The Spanish Civil War and its legacy were essential to the PTS's message, and the case of this organization illustrates how some Britons utilized Spain as a vehicle through which to communicate their fears surrounding Catholicism, communism, and fascism, both within Britain and across the world.

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