With God on Our Side

With God on Our Side: British Christian Responses to the Spanish Civil War

By

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CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS
PUBLISHING

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This book first published 2013

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-4807-7, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4807-7

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my family. My mum and brother have been constant sources of support and help.

I would also like to thank Professor Stephen Constantine. Steve's advice, encouragement, dedication and interest have been immensely helpful to me. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the role Professor Martin Blinkhorn has played in the project. Martin's undergraduate courses were responsible for my initial interest in the Spanish Civil War and the 1930s in general. He was a major source of support during my BA and MA.

I have deliberately kept my acknowledgements short so that those listed know just how greatly I appreciate their help.

INTRODUCTION

CHRISTIAN ANXIETIES IN 1930S BRITAIN

In July 1936, the right-wing uprising against the legally elected Spanish government attracted attention across Europe, and not least in Britain. By August 1936, the Rebels claimed to be fighting a Christian Crusade against atheistic communism; as Paul Preston has stated, this depiction of the situation in Spain was used to try to attain greater religious and conservative sympathy abroad as well as at home.[1] It is certainly the case that the Nationalist representation of the conflict contributed to interest in the war in Britain. The Spanish Civil War presented members of the Christian community in Britain with an opportunity and sometimes what they felt was an obligation to voice their broader anxieties. Consequently, many Christian responses to the war in Spain were influenced by inter-denominational tensions and a concern for the position of religion in interwar British society. As well as clerical reactions to the war in Spain, the responses of some lay, political Britons to the conflict were, at least partially, motivated by religious beliefs. This book uses British Christian reactions to the Spanish Civil War to explore the cultural and political importance of Christianity in Britain in the late 1930s. In so doing, it complements the present literature on Christianity in Britain between the world wars, as well as adding to the existing historiography on the Spanish Civil War.

Numerous wide-ranging studies and more focused accounts have examined the currents affecting Christianity in interwar British society. In works focusing on this era, some discussion of the hostility between the denominations and of widespread Christian fears about the declining importance of their religion has already begun, for example by Adrian Hastings in his *A History of English Christianity*.[2] This interesting study offers insights into the role Christianity played in British life in the 1900s. It is supplemented by Alan Wilkinson's work on the attitudes of English churches towards war in general, covering the period 1900-45.[3] The extensive nature of these books ensures that some of the tensions felt by Christians in Britain throughout the 1936-9 period are noted, but their effects are not thoroughly chronicled. For instance, there is no mention of

how existing inter-denominational tensions and fears about secularism affected many Christians' responses to the Spanish Civil War. Drawing upon several case studies over a fairly broad chronological span, David Nash's *Blasphemy in Modern Britain* provides further useful background information by arguing that Christianity has exerted a powerful influence over British society and, importantly, that it even continued to do so in the interwar period.[4] However, the nature of Nash's study means that he does not account for many specific Christian responses to the tensions they felt in the phase covered by this book.[5] Not all of the works on Christianity in this age are cross-denominational; in fact, most have focused on individual branches of the faith and, unlike this study, they have not therefore explicitly attempted to compare the responses of the different denominations to, especially, secularisation or overseas events.[6] Nevertheless, complemented by biographical works of leading Christian figures, these analyses at least usefully highlight some of the perceived problems faced by Christianity in interwar Britain.[7] Through adding to this historiography, this study will help increase understanding of religious life in Britain in the 1930s.

Relations between the Churches

Seemingly paradoxically, throughout the interwar period inter-denominational tensions continued to affect relations between certain churches, but the ecumenical movement also grew. These relationships are of importance to this study because they helped to shape Christian reactions to the war in Spain. Although the 1937 formation of the World Council of Churches indicates that the desire for greater unity was not limited to Britain, closer links between the Free Churches and the Church of England were certainly apparent in this era. For instance, "An Appeal to All Christian People," issued in 1920 by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, helped lead to improved relations between Anglicans and members of the Free Churches. This document pointed towards the possibility of church unity. It received a positive response from the Free Churches, and it led to discussions featuring official representatives from these churches and the Church of England.[8] The improving relations between Protestant denominations are further indicated by the joint statements which leading interwar Protestant clerics produced in order to protect religious interests in general or further specific causes they supported.[9]

In contrast to the developments within Protestantism, Roman Catholicism's associations with Protestantism remained problematic. As Adrian Hastings has noted, in the 1930s the heads of the Church of England and the English and Welsh section of the Roman Catholic Church

were more accommodating to one another than their predecessors, but Roman Catholicism still remained largely separated from Protestantism.[10] Given Catholicism's dominance in Spain, this relationship is of particular importance to this book. Indeed, as will be shown in Chapter Two in particular, the pre-existing Protestant-Catholic rift exerted a considerable influence over Protestant reactions to the Spanish Civil War and, as indicated in Chapters One and Three, some predictable Catholic responses to their views. Illustrative of the animosity between Catholicism and Protestantism, Roman Catholics were absent from the important ecumenical conferences that occurred between the world wars. When discussing the forthcoming 1927 Faith and Order conference at Lausanne, *The Times* reported that Arthur Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester and Chairman of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations, spoke passionately about how "Christian society was intended to be one united body, the purpose of Christianity being summed up in the idea of brotherhood." It also noted that Headlam discussed how the Lausanne conference would "bring together representatives of almost all the great Christian bodies of the world" and that "there would be over 300 representatives from about 80 Churches."[11] However, these churches did not include Roman Catholicism.

The division between the Church of England and Roman Catholicism is also illustrated by the unsuccessful Malines conversations. During these talks, which occurred between 1921 and 1926, lay and clerical representatives of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church discussed the subject of church unity.[12] The failure of these meetings reflected how relations between these two denominations continued to be problematic at best, and this notion is enhanced by Pope Pius XI's 1928 encyclical *Mortalium Animos*. This pronouncement, which received enthusiastic support from leading Catholic clerics in Britain, distanced Roman Catholicism from even the idea of discussions over unity: it declared that "[s]uch efforts can meet with no kind of approval among Catholics."[13]

As indicated by *Mortalium Animos*, the highest echelons of the Catholic community saw Catholic interests as being separate from those of Protestants. It is therefore unsurprising that the 1934 Joint Pastoral Letter of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church of England and Wales on Catholic Action aimed at "bringing the lives of the members of all Catholic societies into closer conformity with the principles of our holy religion."[14] The notion of a programme of Catholic Action offering a "practical solution of the social question according to Christian principles" had originally been advocated by Pius X in an encyclical of 1905.[15] By

the 1930s, the initiative's precise meaning and goal had become harder to define with any precision, but the importance of action by the Catholic laity in the interest of the church was emphasised. That said, the activity was to be guided by a National Board comprising all the bishops.[16] The Catholic hierarchy felt action was necessary because it meant that "we shall have a powerful organisation for moulding public opinion and for asserting and defending our Catholic rights."[17]

It is important to note that this distrust and distaste was not limited to Catholics. Led by William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary and Conservative MP for Twickenham, in 1927 and 1928 MPs rejected revisions to the Prayer Book because they were seen to accept Catholic doctrine and liturgy. The Church of England bishops authorised these alterations, but concern about these changes was motivated by a belief that Anglo-Catholicism was becoming too influential within the Church of England. For example, Ernest Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, thought that the alterations to the Prayer Book were "concessions to religious barbarism."[18] Furthermore, Anglican traditionalists were generally fearful of Anglo-Catholic liturgical practices because these were seen to be too closely linked to Catholicism, and many Free Churchmen shared this belief.[19]

Further illustrating Protestant hostility towards Catholicism, in 1923 a Church of Scotland committee investigated the "problem of the Irish Roman Catholic population in Scotland." Its report discussed how these Catholics were "segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their traditions, and, above all, by their loyalty to their Church." It went on to explain that these Irish immigrants allowed the Catholic Church in Scotland to "feel her power, and to assert her influence, and this was the beginning of the destruction of the unity and homogeneity of the Scottish people." Indeed, it even believed that the "spiritual guides" behind this immigration had a more insidious aim. It explained that the "Roman Catholic Church has definitely committed herself to the task of converting the Scottish nation," and it believed that "[i]f Scotland be won for the Roman Catholic Church, a mighty lever for the control of England–the greatest prize of all–will have been put into the hands of the Church."[20]

Many evangelicals in Britain were hostile towards Roman Catholicism because they believed that it was reactionary. For example, Henry Martyn Gooch, a member of the World's Evangelical Alliance (WEA), outlined his belief that the Roman Catholic Church was a politically repressive force, and explained his attendant concern about the growth of its political influence throughout the world. Of the Catholic Action movement, Gooch commented:

> [i]ts primary aim is in keeping with Roman Catholic propaganda, which is active in England and Scotland as elsewhere, and has for its end in view, at all costs, the subjugation of civil and religious liberty to Papal claims and yoke.[21]

He also noted the specific danger that he believed Catholic Action posed to Britain. Gooch believed that the establishment of Catholic Action threatened "civil and political interests," and that the aforementioned 1934 pastoral letter noted that this movement united the Catholics of England and Wales "in common action for the common cause of Catholic faith and morals."[22] He even declared overtly his opposition to Catholic socio-political attitudes by stating that "*Roman Catholicism is the most formidable of all combinations against the liberty, the reason, and happiness of mankind.*"[23] The opinion of Gooch, and of the WEA in general, should not be seen as entirely representative of the view of every British evangelical, nor of every British Protestant. Nonetheless, when combined with the other examples provided, it helps to illustrate the opposition to Roman Catholicism present within British Protestantism.

Some Protestants were also concerned by Roman Catholicism's relationship with Italian Fascism. As will be discussed below, many Christians in Britain were concerned that the growth of totalitarianism threatened religion. Consequently, numerous Protestants were sceptical of the 1929 Lateran Treaty and the Vatican's subsequent relations with Mussolini's Italy. Indicative of this, following the Lateran Treaty the *Church Times*, an Anglican weekly, stated that "[a]t least, the alliance between Pius XI and the Duce of Fascism suggests anxious thoughts."[24] Illustrating the ongoing Protestant doubts about this "alliance," Alfred Blunt, Bishop of Bradford, claimed that in the "Abyssinian dispute one of the things that has shocked the world" was that "right through it the Pope has not dared to say one word in condemnation of the Italian aggression of Abyssinia."[25] As will be shown in Chapter Two, the prevailing Protestant suspicion about Roman Catholicism's links with fascism impacted upon Protestant reactions to the war in Spain, and it was reinforced by the nature of Catholic responses to this conflict.

The animosity between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism affected not only the churches' hierarchies: British cities including Glasgow, Edinburgh and Liverpool also continued to witness sectarian divisions.[26] The ongoing difficulties between the denominations are vitally important to this book because it examines how the Protestant-Catholic schism impacted upon reactions to the claimed spiritual angle of the conflict in Spain, an overwhelmingly Catholic country, and indeed how these responses affected existing religious divisions in Britain.

Christianity's Status in Interwar Britain

Of equal importance to this work, Christians were anxious about the status of faith in interwar British society and voiced this concern prior to the onset of the war in Spain. Indeed, the development of the ecumenical movement in the 1920s and 1930s was partially motivated by a desire to combat the perceived threats to Christianity's importance.[27]

Throughout this era, many Christians believed that British society was becoming increasingly secular. Problems arise over how exactly to define secularisation, but Bryan Wilson's claim that it is "the process by which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance" is amongst the most commonly accepted definitions.[28] If this view is accepted, statistical evidence seems to support the opinion held by numerous Christians of the time. John Wolffe has reported that membership of the Church of England declined from 3.6 million in 1925 to 3.39 million in 1940, even though the overall British population rose. He has also noted that the Church of Scotland witnessed a similar deterioration, its adherents falling from 1.3 million in 1925 to 1.28 million in 1940. By contrast, during the same period the number of Roman Catholics in Britain is estimated to have grown, from 2.18 million to 2.23 million. However, in terms of percentage of the population this is still a decrease, from 4.8 per cent to 4.6 per cent.[29] Additionally, in each of the 25 years prior to the First World War there were over five hundred thousand Anglican baptisms. In 1932 this figure fell below four hundred thousand; for the remainder of the decade it never surpassed this mark. Similarly, over two hundred thousand confirmations had taken place annually until 1928, but by 1939 this figure had decreased to 157,000. Furthermore, 40 per cent of primary school children attended Anglican institutions in 1900; this number fell to 22 per cent by 1938.[30] Membership of the major Free Churches also appeared to be irreversibly declining by the 1930s.[31] Even Callum Brown, a fierce critic of the idea that interwar Britain was a secularised society, has stated that "church membership per capita" peaked in 1910, at 19.3 per cent of Britain's total population.[32] Equally worrying for Christians of the time, between 1914 and 1939 the civil marriage rate, measuring civil as a proportion of all marriages, rose from 24.1 to "probably about" 29 per cent in England and Wales, and from 12.56 to 16.58 in Scotland.[33] It is therefore unsurprising that the Rationalist Press Association saw the level of its membership and "other subscribers" rise from 2,774 in 1918 to 4,376 in 1936.[34] These statistics indicate why many contemporaneous Christians believed that Britain was becoming a secular society.

A factor that added to this concern was the growth of secular leisure activities. Throughout the nineteenth century, the influence of the churches in British society was reflected by the number of entertainment events that they controlled. Churches and chapels hosted various types of performances, and even those who did not regularly attend church socialised there.[35] However, by the interwar period the growth of alternative activities, typified by the cinema's growth in popularity, offered people the chance to engage in relatively modestly-priced social activities that were not organised by the churches.

In this era, many Christians therefore linked, what they believed to be, the lack of morality to the growth of modernist-secularism. Indicative of this, Fr Vincent McNabb, a Dominican based at St. Dominic's Priory in London, articulated the view that by failing to show requisite respect for Christianity "we have left youth, not a civilisation, but a bankruptcy." Furthermore, he unsurprisingly continued to believe that the "only moral programme before the world is the old one of the Bible."[36] Similarly, the *Catholic Herald* thought that "Catholic Action and that alone can Christianise the modern pagan society," and that a "world planned on Christian lines" was a "solution to the difficulty of industry and the material outlook it has brought with it, to the worship of man and the state and the godlessness it entails."[37]

Fears about the secularity of Britain were also related to communism's growing influence in world affairs, and not least in Britain. For example, Athelstan Riley, an Anglican laymen and Seigneur de la Trinite, Jersey, explained that "[i]n every country are to be found Communist 'cells,' frankly atheistic, subsidized by Russia." He linked this alleged materialist threat to, as he saw it, the more general malaise in society by asking whether "this world-wide assault of materialism, this revolt against all authority, this attack on the majesty of God" and "the cause of the modern cult of ugliness in aesthetics, in architecture, painting, sculpture, music" were "all manifestations of some centrally controlling cause"?[38] In the minds of many Christians, modern society's problems, including the declining prominence of religion, were therefore connected to the alleged Marxist materialist onslaught occurring in mainland Europe. Frequently, this existing belief prompted many Christians in Britain to take a particular interest in the war in Spain, Riley being an example of someone who did so.[39]

As suggested by Riley's attitude, numerous Christians were concerned that communist influence in Britain had grown since the First World War and now posed a threat to Christianity. This anxiety is illustrated by the outrage provoked by the Zinoviev letter of 1924. Purporting to be directed

to the British Communist Party from the headquarters of the Third International, it called for more intense communist action in Britain, and an attack on the moderate, bourgeois nature of the Labour government. Although now widely suspected to have been a forgery, at the time many Britons believed the letter was a genuine Moscow directive and therefore evidence of increasing communist assertiveness and intrusion.[40]

Despite its criticisms of Labour, the letter contributed to the defeat of the first Labour government because some anti-communists drew no distinction between moderate and radical forms of Leftism. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the propensity to depict all shades of left-wing thought as radically Marxist was prevalent within the Catholic hierarchy, and it affected relations between Catholicism and Labour. Of course, by the 1930s British Christianity had already survived "socialist" governments, if the two minority Labour governments may be so described, but this hysteria persisted. Illustrative of this, the chaplain of Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, was forced to explain Lang's belief that "quite a number of people who call themselves Socialists in this country…repudiate emphatically many of the subversive influences" which originated in Moscow. He went on to detail how "Socialism in this country has many shades," and that "the type of Continental Socialism against which the Pope has warned his adherents" was "not necessarily to be identified with the type of Socialism which prevails in Socialistic as contrasted with Communistic circles in this country."[41] Whilst this example indicates that Lang saw a distinction between socialists and communists, it also illustrates that other Christians linked moderate and radical Leftism. This attitude explains how these Christians were able to claim that communism endangered Christianity in Britain even though the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) was a minority party.

Numerous examples show that many Christians believed that communist operations in Britain were not limited to the activities of the CPGB. The Catholic writer Gertrude Godden argued that communists often attempted to disguise their activities in order to make communism more attractive to the populace.[42] Indicative of this strategy, she claimed that the British League of Militant Atheists had provisionally changed its name to the League of Socialist Freethinkers, "a less provocative title."[43] She noted that "atheist Communism" was able to "capture" the Franciscan St. Anthony's Hall because the "Franciscan Fathers were doubtless taken in by the advertised object of the meeting–'Against War and Fascism'." She believed that this tactic had contributed to communism becoming such a significant force in Britain that in early 1936 it created a "centre in London for the diffusion of Marxist teaching" and was able to open "forty-

two Discussion Circles in London."[44] Godden's belief in communist power and her claim that British Communists were "bound to propagate a militant atheism" indicates that she thought that the communist attack on Christianity in Britain had already begun. Her virulently anti-communist writings were indeed consistent with the Catholic hierarchy's promotion of Catholic Action to defend Catholic morality against this perceived onslaught.[45] Godden's belief that communism was assailing religion in Britain means it is not surprising that she claimed that communist involvement in the Spanish Civil War also threatened Christianity in Britain.[46]

In common with Godden, the Christian Protest Movement (CPM) argued that communism's "Godless Campaign" had already begun in Britain, and that it did not operate solely through the CPGB. Indeed, the CPM claimed that numerous "Communist organisations" existed in Britain; most notably, it insisted that the Labour Research Department, a trade union-based research organisation, was "an integral part of the Communist Party of Great Britain."[47] Opposition to the alleged anti-religious nature of communism featured heavily in the CPM's outlook. It was, it claimed, a "[m]ovement for the support of religion and morality against the menace of Bolshevist Communism," and it wanted to help co-ordinate the "resistance of all religious bodies in the United Kingdom to the Anti-God campaign now being conducted by Bolshevik-Communist propaganda in this country."[48] Of particular importance for this study, the CPM's eventual successor organisation, the Christian Defence Movement (CDM), took an active interest in the Spanish Civil War, and several Christians who went on to speak publicly about this conflict were connected to the CPM.[49] The Duchess of Atholl, a joint president; the bishops of Chelmsford and Gloucester, vice presidents; the Congregationalist Rev. Sidney Berry, a vice president; the Methodist laymen Henry Lunn, a vice president; and Archibald Ramsay, on the executive and finance committee and the Conservative MP for Peebles and the southern division of Midlothian, were all linked to the CPM and were all vocal about the war in Spain. The actions and attitudes of the CPM and those involved with it illustrate that numerous Christians feared that communism endangered Christianity in Britain prior to the onset of the Spanish Civil War.[50]

However, when the war in Spain broke out this belief did not automatically translate into support for Franco. Although many Christians believed communism was the greatest threat to their faith and faith generally, numerous Christians were concerned by the anti-spiritual and anti-individual nature of all totalitarian ideologies. They believed that all

such creeds elevated the state above God and therefore were a threat to Christianity in Britain.[51] For instance, William Temple, Archbishop of York, noted that "[i]f any respect is to be paid to the spiritual character of man the claim of the Totalitarian State, whether Communist or Facist [sic], must be resisted," and that "[i]f ever the claim of the State conflicts with obedience to God, the State must be defied."[52] Temple also spoke of how "night after night, from numbers of platforms organized attacks are made upon the truth of Christianity and upon its view of life." Consequently, along with a number of leading Protestants, he publicised the "valuable work which is being done by the Christian Evidence Society."[53] When investigating their responses to the war in Spain, it is therefore important to take account of Temple's and other Christians' pre-existing belief that totalitarianism in all forms, including that embraced by numerous supporters of Franco, was responsible for assailing religion in Britain.

Through analysing Christians' responses to the Spanish Civil War, this study therefore indicates that in the interwar period the international situation, of which this conflict was certainly an important aspect, was of great concern to many Christians in Britain. This interest arose, at least partially, because to a section of the Christian community events such as the supposed "anti-God" activities in Spain were seen as indicative, in an extreme form, of the threat also present within British society. Whilst some Christians drew a distinction between modernist-secularism and totalitarian-atheism, others linked these two issues. Most commonly, Christians believed that the declining importance of religion in modern-secular British society was exploited and compounded by subversive communist activity.

It is important to note that, whilst religious faith might not have been as conspicuous in the interwar era as it had been in the nineteenth century, diminished Christian Church influence does not necessarily beget or equate with secularism. Christianity continued to play a prevalent role in British society, but it did so in a more diffusive and therefore less dogmatic way.[54] Its dominant influence over the nation's moral compass is, for example, shown by how it influenced the increased acceptance of pacifist and *pacificist* solutions in the post-First World War era.[55] Indicating Christianity's continuing importance in Britain, religion clearly plays a significant role in any society in which bishops of the established church are constitutionally granted a place in the nation's legislature, and where, as shown by the aforementioned Prayer Book debate, parliament takes such a keen interest in that church. Resulting from this position, in 1930s Britain the bishops were able to lend moral weight to causes which they endorsed, the Munich agreement being an example of this.[56] Leading

Christians therefore clearly engaged with Britain's foreign policy concerns, and this confirms that an investigation of their reactions to the war in Spain is important. The ongoing importance of religion to Britain notwithstanding, the aforementioned widespread belief that Christianity was imperilled inevitably influenced how many Christians reacted to the Spanish Civil War. As a result, a clearer understanding of the social and political significance of Christianity in 1930s Britain can be attained by an examination of Christian responses to the conflict. The actions and opinions of the British Christian community also confirm that not only the British political Left regarded the war in Spain as being of great importance. Numerous Christians also saw this conflict as being of domestic as well as of international significance. They viewed it as a warning to Britain and used it to promote their domestic and foreign policy agendas.

The Churches, the Spanish Civil War and Current Scholarship

In order for an examination of British Christian reactions to the war in Spain to be justified, it is necessary for a gap to exist in the historiography of the Spanish conflict. Somewhat predictably, several historians have already focused on British involvement, or to be more accurate the lack of British involvement, in this war. Jill Edwards, whose book is a persuasive account that indicates the implicit assistance the British Government provided for the Rebels, and Enrique Moradiellos and Douglas Little, who have both charted the influences behind non-intervention, have each written about Britain's refusal to support the democratically elected Spanish government.[57] Additionally, Tom Buchanan, Keith Watkins, Brian Shelmerdine and Hugo García have all produced broad examinations of British responses to the events in Spain.[58] True to the nature of such accounts, these works reveal areas which require further scrutiny. Foremost amongst these is an examination of religious responses. Buchanan, Shelmerdine and García have discussed how the Catholic hierarchy and intelligentsia responded to the conflict but have not assessed in detail the internal factors which motivated their reactions; Protestant attitudes to the war have attracted considerably less scholarly attention. Buchanan even noted more than ten years ago that British Christian reactions to the events in Spain were largely unrepresented in the existing literature, and little has changed since.[59] Certainly, the accounts produced by the likes of Watkins have viewed British reactions to the war in Spain in secular terms; no single book has analysed the full range of British

Christian responses to the Civil War, or the impact of these reactions on Britain.

Given the overwhelmingly Catholic nature of Spain, any attempt to chart the level and nature of British support for the Rebels and their alleged *Cruzada* should logically begin by analysing the response of the Catholic community in Britain. The majority, but by no means all, of Catholic ecclesiastical sympathy within Spain was with the Nationalists. Notwithstanding the important exception of the Basque country whilst it was under Republican jurisdiction, the treatment accorded to the Catholic Church was markedly different in the two zones. Generally, the Republicans were antipathetic to the Catholic Church, whereas the reverse was largely true in Rebel territory. As will be explained in Chapter One, the conduct of the two sides contributed to significant numbers of Roman Catholics in Britain and elsewhere believing that the events in Spain were of immense spiritual importance. Moreover, the significance and potency of the Crusade projection even has present-day repercussions within Roman Catholicism. In October 2007, Pope Benedict XVI decided to beatify nearly 500 Spanish ecclesiastics killed by the Republicans during the conflict; an act which indicates that many Catholics still think that the events in Spain have holy significance.[60]

Catholics in Britain are therefore an obvious group to investigate, but Catholicism was, and continues to be, a divergent and complex element in British society. Archbishop Hinsley, the official voice of Catholicism in England and Wales, had to balance the interests and attitudes of the Vatican in Rome, the British government and the domestic clergy. Consequently, in Britain, Catholicism was influenced by currents from numerous different areas and the community contained many contrasting voices. As one would expect, the vast majority of the establishment, consisting of the clergy and the mainstream Roman Catholic press and writers, was strongly opposed to socialism and communism.[61] It was primarily concerned with preserving, or heightening, Catholicism's position in the world, assuming socialism to be anti-religious. By contrast, other sections of the Roman Catholic community were members or supporters of the Labour Party or the Independent Labour Party (ILP). The multifaceted nature of Catholicism in Britain meant there was never going to be a single homogeneous Catholic reaction to the Spanish conflict; still, the Spanish Nationalist attempt to court this section of society ensures that it is a fertile and relevant one to investigate.

Owing to Franco's projection of the war as a *Cruzada*, general accounts detailing Catholic reactions to international events do provide some background and suggestive information on their responses to the

Spanish Civil War. The works that have been produced can be put into two different categories. The first has dealt with the Vatican's attitude to events throughout the interwar period. Whilst not being particular to Britain, these studies indicate how one of the major influences on Catholic opinion in Britain reacted to international events in this era. The Spanish conflict has not been the sole focus of these studies, but it is often investigated in conjunction with a discussion of relations between Pope Pius XI (1922-39) and the dictators.[62] Other works have focused on Britain and have attempted to present an overview of the Catholic hierarchy's response to events in the 1930s.[63] The Spanish Civil War is often only discursively dealt with in these broad accounts, and they have largely failed to explain that the nature and extent of Catholic support for Franco was significantly influenced by domestic concerns.

The reaction of leading Catholic clerics and lay intellectuals to the Spanish Civil War has been the sole focus of only a very limited number of articles and chapters. The Catholic writer James Flint wrote an interesting article that broadly outlined the position adopted by the Catholic press and Hinsley.[64] Limited to just ten pages, the remit of this work did not include an analysis of the subtleties embodied within the response of the Catholic publications. Frederick Hale, one of the most prolific writers in this field, has also written articles detailing how select individuals reacted to the conflict in Spain. He has chosen to focus on the editors of Catholic publications and outspoken members of the clergy, such as Bishop Peter Amigo of Southwark.[65] Almost inevitably, these works have shown that those in question sided with the Nationalists; however, they too have not examined the internal pressures that at least partially conditioned Catholic pro-Rebel sympathy.

This omission notwithstanding, the work discussed thus far shows that an exploration of how the anti-clerical activities in Spain were received by the Catholic community in Britain has begun. José Sánchez has also produced a chapter on the issue, and it is fleetingly mentioned by Robert Stradling.[66] However, these accounts have been significantly weakened by the decision to concentrate almost exclusively on the attitude of prominent members of the Catholic hierarchy. Tom Buchanan and Lewis Mates have produced important analyses of working-class Catholic opinion, and Chapter Four of this book builds upon their research. This study differs from Buchanan's and Mates's because it approaches the working-class Catholic issue from a religious rather than a political perspective.[67] As with the broader studies discussed above, the existing chapters and articles which have specifically focused on Catholic responses to the war have not discussed the currents then affecting British

Christianity. Most notably, they have not focused on Christians' concern for the status of their faith or the tensions between the denominations. Ultimately, there is yet to be a comprehensive investigation into how widely Franco's portrayal as a Christian Crusader was accepted within the divided Catholic community in Britain, or of the pressures affecting the denomination.

An analysis of British adherence to the *Cruzada* theory cannot be limited to studying Catholic responses to the conflict in Spain. In order to appreciate fully how popular this view of the Spanish Civil War was in Britain, and why, it is also necessary to investigate the support it received from other Christian denominations. The Rebels claimed to be fighting an atheistic foe: a barbaric and heathen enemy that had no regard for religion. Consequently, an exploration of the level of British enthusiasm for the Crusade should also discuss whether Protestants accepted this conceptualisation of the struggle. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine whether those Christians who supported the Republicans, of which the majority were Protestants, did so in spite of their religious convictions or because of them.

The Nonconformist Churches shared a minority status with Catholicism, but the less hierarchical nature of these branches of Christianity ensured that historically they were not as encumbered by divisions between the political attitudes of their establishment and their rank-and-file support. This facet was exemplified by the long-standing association between the mass of Nonconformity and Liberalism. However, both movements saw their importance decline significantly in the interwar period. Although an affinity between Labour and many members of the Free Churches had developed, some elements of the Nonconformist community were worried that Labour represented Godless socialism.[68] Therefore, by the latter half of the 1930s, the Free Churches lacked a unified voice, important differences of opinion existing within each denomination. Consequently, whether the Nationalists' projection of their rebellion as a religious Crusade was rejected by Nonconformity in Britain is not as straightforward as some might imagine.

The validity of any study attempting to consider British approval for Franco's *Cruzada* would be significantly diminished if it failed to include the responses of the Church of England to the war in Spain. In common with Hinsley, Lang had to account for the numerous pressures exerted upon him. The Church of England's status as the established church ensured that the reaction of its main protagonists was subject to political and diplomatic demands.[69] Paradoxically, the mass nature of the Church of England also emancipated some of its other members, allowing them to

express their own opinions more freely. A plurality of voices on most major topics existed within the Anglican clergy, and especially amongst both its nominal and devout lay members. During the later 1930s, the predominant external issue for the most Anglican clerics was the situation in and around Germany. Lang, along with a majority of bishops of the Church of England, publicly supported the National government's appeasement policy; but other leading denominational clerics concerned themselves with the position of the Confessing Church in Germany, and what constituted the appropriate Church of England response to the Nazi attitude towards the Confessing Church.[70] The problems emanating from the Nazi government's treatment of the Confessing Church were especially acute by 1937, but the likes of George Bell, Bishop of Chichester and Chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Life and Work, displayed sympathy with this German church from 1934.[71] Revealing the different views that existed within Anglicanism, Headlam supported the Nazi government's actions in this sphere.[72] It is therefore apparent that Anglican commentators in Britain responded to religious issues in other European nations. Although most interested by the situation within and around Germany, the Anglican community was also faced by events in Spain. As with the Free Churches, the accepted but under-investigated view is that the "liberal traditions" prevalent within the clergy of the Church of England ensured that it was not receptive to any variant of fascism, including Franco's.[73] The weakness of this view is that it fails to consider whether Anglicans were motivated by internal pressures, and if these led them to accept the notion that the Spanish Civil War constituted a religious war against atheism.

As noted, overviews of the domestic and foreign concerns of the English churches currently exist. Generally though, there has been a lack of studies devoted to the way that Protestants responded to specific foreign regimes and occurrences, including the conflict in Spain. Farah Mendlesohn's is the only book solely concerned with a British Protestant denomination's engagement with the situation in Spain; and even this account does not deal with the way that British Quakers responded to the Spanish Civil War, choosing only to discuss the humanitarian relief provided by The Society of Friends.[74] Hale has had several articles published on English Nonconformists and their reactions to the war in Spain; these accounts again leave room for a more in-depth analysis of the factors which motivated Christian reactions to the conflict.[75] An examination of the historiography, therefore, testifies that the attitudes of British Christians towards the Spanish Civil War have not been adequately covered. Importantly, none of the existing literature on any Christian

denomination in Britain has explored thoroughly the effect that domestic concerns had upon religious responses to the war in Spain.

Religious reactions to the conflict were not, of course, confined to the mainstream branches of Christianity. Some of the pivotal members of the British "patriotic societies," a self-applied label, were on the extreme Right of the Conservative Party and all were, or at least claimed to be, devoutly Christian. For example, Archibald Ramsay, the aforementioned Conservative MP for Peebles and the southern division of Midlothian, was a key player in movements such as the United Christian Front (UCF) and the Militant Christian Patriots (MCPs). Richard Griffiths's analysis of the Right Club, another organisation with which Ramsay was involved, specifically investigates the actions of the organisation in the period 1939-40, and it provides suggestive information on some of those on the Right of the Tory Party.[76] The Spanish Civil War is referred to in Griffiths's account: he believes that certain members joined the Right Club because they had previously forged connections with Ramsay due to their shared pro-Franco sentiments. Whilst the evidence is seemingly circumstantial on occasions, the implication is that the "patriotic societies," through being committed to Christianity and concerned by the situation in Spain, were another element of British society that must be investigated.

Often discursively dealt with in more wide-ranging accounts of British Rightism in the interwar period, only a small number of books are devoted to the formation and activities of the "patriotic societies."[77] However, the goal of even these works did not encompass a thorough analysis of the establishment, mechanisms, ideologies and, particularly, religious sensibilities of the Friends of National Spain (FNS) or the UCF. Regarding the British radical Right's reactions to the conflict, some general works on Britain and the Spanish Civil War have included concise examinations of the views held by extremist Conservatives.[78] Similarly, as part of a wider examination of attitudes towards British foreign policy in the 1930s, some books have, albeit very briefly, explored how radical, or rebellious, Conservatives responded to the conflict in Spain.[79] However, a thorough analysis of the British Right's reaction to the Spanish Civil War has yet to be undertaken. Judith Keene's *Fighting for Franco*, an interesting book that focuses on several of Franco's English-speaking volunteers, has come closest but its remit did not stretch to an examination of the stance adopted by British movements or organisations.[80] Aside from this, the Tory domination of the powerful National government has meant that historians of the British political Right have been largely content to leave the coverage of right-wing views on the events in Spain to those looking at the government's response. There has been only an extremely limited attempt

to cover the stance taken by reactionary Tory dissidents or the Far Right. Consequently, an examination of the extremist British Right's attitudes towards the conflict in Spain, and especially the degree to which they articulated religious opinion, is both worthwhile and due.

Finally, it is worth noting that this book is concerned with Britain, not the United Kingdom, and that it will not examine in detail the reactions of the Church of Scotland, the Church of Wales or the Presbyterian Church of England to the war in Spain. This is because these churches did not have a presence across Britain. Whilst a detailed investigation of their responses to the war might reveal something about one of the specific home nations, it is the intention of this work to comment upon Britain as a whole. However, the declarations concerning Spain signed by the likes of Daniel Lamont, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, suggest that in relation to Spain the position adopted by the previously mentioned churches correlated with that of the Free Churches. This potential replication of material has also contributed to their exclusion from this particular work.

Notes

[1] P. Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 185. See Chapter One, 24-31.

[2] A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1990* (London: SCM Press, 1991).

[3] A. Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches, 1900-1945* (London: SCM Press, 1986).

[4] D. Nash, *Blasphemy in Modern Britain: 1789 to the Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

[5] For example, he also fails to mention the United Christian Front. This organisation is discussed in Chapter One of this book, see esp. 60-67.

[6] S. Koss, *Nonconformity in Modern British Politics* (Bristol: Batsford, 1975); T. Beeson, *The Church of England in Crisis* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973); K. Clements, ed., *Baptists in the Twentieth Century: Papers Presented at a Summer School, July 1982* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983); J. Grant, *Free Churchmanship in England, 1870-1940: With Special Reference to Congregationalism* (London: Independent Press, 1955); A. Heron, *Quakers in Britain: A Century of Change, 1895-1995* (Kelso: Curlew Graphics, 1995); R. Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962* (London,: Independent Press, 1962); R. Lloyd, *The Church of England, 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press, 1966); J. Sykes, *The Quakers: A New Look at their Place in Society* (London: A. Wingate, 1958).

[7] S. Carpenter, *Duncan-Jones of Chichester* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1956); O. Chadwick, *Hensley Henson: A Study in Friction between Church and State*

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); M. Clifton, *Amigo, Friend of the Poor: The Bishop of Southwark, 1904-1949* (Herefordshire: Fowler Wright, 1987); A. Fox, *Dean Inge* (London: J. Murray, 1960); R. Jasper, *Arthur Cayley Headlam: Life and Letters of a Bishop* (London: Faith Press, 1960); J. Kent, *William Temple: Church, State and Society in Britain, 1880-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); J. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949); T. Moloney, *Westminster, Whitehall and the Vatican: The Role of Cardinal Hinsley, 1935-43* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1985).

[8] E. Jordan, *Free Church Unity: A History of the Free Church Council Movement, 1896-1941* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956), 168-69; E. Carpenter, *Cantuar: The Archbishops in Their Office* (London: Cassell, 1971), 448-49.

[9] See Chapter One, 65-66 for an example that specifically relates to the Spanish Civil War.

[10] Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, 274; J. Parkes, "The Church and the Churches," in *Religion in Britain since 1900*, ed. G. Spinks (London: Andrew Dakers, 1952), 149.

[11] *The Times,* 1 August, 1927, 15.

[12] Lloyd, *Church of England*, 418-23; D. Bellenger and S. Fletcher, *The Mitre and the Crown: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), 173; E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 127.

[13] Translated and quoted in Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, 211.

[14] *Joint Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of England and Wales on Catholic Action*, 2-3, Hi 2/23, Westminster Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, Westminster.

[15] J. Cleary, *Catholic Social Action in Britain 1909-1959* (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1961), 18.

[16] P. Doyle, *Mitres and Missions: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* (Liverpool: Bluecoat, 2005), 272-73; J. Keating, "Roman Catholics, Christian Democracy and the British Labour Movement, 1910-1960" (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1992), 120-21; Cleary, *Catholic Social Action in Britain*, 141; Bellenger and Fletcher, *Princes of the Church*, 155; K. Aspden, *Fortress Church: The English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics, 1903-63* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2002), 200; J. Hagerty, *Cardinal Hinsley: Priest and Patriot* (Oxford: Family, 2008), 256-65.

[17] *Joint Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of England and Wales on Catholic Action*, 7, Hi 2/23, WRCAA.

[18] Quoted in Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*, 96.

[19] Hastings, *History of English Christianity,* 194, 203-7, 214.

[20] *Scotsman,* 15 May, 1923, 10.

[21] H. Gooch, *Catholic Action and Evangelical Christendom,* 8, Spain (1936-55), Baptist World Alliance Europe, file 14, Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford. This pamphlet was a reproduction of a paper read at the Sixth Biennial Assembly of the Protestant League in July 1934. Gooch was General Secretary of the WEA. See Chapter Two, esp. 100, 103, for information on the WEA.

[22] Ibid., 9.

[23] Ibid., 19. Italics in the original.
[24] Quoted in Hastings, *History of English Christianity,* 170. The *Glasgow Observer,* a Catholic weekly, claimed that "the *Church Times,* has never ceased to abuse the Pope for having come to terms with Mussolini in the Lateran Treaty." *Glasgow Observer,* 19 March, 1938, 9.
[25] *Universe,* 17 July, 1936, 10.
[26] C. Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Longman, 2007), 137-38.
[27] Hastings, *History of English Christianity*, 303; K. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1971), 412.
[28] B. Wilson, *Religion in a Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London: Watts, 1966), xiv.
[29] J. Wolffe, "Religion and 'Secularization'," in *Twentieth-Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change,* eds. F. Carnevali and J. Strange (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 324. "Membership" of a given church is a difficult concept to define. Wolffe takes much of his statistical data from R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). In the case of membership of the Church of England, these figures are derived from "electoral roll" figures, see 130 of the aforementioned book. Wolffe states that his figures for Roman Catholics are "mass attendances," see "Religion and 'secularization'," 324. His figures for the Church of Scotland include the United Free Church of Scotland. He has used data derived from Currie, Gilbert and Horsley for "the number on the communicant roll" of the Church of Scotland, and has added this to the United Free Church of Scotland's number of communicants. The UK's population was 42.8 million in 1921, 44.8 million in 1931, and 50.2 million in 1941. England's population was 37.9 million in 1921, 40.0 million in 1931, and 43.8 million in 1941, see "Population of the British Isles," accessed on 12 January, 2010, www.tacitus.nu/historical-atlas/population/british.htm.
[30] Hastings, *History of English Christianity,* 254.
[31] Ibid., 265; Jones, *Congregationalism in England*, 390.
[32] C. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2000), 163. Brown derives some of his statistical data from Currie, Gilbert and Horsley; describes membership as "measuring some form of 'passive' association with a church rather than an active one like churchgoing," see 162.
[33] Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, 100-1. The doubt in this statement arises because figures are available for 1934 and 1952 but not for 1940. The civil marriage rate for 1934 was 28 per cent, see 224.
[34] Ibid., 194.
[35] R. Sykes, "Popular Religion in Decline: A Study from the Black Country," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56, no. 2 (2005): 301.
[36] *Universe,* 17 July, 1936, 23.
[37] *Catholic Herald,* 12 June, 1936, 5.
[38] A. Riley, "The Persecution of Religion," *The Times,* 8 June 1935, 10.

[39] Riley was a member of the United Christian Front. For more information on the Front see Chapter One, 60-67.
[40] R. Lyman, *The First Labour Government, 1924* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1957), 257-61; A. Williams, *Labour and Russia: The Attitude of the Labour Party to the USSR, 1924-34* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 17-19.
[41] Don to Smithers, 2 March 1934, vol. 130, 47, Lang Papers, Lambeth Palace, London.
[42] G. Godden, *The Communist Attack on Great Britain: International Communism at Work* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935), 24-25. See also 54.
[43] Ibid., 53.
[44] Godden to Hinsley, 25 March 1936, Hi 2/55, WRCAA.
[45] Godden, *Communist Attack on Great Britain*, 14; Doyle, *Mitres and Missions*, 274.
[46] See Chapter One, 36.
[47] Christian Protest Movement circular letter, undated, Hi 2/188, WRCAA.
[48] Christian Protest Movement, *A World War on All Religions,* front cover and 2, Hi 2/188, WRCAA.
[49] See Chapter One, 35-36.
[50] Lord Phillimore, see Chapter One, 56-58, 67, and Chapter Two, 98, 106, was vice-president of the Anti-Soviet Persecution and Slave Labour League. This promoted "liberty and religion for Russia," see Wilden-Hart to Bourne, 19 February 1931, Hi 2/188, WRCAA.
[51] P. Williamson, "Christian Conservatives and the Totalitarian Challenge, 1933-40," *English Historical Review* 115, no. 462 (2000): 613-14.
[52] W. Temple, *Christ and the Way to Peace* (London: SCM Press, 1935), 17. See also A. Chandler, "The Church of England and Nazi Germany, 1933-1945" (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990) 55; and K. Robbins, *History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 115.
[53] W. Ebor [Temple], C.F. Armagh, Daryngton, Mamhead, J. Scott Lidgett and A.E. Garvie, "Christianity and Modern Knowledge," *The Times,* 27 March, 1934, 10. For a discussion of his anti-communism see C. Lowry, *William Temple, an Archbishop for All Seasons* (Washington: University of America Press, 1982), 82.
[54] See the Conclusion, 277-79.
[55] *Pacificist* is a term that Martin Ceadel credits to A.J.P. Taylor. He chose to italicise it to distinguish it from pacifist. *Pacificists* wanted to avoid a war, often through schemes such as appeasement, but were not pacifists, who believed that war was the greatest evil and that it was wrong to support or condone one in any way. See M. Ceadel, "Christian Pacifism in the Era of the Two Worlds Wars," *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983): 392.
[56] A. Chandler, "Munich and Morality: the Bishops of the Church of England and Appeasement," *Twentieth Century British History* 5, no. 1 (1994): 78.
[57] J. Edwards, *The British Government and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1979); E. Moradiellos, "The British Government and the Spanish Civil War," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1999): 4-13; E. Moradiellos, "The British Image of Spain and the Civil War," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 15, no. 1 (2002): 4-14; E. Moradiellos, "British Political

Strategy in the Face of the Military Rising of 1936 in Spain," *Contemporary European History* 1, no. 2 (1992): 123-37; E. Moradiellos, "The Origins of British Non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War: Anglo-Spanish Relations in Early 1936," *European History Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1991): 339-64; D. Little, "Red Scare, 1936: Anti-Bolshevism and the Origins of British Non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 2 (1988): 291-311.

[58] T. Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); T. Buchanan, "'A Far Away Country of Which We Know Nothing'? Perceptions of Spain and its Civil War in Britain, 1931-1939," *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 1 (1993): 1-24; K. Watkins, *Britain Divided: The Effect of the Spanish Civil War on British Political Opinion* (London: T. Nelson, 1963); B. Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); B. Shelmerdine, "Britons in an Un-British War: Domestic Newspapers and the Participation of UK Nationals in the Spanish Civil War," *North West Labour History* 22 (1997-98): 20-47. See also J. Walton, "British Perceptions of Spain and Their Impact on Attitudes to the Spanish Civil War," *Twentieth Century British History* 5, no. 3 (1994): 283-99.

[59] Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War,* 228; T. Buchanan, *The Impact of the Spanish Civil War on Britain: War, Loss and Memory* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 197 lists only a ten page article by Flint, discussed below, as covering British religious responses to the war in Spain. Frederick Hale also notes the lack of literature on the subject: F. Hale, "From Pacifism to Neutrality to Advocacy of Francisco Franco: The Case of Michael de la Bédoyère," *Chesterton Review* 29 (2003): 529.

[60] D. Fuchs and T. Kington, "Hundreds of Spanish Civil War 'Martyrs' Beatified," *Guardian,* accessed on 17 March 2012, www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/oct/29/spain.catholicism?INTCMP=SRCH,.

[61] T. Buchanan, "Great Britain," in *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918-1965,* eds. T. Buchanan and M. Conway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 263-64; Hastings, *History of English Christianity,* 278, 324-26.

[62] A. Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators, 1922-1945* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973); W. Gurian and M. Fitzsimmons, eds., *The Catholic Church in World Affairs* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954).

[63] T. Buchanan, "Great Britain"; J. Keating, "Looking to Europe: Roman Catholics and Christian Democracy in 1930s Britain," *European History Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1996): 57-79; Moloney, *Westminster, Whitehall and the Vatican;* Aspden, *Fortress Church*; M. Clifton, *Amigo, Friend of the Poor: The Bishop of Southwark, 1904-1949* (Herefordshire: Fowler Wright, 1987); Hagerty, *Cardinal Hinsley*; Hastings, *History of English Christianity*; Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*

[64] J. Flint, "'Must God Go Fascist?': English Catholic Opinion and the Spanish Civil War," *Church History* 56, no. 3 (1987): 364-74.

[65] Hale, "From Pacifism to Neutrality to Advocacy of Francisco Franco," 529-43; F. Hale, "Fighting over the Fight in Spain: The Pro-Franco Campaign of Bishop Peter Amigo of Southwark," *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 3 (2005): 462-83; F. Hale, "The Galician Lion of Judah versus the Red Antichrist: Francisco

Franco through British Jesuit Eyes," *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 26, no. 1 (2000): 34-55.

[66] J. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987); R. Stradling, *Cardiff and the Spanish Civil War* (Cardiff: Butetown History & Arts Centre, 1996).

[67] T. Buchanan, *The Spanish Civil War and the British Labour Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*; T. Buchanan, "The Role of the British Labour Movement in the Origins and Work of the Basque Children's Committee, 1937-1939," *European History Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1988): 155-74; L. Mates, *The Spanish Civil War and the British Left: Political Activism and the Popular Front* (London: Tauris, 2007); and see also H. Francis, *Miners against Fascism: Wales and the Spanish Civil War* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1984). See Chapter Four, esp. 226-38.

[68] Koss, *Nonconformity in Modern British Politics,* 148-49.

[69] Chandler, "Munich and Morality," 77.

[70] Ibid., 82, 86. See also Chapter Two, 117-132.

[71] Hastings, *History of English Christianity,* 337. The Confessing Church was a Protestant church that was established in response to the Nazi government's infringement upon church autonomy.

[72] Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*, 147.

[73] Ibid., 98.

[74] F. Mendlesohn, *Quaker Relief Work in the Spanish Civil War* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002).

[75] F. Hale, "English Congregational Responses to the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," *Journal of the United Reform Church History Society* 7, no. 3 (2003): 166-79; F. Hale, "A Methodist Pacifist and the Spanish Civil War: Henry Carter in Republican Spain," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 54, no. 5 (2004): 149-69; F. Hale, "The Spanish Gospel Mission: Its Origins and Response to the Spanish Civil War," *Baptist Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2003): 152-72; F. Hale, "The World's Evangelical Alliance and the Spanish Civil War," *Acta Theologica* 20, no. 2 (2000): 70-87.

[76] R. Griffiths, *Patriotism Perverted: Captain Ramsay, the Right Club, and British Anti-semitism, 1939-40* (London: Constable, 1998).

[77] R. Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany, 1933-9* (London: Constable, 1980); Griffiths, *Patriotism Perverted*.

[78] Moradiellos, "The Origins of British Non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War"; Buchanan "'A Far Away Country of Which We Know Nothing'?"; Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*; Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War*; Watkins, *Britain Divided*, 83-140.

[79] N. Thompson, *The Anti-appeasers: Conservative Opposition to Appeasement in the* 1930s (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); G. Webber, *The Ideology of the British Right, 1918-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

[80] J. Keene, *Fighting for Franco: International Volunteers in Nationalist Spain During the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (London: Leicester University Press, 2001).