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Acknowledgments

There are many people who deserve to be recognized for their contributions to this research project. I would first like to thank the Aresty Research Center for Undergraduates at Rutgers University as well as the Associate Alumnae of Douglass College for their generous funding. Their monetary support enabled me to visit several archives in London, England, which significantly enhanced my findings. I am grateful to the staff at the Imperial War Museum Archives in London, England. They welcomed and guided me throughout the research process abroad, making my solo excursion an even more rewarding one. I would like to recognize the staff at the Rutgers Library Archives for their willingness to haul the tremendously heavy *Illustrated London News* books without complaint. Dean Meister was particularly helpful in assisting me with obtaining many of the images I needed to evaluate. I would like to thank Professor Belinda Davis for her guidance and suggestions. I am honored that she was willing to be the second reader of my thesis. I am forever grateful to all that Professor Temma Kaplan has taught me. She encouraged me when I was unsure. She comforted me when I was overwhelmed. She inspired me to delve into tasks that were certain to be more challenging. She knew I would only grow from them. I only hope that I can use what she has taught me to inspire others. Finally, I must acknowledge my friends and family. They have been my ultimate support system throughout the triumphs and the stresses of this project. I could have never fashioned this thesis without the encouragement they never failed to provide.

To the casualties of the Spanish Civil War:

*En España, los muertos están más vivos que en cualquier otro país del mundo.*

-Federico García Lorca

(June 5, 1898- August 19, 1936)
Introduction

I was inspired to undertake this project after visiting the International Center of Photography in New York City. The exhibit *This is War! Robert Capa at Work* showcased some of Robert Capa’s most famous photographs. The work of Gerda Taro as well as propaganda posters and pamphlets accompanied his Spanish Civil War images and personal correspondence. Capturing the physical devastation resulting from modern warfare as well as the brutal horrors of death and the refugee experience, the exhibit forced me and other viewers alike to question the very essence of war. Thus, Robert Capa’s innovations as a photojournalist provided the motivation to explore photojournalism as an effective political tool in the Spanish Civil War.

I began delving into the use of Spanish Civil War propaganda. My background knowledge of the conflict had previously made me sympathetic to the Republican cause. This stance was greatly due to my Spanish literature courses, in which revealed the execution of Frederico García Lorca, one of the most important Spanish poets and dramatists of the twentieth century. Readily available pro-Government publications at first dwarfed pro-Nationalist publications, leading me at first to focus on Republican photojournalism. However, I recognized the benefits of investigating a topic less frequently explored. From this angle, I could enrich my academic knowledge and disclose information that appeared less well known. I could also attempt to understand the objectives of those who supported Franco’s Nationalists, which seemed to oppose the dominant political views of the Spanish Civil War I had encountered. The *Illustrated London News* appeared in various texts that discussed pro-Nationalist media outlets. Because of the impact Capa’s photographs had in arousing pro-Republican sympathies
(admittedly even in myself), I was curious to examine the images of this news magazine that promoted the Nationalist cause. Focusing on a British publication also enabled me to explore foreign perceptions of the conflict. Though it was a civil war, it essentially was a ‘dress rehearsal’ for later events during World War II. Consequently, beyond studying the photographs of the Illustrated London News, I was also forced to research the global context in which they were published.

I visited the Spanish Civil War images numerous times. Each time afforded me the opportunity to perceive them in a different light. I scanned through the illustrations and articles with several questions in mind. Cognizant of Nationalist atrocities, why were some British supporters willing to remain committed to General Franco’s cause? What did these British supporters fear in Spain? How were these fears relevant to their daily experiences? How did the Illustrated London News aim to convey these messages? As I looked to answer some of these questions, the portrayal of Nationalist combatants captured my attention. The representation of Moroccan troops in the Army of Africa initially required that I research their participation. Yet, I was also struck by the seemingly racist depictions of Moroccan troops that resonated within the Illustrated London News. Challenged to understand why a pro-Nationalist British publication depicted Nationalist participants in this way, my curiosity entailed that this conflict be the underpinning feature of my research project.

The Illustrated London News prided itself on its reputation as a respectable British news journal. Herbert Ingram founded the world’s first ever illustrated weekly newspaper in 1842 during a time of unprecedented prosperity in Britain.¹ Ingram utilized his novel

photographic technologies to capture these British domestic achievements and foreign triumphs. The first issue sold 26,000 copies.\(^2\) Within a year the circulation rose to 60,000 and then to 200,000 by 1856. At the same time the London *Times* had a circulation of just 70,000. This significant growth, which surpassed the circulation of the prominent London *Times*, suggests that the *Illustrated London News* was a publication many British readers turned to for their global and domestic updates. The increasingly Conservative publication was reaching more of its middle-class readership. As a result, editors were able to further reinforce the messages they wanted to convey. For over 100 years family members added to the publication’s growth. Quality artists, engravers, and journalists flocked to contribute, inspired by its charm and novelty. Robert Louis Stevenson, Thomas Hardy, George Augustus Sala, J. M. Barrie, Wilkie Collins, Joseph Conrad, Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, G. K. Chesterton and Agatha Christie were among some of these most prominent contributors.\(^3\)

Arthur Bryant defended the publication’s authority in Britain when he argued that,

“‘As an historian, I certainly know of nothing to compare with it: nothing, that is, which contains such a diversity of matter, pictorial and written, social, political and economic, about so momentous a period in human history.’”\(^4\) Bryant, the author of *The Spirit of Conservatism*, a work ‘imbued with nostalgic Baldwinito traditionalism’,\(^5\) began writing the weekly editorial ‘Our Note Book’ in 1936. He projected his passionate conservative views, thus reflecting the conservative nature of the *Illustrated London News* during the

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\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid.

1930s. The Oxford Dictionary of National Photography expresses the influence that the news magazine held among British political factions: “Because of its fairness and the high quality of coverage of these events, the *Illustrated London News* was used by the government to help make known abroad the extent of Britain’s, and the Commonwealth’s war effort….”6 The suggestion that government officials turned to the *News* as a primary media outlet is evidence of its influence. Despite the implication that it was unbiased, further investigation suggests that the *Illustrated London News* in fact pursued a specific agenda. Tom Buchanan, who has evaluated the political repercussions of the Spanish Civil War in Britain, claims that ‘public opinion’, molded by politicians and journalists during the 1930s, was regarded as being the “public views of opinion formers, who interpreted the sentiments of their voiceless fellow citizens.”7 In fact, a 1938 Mass Observation survey revealed that those polled mainly based their opinions on newspapers.8 Thus, the images and messages projected in the *Illustrated London News* influenced readers and viewers alike.

Many have argued about the lack of objectivity in photography. Julianne H. Newton addresses the inbuilt perception that photography is neutral: “Photography’s inherent capacity for gathering visual information by recording points of light reflecting off physical entities and for conveying that information in a form that looks so much like the world we perceive with our own eyes fostered an early and prevailing assumption about the authenticity of photographic representation.”9 However, John Tagg quickly

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8 Ibid., 24.
Wejsa 5 quells this perception. He uses the word ‘manipulation’ when addressing the true intent of a photographed image. He writes in *The Burden of Representation*, “We have to see that *every* photograph is the result of specific, and, in every sense, significant distortions which render its relation to any prior reality deeply problematic and raise the question of the determining level of the material apparatus and of the social practices within which photography takes place.”¹⁰ Susan Sontag evaluates wartime images and suggests that the notion of a photograph’s objectivity must be challenged: “But the photographic image, even to the extent that it is a trace (not a construction made out of disparate photographic traces), cannot be simply a transparency of something that happened. It is always the image that someone chose; to photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude.”¹¹ This exclusion thus allows a specific story be told. Photographs have had the advantage of appearing real and impartial. Underlying this perception is the idea that with the click of a button, a photographer documents an event as it occurred. However, this apparent objectivity of a camera-captures-a-moment concept too often overshadows any distortion the image underwent to relay a specific message.

The Spanish Civil War provided photographers an opportunity to capture events and mold them to fit a specific agenda. Susan Sontag alleges that due to photographers’ unprecedented access to battlefields and the quickness with which their images where published, the Spanish Civil War was the first war to be witnessed in a modern sense. Professional photographers captured images on the military fronts and experienced first-hand aerial bombardment while attempting to fulfill their photographic obligations. They were therefore permitted to study civilians and military figures up close. These images

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were then immediately projected in newspapers and magazines both in Spain and abroad.\textsuperscript{12} Those published abroad were critical as foreign intervention played a significant role in the events that ensued. Therefore, public opinion relied on the information relayed by those embroiled in the conflict. Photographs often provided the impetus that shaped these opinions.

Tom Buchanan highlights the struggles between Christianity and communism and democracy and fascism as influencing British groups as they developed their positions regarding the Spanish Civil War.\textsuperscript{13} Douglass Little, who studied the reactions of various British political groups during the inception of the Spanish Civil War,\textsuperscript{14} argued that many British policy-makers in the 1930s expressed concerns with the political endeavors of fascist leaders like Mussolini and Communists like Stalin. This was especially evident after Italy embarked on a conquest of Abyssinia in 1935 followed by Nazi efforts to rearm and remilitarize the Rhineland in March 1936. However, Little claimed that most stressed the spread of leftist political ideologies, particularly communism, through the Communist International as the greater threat to Britain’s security.\textsuperscript{15} Positioning communists, anarchists, and socialists under the label ‘Reds’ served to mesh these various political identities. Consequently, this identification neglected to recognize their distinct political objectives. In this way, to be anti-‘Red’ simply meant to disregard a spectrum of leftist political philosophy. The connotation of the term ‘Reds’, linked to the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871’s red flag, provoked additional anxieties. The

\textsuperscript{12} Susan Sontag, “Looking at War,” 86.
\textsuperscript{13} Buchanan, \textit{Britain and the Spanish Civil War}, 2.
color represented the blood working-class members shed for their masters before assuming power in the Commune.\textsuperscript{16} Soviet influences expanding toward the Mediterranean, Little asserts, threatened Britain’s historic lifeline, which stretched from Gibraltar to the Suez Canal. However, the emergence of a left-wing republican coalition in Madrid in February 1936 aroused the most political disturbance in Britain. When General Francisco Franco staged his military rebellion against what some British called a “Kerensky’ era of deepening political and economic turmoil,”\textsuperscript{17} the Conservative-dominated ‘National Government’ in Britain, claimed a non-interventionalist policy regarding its involvement in the civil war that developed. This claim to non-intervention entailed the British imposed an arms embargo to project its supposedly neutral position. Little suggests that this decision instead served as a method to check the spread of communism in Spain.

Whitehall watched critically as communist subversion gained strength in Russia. The establishment of the Comité, whose main objectives were to combat capitalism and imperialism, further inspired fear in many British policy-makers. The suggestion that the ‘fundamental dogma’ of the Comité was ‘world revolution’ evoked a sense of distress among those like Lord Curzon, who remained alert for any signs of interference in British imperial affairs.\textsuperscript{18} Foreign Secretary Austen Chamberlain expressed his alarm with the growing strength of the Comité when he remarked that better relations between London and Moscow were out of the question until the Soviet Union promised to stay out of British domestic affairs. The political tensions founded on anxieties related to communist influences resonated.

\textsuperscript{17} Little, “Red Scare,” 291.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 292.
Events in Spain amplified fears of communist persuasion among many British policy-makers. The 1931 bloodless republican revolution in Spain, which crushed monarchist supporters and entailed increasing left-wing presence, haunted Whitehall. It did not matter that the left republican Prime Minister Manuel Azaña and radical Alejandro Lerroux fostered a relatively moderate regime from 1931-1935. The fact that the communist party membership continued to grow, claiming 30,000 members in 1936, heightened worries. Little remarks that this growth, along with Azaña’s move to an ever more leftist ideology in the Popular Front, suggested to many British political figures that Comitern influences continued to expand in the Iberian Peninsula. Britain’s new ambassador to Spain, Henry Chilton, further contributed to these elevated tensions when discussing the presence of Francisco Caballero Largo. He firmly believed the self-proclaimed ‘Spanish Lenin’ intended to establish a Soviet Republic.19 After an April 1936 trip, Arthur Bryant explained his views about the increasing presence of communism in Spain. He wrote, “‘I saw…on the walls of every village I visited…the symbols of the Hammer and Sickle and in the streets the undisguised signs of bitter class hatred, fomented by unceasing agitation by Soviet agents among a poor and cruelly misled peasant and working-class population.’”20 Bryant detailed these observations through personal correspondence with Conservative Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, which may have influenced his political perspective on the civil war.

Those who feared the spread of communism supported the overthrow of the Popular Front government and the rebel leader, General Francisco Franco. A native of El Ferrol, a coastal town in the Spanish Province of Galicia, Franco was unable to follow the

success his brothers, father, and grandfather achieved in the navy due to the closing of the Naval Administration School. Instead, the Infantry Academy of Toledo served to create the conservative and nationalist values, politics, and attitudes Franco exhibited throughout his military career. Franco particularly emphasized imperial conquest, strong monarchy, Catholicism, and rigid social hierarchy as determining Spain’s historically prominent history. The military, Franco believed, defended, protected, and occasionally revived Spain's glorious past. In 1910, Franco graduated 251 out of 312 cadets. Thus, he was not an exemplary student at the military academy. However, the newly acquired Spanish Protectorate in Morocco provided Franco with an opportunity to alter this satisfactory performance. His contributions to the training of the efficient and disciplined Spanish Foreign Legion helped establish Franco as a superior military officer. After arriving in Morocco in 1912, he developed a reputation for his ruthless and courageous leadership enhanced by an unusual amount of luck. In fact, Moroccan troops claimed Franco exuded a divine or mythical aura, a baraka, after he survived a number of serious injuries. Franco drew on this sense that he was destined for a divine purpose. His promotion to brigadier general in 1926 at the age of thirty-three provided Franco yet additional opportunities to flaunt his military prowess. He became the youngest general in Europe since Napoleon.

In his first published work, Diario de una bandera, written in 1922, Francisco Franco revealed his alliance with a group of military leaders in Morocco. These africanistas believed that Spanish politicians contributed to the military failures of the

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Spanish-American War in 1898 as well as those in Morocco. Franco, however, divulged little of his political ideologies during the 1920s. His refusal to declare his support for General Miguel Primo de Rivera’s 1923 military dictatorship emphasizes this. Even after the dictatorship ended and pro-Republican parties succeeded conservative and monarchical political figures in the 1931 Second Spanish Republic, Franco kept his political opinions quiet. Despite alluding to anti-Republican sentiments in speeches and articles, he refused to engage in the various plots to overthrow the government that immediately emerged.

The Second Republic’s reforms challenged Spanish conservatism. In response, conservative opponents engaged in street violence, revolutionary insurrections, and military schemes. They were outraged by the changes in military policy, the separation of church and state, and regional autonomy. Sensing these increasing threats to his conservative sympathies following the election of the Popular Front government in 1936, Franco eventually began to advocate a coup with other africanistas. On July 18, 1936 Franco helped lead the insurrection. Franco’s military success entailed he be officially named generalísimo, or supreme military leader of Spain, and head of state in the fall of 1936.

Despite publicly declaring non-intervention regarding the Spanish conflict, initiatives within Britain suggest that many political figures remained far from neutral. Robert Whealey, in his evaluation of funding for Franco’s Nationalist Coalition, reveals that capitalists in Britain, America and various Western European nations provided Franco with direct and indirect military support in the form of oil, trucks, machine tools,
tin, rubber, alloys and chemical for making munitions and weapons.西班牙几乎完全依赖从墨西哥湾的油田进口石油。英美多国巨型公司控制了这些经济交易。Shell-Standard公司大约吸收了弗朗哥用于战争的外汇的一半。24 据韦利，英国提供了弗朗哥三分之一的总进口。25 依据这些统计数据，他声称“7600万美元的军事销售和国际资本的道德支持确认了所谓的‘中立委员会’在1936年9月由法国和外国部长发起的不仅仅是把戏。”26 韦利接着指出许多商人支持弗朗哥，因为他们认为共和党人与社会党人、共产党人和无政府主义者战斗在一起。这本质上重申了对共产党影响的忧虑作为他们的动机。

1937年7月17日，右翼军官，弗朗哥的盟友，占领了摩洛哥的据点。这些努力有助于叛乱在西班牙本土蔓延，随后弗朗哥被运送到塞维利亚。主教休·波拉德是一个极端反共产主义者和坚定的天主教徒，他声称他的政治立场是‘极端右翼’，驾驶了英国注册的飞机。27 在《利物浦新闻》的一篇文章中，波拉德披露了他的动机：“我的家人是天主教徒，我强烈反对西班牙我朋友被红党屠杀。这就是我承担这个任务的原因。我知道...”

25 Ibid., 142.
26 Ibid., 146.
that Franco was the one man who could save Spain…” 28 Thus, Pollard’s political, religious, and anti-communist sympathies, like those he shared with many of his British compatriots, provided the impetus for Franco’s rebellion.

The *Illustrated London News*’ depiction of the Spanish Civil War reflected its conservative stance by expressing its anti-communist attitudes. Although only an estimated 51,488 copies circulated in 1936, 29 the paper had great impact through the images of communist devastation it presented. These included pictures of aerial bombing and religious desecrations that seemed to support General Francisco Franco’s claim that it was necessary to overthrow the Republican government in 1936. Franco depended on his Army of Africa to execute his mission. Moroccan participants numbered 78,504 in the Spanish Foreign Legion and the Regulares. 30 In fact Sebastian Balfour, who has extensively studied Spanish-Moroccan relations prior to and during the Spanish Civil War, confidently states that Franco’s rebellion could not have succeeded without these North African troops: “It is unquestionable that the nationalists would have been defeated had they risen without the participation of the Army of Africa.” 31 As a result, British advocates of the Caudillo’s objectives were forced to accept Moroccan collaboration.

The *Illustrated London News*, however, struggled to reconcile Moroccan presence in Franco’s Nationalist Army with its prejudices against Africans. Publishers attempted to deal with the issue of non-Christian Moroccans allegedly engaged in a Christian ‘Crusade’ to liberate Spain. The paper responded by challenging the contention that the

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31 Ibid.
Moroccans were guilty of horrific atrocities in Spain. Editors incorporated photographs that conveyed the angelic nature of Moroccans as compared to ‘atheistic’ communists. In this way, the communist became the unjustifiable and uncivilized ‘other’. Instead of relying on the images alone to transmit these messages, editors of the News positioned photographs with detailed headlines and captions. The News interpreted the images for its readers and viewers, and thus advised them how to think. Caroline Brothers argues that photographs unveil the convictions of those who consume them:

By privileging the photograph, beginning with it and working back through its codes and layers of signification, by respecting its context and observing its relationship with other representations, by being alert to the atypical and stereotypical in the sequences to with it belongs, the visual historian has unparalleled access to the perceptual framework members of those societies used in their everyday discourse. 32

These ‘perceptual frameworks’ abound in the civil war images. Thus, in their attempt to frame the Moroccan soldier’s fight against communism, the Illustrated London News essentially drew from and contributed to the racist attitudes of 1930s Britain. However, in the news magazine’s efforts to skew public opinion in favor of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War, communists were portrayed as the quintessential barbarian.

I have relied on various sources to compile this research project. Caroline Brothers’ War and Photography analyzes photography’s use during the Spanish Civil War to incite reactions abroad. She delves into the racist perceptions of Moroccans evident in foreign press. Sebastian Balfour in Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War provides a historical context of Spanish relations with Morocco which contributed to Franco’s reliance of Moroccan troops in his 1936 rebellion. His discussions of racism primarily focus on Spanish-Moroccan interactions. However,

32 Brothers, War and Photography, 190.
Balfour alludes to portrayals of Moroccans that impacted foreign support during the Spanish Civil War. Daniela Fleser, who has studied Spanish literary and cultural studies with an emphasis on national identity, provided significant insight into Moroccan-Spanish interactions in *The Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration*. She considers Moroccan presence in Spain as the catalyst for negative perceptions of Spain within Europe. Brian Shelmerdine examines British depictions of the conflict in *British representations of the Spanish Civil War*. Reflecting on Government and Nationalist supporters, he evaluates British ideology as reflected in media outlets. Tom Buchanan’s *Britain and the Spanish Civil War* addresses British projections of racist attitudes toward Spaniards and Moroccans. He details the condescending opinions many British figures maintained regarding any people viewed at the perennial ‘other’. Buchanan specifically explores the British representations of communist ‘barbarity’ that existed in the 1930s.

These texts, among the numerous other sources I have referenced and incorporated into this project, provided essential support for my findings. They have enhanced my arguments and bolstered my conclusions. I have drawn these various analyses to help craft my own. My research further contributes to the fragmentation of General Francisco Franco’s Christian ‘Crusade’. Delving into the religious incongruities of the Spanish Foreign Legion, the historical background of the Moors in Spain, as well as the seemingly non-Christian aggression of Franco’s Nationalist troops, I have exposed many of the issues the pro-Nationalist *Illustrated London News* had to overcome. What I have shown is that editors were willing to disregard these fractures to unite against a force they believed to be a much greater threat—Communism. I suggest that the *News*
shared this fear of communism with many British conservative political factions in the 1930s. Thus, editors sought tactics that would provoke and reinforce communist anxieties among its predominantly conservative readership. I claim that editors relied on racist attitudes that existed in 1930s Britain to craft this anti-communist message. Within the publication, the notion of relative savagery prevailed. The News published condescending portrayals of anyone viewed as the uncivilized ‘Other’. Images of Africans and Moroccans in particular showcased these racist ideologies. Yet, I have found the Illustrated London News’ demonization of the ‘atheistic’ communist Republican participant to supersede the depictions of any other ‘uncivilized’ peoples.
Chapter 1: Religious Incongruities in the Nationalist ‘Crusade’

The Illustrated London News showcased images of religious defilement that were commonplace in 1930s Spain. Publications of anti-Christian acts supported editors’ objectives in two-fold ways. Photographs and images were arranged to provide visual ‘evidence’ to a viewer that communist influences in Spain entailed religious desecration. The News encouraged its readers to transcend any differences between the Anglican Church in Britain and the Catholic Church in Spain, victim to these anti-religious acts. In this way, the new magazine suggested that British citizens should unite as Christians to act against these ‘anti-Christian’ forces. Additionally, these illustrations served to arouse British support for General Francisco Franco. In his mission to overthrow the Second Republic in Spain, Franco personified the efforts to dispel these allegedly communist acts. The Illustrated London News, however, had to maneuver around the contradictions raised by Franco’s use of Moroccan troops and the atrocities of the Foreign Legion in his supposed Christian ‘Crusade’.

The Illustrated London News associated communism with godless attacks on religious authority. Although anarchists and anti-clerical radicals were generally the perpetrators of church burnings, Franco and his supporters blamed anti-clericalism on communists. Church burning as an expression of anticlerical sympathies was not new. In fact, church burnings existed as a political strategy long before communism was conceived. Although the Archbishop of Toledo equated the Second Republic with communist revolutionaries in Bavaria, anarchists were actually to blame for the religious desecration. In May 1932, anarchist groups reacted to Pedro Cardinal Segura’s letter decrying the Second Republic’s efforts to separate church and state. In Madrid small
bands composed primarily of teenagers set six convents on fire. Fifteen others burned in southern cities of Malaga, Seville, Cadiz, and Alicante. While firemen, police officers, and other bystanders watched passively, terrified nuns evacuated the buildings.¹ During the Spanish Civil War, church-burning became a standard performance of extreme radicalism, so common that the general public seemed to be immune to it. Franz Borkenau, a German communist in Spain in August 1936, detailed the apparent indifference to church-burning: “[Borkenau] was surprised by the ‘absence of pathological excitement among the masses’. He imagined that a Catalan church-burning would be ‘an act of almost demoniac excitement of the mob, and it proved to be an administrative business.’”² This observation of apathy toward religious desecration reaffirms the vandalism as commonplace. Julio de la Cueva has done extensive research on the conflicts of religion in Spain, while investigating the role of anti-clericalism during the Spanish Civil War. He suggests that that church burnings, which developed as one of the most widespread methods aggressors demonstrated their anti-clerical sympathies, radiated in Spain after the military uprising as early as July 18, 1936 in Madrid and July 19, 1936 in Barcelona.³ Fixated on their objectives to eradicate religious representations, participants in church burnings disregarded laws against it. Although non-Catholic places of worship were to be spared, the first church revolutionaries targeted in Barcelona was a Protestant chapel.⁴ The anarchist publication *Solidaridad Obrera* accentuated church burnings as necessary to cleanse Spain: “‘We have lit our torches and applied the

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⁴ de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution,” 362.
purifying fire to all churches…and we have covered the countryside and purified it of the
plague of religion.”5 This notion of a religious ‘plague’ continued to inspire additional
religious defilement. If a church was spared, quite frequently its religious contents were
not. Items bearing religious connotations served as fuel for public bonfires. In Aragon,
one anticlerical chiseled away any trace of a sacred reference inscribed on gravestones.6
Yet, anti-religious efforts stretched beyond the destruction of religious objects.

Many Republican sympathizers engaged in violence against Catholic
representatives. Antonio Montero’s research provides astounding figures of priests and
clerics killed in the Republican zone during the Spanish Civil War.7 Beyond the
numerous accounts of nuns being raped that emanated from the Nationalists, Montero’s
figures include 6,832 massacred members of the Catholic clergy. Half of these deaths
occurred during the first month and a half of the war.8 These include 13 bishops, 4,172
diocesan priests and seminarists, 2,354 monks and friars, and 283 nuns. Most were
hunted down individually and murdered on the spot. Others were slaughtered in groups.
Casualties commonly succumbed to hangings, suffocation, burnings, or being buried
alive all while enduring mockery and insults. Participants showcased their acts by
dragging corpses through the streets. The seeming indifference of the government to
attacks on the Church led opponents of the Republic to blame them for the violence.9
Witnesses and historians have tended to blame anarchists as the perpetrators, which
include groups such as the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) and the Confederación

6 Ibid., 362.
7 Ibid., 355.
8 Ibid., 357.
Nacional de Trabajo (CNT).\(^\text{10}\) In addition to observers’ testimonies, chronology itself upholds the anarchist-as-primary-perpetrator claim. Anti-clerical terror appeared to cease in May 1937 Catalonia. This followed a Catalan Regional government and communist-led Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (United Socialist Party of Catalonia, PSUC) takeover. Thus, communist officials actually impeded the anti-clerical activity that they had commonly been blamed for.

In Britain, the public responded to reports of violence against religious figures. These atrocities became evidence of ‘red’ inspired atheism perpetrated by the Russians: “Incidentally, one may remark that the effort to create a Soviet Spain has been proclaimed ‘in the usual manner’…by burning and desecration of churches, the massacre and tortures of priests, the outrages on and executions of nuns, the obscene mockery of representations of Christ…”\(^\text{11}\) One Englishwoman, an ‘eye-witness’ in Algeciras, hoped the British would recognize the anti-religious ‘terrorism’ that communist ‘savages’ were perpetrating in Spain. Her diary documents the horrors attributed to the ‘Reds’ throughout Spain:

At Ronda the Communists came into the town from all the surrounded villages and began their work of destruction. Seven hundred people were thrown alive over El Tajo to be dashed to death below. Women were taken to a church and hung by one leg from the ceiling there and then the church was set on fire…In one of the early days of the war one poor woman was tortured in this way. The Reds had taken her husband to be shot and told her to go away. She said she could not, that her feet would refuse to carry her and she pleaded for her husband’s life. They shot her husband and then chopped off the woman’s feet and said “Your feet refused to carry you away; now see if you can go without your feet.”\(^\text{12}\)

\(^{10}\) de la Cueva, “Religious Persecution,” 357.
\(^{12}\) Spanish Civil War Diary, Friday, August 7, 1936, Misc. 219 (3146), 11-page journal of an unidentified British women, Documents Collection, Imperial War Museum, London, England.
It did not matter that Ronda was an Anarchist stronghold in the nineteenth century. For many British figures, ‘Red’ brutality was attributed to communists alone. Therefore, vivid accounts like these further inspired anti-communist sympathies and propelled religious figures into efforts to restore Christianity.

Communist efforts to supposedly purge world religions in Republican Spain were detailed in the *Illustrated London News*. The prevalence of images crafted to expose anti-religious tactics highlighted British fears of communist empowerment. An August 1, 1936 article details the devastation that Spanish ‘extremists’ instigated in Barcelona. Emphasis has been placed on the desecration of Barcelona’s churches. Nationalist troops are positioned in the belfries firing at the enemy, suggesting that pro-Nationalist support is equated with the defense of Christianity. The caption that this devastation signifies “Terror in Barcelona”\(^\text{13}\) evokes panic in the reader and further associates communists with a force to be stopped. The caption of an August 15, 1936 photograph links the destruction of the church of Santa Marina, Seville to Republican collaborators.\(^\text{14}\) The damage to the church is significant. The image focuses on local Spaniards sifting through the ruins. Their hunched-over bodies and defeated expressions arouse sympathy in the viewer. This photograph has been crafted in such a way that it demands action be taken to eradicate communist forces. The caption grants Nationalist troops the honor of saving the Christian holy place, stating that the church was “Partially destroyed by Reds before the rebels gained their control of the city.” October 17, 1936 images portray a seemingly barbaric nature of communist supporters. Referring to religious destruction as “Red


Sacrilege”, the *Illustrated London News* depicts images of “young hooligans amusing themselves” as they tear at religious statues with pickaxes. Referring to Republican sympathizers as “ignorant”, their behavior is equated with that of animals. These “anti-religious forces” have been “let loose in a land of traditional Catholic piety.” One of the most commanding images created to depict communist atrocities against the Church is chronicled in the August 22, 1936 issue of the *Illustrated London News*. S.A. Knight portrays his eye-witness account of incendiarism in Catalonia. The drawing’s page-length size confirms British fears of anti-clerical behaviors. Focus is brought to the foreground, where religious articles burn like the church behind them. The vandals, who appear empowered by the execution of their task, encircle the focal point, the burning crucifix. Crowds of people surround the place of worship, cheering the participants, and thus condoning the act. A truck with the letters “CNT”, for the anarchist National Confederation of Labor, carries supporters of the action as they hold their firmly clenched fists in the air. The caption captures the essence of the operation: “Reds burning the contents of a church in a small Catalonian fishing village: Sacred effigies, the altar, and various furnishings brought out to add fuel to the flames.” The adjacent commentary records the anti-religious activities. One burning seems to motivate collaborators to continue on their “destructive” path:

Catalan anarchists with guns and petrol drums were making a systematic tour of churches in the district, destroying each in turn. Soon afterwards the village church bells began to toll irregularly, and two red flags suddenly fluttered from the tower. Men wearing red armbands collected all the furniture of the church in the square outside- the altar, chairs, pews, pictures, sacred vessels. They made a great pile of them, adding finally a life-sized figure of Christ in the Cross and a

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coloured effigy of the Virgin Mary and the Child Christ………[and then] they went to the next church.\textsuperscript{17}

The Illustrated London News literally seemed to be fanning the flames, promoting fear of communism. Through claims that ‘Reds’ were responsible for the destruction, editors could project this behavior onto communists.

Christians in Britain vocalized their anxieties with the pervading communist destruction of Catholic Spain. Claiming that government reforms were tearing away at the traditional order of the Church, British commentary as early as 1931 claimed that conflicts in Spain posed the ‘Cross versus the Hammer and the Sickle’.\textsuperscript{18} Consequently, many Christian groups in Britain reveled in the need to unite with Catholics as Christians. A supposed collapse in Spanish moral standards linked communism with atheism according to Arthur Loveday, a lay member of the Anglican Church Assembly. He connected the alleged decline in Spanish morality to the pornographic, anti-Christian, and

\textsuperscript{17} “Church Destruction by Catalan Anarchists: A Witness’s Drawing,” Illustrated London News, August 22, 1936.

\textsuperscript{18} Morning Post, 20 October 1931.
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communist literature found in bookstalls in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and Bilbao.¹⁹

Some Christians were so moved to combat communist infiltration that they formed
organizations like the United Christian Front. Extreme right-wing Conservative Captain
Ramsay chaired the committee, which attracted sponsors from all sects of the religious
spectrum. William Ralph Inge, a Church of England clergyman, scholar, and Dean of St.
Paul’s Cathedral from 1911-1934, captured the essence of British fears:

I hope, as Christians, we shall not forget in our prayers that unhappy people, the
nation of Cervantes and Velasquez, of Las Casas, St. Teresa of Avila and St.
John of the Cross. Spain will assuredly be delivered in God’s good time from this
invasion of the anti-Christ. But let us earnestly hope and pray that our nation may
be freed from complicity with any attempt to destroy religion, civilization and
humanity in Spain.²⁰

Dean Inge articulated his confidence that atheistic communism would be extinguished:

“Spain will assuredly be delivered in God’s good time from this invasion of the Anti-
Christ.”²¹ For those who maintained the hopes that Dean Inge stressed, General
Francisco Franco embodied this ‘deliverance’.

Francisco Franco relied on his Catholicism and Christian underpinnings of the
Spanish Foreign Legion to formulate his rebellion against the Second Spanish Republic
in 1936. To emphasize the historic mission he claimed to be carrying out by
overthrowing the legally elected government of Spain, he charged it with being impotent
to quell the growing social and political disorder.²² It was deemed a ‘Crusade’. This
‘Crusade’ intended to unify political fissures, reinstitute Catholicism, and defeat

²¹ Ibid.
communism. Frederick Hale, who has explored the efforts of British Catholics who rallied for the support of Francisco Franco, argued that “By latching onto the idea of a religious crusade, Franco could protect himself not just as the defender of his Spain but also as the defender of a universal Christian faith. Leaving beside the gratifying boost to his ego, such a propaganda ploy could bring only massive benefits in terms of international support for the rebel cause.”

And it began the moment the Spanish Foreign Legion landed in Tarifa in 1936. Enthusiastic legionarios carried their commanding officer to the chapel to praise God for their safe landing and to request blessings in the battles to come.

The Christian community quickly responded to Franco and the Nationalists in their Christian ‘Crusade’ to contain communism. Franco and the Primate of Spain, Cardinal Isidro Goma y Tomás, began to cultivate a close relationship. The General established his headquarters at the Episcopal Palace in Salamanca with the permission of the Bishop.

Prominent British figures also embraced this mission supposedly seeped in Christian ideology. Bishop Peter Amigo of the Diocese of Southwark, one of England’s best-known Catholics during the 1930s, engaged in a crucial literary campaign to sway popular opinion in favor of the Nationalists.

Henry Page Croft of Bournemouth, England and Captain A.H.M of Scotland also emphasized their appeal to Franco’s Christian campaign against the tides of communism and anarchism. Brian Shelmerdine claims that, “The Nationalist forces represented a just endeavor to re-establish these fast

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24 Galey, Bridegrooms of Death, 47.
26 Ibid., 463.
27 Ibid., 465.
eroding values and the Church, once ‘strongly in favour of the Republic’, had little option other than to support those who were fighting to save Christian Spain.”

Because many British Catholics viewed Spain as a bastion of faith, ironically attached to the Medieval Christian Reconquest, they embraced Franco’s mission to preserve it. Archbishop of Westminster Cardinal Arthur Hinsley, the pivotal figure in the pro-Franco movement within Britain, devoted his energy to the general’s victory. His framed, desktop photograph of Franco stresses this commitment. He stated, “I look upon you as a great defender of true Spain, the country of Catholic social justice and charity will be applied for the common good under a firm and peace-loving government.”

Admitting that he saw the Spanish Civil War as a struggle between Christ and the anti-Christ, he wrote letters, spoke to church bodies, and fundraised in order to promote Franco’s cause.

British travelers to Spain described a Catholic atmosphere in the Nationalist Zone: “Flags flew everywhere, carrying the image of the Virgin superimposed on the red and yellow of traditional Spain. Pictures of Nationalist leaders, Franco most commonly, were on windows and hoardings…Church dignitaries were prominent at all official events and public celebrations of Mass were common…”

British commentaries like these served to characterize Franco as the restorer of Christianity. Even military and political figures believed that their Catholic ties with Franco could alter negatively-perceived war tactics.

Retired Royal Air Force Group Captain J.R.W. Smyth-Pigott, who served on the Commission for the Investigation of Air Bombardments in Spain within the Non-Intervention Committee, believed he could convince Franco to re-evaluate his reliance on

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29 Catholic Worker, August 1936, quoted in Buchanan, *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*, 187.
31 Ibid., 54.
aerial bombing in Spain. He correlated this ability to the Catholic faith he and Franco shared:

I cannot help feeling that a direct visit and appeal by myself, not as a British official, but as an ardent Catholic (distressed at the excesses committed against Mother Church in Spain) to my fellow Catholic, General Franco, might be of avail. I could tell him that from observation, I am convinced that in the words of our hymn “The Faith of our fathers is living still in spite of dungeon, fire and sword” but that the continued slaughter of helpless civilians by his foreign pilots will do more to kill it than the Devil himself.32

Thus, Smyth-Pigott did not believe that a conversation in which he stressed his British nationality could influence Franco’s reliance on aerial bombing for military objectives. Instead, he placed more emphasis on their common religious connections to make the difference. This demonstrates the significance of Christian ties in the Spanish conflict.

The issue with Franco’s ‘Crusade’, his most successful propaganda ploy, was its fragmentation. David Haden-Guest, a communist academic and British volunteer for the Republic, articulated the incongruity that many recognized: “‘Why, if Franco was professing to protect the Church, did he need Moors? Since when have they been good Christians?’”33 Although Englishman Reginald Dingle’s pro-Franco sympathies radiate from his “Democracy” in Spain text, his insistent justification of Moroccan participation insinuates that many British were not convinced: “Franco and his generals are Spaniards. In leading African troops to victory, they are continuing the old tradition. It was with African soldiers that the Cid drove out the Moors, and Isabel the Catholic conquered Granada…Now the Spaniards of Africa are once more contributing to the deliverance of

33 Shelmerdine, British representations, 125.
the country.” These historical Catholic references did not convince some Christians. Instead they expressed their dismay with Franco’s disjointed mission to destroy communism founded on Catholic ideology. Don José Bermain, a well-known Catholic official, expressed the religious disconnect that many Catholics equated with Franco’s mission. His condescending tone with regard to Moorish troops resonates:

[The Nationalists] have had to call in outside help, foreign, barbarous, anti-Spanish, to fight against us, provoking this war… Cast your eyes for one moment on the tragic pyramid of the grotesques: generals, bishops, Moors, Carlists in red berets—they are like some fantastic mumming-show of Death. They entrust the defense of Spain to Moors and soldiers of the Foreign Legion…They are a handful of traitors with some thousands of barbarian mercenaries at their command. [The Nationalists] have placed in the barbarous hands of the Legionaries and the Moors the sacred vessel, the riches, and treasure [which is Spain].

Father Leocadio Lobo also addressed the incongruities of the Christian ‘Crusade’. He wrote, “The Spanish people cries out that they, the rebels [including Moorish troops], shall not pass. And they shall not pass, for neither reason nor justice is with them for they have confounded together things that are utterly opposed, [including] Christ and Mohamet…”

Franco’s reliance on Moorish troops to obtain his militaristic goals required justification. His Moroccan troops were identified with North African Arab and Berber Muslims who colonized the Iberian Peninsula in 711 AD, and thus were responsible for much of the Iberian peninsula’s Arabization and Islamization. However, they came to be depicted as the enemies of Christian Spain, as Spain’s Catholic identity traditionally

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36 Ibid.,10.
37 Daniela Flesler, Return of the Moor: Spanish Responses to Contemporary Moroccan Immigration (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008), 3.
flourished. Writer and journalist José María Ridao articulated this sentiment: “El odio al moro es una consecuencia de que la idea de ser español haya sido asociada a la condición de cristiano, y posteriormente a la condición de católico.” [Hatred for the Moor is a consequence of the idea that being Spanish has been associated with the Christian condition, and later with the condition of being Catholic.”] 38 Consequently, Muslim Moors did not fit the mold of this traditional Spanish identity.

Medieval struggles to liberate Spain from Muslim ‘invaders’ sought to secure Catholicism as the reigning religion. It was therefore the Arab ‘infidel’ that threatened the nation’s security. The conquest of Granada in 1492 under the reign of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella produced a seemingly ever-pervading purge of the Muslim and Jewish religions in Spain. This occurred despite the fact that many Moors, because of interactions with Christianity, could no longer read or write in Arabic, they spoke Castilian Spanish, and faintly grasped Islamic dogma. 39 Therefore, the Catholic identity allotted to Spain maintained historic roots accompanied by negative depictions of Moroccans. Essentially, Franco’s ‘Crusade’ to reconquer Spain positioned the Muslim, a traditional Christian enemy, against Spanish Catholics in a supposed effort to restore Catholicism.

Discrepancies in Franco’s religious attachment to the Nationalist cause and Moroccan collaboration also stemmed from the last time Spaniards engaged in a religious ‘Reconquest’. Justification for Spanish intervention in Morocco had been deemed a religious obligation. In order to abide by the ‘civilizing mission’ that Europeans

39 Flesler, Return of the Moor, 9.
embraced with its underpinning Christian ideology, Spain too looked to infiltrate its Christian identity in Morocco. Recognizing the differences that underlined Spain due to its historical religious connections with Africa and Islam, Spain emphasized its willingness to uphold the modernized European identity by bringing Christian doctrine to these North Africans.\footnote{Flesler, *Return of the Moors*, 21.}

The *Reconquistadores* or Spanish officers in Moroccan Protectorate held various ideas of their supposedly religiously-founded objectives. Sebastian Balfour alludes to many military contributors who embraced their religious mission: “[One military contributor wrote that] colonial officers were ‘priests of the heroic cult’ fighting an ‘obscure’ war of sacrifice and duty, despising death. The words convey the sense of elitism among the Africanists and the growing feeling of belonging to a military caste linked fancifully to the myth of the Christian knights of medieval Spain.”\footnote{Balfour, *Deadly Embrace*, 172.} For these Africanists, obligations to uphold their perceived superior Spanish Christian identity resonated. In contrast, some military groups valued their undertaking as an imperialist and militarist responsibility. They evaded the conservative clerical establishment in Morocco, and saw Spain’s colonial advance in Africa as void of religion.\footnote{Ibid., 29.} Thus, there were even incongruities as to Spain’s religious connection with Morocco prior to the July 1936 rebellion.

General Francisco Franco’s personal relationship with Catholicism was inconsistent despite broadcasting his Christian identity. Earlier conflicts with Abd el-Krim in Morocco during the Riffian Wars revealed that strict Koranic religiosity was lacking. In Krim’s efforts against Spanish colonial troops, he sought to institute reforms
which advocated a return to a purer, less mediated practice of Islam. These measures responded to a society in which men rarely prayed and women did not pray at all.\textsuperscript{43} Even accounts from Spanish colonial officers allude to non-religious Moroccans.\textsuperscript{44} Nonetheless, Islamic influences historically pervaded the Moroccan landscape. Franco’s statement that African influences permeated his very being suggest that he too was sympathetic to Islamic ideologies: “My years in Africa live within me with indescribable force…Without Africa, I can scarcely explain myself, nor can I explain myself properly to my comrades in arms.”\textsuperscript{45} In 1937, a year into the Spanish conflict, Franco organized a pilgrimage to Mecca. After the pilgrims’ return, the Alcazar of Seville, originally a Moorish fort, housed the Muslim delegation. There Franco reaffirmed his belief that Christian and Muslim unity was possible by declaring that “España y el islam han sido siempre los pueblos que mejor se comprendieron.” [“Spain and Islam have always been the peoples that best understand each other.”]\textsuperscript{46} This notion of a Spanish-Islamic alliance is clear. However, that fact that Franco, the supposed restorer of a Christian Spain, emphasized this association further convoluted his anti-communist ‘Crusade’.

Franco had to attempt to reconcile religious incongruities in his mission. Emphasis was therefore placed on Christian and Islamic similarities. He ordered General Antonio Aranda to visit different sectors of the Moroccan Protectorate to reiterate religious alliances between Catholics and Muslims. These perceived alliances were ultimately founded on the belief in God and destiny. Drawing on these religious

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\textsuperscript{43} Balfour, \textit{Deadly Embrace}, 189. \\
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 201. \\
\textsuperscript{46} María Rosa de Madariaga, \textit{Los moros que trajo Franco...la intervención de tropas coloniales en la Guerra Civil} (2002): 352, quoted in Flesler, \textit{Return of the Moor}, 25. 
\end{flushright}
commonalities, Aranda, under the command of Franco, stressed the call to unite to defeat communist enemies who he called atheist, “godless” and who looked to entirely destroy religion. These sentiments spoke to Moroccans who valued religion. In one speech he declared, “Those who fight against Spain on national territory wish to destroy all religions: not just Catholicism which is that of the Spaniards, but also the Muslim religion, and in general, all the religions of the world.”\(^{47}\) According to Aranda, it was essential that anyone who valued religion accept Moroccan collaboration in Franco’s Nationalist rebellion. General Francisco Franco later encapsulated Moroccan integrity in the religious ‘Crusade’. He demanded that Moroccan righteousness be projected in an announcement before movie screenings:

Todos los musulmanes de nuestro Protectorado en Marruecos, impregnados del amor y la cultura que en ellos ha sembrado España, acuden en socorro inmediato al escuchar los clarines de la llamada de Occidente. (...) Ni levas ni propaganda. Voluntarios nada más. Por mandato del corazón.

[All Muslims of our Protectorate in Morocco, impregnated with the love and culture that Spain has left on them, immediately responded to the clarinets of the call of the West. Neither weighing anchors nor propaganda. [They were] volunteers only. By mandate of the heart.]\(^{48}\)

This commentary served as a method to enhance the image of loyal Muslim participants, dutifully executing a Christian mission against a non-Christian communist entity in Spain. The fact that Franco had to reiterate this concept reveals its insecurity.

The *Illustrated London News* encouraged its viewers to adhere to Aranda’s pleas by depicting Franco’s Nationalist troops, religiously united against this ‘atheistic’ communist enemy. In fact, an October 31, 1936 article illustrates “A priest blessing rebel

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\(^{48}\) Tomás Bárbulo, “Los moros de la ‘cruzada’ de Franco,” Translation mine.
calvary at Valladolid.” 49 The priest’s white robe immediately captures a viewer’s attention. The firmness with which he stretches out his arm to bless the Nationalist soldiers seems to reiterate the confidence he has in Franco’s mission. As a Catholic official and thus also as a Christian, he represents the faith the entire Christian community was encouraged to place in Franco’s religious ‘Crusade’. The existence of numerous spectators in the image, fixated on the event, further emphasizes the cohesiveness Christians seemed to express for the Nationalist cause. In the photograph the priest is placed to the left side. Instead the Nationalist troops are positioned in the center of the image. In this way, Franco’s troops, including Moroccans, are situated as the ultimate combatants to preserve Christianity, despite the controversy their participation entailed.

Fractures in the ‘Crusade’ further resulted from the horrific realities of aerial bombing. The Spanish Air Force split after the inception of the civil war. The majority of the 60 Breguet XIX recon bombers and 20 Vickers Vildebeest torpedo bombers went to the Spanish Government. 50 Republicans also retained most of the Nieuport-Delage

Ni.D.52 biplane fighters.\textsuperscript{51} Leon Blum in socialist France, ignored the League of Nations’ prohibition on outside interference and sent air power. The Loyalist government purchased 12 million francs worth of aircraft. Andre Malraux, a writer, began forming the ‘Esquadra España’ at Toulouse, which received seventeen new but unarmed Dewoitine D.372 parasol-wing monoplane fighters. These aircraft were originally destined for a different European customer.\textsuperscript{52} Malraux purchased a squadron of Potex Po.540 bombers, flown by European intellectuals and warriors. These aircraft were later absorbed into the Republican Air Force due to their limited effectiveness.\textsuperscript{53} In August of 1936, France ended its arms shipments to Republican Spain. However, French officials were able to send several dozen aircraft to reinforce the Government’s air power prior to their official declaration to withdraw additional assistance. Initially, it appeared that the Republican Government maintained air superiority.

Germany and Italy began to counter this aerial superiority by bolstering the Nationalist air force. In order to airlift Franco’s Spanish Foreign Legion troops from Morocco to Spain, Germany sent 10 Ju52s. Italy and its Legione Aviazione also aided Franco with a squadron of CR.32 fighters to escort the freighters which moved these Spanish Foreign Legion troops. German volunteers established their Operation Feuerzauber (Magic Fire) at Tablada airfield near Sevilla to train Franco’s pilots. An Italian squadron of Fiat C.R. 32 fighters, regarded as the best aircraft in the Spanish skies, was placed without a pretense, and a squadron of Savioa bombers was flown into Sevilla. As a result, Spanish pilots Joachim García Morata and Julio Salvador Díaz-Benjumea claimed victories over a variety of Government aircraft. German volunteers, including

Herwig Knuppel, Kraft Eberhardt, and Hannes Trautloft began flying combat sorties after the Germans and their Spanish trainees moved to Escalona del Prado near Madrid. This German and Italian support was significant for the Nationalists. In fact, Republican pilots flying over the Nationalist Northern Army encountered greater danger due to this foreign air support. In September of 1936, the stationing of an Italian fighter squadron in Majorca followed the defeat of a Republican invasion force. 36-48 He51s, 48 Ju52s, a seaplane squadron, a recon squadron, and an experimental squadron composed the German Kondor Legion’s air unit. Consequently, foreign alliances continued to provide Franco the aerial strength he needed in order to compete with the Government’s resources.

In response, the Spanish Government received foreign aid. In October 1936, the first Russian equipment was unloaded at Cartegena, and Soviet personnel had started on-the-spot preparations as early as September 10th. The Republicans received about 50 Russian aircraft. By mid-October 150 more Red Air Force men arrived to contribute to Government efforts. By the end of the month, SB-2 Katuska bombers initiated their operations, and I-15 Chatos defeated a Ju-52 on November 4, 1936. On November 11, 1936 Republican air operations were the most effective when they caught German and Spanish planes on the ground and inflicted heavy losses. A few days later, Russian pilots captured six German junkers on the ground. Christopher Shores argued that this Republican victory affected Nationalist morale: “Despite the unremitting effort by the Nationalist pilots and their allies in November and December, the initiative was swinging to the Republic, and morale among government forces rose as Madrid continued to defy

55 Shores, Spanish Civil War Air Forces, 10-11.
56 Ibid., 11.
Franco. Falling spirits were noticeable among the thinned Italian fighter units, previously aggressive fliers.” A squadron of I-15s was stationed in Bilbao in December of 1936, and throughout January and February of 1937, France secretly sent 20 Loire 46 fighters. In retaliation to the Nationalist advance on Madrid with Italian troops, the Republicans added support missions on the ground. This tactic proved to be devastating to the Italians. Thus, it was evident that the support from left-wing political entities contributed significantly to the Republican cause. An infiltration of Soviet aid against Franco essentially threatened those who advocated a halt to the spread of anti-religious communist influences.

The Illustrated London News quickly addressed the horrors of Government aerial bombardment. It drew on the terror many British citizens encountered in Algeciras. The August 15, 1936 publication details this: “The casualties were estimated at over 100 killed and wounded, almost all civilians….Many parts of the town were reduced to ruins. Fires broke out and the commercial wharves were burned down…” In fact, the news magazine spoke to eye witnesses who documented their experiences. One British woman wrote,

Government planes were flying over the town, dropping bombs at the same time. It was a terrible business and it should be counted as a crime that a defenceless town should be shelled in such a manner…We heard the whistle of the shells and the subsequent explosion time after time…We heard that the two top floors of Rugeroni’s house were blown away…The British Vice-Consulate was wrecked, a bomb fell into the tennis courts of the Hotel Cristina- the bridge at the Saladillo was blown to bits… There were men, women, and children some screaming in terror a they ran…A poor man dashed towards us from the garden…I have never seen such stark terror in anyone’s face. He was deathly white under his tan and shaking with fear. He seemed to fear that we should turn him away from our little

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57 Ibid., 13.
refuge for, as he came towards us, he was calling out, ‘For the love of God let me stay with you. For Christ’s sake have pity!’

Government aerial strength, supplied by leftist political entities was clearly threatening British well-being. This was symbolized both in the threat to its citizens and to the destruction to the vice-consulate.

The *Illustrated London News* then published an image in retaliation. An August 15, 1936 image depicts a Government airplane on display in a public square. Detailing the plane’s defeat near Saragossa, the *News* encapsulates an underlying sense of pride by referring to the plane as a ‘rebel trophy of war’. An ‘admiring crowd’ surrounds the aircraft, which suggests that as the British should be, these observers are grateful for the plane’s destruction. It symbolizes a defeat to the Second Spanish Republic and its communist supporters. The *Illustrated London News* also casts a seemingly comic depiction of the Government air force. In its account of a Government bombing on Mallorca, the news magazine emphasizes the substitute for ammunition. Pilots drop stones instead. The *Illustrated London News* appears to project this pathetic military maneuver in order to patronize the Government as a whole. This is despite the Government’s legitimate menace to British security. For those British who feared the spread of communism and the potential threat a communist takeover could have in Britain, an effective Soviet air force provoked additional anxieties.

Despite highlighting Republican defeats, the *Illustrated London News* did little to justify destruction by Nationalist forces. Very little attention is paid to the bombing of

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61 Ibid.
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Guernica, an act of terror Franco’s allies inflicted. Every 20 minutes for three hours German He-111Bs and Ju52s bombed the militarily insignificant town.\(^62\) It is believed that up to 1600 people were killed during the attack. The event did occur during the coronation celebrations of King George VI. The Illustrated London News focused its coverage on this affair instead, dedicating considerable portions of its publication to the occasion. In May, one month after the bombing of Guernica, the News provided its coverage. This was after the German Kondor Legion upgraded its aircraft from the bombers that devastated Guernica.\(^63\) The delay in discussing one of the most historically recognized wartime tragedies suggests that it was an issue the News tried to avoid.

Editors admitted the incident ‘aroused the world’s sympathy’ and ‘started a fierce controversy’.\(^64\) Yet only two images of the destruction appear in the publication. They are couched within a book review, and thus are difficult to recognize unless searched for. The photographs convey utter destruction. Skeletons of buildings remain, abandoned. Windows have shattered, and ruins sprawl out into the streets. The images are small, however, and therefore challenge the viewer to sense the devastation. Although editors acknowledge that aerial bombardment was blamed for the event, they also suggest that ‘Red elements’ started the destruction with petrol fires.\(^65\) One must question, whether their suggestion that ‘Reds’ fired the town, did not lead the News to proclaim another communist atrocity.

\(^{63}\) Ibid.
\(^{65}\) Ibid.
The *Illustrated London News* did not ignore the destruction attributed to Nationalist aerial maneuvers. The March 27, 1937 publication devoted a two-page aerial view of Madrid. Obliterated sections of the city are evident. Referring to the four month-long bombardments and shelling as ‘horror’, the article details the ‘fifty tons of high explosive, and vast quantities of incendiary bombs’ that fell on Madrid. These references instill a sense of trepidation for the realities of modern warfare. The accompanying article stresses the ramifications that aerial bombing as a military tactic entailed for Madrid’s inhabitants. It alludes to the thousands who were evacuated as well as the food shortages people suffered and starvation of those who remained. Here, however, the *News* exposes its Franco bias by appearing to justify the efforts. This rationalization appears embedded in the statement: “On at least four occasions the fall of Madrid has seemed to be only a matter of hours.” Nonetheless, the *Illustrated London News* continued to expose the devastation Nationalist aerial bombing caused. Appealing to the middle-class readership of the new magazine, the April 3, 1937 publication

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67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
detailed the suffering of their middleclass counterparts in Madrid. Associating Tetuan with ‘Ealing’ and ‘Hounslow’, images of gutted apartments and exposed relics of family life speak to the publication’s readers in a disturbing way. Statistics that 1000 people had been killed in the city with more than twice the number wounded and 430 ‘not accounted for’, provoked both sympathy and disgust. The caption that this is “How a peaceable Middle Class suffers in the Civil War” forces readers to question their own security in Britain.

The *Illustrated London News* stressed General Franco’s aerial raid in Bilbao at Durango. The Nationalist Army of the North, with 120 aircraft including the Kondor Legion and the Legione Aviazione, bombed the defenseless town. Photographs reflect the devastation to buildings. Personal belongings are scattered about, windows are shattered, and the solemnity radiates from the darkness and desolation. The News focuses

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70 Ibid.  
on the Church of the Jesuits. Referring to Franco’s aerial strategies, bolstered by his German and Italian allies, as a ‘destructive fury’ which has been ‘let loose’ on Spain, the typically pro-Franco British media outlet cannot justify the sheer devastation. Instead, the publication exposes additional fragmentation in Franco’s ‘Crusade’. It refers to the bombing of Durango as ‘the heaviest air-raid that had taken place since the Great War’ in which German and Italian pilots were key figures.\(^2\) To reiterate the horrors, the *News* incorporates the perspectives of prominent Christian figures, who express their disgust. The Dean of Canterbury’s speech is alluded to in which he denounces the bombing as ‘needless destruction and killing’.\(^3\) As an earlier supporter of Franco his revulsion toward the Nationalist aerial bombing of Madrid caused many British Christians to waver in their support for Franco and the Nationalists. Catholic Group Captain J.R.W. Smyth-Pigott also began to reveal his insecurity with the legitimacy of Franco’s supposedly Christian ‘Crusade’. Through correspondence with Lord Halifax, in which he vividly described an eye-witness account, Smyth-Pigott detailed his anxieties:

> A bomb fell, [a woman] ran out, unhurt. On arrival at the entrance, [her] child half slipped out of her arms. She put out her hand to readjust it, to find that its head was not there, it had been cut clean off by a fragment of the bomb. She turned and ran wildly through the town. They caught her after the raid, she is now in a mad house. Is she to be the epitome of Liberated Spain?\(^4\)

Smyth-Pigott and those who supported Franco’s Nationalists believed that a ‘Liberated Spain’ was void of ‘atheistic’ communism. Although Franco and his allies’ reliance on aerial warfare horrified many British figures, fears of a communist takeover seemed to

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\(^2\) Nationalist aerial bombardment which targeting civilians developed as a serious issue during the Spanish Civil War. The League of Nations created the Commission for the Investigation of Air Bombardments in Spain under Group Captain J.R.W. Smyth-Pigott’s leadership to investigate its use in Spain.

\(^3\) “Bombed During the Offensive Against Bilbao: Durango After a Raid,” *Illustrated London News*, April 10, 1937

surpass these anxieties. Thus, British individuals like Smyth-Pigott clung to the Christian faith they shared with Franco, eager for the General to fulfill his anti-communist ‘Crusade’ in Spain.

The *Illustrated London News* embraced General Francisco Franco’s promise to liberate Spain from anti-Christian communist influences. Editors produced repeated images of the religious desecration that swept the Second Spanish Republic. These depictions often paralleled the fears of a communist takeover that permeated the 1930s British landscape. Consequently, Nationalist supporters in a predominantly Anglican Britain had to transcend any discomfort they maintained with Catholicism to unite as Christians. However, the *Illustrated London News* struggled to advocate a Franco victory founded on inconsistent ideology. Nationalist aerial bombing strategies killed thousands of civilians and destroyed many of the religious structures he claimed to protect. Non-Christian Moroccans essentially contributed to these efforts, and thus further fractured Franco’s reliance on his Christian ‘Crusade’. Nonetheless, those who feared communist expansion relied on Franco and his Moroccan troops to defeat it. This alliance, however, entailed that Nationalist sympathizers accept Franco’s Moroccan troops—non-Christians fighting against the crafted image of the “anti-Christ”. 
Chapter 2: General Franco’s Moroccan Anti-Communist ‘Crusaders’

Editors of the Illustrated London News flocked to General Francisco Franco, viewing him as a leader to eradicate communism. This British publication savored the image of a Catholic Spain that would replace the liberal and secular Second Republic following a Franco victory. The News yearned for the day when what they regarded as social order could be restored. Where contributors struggled, however, was rectifying the presence of African soldiers from Morocco in this conquest. Chronicles of violence, disparities over religious values, and racist sentiments threatened the justification for Nationalist sympathies. The Illustrated London News crafted images of Moroccan troops in the Spanish Foreign Legion and Moroccan Regulares as obedient, non-aggressive Christian soldiers. Yet, the conservative publication found it difficult to incorporate the crack troops of the Army of Africa into British images of a Spanish crusade to free Spain of radical foreign influences.

Moroccan presence in the Nationalist fight resulted in great part from the Spanish Foreign Legion. José Millán-Astray, regarded as one of twentieth-century Spain’s most noteworthy military figures, founded this elite military force.\(^1\) El Heraldo de Madrid’s 1922 statement that Millán-Astray was a soldier “‘of manly galor, gallantry, indominable will, courage, and the push that brings victory on the battlefield’”\(^2\) testifies to his military success. He drew on the respectability of the Millán-Astray name to fashion his military career. His father held prominent military positions, including superintendent of Madrid’s ‘model’ prison, secretary-general for the civil governor of western Cuba, and chief of police in Madrid and Barcelona, among others. Millán-Astray followed this military

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\(^2\) Ibid., 430.
precedence. Within two years after enrolling at the Infantry Academy at 15 years old, he was a second lieutenant. Following his service in the Philippines, for which he was highly decorated, Millán-Astray chose to be a diplomado. His time at the Superior War College (La Escuela Superior de Guerra), which essentially positioned him among some of Spain’s military elite, served as his inspiration. After instructing at the Infantry Academy in Toledo, which would later suffer severe devastation during the Civil War, he arrived in Melilla, Morocco. It was in Morocco that he crafted his military machine, the Tercio de Extranjeros, the Spanish Foreign Legion. It is arguably from this creation that Millán-Astray established himself as a profound military figure.

José Millán-Astray envisioned an elite military entity that would uphold the credo of a Christian Spain and refute the place of communists as part of a Popular Front. The Popular Front had been elected in February 1936 to govern the Second Spanish Republic. In 1920, Millán-Astray conceived the idea after reorganizing the Spanish colonial army in Morocco. In an attempt to revamp the colonial army, Millán-Astray formed the Spanish Foreign Legion with the support of his fellow Galician, Second-in-Command Francisco Franco. There was no precedent for the Spanish Foreign Legion in Spain. Thus, Millán-Astray inculcated the new division with his personal beliefs—fervent Catholicism, love for Spain, honor, and duty until death. As early as 1922, the founder imbued the Legion with the principles of Bushido, traditional Japanese military thought, which stressed loyalty and obedience to the lords of samurai warrior. The values of loyalty, self-sacrifice, justice, sense of shame, refined manners, purity, modesty,

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frugality, martial spirit, honor and affection later became key elements in the Nationalist military ideology. The infusion of Eastern spirituality seemed to blur the Tercio’s Christian foundations. Millán-Astray justified this alliance through Bushido’s dependence on the purest morality. This, he stated, was embedded in Christianity. He also claimed that the principles of Christian morality and the much older Japanese ideology were not much different. Relying on the French Foreign Legion as the Tercio’s model, primarily Spanish volunteers, who craved the prestige and honor of fighting in an elite military force, comprised this military body. Essentially it was an army within an army, with its own administration, supply corps, and officer cadres. Maintaining a sense of independence was key, although the forces could be used in conjunction with other military troops if necessary. Its officers were the most competent, its training was unique, food rations were superior to those of the regular army, and a distinct uniform distinguished Legionarios from their military counterparts.

In devising this elite military force, Millán-Astray found cohesion and solidarity vital. Diverse motivations and different backgrounds were regarded as toxic to the organization of the Legion. Millán-Astray emphasized this ideology when addressing the first volunteers who arrived at Ceuta in 1920: “Since you crossed the Straits, you have no mother, no girlfriend, no family; from today all that will be provided by the Legion.” Instead, unwavering loyalty, courage, and self-sacrifice were imperative to the formula of this military machine. Volunteers were permitted to use pseudonyms, and credentials and identification were unnecessary. It was not significant that a Polish count, a German

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double agent who had spied for France, a Maltese, a morphine addict, and a White Russian refugee represented the spectrum of foreign volunteers. And it did not matter that Spanish volunteers, composing four-fifths of all recruits, embodied an array of political ideologies, including anarchists and even communists. It was the potential for volunteers sympathetic to leftist political ideologies that challenged the initial development of the Legion. Opponents warned the Tercio could introduce “‘Bolshevik germs, officially and at the cost of the state’” into Spanish territories. In fact, *El Ejercito Español*, a military publication, was initially skeptical of the Legion’s success due to these political insecurities. Only after discovering that Millán-Astray would lead the Tercio did they offer their support: “‘With his enthusiasm, his exceptional military qualities, and the prestige he deserves in the Army Senor Millán [Astray] Terreros guarantees that the Foreign Legion will be well organized and well commanded. We give him our most cordial felicitation.’” To craft this military machine, Millán-Astray forgave recruits for what he perceived to be political sins. He stated, “‘In the Legion the have been men of all ideas and all learnings: syndicalists and anti-syndicalists from Catalonia and other areas; anarchists, nationalists, and foreign Bolsheviks- but all left their political ideas ‘at the door’.” Instead he promoted the notion of a patriotic and unselfish Spanish soldier, willing to sacrifice his life for Spain. The founder emphasized that varying identities were stripped during training to devise one cohesive whole. This

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14 Ibid., 431.
served to alleviate opponents’ anxieties, and is evident in The “Official Hymn of the Tercio”:

We are all unknown heroes,
No one cares to know who I am;
A thousand tragedies, of various types,
Life’s twists and turns have formed.
Each one shall be what he wants,
My previous life has no importance,
But together we make up the Standard
Which gives the Legion
The highest honor.\(^{15}\)

And the Legion’s song “The Betrothed of Death” also reiterated the equalization of its members:

No one in the Tercio knew
Who that Legionary was
So audacious and reckless
Who enlisted in the Legion.
No one knew his past…\(^{16}\)

Millán-Astray’s ability to sway opinion in favor of his objectives was effective in securing government authorization. He later relied on this skill to serve as Franco’s propaganda chief during the Spanish Civil War.\(^{17}\)

 Yet beyond attempts to shred individuality from legionarios, especially if linked to communist sentiments, Legion songs accentuated the undertones of its Christian foundation, imperative to its success according to its founders. As the ‘betrothed to death’, legionarios abandoned their supposedly sinful pasts, like a Roman Catholic nun abandons her past life through her symbolic marriage to Christ.\(^{18}\) This was a volunteer’s first death. Like Jesus Christ’s ultimate sacrifice, the legionarios viewed their ultimate

\(^{15}\) Álvarez, The Betrothed of Death, 240.
\(^{16}\) Ibid., 241.
\(^{17}\) Jensen, “José Millán-Astray,” 434
liberation to be self-sacrifice: “In my soul an aching calvary weighs which seeks redemption.”

Thus, a second death occurred on the battlefield, where an angel then guided his soul to its reserved place in heaven. Religious rituals also fastened the Legion to Christianity. Each Sunday legionarios flanked a priest delivering mass with their weapons and bugle calls. Additionally, godmothers in Spain were assigned to each legionario, reinforcing the link between a member’s mission to defend the Spanish nation even from the Moroccan Protectorate as a Christian entity.

José Millán-Astray relied on these Christian ties against the fight against ‘godless’ Marxist ideologies in Spain. He delivered speeches in which he celebrated service and sacrifice for the moral mission to defeat Marxism. Volunteers like the Irishman Phil McBride frequently claimed that their Christian ties inspired their contributions to the Spanish Foreign Legion fight against communism. The persecution of the Catholic Church in Spain tormented McBride, and his parish priest encouraged his enlistment. In a radio interview McBride acknowledged his religious motivation: “[Republican participants] were alright if they’d left the priests and nuns alone…” Millán-Astray likened the Spanish Foreign Legion to the Society of Jesus, thus further affixing the military organization to Christianity. In the prologue to a Tercio chaplain’s biography, this attachment was indisputable: “‘Jesuits and Legionnaires grounded their souls and their bodies in a single block when danger threatened the Religion of Christ and the

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Fatherland...Hence the Jesuits are Legionnaires and the Legionnaires are Jesuits at the sublime hours of sacrificial death before the altar of God and the Fatherland: Spain.”

For the Spanish Foreign Legion, death was an obsession. It was through the Credo of the Legion, an amalgamation of the chivalric code, and traditional and conservative Spanish values that Millán-Astray with Franco strove to infiltrate death as obligatory and insist that martyrdom was a *legionario*’s ultimate goal:

> The Spirit of the Legionary...is of blind and fierce combativeness. The spirit of comradeship [is] the sacred oath to never abandon a man in the field until all have perished. The spirit of suffering and toughness [insists that] the Legionary will not complain of fatigue, nor of pain, nor of hunger, nor of thirst, nor of sleep; he will perform all jobs. The Spirit of Death [reaffirms] that to die in combat is the greatest honor...Death comes without pain and to die is not as horrible as it seems. More horrifying is to live as a coward.

Millán-Astray himself refused to be a coward. Instead he personified the soldier willing to surrender his personal welfare for the obligations of military duty. He flaunted his amputated arm and eye-patch, consequences of war. General Francisco Franco, who designed the Tercio’s uniform and worked closely with Millán-Astray, shared this vision of a soldier’s relationship with death. His 1922 book highlights the loss of life in battle as ‘glorious’. This overwhelming sense of courageous duty in fact provoked additional bravery. The death of a comrade or officer provided a sense of unity and inspired a desire for further sacrifices to honor those who had died. This yearning for heroic death contributed to unnecessary self-destruction. Casualties amounted to 45 percent among officers and 38 percent among enlisted men between 1920-1927. Many of these deaths

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24 Álvarez, *Betrothed to Death*, 237.
resulted from legionaries running directly into enemy fire. Deaths during the civil war in Spain amounted to 7,645, with 29,000 wounded and 776 unaccounted for. ¡Viva la muerte! (Long-live death!) echoed as they embraced their fate.

The use of violence underpinned the Spanish Foreign Legion. Any dissidents to Legionary values of courage and discipline witnessed the repercussions. Some offenders were sent to dark, small prison cells with dirt floors. Others were beaten to the ground. Some commanders simply executed insubordinate legionarios. Captured deserters were tortured and shot. General Francisco Franco once ordered the execution of a Legionario who had thrown the contents of his uneaten food at an officer while on parade. In Morocco, during the Riffian War of 1921–1926, aggressors acted to vindicate the violence Spanish colonial armies and their Moroccan allies endured against Abd el-Krim and his Moroccan supporters. Spanish colonial troops stumbling upon their compatriots, victims of savage torture, provided the impetus to reciprocate. Some had their genitals cut off and stuffed in their mouths, others had their eyes, or ears, or tongues cut out. Some soldiers’ hands were tied together with their own intestines. Legionarios and Moroccans adopted these tactics, first witnessed in Morocco, into their military repertoires. They often shot elder men, women, and children of their then Moroccan enemies. The rape of women was also commonplace. Legionarios displayed their trophies of war- severed ears and noses on string around their necks and decapitated heads on their bayonets. This brutality provided the framework for treatment of Nationalist opponents during the

29 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 313.
31 Ibid., 57.
32 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 176.
33 Ibid., 87.
34 Ibid., 211.
Spanish Civil War. David Hart suggested, “The bravery of the Riffian tabors in Spain in 1936-1939 was no less than that of their fathers and elder brothers has been against Spain in 1921-1926.”\(^{35}\) This use of violence is what continued to divide intellectuals associated with the ‘ generation of ‘98’ from the Nationalist cause. In fact Miguel de Unamuno, a renowned Spanish writer and philosopher, initially welcomed the 1936 military uprising. He and other intellectuals believed that Spain could reclaim its respectable status after a regeneration of Castilian history and values. Unamuno also hoped that the uprising would end the violence and disorder that permeated the Spanish landscape. However, José Millán-Astray’s advocacy for brutal military tactics countered these expectations. A 1936 public argument in Salamanca in which Millán-Astray nearly struck the elderly poet for his differing opinions regarding the aggression highlights the Tercio founder’s reliance on violence to achieve his aims.\(^{36}\) It is also this violence that reinforced foreign fears of Moroccan participation.

Moroccan troops in the Army of Africa committed themselves to the rebellion.\(^{37}\) This gave the Nationalists 34,047 of some of the most disciplined and well-trained troops of the Nationalist Army during the initial mobilization. 3,758 Legionarios, mostly Spanish; 17,009 indigenous regulares and mehal-las; and 13,280 regular Spanish military composed this first wave. Later, ten German JU-S2 transports and twelve Italian Savoia S 81 bombers eased the stresses of transporting troops from the Moroccan Protectorate in Tetuan to Spain. This airlift support facilitated the continued transfer of North African


troops throughout the conflict. Despite difficulties in calculating the numbers of Moroccan Nationalist contributors, data from the Archivo de la Guerra de Liberación (Servicio Histórico Militar) provides a number of 53,890 from July 18, 1936 until September 3, 1937.\(^{38}\) Sebastian Balfour provides a figure of 78,504 troops in Spain by the war’s end.\(^{39}\) A new generation of Moroccan conscripts found themselves under the command of Moroccan officers who had trained with the Spanish Foreign Legion.\(^{40}\) As a result, on the eve of the uprising the 9,000 Moroccan Regulares grouped into five regiments, the battalion of the Sidi Ifni Tiradores, the military and police forces of the Mahkzen or the Mehal-las and the Mejaznias, and two artillery units prepared for the Nationalist cause following the ideologies of the Spanish Foreign Legion.\(^{41}\) Shannon Fleming alleges that Moroccans expressed a variety of motivating factors for their enlistment. Some referred to the respect that Berber tribesman held for their Nationalist officers. Others stressed their religious incentives. Following Nationalist propaganda, Moroccan troops believed Communists and atheists dominated the Popular Front government. Franco supporters accentuated Republican ‘godlessness’ which inspired indigenous participants to embrace the godliness of the religious ‘Crusade’. Orthodox Muslims in particular claimed this as their motivation to enlist.\(^{42}\) Some valued the silver, grain, and weapons they acquired, as well as the rations and steady income that came with enlistment. These Moroccan fighters claimed that poverty drove them to war.

Ahmed al Fisouni expressed this as his motivation:

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\(^{39}\) Balfour, *Deadly Embrace*, 312.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., 268.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., 271.

\(^{42}\) Balfour, 273.
I was orphaned at 15. I lost both my father and mother because of grinding poverty and social misery. We suffered hunger and joblessness in the Rif...I was among the lucky men to be accepted into Spain's army. Spain gave us meat, fish, bread and fruits as good food on top of 50 Moroccan dirhams ($5.95) as a family aid alongside a monthly salary of 250 dirhams...For us, being in the army then was a chance to save ourselves and our relatives from starvation and misery.43

When addressing the horrors that were attributed to Moroccan combatants in the Republican zones, he added, “We were like any other army soldiers across the world. We followed orders from our top commanders.”44 The supposed ‘orders’ that Moroccan troops ‘followed’ aroused the fears of those who encountered them.

The diary of one Englishwoman, a supporter of Franco, alluded to the discomfort that Moroccan presence seemed to entail during the Spanish Civil War. She wrote on August 4, 1936 while in Algeciras, “Every day seaplanes belonging to the insurgents come over from Morocco bringing Moorish troops. The mere sight of these Moors seems to fill the people with fear.”45 Looting, rape, and brutal execution of prisoners were Nationalist brutalities commonly attributed to Moroccan Regulares and troops in the Tercio. Moroccan troops were quickly and easily rewarded for their contributions to eradicating communist participants by confiscating from the Spanish population. After a conflict, officers allotted time for the troops to pillage the community, sometimes even from Nationalist supporters. On one occasion ten to twelve Moroccans in one battalion were executed, following charges of rape.46 A Moroccan sergeant murdered four French International Brigaders after cutting their faces and heads with a sword, contributing to

44Ibid.
46Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 292-93.
the image of the brutality of the Moroccan troops. Spanish villages commonly fled at
the sight of invading colonial troops, which reiterates the overwhelming fear of
Moroccan presence. Shannon E. Fleming argues that Moroccan reputation for brutality
provided Nationalists a psychological advantage over their Republican counterparts:
“Whole Republican units, as the Pravda correspondent Mikháil Koltsov pointed out on
one occasion, were known to have deserted their posts at the suggestion that they would
be facing Moroccan troops.” Fred Copeman, a volunteer for the pro-Government
International Brigades, expressed the terror that the sight of Moroccan troops brought the
Brigadiers when at the frontlines: “The nearer the [Moroccans] came, the more timid the
bloody crowd got. They wanted to fire. They wanted to kill them, you know. They’d
heard about Moors doing awful things to prisoners…” These ‘awful things’ are what
challenged pro-Nationalist press in Britain.

The Illustrated London News struggled to promote Moorish troops as acceptable
allies in Franco’s Crusade against communism. In order to dispel perceptions of Franco’s
Moroccan troops as brutal aggressors, the News crafted images that showcased obedience
and discipline. On August 29, 1936, one photograph depicted Moroccans marching
through Burgos in an identical fashion. Their regimented formation is impeccable. Each
rifle rests on its carrier’s left shoulder, and attention remains forward, despite being
flanked by hundreds of Nationalist supporters. The sense of order, focus, and duty
presents Moroccan troops as committed to Franco’s objectives.

47 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 294.
48 Judith Keene, Fighting for Franco: International Volunteers in Nationalist Spain during the Spanish
50 Richard Baxell, British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War: The British Battalion in the International
The news magazine reinforced Nationalist triumphs based on Moroccan compliance:

“...The success of the rebels in the South depended greatly on the reinforcements they could bring from Spanish Morocco, where thousands of well-trained native troops were at their disposal”\(^51\) (italics added). Moroccans are further credited with giving Nationalists a “great advantage” over the Government militia due to their “superior training”.\(^52\) This ‘superior training’ is conjoined to the depictions of Moroccans fulfilling their obligations for the attack on Madrid. The caption “A mounted patrol skirmishing in close country in the Madrid sector” accompanies the portrayal of Moroccan combatants, in position on the ground awaiting the commands of their officer.\(^53\) On several occasions the News alluded to obedient Moroccan troops entering Nationalist aircraft. One September 1936 image depicts Moroccan reinforcements waiting patiently as their

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comrades enter the plane. They abide by the commands of their military superior, positioned in the foreground.\textsuperscript{54}

A photograph published November 7, 1936 further expands on this image of dutiful Moroccans. In this image, however, the viewer’s attention is drawn to the uniformity of the Moroccans’ military attire. The increased number of troops in a more regimented line, despite the absence of an officer seems to showcase Moroccan obedience. This willingness to execute responsibilities regardless of a military superior allegedly counters any suggestion of Moroccan insubordination.\textsuperscript{55}


The October 31, 1936 paper further projects the notion of the compliant Moroccan soldier after the Nationalist ‘relief’ of Oviedo. He carries a large apparatus over his shoulder. The weight of the equipment is evident, forcing him to lean his body to compensate. Despite the struggle, he appears committed to fulfilling his obligations.\(^{56}\) The *Illustrated London News* idealizes the loyal Moroccan collaborator in the drawing by Georges Scott. Incorporating a “picturesque figure mounted on a white horse at Burgos,”\(^{57}\) this Moroccan guard’s commitment to the Nationalist fight against communism reverberates.

\[\text{Illustrated London News, October 31, 1936}\]

The *Illustrated London News* configured images that specifically encouraged British viewers and readers to embrace North African collaboration against communist forces. The September 5, 1936 publication showcases “lorry-loads of Legionaries” who are “cheered by an enthusiastic crowd lining the streets.”\(^{58}\) With their arms stretched out as if to touch their defenders against communism, the photograph suggests that Spanish

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civilians are grateful for Moroccan alliances. The half-page image nearly demands its viewer weigh Spanish acceptance of Moroccan participation with British attitudes regarding these troops.

Additional illustrations in the News speak directly to British audiences. A Moroccan soldier stands in front of a destroyed building in the Casa del Campo, windows shattered, walls charcoaled, victim to Republican bombardment. Closer observation reveals the “forlorn ruins” to be the Piccadilly Café, “once much frequented by holiday-makers from the Capital”.\(^{59}\) In this way, the image specifically appeals to British fears of wartime devastation due to communist influences, and positions Moroccan troops as the safeguards of British security. The Illustrated London News also reiterated this notion of Moroccans as defenders of British interests in a photograph of Gibraltar. Three Moroccan troops line the beaches with the Rock clearly visible in the background. Wearing their traditional dress, they sit a great distance apart from each other on the ground. With their

guns in tow, this image frames Moroccans as defenders against foreign invasion and protectors of British interests.\textsuperscript{60}

The \textit{Illustrated London News} also attempted to dismiss Moroccan violence by projecting images that countered any notion of aggression. Published photographs of Englishman Mr. Clopet’s Spanish holiday imply Moroccan amiability. A drawing which

\textsuperscript{60} "Civil War in Spain: Gibraltar as a Haven of Refuge, \textit{Illustrated London News}, August 1, 1936."
captures his arrest depicts Moroccan soldiers void of hostility. Their seemingly relaxed stances, leaning on their guns as Clopet defends himself to a Spanish colonel place them in an approachable light.⁶¹ A later image depicts several soldiers in their traditional garb standing next to the traveler and his son, smiling into the camera. One Moroccan soldier leans down to speak to the child politely.⁶² In fact Clopet’s commentary regarding his Moroccan excursion appears absent of any threat:

On the Monday (July 20, 1936) I started off…After (Moroccan troops searched) the car, the barriers were opened for me. My wife and little boy were with me. About 1000 yards further a band of Spanish rebel soldiers surrounded my car and asked for papers and passports. They allowed me to carry on for the next phase, Alcazar…Some ten kilometers beyond Larache a great armoured lorry was drawn across the road, and twenty or so officers and men put up their rifles. However, they examined my passport, and the lorry was backed to let me pass.⁶³

Despite encountering drawbacks due to military procedure, Clopet conveys rather amiable interactions with the North African troops. The Illustrated London News continued to project this image of the non-aggressive Moroccan by juxtaposing photographs with contradictory commentary. The caption “A force whose introduction by General Franco is stated to have caused much resentment” bordered by an elder Moor, round-shouldered and fatigued on horseback, further intended to shatter claims of violence.⁶⁴ Images of Moroccan soldiers huddled around puppies, leaning on their guns with fatigue evident in their expressions, were designed to separate these combatants from brutality.⁶⁵ Thus, it is evident that the Illustrated London News looked to justify

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⁶² Ibid.
⁶³ Ibid.
Moroccan collaboration in this Christian, anti-communist fight through the representation of likable participants.

Yet, there appeared to be limitations as to how far the Illustrated London News would go to portray Moroccans in a positive light. The news magazine acknowledged Franco’s reliance on these North African troops to conduct his Christian ‘Crusade’ against the communist-supported Government. However, the August 29, 1936 headline “A Terrifying Responsibility: Moroccan Troops with the Rebels” fastened to a page-long analysis of these North African combatants, images and commentary alike, reveals a sense of disgust. A short article confronts the violence attributed to Moroccans. The text even implies that Moroccan involvement provoked the fissures that Franco supporters found with the Nationalists:
It was reported that the atrocities committed by certain of these native levies in Southern Spain were so dreadful that they frightened the rebels themselves, who were seriously alarmed at the possibility that these troops might escape from their control. The most moderate of commentators described the rebels’ action in using the Moroccans to fight against the Spaniards as a terrifying responsibility for which they had to answer. It did much to alienate the sympathy of foreign countries.\footnote{“A ‘Terrifying Responsibility’: Moroccan Troops with the Rebels,” \textit{Illustrated London News}, August 29, 1936.}

Disregarding this ‘foreign sympathy’, editors suggest Franco supporters’ ‘terrifying responsibility’ was to accept North African soldiers, capable of ‘escaping’ from [Nationalist] control. The emphasis on Moroccan unpredictability embedded in a portrayal of ‘dreadful’ and ‘frightening’ troops exposes a condescending perspective.

The \textit{Illustrated London News} attempted to rectify Moroccan presence in Franco’s anti-communist Christian ‘Crusade’. Editors drew on the Spanish Foreign Legion’s underpinning Christian ideology as well as Moroccan troops’ religious motivation to enlist. Recognizing Franco’s reliance on these North African forces, the news magazine often manipulated its images to dismiss the concept of the violent Moroccan soldier. Illustrations conveyed well-behaved and amiable troops. Photographs also spoke specifically to British viewers, serving as a reminder that these North African soldiers were combating communist influences. Yet the News was only willing to venture so far. Editors blatantly projected their condescending thoughts regarding a ‘terrifying responsibility’ to accept Moroccan participation. Thus, their willingness to deconstruct the positive image of the anti-communist Nationalist participant suggests there were additional influences that inspired them to do so.
Chapter 3: The *Illustrated London News*, British Racism, and the ‘Other’

The *Illustrated London News* published images and articles that spoke to the conservative middle class. The news magazine illustrated accounts of British travels and archaeological discoveries, and updated its readership about world events. It documented natural disasters, delivered news of modern technological advancements, and incorporated editorials that bridged British ideology and current events. Underlying these compilations, however, were racist attitudes directed toward any group of people viewed as the uncivilized ‘other’. Depictions of Africans were especially repugnant. In 1930s Britain, these portrayals corresponded to racist perspectives that permeated the country after World War I. In fact Marcus Garvey criticized newspaper photos and cinema images of ‘naked and savage’ Africans, which ‘insidiously strengthened prejudice’. 1 The *Illustrated London News* also projected these condescending sentiments toward Moroccans. This portrayal resulted from the Moroccan’s link to Africa and Islam. Moroccan presence in Spain aroused a long-standing British idea that Spain itself was different, that it was the perennial ‘Other’. Consequently, General Franco’s 1936 rebellion against the Second Republic--portrayed as an attempt to eradicate communism--emerged as a complicated issue for the *Illustrated London News* to explain to its readers and viewers. Since the news magazine favored efforts to halt the spread of communism, and since it portrayed the Second Republic as a body ridden with communists—the paper was forced to support Franco, a Spaniard, and his North African troops. The newspaper’s racist ideology took convoluted forms to portray Moroccan troops in a positive light.

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These seemingly favorable images were in stark contrast to the efforts of communist participants the *Illustrated London News* refused to justify.

Various racist ideologies commingled in Britain in the 1930s. Many conflicts came to the fore, especially in relation to Africans. Following the First World War, many white Briton viewed the presence of ‘coloured colonials’, including poor Africans, West Indians, and Asians, with a mixture of disdain and fear. On the other hand, groups marked as “colonials” were rendered powerless due to their inability to become citizens. However, colonial subjects did not represent the only blacks in Britain. In fact, there was an expanding middle-class population of professionals and students. Whereas poor blacks were victims of repressive policies, educated blacks also faced strong prejudice. Barbara Bush argues that during the 1930s, “The dynamics of race, class and culture, and inclusion and exclusion from white society affected individuals differently, but there was a growing awareness of a shared bond of racism.”

Thus, regardless of social divisions, blacks encountered hardships due to the color of their skin.

The presence of blacks residing in Britain was not new. Imperial economic demands and changes in colonial societies resulted in ‘colonization in reverse’ after 1870. The majority of Africans came to the heart of the empire as a result of imperial trade. Although black seamen and colonial workers filled the jobs that were left vacant during World War I, their presence was not well-received. Blacks’ gradual dispersal throughout Britain spawned a growing awareness of black presence and generated racial hostilities.

Anti-black riots in Liverpool and Cardiff in 1919 attest to this. In these port communities, poverty, venereal disease, and tuberculosis ran rampant, adding medical

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3 Ibid., 205.
distress to economic and social hardship. Pushing blacks off sidewalks was just one way white Britons expressed their hatred.\(^5\) Mixed race communities in London also suffered from racial tensions. White residents referred to Soho, Notting Hill and the East End of London as the ‘dark side of the city’ and claimed that white women who entered these neighborhoods might be attacked. The correlation between skin color and the darkness of perceived social ills was evident.\(^6\) In an attempt to insulate themselves from British antagonism, many blacks found solace in self-help and ‘black brotherhood[s].’\(^7\) Thus, black residents encountered hostility as part of their daily experience.

The prevalence of racist attitudes directed toward Africans resounded during the first part of the century in British literature. Captain Kettle in Cutcliffe Hyne’s *The Further Adventures of Kettle*, published in 1901, transmitted these racist sentiments following his travels to Africa: “We’re going to have no foolery about the nigger being as good as the white man. He isn’t, and a man that ever saw him where he grows never thought so.”\(^8\) Frant, a trader’s assistant in West Africa, argued in William Plomer’s 1933 text *The Child of Queen Victoria* that, “[Black women] were dirty, that they stank, that they were no better than animals; [and] that blacks and whites were in his opinion races apart.”\(^9\) Such views further exposed racial divisions between British residents.

These condescending views permeated British life. Some black British residents described their struggles with identity. Racial prejudices influenced these ambiguities,

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\(^6\) Ibid., 211.
\(^7\) Ibid., 210.
\(^9\) Ibid., 177-78.
forcing black residents to adopt an identity more respected in Britain. Teachers reinforced racial distinctions in their classrooms. Chris Mullard recalled sadly that,

> In an extremely subtle way school taught me to consider the colour of my [black] skin as ugly. My teachers never mentioned my colour. Instead they mentioned the customs of black people in far off lands, Britain’s former role in civilizing the natives, making them acceptable to the white man and in turn to themselves. They made me learn nationalist songs, recite poetry enraptured with the glories of imperialism, the Empire; they taught me British etiquette, how to be nice to everybody and how to doff my hat to my superiors. All in all I was a little white boy in black skin.\(^\text{10}\)

Mullard’s statement suggests that only when blacks embraced this notion of integration could they be accepted. Yet, even when blacks tried to assimilate, they still could not “pass” as British. In 1933, the Joint Council to Promote Understanding Between White and Coloured People in Great Britain revealed the discernable differences between the in the treatment of blacks compared to their white counterparts:

> London hotels are quite prepared to receive coloured visitors from the East as guests either to sleep or to take meals but...in the present state of public opinion...did not feel able to receive persons of the Negroid race, [though] they would not refuse them meals if accompanied by someone they know.\(^\text{11}\)

Therefore, even efforts to encourage black assimilation did not guarantee they would receive equal treatment. The intent to mold blacks into the British landscape while also distancing them from public view showcases a racist British frame of mind.

*The Illustrated London News* enabled certain conservative British writers and photographers to express their racist attitudes toward Africans. Editor Bruce Ingram featured his fascination with anthropology and the study of cultures in the images he selected. Yet, the photographs he published also expressed his prejudices toward Africans while accentuating their “differences” from the British. A two-page article showcased


Mr. Richard Wyndham’s images of the Dinka tribe as depicted in his “fascinating” book, 
*The Gentle Savage*. The condescending portrayal is captured in the book’s title.

Depictions of naked African women, sitting on the ground and weaving baskets, draw
attention to the distinctions between their everyday responsibilities and those of the
British. The photograph appears with the caption, “Nowhere could I find more beautiful
models than the savages that live here.”12 The distinction between white British and the
‘savage’ African ‘other’ is evident. The article also associates these African people with
animals: “Standing in the marshes with one leg raised like a stork” accompanies a
photograph of two men stretching.13 Despite crafting images of these likeable African
subjects, Wyndham makes sure to highlight their aggressive potential: “In order to
protect his cow, [the Dinka warrior] will fight a lion single-handed, and—though often
badly mauled—he will win.”14 A patronizing tone resonates in this seemingly barbaric
description. British racist attitudes are stressed in the *Illustrated London News*’ coverage
of a boat race in East Africa. The article follows the images of the 1937 Oxford and
Cambridge Boat Race in which rowers’ sophisticated uniforms and brick architecture in
the background are evident.15 The image of the event in East Africa details groups of
African men rowing in the competition. Their nudity accentuates their ‘primitive’ nature
in comparison to their British counterparts. However, the article credits European
influence over the tribe by later showing them clothed: “[These people] are the darkest in
colour of African natives and, until the advent of the European, were complete nudists.

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13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
While they still cling to their old customs in the privacy of their kraals, they are, as a
tribe, fonder than any other of modern clothes.”\textsuperscript{16} This suggestion of African ‘progress’
exposes racist attitudes that permeated 1930s British society. That they were prevalent in
the \textit{Illustrated London News} reveals the news magazine as both a product of and a
vehicle for racist ideology.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure1}
\caption{Illustrated London News, July 18, 1936}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2}
\caption{Illustrated London News, March 27, 1937}
\end{figure}

The editors of the *Illustrated London* News also distinguished northern and southern Europeans. Spain’s historical and geographical connections with North Africa also diminished Spain in the eyes of certain northern Europeans. They viewed their economic power, their political stability, and alleged social achievements as marks of their superiority. Historically, Spain struggled to maintain its sense of being fully ‘European’, which Jan Nederveen Pieterse argues is traditionally rooted in Judeo-Christian religion, Roman law, and Greek philosophy. Spain’s identity as ‘different’ from other European nations stemmed from foreign anxieties associated with Spanish underdevelopment, poverty, alleged religious fanaticism, and supposed racial impurity—linked to Spain’s long association with Islam and Africa. The Anglo-American poet W.H. Auden’s description of Spain as “‘that arid square, that fragment nipped off from hot/Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe,‘” also suggests that Spain’s connection with Africa underpinned these condescending perceptions. Auden’s statement was frequently referenced in the 1930s Britain, implying this opinion was not unusual. Daniela Flesler delves into the foreign perceptions of Spain regarding its racial identity. She writes, “This detachment or differentiation of Spain from the rest of Europe is precisely linked to race as an exclusionary category. In early accounts of European views of Spain, there is a long history of accusing Spain of being ‘impure’ in racial, cultural, and religious terms because of its connection to oriental and African elements…” Consequently, within the Western landscape, Spain’s difference from other European

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18 Flesler, *Return of the Moor*, 19.
19 Ibid., 18.
countries was linked to the importance of African Muslims, including Moroccans, in its history. Sixteenth century European depictions of Spaniards equated them with cruelty, tyranny, a horrible physical appearance, and a ‘Satanic moral condition’. Such representations formerly prevailed in the works of many non-Spanish, Protestant historians. These characteristics underwrote the “Black legend,” with its racial as well as political inflections.\textsuperscript{22} Despite its associations with the criticism of sixteenth century Spain and King Philip II’s anti-Protestant policies, some British writers refused to distance twentieth century Spanish racial identity from it. Henry Brinton wrote in 1931 that Spain’s diversity was “‘like the fifteenth-century in the middle of the twentieth, and like Africa in Europe.’”\textsuperscript{23} The correlation between Spain’s primitiveness and its African connections are apparent in this Englishman’s words.

Denigrating depictions of Spaniards, fashioned to their African roots, did appeal to some Britains. For these British individuals, Spain seemed to provide an escape from the qualities of straightforwardness, tolerance, deliberation, and fairness Englishmen were innately supposed to possess.\textsuperscript{24} According to Shelmerdine, English authors frequently constructed protagonists who noted Spanish hospitality, good humor, and the “‘easy-going, laissez-faire temperament of the Spaniard,’”\textsuperscript{25} a stark contrast from his British counterpart. A view of rural simplicity, highlighted in British travel literature, inspired individuals to seek out Spain for their travels. Europeans detailed the seemingly exotic nature of the African-influenced country: “‘[Spain] is a dream world, where time could be slowed, life savored to its fullest, and the disturbances and hypocrisy of the

\textsuperscript{22} Tom Buchanan, \textit{Britain and the Spanish Civil War}, 20.
\textsuperscript{24} Shelmerdine, \textit{British representations}, 23.
modern, ‘civilized’ world of large European capitals avoided.’”

The view that Spain lacked ‘civilization’ because of North African influences inherently exposes European racist ideology. Additionally, the French expression that “Africa begins at the Pyrenees” clearly delineates the negative image that Europeans held of a country supposedly more akin to Africa than to Europe. This connection with Africa entailed that many British authors abandon Spain’s exotic appeal to instead project negative portrayals of its peoples. They labeled Spaniards as idle and stubborn ‘Dagones’, incapable of rational thought which further contributed to their political instability and tainted European image. Joaquin Costa, a Spanish lawyer, economist, politician, and historian argued that Spain’s historic connections with North African Morocco impeded Spain’s Europeanization:

Todavía se admite diferencia entre nosotros y Marruecos; pero dentro de poco, si nuestro letargo se prolonga, Europa nos mirara desde tan lejos que ya no advertirá diferencia, clasificándonos a las dos como tribus medievales, estorbo en el camino de la civilización.

[Still, there are differences between us and Morocco. However, soon, if we continue to be lethargic, Europe will look at us from afar and not be able to see these differences, classifying us as medieval tribes, an obstacle in the road to civilization.]  

Thus, even Spaniards accepted the view that their country and Spanish identity was somehow diminished because of Moroccan influences on its history and culture.

The *Illustrated London News* portrayed Moroccans as examples of supposedly ‘backward’ and ‘primitive’ Africans. A December 28, 1935 article flaunts these preconceptions. Images of a Moroccan story-teller in traditional garb, eyes closed, hands

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27 Ibid.
raised while surrounded by listeners sitting in the dirt appear with the caption: “As it was in Homer’s Day”. The news magazine at first seems to idealize Africans by comparing them to a prominent 9th century BC bard. But the article manages to make both Homer and the Africans appear ‘primitive’ when it claims “that such characters still exist” and then refers to “interesting photographs of a modern Arabian story-teller in Morocco, seen at Fez, beside the city gate called Bab Guisa, regaling a delighted audience with tales of fairyland and ‘derring-do.’” The publication appeared less than seven months before Moroccan troops accompanied General Francisco Franco in his attempt to overthrow the allegedly communist Republican government. This suggests that racist perspectives of Moroccans infiltrated British perceptions of Spanish Civil War collaborators prior to the 1936 rebellion.

While many Spaniards tried to distinguish themselves from the images projected of Moroccans, many favored keeping their colony in Morocco. After Spain’s defeat in the Spanish-American War, Spain hoped to regain its prestige as an international power by

31 Ibid.
maintaining the enclaves it had and by acquiring new colonial territories where possible. Like the ideology that the ‘superior’ Europeans had a duty to carry out a ‘civilizing mission’ among lesser people, Spaniards of varied political persuasions sought to exert their own will in Morocco. Early twentieth century military reports from the General Staff suggested that the army be stationed in Morocco so that the ‘native’ could rise from barbarism to civilization. The condescending attitudes Europeans expressed toward Spain seemed to legitimate similar expressions of Spanish superiority to Moroccans. These perspectives were often inflected with racism: “Ignorant, primitive, fanatical, barbaric, and infantile, [Moroccans] needed the heavy hand of the army to convince them of the value of European civilization.” In fact, Spanish officials often turned to violence as an attempt to ‘civilize’ the Moroccan ‘other’. This was deemed ‘justified’ simply because officers believed racial differences warranted brutal behavior or because the common belief that brutality eventually created a ‘civilized’ victim resounded. Newly-arrived Spanish soldiers held deeply-rooted prejudices against Moroccans that resulted from their bombardment of images of Moroccans as barbarians. One officer confessed that his racist attitudes regarding Moroccans were in fact manipulated by these stereotypes: “With what astonishment I see a huge Moor blacker than pitch reach out his arms to help me disembark; I stay rooted to the spot looking at him, not daring to accept his protection because I thought at the time that all Moors were enemies, and that this one would seize the opportunity of having me in his arms to throw

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32 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 7.
31 Ibid., 28.
34 Ibid., 29.
35 Ibid., 188.
This commentary showcases fears of the Moroccan ‘other’ that infiltrated Spain and other European countries.

What impeded other Europeans from elevating Spaniards from their inferior position was the willingness of many Spaniards to cling to Morocco’s identity as a part of their own. In fact, Spanish officers in Morocco commonly distanced themselves from the supposed civilizing mission that others initially embraced. Some integrated aspects of the culture they were set to ‘civilize’ into their own daily experience. They learned Arabic and shelja, the language of the Rif in Morocco. They studied the Koran, local laws and traditions, and even wore the jellaba. Dámaso Berenguer y Fusté, at the time a young Spanish captain, believed that Spain was not in North Africa to impose its authority as a ‘superior’ entity compliant with European principles. Instead, he believed that Spain’s presence served to uphold legal government and local laws, customs, and traditions of the Moroccan people.37 In fact, the mandatory curriculum for Spanish colonial officers integrated the study of Arab culture.38 Many Spaniards embraced the idea of a shared history between Spain and Morocco. They hoped that this acceptance might rectify European perceptions of Moroccans as fundamentally different from Spaniards. Colonel Capaz Montes, an Africanista officer, envisioned a more sympathetic portrayal of the Moroccans he encountered and knew.39 Montes linked Moorish culture to that of Medieval Castile and rejected distinctions between Spaniards and Moroccans. Some Spanish officers felt strong bonds with colonial Moroccan troops.40 Even General Francisco Franco, whose military career was closely associated with the Moroccan

36 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 195.
37 Ibid., 161.
38 Ibid., 163.
39 Ibid., 178.
40 Ibid., 277.
troops, wrote, “In this country of light and mystery, we must not walk about in the dark, we have to raise the veil by identifying ourselves with Moroccan feelings…” Therefore, Franco consistently refused to distance himself from the Moroccan troops that had helped him advance his career so many times. In 1934, Franco suggested to mobilize contingents of the colonial army including the Foreign Legion and Regulares against the October rising of Socialists and anarchists in Asturias. Following the revolt’s suppression, Franco was consequently recognized for his decisive role. He knowingly could not have been given this honor without the Army of Africa, and thus he was more sympathetic to the racial identity of his Moroccan allies.

Racist ideologies regarding North African Moroccans became even more convoluted as both Government and Nationalist supporters addressed the issues of Moroccan participation in a Christian ‘Crusade’ against communism. The African-American poet Langston Hughes, who supported the Republic, depicted government collaborators as forces deconstructing the perception of the North African ‘other’. Hughes wrote, “‘We Negroes of America are tired of a world in which it is possible for any one group of people to say to one another: ‘You have no right to happiness, or freedom or the joy of life.’” He alluded to the sense of superior European ideology when he declared, “‘I say, we darker peoples of the earth are tired of a world in which [ideologies of white superiority could] happen. And we see in the tragedy of Spain how far the world-oppressors will go to retain their power.’” Hence, Hughes believed that supporting the Spanish government against Franco and his Fascist and Nationalist allies

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41 “Una obra necesaria,” Revista de Tropas Coloniales (1924), quoted in Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 173.
42 Balfour, Deadly Embrace, 251.
44 Ibid., 345.
provided North Africans an opportunity for liberation. While covering the Spanish Civil War, Hughes considered the Moroccan troops to be ‘cannon fodder’ in Franco’s army.\footnote{Rampersad, \textit{The Life of Langston Hughes}, 349.}

In “Negroes in Spain” he wrote that “The Moors die in Spain, men, women, and children…fighting not for freedom, but against freedom—under a banner that holds only terror and segregation for all the darker peoples of the earth.”\footnote{Langston Hughes, “Negroes in Spain,” from \textit{The Volunteer for Liberty}, 1937, \url{http://www.english.illinois.edu/MAPS/poets/g_l/hughes/inspain.htm} (accessed January 10, 2009).} He claimed that European interests in perpetuating white dominance over the African ‘inferior’ forced Moroccans to fight for the Nationalists. This argument was alluded to in his poem “Letter from Spain” in which he details an encounter with a wounded Moroccan soldier:

\begin{verbatim}
I said, Boy, what you been doin' here
Fightin' against the free?...
Cause if a free Spain wins this war,
The colonies, too, are free—
Then something wonderful'll happen
To them Moors as dark as me.
I said, I guess that's why old England
And I reckon Italy, too,
Is afraid to let a workers' Spain
Be too good to me and you—
Cause they got slaves in Africa—
\end{verbatim}

In this sense, Langston Hughes allocates the role of an imperialist tool among European nations to these North African combatants. Hughes’ association of Spanish Republicans with black liberation might have been overly optimistic when he argued that “A great many Negroes know better [than to collaborate with the Nationalists]. Someday the Moors will know better, too. All the Franco’s in the world cannot blow out the light of
human freedom.”

According to Hughes, Republican allies guarded and provided this human liberation.

In contrast to Hughes’ assertions, not all Republican collaborators shared this sense of Moroccan liberation. In fact, Government allies often held no qualms when expressing their racist ideals. Luis Quintanilla, a Spanish muralist, who helped lead the attack on the Montana Barracks which saved Madrid for the Spanish government, derided Moroccan collaboration in the Nationalist uprising in his drawings of “Franco’s Black Spain”. The fact that Quintanilla was commissioned to draw his racist portrayals emphasizes the disjuncture between what Hughes wanted the Republicans to represent and the racism that permeated the Republican side. Quintanilla accentuated the Moroccan’s supposedly animalistic characteristics -- large lips and noses and pointed teeth. In fact two of the Moroccan figures resemble chimpanzees more than humans in their physical features, movements, and manner of eating. A poster of “Los Nacionales” (The Nationalists) published by the Ministerio de Propaganda for the Government also highlights a racist portrayal of Moroccan troops. The image once again emphasizes their large lips and noses, the physical attributes associated with the ‘inferior’ African race. Here, however, their eyes glare as if anticipating a vile mission. Additionally, the lyrics of a pro-government song emphasize the defense of Madrid as essential to preventing a Moroccan troop’s invasion. “La Defensa de Madrid” (The Defense of Madrid) says, “Quieren pasar los moros/ Mamita mía/ No pasa nadie/ Madrid ¡qué bien resistes!”

50 Ibid.
Moors want to pass. Baby, [but] no one gets past. Madrid, how well you resist!] The numerous references to Moroccan troops as the enemy of the Spanish capital city underlies the preoccupation that government supporters had not only with Franco but with the fact that his best and most feared troops were North African.

Racist portrayals of Moroccans were not limited to pro-Government factions in Spain. They also reigned in Britain. Tom Buchanan argued that “The Left’s propaganda pandered to racist sentiment in Britain, so that the horror of an invasion by ‘black’ soldiers allowed the war to be brought home in a particularly dramatic way.” Brian Shelmerdine also contends that British advocates of the Spanish Government depicted Moorish troops in a racist light:

Presumably… the belief that a simplistic portrayal of the Moors as black invaders would serve to create a more immediate public revulsion[,] a number of [British] sympathizers launched … an attack loaded with racial associations… One [newspaper] correspondent voiced the irrational, and inaccurate horror of many when he asked fellow readers to ‘suppose that England had been invaded by black troops led by an English general’… [Another asked] readers to imagine their reaction if the British Union of Fascists should ‘import into [Britain] a drilled armed force of Zulus to overthrow the Constitution.’

The fastening of Zulu tribes in Africa to Moroccan troops further unveils an amalgamation of racist depictions. Republican propaganda outlets also launched messages that ‘black savages’ had been ‘let loose among white women of Spain’ and that these ‘savage hordes’ were unleashed to practice ‘bloodthirsty and shameful abominations’. The notion of barbarism resonates in these references. Thus, the reliance

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53 Buchanan, Britain and the Spanish Civil War, 28.
54 Shelmerdine, British representations, 107.
55 Ibid.
on racist portrayals of Africans linked to Nationalist Moroccans to transmit these messages served to depict these soldiers in a condescending way.

Many British camps struggled to detach their pro-Nationalist sympathies from the latent racism associated with Moroccan collaboration. Franco supporter Sir Henry Page Croft aimed to expose racist ideologies among Spanish Government collaborators when addressing Moors “whose blood has been so freely intermingled with Southern Spain over centuries that it is hardly polite of British Socialists to speak of them as if they are African savages.” Yet many Nationalist contributors were themselves tied to the reconstructions of racist underpinnings. Peter Kemp, the only British officer in the Spanish Foreign Legion during the Civil War, admitted in an interview, “Well, [Moorish troops] were tolerated. And they were good in attack. But they were very temperamental. I mean they could be very good. And they could be useless and run like hell…They were very unpredictable…I never wildly cared for them. But that’s hardly the point.” Perhaps his ‘point’ was to continue discussing the logistics of the Legion. Nonetheless, his condescending tone with regard to British perception of Moroccan troops reverberates.

Some anti-communist supporters of Franco denounced racist representations of Moroccans. Mrs. Eleanor Tennant, described as a ‘fine English woman’ whose ‘right-wing political instincts were unswerving’, applied racist distinctions to defend the Moroccans:

She wished to dispel the ‘most dastardly’ misinformation that ‘Franco was using black non-Christian troops against the Spanish white Christians’. Citing

‘scientific evidence, Mrs. Tennant explained that the ‘Moors of Africa are not a black race and have no racial connection whatever with the Abyssinians or the Negroes.’ In Spain, Mrs. Tennant pointed out, people do not ‘look down on the Moors.’

This convoluted defense of the Moroccans by distinguishing Africans from north and south of the Sahara only points to the ways racist reasoning can sometimes attempt to turn its own weaknesses into strength. Mrs. Tennant suggested that Spaniards distinguished between Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans. By making this distinction, she and other British supporters of the Nationalists could preserve 1930s British perceptions of the African ‘other’ at the same time as they embraced Moroccan participants in Franco’s Nationalist zone. Bernard Wall contributed to this differentiation by likening Moroccan troops to Spaniards. He argued that, “The racial differences between the people of Andalusia and Morocco are slight…Moors are not ‘black’. They are as white as the Syrians or Jews.” One Spanish veteran stated, “I have never seen a Moor…who could not have passed for a Spanish peasant.” Therefore racial distinctions from the ‘black’ African were blurred.

The *Illustrated London News* conveyed its racist perceptions of Moroccans through photographs published during the Spanish Civil War. The November 14, 1936 publication juxtaposed one of Franco’s officers to his Moroccan counterpart. Although both are labeled “dispatch-riders”, the officer confidently dons his uniform and utilizes his English motorcycle to accomplish his duties. The Moroccan solider in his traditional garb, hunched over and squinting, however, is limited to riding a horse. This illustration caters to the underlying belief that African identity entailed a less sophisticated nature.

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61 From the Díaz Ripoll interview, quoted in Balfour, *Deadly Embrace*, 201.
The *Illustrated London News* later projects its alliance with Orientalist Western treatments of the African ‘Other’. Three Moroccan troops search the supplies on a horse. Their traditional dress and child-like expressions show a marked contrast between allegedly backward Moroccans and modern Britons. The photograph’s caption captures this distinction: “Oriental survivals in the Civil War: Moorish soldiers exploring the saddle-bags of a biblical-looking sutler’s pack-horse-one of them wearing a richly ornamented dagger with his modern equipment.”62 The clash between the modern and the primitive provided *News* editors another opportunity to expose their racist ideologies toward Moroccans.

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Yet, the *Illustrated London News* drew on these racist depictions to propagate a barbaric image of Republican participants. One image features the profile of a ‘Moroccan type’. The Moroccan soldier wears his traditional head covering. His suntanned skin is recognizable even through the black and white illustration. The photograph has been juxtaposed to the profile of a leader of a Marxist workmen’s organization donning a cloth head covering. His darker skin is also discernible.63 This classification reproduces nineteenth-century anthropological studies of racial types and was frequently used in early cigarette ads that played with the images of racial and ethnic characteristics. Essentially the two images are interchangeable. In this sense the African soldier and the communist combatant are equalized. On the adjacent page, the News showcases images of “Types of government soldiers”.64 Following this label, editors claim they can classify Republican collaborators like they had categorized the African ‘other’. Suggesting that these combatants, who “need discipline”, embody “Spanish Manhood” in the loyalist

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zone, the *Illustrated London News* portrays disheveled, unkempt, and seemingly
dumfounded Republican soldiers. Their empty stares and confused expressions underpin
this representation. Editors highlight their ignorance by alleging the men were uncertain
of their motivations to participate: “Young Spanish Government soldiers unconsciously
registering bewildered interest in arguments they apparently fail to grasp.”65 Connecting a
lack of consciousness to government troops suggests they were incapable of thinking
rationally. In this way, an inferior perception could be transferred to communist
participants. By projecting an image in which various Republican troops appear equally if
not more primitive than the one depiction of a Moroccan soldier, the *Illustrated London
News* reiterates the notion of a communist combatant as more barbaric than his African
counterpart.66

66 The *Illustrated London News* also included images of Asiatic communists in its publications. A more
extensive analysis of the depictions editors included in the *Illustrated London News* could provide
additional discussion regarding the portrayal of communism beyond Spain. For purposes of this project, the
depictions of Spaniards, Moroccans, and Africans were emphasized due to the relationships among these
groups of people and their involvement in the Spanish Civil War.
British literature encapsulated the notion that Russia’s communist influence threatened commonly held perceptions of a ‘civilized’ European identity. Brian Shelmerdine listed *The Red Fury* (1919), *London Under the Bolsheviks* (1920), and *Against a Red Sky* (1922) as examples of literature that exposed fears of communist infiltration certain British groups conveyed. Each reflected anxieties toward workers’ revolts, essentially inspired by communist ideology linked to Russia. Articles that suggested atheistic communist forces in ‘Red Russia’ refused to spare their churches provoked additional alarm as church burning in Spain developed as an apparently common practice during the Civil War. Other writers imbibed their works with an urgency to halt the spread of ‘proletariat’ Russia’s communist ideology. Percy F. Westerman’s 1933 work *The Red Pirate* transmitted the message that an anti-communist mission was always a necessary and invaluable one.\(^{67}\) Beyond focusing on the devastation commonly associated with communist supporters, however, these texts intended to reveal the supposedly barbaric nature of communist sympathizers. Authors accentuated character flaws in those they claimed had succumb to ‘Red’ Russia’s

\(^{67}\) Shelmerdine, *British representations*, 18-19.
pressures, consequently discarding their ‘respectable’ English temperament. British authors emphasized the ‘fatalism’ and ‘lassitude’ of those who supposedly fell victim to Russia’s communist ideologies. Shelmerdine argues that “Writers presented Communism as a threat not only to world peace but to British values and the civilizing progress they saw as being brought about within the Empire.”\(^{68}\) The assertion that communism impeded ‘progress’ and ‘civilization’ suggests that communists too lacked this sense of advancement and culture. Yet, British authors’ representations of communists as animals epitomized this notion of barbarity. When offering his opinions of the Spanish Civil War, W.E. Johns stated, “‘Bolshevism…reminds me of a mad dog. It must bite somebody, even those who have befriended it. There is only one thing to do with a mad dog. Shoot it.’”\(^{69}\) By equating a communist supporter with an irrational animal, Johns and those who shared his frame of mind, dehumanized communists. Moreover, in comparison to the civilizing missions of the ‘primitive natives’ in Africa, Johns suggested a communist’s return to civilization was unfeasible. In this sense, the communist was the archetype of the uncivilized ‘other’.

Reginald J. Dingle, who claimed to be investigating Russia’s influence in Spain and its implications for democracy, tried to depict communist supporters as the ‘barbarians’ in an attempt to detract from the ‘savage’ image of Moroccans. He expressed no reservations in his racist associations of barbarism and their connections with African peoples. Like the *Illustrated London News*, Dingle drew on these inferior perceptions of Africans to instead cultivate a barbaric depiction of Republican participants. He suggested that Republican supporters had “acted with the cruel fanaticism typical of a

\(^{68}\) Shelmerdine, *British representations*, 18.

Yet, Dingle alluded to communists as even less civilized than the demonized Moroccan troops. He wrote that a communist supporter is a “Sorry beast abandoned by God and man, on fighting itself free [a communist] can only sting and use its venom like a viper.” In this statement, Dingle’s disgust regarding communist participation is clear. He has discarded the barbaric image of African troops and instead crafted a monstrous representation of communists.

One of the paradoxes of the Spanish Civil War was that it represented the best and the worst in various political groups. The First World War had shown the mobilizing power of demonizing the enemy and the Spanish Civil War challenged the British to consider what they defined as ‘civilized’. English supporters of the Nationalists waged their own struggles trying to choose between older prejudices against Spaniards and Moroccans and their newer fears of communists, who they seemed to view as a stronger and potentially greater threat than others whom they merely disparaged. The “Reds” became the new barbarians. Brigadier General Sir Henry Croft encapsulated this ideology in his work “Spain: The Truth at Last”. He argued, “From every angle the conduct of the Spanish Reds must be judged revolting, cruel and opposed to all civilized canons…” Claiming that Spanish communists and anarchists engaged in crimes that “transcend[ed] in sadistic fury anything in modern history…” some British writers pointed the way to viewing those like the legally elected Spanish Republican government as barbarians for accepting support from the Soviet Union that now appeared a more serious threat than so-called primitive Black people. Accounts of shattered buildings,

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71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 3.
73 Ibid., 4.
raining bombs, churches set aflame and art and treasures destroyed by Republican troops appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in an article entitled “Civil War in Spain: A reign of terror at Malaga, where the victorious reds set up a local soviet.”74 The title alone implied that communists-the ‘terrorist’ perpetrators- were the new barbarians. “The Tragedy of Spain” also details the murders of priests and nuns, the devastation to historic buildings, and the horrors of Republican aerial bombardment. The stress placed on the damage to the British embassy in Madrid aims to arouse both anger and fear among the British population.75 Here the angelic saviors are the Moroccan troops, the defenders of European civilization, fighting with General Franco and the Nationalists.

The *Illustrated London News* like many pro-Nationalist supporters in Britain, believed European civilization was, above all, void of communism. As a result, they quickly embraced General Franco’s rebellion as a way to curb communist spread. Editors endorsed this campaign in the images and articles they published. Yet the prevalence of racist perceptions of any people viewed as the ‘other’ in 1930s Britain constricted the *Illustrated London News*. The news magazine particularly struggled in its portrayal of Moroccan troops. The publication could not help but present Franco’s Moroccan troops in a condescending way. Acknowledging Moroccan participation as imperative to Franco’s victory, editors inflicted these racist ideologies to further demonize communist participants in the Republican zone. Thus, although the British news magazine was unwilling to abandon commonly held racist sentiments regarding the African and Spanish ‘other’ during the Spanish Civil War, the *Illustrated London News* sanctioned any tactics


that demonized communist sympathizers. Editors relied on images and their accompanying commentary to cultivate and exploit this representation of a communist barbarian.
Concluding Thoughts

The Illustrated London News conveyed many of the messages its middle-class, conservative viewers and readers shared during the 1930s. Editors showcased archaeological discoveries, suggested exotic travel locations, and recommended innovations deemed essential for British residents to purchase and claim as their own. The News also updated its readership on the intensifying political events which radiated in post-WWI Europe. By incorporating accounts of fascist aggression from Germany and Italy, as well as through detailing the menace of the Soviet Union, the News exposed the tensions Britain hoped to avoid. The Illustrated London News could not conceal its fears of communist expansion. Drawing on the notion that communism served as the greatest threat to British security, a position shared with many conservative politicians, editors transmitted fears of this threat to its readers. The Illustrated London News maintained its reputation as a respectable news magazine. British political groups utilized the publication as a resource when fashioning their political positions. These groups also relied on the News as a tool to project their political agendas. British residents claimed newspapers most commonly influenced public opinion. Thus, editors of the conservative Illustrated London News acknowledged its potential as an effective political instrument to project anti-communist messages.

When General Francisco Franco initiated his 1936 military uprising against the democratically-elected Popular Front government in Spain, the Illustrated London News quickly endorsed his cause. Like many Conservative politicians in Britain, Editor Bruce Ingram and “Our Note Book” columnist Arthur Bryant, among other News contributors embraced the general’s objectives to overthrow the Government, perceived as overrun
with communist sympathizers. Images of religious desecration, devastation due to aerial bombardment, and the disturbances to everyday life in Spain were quickly attributed to communist participants. The *Illustrated London News* detailed the concerns many Christian individuals expressed as the Spanish Civil War unfolded. For many religious figures in Britain, the threat of an empowered ‘atheistic’ communist government in Europe superseded any disparities between the Anglican and Catholic Churches. Instead, British groups often emphasized the need to unite as Christians to halt the spread of communist influences. Consequently, General Francisco Franco’s declaration of an anti-communist Christian ‘Crusade’ appealed to those who valued Catholic tradition in Spain and the protection of Christian ideology overall.

Advocates of Franco’s anti-communist mission, however, struggled with its fractures. The *Illustrated London News* in particular had to confront these incongruities in order to craft a pro-Nationalist message. Editors could not ignore the devastation due to aerial bombing Franco and his German and Italian allies imposed. Civilian death tolls soared which motivated foreign nations to act. The bombing of Guernica in particular drew global concern, especially as Franco’s Nationalist ‘Crusade’ continued to bring death and ruin to thousands of defenseless Spaniards. The *News* initially attempted to minimize the horrors of aerial bombardment in Nationalist Spain by providing little coverage. Editors also emphasized Republican reliance on aerial bombardment instead. Yet, when the destruction could not be ignored, the news magazine attempted to justify the military tactic in order to advocate Franco’s anti-communist Christian mission.

Franco’s reliance on North African troops primarily underpinned the discrepancies in the Nationalist agenda. Most of these Moroccan participants identified
with their Islamic faith, in clear contrast to the Christian ideology that buttressed the Nationalist ‘Crusade’. The representation of Moroccans as invading ‘infidels’, associated with centuries of Christian-Islamic conflict in Spain, further challenged the unity of the Nationalist operation. Accounts of Moroccan brutality splintered this mission, supposedly seeped with Christian religiosity. During the Riffian War, Moroccan combatants frequently relied on violent punishment and torture to fulfill their military objectives. These tactics were later inculcated into the Spanish Foreign Legion. José Millán-Astray claimed to embed this military machine in a Christian foundation. Yet, Millán-Astray and his second-in-command Francisco Franco glorified death, reiterating self-sacrifice as a *legionario*’s ultimate goal. The brutal methods utilized in training as well as the executions of insubordinate enlistees also obscured this Christian underpinning. Reports of rape and murder as the hands of Moroccan troops throughout the Spanish Civil War provided Nationalist supporters a difficult issue to confront.

In order to accommodate Franco’s inconsistent communist ‘Crusade’, the *News* turned to the overarching racist ideologies of 1930s Britain. Condescending perceptions of Spaniards emanated in Europe. Early twentieth century British literature in particular showcased these attitudes. Those British individuals who expressed these perspectives often extracted from Spain’s connections with Africa. Editors of the *Illustrated London News* commonly published images which represented the uncivilized African ‘other’. Photographs showcased biological differences among African peoples and their British counterparts. Editors also emphasized cultural differences, distinguishing between the more ‘primitive’ rituals in Africa and those depicted as more ‘modern’ in Britain. Consequently, the paper relied on Moroccans’ North African identity to craft images in
which ‘obedient’ Nationalist combatants were incapable of aggression. The *Illustrated London News* published photographs of orderly Moroccan troops, obeying the commands of their officers. Images also depicted Moroccan soldiers interacting with children and puppies. In this way, the editors attempted to dispel the violent representation of Franco’s anti-communist ‘Crusaders’. Furthermore, the news magazine reminded British readers and viewers that these Moroccan troops guarded British security against the threats of communist influences. In some of the *News* images, Moroccan participants defended Gibraltar and combated communist forces engaged in aerial bombing. Thus, Moroccan troops became the saviors against a ‘barbaric’ communist enemy.

Despite the condescending attitudes commonly held toward Moroccans due to their African heritage, and toward Spaniards due to their associations with Morocco, the *Illustrated London News* was willing to manipulate these views in order to reveal its perceptions of the ultimate uncivilized ‘other’- the communist participant. Nearly identical images of pro-Republican communist participants, juxtaposed to Moroccan troops, seemed to equalize the two identities. Yet, the *News*’ projected images of communists in which they appeared to be void of rationale, and engaged in a mission they supposedly seem to not understand. This representation was never inflicted onto Moroccan troops, suggesting that a superior status of the anti-communist combatant resounded in the *News*. Through the photographs editors selected to publish in addition to its accompanying text, the *Illustrated London News* projected its call for British readers to embrace the anti-communist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. The *Illustrated London News* elevated General Francisco Franco, a Spaniard, and all of his Moroccan combatants
as guardians against the communist enemy. Photography enabled the *Illustrated London News* to fashion and propel this message in 1930s Britain.
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